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WORK AND COMMUNITY VARIABLES AS SOURCES OF VARIATION IN CLASS IMAGERY

By

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ABSTRACT

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Sources of variation in class imagery were investigated in this study. It was proposed that certain job and community circumstances are conducive to the development of certain class models of society; hence, images will vary according to the availability of such circumstances. Guided by Lockwood's (1966) typologies of power (the awareness of "us" in opposition to "them"), prestige (social divisions in terms of status), and pecuniary (money) models of society, three sets of hypotheses that link relationships between workplace, workmates, community, self-investment in work, and workers' images of the class structure were tested in Santiago Tianquistenco, Mexico. The unit of analysis was the industrial worker employed in the town factories. A sample of 228 blue- and white-collar workers were interviewed at their place of work, using a standardized questionnaire. The concepts individuals used to express their ideas about the class structure were elicited through open-ended questions about several dimensions of class: perceived class structure, criteria used to describe class differences, nature

of relationships between classes, and evaluative aspects of class relations. The incidence or frequency of images within the three models of society was considered for the codification of the open-ended questions and correlated with frequency of interaction with workmates on the job and during leisure-time hours, frequency of interactions with persons of unequal occupational status, degree of identification with workmates, degree of identification with employers, degree of self-investment in work, and occupational status. Additional analyses of demographic characteristics also were performed.

It was confirmed that people do hold images about the class structure, but in many instances without a "definite" model of society. There was a predominance of prestige imagery in this sample, although power and pecuniary imagery also was expressed. Not all the hypotheses were corroborated. But, in general, the data gathered in Santiago Tianquistenco support the basic premise of the study--that processes of interaction and identification are related to workers' images of society. Limitations of the study and suggestions for future research were discussed, stressing the need for more qualitative studies in the domain of class imagery.

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Acknowledgments are a ritual that emphasizes that the author is a unique or fragmented combination of relationships and circumstances: that Simmelian idea of the intersection of circles where, through different group membership, individuality could be diminished or enhanced. Without a definite conclusion, I like to think that by overcoming conflicting roles I have learned something about myself and reached some level of individuality, thanks to many significant encounters.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Objectives of the Study

This study was designed to investigate sources of variation in class imagery. Here, class imagery refers to the mental representations of the class structure held by social actors. The emphasis is on subjective models of class structure that individuals hold and the social linkages that might account for such models. By subjective models is meant not only the picture individuals have about what society is like, how many classes they distinguish, or how they fit into it, but the nature of the relationships they recognize among classes and the criteria they use to explain the differences they see.

In this study, the researcher sought to establish linkages between particular features of the social structure and distinctive models of class imagery. Specifically, the study centered on the role of micro-structural features--that is, on patterns of interaction and influence in a local Mexican community and at the workplace. The importance of studying the relationships between class images and the contexts where class imagery may be elicited was stated by Bott (1957):

> People do have direct experiences of distinctions of power and prestige in their places of work, among their colleagues, in

> schools, and in their relationships with friends, neighbors and relatives. In other words, the ingredients, the raw materials, of class ideology are located in the individual's primary social experiences, rather than in his position in a socio-economic category. The hypothesis advanced here is that when an individual talks about class he is trying to say something, in a symbolic form, about his experiences of power and prestige in his actual membership groups and social relationships both past and present. (p. 163)

Hence, the basic premise in this study was that people's images of society are constructed out of their experiences of social inequality in their immediate social milieu. The central research question in the study was: What are the relationships between the social context of particular occupational groups and their own subjective perception of class structure?

The answer to the research question was guided by a set of hypotheses that basically propose that certain circumstances are conducive to the development of certain class models of society; hence, class images will vary according to the availability of such circumstances.

The hypotheses were guided by Lockwood's (1966) typologies of working-class images of society. Lockwood outlined three types of workers and the work and community factors associated with each type. The "traditional proletarian" worker is characterized by a dichotomous power model of society and is most often found in heavy industries and in jobs characterized by occupational communities. The "deferential" worker is one who holds a prestige model of society and is found in occupations with much interaction between employer and employee, in small firms, and in small towns with interactional status systems. The "privatized" worker is one whose

social imagery approximates a pecuniary model of society. This model is more likely to be found among affluent, urban workers.

The use of ideal types for the study of class imagery provides clarity to a very complex set of relationships: those among workplace, workmates, community, job involvement, and how workers interpret their social situation. However, typologies also provide simplified categories, taking extreme types that cannot be directly applied to particular instances without elaborating the factors involved. Subsequent empirical researchers stimulated by Lockwood's article somehow misunderstood the purpose of the ideal type analyses and, instead of using them as reference points around which the analysis might be done, used them as "boxes" into which data were fitted. This study expands the research previously done in class imagery. Lockwood's typologies were used in developing the propositions and hypotheses, reformulating the underlying dimensions in a set of interrelated variables that were investigated in their own right. The hypotheses were tested in Santiago Tianguistenco, Mexico. The unit of analysis was the industrial worker employed in the town factories. In addition, the researcher drew samples of managers and clerical workers for purposes of comparison.

A survey research design was used for data collection. Material based on the town's industrial history, cultural influences, and current situation was used as a frame of reference to interpret and elaborate on the results found through a carefully designed questionnaire. The study was designed to enlarge our

knowledge and understanding of the meaning of stratification by explaining social imagery in terms of patterns of interaction between different social and occupational groups.

Introduction to the Theoretical Framework

The concept of social class has been the center of many debates, theories, studies, and political movements. As is the case with many social issues, discussions on social class have been generated by the tension existing between an objective condition and a subjective definition. This tension is two-fold. One aspect of it is the tension between class as an observable social phenomenon, and the various sociological interpretations given to this phenomenon. The other, and more complex, aspect of this tension is that between those sociological interpretations or constructs of "class" that are defined by sociologists as "de facto" properties of a social population (i.e., objective indicators such as socioeconomic status, income per year, occupation), and those subjective meanings of class given by the social actors who in their own way will experience and observe classes, inequality, and stratification.

This investigation involved this tension, considering in these images only vertical differentiation of roles based on perceived attributes such as occupation, income, education, ownership, and so on. It was mainly stimulated by Lockwood's (1966) work on sources of variation in working-class images of society. In his study, Lockwood related community and work experiences to variations in

class imagery. As mentioned above, he used ideal types (sociological constructs) to explain how objective conditions (work, community) affect the subjective representations of the class structure held by social actors. His workers' types and sources of variation for their class imagery can be summarized as in Table 1.1. To situate this study in a theoretical context, those works that constitute background studies for class-image research were reviewed.

Background Studies

Literature on the sociological meanings of class (Bottomore, 1966; Ossowski, 1963; Rytina, 1967) has documented a wide variety of usages of the term, which underlie the tension in the interpretations of the social phenomenon in question. Everyone seems to agree on its existence. However, why this happens, what is the nature of it, what its consequences are, and what it ought to be are questions on which scholars sharply disagree. Rytina (1967) pointed out that "we are confronted with the case where competent scholars in a scientific discipline do not agree on the use and meaning of one of the most widely utilized concepts in that discipline" (p. 17). Conceptualizations of the term relevant to this dissertation are those used by Marx and Weber. For both, the relationship to the market was a central empirical indicator of class. Marx stressed more the economic aspects of class and divided society into two (sometimes three) great camps based on the relationship to the means of production: the exploiters and the

Table 1.1.--Sources of variation in working-class images of society.

	Type of Worker	Work Situation	Community Structrue	Images of Class Structure
TRADITIONAL	Proletarian	Isolated, hard-work situation, e.g., mining, shipbuilding, docking. High degree of involvement in job.	Is similar to work situation. Is an occupational structure. Friends and neighbors are workmates. Close-knit relationships.	Power Model: Two major classes, differentaited in terms of possession of power and authority. Awareness of "them" (white-collars, managers, professionals) and "us."
	Deferential	Brings him in direct association with employers and other middle-class members, e.g., service occupations, crafts, family enterprises. Paternalistic authority structure.	Local status system. Differentiated occupational structure. Interactions with several "classes" of the community.	Prestige Model: Three or more classes differentiated in terms of aspects of life style, social background, or acceptance.
NEW	Privatized	Attachment to the enterprise or workmates is slight. Factories with mass-production technology, highly automated.	Neighborhood of strangers with very little in common. Low attachment in the community.	Money Model: One large central class plus one or more residual or elite classes differentiated in terms of wealth, income, and consumption standards. Power and status are not so relevant.

Source: D. Lockwood. (1966). Sources of variation in working class iamges of society. Sociological Review, 14, 249-267.

exploited. This conceptualization is often described as a dichotomous power model of society. The Marxian concept of class is deeper and more complex than is suggested here. However, what has to be stressed here is that, in the Marxist theory of stratification, there is a basic dichotomy between the owners or upper class, and the propertyless class of wage workers, and that the essence of stratification resulting from this is power, expressed as control over the distribution of resources and material property.

Weber acknowledged the importance of economic characteristics as determinants of class differences, but he made analytical distinctions among class, status, and power. Power for him was the essence of stratification, and class and status were different modes of stratification. According to Weber, these modes coexist, although one will dominate, depending on the economic circumstances of the labor market. Weber defined social classes not so much in their relation to the market owners, but by what men could sell in that market: property, labor, education, and so on. Hence, Weber distinguished multiple, hierarchical dimensions of class.

Both authors were also concerned with the nature of people's perceptions of society. Marx distinguished between *Klasse an sich* and *Klasse fur sich*, expressing the difference between class as an aggregate of people under certain economic criteria, and class consciousness, which includes the latter definition plus a psychological criterion grouping people with common antagonisms and common interests (Ossowski, 1963). Weber was also concerned with

the subjective aspects of class. Specifically, he was concerned with the possibility of "communal action," action that is oriented by the feeling of the actors that they belong together, action that "will emerge from the conditions under which a number of persons share a similar class situation" (Weber, 1958).

The studies of class imagery have shared these concerns for the psychological aspects of class. However, a class-imagery study is not an analysis of class consciousness. The relationships between the two are complex and difficult, but they are analytically separable. This might be seen more clearly by considering the main characteristics of class consciousness. Following Heizelrigg (1973), class consciousness is said to exist when four characteristics are present:

1. Awareness of the class structure.

2. Self-identification, in terms of perceived location in the class structure.

3. Class interests, or sharing the definition of these interests as basically in conflict with the interests of another class.

4. Class action--that is, class-relevant behavior.

Looking at this inventory of components of class consciousness, it might be said that class imagery could be a component of class consciousness or, as Vannerman (1980) suggested, "the lowest of several levels of class consciousness" (p. 769). And while the sociological importance of popular class imagery has gained

considerable attention in recent years, results of studies such as those of Graetz (1983) have shown that neither nominal class affiliations nor conceptions of class structure encompass ideologically homogeneous perspectives. Hence, class consciousness, manifested in specific actions (such as voting behavior), and class imagery require investigation in their own right because their connection is not very clear.

However, it is clear that to have certain class images does not imply automatically a sharp or objective image of the class structure. Nor does it mean that one has class interests or is engaged in class-relevant actions. That is, there is not a necessary connection between workers' view of society and their voting behavior, strike actions, and other manifestations of collective solidarity of a class-based kind (Bulmer, 1975). Also, the reverse is in need of emphasis. Gonzales-Casanova (1968) stated that in Mexico the working class does not appear to be aware of the problem of marginality, and he suggested a lack of working-class consciousness. However, absence of class consciousness (defined as having a coherent image of class structure, articulated in class-relevant actions) is not necessarily a demonstration that workers do not hold definite images of society (Lockwood, 1975).

Class images may or may not be the raw material for political actions of a radical kind. In relation to this, it should be noted that class images can be coherent and articulated, or they can be fragmented, ambivalent, unclear, and uncertain. How coherent they are is an open question. Many class-consciousness studies

(Bechhofer, Elliot, & McRone, 1978; Logan, 1977; Mann, 1973; Petras & Zeitlin, 1967; Smith & Rodriguez, 1974; Touraine, 1966; Vannerman, 1980; Wilensky, 1970) have been primarily interested in the consequences or actions that derive from being class aware. Sometimes, they have pointed out some of the structural conditions that facilitate or inhibit the development of class consciousness, such as the pattern of economic growth, the political structure, geographical mobility, and so forth. Vannerman (1980), for instance, analyzed the conventional notion about differences in the class consciousness of the English and Americans and found much similarity in the perceptions of class. However, he found substantial evidence of political differences. Americans do not translate their recognized class positions into votes because their political parties do not reflect labor concerns as much as parties in Britain, such as the Labour Party. Hence, given the similarities in the perception of class, the political differences would be better explained in the party system rather than in attitudinal differences of voters themselves. In this regard, it might be said that the study of class imagery is interested in the class map that a person has in mind, whether or not it is articulated or coherent, and in the sources from which this map comes.

But before entering into the area of class-imagery studies, other theoretical backgrounds from which class-imagery research stems will be delineated. Theories on stratification and the class-consciousness issue have been discussed. Now, studies of class

identification, which stress the psychological aspects of class, are examined. A controversial work was Centers's (1949) socio-psychological study, which attempted to link interest-group theory to the class identification of the individual. "This theory implies that a person's status and role with respect to the economic processes of society impose upon him certain attitudes, values and interests relating to his role and status in the political and economic sphere" (Centers, 1949, p. 28).

Centers asked the following question of a U.S. national sample (n = 1,097): "If you were to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you say you belonged in: the middle class, lower class, working class or upper class?" The results showed that the majority of respondents identified themselves as either middle class (43%) or working class (52%) and that very few (1%) considered themselves lower class. Fourteen years later, Tucker (1963) compared data from the Centers study with another national sample. He found a reduction in the use of the working-class label. As Centers did, however, he found a consistent pattern between class identification and other social indicators.

Studies of this kind stimulated much criticism. Some contended that the formulation of closed-ended questions such as the one of Centers above "puts words in the respondent's mouth." As a result, open-ended-question studies were launched to assess the "true" meaning of class to people. Respondents were asked what names they used to identify classes and the criteria they used to distinguish between them. From these studies it was argued that social-class

terms had no intrinsic meanings for most Americans (Case, 1955) and that there was a tendency to view stratification "in a conventional way, namely as status hierarchy" (Haer, 1957). They concluded that the idea of a status system seemed more realistic than the notion of discrete classes because class categories "did not have a precise meaning which is generally accepted" (Lenski, 1961).

The two-fold tension between objective conditions and definitions of scholars, which, in turn, were in tension with conceptions of class held by common people, continued, and several theoretical clarifications were attempted in subsequent studies. For instance, Rytina (1967) stated that studies approaching class identification from a status perspective undersampled the poor and other minority groups for whom class differences mean being structurally deprived of life chances. Hence, class differences are more important than status differences based on attributional and personal characteristics. She found empirical support for the hypothesis that those who have much wealth differ from those who have little in their explanations of the way the system works. Other studies (Jackman, 1979; Jackman & Jackman, 1983; Vannerman & Pampel, 1977) found <u>no</u> support for the idea that the United States is a kind of pluralistic society, where classes and socioeconomic antagonisms are no longer relevant. Their findings supported more the interest-group theory of society, where education, occupation, and income are usually the objective indicators of class position associated with variations in class conceptions.

All of the studies that methodologically used the technique of self-rated class have been influential for class-image inquiry because they have provided evidence that people hold mental representations of the class structure that can be elicited spontaneously. The quarrel over the labels is of greater relevance for class-imagery studies because here the question is not so much how many different categories people are able to enumerate, but what are the concepts they use to explain the nature of the relations and differences they see. As Willner (1957) expressed it:

> The word class . . . appears relatively rarely in the responses of a variety of subjects. The illusion of certain intellectuals that everyone talks or should talk in terms of a theory of society should be abandoned. But nevertheless the replies on diverse themes--success, wealth, inequalities--show that people do refer to society and to stratification. (p. 254)

Besides exaggerating the importance of labeling, "a major defect of interest theory is a systematic neglect of the class contacts open to people." This observation was made by Hodge and Treiman (1968, p. 535), whose data showed that patterns of acquaintance and kinship between various status groups, as well as residential heterogeneity, are no less important than socioeconomic positions in the formation of class identity.

In her study on "Family and Social Network," Bott (1958) singled out the importance of friends, neighbors, and relatives in the images of social class. She argued that people base their notions of social class on their own pattern of social relationships. Bott's views of family and community as bases for class images have been most influential in the study of class

imagery since the construction of the ideal types in Lockwood's (1966) article were grounded in family, community, and occupational interactions. The occupational context involves other theoretical influences in Lockwood's approach to the study of class imagery. Studies of how workers' social relations at work and social relations in leisure time overlap (Blauner, 1960) and studies of how jobs influence nonwork-related activities and of how occupation and certain industrial experiences affect job involvement (Goldthorpe & Lockwood, 1963) are included among the theoretical grounds for the creation of Lockwood's typology. Summarizing, Lockwood's approach to the study of class imagery established an important theoretical linkage because it related the study of class and its meanings in sociological explanation to social experience and brought together the study of stratification, occupational communities, and industrial sociology. As Bulmer (1975) stated, "the establishment of this linkage underlies the influence of Lockwood's article" (p. 11).

The Studies of Class Imagery

As we have seen, many differing conceptions of the nature of people's perceptions of social stratification have been written. Lockwood's article was an attempt to provide clarity to this issue by the use of ideal types. The purpose of his article was not aimed at the solution of the correspondence between a concrete description of class structure and workers' class imagery. Rather, it used ideal types, as a methodological device, to consider variations in

subjective social-class representations among workers (Bulmer, 1975). Two main assumptions can be distinguished in Lockwood's paper:

1. People do generate images of class stratification.

2. Forms or models of class stratification vary according to the power and/or status experienced by the individual.

Past research on class identification (Case, 1955; Centers, 1949; Haer, 1957; Hodge & Treiman, 1968; Jackman, 1973; Rytina, 1967; Tucker, 1963) has shown that lower classes, working classes, and marginal groups see the distribution of power and economic rewards as a result of structural factors, and that middle-income people and white-collar workers see the stratification system as a result of favorable personal attributes. These studies have suggested that a power model of society is characteristic of blue-collar workers, whereas a hierarchical model of stratification is more adequate to illustrate the class images of white-collar people. However, this has left many things unexplained. For instance, why do persons in similar socioeconomic strata and occupational positions hold such different conceptions of the class structure (Vannerman & Pampel, 1977)? Lockwood argued that class images vary according to experiences with prestige and power; he proposed that there is variation within the working class that results from different kinds of work situations and community structures. These differences provide workers with different kinds of interactions with fellow workers, employers, and community members. (See Table 1.1 for a synopsis of these sources of variation.)

Subsequent research has expanded and challenged the initial explanation given by Lockwood. Moore (1973) studied several relatively isolated coal villages. It was expected that the miners would have a "traditional proletarian" image of society. Nearly all the conditions of work and community proposed by Lockwood were fulfilled. Moore reported that a large proportion of miners did not develop a traditional image of society, and thought that Lockwood's argument was too simple because he overlooked variables such as coherence of religious, economic, and political beliefs. Moore found a kind of parochialism in the working-class culture and a lack of class solidarity. In sum, he concluded that an isolated work environment and a close-knit type of community are not sufficient sources for a dichotomous class image of society based on power.

A study by Blackburn and Mann (1975) called attention to other possible influences in working-class images of society. Their study attempted to reproduce the internal diversity and structural uniformity of the working class. They interviewed 954 manual workers spread through nine organizations in the same town. Blackburn and Mann argued that, although their sample was very heterogeneous, they could not identify three types of workers, as Lockwood proposed. All workers seemed to share a proletarian ideology; however, the authors noted, they were not committed to it. "Most remain confused by the clash between conservatism and proletarianism, but touched by both. Which workers are not in this situation?" (p. 155). The authors thought that this ambivalence is

part of industrial society. Workers are exposed to messages through mass media and interpersonal communication that are ambivalent: "Strikes are caused by agitators"; "The management thinks only in terms of profits." The problem is then not of a division between working-class members with different views on stratification, but of fragmented class consciousness in all workers as individuals.

Goldthorpe, Lockwood, Bechhofer, and Platt's (1969) studies of the "affluent worker" provided the support for the "privatized" worker category. The authors tested the hypothesis that rising income levels and technological change lead to the embourgeoisement of the working class. To test this hypothesis, the authors studied a sample of 229 well-paid workers in a relatively new industrial town in England that possessed few of the characteristics of the older industrial areas. The sample was drawn from technologically advanced industrial plants (a chemical plant, an automobile factory, and a plant manufacturing ball and roller bearings). For comparative purposes, white-collar workers were also interviewed.

On the basis of their results, the authors rejected the embourgeoisement hypothesis. Although the blue-collar workers were enjoying economic affluence, they were not concerned, as white-collar workers were, with status distinctions inherent in such arrangements as separate canteens for blue-collar and white-collar workers. Also, they were not concerned with advancement, promotion, or belonging to voluntary associations. There was little evidence of striving for status. White-collar workers, in contrast, were

more likely to be involved in social networks outside the family, to entertain at home, and to belong to voluntary associations.

Findings relevant to the study of class imagery were those suggesting that a "new" worker was emerging. Goldthorpe et al. (1969) described this new worker as developing a privatized life style, centered on home and the conjugal family, and mainly concerned with earning the money to increase his domestic consumption. He no longer sees the society as divided between "us" and "them" (a power model of society) but in a fashion that can be labeled as a "money" model or "pecuniary" model of society, where the workers perceive social stratification as one large central class plus one or more residual or elite classes different only in terms of wealth, income, and consumption standards.

In relation to this new type of worker, an article by Form (1957) can be cited here. The author argued that status symbols, such as clothing, household furnishings, income, type of house, and so on, are important because, since many social contacts in the city are segmental and anonymous, symbols of status are necessary for strangers and passing acquaintances to place and appraise one another.

Some authors (Cousins & Brown, 1970) have criticized the typification of the privatized worker, arguing that the characteristics that Lockwood associated with this type of worker are close to Marx's idea of the proletariat, i.e., "what classical Marxists saw as the social accompaniments of large-scale machine industry in which labor has solely the status of a commodity" (p.

55). The authors suggested the possibility of technological and industrial development that may produce homogeneity in workers and therefore be closer to a "truly" proletarian attitude than those traditional industries and occupational groups that Lockwood specifically pointed to as providing the basis for class solidarity. Specifically, the authors mentioned that in those occupational groups (such as miners, dockworkers, shipbuilders) there are different unions, work gangs, work cycles, and payment systems that compete for the rewards of the firm and the community. Thereby, these features of the so-called occupational communities inhibit rather than promote class solidarity.

In a study entitled "In Search of the New Working Class," Gallie (1978) also challenged the idea of a "new" worker, i.e., the privatized worker. He argued that it is improbable that characteristics of advanced technology are of any importance in explaining commitment or noncommitment of workers within the enterprise. Based on comparative research on British and French workers, Gallie concluded that automation does not necessarily lead to a high degree of social integration or to new forms of class conflict. In sum, Gallie's study challenged Lockwood's proposition that the high-technology-workplace dimension is a salient and relevant influence on workers' attitudes.

Faunce's (n.d.) discussion of the privatized worker may help reduce the confusion centered on the typification of the privatized worker as "new," or as a mere product of technological innovations.

Privatization, for Faunce, is one of the possible consequences of withdrawal of self-investment. Self-investment in work refers to a commitment to work based on the relevance of occupational achievement to self-esteem (Faunce, 1982, 1984). He suggested that a privatized life style results from certain work and living environments that offer few opportunities to encounter class, status, or power differences. On one hand, privatized workers do not experience the class solidarity ("them" versus "us") of workers living in or belonging to certain types of occupational communities. On the other hand, they seldom experience contact with persons of different occupational status than their own because their occupational environment (big firms, highly mechanized) does not provide the opportunities for such interaction. Also, the specific job tasks (e.g., unskilled workers on assembly lines) provide almost no basis for evaluation of quality of performance because there is little opportunity to display such traits as skill and responsibility or even courage, strength, or independence. All these conditions, according to Faunce, mean that work-related values and class-related values will have little relevance for the self-esteem-maintenance process. Therefore, a privatized worker is one who does not invest himself in work- or class-relevant issues and is, as a result, less likely to have an image of society in which work or social class is a salient component.

Following Faunce's (n.d.) argument, the privatized worker may be a "new" worker in the sense that the conditions producing privatization are more likely to exist in mature industrial

societies where "the social structural conditions that give rise to a proletarian or deferential orientation are becoming less common and the conditions producing privatization more common" (pp. 88-89). From this perspective, the privatized orientation is very different from the Marxist concept of a class-conscious proletariat. Money is seen by privatized workers not as a divider but as a common denominator. This ideological position was clearly expressed by Alfred Winslow Jones in 1865; he wrote:

> The money economy . . . lends a pervasive illusion of equality. Men are obviously not equal--either in skill, intelligence nor wealth or opportunity, but [they think] one man's dollar is equal to any others in the places where things are bought and sold.

Summary and Critique of the Literature

Several dimensions of working-class ideal types have been suggested in the studies just discussed. It is clear that Lockwood's paper has been quite influential, and subsequent researchers have tried to examine his propositions concerning class images and the identification of these with both occupational groups and community structures. Many of the studies discussed have suggested very important considerations to be included in the study of workers' class images of society. In particular, this researcher would like to single out for comment the following: the importance of the status and/or class "reminders" that a community or a work environment offers and their effect on job involvement and class attitudes (Faunce, 1982); the issue of considering mass media, as sources of class imagery (Blackburn & Mann, 1975); and the relevance

of interpersonal relations in explaining variations in class images among persons in apparently identical occupations (Bell & Newby, 1973).

The review of studies of class imagery has also highlighted some theoretical and methodological problems. Lockwood's typologies have been criticized for not being sufficiently specific and for being inadequate to the analysis of certain situations. Moore (1973) said that all the conditions proposed by Lockwood as characteristic of the proletarian worker "were fulfilled"; nevertheless, he did not find that these workers had a power-model image of society. Moore (1973), Bell and Newby (1973), Martin and Fryer (1973), and Batstone (1975) thought that Lockwood had overlooked the importance of specific community features, such as religion and ethnic and cultural rules. Cousins and Brown (1970) said that Lockwood's typologies not only neglected the importance of structural factors but did not distinguish among the different patterns of relationships that could be found in the so-called traditional occupations.

This researcher thinks that, in these critiques, one can identify an important methodological issue that may involve a misunderstanding of the purpose of Lockwood's typology. The essential characteristic of typologies is that they involve a reduction (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1954). McKinney (1966) defined a typology as a "purposive, planned action, abstraction, combination, and (sometimes) accentuation of a set of criteria with empirical

referents that serves as a basis for comparison of empirical cases" (p. 3).

This reduction aspect can be illustrated by the following summary of Lockwood's typology:

I. Work Situation

	Involvement in Job	Interaction and Identification With Workmates	Interaction and Identification With Employers
Middle class	+	+	+
Deferential	+	-	+
Proletarian	+	-	-
Privatized	-	-	-

II. Community Structure

	Interactional Status System	Occupational Community	Occupational Differentiation
Middle class	+	+	+
Deferential	+	-	+
Proletarian	+	+	-
Privatized	-	-	-

This typology represents a reduction or simplification in several senses. First, we note that only three variables underlie the basis for the classification in each situation in the workplace and in the community. Each of these has been dichotomized, and such a dichotomization does not recognize that there may be varying degrees of, for example, job involvement, or of identification with workmates. McKinney (1966) indicated that the rationale for dichotomizing is often that the theorist wishes to pinpoint polar types. This was the case in Lockwood's theoretical approach. He described extreme types to be used as points of reference around

which the analysis should be done. The use of ideal types in the study of class imagery provided a frame of reference to locate a complex set of relationships. These types, however, cannot be used directly in explaining a specific community and/or work situation without elaborating the factors involved. Moore illustrated this problem when he said: "Nearly all the conditions of work and community, set by Lockwood, are fulfilled," but he did not find that miners had a "proletarian" image of society. Another example is that given in the Cousins and Brown (1970) article. They stated that, in the shipbuilding industry, which Lockwood defined as typically traditional proletarian, they found that workers' images of society were more varied than had been allowed for by Lockwood's typology. The problem as it can be observed from these arguments is that Lockwood's typologies were used as boxes into which data were fitted, and, in this manner, some authors proceeded as if they were "testing hypotheses" rather than using ideal types as reference points.

Furthermore, the problem with these studies is that they simplify, even more than Lockwood, the relationships among work, community, and class imagery. Let me explain. One of the major assets of Lockwood's approach, and what distinguishes it from the class-identification studies, is that he did not use occupation or place of residence as indicators of a certain socioeconomic status, which in turn presumably has an effect on how people see the class structure. These indicators are too raw and crude to explain

variations in class imagery. Instead, Lockwood used occupation and community as context variables that affect the way social inequality is experienced. He gave some illustrations of typical settings that could provide such experiences, expressed as patterns of interaction and identification with others in equal or unequal class positions. These experiences are the instances considered by Lockwood as most influential in the class imagery held by social actors. Degrees of interaction and identification with workmates, with managers, or with members of a whole community vary across different occupations and different local situations. Variation in these structures has to be interpreted in light of the basic premise of Lockwood's study --that workers' images of society will be constructed out of their experiences of social inequality in their immediate social milieu. Many of the studies critical of Lockwood's work ignored this central proposition and proceeded as in the following example: Here we have a coal mine, coal miners were defined by Lockwood as typical examples of proletarians, hence they must have a power model of society. The problem here is that of using occupation as the main indicator of class images, instead of analyzing patterns of acquaintance and interaction in a specific coal miner's community.

Many valid and important questions arise from the research done on class imagery: What are the effects of affluence and technology on workers' social consciousness? What happens with traditional industries such as mining and shipbuilding when they change management and production techniques? What is the implication of having an ambivalent and fragmented class image for political

action, especially that of a radical kind? (Blackburn & Mann, 1975; Westegaard, 1975).

These questions are not separate from the study of class imagery, but neither are they solved by class-imagery research alone. The main class-imagery question centers on the sources from which class images develop or are reinforced, and Lockwood's major premise, as noted above, was: People's images of society will be constructed out of their experiences of social inequality in their immediate social context. His theoretical formulation immediately suggests a set of research hypotheses for each of the sources of variation in class imagery, namely, work variables, community variables, and class-image variables.

In the following section, those work and community variables are identified that may be conducive to the development and/or reinforcement of certain class images of society.

Formulation of Hypotheses

From Lockwood's scheme, three sets of variables can be identified: (a) work-situation variables, (b) community variables, and (c) class-image variables. These variables were defined as continuous rather than being composed of discrete categories.

Work-Situation Variables

Interaction and identification with workmates, interaction and identification with employers, and job involvement were considered by Lockwood as sources of variation in class imagery because they

presumably provide work experiences that affect the way an individual sees the social structure.

For interaction and identification at the workplace, the argument goes as follows: Workers who interact frequently with their fellow workers and who have strong ties with their fellow workers may have a tendency to adopt a power image of society because they may be involved in solidaristic, occupational experiences, clearly delineated from the rest of society. By contrast, prestige images of society will be more typical in a job that brings the worker into "direct association with his employer and hinders him from forming strong attachments to workers in a similar market situation to his own" (Lockwood, 1975, p. 19).

A distinction between interactions (either workmates or employers) and identification (either with workmates or employers) should be made. Lockwood put them together, when he really was implying two different things. Interactions with workmates and interactions with employers refer to the encounters a worker may have with any of these persons at the workplace. The identification with either of these groups--workmates or employers--is going to tell us which is considered by a worker as a reference group, and therefore as the group that shares his ideas of society.

For example, white-collar workers, who were included in this study, may have frequent interactions with workers and managers alike. However, there is evidence to support the idea that, because their working relationships usually bring them together with higher management and administration, as well as with small groups of

workers of their own rank, they are likely to identify with both "the firm" and their middle-class colleagues (Prendy, 1965).

In addition to the distinction between "interactions" and "identifications" at the workplace, a further distinction should be made between the kind of "identifications" that occur among workmates, and that of the workers toward the employer. In the first case, we are talking about group cohesiveness and solidaristic feelings, about "sentiments of belongingness to a work dominated collectivity . . . to the awareness of 'us' in contradiction with 'them' (bosses, managers, white-collar workers)" (Lockwood, 1975, p. 18). Identification with employers does not imply feelings of belongingness or solidarity, but rather a deferential attitude. In fact, the deferential worker defers to his employer socially as well as politically because he recognizes in them "his 'betters,' the people who know how to run things" (Lockwood, 1975, p. 19). Moreover, Lockwood argued that workers of this kind will tend to support the parties of their "social betters," while leaders of working-class origin will be seen by them as "spurious leaders" and their supporters as "misguided followers."

A study about the proletarization of white-collar work (Denemark, 1986), comparing the United States and England, showed that class identity plays a significant role in mediating associations of workers. In England, those identifying with the middle class consistently rejected working-class politics and activities. In America, the same happened. Those more identified

with their middle-class colleagues were reluctant to support collective acts of organization, such as unions and welfare programs.

The distinctions between two kinds of interactions--with workmates and/or with employers--as well as the different meanings of identification--"solidarity with fellow workers" or "confidence in employers' leadership"--was considered in the operationalization of the corresponding variables.

Job involvement was for Lockwood a variable that also influences a worker's class imagery. When Lockwood distinguished between different kinds of workers--white-collar worker, deferential worker, proletarian worker, and privatized worker--job involvement was a characteristic of all except the latter. This is most interesting because it guides us to the possible causes of a "pecuniary" model of society, which may not be constructed out of the experiences of social inequality--as in the cases of the "traditional proletarian" and "traditional deferential worker"--but from the lack of power, class, and status experiences.

Job involvement was included by Lockwood as one work-related variable that most affects class imagery. However, he did not clarify the fact that this variable is, in part, a by-product of the work interactions and identification with persons at the workplace, discussed above.

Research on job satisfaction (Bulmer, 1960) and on self-investment in work (Faunce, 1982) has indicated that job involvement is higher in those work environments that are conducive to the

development of proletarian, deferential, or middle-class images of the class structure but not in environments producing a privatized image. Job involvement is essentially self-investment in work, a process that Faunce fully explored. This author stated that job involvement is necessarily associated with evaluation by others in terms of occupational achievement. In the case of the traditional proletarian worker, Lockwood explained that he is likely to experience "pride in doing men's work" in jobs that require strength, endurance, skill, and other traits that provide a basis for job evaluation. In the case of the traditional deferential worker, frequently linked with industrial craft jobs, service occupations, agricultural employment, and other kinds of family enterprises, job evaluation is likely to occur since these jobs are generally supervised directly by managers and owners.

The latter is also the situation of the white-collar worker. In the case of traditional proletarian, traditional deferential, and white-collar workers, self-investment is likely to occur because frequent job evaluation may occur in work interactions and interactions off the job. As a consequence, these workers regard job evaluations given by workmates or by employers as being important.

In contrast, the "new" privatized worker is characterized by his low frequency of interactions at the workplace, his lack of identification with workmates and/or with employers and his less-frequent experience of social inequality, and, consequently, by his

withdrawal of self-investment in work. The withdrawal of self-investment from the job, according to Faunce (1982), is more easily accomplished in those jobs that do not provide bases for evaluation of quality of performance, such as those performed by unskilled workers in highly mechanized factories.

Summarizing, five variables have been identified in the work situation:

1. Frequency of interactions with workmates.

2. Frequency of interactions with supervisors, managers, and employers.

3. Identification with employers, expressed as trust and confidence in employers as leaders.

4. Identification with workmates, expressed as solidarity with fellow workers.

5. Self-investment in work.

These variables are related to actual power and/or status experiences at the job and may affect the way individuals perceive the social structure. Also shaping experiences of social inequality are what Lockwood called "community structure."

Community-Situation Variables

Interactional status systems, occupational communities, and occupational differentiation were considered by Lockwood as sources of variation in class imagery because they presumably provide social experiences that affect the way individuals see the class structure. A problem arises when we observe that these variables do not refer

to the same unit of analysis. Work-situation variables refer to individuals, whereas community components refer to structural variables. However, if we go back to Lockwood's argument, we see that he was mainly arguing about individuals' interactions and relationships that arise from certain community circumstances. These experiences reinforce and overlap with work relationships.

Communities with interactional status systems provide a social context where all members of a community are involved in a type of network characterized by frequent interactions with persons of different statuses, prestige, economic positions, occupational roles, and so on, but in which personal characteristics provide the basis for status differentiation. The idea advanced here is that, within this kind of system, "people do not judge one another from a distance and attribute status on the basis of a few, readily observable criteria, such as the amount of an individual's material possessions" (Lockwood, 1975, p. 20).

In his study of work-related values in villages in Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Michigan, Faunce (1966) found in all these small towns, where everybody knew everybody, that ideologies with respect to status placement were expressed primarily in terms of valued personal attributes. The central premise of the study, however, was that as the size of the community increases, mainly due to industrialization, personal attributes tend to drop out as status-assigning criteria, whereas values related to work become of greater importance. This hypothesis was confirmed, and work-related values were shown to be most important in Costa Rica, the most "urban" of

the three villages. Lockwood thought that interactional status systems tend to produce either a "power" or a "prestige" image of society.

The research site selected for this study was likely to have primarily an interactional status system. Because it was quite small--geographically and in terms of population--it was possible to assume that people would have many face-to-face interactions in different community contexts: church, holidays, market, and so on. As a result, interactions were likely to involve people's encounters under different statuses and roles. To make this assumption, however, would have been risky and contrary to one of the objectives of this study, which was to recast Lockwood's typologies as continuous variables, instead of fitting the data into discrete boxes. Thus, the interactional status system was expressed as interactional status relationships. The frequency of experiencing status relationships involving either an interactional or an attributional status system would vary among individuals in the community selected for study.

Lockwood argued that interactional status relationships are going to be experienced more often by the white-collar worker and by the traditional worker, both proletarian and deferential. These interactions, which presumably involve experiences with class, status, and power, lead to images of society that show concern or awareness with class, status, and power differences.

The privatized worker presumably less often experiences interactional status relationships. Faunce suggested that the low self-investment in work characteristic of the privatized worker requires an avoidance of relationships where he is going to be evaluated in terms of class-related variables, prestige and/or power.

Lockwood was not very clear in distinguishing between the causes and consequences of not participating in interactional status relationships. He suggested that a consequence may be the existence of a social situation where everybody is judged solely in terms of something highly visible, such as material possessions. This implies that, if a worker is not involved in an interactional status system, he then is "involved" in an attributional one. Obviously, these are not exhaustive and mutually exclusive categories, and the privatized worker may be less frequently involved in <u>any</u> status system, and less often evaluated in terms of any kind of hierarchy. Thus, so far, we can only say that a person who lacks interactional status and power relationships will not be likely to experience class differences. Therefore, this person is more likely to have "pecuniary" images of society. It does not follow, however, that this person will <u>necessarily</u> have a "pecuniary" image of society, unless we make the unwarranted assumption that this is the only alternative to those based on status or power.

Talking about the circumstances propitious for the decrease of interactional status relationships, Lockwood (1975) was somewhat clearer and suggested that such a situation arises in "new, low cost

housing . . . that brings people together, a population of strangers, who have little in common, save that they all experienced residential mobility and that most of them gain their livelihood from some kind of manual labor" (p. 22).

Since our primary concern here was with the frequency of experience of status or power differences, the focus was on this dimension of interaction in off-the-job, community settings, rather than other aspects of the distinction between interactional and attributional systems. This focus omitted degree of intimacy of relationships, an important element of this distinction, but one that is less relevant for purposes of this study.

In addition to lack of interactional status experiences, the privatized worker is not likely to experience interactions within "occupational communities" and "occupationally differentiated communities," which also helps explain his "pecuniary" image of society. Such community situations presumably provide the individual with experiences in social inequality.

A working-class occupational community is likely to provide experiences that reinforce a power model of stratification. The argument advanced by Lockwood (1966) originally referred to one-industry communities--mines, shipbuilding, steel--where the most distinctive form of proletarian traditionalism emerges. Although this may be true in some one-industry communities, subsequent studies (Allcorn & Marsh, 1975; Salaman, 1971) noted that it is extremely naive to expect that people's attitudes toward society are

determined by this one characteristic of the community in which they live. As Gartrell (1987) explained in his review of the effects of networks on social evaluation, studies of occupational communities have shown that the "power model" of society is often not realized even if workers have associations with their fellow workmates on the job and at leisure-time hours, and even if this "workers' gang" is the reference group that guides conduct, status, and rank. The author believed that the form and content of social networks at the workplace have somehow been overlooked.

Many factors such as economic situation, labor market, technological innovations, religion, and cultural values (see Cousins & Brown, 1970; Moore, 1973) may inhibit the communal sociability experience that presumably emerges from a one-industry community. However, we should stress again the importance of converting extreme, ideal types into specific variables. The notion of occupational community involves three criteria (Blauner, 1960):

1. The essential feature is that workers in their off-hours socialize more with persons in their own line of work than with cross-sectional occupational types.

2. Participants "talk shop" in their off-hours.

3. For its members, the occupation itself is the reference group; its standards of behavior and its system of status and rank guide conduct.

The issue to be stressed here is that occupational community relationships are those where work and leisure companionships overlap, where work and leisure interests are highly integrated. In

a working-class situation, this means that occupational community relationships may involve the individual in mutually reinforcing experiences of solidarity that provide an individual with materials for his class images. The content of this material, said Salaman (1971), is not clear from the mere experience of frequent interactions with workmates on the job and off the job.

Thus, a historical approach to the subject was taken because the cultural history of an occupation, union situations, and market and economic situations help interpret what kinds of perceptions and evaluations have been currently transmitted within the occupation. If these perceptions and evaluations involve common grievances, job dissatisfaction, and low identification with the employer, participation in an occupational community will reinforce these conditions and tend to produce a power-based image of the class structure. The element of occupational community on which this study was focused, however, was frequency of interaction with workmates at leisure-time hours. In the absence of such contact, no occupational community exists.

Occupational differentiation refers, by contrast, to community characteristics that provide circumstances conducive to community interactions with persons in a wide variety of occupations. The community selected for this study may be considered as having an occupationally differentiated structure. However, the variable that was considered was social relationships with persons of different occupations at leisure-time hours, and individuals in this community

varied in their frequency and range of occupationally differentiated interactions. This should affect their experiences with class and status, and hence their images of society.

Summarizing, three variables have been identified in the community situation:

1. Interactional status relationships, expressed as face-to-face encounters that use a variety of status criteria in defining the participants' status.

2. Occupational community relationships, expressed primarily as overlap of work and leisure relationships.

3. Occupationally differentiated relationships, expressed as variation in the number of different occupations of persons with whom an individual interacts.

This analysis was focused on the second and third variables. Variables pertaining to class imagery, the dependent variable in this study, are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Class Images

Three types of class images have been identified: (a) power class images, (b) prestige class images, and (c) pecuniary class images. The researcher assumed that the respondents might have all three classes of images, but that they would vary in their predominant conception of society. This variation can be expressed as their frequency of use of concepts related to a power class model, a prestige model, and a pecuniary model.

The concepts an individual uses to express his/her ideas about society were used as indicators of class images. Such concepts were elicited through questions about several dimensions or variables of class imagery: (a) perceived class structure, (b) criteria used to describe differences between classes, (c) the nature of relationships between classes, (d) evaluative aspects between classes, and (e) class reminders.

Some problems of research into class imagery were suggested in the studies reviewed. Early research in class identification (Centers, 1949) was much criticized because of the use of closed-ended questions in a study whose purpose was to elicit the meaning of class to people. Subsequent research based on Lockwood's work was concerned with the fragmented and ambivalent aspects of class imagery. It has been suggested that researchers are unlikely to find consistent and cohesive images of society and that the images elicited by empirical research are confused and contradictory, and that this is a reflection of the contradictions with which a worker is faced in a capitalist society (Blackburn & Mann, 1975; Cousins & Brown, 1975).

Bulmer (1975) asked: How much does the consistency of images depend on the research situation and the means by which actors' images are elicited? This is an open issue, as is the fragmentation of class imagery. This study explored class images in a manner open to their possible diversity and heterogeneity in possible category combinations. Through open-ended questions, concepts were categorized along the different class dimensions.

Lockwood outlined three ideal types of class imagery:

1. A dichotomous power model of society expressed through the:

> . . . awareness of "us" in contradiction to "them" . . . thinking in terms of two classes standing in a relationship of opposition . . . "them" . . . the larger society, a remote authority . . . although its power is well understood . . . the feeling of being subject to a distant and incomprehensible authority, and the inconsiderable chances of escaping from manual wage-earning employment. . . .

2. A prestige or hierarchical model of society,

> . . . expressed at least as a trichotomous one. . . . People who think of social divisions in terms of status or prestige . . . usually distinguish higher and lower strata as well as status equals . . . belief in the intrinsic qualities of an ascriptive elite who exercise leadership paternalistically in the pursuit of "national" as opposed to "sectional" or "class" interests.

3. A pecuniary or money model of society, in which

> . . . class divisions are seen mainly in terms of differences in income and material possessions. . . . Ideas of conflicting power classes, or of hierarchically interdependent status groups, are either absent or devoid of their significance. . . . Social relationships are viewed in pecuniary terms; money images become of importance as consumer durables in mediating . . . status.

The basic theoretical formulation suggests that the individual constructs his notions of social stratification from his own experiences of prestige and power. Certain work and community situations provide the individual with various degrees, frequencies, and kinds of social inequality relationships. Class images vary according to these relationships.

Thus, as a first proposition:

1. **The greater the frequency of experiencing power-class differences, the greater will be the class imagery expressed in power class terms.**

Experiences of this kind are indicated by the following work and community relationships: where workers are isolated from other influences, that is, they do not interact with persons of higher occupational status in the job or in leisure-time hours. By contrast, they tend to interact at the job and in leisure-time activities with fellow workers, carrying into these associations class loyalties, which means that there is an opposition to "them" (bosses, management, employers' interests).

Hence, regarding a power-model image of society, it may be hypothesized that:

> Hypothesis 1a: The higher the frequency of interaction with workmates at the job and at leisure-time hours, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.
>
> Hypothesis 1b: The lower the frequency of interaction with persons of unequal occupational status on and off the job, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.
>
> Hypothesis 1c: The higher the degree of identification with workmates, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.
>
> Hypothesis 1d: The lower the degree of identification with employers, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.

The preceding discussion of theory and research regarding class imagery suggested that some other characteristics may be associated with a power image of society, in addition to patterns of interaction and group identification.

> Hypothesis 1e: The higher the self-investment in work, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.
>
> Hypothesis 1f: The lower the occupational status of an employee, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.

Differences in occupational status can be expected to affect the direction of the association specified in some of the hypotheses listed above. Lockwood proposed that differences in the experience of white-collar and blue-collar employees will produce differing images of the class structure. Differences in patterns of interaction and identification of white- and blue-collar workers were discussed above. White-collar workers with low self-investment in work could be expected to reject rather than identify with the class to which they objectively belong; if so, this would lead to different consequences for class imagery than those predicted for blue-collar workers. These considerations suggest some exceptions to the hypotheses listed above for the white-collar segment of the sample. For white-collar workers:

> Hypothesis 1g: The lower the frequency of interaction with workmates at the workplace and during leisure-time hours, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.
>
> Hypothesis 1h: The lower the degree of identification with workmates, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.
>
> Hypothesis 1i: The lower the self-investment in work, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.

Prestige images of society are related to experiences of social inequality in terms of status differentiation. A worker who holds that kind of image is frequently isolated from workmates. However, the relationship with his employer is frequent, personal, and particularistic. The essence of the worker's situation is that work and community characteristics bring him into contact with persons of

unequal occupational status, while hindering him from close contacts with fellow workers. These features sharpen his sense of location in prestige hierarchies, and status will be seen as the basis for strata formations. Status distinctions will be seen as legitimate because, for him, there are genuine and "natural betters" in the upper strata of the class structure.

Hence, the second major proposition is:

2. **The greater the frequency of experiencing prestige-class differences, the greater the frequency of prestige images of society.**

The following hypotheses differentiate prestige from power imagery and are related to this proposition:

Hypothesis 2a: The lower the frequency of interactions with workmates in the workplace and during leisure-time hours, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.

Hypothesis 2b: The higher the frequency of interactions with persons of unequal occupational status in the workplace and during leisure-time hours, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.

Hypothesis 2c: The lower the degree of identification with workmates, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.

Hypothesis 2d: The higher the degree of identification with employers, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.

Hypothesis 2e: The higher the occupational status, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.

White-collar workers tend to have a prestige image of society, although their work and community relationships are slightly different from those just described. They do interact with workmates; they do interact with persons of higher occupations off

and on the job. They also identify with colleagues and with the firm. Identification with workmates, i.e., colleagues, and with employers is not in conflict, however, because we are talking about nonworking-class members. The difference, then, is their low identification with working-class members. Hence:

> Hypothesis 2f: The higher the interactions with workmates, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.
>
> Hypothesis 2g: The higher the identification with workmates, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.

The third proposition is the following:

3. **The lower the frequency of experiencing power class differences and prestige class differences, the higher will be the frequency of a pecuniary image of society.**

Lockwood identified two types of workers: the "traditional"--proletarian and deferential--and the "new" privatized worker. What especially distinguishes the privatized worker is the absence of two characteristics shared by the proletarian and deferential worker: involvement in the job and employment in high-technology industries. From self-investment theory (Faunce, 1984), we hypothesize that persons with low job involvement will attempt to avoid situations to which occupational status is relevant, which may mean avoiding both attributional and interactional status relationships. Frequency of interactions with employers or supervisors at the workplace and occupationally heterogeneous contacts off the job increase the opportunity for evaluation and social comparison in job-related terms and, therefore, increase job involvement. Other variables

from self-investment theory such as "comparability of end products" (related, e.g., to those proletarian workers' tasks that provide a basis for evaluation) and "organizational legitimation of occupational status differences" (associated, e.g., with the deferential worker's identification with employers) are likely to increase the frequency of evaluation in job-related terms, and hence are likely to increase the self-investment in work. Regarding the relationships between job involvement and a pecuniary model of society, we can say that, because the pecuniary model does not involve persons in relationships of inequality with one another, it is especially appropriate for persons with low job involvement. Lockwood (1966) argued that, "compared with power and prestige, money is not inherently a divider of persons at all; it is a common denominator, of which one may have more or less without this thereby necessarily making a difference to the kind of person one is" (p. 226). Persons holding a pecuniary image of society are expected to share some characteristics with either the power-image types or the prestige-image types. The major variables differentiating them from both are expected to be the two identified here and incorporated in the following hypotheses:

> Hypothesis 3a: The lower the frequency of interaction with persons of unequal occupational status, the higher will be the frequency of pecuniary images of society.
>
> Hypothesis 3b: The lower the degree of self-investment in work, the higher will be the frequency of pecuniary images of the class structure.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Data Requirements

On the basis of the research previously done in this area and the preceding explanation of the variables that were studied, the data requirements for this study were as indicated in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1.--Data requirements for the study.

Set/Variable	Definition	Measurement
	Work Relationships	
Interactions with workmates	Frequency of interaction with workmates at the place of work, expressed as talking with workmates at workplace.	Measured by a 5-point scale ranging from "seldom" to "very often" as a response to the question, "How frequently do you talk with your workmates at work?"
Interactions with employers, supervisors, superiors, management, etc.	Frequency of interaction with employers, etc. at the place of work, expressed as talking with them in exchange of work- and nonwork-related information.	Same as above, substituting "employers" for "workmates."

Table 2.1.--Continued.

Set/Variable	Definition	Measurement
Identification with workmates	Extent to which workers have or express feelings of solidarity and cohesiveness with fellow workers.	Measured by 5 items using a 5-point scale ranging from "do not agree" to "strongly agree" to statements such as: "Working-class people have to stick together and stand up for each other." (See Appendix A for other items.) Scores on the 5 items were summed.
Identification with employers	Extent to which workers have confidence and trust in their employers.	Measured by a 4-point scale: -Have no confidence and trust -Have a reserved confidence and trust -Substantial but not complete confidence and trust -Complete confidence and trust in all matters.
Self-investment in work	Degree of self-investment in work, expressed as the extent to which work affects self-esteem.	The instrument (see Appendix A) contained 20 statements germane to self-investment in the work environment; respondents expressed their degree of agreement or disagreement with those statements using a Likert format. An example is: "Doing my job will increase my feelings of self-esteem." When subjected to orthogonal factor analysis, the items cluster into 2 identifiable factors:

Table 2.1.--Continued.

Set/Variable	Definition	Measurement
		job involvement and intrinsic motivation. Responses to 10 items forming these factors were summed to obtain composite scores for each of the workers as a measure of self-investment in work.
	Community Relationships	
Occupational communal relationships	Frequency of interaction with workmates, at work time and at leisure-time hours.	Composite index of frequency of interactions with workmates at work, frequency of interactions with workmates at leisure time, and frequency with which persons "talk shop" at leisure-time hours.
Occupationally differentiated relationships	Frequency of interaction with persons of unequal occupational status.	Composite index of the frequency of interaction with persons of unequal occupational status at work (a subordinate, a manager, a secretary) and at leisure time (the doctor, the mayor, the market women).
	Class Images	
Power image of the class structure	Frequency of use of "power" terms to describe different dimensions of the class structure.	Questions to elicit aspects of the class structure are listed below.

Table 2.1.--Continued.

Set/Variable	Definition	Measurement
Prestige-hierarchical images of the class structure	Frequency of use of "hierarchical" terms to describe different dimensions of the class structure.	1. How would you explain to others about social classes in this country? How many social classes are there in Mexico? (Perceived class structure)
Pecuniary images of the class structure	Frequency of use of "pecuniary" terms to describe different dimensions of the class structure.	2. What are the differences among these classes? (Criteria used to describe class differences) 3. In your opinion, why do these differences exist? (Nature of relationship between classes) 4. How could this situation be changed? (Evaluative aspects of class relations) 5. Do you recall a recent event that made you think about the social class issue? Please describe it to me. (Class reminders)

Because of the measurement and conceptual problems of research into class imagery suggested by earlier studies, open-ended questions were used to measure the main dependent variable, i.e., images of society. Answers to the open-ended questions were content

analyzed, and the frequency of use of class-related terminology was coded as power, prestige, or pecuniary images of society. In this manner, not only the types of class labels people use, but also how sharp or blurred their images of class structure are, were explored. A training session for six coders was conducted before the content analysis of the responses to clarify the meaning of class-imagery types. Correlation coefficients ranged from .87 to .98 between coders in their assignment of responses to class-image codes.

The Research Site

A number of potential sites were explored for their relevance to this topic and their accessibility for the study. The selection of the setting was a combination of practical and theoretical considerations. Several criteria were considered:

1. A town that offered the characteristics of a community. The advantages that a community offers to the researcher are many. It has a set of structural conditions--status hierarchies clearly bounded, interactional status systems, geographically circumscribed networks--that are especially appropriate for studies such as this one. In addition, access to small communities is easier because consent from the authorities to conduct research is not linked to a huge bureaucracy.

2. Because the researcher was interested in how occupational- and community-differentiated relationships may affect class imagery and how self-investment in work varies across different occupational

groups, a social context that was highly diverse in terms of occupations was selected.

3. A community with different kinds of industries also was needed because the study required variability in the conditions and nature of the workplace. For this reason, nonindustrial and single-industry towns were rejected.

4. Ease of access for the research team in terms of proximity to Mexico City was also taken into account.

Following these criteria, the community of Santiago Tianquistenco was selected. Santiago Tianquistenco has a population of about 6,000 people, of whom more than 2,000 are employed across 27 industries. The factories range in size from 500 to 10 employees and represent different production technologies, such as chemicals, plastic-related products, truck assembly, clothing manufacture, and cultivation of mushrooms.

The town is located within 50 miles of Mexico City, and although it is very near a major urban area, it is far from being a highly urbanized community. Santiago Tianquistenco is an old town in the state of Mexico. It was founded 400 years ago as a center for trade. As a matter of fact, its name in Nahuatl, *tianguis-tenco*, means place at the edge of the market. The town still maintains this tradition, and every Tuesday people from the nearby towns come to Santiago Tianquistenco to buy goods and interact with each other. The industrial aspect of the town is relatively new. Recently, an industrial park was built, following the industrial decentralization policy of the Mexican government. Therefore, many industries from

Mexico City came to this community, which offered them the necessary infrastructures. These industries have provided jobs, within a factory context, to a labor force that traditionally had been self-employed in crafts and/or agricultural activities.

Sample Selection

The population comprised industrial workers in Santiago Tianquistenco spread across the 27 factories. In this study we were not dealing with institutions, but with individuals within institutions. However, the only data source available was a list of factories compiled by the municipal government. For this reason, factories were selected first, so that lists of workers could be obtained from the selected factories for sampling.

A subsample of one-third of these industries was selected on the basis of size because, the larger the industry, the wider the suboccupational variation within each industry. Therefore, only those industries with more than 100 employees were selected for the study. These industries represent the variety of technologies available in town.

Depending on the number of employees in each factory, an interval fraction, 1/k, was calculated. Because most of the industries selected did not provide an employee list, the industrial relations people at each site were asked to apply the 1/k fraction to their own lists. So, for instance, employees number 16, 24, 32, and so on, were sent to the place where the interview was taking place in each factory (e.g., the dining room, an extra office, and

so on). In each case, we asked those who helped us to comply with a quota of the following proportions for four strata: 35% unskilled workers, 35% skilled workers, 15% clerical workers, and 15% professional-managerial types. Some of the companies limited the number of workers we could interview. The final sample size was 228, which satisfied the assumptions of the statistical tests employed. The number of subjects from each participating industry is presented in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2.--Participants by industry (N = 228).

Industry	Number of Participants	Percentage of Total Sample
Famsa	87	38.16
Bayem	37	16.23
Fonsa	31	13.60
Mayware	13	5.70
Tekkomex	12	5.26
Sonox	12	5.26
Electrofondicion	9	3.95
Proplas	8	3.51
Tenidos y Acabados	7	3.07
Productora de Modas	6	2.63
Serva	6	2.63

An overview of the types of industries with which members of the sample were associated is presented in Table 2.3.

Information concerning the monthly income of interviewees is contained in Table 2.4.

Table 2.3.--Industrial affiliation of sample members (N = 228).

Type of Industry	Number of Participants	Percentage of Total Sample
Truck assembly	86	37.72
Magnetic tape production	43	18.86
Chemicals	43	18.86
Textiles	16	7.02
Assembly plant	13	5.70
Paper products	12	5.26
Metal by-products and solder	9	3.95
Plastics and by-products	6	2.63

Table 2.4.--Monthly income of participants (N = 226).

Pesos	Dollars	Number of Participants	Percentage of Total Sample
51,000 or more	2,318 or more	2	.88
30,001-50,999	1,364-2,317	7	3.10
20,001-30,000	909-1,363	12	5.31
15,001-20,000	682- 908	11	4.87
10,001-15,000	455- 681	19	8.41
5,001-10,000	227- 454	59	26.11
5,000 or less	226 or less	116	51.33

It should be noted that the figures in Table 2.4 are based on the value of the Mexican peso at the time data were collected. At that time (1980), the minimum salary was 6,600 pesos monthly, which equaled $143 U.S.[1] Now, after several rather substantial

[1]A national Minimum Wage Commission establishes a minimum wage every year, calculating a salary that meets the basic needs of a household. Wages are established with the participation of the government, trade unions, and employer organizations.

devaluations, the minimum salary is 380,500 pesos, $104 U.S. These figures are given to indicate the uncertain value of the Mexican peso, which continues a daily devaluation of .80 Mexican cents.

A number of demographic measures of the subjects were also taken, including age, gender, and education. These measures are particularly important because Saal (1978) found that job-involvement is correlated with these variables. These findings are reasonably consistent with the findings of previous research on job involvement summarized by Rabinowitz and Hall (1977). The mean age of the participants was 26.5 years (N = 228; s.d. = 7.65). The gender breakdown (N = 226) of participants revealed that 68.58% (n = 155) of the participants were males and 31.4% (n = 71) were females. The average number of years of education was 9.1 years (N = 228; s.d. = 3.77). In terms of occupational composition, 15.35% (n = 35) were professional/managerial types, 17.98% (n = 41) were clerical workers, 33.77% (n = 77) were skilled workers, and 32.89% (n = 75) were unskilled workers, as shown in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5.--Participants by occupational category (N = 228).

	Main Stratum	Number of Subjects	Percent
I.	Professional/managerial	35	15.35
II.	Clerical	41	17.98
III.	Skilled workers	77	33.77
IV.	Unskilled workers	75	32.89

Design and Data Gathering

The analysis was performed on data collected in a survey research design. The advantages that this design offered to the present research are the following: It is rich, it is deterministic, it is general, it offers openness, and it is specific (Babbie, 1973).

The format of the survey design permitted many cases, hence much information. For us this meant the examination of hundreds of respondents with a variety of social and occupational characteristics. Survey research is deterministic in the sense that it permits a rigorous, step-by-step development and testing of the hypotheses involved in the study. Because the present study attempted to explain the reasons for and sources of observed events, i.e., class imagery and self-investment processes, the survey design permitted the testing of complex propositions involving several variables in simultaneous interaction.

A survey is general because it provides a basis for replication. In that sense, this chapter represents a report of the methodology used in this study in order that the findings can be retested in other populations. It has also been said that survey research methods facilitate the openness of science (Babbie, 1973). Because it involves the collection and quantification of data, it becomes a permanent source of information. Therefore, it will always be possible to reanalyze or review the data obtained from this study, from new theoretical perspectives.

Finally, survey research is specific because, as in this case, methods, conceptualization, and measurement are made specific. This requirement also opens the survey research design to the greatest criticism because it has been said that the disadvantage of this method is the potential weakness in measurement (Babbie, 1975). The conceptualization and measurement of variables are central aspects in the research design because data are useful only if they are valid and reliable. These issues are of particular importance when the study involves the analysis of subjective meanings and attitudes toward class relations, work, self-esteem, and so on. In an attempt to solve these problems, a pilot study was conducted with a small sample (n = 20) of Mexican industrial workers representing various occupations. People were interviewed in a relaxed and conversational manner and were asked about their feelings on work, self-esteem, class structure, and so forth, in such a way as to elicit meanings and points of view. The main purpose of these less structured, in-depth interviews was to gain insight into complex beliefs and values--as Bulmer (1975) said, "to bridge the gulf between the sociologist's theoretical constructs and the actual operations (research design, data collection, analysis) which are necessitated to confront theory with data" (p. 165).

The results from the pilot study were used to phrase and word the questions in the final instrument. The pilot interviews were content analyzed, focusing on the terminology that members of the subculture actually used when referring to the topics under investigation. When this was completed, a final version of the

instrument was developed. The instrument thus was pretested on a small and different sample of industrial workers, and some corrections and adjustments were made before final administration of the questionnaire. The English version and the Spanish version of the questionnaire are presented in Appendices A and B, respectively. Back translation was used to check the conceptual equivalence of the English and Spanish versions.

Subjects were interviewed at their place of work. The possibility of using the worker's home as the interview site was considered. However, potential problems were indicated by some people when interviewing people at home. For instance, workers socialize after work hours and might not be available at home. Also, there are sometimes too many relatives in the household, a circumstance that provides much distraction. Finally, we might have encountered the possibility of people living miles away from the place of work. For these reasons, the respondents were interviewed at each factory. Managers were asked to provide a quiet site where subjects could be interviewed individually.

The interviews were conducted by Carlos and Pilar Fernandez-Collado and a research team of four college seniors who were recruited from disciplines in the social sciences. In return for their help, the students got some training in survey research methods through field experience. Also, data from the study were available for students who wanted to use this information in their own projects. In Appendix C, protocol forms sent to officials of a

Mexican university explaining the study objectives and an application form for students interested in participation may be found.

The research team was trained before conducting interviews and traveled together daily from Mexico City (home town) to Santiago Tianquistenco during one month. Each interview lasted approximately 45 to 60 minutes.

Data Analysis

When the data collection was completed, data from the questionnaires were coded, entered into a computer file, and checked for errors. Preliminary analysis of the data was done to provide evidence on variable distributions. For further analysis the computer facilities of Michigan State University were used. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), which offers a variety of statistical techniques that are commonly used in analyzing social science data, was used in the analysis.

CHAPTER III

THE RESULTS

Analyses of four types are reported in this chapter. First, the sample is described in terms of demographic variables and previous experience with factory work. Distribution of these characteristics is examined. Second, analyses designed to assess the images of the class structure held in the industrial community used in the study are reported. Third, factor analyses conducted on the job-involvement and self-investment scales are presented in detail. Finally, results of statistical tests examining empirical support for each of the hypotheses are reviewed.

The Sample

The mean age of the entire sample was 26.5 years (s.d. = 7.65). As mentioned earlier, the sample was drawn from 12 industries representing a variety of technologies and kinds of jobs, although industrial work was the common characteristic in this sample. Seventy-six white-collar employees and 152 blue-collar workers participated in the study. Within the sample, 15.35% (n = 35) were professional-managerial types, 17.98% (n = 41) were clerical workers, 33.77% (n = 77) were skilled workers, and 32.98% (n = 75) were unskilled workers. Gender of the subjects was distributed as

follows: 155 (66.58%) were males and 71 (31.42%) were females. The sample averaged 9.1 years of formal education (s.d. = 3.77), which accounts for elementary and junior high school (in Mexico, *primaria* = 6 years and *secondaria* = 3 years). Social mobility of respondents was assessed by asking about fathers' main occupation in life. Participants' responses were as follows: 57% (n = 127) of the participants were coded as having had upward mobility, 32% (n = 70) as downward mobility, and 11% (n = 24) as no mobility at all. (The Duncan Socio-Economic Index was used for such assessment).

Previous employment experience, especially factory experience, was considered critical as a sample characteristic potentially capable of confounding the results of this study because class-imagery studies have been done in highly industrialized countries whereas we were dealing with a community that was recently industrialized. Participants were asked to indicate whether they had previously worked in a factory or elsewhere. Frequencies relative to this variable were categorized as shown in Table 3.1. The results showed that 7 out of 10 persons in the sample had previous industrial experience, whereas 30% of the sample were persons who came from other types of work.

Table 3.1.--Last place of work of respondents (N = 181).

Last Place of Work	No. of Participants	Percentage of Sample
Agriculture	11	6
Self-employed	6	3
Commerce	21	12
Services	18	10
Industry	125	69

Inquiring about participants who were at the same time *campesinos* besides being industrial workers was also considered important, so the respondents were asked to indicate whether they did any type of agricultural work. Seventy-five persons (33%) provided an affirmative response, and 151 (67%) reported not being linked with agricultural work in any way. Examining these results across occupational level, it was found that working in some kind of agricultural job besides working at the factory was almost nonexistent for professional and clerical occupations, whereas 38% of skilled workers and 52% of unskilled workers were still linked to some agricultural work; these were statistically significant results ($X^2 = 35.103$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$). In general, these results reflect a special characteristic in the so-called developing countries in the sense that many factory workers are still involved in rural experiences, some even owning land and stock. Many respondents said that they were quite happy with the security of their industrial jobs, since they compared them with the uncertainty of agricultural

and crafts jobs where their incomes depend on many uncontrollable factors.

When asked how satisfied they were with their present jobs, the responses were the following: "very satisfied" 38%, "satisfied" 48%, and "not satisfied" 14% (N = 228). The mean for months worked at the present job was 15.6 months (s.d. = 1.45), i.e., less than two years. Results indicate a great deal of rotation on the job from factory to factory. The mean for months worked at the last previous job was 41 months (s.d. = 6.08), i.e., about three and one-half years.

Other results related to community variables indicated that 54% lived in the industrial community under study, 28% lived in rural areas, and 18% lived in the big cities of Toluca or Mexico City. Distribution of the sample across membership organizations showed the following results: 118 persons (52%) belonged to religious organizations, 26 (12%) to professional organizations, 105 (46%) to community organizations, and 14 (6%) of the sample belonged to political organizations. Only 20% of the workers were unionized. Small frequencies in the last two categories indicate that the people under study had low participation in politically oriented organizations. The foregoing analyses show the distribution of some characteristics considered relevant in this study. Implications of these distributions for the hypotheses tested are examined and discussed later.

Assessment of Images of the Class Structure

Data gathering was done with two kinds of questions: (a) open-ended questions and (b) agree or disagree statements indicating models of society. Given the attempt to freely elicit images of society, the first mode was a way of preventing "putting words in the respondent's mouth." Thus, responses to these questions were particularly crucial for interpreting the results of this research. Responses to closed-ended questions were used in an attempt to compare the performance of both measures and their usefulness.

Two types of coding were done relative to the open-ended questions. First and foremost, the concern was with coding the incidence or frequency of several types of images of society in the responses to the following questions:

1. How would you explain to others about social classes in this country? How many social classes are there in Mexico? (Perceived class structure)

2. What are the differences among these classes? (Criteria used to describe class differences)

3. In your opinion, why do these differences exist? (Nature of relationships between classes)

4. How could this situation be changed? (Evaluative aspects of class relations)

Determination of which and how many images were coded in the responses to each of the open-ended questions depended on the words and phrases expressed by the respondents. Three images of society were originally considered in the codification of open-ended questions. These images, as noted earlier, belong to the "power model" of society (two classes, differentiated in terms of

possession of power and authority involving awareness of "them," managers, against "us," workers); the "prestige model" (three or more classes differentiated in terms of aspects of, for example, life styles or education); and the "pecuniary model" or money model (where classes are differentiated in terms of wealth and consumption standards).

An additional kind of image emerged in this study. We called it a "colonization model" of society. Although it was not very common, we consider it important to point out that 16% of the sample held images that expressed feelings or experiences of colonization or race. Examples of such responses are: "We should be one country, but we are divided because our native and indigenous ideas inhibit our progress"; "In this country there are several kinds of people but mainly the blondes and us"; or "There are the blondes, the foreigners, and people like us, Mexicans."

Table 3.2 shows the results of the first type of coding, which was in terms of the total number of images respondents had among the four dimensions of class structure elicited through the open-ended questions. (The number of responses is larger than the size of the sample because a person could have several kinds of images in each question.) Expressed in other terms, 68% of the sample (N = 228) had one or more power model images, 88% had one or more prestige model images, and 67% had at least one pecuniary or money model image, whereas 16% of the sample had a colonization image of society.

Table 3.2.--Images of society held by respondents.

Image of Society	n	Mean Per Respondent	s.d.
Power	416	1.825	1.91
Prestige	817	3.583	2.34
Pecuniary	318	1.395	1.56
Colonization	36	.158	.36

Second, a predominant model of society was coded for all subjects in each of the four dimensions. For instance, if the majority of images in Question 1 belonged to a power model of society, then a power model was coded for the respondent in that question. If there was not a clear predominance, ambivalence was coded. Also, a "not related" category was needed because, in some instances, responses were not at all related to class-structure issues.

As shown in Table 3.3, items were separated to assess the kinds of responses given by participants. All categories indicated that people did hold mental representations of society. The prestige model was more frequent than its counterparts in all questions. "Ambivalence" was also quite frequent and encompassed many workers who held a variety of images that crossed between several models of society. As a matter of fact, many persons had different models on different dimensions, an incongruity that was kept in mind when interpreting relationships in which total "frequency of images" was used as the measure for images of society.

Table 3.3.--Models of society given by respondents in several dimensions of class.

	Model				
	Power	Prestige	Pecuniary	Ambivalence	Not Related
Perceived Class Structure					
Examples of images	"Two: the rich and the poor... the powerful and the humble..."	"...There are like 4 social classes: a minority or the upper class, the middle class, the working class and the very poor... the lower class."	"...People very rich who work less and earn more: We, the ones that have a secure salary and the more screwed ones who do not have a steady income."	"The rich who own everything, then a middle class with more education, then us."	"...Highbrows and lowbrows."
No. persons/%	30/13%	113/50%	15/7%	39/17%	31/13%
Criteria Used to Describe Class Differences					
Examples of images	"The exploitation, the one the rich perform on the poor."	"...Many things like kinds of education, food, types of recreation, ways of talking."	"Money, some have it, some do not."	"The economic aspect, the educational, the moral, two opposite sides..."	"Many things..."
No. persons/%	15/7%	63/28%	54/24%	63/28%	33/15%
Nature of Relations Between Classes					
Examples of images	"...Because we are a very poor country. The system is unfair and there is injustice in the distribution of power."	"...There is a need for differences of complementarity in the division of work and capabilities."	"...Because some get better jobs, so they get better salaries."	"...Because there is exploitation, there are others better educated with more money."	"...Because of different culture."
No. persons/%	36/16%	87/38%	22/10%	36/16%	47/20%
Evaluative Aspects					
Examples of images	"Yes with a revolution with other government whose only interest is not to protect the powerful."	"Yes with more employments, more education and training for the workers."	"...Oh yes perhaps, it will be difficult though, all should earn good salaries."	"...I don't know; with more education I guess...also, with a revolution."	"Don't know."
No. persons/%	39/17%	94/41%	7/3%	33/14%	55/25%

Assuming that people construct their images from experiences that influence their perceptions of society, a fifth question was asked, involving the "reminder" dimension of sources of images of society. Again an open-ended question was developed for this purpose:

> Do you recall a recent event that made you think about the social class issue?

Results are shown in Table 3.4. Four categories were used to classify specific class reminders: "intrapersonal," "interpersonal," "organizational-structural," and "vicarious." Intrapersonal reminders were statements that showed that the participant reflected on the issue and was not necessarily reminded by some external stimulus (e.g., "It is not one event, it is daily life that makes us think about the class issue"). An interpersonal reminder was coded when the participant mentioned that a face-to-face interaction with one or more persons reminded him/her of the class structure. An example is "Because I had encountered persons of power who use all their authority to humiliate me." Organizational-structural reminders reflected experiences with work organizations or society as a whole that reminded the respondent of the class structure, e.g., "The other day when I filled out an application for employment and I was rejected" or "Everything in this country reminds me of the class structure, social problems and politics." Finally, "vicarious reminders" were defined as those indirect experiences with the class-structure issue via mass media,

e.g., "What reminds me about social classes in this country is the newspaper, all these stories about workers' strikes."

Table 3.4.--Class reminders pointed out by participants (N = 228).

Class Reminder	Number	Percent
No answer or unrelated answer	106	46
Interpersonal	49	21
Organizational/structural	29	13
Intrapersonal	23	10
Vicarious	21	9

Finally, Table 3.5 shows the distribution of replies to four statements to which respondents expressed their approval or disapproval. The replies were taken as indicators of attitudes toward class structure, authority within the industrial enterprise, and toward trade unions. They can also be seen as indicators of the models already described.

Based on these statements, it was possible to characterize three groups of workers as Lockwood suggested. Deferential workers (53%) were expected to agree with Statement 3 in Question A, which represented a hierarchical model of the class structure. The traditional proletarian (14%) was expected to agree with Statement 1 in Question A, and the privatized worker (20%) was expected to agree with a pecuniary or money model of society (Statement 2 in Question A).

Table 3.5.--Beliefs on class-structure issues (N = 228).

	Question	Percent
A	1. In this country today there are basically two main classes, bosses and workers, and they have opposed interests.	14
	2. Most people in Mexico belong to the same class. The only difference, the only thing that matters, is money.	20
	3. In Mexico there are several classes: the upper class, the middle class, the working class, the poor, etc. The upper class is the only one that leads the country and industry, and it should stay that way.	53
	4. Do not agree, do not have any opinion.	13
		100%
B	1. The factory is like a football team; we all have to cooperate and work hard to score goals, that is to win.	84
	2. Teamwork in the factory is impossible since management and workers are on opposite sides.	15
	3. Do not agree, do not have any opinion.	1
		100%
C	1. Trade unions and their leaders only generate problems between managers and workers.	10
	2. Every worker should join a trade union, because workers should stick together and improve working conditions.	84
	3. Do not agree, do not have any opinion.	6
		100%

Table 3.5.--Continued.

	Question	Percent
D	1. Management is interested in the good of the firm and all workers.	73
	2. Management is only interested in profits.	25
	3. Do not agree, do not have any opinion.	2
		100%

Deferential attitudes were found in the majority of respondents when asked about industrial authority (84%), indicating a belief (or maybe an experience) in paternalistic forms of authority. A small percentage (15%) expressed their agreement with a traditional proletarian view of the issue (2), accepting that management's and workers' interests were opposed.

Nearly three-fourths of the sample regarded management as interested in the well-being of workers, and the other one-fourth viewed management as being solely concerned with profits. Although most of the sample had a deferential attitude toward management, the majority expressed their agreement with the belief that union membership was a positive thing to all workers. And although only 20% of the workers were members of a union, they believed that union membership mattered.

In general terms, based on the results of these statements, the three models of society can be delineated. It should not, however, be assumed that this is a coherent set of attitudes. Agreement or

disagreement with the statements in Questions A through D is not proof that people held a definite model of society. In eliciting images of society, the open-ended questions showed a greater diversity of images in comparison to questions using the agree-disagree response format.

In sum, the evidence supported the idea that people hold mental representations of the class structure, probably influenced not only by their immediate social milieux, but also by the culture and the wider society, as illustrated by the finding of a colonization model. There was also a strong deferential orientation, involving belief in hierarchy, individualism, commitment to the firm, and management authority. Overall, prestige images were the most frequent in response to open-ended questions.

Factor Analyses on the Self-Investment Measure[a]

The self-investment measure employed in this study contained 20 items taken from a number of different sources. Six job-involvement items and four intrinsic-motivation items were taken from research conducted by Lawler and Hall (1970). It should be noted, however, that the job-involvement items used by Lawler and Hall were those developed by Lodahl and Kejner (1965), and the intrinsic-motivation items were developed by Lawler (1969). Ten items were developed by

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[a]For a more detailed discussion of these factor analyses, see Carlos F. Fernandez-Collado, "Self Investment in Work: A Study in a Mexican Industrial Community" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1984).

Faunce. Lawler and Hall's research was designed, in part, to determine whether job satisfaction, job involvement, and intrinsic motivation were measures focusing on the same conceptual domain or whether they focused on conceptually distinct psychological domains. Their study focused on the potential interrelationships among these three variables, as well as the relationship of these variables to other job characteristics in the work environment. Lawler and Hall concluded from their study that job satisfaction, job involvement, and intrinsic motivation were factorially independent and related differently to other job characteristics.

The self-investment items used in the present study were randomly ordered in the measurement instrument to minimize potential threats to validity. The items and their respective item numbers as they appeared in the questionnaire and subsequent data analysis are presented in Table 3.6. Participants in this study expressed their degree of agreement or disagreement with these items by responding to five-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = neutral, 4 = disagree, to 5 = strongly disagree. The information provided by the 228 respondents was then subjected to principal-components factor analyses (unities in the diagonals and eigenvalue default of 1.0) with rotation to a varimax criterion (Kaiser, 1958). Multifactor solutions were then forced, as necessary, to discern appropriate factor structures. Three criteria were established a priori to determine optimal solutions: (a) items must load at a minimum of .60 and cross-load at a maximum of .40 to be retained on a given factor; (b) items associated with each factor

Table 3.6.--Items comprising the self-investment scale.

	Job-Involvement Items
44.	The major satisfaction in my life comes from my job.
48.	I am very much involved personally in my work.
50.	The most important things that happen to me involve my job.
52.	I live for my job.
54.	Most things in life are more important than work.
58.	I'm really a perfectionist about my work.
	Intrinsic-Motivation Items
46.	Doing my job well increases my feelings of self-esteem.
53.	When I do my work well, it gives me a feeling of accomplishment.
56.	I feel a great sense of personal satisfaction when I do my job well.
62.	When I perform my job well, it contributes to my personal growth and development.
	Items Developed by Faunce
45.	When I am through work at the end of the day, I hardly ever think about whether I did a good or bad job.
47.	I sometimes feel uncomfortable when talking to people whose jobs carry more prestige than mine.
49.	The type of work I do is important to me when I think about how successful I am in life.
51.	I think members of my family feel proud when they tell people what I do for a living.
55.	I sometimes feel ashamed to tell people what kind of work I do.
57.	I would be happy to have my children do the kind of work I do.
59.	When I make a mistake or do something badly at work, it sometimes bothers me for days.
60.	To me, my work is only a small part of what I do.
61.	If I could not do my job well, I would feel that I was a failure as a person.
63.	I feel depressed when I fail at something connected with my job.

must clearly exhibit common meaning; and (c) a maximum number of items meeting the preceding criteria should be retained to minimize loss of information.

A three-factor solution was attempted first because the self-investment measure employed in this study contained items taken from three different sources. The results of this analysis were not interpretable. There were extensive cross-loadings across factors for many of the items. A two-factor and a four-factor solution were attempted next. Once again, the results were not interpretable because of substantial cross-loadings on many of the items.

The results showed that the ten items developed by Faunce had substantial cross-loadings on the other factors. This suggested that the items were intercorrelated with job-involvement and intrinsic-motivation items. This was not surprising. In fact, it was Faunce's intention to add some of them to the other scales, tapping some additional, possible dimensions of self-investment. However, this precluded identifying acceptable factor solutions, and for this reason it was decided to drop those items from subsequent analyses.

A two-factor solution was then attempted, using only the original job-involvement items from Lodahl and Kejner and the Lawler intrinsic-motivation items. These ten items, four measuring intrinsic motivation and six measuring job involvement, theoretically should have grouped together in a two-factor solution. A two-factor solution was imposed on the data; the results are

presented in Table 3.7. This solution appeared to be quite interpretable, save for the problems associated with Items 46, 54, and 58. Items 46 and 58 did not load at the .6 level on either factor. Item 54 was equally cross-loaded on both factors. The first factor was a job-involvement dimension, and the second-factor was the intrinsic-motivation dimension. (Items 45 and 58 also were problematic in the Lawler and Hall [1970] analysis.)

Table 3.7.--Two-factor solution for self-investment.

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2
44	.75363*	.09604
46	.03139	.44111
48	.21967	.61158*
50	.57040	.12093
52	.80236*	.04936
53	.26966	.62052*
54	.38095	-.31044
56	.13907	.60580*
58	.22731	.14961
62	-.23051	.60457*

*Indicates acceptable loadings.

It was clear from these results that the most interpretable solution would be a two-factor solution with Items 46, 54, and 58 deleted. Consequently, a two-factor solution excluding these three items was executed; it was both interpretable and satisfied the criteria to determine optimal solutions. The results from this analysis are presented in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8.--Two-factor solution for self-investment, excluding Items 46, 54, and 58.

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2
44	.79088*	.06929
48	.21029	.64090*
50	.64052*	.09869
52	.80159*	.06916
53	.22566	.67489*
56	.08323	.63920*
62	-.22447	.62205*

*Indicates acceptable loadings.

Item 48 presented another minor problem because it loaded on Factor 2, which was the intrinsic-motivation dimension rather than the job-involvement dimension. It should be noted that this was also the case for the two-factor solution that included the items that were deleted in this analysis. Given these results, it seems reasonable to conclude that this item, at least for this sample, was a more valid measure of intrinsic motivation than job involvement. Consequently, the item was included in this measure of self-investment. The items that comprised the two dimensions of self-investment in work are shown in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9.--Items comprising the self-investment measure for this study.

Item
FACTOR 1: Job-Involvement Items
44. The major satisfaction in my life comes from my job.
50. The most important things that happen to me involve my job.
52. I live for my job.
FACTOR 2: Intrinsic-Motivation Items
48. I am very much involved personally in my work.
53. When I do my work well, it gives me a feeling of accomplishment.
56. I feel a great sense of personal satisfaction when I do my job well.
62. When I perform my job well, it contributes to my personal growth and development.

Cronbach's alpha was computed for each factor to assess the internal consistency of the items. The internal consistency coefficient for the job-involvement items was .63, and the coefficient for the intrinsic-motivation items was .48. Neither of these coefficients was particularly high, indicating some degree of heterogeneity among the items, which increased the error variance associated with the measures. This obviously increased the difficulty of identifying relationships that might exist among the variables contained in the hypotheses.

Self-investment in work emerged as a combination of the concepts of job involvement and intrinsic motivation, although it is a more specific and broader concept than each of its components.

Job involvement means the importance of the job to a person. Intrinsic motivation means the importance specifically of job performance for self-esteem. Self-investment in work implies that for someone his/her job is important and his/her job performance is important because it influences how that person feels about him/herself. Self-investment is, in sum, the concept that "glues" job involvement and intrinsic motivation, giving meaning to them. Both factors were used as a measurement of self-investment in subsequent analyses.

Hypothesis Testing

Table 3.10 delineates the results of testing the hypotheses, which examined the extent to which people's images about class issues are affected by (a) interactions within and outside the job, (b) degree of identification with workmates and/or bosses, and (c) self-investment or job involvement. The hypotheses that were tested concerned three models of class images: power images, prestige images, and pecuniary images. For purposes of clarity, letters and numbers in Table 3.10 are used to designate relationships tested in the hypotheses.

The hypotheses were tested using a set of five open-ended questions about the different dimensions of the class structure: perceived class structure, criteria used to describe differences between classes, possibilities of change, and class reminders. The five questions were post-coded to count the number of times a respondent mentioned power, prestige, or pecuniary concepts in

answers to each of the questions. Respondents could, of course, use any or all of the three kinds of imagery.

The first set of hypotheses that was tested concerned the power model of society, measured by how often power imagery of class structure appeared in individuals' responses to the open-ended questions. Power imagery was expressed by such concepts as "There are mainly two classes--'them' and 'us'" and "There is the owner and we, the workers."

First, it was proposed (see page 40) that people who show a high frequency of power-imagery use will have certain patterns of interactions and job-related characteristics, as stated in the following two hypotheses:

> Hypothesis 1a: The higher the frequency of interaction with workmates at the job and at leisure-time hours, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.
>
> Hypothesis 1b: The lower the frequency of interaction with persons of unequal occupational status on and off the job, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.

The independent variables were measured on a five-point scale for people to state their frequency of interaction with workmates and with persons of unequal occupational status in and outside of their jobs. (See pp. 44-45 for detailed discussion of measurement of variables; see Appendix A for questionnaire.)

The correlation matrix in Table 3.10 expresses the relationships in Hypotheses 1a and 1b. The first (Relation A-7) was not significant ($r = .023$, $p > .05$), and the second (Relation B-7)--although a modest correlation--was significant and in the predicted direction ($r = .106$, $p < .005$).

Table 3.10.--Correlations among major variables (N = 228).

Table 3.10.--Correlations among major variables (N = 228).

	Interaction With Workmates 1	Interaction With Persons of Unequal Status 2	Identif. With Workmates 3	Identif. With Employers 4	Self-Investment in Work 5	Occupational Status 6	Freq. of Power Images 7	Freq. of Prestige Images 8	Freq. of Pecuniary Images 9
A Interaction with workmates	--	.087	.069	-.016	-.096	.048	.023	.137*	-.012
B Interaction with persons of unequal status	-.579*	--	-.039	-.041	.113*	.061	-.106*	.146*	-.139*
C Identif. with workmates	.069	-.039	--	-.713*	.113*	.013	.234**	-.214**	.072
D Identif. with employers	-.016	-.041	-.713*	--	.108*	.015	-.322*	.127*	-.110
E Self-investment in work	.096	.115*	.113*	.108*	--	.344*	.112*	.235*	-.344*
F Occupational status	.048	.061	.013	.015	.344*	--	.016	.316**	.070
G Frequency of power images	.023	-.106*	.234**	-.322**	.112*	.016	--	.034	.020
H Frequency of prestige images	.137*	.146*	-.214**	.127*	.235*	.316*	.040	--	.130
I Frequency of pecuniary images	-.012	-.139*	.072	-.110	-.344*	.070	.150	.035	--

*p < .05. **p < .005.

The next two hypotheses proposed:

Hypothesis 1c: The higher the degree of identification with workmates, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.

Hypothesis 1d: The lower the degree of identification with employers, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.

These variables were measured by several items. Using a four-point scale, people described the extent to which they experienced feelings of solidarity and cohesiveness with fellow workers; thus, identification with workmates was assessed. The extent of workers' confidence and trust in their employers was also measured by a four-point scale.

The results in Table 3.10 (Relations C-7 and D-7, respectively) show correlations in the predicted direction that were statistically significant ($r = .234$, $p < .005$; $r = -.322$, $p < .05$).

Another hypothesis regarding power images of society proposed self-investment as a variable that affects class imagery. Self-investment is essentially an individual process associated with work environments where interactions with workmates and/or bosses occur. It was explained that workers in such contexts are likely to experience pride and involvement with their jobs. Self-investment was measured by an instrument that originally contained 20 statements to which respondents expressed their degree of agreement or disagreement, using a Likert format. After a factor analysis was performed, seven items were included for the self-investment measure in this study. (See pp. 73-79.)

This hypothesis stated:

Hypothesis 1e: The higher the self-investment in work, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.

Table 3.10 shows (Relation E-7) a moderate but significant correlation coefficient in the predicted direction ($r = .112$, $p < .05$).

Next, it was expected that differences in occupational status would produce differing images of the class structure. It was hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 1f: The lower the occupational status of an employee, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.

Referring again to the results in Table 3.10 (Relation F-7), the correlation coefficient showed no support for this hypothesis ($r = .016$, $p < .05$).

The next model of class images that was tested was prestige imagery, measured by how often prestige or hierarchical concepts appeared in an individual's responses to the five open-ended questions about the different dimensions of class structure. Prestige imagery was expressed as belief in the intrinsic qualities of at least three social qualifiers such as education, work capabilities, training, and having goals of advancement.

In this second set of hypotheses, it was advanced that prestige images of society will be held by workers who experience work and community situations bringing them into contact with persons of unequal occupational status. On the job they have frequent interactions with employers, but they do not interact with workmates

as often. These people will see status distinctions as legitimate; they are comfortable in a context of prestige hierarchies. Also, frequency of interactions with employers at the workplace and occupationally heterogeneous contacts off the job increase the opportunity for evaluation in job-related terms, leading to an increased opportunity for job involvement. The following hypotheses were related to this proposition:

> Hypothesis 2a: The lower the frequency of interactions with workmates in the workplace and during leisure-time hours, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.

The correlation coefficient in Table 3.10 (Relation A-8) showed a significant relationship between frequency of interactions with workmates and prestige images of society. However, it was not in the predicted direction.

It was assumed that frequency of prestige images of the class structure was to be associated with a lower interaction with workmates and a higher interaction with persons of unequal status. Hence, it was hypothesized that:

> Hypothesis 2b: The higher the frequency of interactions with persons of unequal occupational status in the workplace and during leisure-time hours, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.

The results in Table 3.10 (Relation B-8) supported Hypothesis 2b ($r = .146$, $p < .05$) but showed that the higher degree of prestige images of the class structure held was related to increased interaction with both workmates and persons of unequal occupational status.

As stated earlier, there is a distinction to be made between interactions and identifications. Interactions with workmates and with employers refer to the encounters a worker may have with any of these persons at the workplace or in leisure hours. Identification with either of these groups--workmates or employers--indicates which is considered by the worker as a reference group, the group that shares his/her ideas of society.

In terms of identification, the following hypotheses were proposed:

> Hypothesis 2c: The lower the degree of identification with workmates, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.
>
> Hypothesis 2d: The higher the degree of identification with employers, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.

The correlations in Table 3.10 (Relations C-8 and D-8) showed the results to be in the predicted direction and statistically significant. Moderate correlation coefficients expressed that people with higher degrees of identification with employers tended to have a higher frequency of prestige images of society, or, conversely, perhaps because they had these images they tended to identify more with their bosses. Also as predicted, people who identified less with workmates had a higher frequency of prestige images of society.

It was also stated earlier (in the literature review) that prestige images of society tend to be associated with self-investment in work because the same environment that provides the types of social experiences that develop in prestige imagery (work

and community situations where job and status evaluations are likely to occur) is presumably conducive to self-investment in work. Hence it was hypothesized that:

> Hypothesis 2e: The higher the degree of self-investment in work, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.

A correlation coefficient of $r = .235$ ($p < .05$), shown in Table 3.10 (Relation E-8), supported Hypothesis 2e.

Finally, it was proposed that workers with a higher occupational status, such as professional and clerical workers, will tend to experience more job and community situations conducive to prestige imagery. Therefore, it was hypothesized that:

> Hypothesis 2f: The higher the occupational status, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.

A correlation coefficient of $r = .316$ ($p < .005$), shown in Table 3.10 (Relation F-8), supported this hypothesis.

A third set of hypotheses related to the pecuniary model of society--that in which money is seen not as a divider but as a common denominator. This model was related in the review of the literature to a "new" privatized worker characterized by a low frequency of interactions at the workplace and in the community, a privatized worker who has fewer experiences of social inequality. His/her only evaluation of class differences is in terms of "buying things." Therefore, a privatized worker is one who does not invest him/herself in work or class-relevant issues and is, as a result, less likely to have an image of society in which work or social

class is a salient component. Two hypotheses were advanced regarding this proposition:

> Hypothesis 3a: The lower the frequency of interaction with persons of unequal occupational status, the higher will be the frequency of pecuniary images of society.
>
> Hypothesis 3b: The lower the degree of self-investment in work, the higher will be the frequency of pecuniary images of society.

These hypotheses were supported by the results. For Hypothesis 3a, a low but significant correlation in the predicted direction is shown in Table 3.10 (Relation B-9) ($r = -.139$, $p < .05$). For Hypothesis 3b, Table 3.10 (Relation E-9) shows a moderate correlation of $r = -.344$ ($p < .05$). As stated, persons holding pecuniary images of society were differentiated by two major variables: low interaction with others and a relatively low degree of self-investment in work.

The hypotheses described earlier were tested separately for management and clerical (white-collar) personnel ($n = 76$) and for skilled and unskilled (blue-collar) workers ($n = 152$). Pearson correlation coefficients, indicating the extent and direction of the associations, are shown in Table 3.11.

The mean scores for power, prestige, and pecuniary imagery indicate that, for both groups, the highest mean score was for prestige images of society. White-collar workers had a higher frequency of imagery of all three kinds, but the results were statistically significant only in the case of prestige imagery. Cross-tabulations and chi-square as a significance test indicated that white-collar workers had more prestige imagery than blue-collar

Table 3.11.--Correlation coefficients for class imagery with job and community variables for white- and blue-collar workers.

Imagery	Predicted Relations	Blue-Collar (n = 152)	White-Collar (n = 76)
	interaction workmates job and leisure time	.063	-.179*
POWER IMAGES OF SOCIETY	interaction unequal occupational status job and leisure time	-.078	.114
	identification workmates	.107*	-.120*
	identification employers	-.156	.146
	self-investment	.089	-.210*
	interaction workmates job and leisure time	-.107*	.069
PRESTIGE IMAGES OF SOCIETY	interaction unequal occupational status job and leisure time	.079	.046
	identification workmates	.250*	.109*
	identification employers	.198*	.137*
	self-investment in work	.106*	.140*
	interaction workmates job and leisure time	-.083	.145
PECUNIARY IMAGES OF SOCIETY	interaction unequal occupational status job and leisure time	.092	-.198*
	self-investment in work	-.148*	-.105*

workers (X^2 = 31.08, d.f. = 6, $p < .05$). These results are shown in Table 3.12 and 3.13.

Table 3.12.--Mean scores of types of imagery for white- and blue-collar workers.

Type of Imagery	Blue-Collar		White-Collar	
	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Power	1.74	1.90	1.98	1.80
Prestige	3.01	1.01	4.72	2.20
Pecuniary	1.31	1.60	1.43	1.30

Table 3.13.--Occupational category by frequency of prestige images.

Prestige Imagery		Occupational Category				Row Total
		Profes-sionals	Secretaries and Other White-Collar	Skilled Workers	Unskilled Workers	
Low	Count	5	14	46	42	107
	Row %	4.7	13.1	43.0	39.3	46.9
	Col. %	14.3	34.1	59.7	56.2	
	Tot. %	2.2	6.1	23.2	18.4	
Medium	Count	21	22	28	28	99
	Row %	21.2	22.2	28.3	28.3	43.4
	Col. %	60.6	53.7	36.4	37.3	
	Tot. %	9.2	9.6	12.3	12.3	
High	Count	9	5	3	5	22
	Row %	40.9	22.7	13.6	22.7	9.6
	Col. %	25.7	12.2	3.9	6.7	
	Tot. %	3.9	2.2	1.3	2.2	
Column Total	Count	35	41	77	75	228
	Col. %	15.4	18.3	33.8	32.9	100.0

X^2 = 31.08 d.f. = 6 $p < .005$

Occupational category: Seventy-six white-collar employees and 152 blue-collar workers participated in the study: 15.35% were managerial-professional, 17.98% were clerical workers, 33.77% were skilled workers, and 32.98% were unskilled workers. This job-classification variable was statistically significant in association with prestige imagery. The higher the occupational category, the higher the frequency of prestige images of society. Of the subsample of white-collar workers, 37.9% were categorized as having a high content of prestige imagery. Only 9% of the blue-collar subsample was coded under this category. The relationship was generally linear. A greater proportion of professionals (40.9%) expressed seven or more prestige images in their statements. Among their clerical counterparts, only 22.7% of the subsample were in this category ($X^2 = 31.08$, d.f. = 6, $p < .001$).

Hypotheses stating associations with power images of the class structure were the following:

> Hypothesis 1a: The higher the frequency of interaction with workmates at the job and at leisure-time hours, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.
>
> Hypothesis 1b: The lower the frequency of interaction with persons of unequal occupational status on and off the job, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.
>
> Hypothesis 1c: The higher the degree of identification with workmates, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.
>
> Hypothesis 1d: The lower the degree of identification with employers, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.

Hypothesis 1e: The higher the self-investment in work, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.

Hypothesis 1f: The lower the occupational status of an employee, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.

Hypothesis 1g: The higher the frequency of interaction with workmates at the workplace and during leisure-time hours, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.

Differences in patterns of interaction and identification of white- and blue-collar workers were stated earlier. This showed up in terms of the power images of society. It was proposed that white-collar workers with low self-investment in work could be expected to reject rather than identify with the class to which they objectively belonged, and, if so, this would lead to different consequences for class imagery from those predicted for blue-collar workers. These considerations suggest some exceptions to the power-imagery hypotheses listed above for the white-collar segment of the sample. For white-collar workers:

Hypothesis 1h: The lower the frequency of interaction with workmates at the workplace and during leisure-time hours, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.

Hypothesis 1i: The lower the degree of identification with workmates, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.

Hypothesis 1j: The lower the self-investment in work, the higher will be the frequency of power images of the class structure.

Table 3.11 indicated that, for blue-collar workers, only Hypothesis 1c was supported. For white-collar workers, data

lower frequency of interaction with workmates, a lower degree of identification with workmates, and a lower degree of self-investment in work, as predicted in Hypotheses 1h, 1i, and 1j.

Hypotheses regarding prestige images of the class structure stated:

> Hypothesis 2a: The lower the frequency of interactions with workmates in the workplace and during leisure-time hours, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.
>
> Hypothesis 2b: The higher the frequency of interaction with persons of unequal occupational status in the workplace and during leisure-time hours, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.
>
> Hypothesis 2c: The lower the degree of identification with workmates, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.
>
> Hypothesis 2d: The higher the degree of identification with employers, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.
>
> Hypothesis 2e: The higher the degree of self-investment in work, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.
>
> Hypothesis 2f: The higher the occupational status, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.

Once again, looking at the white-collar/blue-collar breakdown, the results in Table 3.11 supported Hypotheses 2a, 2d, and 2e for blue-collar workers. Blue-collar workers who had less interaction with workmates on the job and at leisure time had more prestige images of society, as predicted (Hypothesis 2a). As predicted in Hypothesis 2d, blue-collar workers with a high degree of identification with employers had a higher frequency of prestige

images of society. However, having a high frequency of prestige imagery was also related positively with a high degree of identification with fellow workers, which differed from the original hypothesis that a high degree of identification with fellow workers was associated with a lower frequency of prestige imagery.

Because white-collar workers do interact with workmates as well as with persons of higher occupations (employers) off and on the job, they can be identified with colleagues, i.e., workmates, as well as with employers. Given these considerations, it was predicted that the hypotheses listed below for the white-collar segment of the sample would be proven:

> Hypothesis 2g: The higher the identification with workmates, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.
>
> Hypothesis 2h: The higher the interactions with workmates, the higher will be the frequency of prestige images of the class structure.

For white-collar workers, having a higher frequency of prestige imagery was moderately associated with a higher degree of identification with bosses and a higher degree of identification and interactions with workmates or colleagues, as predicted in Hypotheses 2f and 2h. As expected, white-collar workers with a higher frequency of prestige imagery tended to be more self-invested in work.

Regarding pecuniary images of society, it was hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 3a: The lower the frequency of interaction with persons of unequal occupational status, the higher will be the frequency of pecuniary images of society.

Hypothesis 3b: The lower the degree of self-investment in work, the higher will be the frequency of pecuniary images of society.

The last part of Table 3.11 indicated some statistically significant findings that were mostly in agreement with the predictions regarding pecuniary images of society. For blue-collar workers, the higher the frequency of pecuniary imagery, the lower the degree of self-investment in work.

For white-collar workers, having a higher frequency of pecuniary images of society was related to a lower degree of self-investment and a lower frequency of interaction with persons of unequal occupational status, as predicted in Hypotheses 3a and 3b.

Although a more detailed discussion is given in the next chapter, some explanation is advanced here. It appears that controlling for blue- and white-collar workers did produce a refinement in the findings. And, more important, the results led to the conclusion that, in many instances, job and community variables influenced class imagery, as expected.

The interaction variables were, in most cases, poor predictors. One of the reasons for the low contribution of these variables could be that a high frequency of interactions was going on in this town, not only with workmates, but also with persons of equal and unequal status as well, both in and outside the job. Using the SPSS variable transformation features, and for purposes of clarifying what has been presented, Table 3.14 shows the average number of

weekly interactions for white-collar and blue-collar workers, as well as for the total sample.

Table 3.14.--Average number of weekly interactions in and outside the job.

	Total Sample (N = 228)		Blue-Collar (n = 152)		White-Collar (n = 76)	
	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Number of interactions with workmates	21.9	.70	20.2	9.87	25.6	8.17
Number of interactions with persons of unequal occupational status	23.9	9.75	22.2	9.02	27.0	9.92
Number of interactions with persons in more prestigious occupations	23.1	9.65	21.5	9.84	26.3	10.10

The identification variables--degree of identification with workmates or bosses--presented more variation than the interaction variables. As stated earlier, it was considered that interactions are behaviors that indicate encounters, whereas identifications are attitudes toward a reference group with which one shares ideas of society. These attitudes were measured as the degree to which workers agreed on items that expressed solidarity and cohesiveness toward fellow workers and the extent to which trust and confidence were expressed in items about employers. And although three-quarters of the sample (73%) agreed with the notion that management

is interested in workers and in the good of the firm, it was found that workers who expressed disagreement with such statements tended to have a higher frequency of power images of society. Also, those blue-collar workers who agreed with statements of solidarity among fellow workers (there were many; e.g., 84% felt that workers have to stick together and join unions) had a higher frequency of power images of society, as predicted. But, as reported in Table 3.14, a higher degree of identification with workmates was also related to a higher frequency of prestige images of society, a relationship that was statistically significant for blue-collar workers. These findings opened an interesting possibility, which will be discussed in the appropriate section of the study. It can be advanced here, though, that perhaps feelings of solidarity among this sample of workers do not necessarily indicate attitudes of "us against management," and, although some of the relationships between variables in this study were not as predicted, the findings pointed toward alternate subjective models of society and how society works, different from those observed elsewhere.

Self-investment in work was a most influential variable in class imagery. Predictions regarding this variable were especially accurate for white-collar workers. Tables 3.10 and 3.11 showed moderate correlations, mainly supporting the initial propositions. As expected, blue-collar and white-collar workers with higher frequencies of hierarchical or prestige models of society tended also to have a higher degree of self-investment in work, as opposed

to those workers having a higher frequency of pecuniary images of society, who had a lower degree of self-investment in work.

On the other hand, it was assumed that workers with a higher frequency of power images of society would also have a higher degree of self-investment in work (traditional-type workers with pride in doing their jobs). The opposite, as predicted, was statistically significant for white-collar workers, probably because white-collar personnel who tend to have a higher frequency of power images of society are somewhat alienated from their work and do not see their employers in a deferential manner, but rather antagonistically. Thus, perhaps, these white-collar workers do not see their employers and their evaluations as meaningful, tending toward a lower degree of self-investment in work.

Additional Analyses

Additional analyses were performed to clarify issues about class imagery. Specifically, analyses of age, gender, education, income, and other activities could help explain differences in social experiences. From the results described here, it could be said that prestige imagery was abundant in the sample in this town (817 prestige images versus 416 power images and 318 pecuniary images coded in the five open-ended questions).

However, there were still many concepts that indicated the presence of power and pecuniary imagery. Are these images related to other characteristics in the sample such as age, gender, occupational category, education, income, other activities of the

respondent, and type of industry? (See pp. 52-55 for the distribution of these variables.)

Frequency of imagery was recorded in three categories for purposes of cross-tabulation with discrete variables, as well as for descriptive purposes, with continuous variables, not linearly related. For the three kinds of images in the five open-ended questions, a "low frequency" of imagery = 1 to 3 images, a "medium frequency" = 3 to 6 images, and a "high frequency" = 7 or more images.

Age. The mean age of the entire sample was 26.5 (s.d. = 7.65) years. Age was statistically significant only when related with power imagery. Only 17% of the sample (228) expressed more than three power images in the open-ended questions. Those respondents who were 40 years old or older tended to have more power imagery.

In Table 3.15 it can be seen that more than 75% of the sample was less than 30 years old. In fact, we interviewed a young labor force, very eager to work and quite satisfied with their new industrial jobs. Perhaps the differences in this table showing that older workers had more power imagery can be explained by pointing out that those workers 40 years or older were more disenchanted than the younger ones. Probably some of them came from nearby Mexico City, brought by their employers to the opening of a new plant in Santiago Tianquistenco.

Table 3.15.--Age and frequency of power images of society.

Power Imagery		Age in Years 0-19	20-30	31-40	41-50	51+	Row Total
Low	Count	22	125	31	8	2	188
	Row %	11.7	66.5	16.5	4.3	1.1	82.5
	Col. %	78.6	83.3	88.6	61.5	100.0	
	Tot. %	9.6	54.8	13.6	3.5	.9	
Medium	Count	5	23	4	3	0	35
	Row %	14.3	65.7	11.4	8.6	0	15.4
	Col. %	17.9	15.3	11.4	23.1	0	
	Tot. %	2.2	10.1	1.8	1.3	0	
High	Count	1	2	0	2	0	5
	Row %	20.0	40.0	0	40.0	0	2.2
	Col. %	3.6	1.3	0	15.4	0	
	Tot. %	.4	.9	0	.9	0	
Column Total	Count	28	150	35	13	2	228
	Col. %	12.3	65.8	15.4	5.7	.9	100.0

$X^2 = 14.4$ df = 8 $p < .05$

Gender. Sixty-eight and six-tenths percent of the sample were males, and 31.4% were females. Gender was statistically significant only in association with prestige imagery. The female subsample had a higher proportion of respondents (15%) in the category of those with the highest number of prestige images of society. Only 7% of the males were in this category ($X^2 = 6.49$, d.f. = 2, $p > .05$). (See Table 3.16.)

Most of the female labor force was in assembly factories (*maquiladora* type), where the requirements of the speedy assembly of parts and packing are better met by the more developed, fine motor

skills of women. The result that women had more prestige imagery than men could be explained by the fact that, in the *maquila* occupations, informal chatting and interactions among supervisors, bosses, and workers are frequent. Therefore, the chance of cross-status interactions is increased.

Table 3.16.--Gender and frequency of prestige images of society.

Prestige Imagery		Gender		Row Total
		Male	Female	
Low	Count	78	27	105
	Row %	74.5	25.5	46.9
	Col. %	51.0	38.0	
	Tot. %	34.9	11.9	
Medium	Count	66	33	99
	Row %	66.3	33.7	43.4
	Col. %	41.8	46.5	
	Tot. %	28.8	14.6	
High	Count	11	11	22
	Row %	50.0	50.0	9.7
	Col. %	7.1	15.5	
	Tot. %	4.9	4.9	
Column Total	Count	155	71	226
	Col. %	68.6	31.4	100.0

$X^2 = 5.49$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$

Income. As shown in Table 3.17, three-quarters of the sample (77.4%) received a minimum-wage salary, whereas 9% of the sample received ten times that salary (55,000 pesos), considered an average

Table 3.17.--Income and frequency of prestige imagery.

Prestige Imagery		Income							Row Total
		51,000+	50,999-40,001	40,000-30,001	30,000-20,001	20,000-15,001	10,000-5,001	5,000 or <	
Low	Count	0	0	3	4	5	25	60	106
	Row %	0	0	2.8	3.8	4.7	23.6	65.1	46.9
	Col. %	0	0	25.0	36.4	26.3	42.4	59.5	
	Tot. %	0	0	1.3	1.8	2.2	11.1	38.5	
Medium	Count	1	5	6	4	12	31	39	98
	Row %	1.0	5.1	6.1	4.1	12.2	31.6	39.8	43.4
	Col. %	50.0	71.4	50.0	36.4	63.2	52.5	33.6	
	Tot. %	.4	2.2	2.7	1.8	5.3	13.7	17.3	
High	Count	1	2	3	3	2	3	8	22
	Row %	4.5	9.1	13.6	13.6	9.1	13.6	36.4	9.7
	Col. %	50.0	28.6	25.0	27.3	10.5	5.1	6.9	
	Tot. %	.4	.9	1.7	1.3	.9	1.3	3.5	
Column Total	Count	2	7	12	11	19	59	116	226
	Col. %	.9	3.1	5.3	4.9	8.4	26.1	51.3	100.0

$X^2 = 33.0519$ d.f. = 12 $p < .001$

[a]In thousands of pesos. In 1980, 1 U.S. dollar = 45 pesos.

managerial income at that time. Approximately 21% of the sample lay between the two, and a linear association between income of the respondents and prestige imagery emerged. The higher the income, the higher the frequency of prestige images of society (X^2 = 33.05, d.f. = 12, $p < .001$). Patterns of association were not significant for other types of imagery.

Education. The mean number of years of formal education was nine years (s.d. = 3.77), which translates to completion of middle school. People who completed high school (14%), with some years of college (14%), and a professional degree (4.8%) were mainly coded as having medium and high content of prestige imagery. Respondents with lower (35.1%) and middle school (32%) had a low content of prestige imagery (X^2 = 38.21, d.f. = 8, $p < .001$, r = .39). (See Table 3.18.)

Other activities. Results regarding such activities as church participation or belonging to and participating in unions, professional associations, and political parties were not statistically related to imagery. Fifty-two percent of the respondents belonged to a religious organization, 11% to a professional organization, and 30% to a community organization. Only 20% belonged to a workers' union, and only 16.7% declared membership in a political party.

Although none of the preceding activities were significantly related to class imagery, there was a significant relationship between those respondents who still were doing *campesino* activities

besides their factory jobs (33.2% of the sample). Workers still doing *campesino* activities had fewer prestige images of society. (See Table 3.19.)

Table 3.18.--Years of formal education and frequency of prestige images of the class structure.

Prestige Imagery		Formal Education					Row Total
		Primary	M.S.	H.S.	Some Coll.	Prof. Degree	
Low	Count	50	39	12	6	0	107
	Row %	46.7	36.4	11.2	5.6	0	46.9
	Col. %	62.5	53.4	37.5	18.8	0	
	Tot. %	21.9	17.1	5.3	2.6	0	
Medium	Count	28	29	15	20	7	99
	Row %	28.3	20.7	15.2	20.2	7.1	43.4
	Col. %	35.0	39.7	46.9	62.5	63.6	
	Tot. %	12.3	12.7	6.6	8.8	3.1	
High	Count	2	5	5	6	4	22
	Row %	9.1	22.7	22.7	27.3	18.2	
	Col. %	2.5	6.9	15.6	18.8	36.4	
	Tot. %	.9	2.2	2.2	2.6	1.8	
Column Total	Count	80	73	32	32	11	228
	Col. %	35.1	32.0	14.0	14.0	4.8	100.0

$X^2 = 38.21$ d.f. = 8 $p < .001$

Note: M.S. = middle school
H.S. = high school

Table 3.19.--*Campesino* activities and frequency of prestige imagery.

Prestige Imagery		*Campesino* Activity: Yes	*Campesino* Activity: No	Row Total
Low	Count	44	62	106
	Row %	41.5	58.5	46.9
	Col. %	59.7	41.1	
	Tot. %	19.5	27.4	
Medium	Count	25	74	99
	Row %	25.3	74.7	43.4
	Col. %	33.3	49.0	
	Tot. %	11.1	32.7	
High	Count	6	15	21
	Row %	28.6	71.4	9.3
	Col. %	8.0	9.9	
	Tot. %	0.7	6.6	
Column Total	Count	76	151	226
	Col. %	33.2	66.8	100.0

$X^2 = 6.33$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$

It is not surprising that people with a higher income and more years of formal education had more prestige images of society because income, occupation, education, and similar status attributes define the social identities of the middle and upper classes. What is unusual is that Table 3.19 shows that people who still did *campesino* activities, besides their workers' jobs, had fewer prestige images of society. This contrasts with Bell and Newby's (1975) findings; they found that agricultural workers in their sample tended to be deferential. The differences in the results of the present study could be explained in that these *campesinos* owned

their land and were not employees of a landowner, and thus did not have greater degrees of interaction with an employer as did workers in the Bell and Newby study. Moreover, workers who at the same time were *campesinos* in this study may have had more power imagery because they were still connected to the land, to their *ejido*, as something that was given to their families as a result of the 1910 Revolution and as something that could be threatened by continuous industrial growth, hence given a feeling of "us" against "them."

A summary of findings is presented at the beginning of the next chapter. With many limitations in mind, it can be advanced as a closing line for this chapter that daily experiences on the job and in the community influenced class imagery. The relations were not as clear-cut as predicted, and perhaps the influence of the community as a whole was overlooked. Specific explanations for the results presented here are given in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The results of the study are discussed in this chapter. A summary of findings is given first; theoretical and methodological issues are discussed next. Based on this critique, directions for future research are then considered.

Summary of Findings

The basic premise of the study was that people's images of society are formed in their immediate social milieu. The central research question was: What are the relationships between the social context of industrial employees and their perceptions of the class structure?

To guide this research, it was proposed that the work situation and the community influence the images that people hold about class issues. The work situation was analyzed mainly for the frequency of interaction and degree of identification with workmates and employers, as well as the degree of investment of oneself into the job. The influence of the community was measured as variables that indicated the frequency of relationship with other people at different status levels in the town, and the overlapping interactions with workmates at leisure-time hours, i.e., frequency of association with workmates.

It was confirmed that people do hold images about the class structure. When asked about these issues, respondents were never out of words. They were willing and able to talk about class imagery. Concepts that represented class images were given by respondents to a set of five open-ended questions that explored perceived class structure ("How would you explain to others about social classes in this country?"), criteria used to describe class differences ("What are the differences among these classes?"), the nature of relationships between these classes ("In your opinion, why do these differences exist?"), evaluative aspects of class relations ("How could this situation be changed?"), and class reminders ("Do you recall a recent event that made you think about social class issues?").

A total of 1,587 class-related images were given in response to these questions by 228 industrial workers. Following Lockwood's (1966) scheme on the traditional proletarian and deferential worker, and the new privatized worker, the images were coded into the following results:

1. Four hundred sixteen power images, expressing a dichotomous power model of society, the awareness of "us" in opposition to "them," thoughts of two classes standing in a relation of opposition, the feeling of being subjected to power, and feeling powerless.

2. Eight hundred prestige class images, expressing a hierarchical model of society; thought of social divisions in terms

of status, prestige, and education; and beliefs in the existence of an elite who exercise leadership paternalistically.

3. Three hundred eighteen pecuniary class images or a money model of society where class divisions are seen mainly in terms of differences in income and material possessions.

From these results, it can be said that people do hold class images, but in many circumstances without a definite "model" in mind. As Bulmer (1975) and other authors (Blackburn & Mann, 1975; Cousins & Brown, 1970) suggested, images might be the reflection of the contradictions with which a worker is faced in an industrial society. Lockwood's scheme was very useful, not in the sense of finding exclusively held models of society, but in categorizing images of society, because respondents had imagery of all three kinds.

People, then, had a variety of class images, and their social milieu influenced it. The community was basically an interactional status system community, where occupational and class intermingling occurred. As predicted, the frequency of experiencing interactions with persons of different status, prestige, or occupational roles provided the grounds for the predominance of a hierarchical model of society. The typical respondent answered the class-dimension questions with three or four prestige images of society, one power image, and one pecuniary image. Despite the predominance of a hierarchical model of society, it must not be overlooked that power and pecuniary imagery existed.

When people were asked to describe the class structure, their responses mainly indicated a prestige hierarchical model of society (50% gave a clear-cut prestige model of society, 17% were ambivalent about this, and fewer perceived a power model of the class structure (13%) or a pecuniary model (7%). In answer to the question regarding the criteria people used to describe differences among classes, there were fewer references to status and educational differences (28%) and more to pecuniary discrepancies; money was seen as an important differentiator (24%). This question generated the greatest number of ambivalent responses (28%), containing economic aspects, educational and status dimensions, moral aspects, and ownership of the means of production. Only 7% of the sample had a clear-cut power model of society in their response to this question, mentioning issues of exploitation and control of the means of production.

When people were asked about the nature of relations between the classes, almost 40% of the sample described class relationships in terms of status differences in work and education capabilities. But 15% expressed strong feelings against injustice, poverty, and exploitation. There was also ambivalence (16%) and some pecuniary imagery (10%) in their responses to this question. When respondents were asked how this situation could be changed, again it was mainly a prestige-hierarchical model that emerged (41%). To be more educated, to perform well on the job and be promoted, and to receive more training were some of the responses people gave. But there also were responses of a radical kind (17%). Revolution and major

structural changes in government were, for example, mentioned as alternatives. To have more money was definitely not seen as a widespread solution (3%). Ambivalent responses were the fewest for this question (14%), but one-third of the respondents answered, "I don't know how this situation could be changed," which, in essence, indicates a feeling of powerlessness. In support of the idea that class imagery stems from a particular social milieu, a different kind of imagery was found. Thirty-six images of what we called a "colonization model" were expressed when describing the class structure. Responses such as "We are divided between the foreigners and us" and "The blonds and us, the Mexicans" indicated a dichotomous model of society with divisions given in terms of race and nationality.

Now, to what extent is this imagery related to the work situation and community variables? Three sets of hypotheses, each one corresponding to a particular kind of imagery, guided the response to the central research question. Hypotheses initially were tested for all the sample. In additional analyses, hypotheses were tested separately for white-collar and blue-collar workers. A summary of the results follows.

Hypothesis set 1 predicted that a higher frequency of power images of society would be associated with a higher interaction with workmates, a lower interaction with persons of unequal occupational status at work and during leisure-time hours, a higher degree of

identification with workmates, and a lower degree of identification with employers.

For the sample as a whole, statistically significant relationships were found between frequency of power imagery and a lower frequency of interaction with persons of unequal status, a higher degree of identification with workmates, and a higher degree of self-investment. Hypotheses that were not supported involved the following variables: frequency of interaction with workmates and occupational status. Different predictions regarding some of these relationships were made for blue-collar and white-collar workers. When the sample was divided in this way, significant relationships were found for white-collar workers between power imagery and less interaction with workmates, lower identification with workmates, and lower self-investment. For blue-collar workers, significant relationships were found between power imagery and more identification with workmates and a lower degree of identification with employers.

Hypothesis set 2 specified some variables that were expected to differentiate prestige images of the class structure from power images. More frequent prestige imagery was hypothesized to be associated with a lower frequency of interaction with workmates, a higher frequency of interaction with persons of unequal status, a lower degree of identification with workmates, a higher degree of identification with employers, higher occupational status, and more education. Statistically significant relationships were found between prestige imagery and a lower frequency of interaction with

workmates, a higher frequency of interaction with persons of unequal occupational status, a higher degree of identification with workmates as well as with employers, and a higher degree of occupational status. All hypotheses were supported by the data that involved associations between frequency of prestige images and all variables for the entire sample. However, the hypotheses were not supported when dividing the sample.

A distinction between white-collar and blue-collar employees was made in this set of hypotheses. With the sample divided this way, white-collar workers had statistically significant relationships between prestige imagery and higher identification with workmates and with employers and a high degree of self-investment. Blue-collar workers had those same prestige imagery relationships and the addition of a lower frequency of interaction with workmates.

The third set of hypotheses dealt with variables that differentiated pecuniary imagery from both of the other types. These hypotheses proposed that a high frequency of pecuniary images describing class structure would be associated with a lower degree of self-investment in work and a lower frequency of interaction with persons of unequal occupational status. The data supported both of these hypotheses.

In the additional exploratory analyses that were conducted, the following statistically significant relationships were found:

1. Respondents in the 40- to 50-year-old bracket tended to have more power images of society.

2. Women tended to have more prestige images of society.

3. The higher the income, the higher the frequency of prestige images of society.

4. The more years of formal education, the higher the frequency of prestige imagery.

5. Respondents who still did *campesino* activities had a higher frequency of power images of society.

6. There was an association between type of technology (the most automated plant) and a higher frequency of pecuniary images of society.

Regarding these differences, several possible explanations were given. Older workers, those 40 years old and older (less than 25% of the sample), tended to have more power imagery, perhaps because they were more disenchanted with industrial jobs, which, for most of the sample, were a novelty. Women tended to have more prestige imagery because they were concentrated in assembly factories (*maquiladoras*), where a greater chance of cross-occupational interactions exists. It also could be suggested that women tended to be more verbal and talkative when interviewed and therefore tended to mention more attributes and concepts when asked about class-related issues.

People with higher education and income tended to have more prestige imagery, probably because that model of society had a greater affinity with their values. And, finally, workers who still did *campesino* jobs (tending the land and crops) had more power imagery. A possible explanation could be that they were more

connected to the land that had been given to their families as a by-product of the Mexican Revolution and that they might have felt a threat to their land and their *campesino* activities coming from industrial development. Thus, sentiments of "us" against "them" could be more frequent.

Theoretical Implications

Lockwood's main contribution to the study of class imagery was to make a linkage between subjective class issues and experience of status and power in the workplace and the community. In accordance with this, the present researcher attempted to establish those linkages empirically by focusing on individual patterns of interaction at the workplace and in the community, feelings of identification, and self-investment in work. The fundamental procedure in this study was the use of Lockwood's typologies as a guide for the operationalization of variables and not as boxes in which to fit data, as he proposed in his first study on class imagery (Lockwood, 1966).

In reviewing the results of the present study, I found myself, on the one hand, in agreement with the critics of Lockwood's studies (Bell & Newby, 1975; Moore, 1973), who considered that Lockwood's initial propositions were too rigid and neglected many issues of particular importance in each industrial community. On the other hand, I agree with Lockwood's proposition that large-scale macro-structural factors needed more attention. In this sense, the present study understated, perhaps, the importance of the community

as a whole. It was found that people had many interactions with workmates and persons of unequal occupational status. This was an occupationally differentiated community where an interactional status system was present. People were relating to one another in a complete or whole way, which involves meeting others in a multiplicity of roles. Hence, the predominance of prestige images of society makes sense along with the low influence of the "interaction" variables in explaining different kinds of images of society.

Santiago Tianquistenco has basically an interactional status system, where everybody knows everybody. Its history dates back 450 years, to when it was a market town and a crossroads between smaller towns. It continues its traditions of a market town, and every Tuesday (much like in prehispanic times) seeds, medicinal plants and herbs, vegetables, and fruit are sold. One can still see the oranges, tuna, and peanuts arranged in towers. But the town is not frozen in time. Music tapes, plastic toys, jeans, and shirts made in the United States are also sold.

In the 1970s, Santiago Tianquistenco housed an industrial park. Industries were invited to be established with tax-shelter propositions. When we first arrived there in 1980, 30% of the sample came from agriculture, crafts, or a self-employed occupation. They were quite happy with their jobs; only 14% were not satisfied. Sixty percent had experienced upward mobility. They still remembered tougher times, when their economy depended on

unpredictable forces that influenced the selling of crafts. Now, in the factories, they have lunch, uniforms, and a sure check every week. They also have a job and not much fear of losing it because they could easily obtain another factory job.

I have said that some aspects of the community were overlooked, in the sense of not anticipating the homogeneity of work and community interactions. On the other hand, I think that using individual variables, such as each person's frequency of interaction, permitted an explanation for power and pecuniary imagery in the members of the community that, by Lockwood's typologies, should be only deferential, traditional workers.

The present study permitted the exploration of such issues as ambivalence and an incipient proletarian model of society. As did Blackbourn and Mann (1975), we found that many workers did not have clear-cut class-structure models but were touched by all of them. The authors thought this fragmentation was characteristic of the industrial society, where workers listen to ambivalent messages via mass or interpersonal communication. Lockwood envisioned that workers who interact with their fellow workers would have a tendency to adopt power images of society because they might be involved in solidaristic experiences. The results of this study show that, in spite of a high frequency of interaction with workmates, alliances and imagery were not as simple as that. People had frequent interactions with workers and managers alike, and this did not necessarily mean the adoption of a power model of society. Who were the respondents with a higher frequency of power images? They were

the white-collar workers, who interacted less with their colleagues, probably resulting from feelings of alienation; the older workers (between 40 and 50 years old), who were probably more disenchanted; those who were still doing *campesino* jobs, and, yes, those who had a higher degree of solidarity with workmates. However, contrary to Lockwood's assumption that a high frequency of interaction implies solidaristic feelings, it was found here that frequent interactions did not necessarily lead to a high degree of identification. Identification with bosses or fellow workers implied using one of these as a reference group.

These variables worked well as predictors. They implied more than saying, "I talk to my supervisor three times a day." Instead, they implied, "Yes, I agree with the statement, 'Management is interested in the good of the firm and all the workers'" (73%). Agreement and disagreement with such statements indicated trust and confidence in employers, and those attitudes were found to be consistent with a higher frequency of prestige imagery. Being identified with management, however, did not mean not having solidaristic feelings with workmates or agreement with such statements as "Every worker should join a trade union because workers should stick together and improve working conditions." Workers who agreed with such statements tended to have more power images, but also more prestige images of society. So being solidaristic with fellow workers did not necessarily mean being against management.

An approach that frequently is used in class-image studies (Bulmer, 1975) is to discuss class images as components of class consciousness. Following Hazelrigg (1973), class consciousness is said to exist when four characteristics are present: (a) awareness of the class structure, (b) self-identification of perceived location in the class structure, (c) class interests or sharing the definition of these interests as basically in conflict with another class, and (d) class action--that is, class-relevant behavior. In this study, the third and fourth characteristics were not identified. Only 20% of the workers were unionized. This situation has probably changed in recent years, especially since 1987, when the Confederacion de Trabajadores Mexicanos (CTM), the powerful confederation of unions linked to the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) government, has lost some of its strength. Independent unions have been more active recently and sometimes are used as a means of getting votes by other political parties. In the present study, power images of society might be the raw materials for class consciousness, but just that, diffuse images, which, even if they indicate a proletarian view of society, are not organized into a coherent model, even less are they articulated into relevant actions.

Comparative research is necessary to establish whether observed patterns are unique to a single nation--whether they describe general, universal regularities, or are particular to countries of a given type. Most of the research on class imagery and class identification has been done in English-speaking countries:

England, the United States, and Australia. However, the significance of doing such research in Mexico has been documented with the present dissertation. Ongoing internal debates on class structures and class issues (Gonzalez Casanova, 1970) could be enriched by work that contributes to the understanding of the nature of the subjective meanings of class. Moreover, this type of study helps link social structure and personality variables, thus enhancing our understanding of the effect of work and industrial development on individuals.

Mexico, like other countries, is undergoing many changes: Liberalization of the economic system and a slow liberalization of the political system are some of the immediate changes that had to be made in order to continue the enormous efforts made since the economic crisis of 1982, when the Mexican economy suffered zero growth for the first time in 40 years (Castaneda, 1986). The response of the workers to this crisis might surprise or upset many observers. As noted in our results from one Mexican community, there is low participation in the political system and in unions. This would not be expected in a country that recently had an acute economic crisis. But researchers have documented some worker activities in spite of apparent stability (Roxborough, 1983; Schryer, 1986). There is, for example, a trend in union problems that is not so much oriented toward management but toward other union leaders. In a sense, workers want to be left alone by high union leaders to negotiate for themselves with management. An

increase in labor conflicts has also been documented. Two famous ones are those at Cerveza Corona and Ford Motor Company, where problems arose between leaders of different unions in their attempt to gain union members in those plants. Traditionally, the CTM gained through workers' affiliation with the PRI. Now, the dissident Pristas party, the Partido del Frente Democratico (PRD), is doing the same with its own affiliated unions. Many workers, as mentioned earlier, however, would like to be left alone to negotiate their specific job situations with their employers.

At the present time, with the Federal Trade Agreement with the United States and Canada, Mexico is expected to increase its labor-intensive production. How will this affect the workers' perceptions of their social situation? It is expected that an important result of this expansion of industry will be a substantial rise in the wages of Mexican workers. Largely because of increased economic activity resulting from the growth of the *maquiladora* industry, the Mexico City-Monterrey-Guadalajara axis has rapidly built up and is experiencing urbanization (Cassidy, 1991). How this is implemented will have an impact on the individual and his/her life style. In the coming decade, studies that link occupations, community, and the individual will be of utmost importance to assess the quick changes that are about to occur in Mexico.

A conclusion from Faunce's (1966) study of industrialization and community status in Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Michigan can be applied in reference to the community of Santiago Tianquistenco:

> To the extent that one of the concomitants of industrialization is the development of a more integrated, hierarchical community structure that involves people at different occupational prestige levels in regular interaction, one of the effects of the industrialization process is likely to be an increase in the interrelationship of work and community status. (p. 399)

A possible direction of change in the relationship between work and status in Mexico is suggested by our finding that pecuniary images of society were associated with a lower degree of self-investment in work and a lower frequency of interactions with others having unequal status. Goldthorpe et al. (1969) pointed to an emerging "new worker," developing a privatized life style, no longer seeing society divided between "them" and "us," but perceiving satisfaction in terms of wealth and money. Lockwood (1975) proposed that the privatized worker was appearing in highly technological and automated plants. Other authors have challenged the idea of a new privatized worker as a by-product of new technologies (Cousins & Brown, 1970; Gallie, 1969).

The present study supports Faunce's (1982) thesis that the privatized worker is one who does not invest him/herself in work- or class-relevant issues and, as a result, is less likely to have images of society in which work or social class is a salient component. Although pecuniary imagery was less frequent, the hypothesis proposing association with this kind of imagery and a lower degree of self-investment in work was confirmed. White-collar workers with a higher frequency of pecuniary images had less frequency of unequal status relationships, probably being the ones who did not live in the community, but commuted from the neighboring

cities of Toluca and Mexico City. Workers with pecuniary images of society see money not as a division of classes but as a common denominator. They do not express solidarity with a new order, as Gallie suggested with his thesis of embourgeoisement, but are withdrawn from evaluation of any occupational reference group. They are in jobs that require less evaluation from others and live in housing where people do not know each other. Faunce (n.d.) stated that "the social and structural conditions that give rise to a proletarian or deferential orientation are becoming less common and the conditions producing privatization more common." In the town under study, considerations conducive to pecuniary imagery were not met. However, incipient pecuniary imagery was present and associated with a lower degree of self-investment in work and, in the case of white-collar workers, with a lower frequency of interactions with people of different status, as suggested by Faunce (1982).

Methodological Issues

The use of Lockwood's typologies in this study was intended to give points of reference around which the research was done. The use of ideal types provided a frame of reference to locate a complex set of relationships. We avoided saying, "Here we have in Santiago Tianquistenco an interactional status system and an occupationally differentiated community; therefore, the workers must be traditional deferential with a hierarchical model of society." This was avoided, and, instead, individual variables expressed in patterns of

interaction, identification, and self-investment in work were measured. By doing so, we were able to find that some of these patterns were related to class imagery. However, correlation coefficients were moderate and explained a proportion of the variance that was, in most instances, minimal.

The question that immediately follows is: What are the major influences on class imagery? Even if our main speculative delineation is confirmed by the evidence gathered at Santiago Tianquistenco, it is not conclusive. Processes of interaction and identification are only part of the worker's experience within a given social milieu. It was beyond the scope of this study to find out about workers' past histories, past experiences, and future expectations regarding class issues. Class imagery might be the joint product of these, and not only the images associated with workers' current interactions and alliances.

The present research stressed the use of open-ended questions in the study of class imagery. They were used to provide evidence that people hold mental representations of the class structure and that they can be elicited spontaneously. However, open-ended questions within the context of a standardized questionnaire with 60 additional closed-ended questions is not to be considered as optimum. The questionnaires were administered individually in sessions of 45 to 60 minutes. When getting into the open-ended questions about the class issues, respondents were cooperative in providing answers. However, they talked while we generally kept silent. We did not inquire further about their responses; we did

not ask, "Why is this so?" or "Would you care to talk more about this?" In sum, we did not interrupt the respondents because we did not have the time to dwell more on these questions. Looking at the responses later, and having a variety of images in those responses, it seems of most importance for a study of class imagery to include open-ended questions, but within the context of an in-depth interview where respondents could talk freely and in detail about their perceptions of the class structure, about the nature of the differences they seek, about the relationships between classes, and about how a specific situation could be changed. Open-ended questions work very well, but they definitely cannot be rushed.

Studies that seek to establish linkages between particular class images and the contexts in which class imagery may be elicited should focus more on the direct experiences of inequality of prestige. As Bott (1957) stated,

> When an individual talks about class he is trying to say something, in a symbolic form, about his experiences of power and prestige in his actual membership in groups and social relationships both past and present. (p. 163)

The present study contributed to an understanding of linkages between particular patterns of interaction, identification, self-investment in work, and class imagery. However, more in-depth studies are necessary to describe the meanings that people give to concrete experiences in their lives that make them hold particular representations about class-related issues. Critical instances of inequality of feelings related to class should be explored in a more

comprehensive fashion to grasp how people process personal experiences into imagery.

In the present study, most of the open-ended questions were well understood and elicited immediate responses. But one question about class reminders was misunderstood by many respondents. The question was, "Name a recent experience that reminded you about these class issues." Forty-six percent of the responses were coded as missing cases. Thirteen percent of the respondents talked about experiences at work or in the community, 9% about mass media messages, and 21% about interpersonal experiences. Questions that link experiences with imagery should be extended and refined.

The suggestion for more exploratory, in-depth, open-ended interviews does not rule out the use of standardized scales for other issues analyzed here. Specifically, the self-investment measure was particularly useful in detecting the association of a low degree of self-investment in work with the existence of pecuniary imagery. As stated before, what seems to characterize a "new worker" is his/her withdrawal from the job and class evaluations. If this proposition is to be tested elsewhere, it would be important to develop a self-investment scale dealing with self-investment in class as well as in work.

It was mentioned that, in some ways, the importance of community was understated. Evidence supports the idea that people hold mental representations of the class structure, probably influenced not only by their immediate social milieu, but also by the culture and the wider society, as illustrated by the finding of

a colonization model. The bottom line here is not to return to boxes or typologies (e.g., let's study a coal mine to see whether the miners are traditional proletarian workers, and so on), but to use typologies as reference points to find a variety of communities where patterns of interactions vary according to the specific social situation. In the present study, it was understood from the beginning that the community had an interactional status system, but, because it also had a variety of industries, it was thought that the availability of occupationally differentiated interactions would also give us a variety of patterns of interaction and identification. The results, however, show that the community in this report was too homogeneous.

Suggestions for Future Research

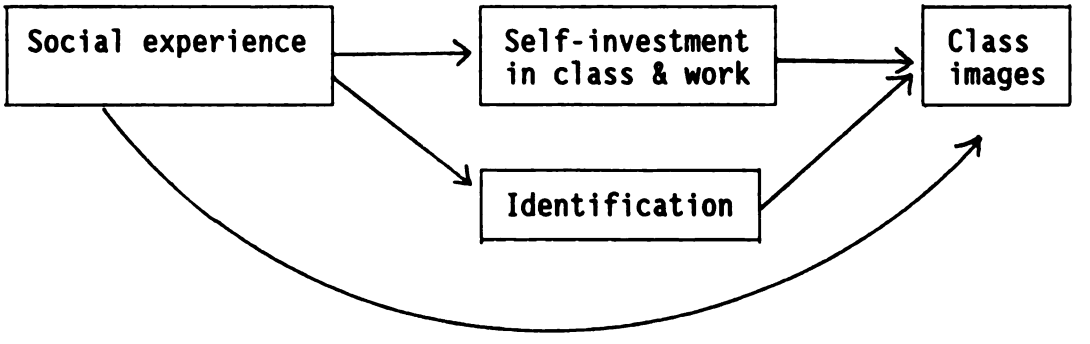
Although some suggestions were implicit in the last paragraph of the previous section, I would like to single out for comment three specific suggestions for future research in the area of class imagery:

1. The line of inquiry on the privatized worker should be continued. Is this an emergent kind of worker, more alienated, more detached, more fragmented? Is this related to postindustrial, more automated plants, and/or enterprises where job situations are less conducive to workmates' interactions? Is there a privatized white-collar worker with a definite pecuniary model of society? In what kinds of work situations or enterprises are they to be found? To

what extent are these pecuniary images of society held in the larger society? In sum, is this a trend?

To study these questions, parallel scales of self-investment in work and self-investment in class-related issues should be developed and tested for validity. Besides the study of the phenomenon of privatization, the first leads us to analysis of participation, productivity, and quality of output, which are very much needed in the industrial context. The second leads us to analysis of class consciousness, political action, unionization, and other topics of inquiry that have not been clearly linked to imagery.

2. Research should be done to test the following causal model implied in this study:



From the results gathered here, it seems that, depending on our experience with social inequality, we form images of society, as suggested in the basic premise of this study. This social experience in terms of the intensity and type of cross-status contact seems to determine our self-investment in or our withdrawal from class and work values, which, in turn, seems to determine the

types of images people hold about society. Identification also plays an important role in determining imagery. As Gartrell (1987) suggested, the content of these networks or cross-status contacts and the evaluation and meaning we give to them play significant roles in mental representations about class issues.

3. The line of inquiry that Lockwood began regarding the connection between class imagery and work and community contexts should be continued. Comparative studies in different communities should be done. In his response to the criticism generated by the results of studies on working-class images of society, Lockwood (1975) stated that enough attention had been given to micro-structural factors and that a focus on large-scale market forces, national and international, was needed. I agree with this statement. An ideal study should look for ideal sites of research, selecting several communities in several countries where the availability of social situations is varied. But after structural and contextual conditions are analyzed, questionnaires and standardized scales should be used for purposes of comparison and for the measurement of individual variables. As we saw in the present study, a predominantly interactional status community still had people with pecuniary, power, and colonization imagery. So a combination of contextual and survey research designs would be useful.

4. Finally, I think that, in spite of the utility of data gathered by survey research designs, what are also needed in the study of class imagery are qualitative studies that could penetrate

more deeply into the social drama of experiencing class differences in work, in the community, and within our own families. In-depth interviews could give us a deeper understanding of how people experience class. By analyzing and coding the protocols derived from these interviews, we should be able to grasp the concepts or images people use to describe class-related issues. As Lakoff (1979) stated in his book on metaphors, those concepts are the key to understanding how people perceive, how they get around in the world, and how they relate to other people. "Our conceptual system," Lakoff stated, "plays a central role in defining our everyday realities. . . . What we experience is very much a matter of metaphor" (p. 3).

I strongly suggest a study of metaphors on class imagery because, by analyzing language, one could look at the ways people think, experience, and give meaning to class-related issues. Because class imagery is a subjective phenomenon, this kind of study seems most appropriate. As Emmison (1985) suggested, it is important to study the language of economic discourse and the meaning people attach to economic terms. Economic imagery could help us gain knowledge about how people define their social situation in terms of class relations.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE IN SPANISH

ENCUESTA SOBRE EL TRABAJO Y LA COMUNIDAD

Buenos días. Mi nombre es _____. Soy estudiante y estoy trabajando en un estudio que servirá para elaborar una tesis profesional. Estamos interesados en lo que los empleados de la industria piensan de su trabajo, su comunidad y la sociedad en general. Estudios como éste se han realizado en las industrias de otros paises y de otras ciudades, y nosotros como estudiantes mexicanos estamos interesados en las opiniones de los empleados industriales en este país. Quisiéramos pedirle que nos ayude, contestando a unas preguntas. No llevarán mucho tiempo, y permítame decirle que sus respuestas serán confidenciales y anónimas, es decir, el cuestionario no llevará su nombre.

Las personas que serán entrevistadas, no fueron seleccionadas por su nombre sino por número. Mire usted, como no podemos entrevistar a todo aquél que trabaja en la industria, seleccionamos al azar a 30 empleados de esta fábrica que trambién previamente escogimos al azar. De esta manera obtendremos personas de todo tipo y clase de ocupaciones. Las opiniones de estas personas serán sumarizadas y reportadas en la tesis profesional. Nunca se reportarán ni industrias, ni personas particulares.

No hay respuestas correctas, ni incorrectas, simplemente estamos interesados en saber cómo la gente que trabaja en industria opina sobre ciertas cosas como lo son el trabajo, la comunidad y la sociedad. Le rogamos pues su cooperación.

Primero quisiera hacerle algunas preguntas sobre su ocupación y experiencia de trabajo.

1. ¿Cuál es actualmente su ocupación?

   _____ Título del trabajo

2. ¿Qué es lo que hace en este trabajo? Es decir, ¿Cuáles son algunas de las labores que desempeña en este trabajo?

   _____
   _____

3. ¿Quánto tiempo lleva en este trabajo?

   _____ Escribir número de meses o anos.

4. ¿En qué trabajaba antes de este empleo?

   _____

5. ¿En dónde tenía ese trabajo?

   _____ 1 = Campo-Industria 2 = Autoempleo-Ind.
   3 = Comercio-Ind. 4 = Industria-Ind.

6. ¿Cuánto tiempo estuvo en ese trabajo?

   _____ Escribir número de meses o años.

7. ¿Aparte de su trabajo actual en esta industria, hace usted labores en el campo?

   ____ 1. Si
   ____ 5. No
   ____ 9. NA

Quisiera ahora hacerle unas preguntas sobre su situación de trabajo:

8. En esta industria, ¿Hay otras personas haciendo la misma labor o actividad que usted hace?

   ____ 1. Si (ir a pregunta--9)
   ____ 5. No (ir a pregunta--11)

9. ¿Qué tan fácil es comparar el trabajo que usted hace, con el que otros en su misma posición están haciendo en el lugar de trabajo?

   ____ 1. Es fácil hacer comparaciones
   ____ 5. Es difícil hacer comparaciones

10. En la clase de trabajo que usted y otros hacen, ¿Hay diferencias en el desempeño de ese trabajo, o todos lo hacen igual?

____ 1. Hay diferencias, unos hacen el trabajo mejor que otros
____ 5. No hay diferencia, todos hacen el trabajo igual

11. ¿Qué tan a menudo le hace evaluaciones la persona que supervisa su trabajo?

____ 1. Muy a menudo
____ 2. A menudo
____ 3. A veces
____ 4. Rara vez
____ 5. Muy rara vez

12. Y entre companeros de trabajo, ¿Qué tan a menudo se evalúan y comparan su trabajo entre ustedes mismos?

____ 1. Muy a menudo.
____ 2. A menudo
____ 3. A veces
____ 4. Rara vez
____ 5. Muy rara vez

13. Cuando el supervisor evalúa su trabajo, ¿Cree usted que lo evalúa justamente?

____ 1. Si (ir a pregunta--15)
____ 5. No (ir a pregunta--14)
____ 9. NA (ir a pregunta--15)

14.

a. ¿Qué es lo que toma en cuenta el supervisor o jefe inmediato para evaluar su trabajo?

_____
_____
_____

b. ¿Qué cree usted que debería de tomar en cuenta su supervisor o jefe inmediato para evaluar su trabajo justamente?

_____
_____
_____

c. ¿Qué tan difícil sería lograr que el supervisor o jefe inmediato cambiara de criterio para evaluar su trabajo justamente?

____ 1. Sería muy difícil lograrlo
____ 2. Sería difícil lograrlo
____ 3. Sería algo difícil de lograr

15. Y las personas con las que usted trabaja, ¿Cree usted que evalúan justamente su trabajo?

____ 1. Si (ir a pregunta 17)
____ 5. No (ir a pregunta 16)
____ 9. NA (ir a pregunta 17)

16.

a. ¿Qué es lo que toman en cuenta sus compañeros de trabajo para evaluar su trabajo?

_____
_____
_____

b. ¿Qué cree usted que ellos deberían de tomar en cuenta para evaluar justamente su trabajo?

_____
_____
_____

c. ¿Qué tan difícil sería lograr que sus compañeros de trabajo se guiaran de un justo criterio para evaluar su trabajo?

____ 1. Sería muy difícil lograrlo
____ 2. Sería difícil lograrlo
____ 3. Sería algo difícil de lograr

17. ¿Qué tan satisfecho está usted con su trabajo? Por ejemplo, diría usted que en su presente empleo está:

____ 1. Muy satisfecho
____ 2. Satisfecho
____ 3. No está satisfecho

18. ¿Qué tan competitivo considera usted su actual trabajo? Lo describiría como:

____ 1. Muy competitivo
____ 2. Competitivo
____ 3. No competitivo

19. ¿Piensa usted quedarse en su actual trabajo hasta que se retire?

____ 1. Si (ir a la pregunta 22)
____ 5. No (ir a la pregunta 20)

20. ¿A qué trabajo piensa cambiarse?

_____ Título del trabajo

21. ¿Por qué piensa usted hacer este cambio?

_____
_____
_____

22. ¿Dirfa usted que el trabajo que actualmente tiene es el mejor que ha tenido en su vida?

____ 1. Si (ir a pregunta 25)
____ 2. No (ir a pregunta 23)

23. ¿Qué trabajo fue mejor?

_____ Título del trabajo

24. ¿Qué era lo que hacfa que este trabajo fuera mejor?

_____
_____
_____

25. ¿Qué tendrfa que pasarle, para que usted se sintiera más exitoso en su trabajo?

_____
_____
_____

26. ¿Qué tan difícil es promovido en esta organización donde usted trabaja?

____ 3. Muy difícil
____ 2. Difícil
____ 1. Algo difícil

27. Sí fuese promovido a un trabajo más arriba del que ahora tiene, ¿Qué trabajo sería éste?

_____ Título del trabajo

28. ¿Qué tan seguro está usted de las oportunidades que tiene de ser promovido o de subir en su trabajo?

____ 1. Muy segúro
____ 2. Segúro
____ 3. Algo segúro
____ 4. Inseguro
____ 5. Muy inseguro

29. ¿Qué tan importante es para usted subir de posición en el trabajo?

____ 1. Muy importante
____ 2. Es importante
____ 3. Es medianamente importante
____ 4. No es importante

30. ¿Qué tan satisfecho se encuentra usted con la experiencia de trabajo que durante su vida ha tenido? ¿Ha realizado lo que se proponía? ¿Hay cosas que aún le gustarían hacer? En fin, ¿Qué tan satisfecho se siente?

____ 1. Me siento muy satisfecho
____ 2. Me siento satisfecho
____ 3. Me siento disatisfecho
____ 4. Me siento muy disatisfecho

31. Ahora voy a leerle unas opiniones acerca de lo que algunas personas sienten por el trabajo. Trate por favor de pensar como si usted estuviera dando estas opiniones y dígame que tan de acuerdo o que tan en desacuerdo está con ellas. Yo leere las opiniones y usted me dice el número que su opinión representa. Para el número básese en esta tarjeta que le voy a dar la targeta dice: el uno quere decir "estoy muy de acuerdo con esta opinión," el dos significa "estoy de acuerdo," el tres es "ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo," el cuatro significa "estoy en desacuerdo," y, por último, el cienco significa "estoy muy en desacuerdo." Ahora le leere cada una de estas opiniones. Por favor piense cuidadosamente en ellas antes de responder.

1 = Muy de acuerdo 2 = De acuerdo 3 = Ni acuerdo ni desacuerdo
4 = Desacuerdo 5 = Muy en desacuerdo

	1	2	3	4	5
a. La mayor satisfacción en mi vida proviene de mi trabajo	___	___	___	___	___
b. Al final de un día, yo nunca me pongo a pensar si hice bien o mal mi trabajo	___	___	___	___	___

1 = Muy de acuerdo 2 = De acuerdo 3 = Ni acuerdo ni desacuerdo
4 = Desacuerdo 5 = Muy en desacuerdo

	1	2	3	4	5
c. Cuando yo hago mi trabajo mi autoestima aumenta	___	___	___	___	___
d. Algunas veces cuando hablo con gentes que tienen trabajos de mayor prestigio que el mío, me siento muy incomodo	___	___	___	___	___
e. Yo personalmente estoy muy involucrado en mi trabajo	___	___	___	___	___
f. Cuando me pongo a pensar en el éxito que tengo, el tipo de trabajo que yo hago es muy importante para mí	___	___	___	___	___
g. Las cosas más importantes que mesuceden a mí, están relacionadas con mi trabajo	___	___	___	___	___
h. Creo que muchos miembros de mi familia se sienten orgullosos cuando dicen a la gente lo que hacen.	___	___	___	___	___
i. Yo vivo para mi trabajo.	___	___	___	___	___
j. Cuando hago bien mi trabajo siento que he cumplido con algo importante	___	___	___	___	___
k. La mayoría de las cosas en la vida son más importantes que el trabajo	___	___	___	___	___
l. Algunas veces siento verguenza de decirle a la gente la clase de trabajo que yo hago	___	___	___	___	___
m. Cuando desempeño bien mi trabajo siento una gran satisfacción personal	___	___	___	___	___

1 = Muy de acuerdo 2 = De acuerdo 3 = Ni acuerdo ni desacuerdo
4 = Desacuerdo 5 = Muy en desacuerdo

	1	2	3	4	5
n. Yo estaría contento de tener a mis hijos haciendo el mismo trabajo que yo hago	___	___	___	___	___
o. Con respecto a mi trabajo yo soy un perfeccionista	___	___	___	___	___
p. Cuando cometo un error o hago algo mal en el trabajo estoy molesto por días enteros	___	___	___	___	___
q. Para mí el trabajo, es tan sólo una pequeña parte de las cosas que hago en la vida	___	___	___	___	___
r. Cuando yo desempeño bien mi trabajo siento que yo contribuyo a mi crecimiento y desarrollo personal	___	___	___	___	___
s. Si no pudiera desempeñar bien mi trabajo me sentiría que como persona soy un fracaso	___	___	___	___	___
t. Cuando fracaso en algo relacionado con mi trabajo me siento deprimido	___	___	___	___	___

Las siguientes opiniones no son necesariamente sobre el trabajo.

1 = Muy de acuerdo 2 = De acuerdo 3 = Ni acuerdo ni desacuerdo
4 = Desacuerdo 5 = Muy en desacuerdo

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Yo siento que soy una persona de valer, por lo menos comparándome con otros desde un mismo ángulo	___	___	___	___	___
2. Yo siento que tengo un cierto número de buenas cualidades	___	___	___	___	___

1 = Muy de acuerdo 2 = De acuerdo 3 = Ni acuerdo ni desacuerdo
4 = Desacuerdo 5 = Muy en desacuerdo

	1	2	3	4	5
3. Hoy por hoy, me siento inclinado a decir que soy un fracaso	___	___	___	___	___
4. Como muchas otras personas, yo puedo hacer las cosas muy bien hechas	___	___	___	___	___
5. Creo que no he hecho muchas cosas por las que pueda sentirme orgulloso	___	___	___	___	___
6. Yo tengo una actitud positiva hacia mí mismo	___	___	___	___	___
7. En general me siento satisfecho conmigo mismo	___	___	___	___	___
8. Desearía tener más respeto por mí mismo	___	___	___	___	___
9. A veces pienso que soy un bueno para nada	___	___	___	___	___

Hemos terminado las preguntas que se refieren a experiencias de trabajo. Quisiera preguntarle ahora sobre personas con las que usted trabaja. Por ejemplo, quisiera preguntarle:

32. ¿Qué ocupaciones tienen las cinco personas con las que usted habla más seguido en el trabajo? No quiero saber sus nombres sino sus ocupaciones.

TITULO DEL TRABAJO

(1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

(4) _____

(5) _____

33. En un típico día de trabajo, ¿Qué tan a menudo habla usted con sus compañeros de trabajo?

____ 5 o 6 veces al día
____ 3 o 4 veces al día
____ 1 o 2 veces al día
____ menos de una vez al día

34. En un típico día de trabajo, ¿Qué tan a menudo habla usted con su supervisor o jefe inmediato?

____ 5 o 6 veces al día
____ 3 o 4 veces al día
____ 1 o 2 veces al día
____ menos de una vez al día

35. En una típica semana de trabajo, ¿Cómo cuantas veces habla usted con una persona o personas de puestos más altos que su supervisor o jefe inmediato?

____ 5 o 6 veces a la semana
____ 3 o 4 veces a la semana
____ 1 o 2 veces a la semana
____ menos de una vez a la semana

36. Para todos nosotros hay personas con las que nos sentimos muy a gusto. Personas que nos caen bien y que respetamos. En fin, personas que influyen en nuestras actitudes porque a nosotros nos importan sus opiniones. ¿Qué tanto le importan las opiniones de sus compañeros de trabajo?

____ Son muy importantes
____ Son importantes
____ Son poco importantes
____ No me importan

37. ¿Qué tanta confianza tiene usted en su jefe?

____ Tengo mucha confianza
____ Tengo algo de confianza
____ Tengo poca confianza
____ Nada de confianza

Muy bien. Hemos terminado con la sección de preguntas que se refieren a su experiencia en el trabajo. Quisiera ahora hacerle algunas preguntas sobre su comunidad.

38. ¿ En qué comunidad o localidad vive?

_____

1. Rural
2. Ciudad pequeña
3. Ciudad grande

39. ¿ Cuántos años ha vivido en _____?

_____ Escribir número de anos.

40. ¿ Cuál es su lugar de origen?

_____

1. Rural
2. Ciudad pequeña
3. Ciudad grande

41. Y en esta comunidad _____ (nombre que deo el entrevistado a la comunidad donde actualmente vive), ¿ Qué tan bien conoce a sus habitantes?

____ 1. Conozco bastante bien a todos
____ 2. Conozco solamente a algunos
____ 3. Conozco a pocos habitantes de esta comunidad
____ 4. Casi no conozco a nadie en la comunidad en donde vivo

Ahora quisiera preguntarle las ocupaciones de las cinco personas con las que más frecuentemente se reune <u>fuera</u> del trabajo.

42. ¿ Cuales son las ocupaciones de aquellas cinco personas con las que usted más frecuentemente se reune en sus horas de descanso? (fuera de su familia)

TITULO DEL TRABAJO

(1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

(4) _____

(5) _____

43. En general, ¿Qué tan a menudo se reune con sus compañeros de trabajo, fuera de las horas de trabajo? Es decir durante los dines de semana, en las tardes y días de fiesta.

____ 5 o 6 veces al mes
____ 3 o 4 veces al mes
____ 1 o 2 veces al mes
____ menos de una vez al mes

44. En general, ¿Qué tan a menudo habla usted con personas que tiene ocupaciones de mucho prestigio? (Que tienen ocupaciones importantes, que desempeñan trabajos que en esta comunidad se consideran de gran prestigio e importancia)

____ 5 o 6 veces al mes
____ 3 o 4 veces al mes
____ 1 o 2 veces al mes
____ menos de una vez al mes

45. En general, ¿Qué tan a menudo habla o platica con personas cuya ocupación es diferente de la de usted? Ya sea de más prestigio o de menos prestigio que la ocupación que usted tiene.

____ 5 o 6 veces al mes
____ 3 o 4 veces al mes
____ 1 o 2 veces al mes
____ menos de una vez al mes

Hemos terminado con la sección de preguntas que se refieren a su comunidad. Las preguntas que voy a hacerle ahora se refieren a la sociedad en general, es decir, al país en donde vivimos.

46. Si usted tuviera que explicarle a un extranjero sobre las clases sociales, o clases de gente que hay en México, ¿Qué le diría? ¿Cuantas clases de gente hay?

_____
_____
_____
_____

47. ¿Qué diferencias hay entre estas clases sociales? Es decir, qué es lo que distingue a estas clases de gente.

_____
_____
_____
_____

48. ¿Por qué cree usted que existen estas diferencias?

_____
_____
_____
_____

49. ¿Cómo podría cambiarse esta situación?

_____
_____
_____
_____

50. ¿Recuerda usted algún hecho reciente que la haya traido a la cabeza este tema de las clases sociales? ¿Cuál? Descríbamelo.

_____
_____
_____
_____

51. Ahora voy a leerle unas opiniones que otra gente ha dado sobre la sociedad, los trabajadores y la gerencia. Dígame por favor que tan de acuerdo a que tan en desacuerdo está con ellos. Básese en la misma tarjeta que usamos anteriormente.

1 = Muy de acuerdo 2 = De acuerdo 3 = Ni acuerdo ni desacuerdo
4 = Desacuerdo 5 = Muy en desacuerdo

	1	2	3	4	5
a. Yo diría que en este país hay básicamente dos clases sociales: los patrones y los que trabajan, y estas dos clases tienen intereses muy opuestos.	___	___	___	___	___
b. La mayoría de la gente en este país pertenece a la misma clase social. Lo único diferente, lo que de verdad importa es el dinero que uno gana.	___	___	___	___	___

1 = Muy de acuerdo 2 = De acuerdo 3 = Ni acuerdo ni desacuerdo
4 = Desacuerdo 5 = Muy en desacuerdo

	1	2	3	4	5
c. Yo diría que en este país hay varias clases sociales. La clase alta, la clase media, la clase trabajadora, los pobres, etc. La clase alta es la que guía al país y a la industria y así debe ser.	___	___	___	___	___
d. La fabrica donde uno trabaja es como un equipo de futbol, todos tenemos que cooperar y darle duro para anotar goles, o sea para ganar.	___	___	___	___	___
e. La clase trabajadora debe permanecer unida. Todos los obreros deben apoyarse para mejorar condiciones de trabajo.	___	___	___	___	___
f. El trabajo de equipo en la fábrica donde uno trabaja es imposible porque la verdad es que gerencia y trabajadores están en lados opuestos.	___	___	___	___	___
g. La gerencia está interesada en el bienestar de la compañía y en el bienestar de los trabajadores.	___	___	___	___	___
h. Lo único que le interesa a la gerencia son las utilidades.	___	___	___	___	___
i. Los sindicatos y líderes obreros solamente crean problemas entre gerencia y trabajadores.	___	___	___	___	___

Por último quisiera preguntarle algunos datos personales.

52. Cuál es su edad? _____

53. Sexo: M F

54. Cuantos años de escuela terminó usted:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 MA

55. Cuál es o cual fue la principal ocupación de su padre?

_____ Título del trabajo

56. Aproximadamente, Cuánto dinero gana la mes? _____

57. Dígame usted si pertenece a alguna de las siguientes organizaciones

	1 Si (ir a pregunta 58)	5 No
Religiosas		
Profesionales		
De la comunidad		
Del vecindario		
Sindicales		
Partidos politicos		

58. Sindicato _____

____ 1. CTM ____ 2. Compañía ____ 3. otro_____

Partido político

____ 1. PPS ____ 2. PRI ____ 3. PARM ____ 4. PAN
____ 5. otro_____

59. INDUSTRIA: ____ 1. Capital Nacional ____ 2. Capital Mixto

60. Grado Legitimización Organizacional

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE IN ENGLISH

1.(1)* First of all, we would like some information about your job and work experience. What is your present job? (GET SPECIFIC JOB TITLE.)

a. _____ (Job Title)

b.(2) What do you do on that job? What are some of your duties?

_____

_____

d.(3) How long have you been in that job? (GET YEAR AT WHICH CONTINUOUS EMPLOYMENT ON THIS JOB BEGAN.)
_____ (Year)

2.(4) What was the full-time job you had just before the one you have now?

a. _____ (Job Title)

d.(6) During what years were you in that job?
_____ (Years)

6.a.(42c) Is your wife employed?

(1) Yes (1) What kind of job does she have?
_____ (Job Title)

7.(42b). How about the other members of your family? Do you have any (ASK ABOUT EACH RELATIVE BELOW) who are employed full time?
(If yes):

a. What kind of job does he(she) work at most of the time?
_____ (Job Title)

b. (ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL PROBE) _____

---

*Numbers in parentheses are question numbers in the Spanish translation of the interview schedule. See Appendix A.

A. Brothers who are employed?

(1) Yes
(2) No (Go to B)

	Job Title	Probe
(1)		
(2)		
(3)		
(4)		
(5)		

B.(42d) Sisters who are employed?

(1) Yes
(2) No (Go to B)

	Job Title	Probe
(1)		
(2)		
(3)		
(4)		
(5)		

8.(32) Now I would like to have you think about the five people with whom you talk most often while you are at work. I don't want to know their names, but I would like to know their occupations. What jobs do they have?

	Job Title	Probe
(1)		
(2)		
(3)		
(4)		
(5)		

9.(34) During a typical day on the job, how often do you talk to your immediate supervisor? (READ AND CIRCLE ANSWER.)

(1) 5 or 6 times a day or more
(2) around 3 or 4 times a day
(3) once or twice a day
(4) less than once a day

10.(35) During a typical week on the job, how often do you talk to persons above your immediate supervisor? (READ AND CIRCLE ANSWER.)

(1) 5 or 6 times a week or more
(2) around 3 or 4 times a week
(3) once or twice a week
(4) less than once a week

11.(42) Now please think about the five people outside your family with whom you most often get together socially during evenings or weekends.

a. What are their jobs? If any are not employed, I would like to know that, too.

16.(44) In general, how often do you talk to people whom you regard as having high-status jobs? (ACCEPTABLE SYNONYMS FOR HIGH-STATUS JOBS ARE "HIGH-PRESTIGE JOBS" OR "JOBS GIVEN HIGH STANDING IN THE COMMUNITY.") Would you say it was: (READ RESPONSE CODE AND CIRCLE ANSWER.)

(1) 5 or 6 times a month or more
(2) around 3 or 4 times a month
(3) once or twice a month
(4) less than once a month

17.(45) How often do you talk to people whose occupational status is any different from yours--either higher or lower? (READ RESPONSE CODE AND CIRCLE ANSWER.)

(1) 5 or 6 times a month or more
(2) around 3 or 4 times a month
(3) once or twice a month
(4) less than once a month

Now we have a few more questions about your experiences at work.

23.(8) Are there others where you work who have more or less the same job as yours?

(1) Yes
(2) No (Go to B)

(IF YES):

a.(10) Is it easy to tell whether or not you are doing a better or worse job than they do? That is, is it easy or hard to compare your work and the work of others?

(1) Easy
(2) Hard

b.(9) Are there differences in how well people do your job, or is everyone's performance about the same? (CIRCLE RESPONSE)

(1) Differences
(2) About the same

24.(11) How often are evaluations of how well you do your job made by the person who supervises your work? Would you say that happens: (READ AND CIRCLE)

(1) Very often
(2) Often
(3) Sometimes
(4) Seldom
(5) Very seldom

25.(12) How about the people you work with? How often do you compare or evaluate each other's work? Would you say that happens: (READ AND CIRCLE)

(1) Very often
(2) Often
(3) Sometimes
(4) Seldom
(5) Very seldom

26.(13) Do you think your supervisor uses the right criteria or the right basis when he evaluates your work? That is, does he evaluate you on the right things? (CIRCLE RESPONSE)

(1) Yes (Go to 27)
(2) No

(IF NO):

a.(14b) What criteria or basis should he use?

_____
_____
_____

b.(14a) What criteria or basis does he use?

_____
_____
_____

c.(14c) How hard would it be to get him to use the right criteria? Would you say it would be: (READ AND CIRCLE)

(1) Very hard to do
(2) Hard to do
(3) Somewhat hard to do

27.(15) How about the people you work with? Do they use the right criteria or the right basis when they evaluate your work? (CIRCLE RESPONSE)

(1) Yes (Go to 28)
(2) No

(IF NO):

a.(16ab) What is wrong with the criteria or basis they use?

_____
_____

b.(16c) How hard would it be to get them to use the right criteria? Would you say it would be: (READ AND CIRCLE)

(1) Very hard to do
(2) Hard to do
(3) Somewhat hard to do

28.(18) Would you describe your job as a competitive one? That is, would you say it was: (READ AND CIRCLE)

(1) Very competitive
(2) Somewhat competitive
(3) Not very competitive
(4) Not at all competitive

29.(19) Do you plan to stay in the job you have now until you retire? (CIRCLE RESPONSE)

(1) Yes (Go to 30)
(2) No

(IF NO):

a.(20) What job do you plan to change to? _____
(Job Title)

b.(21) Why do you want to make this change?

30.(22) Would you say the job you have now is the best job you ever had? (CIRCLE RESPONSE)

(1) Yes (Go to 31)
(2) No

(IF NO):

(23) What job was better? _____
(Job Title)

What made it better?

_____
_____

31.(25) What would have to happen for you to feel that you were more successful at work? PROBE: Anything else?

_____
_____
_____

32.(26) How hard would you say it would be for you to get promoted or to move up in the organization where you work? Would you say it would be: (READ AND CIRCLE)

a. 1. Very hard to do
2. Hard to do
3. Somewhat hard to do

b.(27) What would the next step be? _____
(Job Title)

NOTE: FOR PERSONS ALREADY AT TOP OF ORGANIZATION, ASK, "IS THERE ANYTHING THAT WOULD REPRESENT A STEP UP TO YOU?")

c.(28) How certain do you feel about your chances of moving up? Would you say you were: (READ AND CIRCLE)

(1) Very certain
(2) Certain
(3) Somewhat certain
(4) Uncertain
(5) Very uncertain

d.(29) How important is it to you to move up? Would you say it was: (READ AND CIRCLE)

(1) Very important
(2) Somewhat important
(3) Slightly important
(4) Not at all important

33.(30) In general, would you say you have already achieved most of the goals you set for yourself in your work life, or are there still things you feel it is important for you to accomplish? How satisfied are you with what you have accomplished? Would you say you were: (READ AND CIRCLE)

(1) Very satisfied
(2) Satisfied
(3) Dissatisfied
(4) Very dissatisfied

34.(31) Now we would like to know how much you agree or disagree with some statements about work. Please try to think about your responses as though you were giving them to yourself rather than to me or to anyone else.

Here is a card with numbered responses ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. I will read the statement and you tell me which number on the card represents your response. While all of the statements are somewhat similar, each contains something different. Please think about the statements carefully before responding. (PUT CHECKS IN SPACES)

1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree
4 = Disagree 5 = Strongly Disagree

		1	2	3	4	5
a.(31a)	The major satisfaction in my life comes from my job.	___	___	___	___	___
b.(31b)	When I am through work at the end of the day, I hardly ever think about whether I did a good or a bad job.	___	___	___	___	___
c.(31c)	Doing my job well increases my feeling of self-esteem.	___	___	___	___	___
d.(31d)	I sometimes feel uncomfortable when talking to people whose jobs carry more prestige than mine.	___	___	___	___	___
e.(31e)	I am very much involved personally in my work.	___	___	___	___	___
f.(31f)	The type of work I do is important to me when I think about how successful I am in life.	___	___	___	___	___
g.(31g)	The most important things that happen to me involve my job.	___	___	___	___	___
h.(31h)	I think members of my family feel proud when they tell people what I do for a living.	___	___	___	___	___
i.(31i)	I live, eat and breathe my job.	___	___	___	___	___
j.(31j)	When I do my work well, it gives me a feeling of accomplishment.	___	___	___	___	___
k.(31k)	Most things in life are more important than work.	___	___	___	___	___

1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree
4 = Disagree 5 = Strongly Disagree

		1	2	3	4	5
l.(31l)	I sometimes feel ashamed to tell people what kind of work I do.	___	___	___	___	___
m.(31m)	I feel a great sense of personal satisfaction when I do my job well.	___	___	___	___	___
n.(31n)	I would be happy to have my children do the kind of work I do.	___	___	___	___	___
o.(31o)	I'm really a perfectionist about my work.	___	___	___	___	___
p.(31p)	When I make a mistake or do something badly at work, it sometimes bothers me for days	___	___	___	___	___
q.(31q)	To me, my work is only a small part of what I do.	___	___	___	___	___
r.(31r)	If I could not do my job well, I would feel that I was a failure as a person.	___	___	___	___	___
s.(31s)	When I perform my job well, it contributes to my personal growth and development.	___	___	___	___	___
t.(31t)	I feel depressed when I fail at something connected with my job.	___	___	___	___	___

The following statements do not necessarily refer to work.

1.(31.1)	I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.	___	___	___	___	___
2.(31.2)	I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	___	___	___	___	___
3.(31.3)	All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	___	___	___	___	___

1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree
4 = Disagree 5 = Strongly Disagree

		1	2	3	4	5
4.(31.4)	I am able to do things as well as most other people.	___	___	___	___	___
5.(31.5)	I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	___	___	___	___	___
6.(31.6)	I take a positive attitude toward myself.	___	___	___	___	___
7.(31.7)	On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	___	___	___	___	___
8.(31.8)	I wish I could have more respect for myself.	___	___	___	___	___
9.	I certainly feel useless at times.	___	___	___	___	___
10.(31.9)	At times I think I am no good at all.	___	___	___	___	___

Now let's go to a number of questions about community and society, about Mexico, our country.

35. If you had to explain to a foreigner about social classes in Mexico, what would you say? How many social classes are there in Mexico?

_____
_____
_____

36. What are the differences among these classes? That is, what is it that distinguishes the types of people you described?

_____
_____
_____

37. In your opinion, why do these differences exist?

_____
_____
_____

38. How could this situation be changed?

_____
_____
_____

39. Do you recall a recent event that made you think about this "social classes" issue? Please describe it to me.

_____
_____
_____

Now, I am going to read you several opinions about workers, employers, and social classes given by other people. To what extent to you agree or disagree with such opinions?

1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree
4 = Disagree 5 = Strongly Disagree

		1	2	3	4	5
A	1. The factory is like a football team; we all have to cooperate and work hard to score goals--that is, to win.	___	___	___	___	___
	2. Teamwork in the factory is impossible since management and workers are on opposite sides.	___	___	___	___	___
	3. Do not agree, do not have any opinion.	___	___	___	___	___
B	1. In this country today there are basically two main classes, bosses and workers, and they have opposed interests.	___	___	___	___	___
	2. Most people in Mexico belong to the same class. The only difference, the only thing that matters, is money.	___	___	___	___	___

1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree
4 = Disagree 5 = Strongly Disagree

		1	2	3	4	5
	3. In Mexico there are several classes: the upper class, the middle class, the working class, the poor, etc. The upper class is the only one that leads the country and industry, and it should stay that way.	___	___	___	___	___
	4. Do not agree, do not have any opinion.	___	___	___	___	___
C	1. Trade unions and their leaders only generate problems between managers and workers.	___	___	___	___	___
	2. Every worker should join a trade union because workers should stick together and improve working conditions.	___	___	___	___	___
	3. Do not agree, do not have any opinion.	___	___	___	___	___
D.	1. Management is interested in the good of the firm and all workers.	___	___	___	___	___
	2. Management is only interested in profits.	___	___	___	___	___
	3. Do not agree, do not have any opinion.	___	___	___	___	___

To finish up, I need a little information about you.

How old are you? _____ Years

Sex: M F

How many years of school do you have?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 M.A.

About how much is your monthly income? _____

Are you a member of the following organizations?

Organization	Yes	No
Religious		
Professional		
Community		
Neighborhood		
Unions		
Political parties		

If you are a union member, to which union do you belong?

CTM A company union Other_____

If you are a member of a political party, to which do you belong?

PPS PRI PARM PAN Other_____

APPENDIX C

PROTOCOL FORM

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH BUREAU · BERKEY HALL EAST LANSING · MICHIGAN · 48824

Marzo 15 de 1980

A las Autoridades Correspondientes:

Somos dos jóvenes mexicanos que estudian en Michigan State University y que en fechas próximas obtendremos el doctorado en Sociología. El requisito final para obtener el grado de doctor es una disertación o tesis, la cual consiste en un trabajo de investigación original y sí el alumno es extranjero, preferentemente realizado en su país de origen de modo que la disertación sea una manera de ir aplicando los conocimientos adquiridos a la realidad de los problemas nacionales.

El estudio tiene como finalidad la elaboración de nuestras tesis doctorales que investigarán el efecto que el trabajo tiene en la autoestima de las personas. El estudio pretende precisar las relaciones existentes entre los individuos, sus ocupaciones, su comunidad y la estructura social.

Considerando la importancia que tiene el trabajo y su potencial eficacia en el desarrollo de cualquier comunidad y país, agradeceríamos la colaboración que ustedes se sirvan prestar a la investigación y nos permitimos ofrecerles el reporte completo de nuestro estudio cuando este se haya finalizado.

Atentamente

Carlos Fernández Collado

Pilar Baptista Fernández

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