

ABSTRACT

THE WEBERIAN MINE:
A PROBATIONARY ANALYSIS OF CLASS STRATIFICATION; BEING
A CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE STUDY OF CLASS IN AMERICAN
SOCIOLOGY AND A SUGGESTION FOR IMPROVEMENT, WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE IDEAS OF MAX WEBER, AND
WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE SPECULATIONS OF
MR. FARIS, MR. NISBET, AND OTHER WRITERS

by John Pease

Chapter I, "Introduction," is an overview and critical discussion of the study of class by American sociologists which concludes that, in general, this study has been much influenced by American ideology. The study of class in American sociology is characterized as being ahistorical, atheoretical, apolitical, status-conscious, middle-class, and conceptually confusing.

Chapter II, "Class Situation," reviews and critically evaluates the conceptual confusion about class in American sociology and states the central problem of the thesis. The recent reports of the marked diminution and absence of class differentials in American society are criticized for reflecting the obsolescence and obfuscation of the usual modes of conceptualizing (Chapter II) and researching (Appendix) class.

Contrary to Faris's assertion that the concept of class is largely obsolete for the analysis of modern American society and, contrary to Nisbet's assertion that the concept of class "says little about anything substantive," Chapter IV ("Some Evidence of Class Differentials") cites considerable national data which demonstrate that class situation is significantly related to mortality, morbidity, educational opportunity, the distribution of justice, and many other manifestations of social life.

The central thesis of this study is that what is now needed in the American study of class stratification is not the abandonment of the concept of class but a return to the classical perspective, especially, as it is represented in the work of Max Weber. Chapter III, "The Weberian View of Class Stratification," presents a description and discussion of Weber's general view of social stratification and notes some of the similarities between Weber and Marx. This chapter ends with an illustration of the analytical utility of the Weberian view of class stratification vis-à-vis a critical discussion of the recent literature about poverty in the United States of America.

Chapter V, "Coda: Weber's Conception of Class," is a detailed analysis of Max Weber's theory of class. This analysis concludes that American sociologists have by and large

misinterpreted Weber's ideas about class stratification. Accordingly, class, status, and power are not three coequal dimensions of class stratification. These concepts are not even of the same logical kind. Class and status are modes of stratification. Parties are voluntary associations.

According to Weber, power is the essence of stratification, whatever its source or manifestation: Social stratification is the institutionalized unequal distribution of power. Following a detailed description and analysis of Weber's major writings on social stratification, class situation is defined as the amount, kind, and stability of one's relationship to the production, distribution, and exchange of economic resources in the commodity, credit, and labor markets.

The study ends with a methodological note in the form of an appendix which includes a probationary neo-Weberian typology of the American class structure.

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As every sociologist knows, acknowledgments are a ritual, and rituals emphasize the special importance of particular events and confer special privileges upon the author. Among the prerogatives of this status-role is the license to indulge in personal intimations that in other circumstances would violate the norms of scholarly communication. This is a privilege which I intend to exploit because, while most scholars are able to acknowledge their indebtedness to others in their footnotes, dissertation authors never are.

What is contained here could well have been authored by any of my contemporaries, and I expect that more than one of them are now actively engaged in just such a pursuit for an important sociological reason: knowledge never occurs in a social vacuum, in isolation from the social context in which particular men think particular ideas. It is in this spirit that I should like to acknowledge the very many people who have helped me in countless ways to accomplish this dissertation.

First and foremost, I should like to thank Professors James B. McKee and William H. Form because, more than any hundred others, they have taught me sociology, scholarship, and self-discipline. And, as if that were not enough,

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FRONTPIECE

These social changes . . . are comparatively public matters, and this history is chiefly concerned with the private lot of a few men and women; but there is no private life which has not been determined by a wider public life, from the time when the primeval milkmaid had to wander with the wanderings of her clan, because the cow she milked was one of a herd which had made the pastures bare. Even in that conservatory existence where the fair Camelia is signed for by the noble young Pineapple, neither of them needing to care about the frost or rain outside, there is a nether apparatus of hot-water pipes liable to cool down on a strike of the gardeners or a scarcity of coal.

George Eliot, 1866

What we experience in various and specific milieux . . . is often caused by structural changes. Accordingly, to understand the changes of many personal milieux we are required to look beyond them. And the number and variety of such structural changes increase as the institutions within which we live become more embracing and more intricately connected with one another. To be aware of the idea of social structure and to use it with sensibility is to be capable of tracing such linkages among a great variety of milieux. To be able to do that is to possess the sociological imagination.

C. Wright Mills, 1959

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Aristotle was one of the first to ask searching questions about the causes of social inequality, but he spoiled his opportunity to become the first sociologist when he answered his questions in terms of presumed inequalities in human nature.¹ Nevertheless, Aristotle's view that inequalities among men were "natural" prevailed for nearly 2,000 years. When revolutions did occur they did not challenge inequality per se but rather expressed the want of the disenfranchised to reverse the order of possession, power, and privilege.²

¹Aristotle, Politics, trans. Benjamin Jowett (New York: Modern Library, 1943), especially pp. 190-193. For a brief critical discussion of Aristotle's ideas about social inequality, see Ralf Dahrendorf, "On the Origin of Social Inequality," Philosophy, Politics, and Society, ed. Peter Laslett and W. G. Runciman (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962), pp. 88-109; or Ralf Dahrendorf, "Aspects of Inequality in Society," Essays in the Theory of Society (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, forthcoming).

²"The sporadic rebellions of the poor and oppressed were usually revolts against particularly irksome conditions rather than against the whole system of ranks, and they did not give rise to any clear conceptions of an alternative form of society." T. B. Bottomore, Classes in Modern Society (New York: Pantheon Books, 1966), pp. 3-4. See also, Rudolf Heberle, "Recovery of Class Theory," The Pacific Sociological Review, II (Spring, 1959), 20.

I

The naturalistic explanation of inequality was not razed until the eighteenth century when John Millar wrote the first sociological study of social inequality, Observations Concerning the Distinction of Ranks in Society.³ Although Millar was not the first to wrestle with the question of inequality, the publication of his study in 1771 was a significant intellectual event, for it testified that social inequality could be investigated as a phenomenon sui generis, and it thereby rendered superfluous Aristotle's thesis that inequalities in society derive from inequalities in nature.

Nonetheless, ideas and the men who utter them do not develop in a social vacuum. Like Aristotle, Millar was a

³John Millar, Observations Concerning the Distinction of Ranks in Society (London: John Murray, 1771). Millar's place in the history of the modern study of social stratification has seldom been noted. However, MacRae has written of Millar's work that it was "the first scientific analysis of the functions of rank to treat the subject separately, fully and sociologically." Donald G. MacRae, "Social Stratification: A Trend Report," Current Sociology, II, No. 1 (1953-1954), 9. Other scholars who have noted Millar's contribution include: William C. Lehmann, John Millar of Glasgow, 1735-1801: His Life and Thought and his Contributions to Sociological Analysis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960); Jack Ladinsky, Review of John Millar of Glasgow, 1735-1801, by William C. Lehmann, Sociological Quarterly, IV (Summer, 1963), 283-284; Egon Ernest Bergel, Social Stratification (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1962), p. vii; Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, "Introduction," Class, Status, and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 8-9; and Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 4-5.

product of the social and political events of his time and circumstance, echoing more than creating the ideas he recorded. Jean-Jacques Rousseau had made the question of inequality politically central and, significantly, the two major revolutions of the eighteenth century, one in France and the other in America, were aimed at establishing "complete" equality. Moreover, Millar was influenced by a number of other eighteenth century intellectuals, especially Adam Ferguson and Adam Smith.⁴ Ferguson's famous Essay on the History of Civil Society,⁵ which predated Millar's work by four years, included a brief discussion of some aspects of social inequality, and it was Smith's essay, "Of the Origin of Ambition and the Distinction of Ranks,"⁶ which suggested to Millar the title for his book.

The writings of these Scottish scholars significantly influenced the thinking of such early nineteenth century intellectuals as Georg Hegel and Henri de Saint-Simon, from whose work emanate many of the contributions of Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Karl Marx, and thus some of the most

⁴For an analysis of the development of Millar's thought as well as a description emphasizing the historical and sociological aspects of eighteenth century Scottish thinking, see Lehmann. For a shorter account of Millar's sociology, see William C. Lehmann, "John Millar, Historical Sociologist: Some Remarkable Anticipations of Modern Sociology," The British Journal of Sociology, III (March, 1952), 30-47.

⁵Adam Ferguson, Essay on the History of Civil Society (Edinburgh: A. Kincaid and J. Bell, 1767).

⁶Adam Smith, The Theory of Moral Sentiments (London A. Millar, 1759), Pt. I, sec. 3, chap. ii.

important strands of modern sociology. Indeed, one commits no impropriety in agreeing with Ralf Dahrendorf that the question of social inequality is the point of departure of all sociological analysis.⁷

"The officially recognized 'parents' of sociology, Comte and Spencer, are of small weight in this field,"⁸ but the history of modern stratification research can be understood only by referring to Marx. To be sure, "Marx never set down a full and systematic account of his theory of class, although it may be reasonably said that everything he wrote was in some way concerned with the question of class."⁹ Any theory of stratification that ignores his ideas would avoid much of real value, for, if nothing else, "a critical study of Marx's conception will reveal most of the vital problems concerning the nature of social classes."¹⁰ Indeed, it was under the spur of Marx that Max Weber wrote "Class, Status, Party,"¹¹

⁷Dahrendorf, Essays in the Theory of Society.

⁸MacRae, Current Sociology, II, 10.

⁹Bottomore, p. 13.

¹⁰Ibid. There have been a number of attempts to assess Marx's contribution to the study of social stratification. Two of the most important are: Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society; and Stanislaw Ossowski, Class Structure in the Social Consciousness, trans. Sheila Patterson (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963).

¹¹Max Weber, "Class, Status, Party," From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, trans. and ed. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, Galaxy Books (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 180-195. For a discussion of this point, see: Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge (Garden City:

which is probably the most commanding statement on the nature of social stratification written in the twentieth century. According to C. Wright Mills, "Weber completed the uncompleted work of Marx. His essay on class, status and party remains the definitive work on stratification; nothing since has added anything of basic significance to our conceptions of stratification."¹²

II

But the legacy of Millar, Marx, and Weber had no American legion. As early as 1883, William Graham Sumner asked What Social Classes Owe to Each Other, and his answer was "nothing."¹³ In Sumner's view, class stratification was

the outcome of natural social-evolutionary processes, with the members of the various strata arranged in accordance with their individually unequal physical,

Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1966), p. 5; C. Wright Mills, "Introduction: The Classic Tradition," Images of Man: The Classical Tradition in Sociological Thinking, ed. C. Wright Mills (New York: George Braziller, 1960), pp. 7-13; C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 48; and Reinhard Bendix, Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait, Anchor Books (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1962), p. 44.

¹²Mills, Images of Man, p. 13.

¹³William Graham Sumner, What Social Classes Owe to Each Other (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1883). Albion Small once wrote of this essay by Sumner that it was "a moving picture of what a sociologist should not be." Albion W. Small, "Fifty Years of Sociology in the United States," The American Journal of Sociology: Index to Volumes I-LII, 1895-1947 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, n.d.), p. 184. According to Wirth, this work by Sumner "out-Spencers Herbert Spencer." Louis Wirth, "Social Stratification and Social Mobility in the United States," Current Sociology, II, No. 4 (1953-1954), 280.

moral, and intellectual endowments for progress. Social superiority and contribution to progress were identical.¹⁴

Although Charles Horton Cooley, E. A. Ross, Albion Small, and Lester Ward viewed class stratification more as an arbitrary and artificial arrangement, in the half-century following Sumner's infamous essay there was a hiatus in stratification research which lasted--despite the important exceptions of Thorstein Veblen and Pitirim Sorokin--until the nineteen-thirties.¹⁵ Veblen's 1899 classic, The Theory of the Leisure Class, was the first meaningful analysis of stratification in the annals of American Sociology.¹⁶ It was nearly three decades later that Sorokin published his classic, Social Mobility, a comprehensive summary and detailed commentary on most of the previous research relevant to stratification.¹⁷

¹⁴Roscoe C. Hinkle, Jr. and Alvin Boskoff, "Social Stratification in Perspective," Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change, ed. Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff (New York: Dryden Press, 1957), p. 377.

¹⁵For example, "only two of the 125 papers presented at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Society before 1917 treated subjects having to do predominantly and obviously with some aspect of rank." Ibid., p. 376.

¹⁶Still, as Wirth pointed out, this study was largely neglected in its own time. Wirth, Current Sociology, II, 280. Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions (New York: Macmillan Company, 1899).

¹⁷Pitirim A. Sorokin, Social Mobility (New York: Harper and Row, 1927).

The "founding fathers" of American sociology gave a modicum of attention to stratification, although the analysis of class phenomena occupied a decidedly secondary place in their work, and, their historian Charles Page has ratiocinated, they "gave voice to class theories which were, in the final analysis, highly colored by the 'classlessness' of the American scene."¹⁸ In one way or another they were "impressed by the anti-class elements of American democracy and by the social virtues of that 'classless' segment of society--the middle class."¹⁹ In short, the "ideology of the American

¹⁸Charles Hunt Page, Class in American Sociology: From Ward to Ross (New York: Octagon Books, 1964), p. 250.

MacRae, however, has questioned Page's interpretation. Writes MacRae: "It is frequently argued that the poor quality and (comparatively) limited quantity of American studies of class before the nineteen-twenties is [sic] to be explained by the high social mobility and low degree of stratification in American society. Undoubtedly in certain regions mobility was high, and strata were ill-defined, but in the east and south this was not the case. Nor was class-consciousness lacking; the end of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century were periods of acute class-conflict and class-feeling among the industrial workers. . . . On the whole the failure of the 'fathers'--Ross and Cooley are partial exceptions--is probably largely to be explained in terms of reaction from what must, falsely, have appeared to be a sharpening class-conflict." MacRae, Current Sociology, II, 11. Also, Nisbet has reported: "Recently I treated myself to a re-reading of some of the first-water novels of the turn of the century--by such men as Howells, David Graham Phillips, Dreiser, and Herrick. It is an instructive sociological experience, if only to be reminded that the idea of social class was then as vivid and widely accepted as is today the idea of status mobility. Phrases like 'clearly a member of the working class,' 'by habit and bearing of low class origin,' 'upper class dress,' 'of low class mentality and deportment,' etc., abound in unambiguous contexts." Robert A. Nisbet, "The Decline and Fall of Social Class," The Pacific Sociological Review, II (Spring, 1959), 11.

¹⁹Page, p. 250.

dream was a major deterrent to the study of class,"²⁰ and as American sociology entered its second generation, it did so with "little class research in progress, a minimum of theoretical consideration of the precise meaning of the term, and practically no recognition of the class framework as a major area of investigation. . . ." ²¹

As the facts of social life which were so vividly expressed in the economic depression of the 1930's "forced home the lesson that society is stratified and that stratification is one of the crucial components of social structure,"²² American sociologists slowly began to obtain an economic perspective of class.²³ In Middletown²⁴ and even more so in its

²⁰MacRae, Current Sociology, II, 16. Nevertheless, Bendix and Lipset have suggested that "the early achievement of a universal franchise in the United States may have been one reason why the concern with social stratification was less intense in America than in Europe." During much of the nineteenth century the study of social stratification was "part and parcel of the struggle for human rights and economic well-being which accompanied the growth of industrial societies in Europe." Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, "Introduction," Class, Status, and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (2nd ed.; New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. xvii.

²¹Milton M. Gordon, Social Class in American Sociology (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1958), p. 8.

²²MacRae, Current Sociology, II, 15.

²³"It was not until the great depression of the 1930's that any appreciable amount of intellectual effort was devoted by social scientists in America to careful scientific analyses of social stratification, and social mobility." Wirth, Current Sociology, II, 280.

²⁴Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, Middletown: A Study in American Culture, Harvest Books (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1956).

sequel, Middletown in Transition,²⁵ Robert and Helen Lynd used a neo-Marxian bifurcation of class as a central part of their analysis. Many of the other important stratification researchers of this period--Adolf Berle and Gardiner Means in The Modern Corporation and Private Property,²⁶ Frank Taussig and Carl Joslyn in American Business Leaders,²⁷ Lewis Corey in The Decline of American Capitalism and The Crisis of the Middle Class,²⁸ Percy Davidson and Dewey Anderson in Occupational Mobility in an American Community and Ballots and the Democratic Class Struggle,²⁹ Goetz Briefs in The Proletariat,³⁰ and Alfred Winslow Jones in Life, Liberty, and Property³¹--

²⁵Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, Middletown in Transition: A Study in Cultural Conflicts, Harvest Books (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1937).

²⁶Adolf A. Berle, Jr. and Gardiner C. Means, The Modern Corporation and Private Property (New York: Macmillan Company, 1932).

²⁷Frank W. Taussig and Carl W. Joslyn, American Business Leaders: A Study in Social Origins and Social Stratification (New York: Macmillan Company, 1932).

²⁸Lewis Corey, The Decline of American Capitalism (New York: Covici Friede, 1934); and Lewis Corey, The Crisis of the Middle Classes (New York: Covici Friede, 1935).

²⁹Percy E. Davidson and H. Dewey Anderson, Occupational Mobility in an American Community (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1937); and H. Dewey Anderson and Percy E. Davidson, Ballots and the Democratic Class Struggle (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1943).

³⁰Goetz A. Briefs, The Proletariat (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1938).

³¹Alfred Winslow Jones, Life, Liberty, and Property (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1941).

also showed the influence of Marx.³² "Yet," as Donald MacRae observed, "the influence of Marxism proved small enough in the long run."³³

III

A systematic study of social stratification did not develop in the United States until the early 1940's commencing in the publication of W. Lloyd Warner and Paul Lunt's The Social Life of a Modern Community.³⁴ But as stratification became regularly researched it took on a distinctively American quality that was especially well expressed in the work of Warner, his associates, and adherents.³⁵ Inequality was viewed not as a question of class, but as a question of

³²The re-newed interest in Marxism during the 1930's was also related to the political events in Germany. "The rise of Nazism focussed attention on the class-structure of Germany and turned inquiry to the understanding of the social roots of the new regime. . . . In addition the Nazis' social policy sent a flood of scholars into exile through the world, above all to France, Britain and America. . . . There was inevitably a new sympathy for Marxism which then appeared both the major opponent of Nazism and its major interpreter." MacRae, Current Sociology, II, 15.

³³Ibid., 16. "The evasions from what are relevant Marxian observations are noticeable in much of the sociological literature; are evident in the backhanded way that many have adopted of explicitly rejecting those observations of Marx that clearly are not applicable, or of interpreting narrowly and then rejecting ideas that Marx did not seem to intend." Leonard Reissman, Class in American Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1959), pp. 6-7.

³⁴W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1941).

³⁵For a careful analysis and extensive bibliography of the "Warner school," see Gordon, chap. iv, pp. 85-123.

status.³⁶ In the words of Leonard Reissman, the study of stratification became especially suited "for American consumption, . . . essentially middle class, status-involved and ethnocentric."³⁷ Moreover, the critics charged that Warner had ignored the historical context, neglected the fact of power, generalized beyond the data, muddled the conceptualization, committed assorted methodological errors, and espoused support of the status quo.³⁸ But Warner endured.

³⁶Gerhard E. Lenski, "Social Stratification," Contemporary Sociology, ed. Joseph S. Roucek (New York: Philosophical Library, 1958), p. 530. This is not to suggest that the interest in status was original with Warner (it is older than Weber). However, in Warner's work, status was the dominant interest, just as it has been in the American study of stratification ever since. In the most recent general review of American stratification research, there is no mention of class as a political or economic concept. There is no mention of income, money, wealth, or power. The entire discussion is centered on the concept of social status. William F. Kenkel, "Recent Research," Life in Society: Introductory Readings in Sociology, ed. Thomas E. Lasswell, John H. Burma, and Sidney H. Aronson (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1965), pp. 567-572.

³⁷Reissman, p. 44.

³⁸C. Wright Mills, Review of The Social Life of a Modern Community, by W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, American Sociological Review, VII (April, 1942), 263-271; Maxwell R. Brooks, "American Class and Caste: An Appraisal," Social Forces, XXV (December, 1946), 207-211; Richard Centers, "Towards an Articulation of Two Approaches to Social Class Phenomena: I," International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research, IV (Winter, 1950), 499-514; Richard Centers, "Towards an Articulation of Two Approaches to Social Class Phenomena: II," International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research, V (Spring, 1951), 159-178; Ely Chinoy, "Research in Class Structure," review of Social Class in America: A Manual of Procedure, by W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XVI (May, 1950), 255-263; Oliver C. Cox, "Race and Caste: A Distinction," The American Journal of Sociology, L (March, 1945), 360-368;

It was the work of Warner with its stress upon the endogamous character of social class and its receipt for research which finally implicated American sociology in the consideration of social stratification and produced the notable

Kingsley Davis, Review of The Status System of a Modern Community, by W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The American Journal of Sociology, XLVIII (January, 1943), 511-513; Otis Dudley Duncan and Jay W. Artis, "Some Problems of Stratification Research," Rural Sociology, XVI (March, 1951), 17-29; Walter Goldschmidt, "Social Class in America: A Critical Review," American Anthropologist, LII (October-December, 1950), 483-498; Oscar Handlin, Review of The Social Life of a Modern Community and The Status System of a Modern Community, by W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, New England Quarterly, XV (September, 1945), 554-557; Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn, "Dominant and Substitute Profiles of Cultural Orientations: Their Significance for the Analysis of Social Stratification," Social Forces, XXVIII (May, 1950), 376-393; Ruth Rosner Kornhauser, "The Warner Approach to Social Stratification," Class, Status, and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 224-255 and 675-678; Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, "Social Status and Social Structure: A Re-examination of Data and Interpretations: I," The British Journal of Sociology, II (June, 1951), 150-168; Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, "Social Status and Social Structure: A Re-examination of Data and Interpretations: II," The British Journal of Sociology, II (September, 1951), 230-254; C. P. Loomis, J. A. Beegle, and T. W. Longmore, "Critique of Class as Related to Social Stratification," Sociometry, X (November, 1947), 319-337; Robert K. Merton, "Yankee Town," a review of The Social Life of a Modern Community, by W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, Survey Graphic, XXXI (October, 1942), 438-439; Harold W. Pfautz and Otis Dudley Duncan, "A Critical Evaluation of Warner's Work in Community Stratification," American Sociological Review, XV (April, 1950), 205-215; Pitirim A. Sorokin, Society, Culture, and Personality (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), pp. 256-295; S. M. Miller, "Social Class and the 'Typical' American Community," American Sociological Review, XV (April, 1950), 294-295; Paul K. Hatt, "Stratification in the Mass Society," American Sociological Review, XV (April, 1950), 216-222; Rudolf Heberle, Social Movements (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951), pp. 143-191; Walter R. Goldschmidt, "America's Social Classes: Is Equality a Myth?" Commentary, X (August, 1950), 175-181; Llewellyn Gross, "The Use of Class Concepts in Sociological Research," The American Journal of Sociology, LIV (March, 1949), 409-421;

studies, such as Who Shall Be Educated? and Elmtown's Youth,³⁹ which have given social scientists as "enormous and informative repository of data on stratification in a wide variety

Richard Centers, "Four Studies in Psychology and Social Status: A Special Review," a review of Social Class in America, by W. L. Warner, M. Meeker, and K. Eells, Elmtown's Youth, by A. B. Hollingshead, Adolescent Character and Personality, by R. J. Havighurst, Hilda Taba, et al., and Children of Brasstown, by Celia Burns Stendler, Psychological Bulletin, LXVII (May, 1950), 263-271; Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes: A Study of Class Consciousness (New York: Russell and Russell, 1961), appendix ii, pp. 226-229; Kurt Mayer, "The Theory of Social Classes," Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology (London: International Sociological Association, 1954), II, 321-335; John L. Haer, "A Test of the Unidimensionality of the Index of Status Characteristics," Social Forces, XXXIV (October, 1955), 56-58; James D. Beck, "Limitations of One Social Class Index When Comparing Races with Respect to Indices of Health," Social Forces, XLV (June, 1967), 586-588; Andreas Miller, "The Problem of Class Boundaries and Its Significance for Research into Class Structure," Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology (London: International Sociological Association, 1954), II, 343-352; Helen M. Wolfle, Review of Elmtown's Youth, by August B. Hollingshead, and Social Class in America, by W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, Science, CX (October 28, 1959), 456; and Kurt Mayer, "The Theory of Social Classes," Harvard Educational Review, XXIII (Fall, 1963), 149-167; Stephan Thernstrom, "Further Reflections on the Yankee City Series: The Pitfalls of Ahistorical Social Science," Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 225-239; Oswald Hall, Review of Social Class in America: A Manual of Procedure, by W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, The American Journal of Sociology, LVI (January, 1951), 366-368; and Paul K. Hatt, Review of Democracy in Jonesville, by W. Lloyd Warner and Associates, American Sociological Review, XIV (December, 1949), 811-812.

³⁹W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated?: The Challenge of Unequal Opportunities (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944); and August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth: The Impact of Social Classes on Adolescents (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949).

of American contexts."⁴⁰ The study of community status structures that Warner pioneered has been continuous, and most of it has merely aped him.

At the zenith of the "Warner period" two American sociologists, Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore, presented "Some Principles of Stratification."⁴¹ In what is now commonly referred to as the "functional theory of stratification," the authors asserted that stratification is functionally necessary because every society must have some mechanism for inducing its members to occupy positions that are socially important and require training and to perform the duties of these positions. The differential distribution of class and status attributes ensures that "the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons."⁴² Social stratification, they reasoned, is therefore functional, necessary, and inevitable. In their view stratification "becomes essentially an integrating structural attribute of social systems, and interclass relations are typically viewed as accommodative."⁴³ The thesis was not new. Indeed, it was

⁴⁰MacRae, Current Sociology, II, 25.

⁴¹Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification," American Sociological Review, X (April, 1945), 242-249.

⁴²Ibid., 243.

⁴³Harold F. Pfautz, "The Current Literature on Social Stratification: Critique and Bibliography," The American Journal of Sociology, LVIII (January, 1953), 392. It is interesting to note that only five years after Pfautz's observation,

the view of social inequality that had prevailed in America for 100 years and more: it was yet another footnote to Sumner.⁴⁴

IV

Since the end of the second World War, the amount of research and discussion about social stratification has steadily increased.⁴⁵ During this period, "the work in the field

Warner lamented, ". . . the literature on class conflict is far greater than that on the common tasks of society, or than on organized apportion (in Simmel's sense) among those who collaborate." W. Lloyd Warner, "The Study of Social Stratification," Review of Sociology, ed. Joseph B. Gittler (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957), p. 233.

⁴⁴It should be noted, however, that the functional theory of stratification was not alone in its provincialism. According to Bendix and Lipset: "Whatever its accomplishments or deficiencies, before World War II American sociology had a parochial orientation. Its mainstay was the empirical study of American society." Bendix and Lipset, Class, Status, and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective, p. xiii.

⁴⁵This increase is reflected in the publication of general textbooks in social stratification. Prior to 1953 there were only two volumes which, viewed broadly, would be considered stratification texts, but between 1953 and 1967 eleven were published. Cecil Clare North, Social Differentiation (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1926); Sorokin; Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1957); John F. Cuber and William F. Kenkel, Social Stratification in the United States (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1954); Kurt B. Mayer, Class and Society (New York: Random House, 1955); Bernard Barber, Social Stratification: A Comparative Analysis of Structure and Process (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1957); Reissman; Bergel; Harold M. Hodges, Jr., Social Stratification: Class in America (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing, 1964); Thomas E. Lasswell, Class and Stratum: An Introduction to Concepts and Research (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965); Kaare Svalastoga, Social Differentiation (New York: David McKay,

has been extremely scattered in character and reflects a wide range of interests and concerns"⁴⁶ varying all the way from the popular North-Hatt occupational prestige rankings, which leave unattended questions of their relevance to the central issues of stratification,⁴⁷ to Mills' White Collar, which at once combines economic, historical, and institutional data on a scale reminiscent of Veblen.⁴⁸ Despite this heterogeneity, some significant trends are discernible.⁴⁹ The total society

1965); Gerhard E. Lenski, Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966); and Melvin M. Tumin, Social Stratification: The Forms and Functions of Inequality (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967).

⁴⁶Lenski, Contemporary Sociology, p. 521.

⁴⁷For a cogent critical analysis of the studies of occupational prestige, see A. F. Davies, "Prestige of Occupations," The British Journal of Sociology, III (June, 1952), 134-147; or Joseph R. Gusfield and Michael Schwartz, "The Meanings of Occupational Prestige: Reconsideration of the NORC Scale," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (April, 1963), 265-271. For a description and evaluation of the much-used North-Hatt scale, see Albert J. Reiss, Jr., et al., Occupations and Social Status (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962).

⁴⁸Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," Opinion News, IX (September, 1947), 3-13; and C. Wright Mills, White Collar: The American Middle Classes, Galaxy Books (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).

⁴⁹Other trend assessments, varying in quality and scope of coverage, of the study of stratification in American sociology are: Nelson N. Foote, "Destratification and Restrati-
fication: An Editorial Forward," The American Journal of Sociology, LVIII (January, 1953), 325-326; Bendix and Lipset, Class, Status, and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification, pp. 7-16; Hinkle and Boskoff, Modern Sociological Theory, pp. 368-395; Kenkel, Life in Society, pp. 567-572; Lenski, Contemporary Sociology, pp. 521-538; MacRae, Current Sociology, II, 7-73; Mayer, Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology, II, 321-335; Raymond J. Murphy, "Some Recent Trends

was increasingly used as the unit of analysis,⁵⁰ and there was a renewed concern with vertical mobility because, to quote one authority, "it became apparent that our society was 'on the go' again. . . ."⁵¹ By and large, the mobility research of this period "coincided with a rejection of the doctrine of

in Stratification Theory and Research," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLVI (November, 1964), 142-167; Pfautz, The American Journal of Sociology, LVIII, 391-418; Kaare Svalastoga, "Social Differentiation," Handbook of Modern Sociology, ed. Robert E. L. Faris (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1964), pp. 530-575; Warner, Review of Sociology, pp. 221-258; Wirth, Current Sociology, II, 279-303; Suzanne Keller, "Sociology of Social Stratification, 1945-1955," Sociology in the United States of America, ed. Hans L. Zetterberg (Paris: UNESCO, 1956), pp. 114-119; Page, Goldschmidt, American Anthropologist, LII, 483-498; C. Arnold Anderson, "Recent American Research in Social Stratification," Mens en Maatschappij, XXXI (1955), 321-337; A. Majeed Khan, "Social Stratification: A Phase and a Process in Community Organization," Alpha Kappa Deltan, XXVII (Spring, 1957), 37-47; Gordon; Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, "Social Stratification," Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964), chap. xi, pp. 453-491; Bendix and Lipset, Class, Status, and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective, pp. xiii-xviii; and Edward Shils, "Class Stratification," The Present State of American Sociology (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1948), pp. 15-25.

⁵⁰Clearly, the most popular stratification studies in the years immediately following the war were "national" studies. See, for example, North and Hatt, Opinion News, IX, 3-12; Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes; C. Wright Mills, The New Men of Power: America's Labor Leaders (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948); and Mills, White Collar.

⁵¹Kenkel, Life in Society, p. 569. For summaries of research trends in the study of social mobility as well as annotated bibliographies, see Raymond W. Mack, Linton Freeman, and Seymour Yellin, Social Mobility: Thirty Years of Research and Theory--An Annotated Bibliography (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1957); and S. M. Miller, "Comparative Social Mobility: A Trend Report and Bibliography," Current Sociology, IX, No. 1 (1960), 1-89. See also, William L. Kolb, "Mobility," A Dictionary of the Social Sciences, ed. Julius

the nineteen-thirties that the rate of mobility in American society [was] declining."⁵² Stuart Adams, Suzanne Keller, Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, William Peterson, Natalie Rogoff, Gideon Sjöberg, W. Lloyd Warner and James Abegglen,⁵³ and many others⁵⁴ presented evidence that

Gould and William L. Kolb (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 434-435; and Melvin M. Tumin, "Social Class," A Dictionary of the Social Sciences, ed. Julius Gould and William L. Kolb (New York: The Free Press, 1964), p. 649.

⁵²Lenski, Contemporary Sociology, p. 523. The only notable exception to these data and interpretation is the report by Hertzler, which points to a declining rate of mobility. See Joyce O. Hertzler, "Some Tendencies Toward a Closed Class System in the United States," Social Forces, XXX (March, 1952), 313-323.

⁵³Stuart Adams, "Regional Differences in Vertical Mobility in a High-Status Occupation," American Sociological Review, XV (April, 1950), 228-235; Stuart Adams, "Trends in Occupational Origins of Physicians," American Sociological Review, XVIII (August, 1953), 404-409; Stuart Adams, "Trends in Occupational Origins of Business Leaders," American Sociological Review, XIX (October, 1954), 541-548; Stuart Adams, "Fact and Myth in Social Class Theory," The Ohio Journal of Science, LI (November, 1951), 313-319; Suzanne Keller, "The Social Origins and Career Lines of Three Generations of American Business Leaders" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1953); Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, "Ideological Egalitarianism and Social Mobility in the United States," Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology (London: International Sociological Association, 1954), II, 34-54; Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, "Social Mobility and Occupational Career Patterns, I: Stability of Job Holding," The American Journal of Sociology, LVII (January, 1952), 366-374; Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, "Social Mobility and Occupational Career Patterns, II: Social Mobility," The American Journal of Sociology, LVII (March, 1952), 494-504; Carson McGuire, "Social Stratification and Mobility Patterns," American Sociological Review, XV (April, 1950), 195-204; William Peterson, "Is America Still the Land of Opportunity? What Recent Studies Show About Social Mobility," Commentary, XVI (November, 1953), 477-486; Natalie Rogoff, Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953); Gideon Sjöberg, "Are Social Classes in America Becoming More Rigid?" American

indicated that "the rate of mobility in American society is at least as high today as it has been at any time in the last fifty to one hundred years, if not higher."⁵⁵

One of the most significant events in the American study of class inequality during the post-war period was the critique of the functional view of social stratification.⁵⁶

"Owing to sociological facts,"⁵⁷ several clarifications and

Sociological Review, XVI (December, 1951), 775-783; Alvin H. Scaff, "Comment on Sjoberg's Article on the Rigidity of Social Classes," American Sociological Review, XVII (June, 1952), 364; W. Lloyd Warner and James C. Abegglen, Occupational Mobility in American Business and Industry, 1928-1952 (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1955); and Elton F. Jackson and Harry J. Crockett, Jr., "Occupational Mobility in the United States: A Point Estimate and Trend Comparison," American Sociological Review, XXIX (February, 1964), 5-15.

⁵⁴For example, Kahl has stated that American society, "is not becoming markedly more rigid." Kahl, p. 268. Another student of American stratification has suggested that there "may even have been slightly more mobility in the present than in the past." Barber, p. 468. Kenkel has summarized post-depression mobility trends in the U. S. thus: "Most, but not all, subsequent research indicates that at least from generation to generation there is a great deal of vertical mobility, probably as much as there ever has been." Kenkel, Life in Society, p. 569.

⁵⁵Lenski, Contemporary Sociology, p. 524.

⁵⁶The original statement of the functional theory of stratification (Davis and Moore, American Sociological Review, X, 242-249) was slightly modified prior to any critical analysis of it. See Kingsley Davis, Human Society (New York: Macmillan Company, 1949), chap. xiv, pp. 364-389. The first major critique was: Melvin M. Tumin, "Some Principles of Stratification: A Critical Analysis," American Sociological Review, XVIII (August, 1953), 387-393.

⁵⁷Wlodzimierz Wesolowski, "Some Notes on the Functional Theory of Stratification," Polish Sociological Bulletin, Nos. 3-4 (5-6) (1962), 28.

modifications in the functional explanation of stratification have appeared since Melvin Tumin's original criticism.⁵⁸

⁵⁸Tumin, American Sociological Review, XVIII, 387-393; Kingsley Davis, "Reply," American Sociological Review, XVIII (August, 1953), 394-397; Wilbert E. Moore, "Comment," American Sociological Review, XVIII (August, 1953), 397; Melvin Tumin, "Reply to Kingsley Davis," American Sociological Review, XVIII (December, 1953), 672-673; Walter Buckley, "Social Stratification and Functional Theory of Social Differentiation," American Sociological Review, XXIII (August, 1958), 369-375; Kingsley Davis, "The Abominable Heresy: A Reply to Dr. Buckley," American Sociological Review, XXIV (February, 1959), 82-83; Marion J. Levy, Jr., "Functionalism: A Reply to Dr. Buckley," American Sociological Review, XXIV (February, 1959), 83-84; Walter Buckley, "A Rejoinder to Functionalists Dr. Davis and Dr. Levy," American Sociological Review, XXIV (February, 1959), 84-86; Wilbert E. Moore, "But Some Are More Equal Than Others," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (February, 1963), 13-18; Melvin Tumin, "On Inequality," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (February, 1963), 19-26; Wilbert E. Moore, "Rejoinder," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (February, 1963), 26-28; Walter Buckley, "On Equitable Inequality," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (October, 1963), 799-801. Other important contributions to the evaluation of this position are: Melvin Tumin, "Obstacles to Creativity," Etc.: A Review of General Semantics, XI (Summer, 1954), 261-271; C. Arnold Anderson, "The Need for a Functional Theory of Social Class," Rural Sociology, XIX (June, 1954), 152-160; Richard D. Schwartz, "Functional Alternatives to Inequality," American Sociological Review, XX (August, 1955), 424-430; Melvin M. Tumin, "Rewards and Task-orientations," American Sociological Review, XX (August, 1955), 419-423; Richard L. Simpson, "A Modification of the Functional Theory of Social Stratification," Social Forces, XXXV (December, 1956), 132-137; Melvin M. Tumin, "Some Disfunctions of Institutional Imbalance," Behavioral Science, I (July, 1956), 218-223; Walter J. Buckley, "Sociological Theory and Social Stratification" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1958); Dennis H. Wrong, "The Functional Theory of Stratification: Some Neglected Considerations," American Sociological Review, XXIV (December, 1959), 772-782; Werner Cohn, "Social Status and the Ambivalence Hypothesis: Some Critical Notes and a Suggestion," American Sociological Review, XXV (August, 1960), 508-513; Mathew Sgan, "On Social Status and Ambivalence," American Sociological Review, XXVI (February, 1961), 104; Werner Cohn, "Reply to Sgan," American Sociological Review, XXVI (February, 1961), 104-105; Melvin M. Tumin, "Competing Status Systems," Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas, ed. Wilbert E. Moore and Arnold S. Feldman (New York:

The most important consequence of the debate was the withdrawal from the ranks of sociological "principles" of the assertion that stratification ensures that the ablest and best trained persons conscientiously fill the most important positions in the society. As the critics pointed out, such an assertion assumes that all have equal opportunity to acquire training and all those who are equal in training have equal opportunity to

Social Science Research Council, 1960), pp. 277-290; Melvin M. Tumin, "Theoretical Implications," Social Class and Social Change in Puerto Rico (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961), chap. xxix, pp. 467-511; Wesolowski, Polish Sociological Bulletin, Nos. 3-4 (5-6), 28-38; Joseph Lopreato and Lionel S. Lewis, "An Analysis of Variables in the Functional Theory of Stratification," The Sociological Quarterly, IV (Autumn, 1963), 301-310; Joel B. Montague, Jr., Class and Nationality: English and American Studies (New Haven, Connecticut: College and University Press, 1963), pp. 30-38; Arthur Stinchcombe, "Some Empirical Consequences of the Davis-Moore Theory of Stratification," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (October, 1963), 805-808; Robert K. Bain and David E. Willer, "A Revision to the Functional Theory of Stratification" (an expanded and revised version of a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Sociological Society, 1963); George A. Huaco, "A Logical Analysis of the Davis-Moore Theory of Stratification," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (October, 1963), 801-804; Dennis H. Wrong, "Social Inequality without Social Stratification," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, I (February, 1964), 5-16; Joan Rytina, "The Ideology of American Stratification" (an unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1967), chap. iii; Michael Young, The Rise of the Meritocracy, 1870-2033; An Essay on Education and Equality, Pelican Books (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1958); Laurence Keith Miller, "An Experimental Test of the Davis-Moore Theory of Reward Differentiation" (an unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, 1961); Stuart A. Queen, "The Function of Social Stratification: A Critique," Sociology and Social Research, XLVI (July, 1962), 412-415; and Irving Louis Horowitz, "Sociology and Politics: The Myth of Functionalism Revisited," The Journal of Politics, XXV (May, 1963), 248-264.

occupy positions that yield the highest reward. Moreover, as John Porter observed, "The functional view of social class can not escape the charge of being a product of conservative ideology and a theory to support the status quo. It does not sound unlike the view of society put forward by associations of manufacturers. . . ." ⁵⁹

The critique of functionalism was contemporaneous with another telling event in the study of social stratification, the investigation of power. Mills had argued that, while the study of community prestige structures was relevant, it was neither the sole nor the central concern of stratification analysis. ⁶⁰ The shift of emphasis away from prestige which Mills had encouraged was realized with the publication of Floyd Hunter's Community Power Structure and Mills' The Power Elite, which focused on the problem of stratification primarily in terms of the unequal distribution of economic power. ⁶¹ In these studies Hunter and Mills clearly departed from the American style of stratification research. They owed more to Marx and Weber than to Parsons and Warner. ⁶² They did not hold sway for very long.

⁵⁹John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada, Canadian University Paperbacks (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 17.

⁶⁰Mills, American Sociological Review, VII, 263-271.

⁶¹Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1953); and C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite, Galaxy Books (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959).

⁶²Parsons, like Warner and other functionalists, generally

V

Just two years after Mills wrote The Power Elite,⁶³ Gerhard Lenski warned that "an undue emphasis is coming to be placed on economic power to the neglect of other forms of power";⁶⁴ and Lenski went on to suggest that the individual's position in the stratification order was influenced not only by occupation but also by age, education, ethnicity, race, religion, and sex. "If the trend to phrase questions pertaining to stratification in terms of power becomes a trend to phrase questions solely in terms of economic power," Lenski admonished, "the gains which will accrue will very largely be offset by corresponding losses both in theoretical insight and in predictive value."⁶⁵ The caveat was soon needless. The study of power has drifted into a study of empty middle class issues at the community level.⁶⁶

neglected power. See, Talcott Parsons, "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," The American Journal of Sociology, XLV (May, 1940), 841-862; and Talcott Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," Class, Status, and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (Glen-coe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 92-128 and 665-667.

⁶³Mills, The Power Elite.

⁶⁴Lenski, Contemporary Sociology, p. 530.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 531.

⁶⁶See, for example, Nelson W. Polsby, Community Power and Political Theory (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1963). According to Thomas Anton: "Pluralists quite vigorously deny the permanency of power--or to put it differently, that power is structured in any way. Thus if superficial evidence suggests that no power exists in a particular community,

While Lenski was implying that many variables were equally consequential in determining position in the stratification order, there was emerging a body of literature about "mass society" which testified, once again, to the unreality of stratification.⁶⁷ According to mass society theory, America was principally affluent and classless, almost exclusively middle class, no bottom, no top. Peter Drucker argued that America was an "employee society"; because everyone was an employee, the study of stratification wasn't even

pluralist presuppositions warrant the conclusion that any further examination might well turn out to be a waste of time. . . . Beyond this there is the question of whether persons using pluralist methodology could recognize issues. Issues can be defined either by the observer's commitment to an ideological outlook that defines important problems or by his ability to comprehend fully the issue definitions of the people he studies. The pluralist literature, however, claims no ideology, other than commitment to empirical science--a commitment which emphasizes that which is rather than that which ought to be. And interestingly enough, pluralist ability to get 'into the heads' of its subjects appears to be hampered by a similar acceptance of the existing political order." Thomas J. Anton, "Power, Pluralism, and Local Politics," Administrative Science Quarterly, VII (March, 1963), 454. For a critical commentary of this article, see Robert A. Dahl, "Letter to the Editor," Administrative Science Quarterly, VIII (September, 1963), 250-256. See also, Thomas Anton, "Rejoinder," Administrative Science Quarterly, VIII (September, 1963), 257-268.

⁶⁷See Philip Selznick, "Institutional Vulnerability in Mass Society," The American Journal of Sociology, LVI (January, 1953), 320-331; and Nisbet, The Pacific Sociological Review, II, 15. At about the same time, Wirth commented that the American study of social stratification "should be viewed in the light of the fact that American society and American scholarship largely take the democratic value of equality of opportunity for granted." Wirth, Current Sociology, II, 280.

relevant.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, Talcott Parsons recorded the disappearance of "the traditional 'bottom' of the occupational pyramid . . ." and argued, "If anything this will tend to make our class structure even more predominantly 'middle-class' than it already is."⁶⁹ Daniel Bell essayed The End of Ideology and John Kenneth Galbraith wrote the obituary for economic inequality.⁷⁰ The outstanding feature of the American social structure was said to be the absence of any significant class stratification.⁷¹ According to Robert E. L. Faris:

⁶⁸Peter F. Drucker, "The Employee Society," The American Journal of Sociology, LVIII (January, 1953), 358-363. For a critical analysis of Drucker's thesis, see James B. McKee, "Status and Power in the Industrial Community: A Comment on Drucker's Thesis," The American Journal of Sociology, LVIII (January, 1953), 364-370.

⁶⁹Parsons, Class, Status, and Power, pp. 124-125.

⁷⁰Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960); and John Kenneth Galbraith, The Affluent Society (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958).

⁷¹In 1960, the President of the American Sociological Association wrote: "The upper class, as a class, may also be dissolving in various ways into a middle level. There remain wealthy families, but these behave less and less like a class. Dynasties do not rule from an upper level; there are too many new fortunes for that. Prestige is no upper-class monopoly--it is distributed among parvenu entertainers, athletes, politicians, evangelists, authors, and other self-made citizens. Nor is power a class matter; it is hard for a sociologist to take seriously the currently popular concept of a national power elite. Power in reality comes from the millions of voters and purchasers, organized and unorganized, in a complex flow of forces. Robert E. L. Faris, "The Middle Class from a Sociological Viewpoint," Social Forces, XXXIX (October, 1960), 1. See also Robert E. L. Faris, "The Alleged Class System in the United States," Research Studies of the State College of Washington, XXII (June, 1954), 77-83.

The sociological meaning of the evolution of our nation toward a general middle-class condition is simply that the complex organization which civilized man lives by continues to grow and to embrace more fully the hitherto less organized strata at the lower income and educational levels. It is essentially a trend toward a more complete participation for these people in modern civilization.⁷²

Ironically, the same year that Faris celebrated the extension of middle-class civilization to the lower class, American sociologists learned that millions of other Americans lived in poverty.⁷³ The pervasive conception of America as "a middle-class society in which some people were simply more middle class than others"⁷⁴ began to be seriously questioned.

VI

Although a trend toward more comparative study has obtained in the past few years,⁷⁵ the study of social

⁷²Faris, Social Forces, XXXIX, 5.

⁷³In a recent doctoral dissertation about poverty in America, the author observed: "It is to be noted that virtually all of the selections from contemporary times are from non-sociological sources: this is a consequence of the minimal attention to poverty by modern sociologists." Jack Leslie Roach, "Economic Deprivation and Lower Class Behavior" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1964), p. 85. Ironically, according to Hughes, "poverty was a main object of study by the people . . . who brought modern sociology into being." Everett C. Hughes, "Comment," The American Journal of Sociology, LXXI (July, 1965), 75.

⁷⁴Bottomore, p. 105.

⁷⁵"perhaps the most obvious--and the most significant--development in recent American stratification research is the increasing number of studies utilizing data obtained from societies other than the United States." Murphy, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLVI, 144. See also, Bendix and Lipset, Class, Status, and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective, pp. xiii-xviii.

stratification by American sociologists has been noticeably ahistorical, atheoretical,⁷⁶ apolitical, middle-class, status-conscious, and conceptually confusing.⁷⁷ This is not to deny the obvious--the contributions of the Lynds, Mills, Veblen, Warner and others; that would be foolhardy. It is only to put the record in proper perspective: coruscating analysis of class stratification is at least as rare as a day in June.

Perhaps because so much of American sociology started with the functional perspective have so few American sociologists investigated economic class and so many others defined class in terms of the differential evaluation which some people make of others according to possible and sometimes artificial lists of personal characteristics and idiosyncratic expressions.⁷⁸

⁷⁶According to Bendix and Lipset: "On the whole, studies of social stratification in the United States under-emphasize both the theoretical and the historical aspects of the problem." Bendix and Lipset, Class, Status, and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification, p. 7.

⁷⁷In his review of the study of social stratification in the United States, Wirth wrote: "Except for a few studies, such as the comprehensive reports on recent economic changes and recent social trends, the social research in the United States concerned with social stratification and mobility consists for the most part of a great multitude of specific inquiries which are only rarely directly linked either to the effort to obtain a general view of the changing American society as a whole or to the testing of general hypotheses suggested by the earlier, more philosophically or politically oriented literature." Wirth, Current Sociology, II, 280.

⁷⁸This method, as Porter correctly pointed out, assumes that the ranking dimension is one of prestige rather than wealth or power." Porter, p. 9. For a brief, albeit convincing, discussion of the implications of American ideology for

These criticisms are by no means theoretical cavil for, as Lynd once commented, when it comes to the study of class stratification, "the social sciences tiptoe evasively around the problem."⁷⁹ As recently as a decade ago, MacRae observed:

In America the public (and many sociologists apparently) have had to be convinced that they live in a society where statuses are invidiously ranked, where stratification is an aspect of social structure, and where social class is a reality. Not all American sociologists are yet convinced that class matters.⁸⁰

"Yet, what we see," James McKee once wrote, "we see from a particular vantage point,"⁸¹ and the vantage point of functionalism gives a different picture of society than does the vantage point of Marx or Weber. Indeed, the very locus at which the functional view of stratification drew its heaviest criticism, the assumption of equal opportunity according to

the methodology of class, see Reissman, chap. i, pp. 3-32. "Forced as they finally were into the recognition of social differences in spite of past beliefs and values, Americans apparently preferred the somewhat milder connotations of a status vocabulary to those of a class vocabulary. American social scientists for the most part have followed that choice." Reissman, p. 31.

⁷⁹Robert S. Lynd, "Tiptoeing Around Class," review of The Psychology of Social Classes, by Richard Centers, The New Republic CXXI (July 25, 1949), 17.

⁸⁰MacRae, Current Sociology, II, 18. See also, Robert E. Herriott and Nancy Hoyt St. John, Social Class and The Urban School: The Impact of Pupil Background of Teachers and Principals (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), pp. 15-17. In their identification of the many questions regarding social class research in the U.S.A. which remain unresolved, Herriott and St. John list as the first question: "Is social stratification a reality in America?" Ibid., p. 16.

⁸¹McKee, The American Journal of Sociology, LVIII, 364.

individual capacities,⁸² is the anti-thesis of Weber's view of stratification. In Weber's writings, social stratification is defined as the inequality of opportunity; it is the way inequality is organized into the fabric of society.⁸³ Weber's view of social stratification serves as the point of departure for this dissertation.

⁸²Bottomore, p. 26; and Wirth, Current Sociology, II, 283.

⁸³Weber, pp. 180-195.

CHAPTER II

CLASS SITUATION

In what is probably the most famous anecdote about James McKee and John Useem, Useem is reported to have remarked to McKee, "Language is the greatest achievement of man." "Yes," replied McKee, "just look at the current state of stratification theory." McKee had the better of the exchange, and all major histories of the sociology of stratification have chronicled his essential point: The clarity of stratification concepts is inversely related to the significance of the phenomena with which they purport to deal.¹

¹See, for example, Milton M. Gordon, Social Class in American Sociology (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1958), especially chap. i, pp. 3-20; Llewellyn Gross, "The Use of Class Concepts in Sociological Research," The American Journal of Sociology, LIV (March, 1949), 409-421; Rudolf Heberle, "Recovery of Class Theory," The Pacific Sociological Review, II (Spring, 1959), 18-24; Joel B. Montague, Jr., "Class or Status Society?" Sociology and Social Research, XL (May-June, 1956), 333-338; Robert A. Nisbet, "The Decline and Fall of Social Class," The Pacific Sociological Review, II (Spring, 1959), 11-17; Paul Mombert, "Class," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman (New York: Macmillan Company, 1930), III, 531-536; Charles Hunt Page, Class and American Sociology: From Ward to Ross (New York: Octagon Books, 1964), pp. 252-254; Arnold M. Rose, "The Concept of Class and American Sociology," Social Research, XXV (Spring, 1958), 53-69; George Simpson, "Class Analysis: What Class is Not," American Sociological Review, IV (December, 1939), 827-835; Pitirim A. Sorokin, "What is a Social Class?" Journal of Legal and Political Sociology, IV (Summer, 1946-Winter, 1947), 5-28; Milton M. Gordon, "Social Class in American Sociology,"

Indeed, "probably no area of current sociological interest suffers so much from the disease of overconceptualization."²

The American Journal of Sociology, LV (November, 1949), 262-268; Bernard Barber, "Discussion of Papers by Professor Nisbet and Professor Heberle," The Pacific Sociological Review, II (Spring, 1959), 25-27; Otis Dudley Duncan, "Discussion of Papers by Professor Nisbet and Professor Heberle," The Pacific Sociological Review, II (Spring, 1959), 27-28; Donald G. MacRae, "Social Stratification: A Trend Report," Current Sociology, II, No. 1 (1953-1954), 26; Thomas E. Lasswell, "Social Class and Social Stratification: Preface," Sociology and Social Research, L (April, 1966), 277-279; Oliver C. Cox, "Estates, Social Classes, and Political Classes," American Sociological Review, X (August, 1945), 464-469; Melvin M. Tumin, "Social Class," A Dictionary of the Social Sciences, ed. Julius Gould and William L. Kolb (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 648-650; John W. McConnell, The Evolution of Social Classes (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942), chap. v, pp. 196-212; Paul K. Hatt, "Stratification in the Mass Society," American Sociological Review, XV (April, 1950), 216-222; Joel B. Montague, Jr., "Social Class," Class and Nationality: English and American Studies (New Haven, Connecticut: College and University Press, 1963), chap. i, pp. 19-43; Peter L. Berger, Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Perspective (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1963), p. 79; W. G. Runciman, "The Three Dimensions of Social Inequality," Relative Deprivation and Social Justice: A Study of Attitudes to Social Inequality in Twentieth-Century England (Berkeley, California: The University of California Press, 1966), chap. iii, pp. 36-52; Travis J. Northcutt, Jr. and William Butler Horton, Jr., "Social Class: An Introduction to Basic Concepts, Theories, and Measurements," Mental Health and the Lower Social Classes, ed. Kent S. Miller and Charles M. Grigg (Tallahassee, Florida: The Florida State University, 1966), chap. i, pp. 1-22; Paul M. Roman and Harrison M. Trice, "A Note on 'Social Class,'" Schizophrenia and the Poor (Ithaca, New York: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, 1967), pp. 22-25; and Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959), chap. i, pp. 3-35.

²Harold M. Pfautz, "The Current Literature on Social Stratification: Critique and Bibliography," The American Journal of Sociology, LVIII (January, 1953), 392. The essential problem has not been limited to sociology, however. See, for example, L. M. Hanks, Jr., "Merit and Power in Thai Social Order," American Anthropologist, LXIV (December, 1962), 1247-1261.

The study of social stratification is satiated with a "plethora of verbiage with hair-splitting distinctions, inconsistencies in usage, and seemingly endless adumbration of impressive language."³ If language is the acme of the man of learning, it is also his acme.⁴

I

Nowhere has this conceptual confusion been more complete and more consequential than in the study of class.⁵ Research in this area has varied so considerably in the definition of class and the indexes used to discriminate class that, as David Glass once observed, "One of the difficulties [lies] in the fact that, as is so frequently the case, we do not know what we know."⁶

³John F. Cuber and William F. Kenkel, Social Stratification in the United States (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1954), p. 3.

⁴Bierstedt, presumably writing for a male audience, emphasized the essential problem thus: "Words are like women--seductive, inconsistent, unpredictable, frequently faithless, and full of hidden meanings. We cannot think at all without words and often cannot think straight because of them." Robert Bierstedt, The Social Order: An Introduction to Sociology (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1963), p. 19.

⁵"Although in everyday talk we think we are quite clear as to the meaning of class distinction, the more closely one examines its actual content the vaguer its form becomes." Karl Mannheim, Systematic Sociology, ed. J. S. Eros and W. A. C. Stewart (New York: Philosophical Library, 1957), p. 140. See also, Richard A. Kurtz, "The Public Use of Sociological Concepts: Culture and Social Class," The American Sociologist, I (August, 1966), 187-189; and Jack L. Roach, "To the Editor," The American Sociologist (May, 1967), 100.

⁶D. V. Glass, "Preface," Current Sociology, II, No. 4 (1953-1954), 277.

For example, relatively few American studies of class have systematically utilized economic criteria as the basic operational measure of class stratification. Instead they have tended to combine various economic, cultural, and psychological attributes whose relationship to class stratification becomes obscured.⁷ Status, prestige, power, and even etiquette have been incorporated into a single vague conception of class.⁸ The analytical problems that result from such ambiguous definitions are numerous. In his well-known review of the first volume of the "Yankee City" series, C. Wright Mills argued that, in confounding class

⁷The standard citation in this regard is the work of Warner and his associates. See, for example, W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, Social Class in America: The Evaluation of Status (New York: Harper and Row, 1960); W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1941); and W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Status System of a Modern Community (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1942). However, the use of class as an omnibus term is not limited to Warner et al. For example: "Interviewers were instructed to categorize the respondent's social class in one of four ranked groups (from A, highest, through D, lowest), depending on a list of criteria provided by a Peruvian commercial research firm. Although the judgments were largely subjective, differences among the classes in education, expenditure, occupational distribution, etc., are marked. These subjectively determined categories will be used throughout the present analysis." J. Mayone Stycos, "Social Class and Preferred Family Size in Peru," The American Journal of Sociology, LXX (May, 1965), 651.

⁸"We have lumped together social stratification as I have defined it above, income stratification, power stratification, ethnic stratification, and a dozen other independently variable aspects of behavior in society." Barber, The Pacific Sociological Review, II, 26. See also, Heberle, The Pacific Sociological Review, II, 18; and C. Arnold Anderson, "Recent American Research in Social Stratification," Mens en Maatschappij, XXXI (1955), 321-327.

stratification with status, sociologists thus buried a fundamental explanation of life chances.⁹ Echoing Max Weber's chief criticism against Karl Marx,¹⁰ Mills maintained that nothing was gained and much was lost by lumping these concepts together.¹¹ In these studies, where a whole set of variables is simultaneously related to some particular feature of social life, it is not possible to ascertain which of the variables

⁹From the insistence upon merely one vertical dimension and the consequent absorbing of these three analytically separable dimensions into the one sponge word 'class' flow the chief confusions of interpretation and the empirical inadequacies which characterize this study." C. Wright Mills, Review of The Social Life of a Modern Community, by W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, American Sociological Review, VII (April, 1942), 265. See also, Montague, Sociology and Social Research, XL, 333; T. B. Bottomore, Sociology: A Guide to Problems and Literature (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963), p. 190; C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 54; Stanislaw Ossowski, Class Structure in the Social Consciousness, trans. Sheila Patterson (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), p. 139 and 162; Don Martindale, American Social Structure: Historical Antecedents and Contemporary Analysis (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960), pp. 454-455.

¹⁰Max Weber, "Class, Status, Party," From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, ed. and trans. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958).

¹¹Ironically, this analytical distinction of class and status which most sociologists identify as Weber's chief contribution to the sociology of social inequality, has been entombed in Parsons' translation of the German Klassenlage as "class status." See, Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. A. M. Henderson, and trans. and ed. Talcott Parsons (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1947), p. 425. As Dahrendorf has noted, "By the very fact of misleading they can create terms that acquire a life of their own." Dahrendorf, p. 7. The phrase "class status" has been used by several sociologists. See, for example, Seymour Martin Lipset, The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1963), p. 115.

is producing the effect or, if more than one is consequential, what the differential significance is: "Being used to refer to so many different things, it gives no clear explanation of any of them."¹² Considerable confusion has resulted from these "attempts to make the concept mean too much at once, and thus too little in the long run."¹³

In addition to using these omnifarious conceptions of class, many empiricists "have tried to escape involvement in the theoretical disputes by producing their own ad hoc definitions."¹⁴ August Hollingshead and Frederick Redlich, for

¹²Simpson, American Sociological Review, IV, 827.

¹³Ibid. Many other scholars have criticized the use of class as an omnibus concept. Heberle, for example, said: "In any case, it seems to me that one should not incorporate in the concept of class all the phenomena which may or may not be correlated with classes in concrete situations." Heberle, The Pacific Sociological Review, II, 18. See also, Anderson, Mens en Maatschappij, XXXI, 321-327.

¹⁴Kurt B. Mayer, Review of Power and Privilege, by Gerhard E. Lenski, Social Forces, XLV (December, 1966), 283. See also, Barber, The Pacific Sociological Review, II, 27. For example: "Social classes will be defined as aggregates of individuals who occupy broadly similar positions in the scale of prestige. In dealing with the research literature, we shall treat occupational position (or occupational position as weighted somewhat by education) as a serviceable index of social class for urban American society." Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and Parent-child Relationships: An Interpretation," The American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII (January, 1963), 472. In another study: "The variable socioeconomic status (XI) is based on a weighted combination of father's occupation, father's formal educational level, mother's formal educational level, an estimate of the funds the family could provide if the student were to attend college, the degree of sacrifice this would entail for the family, and the approximate wealth and income status of the student's family. The sample was divided into four roughly equal groups, labeled High, Upper Middle, Lower Middle, and

example, determined class position according to a weighting of the social rank of the area of residence, occupation, and education of the head of the family.¹⁵ "The weights used in the formula for computing the summary index and the cutting points used to distinguish between classes were decided on specifically for this study and are not extrapolation from theory or other research."¹⁶ In another, more recent, study, the authors flatly state:

As is well known there is no consensus on what is meant by class. Most writers use indices of socio-economic status such as occupation, education and income interchangeably with the concept of social class. In this report the term class will also refer to socio-economic status.¹⁷

The particular definition of class which these authors decided to use is epiphenomenal.¹⁸ The point at issue is the

Low in socioeconomic status." (Authors' emphasis.) William H. Sewell and Vimal P. Shah, "Socioeconomic Status, Intelligence and the Attainment of Higher Education," Sociology of Education, XL (Winter, 1967), 3-4.

¹⁵August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness: A Community Study (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958), chap. ii, pp. 18-44, and appendix two, pp. 387-397.

¹⁶Emphasis mine. S. M. Miller and Elliot G. Mishler, "Social Class, Mental Illness, and American Psychiatry: An Expository Review," a review of Social Class and Mental Illness, by August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XXXVII (April, 1959), 175.

¹⁷Authors' emphasis. Jack L. Roach, Lionel S. Lewis, and Murray A. Beauchamp, "The Effects of Race and Socio-economic Status on Family Planning," Journal of Health and Social Behavior, VIII (March, 1967), 40.

¹⁸Actually, the authors never use the definition they give. Rather, they report their data separately according to "occupation of head of household" and "weekly family income." Ibid., 42.

manner in which they legitimated their selection: Because "there is no consensus on what is meant by class,"¹⁹ one is free to select any definition.

In still another variation on this theme, Donald McKinley fused simplistic terminology with Hollingshead's "index of social position"²⁰ to produce class categories.²¹ The result was a three-fold class classification with the least desirable features of both parents: "Upper class" included owners, entrepreneurs, managers, professionals, and semi-professionals; "middle class" included "small" store proprietors, salesmen, clerks, and "lower" white collar workers; and "lower class" included skilled, semiskilled, unskilled, etc. Recognizing the counterfeit quality of his classification, McKinley explained:

Our "lower class" includes individuals of considerably higher status than are usually grouped within that term. Also, our "upper class" is rather middle class. It is hoped that this deviation from customary terminology is justified by the increased simplicity of phrases.²²

¹⁹Ibid., 40.

²⁰It is noteworthy that Hollingshead refers to his index as one of "social position" because he and all other researchers who have used it report their findings according to "class" or "social class."

²¹Donald Gilbert McKinley, Social Class and Family Life (New York: The Free Press, 1964).

²²Emphasis mine. Ibid., p. 68.

In many instances, class has been singularly but variously operationally defined as collar color,²³ residential rent,²⁴ residential area,²⁵ social participation,²⁶ occupational prestige,²⁷ average monthly income,²⁸ father's

²³See, for example, Norbert F. Wiley, "Class and Local Politics in Three Michigan Communities" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1962); and Erich Goode, "Social Class and Church Participation," The American Journal of Sociology, LXXII (July, 1966), 102-111.

²⁴See, for example, C. Arnold Anderson, "Social Class Differentials in the Schooling of Youth Within the Regions and Community-size Groups of the United States," Social Forces, XXV (May, 1947), 434-440; A. J. Mayer and P. M. Hauser, "Class Differentials in Expectation of Life at Birth," Revue de l'Institut Internationale de Statistique, XVIII (1950), 197-200; and Katherine B. Laughton, Carol W. Buck, and G. E. Hobbs, "Socio-economic Status and Illness," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XXXVI (January, 1958), 46-57.

²⁵See, for example, August B. Hollingshead, "Cultural Factors in the Selection of Marriage Mates," American Sociological Review, XV (October, 1950), 619-627; and, Paul K. Hatt, "Class and Ethnic Attitudes," American Sociological Review, XIII (February, 1948), 36-43. Others, like Bierstedt, are more cautious in this regard: "Nevertheless, in the absence of other criteria sheer location of residence can usually serve as an index of class position." Bierstedt, p. 456.

²⁶See, for example, F. Stuart Chapin, "Social Participation and Social Intelligence," American Sociological Review, IV (April, 1939), 157-166; and Donald G. Hay, "A Scale for the Measurement of Social Participation of Rural Households," Rural Sociology, XIII (September, 1948), 285-294.

²⁷"Indeed recent investigations of social stratification and social mobility have been carried out largely in terms of occupational prestige scales." Bottomore, p. 190. See, for example, Robert P. Stuckert, "Occupational Mobility and Family Relationships," Social Forces, XLI (March, 1963), 301-307; F. Ivan Nye, James F. Short, and Virgil J. Olson, "Socio-economic Status and Delinquent Behavior," The American Journal of Sociology, LXIII (January, 1958), 384-388; W. Coutu, "The Relative Prestige of Occupations," Social Forces, XIV (May, 1936), 522-529; and Joel B. Montague, Jr., "A Cross-national Study of Attitudes by Social Class,"

occupation,²⁹ and annual family income.³⁰ In one study, registration in a private school was used as the sole index of upper class membership.³¹ In another study "employment in domestic service, attendance of the children at public school, and appearance in the social register were criteria for identifying lower-, middle-, and upper-class persons, respectively."³² While most of these studies provide definitions that are sufficiently clear and delimited to permit re-testing in other research,³³ the theoretical issues of

Research Studies of the State College of Washington, XXIV (September, 1956), 238-246.

²⁸See, for example, William G. Mather, "Income and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, VI (June, 1941), 380-383.

²⁹See, for example, Albert J. Reiss, Jr., and A. Lewis Rhodes, "Status Deprivation and Delinquent Behavior," The Sociological Quarterly, IV (Spring, 1963), 135-149; Mary Ellen Patno, "On the Utilization of a Public Health Population in the Study of Morbidity Experience" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1955); Robert M. Dinkel, "Occupation and Fertility in the United States," American Sociological Review, XVII (April, 1952), 179; and Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes: A Study of Class Consciousness (New York: Russell and Russell, 1961), p. 15.

³⁰See, for example, Ronald Freedman, Lolagene C. Coombs, and Judith Friedman, "Social Correlates of Fetal Mortality," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XLIV (July, 1966), 327-344.

³¹M. Ward Cramer, "Leisure Time Activities of Economically Privileged Children," Sociology and Social Research, XXXIV (1949-1950), 444-450.

³²Pfautz, The American Journal of Sociology, LVIII, 395. The study to which Pfautz refers is: James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll, "Ritual in Family Living," American Sociological Review, XIV (August, 1949), 463-469.

³³Many studies do not. For example, Baeumler offers the following, perplexing, description of his "operational

stratification are essentially ignored. These studies typically divide their samples into two or more units according to some monistic definition of class and then report how one or more variables correlate (if at all) with "class."³⁴ This sort of thing, done well, has interest, but it adds not at all to the clarification or conclusion of any central question of stratification. Moreover, since so many of these researches have defined class differently (albeit technically, clearly, and narrowly) it is difficult to sift the wheat from the chaff: comparison of the results among these various studies is arduous at best and the diversity of definitions thwarts any cumulation of results.³⁵

definition": "Families were classified as middle-class if the main wage earner was engaged in a white-collar occupation and had at least a high school diploma. Working-class families derived their livelihood from blue-collar jobs and generally showed lower educational attainments." Walter L. Baeumler, "The Correlates of Formal Participation Among High School Students," Sociological Inquiry, XXXV (Spring, 1965), 237.

³⁴See, for example, Mather, American Sociological Review, VI, 380-383; Robert E. Herriott and Nancy Hout St. John, Social Class and The Urban School: The Impact of Pupil Background on Teachers and Principals (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), pp. 16-17; and John Janeway Conger, Wilbur C. Miller, Robert V. Rainey, Charles R. Walsmith, and the Staff of the Behavior Research Project, Personality, Social Class, and Delinquency (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), pp. 22-24.

³⁵In the words of Bendix and Lipset: "Much of this research is interesting and important, but it is not, in our judgment, cumulative either theoretically or methodologically." Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, "Introduction," Class, Status, and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), p. 15. This state of

II

In view of this perennial chaos regarding the concept of class it is not surprising that many sociologists now contend that the concept of class is no longer relevant for the analysis of American society. Several authorities, including Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, have concluded that "correlations between class position and birthrate or illness, which existed at earlier periods of American history, no longer hold true in a period of affluence. . . ." ³⁶

Investigations by Saxon Graham, ³⁷ Charles Kadushin, ³⁸

affairs has led to a number of studies in which the major task has been simply to ascertain the comparability of the measures. See, for example, Joseph A. Kahl and James A. Davis, "A Comparison of Indexes of Socio-economic Status," American Sociological Review, XX (June, 1956), 317-325. See also, Vernon Davies, "Comment on J. A. Kahl and J. A. Davis, 'A Comparison of Indexes of Socio-economic Status,'" American Sociological Review, XX (December, 1955), 716-717; and Joseph A. Kahl and James A. Davis, "Reply to Vernon Davies," American Sociological Review, XX (December, 1955), 717.

³⁶Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, "Introduction," Class, Status, and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. xv. The prevalence of this interpretation is indicated (admittedly inadequately) by the fact that a recent introductory textbook of sociology uses data from 1940 to document that "the people in the lower working class live an average of eight years less than members of the highest classes." Paul E. Mott, The Organization of Society (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 213. This same book uses data from 1935-1936 to document an inverse relationship between class and morbidity and 1941 data to document an inverse relationship between class and receipt of health care. Ibid., p. 214.

³⁷"The one unequivocal statement that may be made is that . . . no appreciable differences, as we defined them, existed among socio-economic status groups in illness and use of hospitals." Saxon Graham, "Socio-economic Status, Illness,

Mary Patno,³⁹ Katherine Laughton et al.,⁴⁰ and Ronald Freedman et al.⁴¹ indicate that class differentials for morbidity and mortality have disappeared altogether. Similarly, several scholars have reported a lack of relationship between class and education.⁴² Dael Wolfle, for example, has concluded that, once individuals are in college, "the influence of socioeconomic differences disappears almost entirely."⁴³

and the Use of Medical Services," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XXXV (January, 1957), 65-66.

³⁸"This paper reviews the evidence collected since Malthus and concludes that in recent years in North America there is very little association between becoming ill and social class, although the lower classes still feel more sick. Nevertheless, social scientists have consistently refused to recognize that the world is changing." (Author's emphasis.) Charles Kadushin, "Social Class and the Experience of Ill Health," Sociological Inquiry, XXXIV (Winter, 1964), 67.

³⁹Patno, "On the Utilization of a Public Health Population in the Study of Morbidity Experience."

⁴⁰"The three groups [classes] did not differ in total illness or in the psychiatric and psychosomatic illnesses." Laughton, Buck, and Hobbs, Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XXXVI, 57.

⁴¹"In the Detroit study no consistent relationship could be found between either family or husband's income and the fetal loss reported at the initial interview. . . . No evidence is available to indicate higher rates among the low income families." Freedman, Coombs, and Friedman, Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XLIV, 335.

⁴²It is noteworthy that a recent introductory sociology textbook uses data from 1937, 1938 and 1940 to demonstrate to its readers that educational attainment is differentially related to class. See Everett K. Wilson, Sociology: Rules, Roles, and Relationships (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1966), p. 174.

⁴³Dael Wolfle, America's Resources of Specialized Talent (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), pp. 160-163. See also, Paul Heist, "The Entering College Student--Background

It has also been reported that class is of little or no significance in determining who goes to college. Robert Havighurst, for example, has recently emphasized the "expansion of educational opportunities for able students from working-class and lower-middle-class homes";⁴⁴ and, according to Talcott Parsons, "The economic difficulties of going to college are not the principal barriers even for those from relatively low income families."⁴⁵ Still other researchers have reported that attitudes about mental illness and post-hospital performance of mental patients do not vary according to one's class position.⁴⁶

According to Robert Nisbet:

and Characteristics," Review of Educational Research, XXX (October, 1960), 291; and Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1962), p. 233.

⁴⁴Robert J. Havighurst, "The Impact of Population Change and Working Force Change on American Education," Educational Record, XLI (October, 1960), 348. See also, Burton R. Clark, "The Coming Shape of Higher Education in the United States," International Journal of Comparative Sociology, II (September, 1961), 203-211.

⁴⁵Talcott Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," Class, Status, and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), p. 127.

⁴⁶See, for example, Howard E. Freeman, "Attitudes Toward Mental Illness Among Relatives of Former Patients," American Sociological Review, XXVI (April, 1961), 59-66; and Mark Lefton, Shirley Angrist, Simon Dinitz, and Benjamin Pasamanick, "Social Class, Expectations, and Performance of Mental Patients," The American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII (July, 1962), 79-87.

About the most that research comes up with is that wealthy persons spend their money more freely, choose, when possible, better schools for their children, buy clothes at Brooks or Magnin's, rather than at Penney's, avail themselves of better medical attention, and belong to more clubs. But while all of this is interesting, it says little about anything as substantive as a social class is supposed to be.⁴⁷

In a recent essay entitled, "The Changing Shape of the American Class Structure,"⁴⁸ Kurt Mayer concluded, "The most obvious transformation has occurred in the economic hierarchy which no longer represents a pyramid with a broad base, a smaller middle and a narrow top."⁴⁹ Rather, says Mayer, "The redistribution of incomes which began in World War II has transformed the traditional income pyramid into a diamond."⁵⁰ According to Mayer, "The reduction in income inequalities and the very substantial improvement in the real income of the large majority of the American population have led to a marked decrease in some of the major life-chance differentials."⁵¹

Such notable American sociologists as Arnold Rose,⁵²

⁴⁷Nisbet, The Pacific Sociological Review, II, 16.

⁴⁸Kurt B. Mayer, "The Changing Shape of the American Class Structure," Social Research, XXX (Winter, 1963), 458-468.

⁴⁹Ibid., 463.

⁵⁰Kurt B. Mayer, "Diminishing Class Differentials in the United States," Kyklos: International Review for Social Sciences, XII, Fasc. 4 (1959), 624.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Rose, Social Research, XXV, 53-69.

Wilbert Moore,⁵³ and Dennis Wrong,⁵⁴ among others,⁵⁵ have "argued that the concept of social class is becoming more and more irrelevant to the understanding of advanced industrial societies."⁵⁶ Nisbet, for example, contends that the concept of class "is nearly valueless for the clarification of the data of wealth, power, and social status in [the] contemporary United States."⁵⁷ In summarizing his position, Nisbet writes:

The concept of social class has been an important, and probably inevitable, first step in the study of differential power and status in society; admittedly, there are non-Western areas of civilization, as well as ages of the past, where the concept is indispensable to an understanding of power and status; but so far as the bulk of Western society is concerned, and especially in the United States, the concept of class is largely obsolete.⁵⁸

⁵³Wilbert E. Moore, "But Some are More Equal than Others," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (February, 1963), 13-18.

⁵⁴Dennis Wrong, "Social Inequality without Social Stratification," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, I (February, 1964), 5-16.

⁵⁵This is a persistent theme, for instance, in Harold M. Hodges, Jr., Social Stratification: Class in America (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc., 1964). Indeed, one reviewer "objected to the strong repeated statement that class differences are doomed to disappear under the oncoming flood of 'massification' of life styles, with little consideration of the data opposing this opinion." Elton F. Jackson, Review of Social Stratification, by Harold M. Hodges, Jr., Social Forces, XLIV (September, 1965), 128. See also, John A. Ross, "Social Class and Medical Care," Journal of Health and Human Behavior, III (Spring, 1962), 35-40.

⁵⁶Wrong, Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, I, 5.

⁵⁷Nisbet, The Pacific Sociological Review, II, 11.

⁵⁸Emphasis mine. Ibid., 17.

One of the clearest statements of this portraiture of a classless American society has been authored by Robert E. L. Faris:

In light of modern research knowledge . . . is there any justification for employing such an expression as "the class system" of this country? . . . To such questions we should at least be ready to answer a flat "no."⁵⁹

III

The thesis of this study is that class stratification does exist in modern American society, and it is consequential. The recent reports of the absence (and marked diminution) of class differentials and of an increasingly equalitarian class structure are largely a fiction, reflecting the obsolescence and obfuscation of the usual modes of conceptualizing class and its surrogates: It is only the most recent indication of the need for a clear, theoretically relevant, and empirically useful conception of class.

Contrary to those who argue that the concept of class "says little about anything substantive,"⁶⁰ this study will attempt to show that there are considerable national data which demonstrate that class situation is significantly related to mortality, morbidity, educational opportunity, receipt of justice, and many other manifestations of social life. This study will attempt to show that the assertion

⁵⁹Robert E. L. Faris, "The Alleged Class System in the United States," Research Studies of the State College of Washington, XXII (June, 1954), 83.

⁶⁰Nisbet, The Pacific Sociological Review, II, 16.

that the "emperor has no clothes" is more verisimilar than veritable.

Moreover, contrary to those who argue that the concept of class is largely obsolete for the analysis of modern American society, this study will argue that the concept of class is a useful and necessary analytical tool in the sociology of modern industrial societies. What is now needed is not an abandonment of the concept of class but a return to the classical perspective of class. What is now needed is a detailed portrayal of a coherent, theoretically relevant, empirically meaningful conception of class. The most promising fountainhead of such a conception is, I think, the Weberian mine of sociology. The primary task of this study, therefore, is simply to describe and analyze Weber's work on stratification and thereby to present a consistent and useful conceptual scheme for the analysis of class stratification.

IV

In emphasizing class as the basic concept of this study, no simple causation of life chances is meant. To say that life chances are multidimensional in both cause and consequence is to be both correct and banal. The purpose of this research is neither to denigrate the contribution of studies dealing with noneconomic aspects of stratification⁶¹ nor to

⁶¹Some of the most noteworthy of these studies are: Emi Le Benoit-Smullyan, "Status, Status Types, and Status

further fruitless quests for first causes. The argument is simply this:

The emphasis upon status that Warner established has overshadowed the need for a concern with class along the lines set by Marx. Not that status is totally invalid as a characteristic of American stratification, but rather that comparatively little thought seems to have been given to testing the validity of class dimensions.⁶²

This excursion into the study of class stratification constitutes not a theory but, as Weber once commented in another context, "an attempt to define certain concepts which are frequently used and to analyze certain of the simplest sociological relationships in the economic sphere."⁶³ The most this study can do is to dispel some of the ambiguities regarding these concepts and relationships. The proposed

Interrelations," American Sociological Review, IX (April, 1944), 151-161; Everett Cherrington Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," American Journal of Sociology, L (March, 1945), 353-359; William H. Form, "Status Stratification in a Planned Community," American Sociological Review, X (October, 1945), 605-613; William A. Faunce and M. Joseph Smucker, "Industrialization and Community Status Structure," American Sociological Review, XXXI (June, 1966), 390-399; Gregory P. Stone and William H. Form, "Instabilities in Status: The Problem of Hierarchy in the Community Study of Status Arrangements," American Sociological Review, XVIII (April, 1953), 149-162; and, of course, Lewis Leopold, Prestige: A Psychological Study of Social Estimates (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1913).

⁶²Leonard Reissman, Class in American Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1959), p. 7.

⁶³Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. A. M. Henderson and trans. and ed. Talcott Parsons (New York: The Free Press, 1964), p. 158.

research will detail and exploit "the theoretic bias"⁶⁴ of the Weberian perspective of class and then let the evidence testify to the usefulness of the enterprise.

⁶⁴Robert Bierstedt, "Sociology and Humane Learning," American Sociological Review, XXV (February, 1960), 3-9.

CHAPTER III

THE WEBERIAN VIEW OF CLASS STRATIFICATION

It is a sociological commonplace that class stratification is a cardinal element of all industrial societies. In the words of T. B. Bottomore, "The division of society into distinct social classes is one of the most striking manifestations of inequality in the modern world, it has often been the source of other kinds of inequality, and . . . the economic dominance of a particular class has very often been the basis for its political rule."¹

I

The inequalities of class stratification are usually the most consequential, but they do not exhaust the inventory of social inequality. Inequalities also obtain because of differences in language, race, or religion, for example. Similarly, class stratification is only one of the many instances of social differentiation, social gradation, and social ranking which occur in social life. To be sure, class is one of the more pithy forms of these phenomena, but it is not all. Class stratification is concerned with those

¹T. B. Bottomore, Classes in Modern Society (New York: Pantheon Books, 1966), p. 8.

aspects of social life usually associated with such words as class, bourgeoisie, inequality, occupation, poverty, power, privilege, proletariat, rank, status, and stratum. Even so, not all phenomena associated with these terms are relevant: social rank can be, and often is, associated with age, ethnicity, locality, physique, sex, or magical powers. "Such associations, even though they may involve a hierarchial organization in society, are not"² class stratification.

Moreover, class stratification is an exclusively social phenomenon. An order stratified purely on the basis of inherent, innate, biological abilities is sociologically irrelevant.³ Social inequalities and biological inequalities belong to two different orders of fact. The essential difference was clearly stated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in his famous Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of the Inequality Among Men:

I conceive of two sorts of inequality in the human species: one, which I call natural or physical, because it is established by nature and consists in the difference of ages, health, bodily strengths, and qualities of mind or soul; the other, which may be called moral or political inequality, because it depends upon a sort

²Donald G. MacRae, "Social Stratification: A Trend Report," Current Sociology, II, No. 1 (1953-1954), 7.

³That is, biology alone does not make a sociological difference. Obviously, "biological differences real or presumed, *may* be used as a basis for social stratification"; frequently, *in* fact, "biology is invoked as a rationale to support established social inequalities." Leonard Reissman, "Social Stratification," Sociology: An Introduction, ed. Neil J. Smelser (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967), p. 206.

of convention and is established, or at least authorized, by the consent of men. The latter consists in the different privileges that some men enjoy to the prejudice of others, such as to be richer, more honored, more powerful than they, or even to make themselves obeyed by them.⁴

Still, while accepting this distinction, it is sometimes argued that social factors operate in such a way as to ensure an essential correspondence between the hierarchy of natural ability and class stratification.⁵ These arguments are largely contrary to the facts, as Bottomore recently pointed out.⁶

⁴Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality Among Men," The First and Second Discourses, trans. and ed. Roger D. Masters and Judith R. Masters (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1964), p. 101.

⁵Such arguments are especially prominent in Pareto's "elite" theory. For a description and criticism of this theory, see T. B. Bottomore, Elites and Society (New York: Basic Books, 1964). Lester Ward once said about this argument: "Here we encounter the great, sullen, stubborn error, so universal and ingrained as to constitute a world view, that the difference between the upper and lower classes of society is due to a difference in their intellectual capacity, something existing in the nature of things, something pre-ordained and inherently inevitable. Every form of sophistry is employed to uphold this view. We are told that there must be social classes, that they are a necessary part of the social order." Lester F. Ward, Applied Sociology (Boston, Massachusetts: Ginn and Company, 1906), p. 96.

⁶"Modern studies of educational and occupational selection underline this lack of correspondence between the hierarchies of ability and of social position, inasmuch as they make clear that intellectual ability, for example, is by no means always rewarded with high income or high social status, nor lack of ability with the opposite." Bottomore, Classes in Modern Society, p. 11.

"Indeed, it would be a more accurate description of the social-class system," says Bottomore, "to say that it operates, largely through the inheritance of property, to ensure that each individual maintains a certain social position, determined by his birth and irrespective of his particular abilities."⁷

Finally, it should be pointed out that class stratification is just one of four⁸ major systems of social stratification; the other three are caste,⁹ estate,¹⁰ and slavery¹¹

⁷Ibid.

⁸"Many sociologists now prefer to treat slavery as an 'industrial system' rather than a system of stratification. There is some justification for this. Slavery divides a community into two distinct sections, and within the group of those who are not slaves there may be, and usually is, a system of ranks. Thus slavery does not, by itself, constitute a system of stratification. But this view is not entirely convincing, for several reasons. In feudal society, also, it may be argued, there is a fundamental distinction between serfs and free men, together with a system of ranks within the latter group. Secondly, every system of stratification may be regarded also as an industrial system; as it is, for example, in Marxist theory, where slaves, serfs and wage earners are all categorized as the 'direct producers' upon whose labour the whole social edifice rests. Finally, if we examine social stratification in terms of social inequalities we can legitimately compare and contrast slavery, serfdom, caste, and class." T. B. Bottomore, Sociology: A Guide to Problems and Literature (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963), p. 179.

⁹See, for example, Alfred Louis Kroeber, "Caste," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman (New York: Macmillan Company, 1935), III, 254-256; Mysore Narasimhachar Srinivas, Y. B. Damle, S. Shahani, and Andre Beteille, "Caste: A Trend Report and Bibliography," Current Sociology, VIII, No. 3 (1959), 135-183; Max Weber, The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism, trans. Hans H. Gerth and Don Martindale (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958); and John Henry Hutton, Cast in India: Its Nature, Function, and Origins (Cambridge: Oxford University

systems.¹² "A class system of stratification is distinguished from the other two [sic] mainly by the fact that all members of the society share a common legal status of

Press, 1946); Arthur-Maurice Hocart, Caste: A Comparative Study (London: Methuen, 1950); Pauline Moller Mahar, "Changing Caste Ideology in a North Indian Village," Journal of Social Issues, XIV, No. 4 (1958), 53-65. K. M. Kapadia, "Caste in Transition," Sociological Bulletin, XI (March-September, 1962), 73-90; C. Bougle, "The Essence and Reality of the Caste System," Contributions to Indian Sociology, II (April, 1958), 7-30; and Mason Olcott, "The Caste System of India," American Sociological Review, IX (December, 1944), 648-657.

¹⁰See, for example, Leonard T. Hobhouse, "Aristocracy," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman (New York: Macmillan Company, 1930), II, 183-190; Marc Leopold Benjamin Bloch, Feudal Society, trans. L. A. Manyon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); Marc Leopold Benjamin Bloch, "Feudalism," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman (New York: Macmillan Company, 1931), VI, 203-210; and Henri Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, trans. I. E. Clegg (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1937).

¹¹See, for example, Herman Jeremias Nieboer, Slavery as an Industrial System (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1910); Bernhard J. Stern, "Primitive Slavery," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman (New York: Macmillan Company, 1934), XIV, 73-74; Melvin M. Knight, "Medieval Slavery," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman (New York: Macmillan Company, 1934), XIV, 77-80; William Linn Westerman, "Ancient Slavery," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman (New York: Macmillan Company, 1934), XIV, 74-77; Ronald Cohen, "Introduction: Slavery in Africa," Trans-action, IV (January-February, 1967), 44-46; John Middleton, "Slavery in Zanzibar," Trans-action, IV (January-February, 1967), 46-48; Ronald Cohen, "Slavery Among the Kanuri," Trans-action, IV (January-February, 1967), 48-50; Arthur Tuden, "Ila Slavery," Trans-action, IV (January-February, 1967), 51-52; Victor Uchendu, "Slavery in Southeast Nigeria," Trans-action, IV (January-February, 1967), 52-54; and David McCall, "Slavery in Ashanti," Trans-action, IV (January-February, 1967), 55-56.

¹²Obviously, this is not to imply that each system always appears in solitude. See, for example, Leonard W. Moss and

citizenship."¹³ Whereas position in caste, estate, and slavery systems is legally and religiously defined and sanctioned, in a class system "all are equal before the law; all are entitled to hold property; and all, theoretically, can choose their occupations because there are no legal barriers to taking on particular kinds of work as there are in other systems of stratification."¹⁴ In other words, classes are de facto; castes, estates, and slavery are both de facto and de jure.

II

The essential beginning of the system of class stratification was the rise of the European bourgeoisie and the revolutions " of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, directed against the legal and political privileges which survived from the system of feudal estates. . . ."¹⁵ While these events eliminated the old social order, however, they brought about a new one, a "social hierarchy

Stephen C. Cappannari, "Estate and Class in a South Italian Hill Village," American Anthropologist, LXIV (April, 1962), 287-300; and John Lobb, "Caste and Class in Haiti," The American Journal of Sociology, XLVI (July, 1940), 23-34.

¹³John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 7.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Bottomore, Classes in Modern Society, p. 4.

based directly upon the possession of wealth."¹⁶ According to Rudolf Heberle:

When the legal privileges and discriminations which defined a person's position in the estate system fell into disuse or were abolished (as in France) by the declaration of equality before the law, it became apparent that a man's position in society depended on property. It was also easy to see that it made a difference whether he owned property in land or property in capital, and even more so if he did not hold property in either and therefore had to rely for a living on the sale of his labor.¹⁷

In the minds of the eighteenth and nineteenth century intellectuals, the concern with class was inevitably a concern with political equality, with democracy, no doubt necessitated by the "perfect" union of economic and political power which, Robert Nisbet reported, characterized their time and place.¹⁸ In the writings of Vilfredo Pareto, for instance, the terms

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Author's italics. Rudolf Heberle, "Recovery of Class Theory," The Pacific Sociological Review, II (Spring, 1959), 19. According to Polanyi, the modern institution of the market did not exist prior to the industrial revolution. Prior to that time, and in pre-literate societies, "man's economy, as a rule, is submerged in his social relationships. He does not act so as to safeguard his individual interests in the possession of material goods; he acts so as to safeguard his social standing, his social claims, his social assets. He values material goods only in so far as they serve this end. Neither the process of production nor that of distribution is linked to specific economic interests attached to the possession of goods; but every single step in that process is geared to a number of social interests which eventually ensure that the required step be taken." Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), p. 46.

¹⁸Robert A. Nisbet, "The Decline and Fall of Social Class," The Pacific Sociological Review, II (Spring, 1959), 13.

class and elite were practically synonymous.¹⁹ This congruity between class and power gave rise to two different currents of thought "one, the Marxist, which makes political power dependent upon economic power, and the other which treats the economy and the polity as interrelated systems each of which may, at different times, be either 'basis' or 'superstructure.'"²⁰

In the twentieth century, most sociologists, following Max Weber, have treated the distribution of political power as an independent phenomenon;²¹ they "have attempted to study political power directly, and to examine ways in which elite groups recruit support, conduct political struggles, and attain or fail to attain power, as well as the conditions in

¹⁹Vilfredo Pareto, The Mind and Society, trans. and ed. Andrew Bongiorno and Arthur Livingston (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1935), especially Vol. II, chaps. vii and viii, pp. 647-844. For a discussion of Pareto's ideas on class, see, again, Bottomore, Elites and Society, especially chap. i, pp. 1-17.

²⁰Bottomore, Sociology, p. 191. Madison was among the first to represent this latter view of the relationship between class ("interests") and party. Recognizing that "fractions" may arise over a great variety of issues, Madison wrote: "But the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. Those who are creditors, and those who are debtors, fall under a like discrimination. A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide them into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views. . . ." James Madison, The Federalist (New York: Random House, 1941), pp. 55-56.

²¹Melvin M. Tumin, "Stratification," A Dictionary of the Social Sciences, ed. Julius Gould and William L. Kolb (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 695-696.

which a power elite is either controlled or uncontrolled."²² In these studies, class is only one variable in the situation, although it is usually the most important one.²³ This is not to say, however, that Weber failed to recognize clearly the heavy dependence of political power on the economic order. He did not.²⁴ Rather, he contended that "'economically conditioned' power is not . . . identical with 'power' as such. The emergence of economic power may be the consequence of power existing on other grounds."²⁵

²²Bottomore, Sociology, p. 192.

²³See, for example, Raymond Aron, "Social Structure and the Ruling Class: I," The British Journal of Sociology, I (March, 1950), 1-15; Raymond Aron, "Social Structure and the Ruling Class: II," The British Journal of Sociology, I (June, 1950), 126-143; and Wlodzimierz Wesolowski, "Ruling Class and Power Elite," The Polish Sociological Bulletin, No. 1 (11) (1965), 22-37.

²⁴S. M. Miller, "Introduction," Max Weber, ed. S. M. Miller (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1963), pp. 7-8; and Carl A. Taube, "The Science of Sociology and Its Methodology: Durkheim and Weber Compared," Kansas Journal of Sociology, II (Fall, 1966), 148.

²⁵Max Weber, "Class, Status, Party," From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, trans. and ed. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 193. "The ward boss, as Weber noted, is a man generally without social standing and often without wealth, yet he is a power within his bailiwick. More recently, the military has moved into positions of enormous political significance not through economic channels but as a consequence of the dependence upon its skills and knowledge. So great has its prestige become that military men have been co-opted by large corporations, in part for economic gains." Leonard Reissman, Class in American Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1959), p. 41.

The investigation of class stratification was complicated not only by the domino blend of class and power but by the existence of status groups as well. It was Weber, again, who analytically disjoined "classes" and "status groups": "With some over-simplification, one might say that 'classes' are stratified according to their relations to the production and acquisition of goods; whereas 'status groups' are stratified according to the principles of their consumption of goods as represented by special 'styles of life.'"²⁶ At the communal level, stratification by status coexisted with stratification by class; yet, Karl Marx's concept of class comingled these two in a manner that rendered them indistinct. By enlarging the terminology of stratification, Weber disclosed relationships that Marx had obscured. Weber, of course, recognized the interdependence between class and status, and he recognized that "Marx's definition tended to read an economic determinism into some facets of class behavior that were [sometimes] better understood by another vocabulary."²⁷

III

The basis of class stratification is "indisputably economic"²⁸ and this was as true for Weber, as it was for

²⁶Author's emphasis. Weber, From Max Weber, p. 193.

²⁷Reissman, Class in American Society, p. 57.

²⁸Bottomore, Sociology, p. 188.

Marx: "The factor that creates 'class' is unambiguously economic interests, and indeed, only those interests involved in the existence of the 'market.'"²⁹ According to Weber, "We may speak of a class when (1) a number of people have in common a specific causal component of their life chances, in so far as (2) this component is represented exclusively in economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income, and (3) is represented under the conditions of the commodity or labor markets."³⁰ Weber defined class structure as the distribution of control over material property "among a plurality of people meeting competitively in the market for the purpose of exchange. . . ."³¹ Hence, "class situation" refers to one's position in that distribution. "The term 'class' refers to any group of people that is found in the same class situation."³²

Although Weber designated "property" and "lack of property" as "the basic categories of all class situations,"³³ he maintained that each of these categories must be further differentiated according to amount and kind. The propertyless, for instance, are differentiated according to the kind

²⁹Weber, From Max Weber, p. 183.

³⁰Ibid., p. 181.

³¹Ibid.

³²This is from an editorial note by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (editors and translators), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 181.

³³Weber, From Max Weber, p. 183.

of services that can be offered in the market, just as the propertied are differentiated in terms of

disposition over mobile instruments of production, or capital goods of all sorts, especially money or objects that can be exchanged for money easily and at any time; disposition over products of one's own labor or of others' labor differing according to their various distances from consumability; disposition over transferable monopolies of any kind. . . .³⁴

The major consequence of one's class situation, as Weber made unequivocally clear, is "life chances,"³⁵ that is, "the chance for a supply of goods, external living conditions, and personal life experiences. . . ."³⁶ "It is the most elemental economic fact," Weber wrote, "that the way in which the disposition over material property is distributed among a plurality of people, meeting competitively in the market for the purpose of exchange, in itself creates specific life

³⁴Emphasis mine. Ibid.

³⁵There is, of course, another facet of Weber's concern with class, the possibility that "communal action" ("action which is oriented to the feeling of the actors that they belong together"), or "societal action" ("action that is oriented to a rationally motivated adjustment of interests"), or "class struggle," will emerge from the conditions under which a number of persons share a similar class situation. However, such action depends upon common interests, the magnitude of the "contrasts" between classes, as well as the "transparency of the connections between the causes and the consequences of the 'class situation' for . . . the fact of being conditioned and the results of the class situation must be distinctly recognizable. For only then the contrast of life chances can be felt not as an absolutely given fact to be accepted, but as a resultant from either (1) the given distribution of property, or (2) the structure of the concrete economic order." Ibid., p. 183.

³⁶Ibid.

chances."³⁷ Moreover, Weber was equally clear that not everyone can occupy the same class situation because the market economy operates in such a way that some succeed and others lose:

This mode of distribution excludes the non-owners from competing for highly valued goods; it favors the owners and, in fact, gives to them a monopoly to acquire such goods. Other things being equal, this mode of distribution monopolizes the opportunities for profitable deals for those who, provided with goods, do not necessarily have to exchange them. It increases, at least generally, their power in price wars with those who, being propertyless, have nothing to offer but their services in native form or goods in a form constituted through their own labor, and who above all are compelled to get rid of these products in order barely to subsist. This mode of distribution gives to the propertied a monopoly on the possibility of transferring property from the sphere of use as a 'fortune', to the sphere of 'capital goods'; that is, it gives them the entrepreneurial function and all chances to share directly or indirectly in returns on capital.³⁸

IV

These analytical distinctions of class, status, and power are part of the rich legacy of Weber, and, as Joan Rytina has made clear,³⁹ the American sociologist who has not acknowledged his debt to Weber is rare indeed. Yet, while Weber is often celebrated in American sociology for his adroit handling

³⁷Ibid., p. 181.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 181-182.

³⁹Joan Rytina, "Class, Status, and Power: A Theoretical Play in One Act" (unpublished paper presented to the Michigan State University Sociological Association, East Lansing, Michigan, May, 1967).

of the conceptual matter of stratification,⁴⁰ the celebration is somewhat fatuous. Weber is the only major student of stratification who has not been exhaustively evaluated.⁴¹ He is footnoted more than he is used.⁴² Most American students of stratification employ Weber's work only to exploit his authority for such assertions as , "Stratification is not simple and unidimensional"⁴³ (implying, incorrectly, that

⁴⁰"Weber's analytical distinctions offer the most meaningful framework for interpreting and understanding stratification in a modern industrial society." Reissman, Class in American Society, p. 69.

⁴¹In reference to Weber's work on social stratification, Runciman has recently noted: "But surprising as it seems, there is as far as I know no major writer on social inequality who has explicitly formulated and consistently retained the tripartite distinction." W. G. Runciman, Relative Deprivation and Social Justice: A Study of Attitudes to Social Inequality in Twentieth-Century England (Berkeley, California: The University of California Press, 1966), p. 37. The only general critique of Weber's work on social stratification is: Oliver C. Cox, "Max Weber on Social Stratification: A Critique," American Sociological Review, XV (April, 1950), 223-227. See also: Hans Gerth, "Max Weber Versus Oliver C. Cox," American Sociological Review, XV (August, 1950), 557-558; and Oliver C. Cox, "Estates, Social Classes, and Political Classes," American Sociological Review, X (August, 1945), 464-469.

⁴²"Perhaps no writer on the general subject of 'class,' social status, and caste has been cited by American students with such finality as Max Weber. And yet, Weber's conclusions have seldom been quoted directly as illuminants in theoretical studies or as hypotheses in empirical research." Cox, American Sociological Review, XV, 223. See, for example, Harold M. Hodges, Jr., Social Stratification: Class in America (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc., 1964).

⁴³"It is sometimes said that Marx's emphasis upon the two classes and the directive role they would take in the future of capitalism was the result of a religious turn of the war between good and evil into the conflict between proletariat and capitalist. But this is fanciful and oversimple. The truth is, I believe, that Marx, with the vivid model of

Marx said it was), or, "Class and status are analytically distinct" (implying, as Weber did not, that the two are therefore equally consequential in social life).⁴⁴ Weber's analysis," as Leonard Reissman pointed out, "was not so much directed towards trying to prove that status and class must be different, as it was in showing the utility of treating them as analytically distinct."⁴⁵

The paucity of class research from the Weberian perspective is particularly noticeable in view of the "rediscovery" of poverty.⁴⁶ Weber's exposition of class stratification offers a meaningful framework for the contemporary

the landed class and its fusion of power and prestige in front of him, made the understandable assumption that industrial society would follow, mutatis mutandis, the same course of class development. And few today would deny that there was much in the character of the industrialism then emerging to give warrant to the assumption. Even Tocqueville, whose basic values and perspectives were so radically different from Marx's, took almost the same view of industrial society. Both men foresaw a long history of an economic society divided rigidly between an aristocracy of manufacturers set above a kind of peasantry of laborers with conflict between them inevitable." Nisbet, The Pacific Sociological Review, II, 14.

⁴⁴See, for example, John F. Cuber and William F. Kenkel, Social Stratification in the United States (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1954); and Richard T. Morris, "Social Stratification," in Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, Sociology: A Text with Adapted Readings (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 183.

⁴⁵Reissman, Class in American Society, p. 66.

⁴⁶One of the earliest general statements regarding poverty in contemporary America was H. Brand, "Poverty in the United States," Dissent, VII (Winter, 1960), 334-354. See also: S. M. Miller and Martin Rein, "Poverty, Inequality, and Policy," Social Problems: A Modern Approach, ed. Howard S. Becker (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966), chap. ix,

analysis of poverty. In Weberian terms, the web of poverty is a manifestation of class; it is only one instance of the relationship of class situation to life chances.

V

In the past few years, poverty has been variously described as an economic, moral, political, psychological, social, and sociological problem of national concern.⁴⁷ It has been discussed and debated, examined and measured and

pp. 426-516; Al Ulmer, "Poverty," New South, XXI (Winter, 1966), 107-115; Catherine Chilman and Marvin B. Sussman, "Poverty in the United States in the Mid-sixties," Journal of Marriage and the Family, XXVI (November, 1964), 391-395; Marvin B. Sussman, "Postscript," Journal of Marriage and the Family, XXVI (November, 1964), 395-398; and Myrtle R. Reul, "Patterns of Poverty," Format, II (March-April, 1966), 18-20.

⁴⁷There is an abundance of available literature in this regard. For a discussion of poverty as an economic issue, see R. A. Gordon, "An Economist's View of Poverty," Poverty in America, ed. Margaret S. Gordon (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965), pp. 3-11. A book well known for defining poverty in essentially moral terms is Michael Harrington, The Other America: Poverty in the United States (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1963). A discussion of the political aspects of poverty is found in Robert Theobald, "The Political Necessities of Abundance," Poverty in Plenty, ed. George H. Dunne (New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1964), pp. 70-80. For a psychological view of poverty, see Warren C. Haggstrom, "The Power of the Poor," Mental Health of the Poor: New Treatment Approaches for Low Income People, ed. Frank Riessman, Jerome Cohen, and Arthur Pearl (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 205-223. For a discussion of poverty as a general social problem see Sargent Shriver, "Poverty," Encyclopedia Americana Annual (1965), pp. 579-586. Poverty from the sociological perspective is essayed in Lewis A. Coser, "The Sociology of Poverty: To the Memory of Georg Simmel," Social Problems, XIII (Fall, 1965), 140-148.

surveyed and researched and reviewed many times over.⁴⁸

Yet, most of the poverty research to date has focused on the identification and interpretation of the part that age,⁴⁹ absent husband,⁵⁰ low educational attainment,⁵¹ low

⁴⁸One reflection of the profusion of material concerning poverty appears in the titles of two articles by MacDonald. Dwight MacDonald, "Our Invisible Poor," The New Yorker, XXXVIII (January 19, 1963), 81-104; and Dwight MacDonald, "The Now Visible Poor," Poverty in Plenty, ed. George H. Dunne (New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1964), pp. 61-69. According to MacDonald, "Poverty is now in danger of becoming an extremely fashionable, even snobbish subject." Ibid., p. 62. For a discussion of some of the factors producing this swarm of books and the "re-discovery" of poverty, see Frank Riessman and Arlene Hannah, "The Poverty Movement," Columbia University Forum, VI (Fall, 1963), 28-32.

⁴⁹See, for example, Lenore A. Epstein, "Income of the Aged in 1962: First Findings of the 1963 Survey of Aged," Social Security Bulletin, XXVII (March, 1964), 3-24 and 28; Charles I. Schottland, "Poverty and Income Maintenance for the Aged," Poverty in America, ed. Margaret S. Gordon (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965), pp. 227-239; Ellen Winston, "Dimensions of Poverty Among the Aged," Poverty in America: A Book of Readings, ed. Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and Alan Haber (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1965), pp. 119-123; Miller and Rein, Social Problems, pp. 449-452; Erdman Palmore, "Work Experience and Earnings of the Aged in 1962: Findings of the 1963 Survey of the Aged," Social Security Bulletin, XXVII (June, 1964), 3-14 and 44; Mollie Orshansky, "The Aged Negro and His Income," Social Security Bulletin, XXVII (February, 1964), 3-13; Lenore A. Epstein, "Living Arrangements and Income of the Aged, 1959," Social Security Bulletin, XXVI (September, 1963), 3-8; Harrington, pp. 101-108; Erdman Palmore, "Differences In Sources and Sizes of Income: Findings of the 1963 Survey of the Aged," Social Security Bulletin, XXVIII (May, 1965), 3-8; and Harold L. Sheppard, "The Poverty of the Aging," Poverty As a Public Issue, ed. Ben B. Seligman (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp. 85-101.

⁵⁰See, for example, Daniel P. Moynihan, The Negro Family: The Case for National Action (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1965); Oscar Ornati, Poverty in America (Washington, D. C.: National Policy Committee on Pockets of Poverty, 1964), pp. 12-18; Miller and Rein, Social Problems, pp. 457-459; Mollie Orshansky, "Children of the Poor,"

motivation,⁵² poor health,⁵³ race,⁵⁴ unemployment,⁵⁵ and related factors⁵⁶ play in the distribution of poverty.

Social Security Bulletin, XXVI (July, 1963), 3-13; Lenore A. Epstein, "Some Effects of Low Income on Children and Their Families," Social Security Bulletin, XXIV (February, 1961), 3-11; and Wilbur J. Cohen and Eugenia Sullivan, "Who Are the Poor?" Poverty in America: A Book of Readings, ed. Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh and Alan Haber (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1965), pp. 83-86.

⁵¹See, for example, Willard Wirtz, "Income and College Attendance," Poverty in Affluence: The Social, Political, and Economic Dimensions of Poverty in the United States, ed. Robert E. Will and Harold G. Vatter (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1965), pp. 135-139; Leon H. Keyserling, Progress or Poverty: The U. S. at the Crossroads (Washington, D. C.: Conference on Economic Progress, 1964); Herman P. Miller, Rich Man, Poor Man (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964), pp. 139-165; Robert D. Hess, "Educability and Rehabilitation: The Future of the Welfare Class," Journal of Marriage and the Family, XXVI (November, 1964), 422-429; and John T. Dailey, "Education and Emergence From Poverty," Journal of Marriage and the Family, XXVI (November, 1964), 430-434.

⁵²Boulding, for example, has stated, "A certain amount of the poverty of the hillbilly or of the subsistence farmer, and even perhaps of the urban slum dweller and of the bum, involves the rejection of the whole middle-class way of life rather than the inability to find opportunities." Kenneth E. Boulding, "Reflections on Poverty," The Social Welfare Forum, 1961, Official Proceedings, 88th Annual Forum, National Conference on Social Welfare (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), p. 51. A similar view is expressed in Talcott Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 92-128 and 665-667. Other treatments of the relationship between low motivation and poverty are available in: Harrington, pp. 119-135; Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1957), pp. 276-294; Genevieve Knupfer, "Portrait of the Underdog," Public Opinion Quarterly, XI (Spring, 1947), 103-114; and Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 236-259.

⁵³See, for example, M. Allen Pond, "Poverty and Disease," The Social Welfare Forum, 1961, Official Proceedings, 88th

Yet none of these factors, individually or collectively, is either a necessary or sufficient condition of poverty.

Annual Forum National Conference on Social Welfare (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), pp. 59-72; Duane O. Crummett and Margery St. John, Reported Tuberculosis Incidence and Mortality According to Resident Census Tract and Health District, Los Angeles County, 1959 and 1961 (Los Angeles: Tuberculosis and Health Association of Los Angeles County, 1962); James N. Morgan et al., Income and Welfare in the United States (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1962), pp. 218-253; Herman M. Somers, "Poverty and Income Maintenance for the Disabled," Poverty in America, ed. Margaret S. Gordon (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965), pp. 240-252; Lenore A. Epstein, "Unmet Need in a Land of Abundance," Social Security Bulletin, XXVI (May, 1963), 3-11; Robert L. Eichhorn and Edward G. Ludwig, "Poverty and Health," Poverty in the Affluent Society, ed. Hanna H. Meissner (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 172-180; Robert Coles, "Psychiatrists and the Poor," Atlantic Monthly (July, 1964), 102-106; and Keyserling, pp. 66-70.

⁵⁴See, for example, Herman P. Miller, Poverty and the Negro (Los Angeles: Institute of Government and Public Affairs, University of California, 1965); Alan Batchelder, "Poverty: The Special Case of the Negro," American Economic Review, LV (Supplement, 1965), 530-540; Nathan Glazer, "The Puerto Ricans," Commentary, XXXVI (July, 1963), 1-9; Dale Hiestand, Economic Growth and Employment Opportunities for Minorities (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964); Herman P. Miller, "Poverty and the Negro," Poverty Amid Affluence, ed. Leo Fishman (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 99-123; Miller, Rich Man, Poor Man, pp. 84-124; Allan B. Batchelder, "Decline in the Relative Income of Negro Men," Quarterly Journal of Economics, LXXVIII (November, 1964), 525-548; Harold Sheppard, "Poverty and the Negro," Poverty as a Public Issue, ed. Ben B. Seligman (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp. 118-138; and Harrington, pp. 63-82.

⁵⁵See, for example, Lowell E. Gallaway, "The Foundations of the War on Poverty," American Economic Review, LV (March, 1965), 122-131; W. H. Locke Anderson, "Trickling Down: The Relationship Between Economic Growth and the Extent of Poverty Among American Families," Quarterly Journal of Economics, LXXVIII (November, 1964), 511-524; Institute of Industrial Relations at the University of California (Los Angeles), Hard-core Unemployment and Poverty in Los Angeles (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1965), pp. 26-30;

A person may possess any one of the above characteristics and still live well above the "poverty line."⁵⁷ Indeed a

Harry G. Johnson, "Unemployment and Poverty," Poverty Amid Affluence, ed. Leo Fishman (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 182-199; Margaret S. Gordon, "Poverty and Income Maintenance for the Unemployed," Poverty in America, ed. Margaret S. Gordon (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965), pp. 253-264; and Robert L. Stein, "Work History, Attitudes, and Income of the Unemployed," Monthly Labor Review, LXXXVI (December, 1963), 1405-1413.

⁵⁶Such factors as community size, geographical region, size of family, housing, etc., are also frequently discussed in this regard. For a discussion of these factors, see: Miller and Rein, Social Problems, pp. 442-465; Harrington; Mollie Orshansky, "Counting the Poor: Another Look at the Poverty Profile," Social Security Bulletin, XXVIII (January, 1965), 3-29; Oscar Ornati, Poverty Amid Affluence (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1966); Morgan et al., pp. 187-253; Mollie Orshansky, "Who's Who Among the Poor: A Demographic View of Poverty," Social Security Bulletin, XXVIII (July, 1965), 3-32; Lee G. Burchinal and Hilda Siff, "Rural Poverty," Journal of Marriage and the Family, XXVI (November, 1964), 399-405; and Alvin L. Schorr, Poor Kids: A Report on Children in Poverty (New York: Basic Books, 1966).

⁵⁷Perhaps "any poverty line" would be more accurate than "the poverty line," for authorities differ on what constitutes "poverty." For example, Galbraith has used \$1,000--John Kenneth Galbraith, The Affluent Society (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958). Lampman has used \$2,500--Robert J. Lampman, The Low-Income Population and Economic Growth (Washington: Congressional Joint Economics Committee, Study Paper 12, 86th Congress, First Session, December, 1959). Keyserling and Harrington have used \$4,000--Keyserling; Harrington. Ornati used \$2,500 as the "minimum subsistence level," \$3,500 as the "minimum adequacy level," and \$5,500 as the "minimum comfort level"--Ornati, Poverty Amid Affluence. The U. S. federal government has generally used \$3,000--Hubert H. Humphrey, The War on Poverty (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964). This is not to imply that it generally makes no difference which figure is used; it does make a difference. The composition of the poor varies as the "poverty line" varies and it is generally the case, for example, that the lower the poverty line the more the poor differ from the non-poor. For discussion and analysis of the consequences as well as the complexities involved in designating poverty, see Miller and Rein, Social Problems, pp. 432-465.

person may be unemployed, black, sick, lazy, uneducated, and aged and still not be poor.⁵⁸

While few studies of poverty can afford to neglect the personal characteristics of the poor, care should be taken to avoid the sometime error of assuming that these characteristics are the main sociological explanation for why people are poor: according to Emile Durkheim, this would be to reverse the order of facts and to take the cause as the effect; and, says Durkheim, "Nothing is more deceiving than this inversion."⁵⁹ To maintain that "these characteristics of the poor represent the causes of poverty is an inadequate approach to causation, for it looks at poverty mainly in terms of individual deficiency."⁶⁰ Again, to quote Durkheim, "It consists, indeed, in deducing society from the individual."⁶¹

⁵⁸Admittedly, one would not expect to find many affluent people with all of these characteristics; the Negro vice-lord is probably the most apparent example. For a more eloquent discussion of this point, see Peter Marcuse, "Scholarship and Burning Issues," a review of Poverty Amid Affluence, by Oscar Ornati, The New Republic, CLV (August, 13, 1966), 23-24. See also, S. Michael Miller and Martin Rein, "Will the War on Poverty Change America?" Trans-action, II (July-August, 1965), 17-23; and Martin Rein, "The Strange Case of Public Dependency," Trans-action, II (March-April, 1965), 16-23.

⁵⁹Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, trans. George Simpson (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960), p. 280. See also, Emile Durkheim, The Rules of Sociological Method, trans. Sarah A. Solovay and John H. Mueller, ed. George E. G. Catlin (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958).

⁶⁰Miller and Rein, Social Problems, p. 446.

⁶¹Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, p. 279.

The personal characteristics of the poor tell who, not why. Placing appropriate emphasis on the personal characteristics of the poor is helpful in describing who bears the burden of poverty as well as sketching the diversity of the poor; citing these characteristics as the major cause of poverty "tends to 'blame' individuals rather than the malfunctioning of the economy,"⁶² as Leon Keyserling pointed out. In identifying and describing "vulnerable risk groups, analyses have ignored why these groups tend to be vulnerable."⁶³ In the words of S. M. Miller and Martin Rein: "The analysis of the characteristics of the poor amounts frequently to little more than psychologizing the causes of poverty . . ."⁶⁴ neglecting those "problems of poverty which are functions of our economic and social structure."⁶⁵

⁶²Keyserling, p. 37.

⁶³S. M. Miller and Martin Rein, "The War on Poverty: Perspectives and Prospects," Poverty as a Public Issue, ed. Ben B. Seligman (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 284.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 286. According to Miller and Rein, "The main historic view is that poverty is the problem of the poor--a condition of the individual pauper and not a characteristic of social organization. It was in the last half of the nineteenth century, while Charles Booth was undertaking his monumental social survey of the Life and Labor of the People of London, that poverty came to be defined as a condition of society." Miller and Rein, Social Problems, p. 426; Charles Booth, Life and Labor of the People of London (London: Williams and Norgate, 1891).

Explanations of the intergenerational persistence of poverty are closely related to the explanation of the occurrence of poverty vis-à-vis personal characteristics. In an attempt to improve upon the so-called "simplistic" conception of class (as merely income position), Eliot Ness's "revolving door theory,"⁶⁶ Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset's "vicious circle theory,"⁶⁷ as well as Oscar Lewis's "culture of poverty"⁶⁸ theory all stress the non-class features in the social life of the poor.

Beginning with the observation that one's position in the social structure is not exclusively a matter of income but is also related to a certain level of "education, family structure, community reputation and so forth,"⁶⁹ the basic thesis of the vicious circle explanation is that each of these factors "acts upon the other in such a way as to preserve the . . . individual family's position in that structure."⁷⁰ Consequently, there is a cumulation of disadvantages that affects the opportunities for social mobility. The

⁶⁶Eliot Ness, "Social Protection in Venereal Disease Control," Journal of Social Hygiene, XXX (April, 1944), 227-231.

⁶⁷Lipset and Bendix, pp. 198-199.

⁶⁸Oscar Lewis, Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty (New York: Basic Books, 1959); and, Oscar Lewis, The Children of Sanchez (New York: Random House, 1961).

⁶⁹Lipset and Bendix, p. 198.

⁷⁰Ibid.

problem of low income is added to the problem of low education which is added to the problem of poor health, and so forth, each factor adding to the others and making it increasingly more difficult for one to modify his position in the class structure. This in turn allegedly leads to a "culture of poverty" as "the economic and educational limitations accompanying low status produce a lack of interest in and a lack of self-confidence in dealing with certain important areas of our culture; as a result, there is reduced participation--a withdrawal from participation in these areas."⁷¹

Thus, in this view "deprivation in one generation leads through cultural impoverishment to family breakdowns, parental indifference or misunderstanding of their children's needs, to deprivation in the next generation."⁷² Poverty, therefore, is viewed primarily as a cultural and psychological problem.

Although these "cyclical theories" usually acknowledge the force of class in the origin of poverty, they nevertheless forsake the class perspective in explaining the distribution and persistence of poverty.⁷³ Concepts such as the "culture

⁷¹Knupfer, Public Opinion Quarterly, XI, 104.

⁷²Miller and Rein, Poverty as a Public Issue, p. 282.

⁷³For a careful documentation of this point, see Leonard Lieberman and Donald A. Christenson, "The Culture of Poverty Restudied" (unpublished paper presented at the Michigan Sociological Association meetings, Ann Arbor, March, 1967).

of poverty" result in a formulation of the problem in inter-generational terms but the heavy stress upon personal attributes and the concomitant neglect of social structure reveals their vacuity. Like so much of the other stratification research, most studies of poverty neglect the economic, political, and remaining social structural aspects of the problem. Indeed, "when taken in the extreme position, this perspective suggests that a growth in aspiration, without an extension of income, will lead to a reclassification of people as 'unpoor.'" ⁷⁴

Moreover, the "vicious circle" thesis does not consider that, if several variables are associated, then it is probable that their combined effects are largely redundant, not cumulative.⁷⁵ Even so, if there is some cumulation the cyclical theories of poverty gainsay the analytical advantage of their insight by failing to assign priorities to the variables and

⁷⁴Miller and Rein, Poverty as a Public Issue, p. 283.

⁷⁵For example: "With reference to the income-education relationship, it is probably not true that the high school dropout in the United States, for example, could increase his annual income from around \$4,800 to \$5,400, if only he would complete high school. We frequently forget the selection process by which some young people complete more schooling than others. In general, those students who do not drop out are more able, more ambitious, more anxious to learn, and come from families with better job "connections"--all of which assist in lifting their incomes. We cannot be sure how much of the additional incomes associated with additional education is attributable to these factors, and how much is attributable to the schooling itself." Burton A. Weisbrod, "Investing in Human Capital," The Journal of Human Resources, I (Summer, 1966), 12.

consequently implying that all variables are equally important.⁷⁶

For all its broadcasting of the interrelatedness of social life, the vicious circle idea is only an oblique description of what Weber correctly saw as the pervasiveness of class. In Weberian terms, it is superfluous, if not altogether incorrect, to view class situation as a result of individual qualifications, of inter-familial and personality defects.⁷⁷ According to Weber, low class situation per se is sufficient to produce poor diet and low educational attainment and unemployment, and so on and so forth. Aphoristically,

⁷⁶These "cyclical theories" are also inadequate in explaining "new" or short-term poverty.

⁷⁷To wit: "Research evidence makes it clear that food and housing influence attitudes and behavior in ways that have been associated with a culture of poverty. Chronic malnutrition produces symptoms usually called neurasthenic--excessive fatigability, disturbances in sleep, inability to concentrate, and various queer bodily sensations. Malnutrition also produces symptoms of depression--loss of ambition, lethargy, a sensation of being old. Malnutrition is not uncommon in the United States. At least one in five families with children chooses between an adequate diet and some other necessity. Therefore, it is well to ask what food people are getting before leaping to cultural explanations of apathy.

Similarly, very inadequate housing leads to poor health and to less obvious problems. For example, it keeps children out-of-doors, where they cannot be reached to establish discipline or even communication with their parents. When they are indoors, research indicates, crowded space interferes even with sleep. At other times, crowding leads to tension between parents and children. The physical facts of housing create conditions of disorganization that are sometimes interpreted as an independent cultural characteristic of poor families, but may be more simply attributed to poor housing." Emphasis mine. Alvin L. Schorr, "The Non-culture of Poverty," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XXXIV (October, 1964), 221. See also I. Thomas Stone, Dorothea C. Leighton, and

"them as has, gits."⁷⁸ "Entities," William of Occam once advised, "ought not to be multiplied beyond necessity."

VI

American aphorisms notwithstanding, a Weberian conception of class has been utilized sparingly by American Sociologists, perhaps because the societal sources of mobility were not of abiding sociological concern.⁷⁹ It is a commonplace to note that American society places a high premium on individual qualifications, performance, and especially motivation in

Alexander H. Leighton, "Poverty and the Individual," Poverty Amid Affluence, ed. Leo Fishman (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1966), chap. iv, pp. 72-96; Alvin L. Schorr, Slums and Social Insecurity (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Social Security Administration research report no. 1; Charles V. Willie, "The Relative Contribution of Family Status and Economic Status to Juvenile Delinquency," Social Problems, XIV (Winter, 1967), 326-335; J. McV. Hunt, Intelligence and Experience (New York: Ronald Press, 1961); Sandra Ardah Warden, "The Leftouts: Disadvantaged Children in Heterogeneous Schools" (an unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1966), pp. 93-95; and "Matter over Mind," Newsweek, LXVIII (January 10, 1966), 45.

⁷⁸Quoted in Kahl, p. 91.

⁷⁹In this regard, it is interesting to note that more than a quarter of a century ago, one of America's most prominent sociologists, an intellectual well-schooled in the European tradition, attempted to formulate a generalized approach to the theory of social stratification; "In spite of its central importance," the field of social stratification has "been in a notably underdeveloped state." However, in the article Parsons is almost exclusively concerned with the status dimension of social stratification, and he gives the most menial attention to economic class and treats power as a residual classification. Talcott Parsons, "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," The American Journal of Sociology, LXV (May, 1940), 841-862.

explaining the presence or absence of economic mobility.⁸⁰ Based on an acceptance of values such as achievement and equality, Americans have inferred an objective description of social life in which the equal opportunities of all individuals to achieve success have been stressed and exaggerated.⁸¹ This emphasis has even permeated sociological studies of mobility and poverty.⁸² The Weberian view of class stratification waits beyond the American ken.

⁸⁰Reissman, Class in American Society, pp. 293-294. For a cogent examination of the much-cited Horatio Alger story, see R. Richard Wohl, "The 'Rags to Riches Story:' An Episode of Secular Idealism," Class, Status, and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 388-395 and 693-694.

⁸¹As a matter of clarity it should be noted that there are usually three aspects of the "American dream." The belief that (invidious) classes do not exist, the belief that mobility is such that classes are impermanent, and the belief that justice is done in the apportionment of classes. For an introductory discussion of "The Myth and Creed of Classlessness," see Hodges, pp. 1-16.

⁸²See, for example, Harold F. Kaufman, Kenneth P. Wilkinson, and Lucy W. Cole, Poverty Programs and Social Mobility: Focus on Rural Populations of Lower Social Rank in Mississippi and the South (State College, Mississippi: Social Science Research Center, Mississippi State University, Preliminary Report No. 13, September, 1966).

CHAPTER IV

SOME EVIDENCE OF CLASS DIFFERENTIALS

More than a generation ago, Max Weber noted that it was "the most elemental economic fact that the way in which the disposition over material property is distributed among a plurality of people meeting competitively in the market for the purpose of exchange in itself creates specific life chances."¹

I

American studies of the relationship between class situation and life chances have, by and large, confirmed Weber's thesis. More than a decade ago, Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills lucidly summarized the bulk of extant research when they wrote:

Everything from the chance to stay alive during the first year after birth to the chance to view fine art, the chance to remain healthy and grow tall, and if sick to get well again quickly, the chance to avoid becoming a juvenile delinquent--and very crucially, the chance to complete an intermediary or higher educational grade--these are the chances that are crucially influenced by one's position in the class structure of a modern society.²

¹Max Weber, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, trans. and ed. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 181.

²Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills, Character and Social Structure: The Psychology of Social Institutions (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954), p. 313.

In addition to Gerth and Mills, Kurt Mayer,³ John Porter,⁴ Peter Berger,⁵ Bernard Berelson and Gary Steiner,⁶

³According to Mayer, for example, from class differences "stem great variations in health and wealth, knowledge and experience, wisdom and happiness. Class distinctions influence our choice of marriage partners and the number of our children; they largely determine the kind of education we can obtain and the occupations we may enter. The house we live in, how it is furnished, what car we drive, how we dress, our friends and associates, the organizations and clubs we belong to, our hobbies, even the kind of books and magazines we read--all these matters are strongly influenced by our class position." Kurt Mayer, Class and Society (New York: Random House, 1955), p. 1.

⁴"Class differences create very great differences in life chances. . . . One commodity, for instance, which low income families can rarely purchase is privacy, particularly the privacy of a house to themselves. It is perhaps the value of privacy and the capacity to afford it which has become the dividing line between the real and the apparent middle class." John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 5-6.

⁵"Class determines life chances in ways that go far beyond the economic in its proper sense. One's class position determines the amount of education one's children are likely to receive. It determines the standards of medical care enjoyed by oneself and one's family, and therefore, one's life expectancy--life chances in the literal sense of the word. The higher classes in our society are better fed, better housed, better educated, and live longer than their less fortunate fellow citizens. These observations may be truisms, but they gain in impact if one sees that there is a statistical correlation between the quantity of money one earns per annum and the number of years one may expect to do so on this earth. But the import of location within the class system goes even further than that.

Different classes in our society not only live differently quantitatively, they live in different styles qualitatively. A sociologist worth his salt, if given two basic indices of class such as income and occupation, can make a long list of predictions about the individual in question even if no further information has been given." Author's emphasis. Peter L. Berger, Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Perspective (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1963), p. 80.

⁶"The members of different classes, or those moving or desiring to move between classes, behave differently on a wide

and Edward Shils and Seymour Martin Lipset,⁷ among others,⁸ have lately testified to the veridicality of this interpretation. In the words of Shils and Lipset: "There is no important area of behavior in which it is not possible to find large statistical differences between levels up or down the class structure."⁹

II

Social scientists have reported class differences regarding at least 101 different aspects of social life. For example, researchers have documented class differences in the manner in which responsibilities are distributed within the family,¹⁰ in parental willingness to participate in the

range of matters. Such differences are everywhere fundamental and pervasive; they are among the most important explanatory differences underlying human behavior." *Italics mine.* Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964), p. 476.

⁷Edward A. Shils and Seymour Martin Lipset, "Social Class," Encyclopaedia Britannica, ed. Warren E. Preece (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1965), V, 873-875.

⁸For example, Egon Ernest Bergel, Social Stratification (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1962), p. 8; Louis Kriesberg, "The Relationship Between Socio-economic Rank and Behavior," Social Problems, X (Spring, 1963), 334-353; and Seymour Martin Lipset, "Social Stratification and the Analysis of American Society," The Behavioral Sciences Today, ed. Bernard Berelson (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1963), pp. 197-198.

⁹Shils and Lipset, Encyclopaedia Britannica, V, 875.

¹⁰See, for example, Martin E. Olsen, "Distribution of Family Responsibilities and Social Stratification," Marriage and Family Living, XXII (February, 1960), 60-65; and Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and Allocation of Parental Responsibilities," Sociometry, XXIII (December, 1960), 372-392.

administration of polio vaccine to their children,¹¹ parental control of children's television viewing,¹² adolescent-parent adjustments,¹³ family stability,¹⁴ family planning,¹⁵

¹¹See, for example, Leila Calhoun Deasy, "Socio-economic Status and Participation in the Poliomyelitis Vaccine Trial," American Sociological Review, XXI (April, 1956), 185-191; and John A. Clausen, Morton A. Seidenfeld, and Leila C. Deasy, "Parent Attitudes Toward Participation of Their Children in Polio Vaccine Trials," American Journal of Public Health, XLIV (December, 1954), 1526-1536.

¹²See, for example, Robert O. Blood, "Social Class and Family Control of Television Viewing," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Development, VII (July, 1961), 205-222.

¹³See, for example, Ivan Nye, "Adolescent-parent Adjustment: Socio-economic Level as a Variable," American Sociological Review, XVI (June, 1951), 341-349; Ivan Nye, "Factors Influencing Adolescent Adjustment to Parents" (an unpublished master's thesis, State College of Washington, 1947); Francis Ivan Nye, "Adolescent Adjustment to Parents" (an unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State College, 1950), p. 58; George Psathas, "Ethnicity, Social Class, and Adolescent Independence from Parental Control," American Sociological Review, XXII (August, 1957), 415-423; and William A. Rushing, "Adolescent-Parent Relationship and Mobility Aspirations," Social Forces, XLII (December, 1964), 157-166.

¹⁴See, for example, August B. Hollingshead, "Class Differences in Family Stability," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCLXXII (November, 1950), 39-46; W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1941), pp. 60-61 and 92-104; James West [pseud.], Plainville, U. S. A. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 57-69 and 115-141; Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), pp. 59-136; August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth: The Impact of Social Classes on Adolescents (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949), pp. 66-126, 335-388, and 414-436; August B. Hollingshead, "Class and Kinship in a Middle Western Community," American Sociological Review, XIV (August, 1949), 469-475; Berelson and Steiner, pp. 312 and 482; Ray F. Baber, "Sociological Differences in Family Stability," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCLXXII (November, 1950), 30-38; Jessie Bernard, "Marital Stability and Patterns of Status Variables,"

and family size.¹⁶ Similarly, language,¹⁷ clothing,¹⁸ neighboring,¹⁹ diet,²⁰ hypertension,²¹ alcoholism,²²

Journal of Marriage and the Family, XXVIII (November, 1966), 421-441; Thomas P. Monahan, "Divorce by Occupational Level," Marriage and Family Living, XVII (November, 1955), 332-324; William F. Ogburn, "Education, Income and Family Unity," The American Journal of Sociology, LIII (May, 1948), 474-476; and H. Ashley Weeks, "Differential Divorce Rates by Occupations," Social Forces, XXI (March, 1943), 334-337.

¹⁵See, for example, Jack L. Roach, Lionel S. Lewis, and Murray A. Beauchamp, "The Effects of Race and Socio-economic Status on Family Planning," Journal of Health and Social Behavior, VIII (March, 1962), 40-45; Gerald Handel and Lee Rainwater, "Working-class People and Family Planning," Social Work, VI (April, 1961), 18-25; Clyde V. Kiser and P. K. Whelpton, "Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility, IX: Fertility Planning and Fertility Rates by Socio-economic Status," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XXVII (April, 1949), 188-244; and Lee Rainwater, And the Poor Get Children: Sex, Contraception, and Family Planning in the Working Class (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1960).

¹⁶See, for example, J. Mayone Stycos, "Social Class and Preferred Family Size in Peru," The American Journal of Sociology, LXX (May, 1965), 651-658; T. J. Woofter, Jr., "Size of Family in Relation to Family Income and Age of Family Head," American Sociological Review, IX (December, 1944), 678-684; and Xarifa Sallume and Frank W. Notestein, "Trends in the Size of Families Completed Prior to 1910 in Various Social Classes," The American Journal of Sociology, XXXIII (November, 1932), 398-408.

¹⁷See, for example, Basil Bernstein, "Language and Social Class," The British Journal of Sociology, XI (September, 1960), 271-276; Basil Bernstein, "Social Class, Speech Systems, and Psycho-therapy," The British Journal of Sociology, XV (March, 1964), 54-64; William Bright, "Language, Social Stratification, and Cognitive Orientation," Sociological Inquiry, XXVI (Spring, 1966), 313-318; William Labov, "The Effects of Social Mobility on Linguistic Behavior," Sociological Inquiry, XXXVI (Spring, 1966), 186-203; William Labov, "Phonological Correlates of Social Stratification," The Ethnography of Communication, ed. John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes, supplement to American Anthropologist, LXVI (December, 1964), 164-176; William Labov, "Hypercorrection by the Lower Middle Class as a Factor in Linguistic Change," Sociolinguistics, ed. William Bright (The Hague: Mouton and Company, 1966); William Labov, "The Social Stratification of English in New York City" (an unpublished

values,²³ dancing,²⁴ careers,²⁵ and suicide²⁶ are differentially related to class situation. Still other studies

doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1964); Carol L. Huffine, "Inter-socio-economic Class Language Differences: A Research Report," Sociology and Social Research, L (April, 1966), 351-355; O. C. Irwin, "Infant Speech: The Effect of Family Occupational Status and of Age on Use of Sound Types," Journal of Speech and Hearing Disorders, XIII (September, 1948), 224-226; O. C. Irwin, "Infant Speech: The Effect of Family Occupational Status and of Age on Sound Frequency," Journal of Speech and Hearing Disorders, XIII (December, 1948), 320-323; and Basil Bernstein, "Social Class and Linguistic Development: A Theory of Social Learning," Education, Economy, and Society, ed. A. H. Halsey, Jean Floud, and C. Arnold Anderson (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 288-314; David R. Heise, "Social Status, Attitudes, and Word Connotations," Sociological Inquiry, XXXVI (Spring, 1966), 227-240; Basil Bernstein, "Elaborate and Restricted Codes: Their Social Origins and Some Consequences," The Ethnography of Communication, ed. John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes, supplement to American Anthropologist, LXVI (December, 1964), 55-70; and Dean S. Ellis, "Speech and Social Status in America," Social Forces, XLV (March, 1967), 431-438.

¹⁸See, for example, Thomas Ford Hault, "Experimental Measurement of Clothing as a Factor in Some Social Ratings of Selected American Men," American Sociological Review, XIX (June, 1954), 324-328; Bernard Barber, Social Stratification: A Comparative Analysis of Structure and Process (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1957), pp. 146-148; Thomas E. Lasswell, Class and Stratum: An Introduction to Concepts and Research (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965), pp. 231-232; Bernard Barber and Lyle S. Lobel, "'Fashion' in Women's Clothes in the American Social System," Social Forces, XXXI (December, 1952), 124-131; Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions (New York: Macmillan Company, 1899); T. H. Pear, English Social Differences (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1955), p. 173; C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 62-63; Russell Lynes, A Surfeit of Honey (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 73; Art Gallaher, Jr., Plainville: Fifteen Years Later (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), p. 103; West, p. 39; and Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, Middletown: A Study in American Culture, Harvest Books (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1956), chap. xii, pp. 153-178.

¹⁹See, for example, Judith T. Shuval, "Class and Ethnic Correlates of Casual Neighboring," American Sociological Review,

have reported that birth rates,²⁷ morbidity rates,²⁸ mortality rates²⁹--including fetal mortality,³⁰ neonatal mortality

XXI (August, 1956), 453-458; Genevieve Knupfer, "Portrait of the Underdog," Public Opinion Quarterly, XI (Spring, 1947), 103-114; Roderick D. McKenzie, The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life in the City of Columbus, Ohio (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923); Joel Smith, William H. Form, and Gregory P. Stone, "Local Intimacy in a Middle-sized City," The American Journal of Sociology, LX (November, 1954), 276-284; Wendell Bell and Marion D. Boat, "Urban Neighborhoods and Informal Social Relations," American Journal of Sociology, LXII (January, 1957), 391-398; and Kauho Honkala, "Social Class and Visiting Patterns in Two Finnish Villages," Acta Sociologica, V, Fasc. 1 (1959), 42-49.

²⁰See, for example, Margaret Cussler and Mary L. deGive, 'Twixt the Cup and the Lip: A Study of American Food Habits (New York: Twayne Publishing Company, 1952); Elizabeth E. Hoyt, Margaret G. Reid, Joseph L. McConnell, and Janet M. Hooks, American Income and Its Use (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), pp. 146-147, 154, and 216; and John Burnett, Plenty and Want: A Social History of Diet in England From 1815 to the Present Day (London: Nelson, 1966).

²¹See, for example, Johs Boe, Sigurd Hummerfelt, and Froystein Wedervang, The Blood Pressure in a Population (Bergen: A. S. John Griegs Boktrykkeri, 1956). Contrary to popular belief, this study showed that there is an inverse relation between hypertension and class. The Health Examination Survey, 1960-1962, also reported an inverse relationship between class and hypertension, based upon study of medical histories. See Tavia Gordon, Three Views of Hypertension and Heart Disease (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1957), Public Health Service publication no. 1000, series 2, no. 22, Table 16, p. 23.

²²See, for example, John Dollard, "Drinking Mores of the Social Classes," Alcohol, Science, and Society: Twenty-nine Lectures with Discussions as Given at the Yale Summer School of Alcohol Studies (New Haven, Connecticut: Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 1945), lect. viii, pp. 95-101; John W. Riley and Charles F. Marden, "The Social Pattern of Alcoholic Drinking," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, VIII (September, 1947), 265-273; R. W. Hyde and L. V. Kingsley, "Studies in Medical Sociology: The Relation of Mental Disorders to the Community Socioeconomic Level," New England Journal of Medicine, CCXXXI (October, 1944), 543-548; and Harrison M. Trice and David J. Pittman, "Social Organization

from congenital malformations,³¹ and infant mortality³²-- are all inversely related to class. However, the distribution

and Alcoholism: A Review of Significant Research Since 1940," Social Problems, V (Spring, 1958), 294-307.

²³See, for example, Herbert H. Hyman, "The Values Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," Class, Status, and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 426-442 and 695-698; Knupfer, Public Opinion Quarterly, XI, 103-114; Hyman Rodman, "The Lower-class Value Stretch," Social Forces, XLII (December, 1963), 205-215; Suzanne Keller and Marisa Zavalloni, "Ambition and Social Class: A Respecification," Social Forces, XLIII (October, 1964), 58-70; Richard F. Larson and Sara Smith Sutker, "Value Differences and Value Consensus by Socioeconomic Levels," Social Forces, XLIV (June, 1966), 563-569; Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1957), chap. vii, pp. 184-220; and Ivan D. Steiner, "Some Social Values Associated with Objectively and Subjectively Defined Social Class Memberships," Social Forces, XXXI (May, 1953), 327-332.

²⁴See, for example, Thomas J. Cottle, "Social Class and Social Dancing," The Sociological Quarterly, VII (Spring, 1966), 179-196.

²⁵See, for example, S. Kirson Weinberg and Henry Arond, "The Occupational Culture of the Boxer," The American Journal of Sociology, LVII (May, 1952), 460-469; and Charles E. Werts, "Class and Initial Career Choice of College Freshman," Sociology of Education, XXXIX (Winter, 1966), 74-85.

²⁶See, for example, Austin L. Porterfield and Jack P. Gibbs, "Occupational Prestige and Social Mobility of Suicides in New Zealand," The American Journal of Sociology, LXVI (September, 1960), 147-152; Jack P. Gibbs, "Suicide," Contemporary Social Problems, ed. Robert K. Merton and Robert A. Nisbet (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966), pp. 303-304; Warren Breed, "Occupational Mobility and Suicide Among White Males," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (April, 1963), 179-188; Erwin Stengel, Suicide and Attempted Suicide (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1964), pp. 21-31; and Andrew W. Henry and James F. Short, Jr., Suicide and Homicide: Some Economic, Sociological and Psychological Aspects of Aggression (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954), pp. 17-18, 45-65, and 82-97.

of dental care,³³ medical care,³⁴ and psychiatric care³⁵ are all positively related to class. The incidence of stomach

²⁷See, for example, Dennis H. Wrong, "Trends in Class Fertility in Western Nations," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XXIV (May, 1958), 216-219; Charles F. Westoff, "Differential Fertility in the United States 1900-1952," American Sociological Review, XIX (October, 1954), 549-561; Benjamin Pasamanick, Simon Dinitz, and Hilda Knobloch, "Socio-economic and Seasonal Variations in Birth Rates," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XXXVIII (July, 1960), 248-254; E. Digby Baltzell, "Social Mobility and Fertility Within an Elite Group," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XXXI (October, 1953), 411-420; Robert M. Dinkel, "Occupation and Fertility in the United States," American Sociological Review, XVII (April, 1952), 178-183; Philip Hauser, "Differential Fertility, Mortality, and Reproduction in Chicago, 1930" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1938), pp. 15-17; Kiser and Whelpton, Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XXVII, 188-244; John W. Innes, Class Fertility Trends in England and Wales (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1938); S. Mitra, "Income, Socio-Economic Status, and Fertility in the United States," Eugenics Quarterly, XIII (September, 1966), 223-230; and Frank W. Notestein, "Class Differences in Fertility," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CLXXXVIII (November, 1936), 26-36.

²⁸See, for example, Edgar Sydenstricker, "Economic Status and the Incidence of Illness: Hagerstown Morbidity Studies," Public Health Reports, XLIV (July 26, 1929), 1821-1844; Philip S. Lawrence, "Chronic Illness and Socio-economic Status," Public Health Reports, LXIII (November, 19, 1948), 1510-1511; Rollo H. Britten, Selwyn D. Collins, and James S. Fitzgerald, "The National Health Survey: Some General Findings," Public Health Reports, LV (March 15, 1940), 444-470; Charles R. Hoffer, "Medical Needs of the Rural Population of Michigan," Rural Sociology, XII (June, 1947), 162-168; Fredrika Moore and Angeline Hemblen, "Physical Defects of School Children," American Journal of Public Health, XVIII (October, 1928), 1268-1272; Saxon Graham, "Social Factors in Relation to the Chronic Illnesses," Handbook of Medical Sociology, ed. Howard E. Freeman, Sol Levine, and Leo G. Reeder (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963), chap. iii, pp. 65-98; U. S. National Health Survey, Family Income in Relation to Selected Health Characteristics: United States (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Public Health Service publication no. 1000, series 10, no. 2; Philip S. Lawrence, Geraldine A. Gleeson, Elijah L. White, Robert R. Fuchsberg, and Charles S. Wilder, Medical Care, Health Status, and Family Income: United States (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government

cancer,³⁶ esophageal cancer,³⁷ lung cancer,³⁸ and other chronic diseases³⁹ such as coronary artery disease⁴⁰ and

Printing Office, 1964), Public Health Service publication no. 1000, series 10, no. 9; Carolanne H. Hoffmann, Disability Among Persons in the Labor Force by Employment Status (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1964), Public Health Service publication no. 1000, series 10, no. 7; Charles S. Wilder, Disability Days (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Public Health Service publication no. 1000, series 10, no. 4; Charles S. Wilder, Disability Days (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1965), Public Health Service publication no. 1000, series 10, no. 24; Charles S. Wilder, Chronic Conditions and Activity Limitation (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1965), Public Health Service publication no. 1000, series 10, no. 17; Geraldine A. Gleeson, Selected Health Characteristics by Occupation (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1965), Public Health Service publication no. 1000, series 10, no. 21; Ruth R. Puffer, "Industrial and Occupational Environment and Health," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XXVI (January, 1948), 22-40; Jean Downes, "Social and Environmental Factors in Illness," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XXVI (October, 1948), 366-385; Rollo H. Britten, "Physical Impairments and Socio-environmental Factors," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XXVI (October, 1948), 386-397; and Robert G. Burnight, "Chronic Morbidity and the Socio-economic Characteristics of Older Urban Males," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XLIII (July, 1965), 311-322.

²⁹For example: "It is clear that the inverse relationship between occupational level and mortality, reported by Moriyama and Guralnick for death from all causes, also applies to specific causes." Jacob Tuckman, William F. Youngman, and Garry B. Kreizman, "Occupational Level and Mortality," Social Forces, XLIII (May, 1965), 577. See also: J. S. Whitney, Death Rates by Occupation Based on Data of the United States Census Bureau, 1930 (New York: National Tuberculosis Association, 1934); Mortimer Spiegelman, Introduction to Demography (Chicago: Society of Actuaries, 1955); U. S. Public Health Service, Mortality by Occupation Level and Cause of Death Among Men 20 to 64 Years of Age: United States, 1950 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Vital Statistics--Special Reports, vol. LIII, no. 5; A. J. Mayer and P. M. Hauser, "Class Differentials in Expectation of Life at Birth," Revue de l'Institut Internationale de Statistique, XVIII, 197-200; H. V. Muhsam, "Mode of Life and Longevity in Israel," Jewish Journal of Sociology, VIII (June, 1966),

tuberculosis⁴¹ are inversely related to class situation.

So too are diabetes,⁴² and hepatitis.⁴³ Members of different

39-48; H. F. Dorn, "Mortality Rates and Economic Status in Rural Areas," Public Health Reports, LV (January 5, 1940), 3-12; Mary Ellen Patno, "Mortality and Economic Level in an Urban Area," Public Health Reports, LXXV (September, 1960), 841-851; A. M. Lillienfeld, "Variation in Mortality from Heart Disease," Public Health Reports, LXXI (June, 1956), 545-552; M. E. Altenderfer, "Relationship Between Per Capita Income and Mortality," Public Health Reports, LXII (November 28, 1947), 1681-1691; John M. Ellis, "Socio-economic Differentials in Mortality From Chronic Diseases," Social Problems, V (July, 1957), 30-36; Floyd P. Allen, We Pay with Our Lives (Cincinnati, Ohio: Public Health Federation, 1954), pp. 15-21; John M. Ellis, "Mortality in Houston, Texas, 1949-1951: A Study of Socio-economic Differentials" (an unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Texas, 1956); Iwao M. Moriyama, "Recent Mortality Trends and Differentials," Journal of the American Statistical Association, LXVI (June, 1951), 213-219; Paul H. Price, "Trends in Mortality Differentials in the United States," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, XXXV (December, 1954), 255-263; Constantine A. Yercacaris, "Differential Mortality, General and Cause-specific in Buffalo, 1939-1941," Journal of the American Statistical Association, L (December, 1955), 1235-1247; W. P. D. Logan, "Social Class Variations in Mortality," Public Health Reports, LXIX (December, 1954), 1217-1223; Puffer, Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XXVI, 22-40; Louis I. Dubin and R. J. Vane, "Occupational Mortality Experience of Insured Wage Earners," Monthly Labor Review, LXIV (June, 1947), 33-55; and Iwao M. Moriyama and L. Guralnick, "Occupational and Social Class Differences in Mortality," Trends and Differentials in Mortality: Proceedings of a Round Table at the 1955 Annual Conference, Milbank Memorial Fund (New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1955), pp. 61-73.

³⁰See, for example, Helen C. Chase, International Comparison of Perinatal and Infant Mortality (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967), Public Health Service publication no. 1000, series 3, no. 6, especially table 28, p. 68; and United Nations, Department of Social Affairs, Fetal, Infant, and Early Child Mortality (Paris: UNESCO, 1954) population studies no. 13, II, 6-9.

³¹See, for example, John T. Gentry, Elizabeth Parkhurst, and George V. Bulin, Jr., "An Epidemiological Study of Congenital Malformations in New York State," American Journal of Public Health, XLIX (April, 1959), 497-513. Recent data

classes have different conceptions of parental roles⁴⁴ and different conceptions of marital roles,⁴⁵ as well as different

of overall neonatal mortality rates are available in Charles V. Willie and William B. Rothney, "Racial, Ethnic, and Income Factors in the Epidemiology of Neonatal Mortality," American Sociological Review, XXVII (August, 1962), 522-526.

³²See, for example, Robert Woodbury, Causal Factors in Infant Mortality: A Statistical Study Based on Investigations in Eight Cities (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of Labor, 1925), Children's Bureau publication no. 142; A. Rochester, Infant Mortality (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of Labor, 1923), Children's Bureau publication no. 119; United Nations, Department of Social Affairs, II, 6-9; Robert H. Talbert, Cowtown--Metropolis: Case Study of a City's Growth and Structure (Fort Worth: Leo Potishman Foundation, 1956), pp. 97-104; Charlotte A. Douglas, Infant and Perinatal Mortality in Scotland (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966), Public Health Service publication, no. 1000, series 3, no. 5; Chase, p. 68; and Charles V. Willie, "A Research Note on the Changing Association Between Infant Mortality and Socio-economic Status," Social Forces, XXXVII (March, 1959), 221-227.

³³See, for example, Robert H. Talbert, "Ecological Variations in Dental Health in a Metropolitan Community," Journal of Health and Human Behavior, III (Summer, 1962), 128-132; Selma Muskin and Beatrice Crowther, "Urban Dental Expenditures," Public Health Reports, LXXIII (January, 1958), 1-7; National Health Survey, Health Statistics from the U. S. National Health Survey: Dental Care, July, 1957--June, 1959 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1964), Public Health Service publication no. 1000, series B, numbers 14, 15, and 33; and Forrest E. Linder, "The Health of the American People," Scientific American, CCXIV (June, 1966), 21-29.

³⁴For example: "The analysis concluded that subscription to health insurance is more a function of ability to pay than of health need." Bert L. Ellenbogen, Charles E. Ramsey, and Robert A. Danley, "Health Need, Status, and Subscription to Health Insurance," Journal of Health and Human Behavior, VII (Spring, 1966), 59-63. Still, families with annual incomes of less than \$2,000 spend 13.0 percent of their income for personal health services compared to 3.9 percent for families with annual incomes of \$7,500 or more. Sam Shapiro, Edward R. Schlesinger, and Robert E. L. Nesbitt, Jr., Infant and Perinatal Mortality in the United States (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1965), Public

musical tastes⁴⁶ and different art style preferences,⁴⁷ and occupational aspirations,⁴⁸ and norms about public drinking,⁴⁹

Health Service publication no. 1000, series 3, no. 4, table v, p. 49. Recent national statistics show that the acquisition of free medicine from physicians is positively related to class. See Charles S. Wilder, Cost and Acquisition of Prescribed and Nonprescribed Medicines (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), Public Health Service publication no. 1000, series 10, number 33, table 8, p. 25. See also John A. Ross, "Social Class and Medical Care," Journal of Health and Human Behavior, III (Spring, 1962), 35-40; Herbert Notkin, Jay Brightman, William A. Brumfield, Jr., Stella M. Dorsey, and Herman S. Solomon, "Knowledge and Utilization of Health Resources by Public Assistance Recipients, II: Reported Illness and Therapeutic Services," American Journal of Public Health, LXVIII (March, 1958), 319-327; Mary M. Hannaford, Proportion of Surgical Bill Paid by Insurance (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966), Public Health Service publication no. 1000, series 10, no. 31, table 2, p. 20; and Linder, Scientific American, CCXIV, 21-29.

³⁵See, for example, Lawrence Z. Freedman and August B. Hollingshead, "Neurosis and Social Class, I: Social Interaction," American Journal of Psychiatry, CXIII (March, 1957), 769-775; Thomas A. C. Rennie, Leo Srole, Marvin K. Opler, and Thomas S. Langner, "Urban Life and Mental Health: Socio-economic Status and Mental Disorders in the Metropolis," American Journal of Psychiatry, CXIII (March, 1957), 831-836; and August B. Hollingshead and Lawrence Z. Freedman, "Social Class and the Treatment of Neurotics," The Social Welfare Forum, 1955, Official Proceedings, 82nd Annual Forum, National Conference on Social Work (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), pp. 194-205.

³⁶See, for example, Edward M. Cohart, "Socioeconomic Distribution of Stomach Cancer in New Haven," Cancer, VII (May, 1954), 455-461; and Saxon Graham, Morton L. Levin, and Abraham M. Lilienfeld, "The Socioeconomic Distribution of Cancer of Various Sites in Buffalo, New York, 1948-1952," Cancer, XIII (January-February, 1960), 180-191.

³⁷See, for example, Philip Buell, John E. Dunn, and Lester Breslow, "The Occupational-Social Class Risks of Cancer Mortality in Men," Journal of Chronic Disease, XII (December, 1960), 600-621; and Graham, Levin, and Lilienfeld, Cancer, XIII, 180-191.

³⁸See, for example, Edward M. Cohart, "Socioeconomic Distribution of Cancer of the Lung in New Haven," Cancer,

and attitudes about education,⁵⁰ and they use different criteria for class placement.⁵¹ Consumer behavior,⁵²

VIII (November-December, 1955), 1126-1129; and Graham, Levin, and Lilienfeld, Cancer, XIII, 180-191.

³⁹See, for example, Lawrence, Public Health Reports, LXIII, 1507-1521; and Graham, Handbook of Medical Sociology, chap. iii, pp. 65-98.

⁴⁰See, for example, Ann P. Kent, James R. McCarroll, Morton D. Schweitzer, and Harold N. Willard, "A Comparison of Coronary Artery Disease (Arteriosclerotic Heart Disease) Deaths in Health Areas of Manhattan, New York City," American Journal of Public Health, LXVIII (February, 1958), 200-207; Edward A. Lew, "Some Implications of Mortality Statistics Relating to Coronary Artery Disease," Journal of Chronic Diseases, VI (September, 1957), 192-209; and Thomas R. Dawber, William B. Kannel, Nicholas Revotskie, Joseph Stokes, Abraham Kagan, and Tavia Gordon, "Some Factors Associated with the Development of Coronary Heart Disease Six Year's Follow-up Experience in the Framingham Study," The American Journal of Public Health and the Nation's Health, LXIX (October, 1959), 1349-1356.

⁴¹See, for example, Stanley H. King, "Social Psychological Factors in Illness," Handbook of Medical Sociology, ed. Howard E. Freeman, Sol Levine, and Leo G. Reeder (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963), p. 108; N. G. Hawkins and T. H. Holmes, "Environmental Considerations in Tuberculosis: Ecologic Factors in Tuberculosis Morbidity," Transactions of the Fiftieth Anniversary Meeting of the National Tuberculosis Association (New York: National Tuberculosis Association, 1954), 233-238; and Milton Terris, "Relation of Economic Status to Tuberculosis Mortality by Age and Sex," American Journal of Public Health, XXXVIII (August, 1948), 1061-1070.

⁴²See, for example, Harold L. Dobson, Harry S. Lipscomb, James A. Greene, and Hugo T. Engelhardt, "Socioeconomic Status and Diabetes Mellitus," Journal of Chronic Diseases, VII (May, 1958), 413-421.

⁴³See, for example, George S. Goldstein and Paul F. Wehrle, "The Influence of Socioeconomic Factors on the Distribution of Hepatitis in Syracuse, New York," American Journal of Public Health, XLIX (April, 1959), 473-480.

⁴⁴See, for example, Donald Gilbert McKinley, "Social Status and Parental Roles" (an unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1960); and Russell Middleton and

collective behavior,⁵³ delinquent behavior,⁵⁴ sexual behavior,⁵⁵ and voting behavior⁵⁶ all vary according to class.

Snell Putney, "Dominance in Decisions in the Family: Race and Class Differences," The American Journal of Sociology, LXV (May, 1960), 605-609.

⁴⁵See, for example, Annabelle B. Motz, "Conceptions of Marital Roles by Status Groups," Marriage and Family Living, XII (Fall, 1950), 136-162.

⁴⁶See, for example, Karl F. Schuessler, "Social Background and Musical Taste," American Sociological Review, XIII (June, 1948), 330-335.

⁴⁷See, for example, Vytavtas Kavolis, "Art Style and Social Stratification," The Wisconsin Sociologist (N. S.), IV (Spring, 1965), 1-7.

⁴⁸See, for example, Leonard Reissman, "Levels of Aspiration and Social Class," American Sociological Review, XVIII (June, 1953), 233-242; LaMar Empey, "Social Class and Occupational Aspiration: A Comparison of Absolute and Relative Measurement," American Sociological Review, XXI (December, 1956), 703-709; William H. Sewell, A. O. Haller, and Murray Strauss, "Social Status and Education and Occupational Aspiration," American Sociological Review, XXII (February, 1957), 67-73; Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, XXII (April, 1957), 204-212; Frances G. Caro and Terrence Pihlblad, "Aspirations and Expectations: A Reexamination of the Basis for Social Class Differences in the Occupational Orientations of Male High School Seniors," Sociology and Social Research, XLIX (July, 1965), 465-475; Charles M. Grigg and Russell Middletown, "Community of Orientation and Occupational Aspirations of Ninth Grade Students," Social Forces, XXXVIII (May, 1960), 303-308; E. Grant Youmans, "Social Factors in the Work Attitudes and Interests of Twelfth Grade Michigan Boys," The Journal of Educational Sociology, XXVIII (September, 1954), 35-48; Stanley Krippner, "Junior High School Students' Vocational Preferences and Their Parents' Occupational Level," The Personnel and Guidance Journal, XLI (March, 1963), 590-595; J. Kenneth Morland, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Mill and Town School Children in a Southern Community," Social Forces, XXXIX (December, 1960), 169-175; William S. Bennett, Jr. and Noel P. Gist, "Class and Family Influences on Student Aspirations," Social Forces, XLIII (December, 1964), 167-173; Francis G. Caro, "Social Class and Attitudes of Youth Relevant for the Realization of Adult Goals," Social Forces, XLIV (June, 1966), 492-498; Enid Harris Galler, "Influence of

Members of different classes have different eating habits,⁵⁷ drinking habits,⁵⁸ reading habits,⁵⁹ smoking habits,⁶⁰ and

Social Class on Children's Choices of Occupations," The Elementary School Journal, LI (April, 1951), 439-445; and Herman M. Case and Walter L. Slocum, "Factors Associated with Three Postulated Stages of Occupational Choice Behavior of College Students," Research Studies of the State College of Washington, XXI (September, 1953), 242-246.

⁴⁹See, for example, David Gottlieb, "The Neighborhood Tavern and the Cocktail Lounge: A Study of Class Differences," The American Journal of Sociology, LXII (May, 1957), 559-563; and Boyd Macrory, "The Tavern and the Community," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, XIII (December, 1952), 609-637.

⁵⁰See, for example, Celia Burns Stendler, "Social Class Differences in Parental Attitude Toward School at Grade I Level," Child Development, XXII (March, 1951), 37-46; and Eva Bene, "Some Differences Between Middle-class and Working-Class Grammar School Boys in Their Attitudes Towards Education," The British Journal of Sociology, X (June, 1959), 148-152; Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1962), pp. 129-136; Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 28; Joseph A. Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys," Harvard Educational Review, XXIII (Summer, 1953), 186-203; Richard A. Cloward and James A. Jones, "Social Class: Educational Attitudes and Participation," Education in Depressed Areas, ed. A. Harry Passow (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), pp. 190-216; Albert J. Reiss, Jr. and Albert L. Rhodes, "Are Educational Norms and Goals of Conforming Truant and Delinquent Adolescents Influenced by Group Position in American Society?" Journal of Negro Education, XXVIII (Summer, 1959), 252-267; and Robert H. Coombs and Vernon Davies, "Social Class, Scholastic Aspiration, and Academic Movement," The Pacific Sociological Review, VIII (Fall, 1965), 96-100.

⁵¹See, for example, L. H. Haney and G. S. Wehrwein (editors), A Social and Economic Survey of Southern Travis County (Austin: University of Texas, 1916), bulletin no. 65; Joel B. Montague, Jr., "Conceptions of the Class Structure as Revealed by Samples of English and American Boys," Research Studies of the State College of Washington, XXII (June, 1954), 84-93; Arnold M. Rose, "Popular Meaning of Class Designation," Sociology and Social Research, XXXVIII (September-October, 1953), 14-21; George A. Lundberg, "The Measurement of Socio-economic Status," American Sociological Review, V (February,

even teevee-watching habits.⁶¹ The proportion who marry,⁶² the age at first marriage,⁶³ and the frequency of marriage⁶⁴

1940), 32; and Lionel S. Lewis, "Class and the Perception of Class," Social Forces, XLII (March, 1962), 336-340.

⁵²See, for example, John Harp, "Socioeconomic Correlates of Consumer Behavior," The American Journal of Economics and Sociology, XX (April, 1961), 265-270; David Caplovitz, The Poor Pay More: Consumer Practices of Low-income Families (New York: The Free Press, 1963); and Gerald Handel and Lee Rainwater, "Persistence and Change in Working Class Life Style," Sociology and Social Research, XLVIII (April, 1963), 281-288.

⁵³See, for example, Lionel Robbins, The Economic Basis of Class Conflict (London: Macmillan Company, 1939); and Maurice Zeitlin, "Revolutionary Workers and Individual Liberties," The American Journal of Sociology, LXXII (May, 1967), 619-632.

⁵⁴See, for example, Albert J. Reiss, Jr., and A. Lewis Rhodes, "The Distribution of Juvenile Delinquency in the Social Class Structure," American Sociological Review, XXVI (October, 1961), 720-732; Orville R. Gursslin, "The Formulation and Partial Test of a Class Linked Theory of Delinquency" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Buffalo, 1961); John P. Clark and Eugene P. Wenninger, "Socio-economic Class and Area as Correlates of Illegal Behavior Among Juveniles," American Sociological Review, XXVII (December, 1962), 826-834; Edmund W. Vaz, "Middle-class Adolescents: Self-reported Delinquency and Youth Culture Activities," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, II (February, 1965), 52-70; William Bates, "Social Stratification and Juvenile Delinquency," American Catholic Sociological Review, XXI (Fall, 1960), 221-228; Albert K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955); Berelson and Steiner, p. 488; Harwin L. Voss, "Socio-economic Status and Reported Delinquent Behavior," Social Problems, XIII (Winter, 1966), 314-324; and Lee N. Robbins, Harry Gynam, and Patricia O'Neal, "The Interaction of Social Class and Deviant Behavior," American Sociological Review, XXVII (August, 1962), 480-492.

⁵⁵See, for example, Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1948); Alfred C. Kinsey and Paul H. Gebhard, Sexual Behavior in the Human Female (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1953); Eugene J. Kanin, "Pre-marital Sex Adjustments, Social Class, and Associated Behaviors," Marriage and Family Living, XXII (August, 1960), 258-262; and

differ according to class situation just as mate selection,⁶⁵ marital adjustment,⁶⁶ and courtship patterns do.⁶⁷

Maurice Leznoff and William A. Westley, "The Homosexual Community," Social Problems, III (April, 1956), 257-263.

⁵⁶See, for example, Mark Abrams, "Social Class and British Politics," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXV (Fall, 1961), 342-350; Seymour Martin Lipset, "The Changing Class Structure and Contemporary European Politics," Daedalus, XCIII (Winter, 1964), 271-303; Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1960); Gerhard Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-vertical Dimension of Social Status," American Sociological Review, XIX (August, 1954), 405-413; Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960), especially pp. 482-483; Robert E. Lane, Political Life (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959), pp. 48-49; Morris Janowitz and David R. Segal, "Social Cleavage and Party Affiliation: Germany, Great Britain, and the United States," The American Journal of Sociology, LXXII (May, 1967), 605-608; Robert R. Alford, Party and Society (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963); and Philip E. Converse, "The Shifting Role of Class in Political Attitudes and Behavior," Readings in Social Psychology, ed. Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb and Eugene L. Hartley (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1958), 388-399.

⁵⁷See, for example, Pear, pp. 180-188; Russell Lynes, The Tastemakers (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949); and Lasswell, pp. 248-249.

⁵⁸See, for example, Genevieve Knupfer and Robin Room, "Age, Sex, and Social Class as Factors in Amount of Drinking in a Metropolitan Community," Social Problems, XII (Fall, 1964), 224-240; Lasswell, pp. 250-251; Gottlieb, The American Journal of Sociology, LXII, 559-563; Dollard, Alcohol, Science, and Society, pp. 95-101; and Joseph J. Lawrence and Milton A. Maxwell, "Drinking and Socio-economic Status," Society and Culture, and Drinking Patterns, ed. David J. Pittman and C. R. Snyder (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962), pp. 141-145.

⁵⁹See, for example, Robert A. Miller, "The Relation of Reading Characteristics to Social Indexes," The American Journal of Sociology, XLI (May, 1936), 738-756; and Knupfer, Public Opinion Quarterly, XI, 103-114.

⁶⁰See, for example, Lasswell, p. 250.

Researchers have also reported that attitudes about mental illness,⁶⁸ types of mental illness,⁶⁹ prevalence of mental

⁶¹See, for example, Harold M. Hodges, Jr., "Peninsula People: Social Stratification in a Metropolitan Complex," Education and Society, ed. W. Warren Kallenbach and Harold M. Hodges, Jr. (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, 1963), pp. 389-420.

⁶²See, for example, John Hajnal, "Analysis of Changes in The Marriage Pattern by Economic Groups," American Sociological Review, XIX (June, 1954), 295-302; and John Hajnal, "Age at Marriage and Proportions Marrying," Population Studies, VII (November, 1953), 111-136.

⁶³See, for example, Paul C. Glick and Emanuel Landau, "Age as a Factor in Marriage," American Sociological Review, XV (August, 1950), 517-529; Frank W. Notestein, "Differential Age at Marriage According to Social Class," The American Journal of Sociology, XXXVII (July, 1931), 22-48; and Hajnal, Population Studies, VII, 111-136.

⁶⁴See, for example, K. T. Lim, "Social Class Differences in Frequency of Marriages," Sociological Review, XXXI (July, 1939), 309-327.

⁶⁵See, for example, Simon Dinitz, Franklin Banks, and Benjamin Pasamanick, "Mate Selection and Social Class: Changes During the Past Quarter Century," Marriage and Family Living, XXII (November, 1960), 348-351; Richard Centers, "Marital Selection and Occupational Strata," The American Journal of Sociology, LIV (May, 1949), 530-535; Joseph R. Marches and Gus Turbeville, "The Effect of Residential Propinquity on Marriage Selection," The American Journal of Sociology, LVIII (January, 1953), 592-595; Robert T. McMillan, "Farm Ownership Status of Parents as a Determinant of Socio-economic Status of Farmers," Rural Sociology, IX (June, 1944), 151-160; and August B. Hollingshead, "Cultural Factors in the Selection of Marriage Mates," American Sociological Review XV (October, 1950), 619-627.

⁶⁶See, for example, J. Richard Udry, "Marital Instability by Race and Income Based on 1960 Census Data," The American Journal of Sociology, LXXII (May, 1967), 673-674; J. Richard Udry, "Marital Instability by Race, Sex, Education, and Occupation Using 1960 Census Data," The American Journal of Sociology, LXXII (September, 1966), 203-209; Julius Roth and Robert F. Peck, "Social Class and Social Mobility Factors Related to Marital Adjustment," American Sociological Review,

illness,⁷⁰ and the prevalence of venereal disease among sexually promiscuous females⁷¹ are class-linked. Indeed,

XVI (August, 1951), 478-487; and Robert C. Williamson, "Socio-economic Factors and Marital Adjustment in an Urban Setting," American Sociological Review, XIX (April, 1954), 213-216.

⁶⁷See, for example, Willard Waller, "The Rating and Dating Complex," American Sociological Review, II (December, 1937), 727-734; Hollingshead, p. 230; and Harold M. Hodges, Jr., Social Stratification: Class in America (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenckman Publishing, 1964), pp. 127-129.

⁶⁸See, for example, Warren S. Williams, "Class Differences in the Attitudes of Psychiatric Patients," Social Problems, IV (January, 1956), 240-244; Jerome K. Meyers and Bertram H. Roberts, Family and Class Dynamics in Mental Illness (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1959); Lois Pratt, "How do Patients Learn About Disease," Social Problems, IV (July, 1956), 29-40; and Frederick C. Redlich, August B. Hollingshead, and Elizabeth Bellis, "Social Class Differences in Attitudes Toward Psychiatry," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XXV (January, 1955), 60-70.

⁶⁹See, for example, August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, "Social Stratification and Psychiatric Disorders," American Sociological Review, XVIII (April, 1953), 163-169; Arnold M. Rose and Holger R. Stub, "Summary of Studies on the Incidence of Mental Disorders," Mental Health and Mental Disorder: A Sociological Approach, ed. Arnold M. Rose (New York: W. W. Norton, 1955), chap. v, pp. 87-116; and Robert M. Frumkin, "Occupation and Major Mental Disorders," Mental Health and Mental Disorder: A Sociological Approach, ed. Arnold M. Rose (New York: W. W. Norton, 1955), chap. viii, pp. 136-160.

⁷⁰For example: "The ratio of severely disturbed to symptom-free respondents is roughly three times larger in the lower class than in the middle class, and approximately three times larger in the middle class than in the upper class." Author's emphasis. Rennie, Srole, Opler, and Langner, American Journal of Psychiatry, CXIII, 835. See also, Isabel McCaffrey and Joseph Downing, "The Usefulness of Ecological Analysis in Mental Disease Epidemiology," American Journal of Psychiatry, CXIII (June, 1957), 1063-1067; John A. Clausen, "Sociology of Mental Disease," Handbook of Medical Sociology, ed. Howard E. Freeman, Sol Levine, and Leo G. Reeder (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963), chap. vi, pp. 145-165;

even the mode of therapy for illnesses is linked to class,⁷² owing in large part to the class differences between physicians and patients.⁷³ Also related to class situation

August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness: A Community Study (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958), chap. vii, pp. 194-219; Hollingshead and Redlich, American Sociological Review, XVIII, 163-169; Kingsley Davis, "Mental Hygiene and the Class Structure," Psychiatry, I (February, 1938), 55-65; and Rose and Stub, Mental Health and Mental Disorder, chap. v, pp. 87-116.

⁷¹See, for example, Robert D. Weitz, "The Occupational Adjustment Characteristics of a Group of Sexually Promiscuous and Venereally Infected Females," Journal of Applied Psychology, XXX (June, 1946), 248-254.

⁷²For example: "But in both public and private facilities the higher the class position the greater was the likelihood that the patient would be treated individually and intensively over a longer period with psychological methods. The lower the class position, the greater likelihood that he would be treated by organic methods, seen with less frequency, and less intensity, and for a shorter time." Freedman and Hollingshead, American Journal of Psychiatry, CXIII, 770. See also, Hollingshead and Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness, chaps. ix and x, pp. 253-331; Nathaniel H. Siegel, Robert L. Kahn, Max Pollack, and Max Fink, "Social Class, Diagnosis, and Treatment in Three Psychiatric Hospitals," Social Problems, X (Fall, 1962), 191-196; Jerome K. Myers and Leslie Schaffer, "Social Stratification and Psychiatric Practice: A Study of an Out-patient Clinic," American Sociological Review, XIX (June, 1954), 307-310; Hollingshead and Freedman, Social Welfare Forum, 1955, pp. 194-205; Raymond G. Hunt, "Social Class and Mental Illness: Some Implications for Clinical Theory and Practice," American Journal of Psychiatry, CXVI (June, 1960), 1065-1069; and Davis, Psychiatry, I, 55-65.

⁷³See, for example, Temple Burling, Edith M. Lentz, and Robert N. Wilson, The Give and Take in Hospitals (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1956); Hollingshead and Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness, p. 281; and Robert N. Wilson, "Patient-Practitioner Relationships," Handbook of Medical Sociology, ed. Howard E. Freeman, Sol Levine, and Leo G. Reeder (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963), chap. xi, pp. 273-295.

are such various things as posthospital performance of mental patients,⁷⁴ premarital sexual permissiveness,⁷⁵ boys' choice of authority roles,⁷⁶ discussion about local affairs,⁷⁷ portrayal of television characters,⁷⁸ attitudes about social distance,⁷⁹ adjustment to the urban community,⁸⁰ rates of church attendance,⁸¹ mail responses to queries of social

⁷⁴See, for example, Howard E. Freeman and Ozzie Simmons, "Social Class and Posthospital Performance," American Sociological Review, XXIV (June, 1959), 345-351.

⁷⁵See, for example, Ira L. Reiss, "Class and Premarital Sexual Permissiveness: A Re-examination," American Sociological Review, XXX (October, 1965), 747-756.

⁷⁶See, for example, Eleanor E. Maccoby, "Class Differences in Boys' Choices of Authority Roles," Sociometry, XXV (March, 1962), 117-119.

⁷⁷See, for example, Erwin L. Linn, "Social Stratification of Discussions about Local Affairs," The American Journal of Sociology, LXXII (May, 1967), 660-668.

⁷⁸See, for example, Frank Gentile and S. M. Miller, "Television and Social Class," Sociology and Social Research, XLV (April, 1961), 259-264; and Dallas W. Smythe, "Reality as Presented by Television," Public Opinion Quarterly, XVIII (Summer, 1954), 143-156.

⁷⁹See, for example, Harry C. Triandis and Leigh M. Triandis, "Race, Social Class, Religion, and Nationality as Determinants of Social Distance," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LXI (July, 1960), 110-115.

⁸⁰See, for example, Lyle W. Shannon and Elaine Krass, "The Urban Adjustment of Immigrants: The Relationship of Education to Occupation and Total Family Income," The Pacific Sociological Review, VI (Spring, 1963), 37-42.

⁸¹See, for example, Victor Obenhaus, W. Widick Schroeder, and Charles D. England, "Church Participation Related to Social Class and Type of Center," Rural Sociology, XXIII (September, 1958), 298-308; and Erich Goode, "Social Class and Church Participation," The American Journal of Sociology, LXXII (July, 1966), 102-111.

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researchers,⁸² parental roles,⁸³ choice of movies,⁸⁴ self-conceptions,⁸⁵ alcoholic psychoses,⁸⁶ authoritarianism,⁸⁷ public opinion,⁸⁸ emotional instability,⁸⁹ use of leisure

⁸²See, for example, Clark E. Vincent, "Socioeconomic Status and Familial Variables in Mail Questionnaire Responses," The American Journal of Sociology, LXIX (May, 1964), 647-653; and Ludwig L. Geismar and Michael A. LaSorte, "Research Interviewing with Low-income Families," Social Work, VIII (April, 1963), 10-13.

⁸³See, for example, Susan Smart, "Social Class Differences in Parent Behavior in a Natural Setting," Journal of Marriage and the Family, XXVI (May, 1964), 223-225; and Donald Gilbert McKinley, Social Class and Family Life (New York: The Free Press, 1964).

⁸⁴See, for example, L. H. Jacobs, "Social Class Differences in Children's Choice of Movies" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1948).

⁸⁵See, for example, James Bieri and Robin Lobeck, "Self-concept Differences in Relation to Identification, Religion, and Social Class," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LXII (January, 1961), 94-98; and Thomas S. McPartland and John H. Cumming, "Self-conception, Social Class, and Mental Health," Human Organization, XVII (Fall, 1958), 24-29.

⁸⁶See, for example, Robert E. L. Faris and H. Warren Dunham, Mental Disorders in Urban Areas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), especially pp. 110-123; and Robert E. Clark, "The Relationships of Alcoholic Psychoses Commitment Rate to Occupational Income and Occupational Prestige," American Sociological Review, XIV (August, 1949), 539-543.

⁸⁷See, for example, Seymour Martin Lipset, "Democracy and Working-class Authoritarianism," American Sociological Review, XXIV (August, 1959), 482-501.

⁸⁸See, for example, Mills, chaps xiii and xiv, pp. 298-342; and Louis Harris, "Election Polling and Research," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXI (Spring, 1957), 108-116.

⁸⁹See, for example, Joel B. Montague, Jr., "Social Class and Emotional Instability," Research Studies of the State College of Washington, XVIII (September, 1950), 132-138; and Freedman and Hollingshead, American Journal of Psychiatry, CXIII, 769-775.

time,⁹⁰ peer-group relationships,⁹¹ personality types,⁹²
 funeral practices,⁹³ religious preferences,⁹⁴ political party

⁹⁰See, for example, Margherita MacDonald, Carson McGuire, and Robert J. Havighurst, "Leisure Activities and the Socio-economic Status of Children," The American Journal of Sociology, LIV (May, 1949), 505-519; R. Clyde White, "Social Class Differences in the Uses of Leisure," The American Journal of Sociology, LXI (September, 1955), 145-150; Alfred C. Clarke, "The Use of Leisure and Its Relation to Social Stratification" (an unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1955); H. Douglas Sessoms, "An Analysis of Selected Variables Affecting Outdoor Recreation Patterns," Social Forces, XLII (October, 1963), 112-115; Alfred C. Clarke, "The Use of Leisure and Its Relation to Levels of Occupational Prestige," American Sociological Review, XXI (June, 1956), 301-307; and Leonard Reissman, "Class, Leisure, and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, XIX (February, 1954), 76-84.

⁹¹See, for example, Lloyd Allen Cook, "An Experimental Sociographic Study of a Stratified Tenth Grade Class," American Sociological Review, X (April, 1945), 250-261; Morton B. King, Jr., "Socio-economic Status and Sociometric Choice," Social Forces, XXXIX (March, 1961), 199-206; Edward O. Laumann and Louis Guttman, "The Relative Associational Contiguity of Occupations in an Urban Setting," American Sociological Review, XXXI (April, 1966), 169-178; Richard F. Curtis, "Differential Association and the Stratification of the Urban Community," Social Forces, XLII (October, 1963), 68-77; Bernice L. Neugarten, "Social Class and Friendship Among School Children," The American Journal of Sociology, LI (November, 1946), 305-313.

⁹²See, for example, Robert J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Basic Personality," Sociology and Social Research, XXXVI (July-August, 1952), 355-363; William H. Sewell, "Social Class and Childhood Personality," Sociometry, XXIV (November, 1961), 340-356; Charles McArthur, "Personality Differences Between Middle and Upper Classes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, L (March, 1955), 247-254; Archibald O. Haller and Shailer Thomas, "Personality Correlates of the Socio-Economic Status of Adolescent Males," Sociometry, XXV (December, 1962), 398-404.

⁹³See, for example, William M. Kephart, "Status After Death," American Sociological Review, XV (October, 1950), 635-643; Frank W. Young, "Graveyards and Social Structure," Rural Sociology, XXV (December, 1960), 446-450; and William

preferences,⁹⁵ participation in voluntary associations,⁹⁶
 leadership in voluntary associations,⁹⁷ dental health,⁹⁸

A. Faunce and Robert L. Fulton, "The Sociology of Death: A Neglected Area of Research," Social Forces, XXXVI (March, 1956), 208.

⁹⁴See, for example, Liston Pope, "Religion and the Class Structure," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCLVI (March, 1948), 84-91; and Hadley Cantril, "Educational and Economic Composition of Religious Groups," The American Journal of Sociology, XLVII (March, 1943), 574-579.

⁹⁵See, for example, Lipset, pp. 230-278 and 303-331; and Harris, Public Opinion Quarterly, XXI, 108-116.

⁹⁶See, for example, Herbert Goldhamer, "Some Factors Determining Participation in Voluntary Associations" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1941); Herbert Goldhamer and Noel P. Gist, "Social Clubs and Fraternal Societies," Development of Collective Enterprises, ed. Seba Eldridge et al. (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1943), pp. 161-182; George Lundberg, Mirra Komarovsky and M. G. McIvery, Leisure, A Suburban Study (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934); Walter L. Baeumler, "The Correlates of Formal Participation Among High School Students," Sociological Inquiry, XXXV (Spring, 1965), 235-240; Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," American Sociological Review, XI (December, 1946), 686-698; Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of Voluntary Associations among Working Class Families," American Sociological Review, XVI (October, 1951), 687-693; Nicholas Babchuk and C. Wayne Gordon, The Voluntary Association in the Slum (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1962); Wendell Bell and Maryanne T. Force, "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations," American Sociological Review, XXI (February, 1956), 25-34; William G. Mather, "Income and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, VI (June, 1941), 380-383; Carol Slater, "Class Differences in Definition of Role and Membership in Voluntary Associations among Urban Married Women," The American Journal of Sociology, LXV (May, 1960), 616-619; Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Urban Participation," American Sociological Review, XXI (February, 1956), 13-18; Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Membership of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys," American Sociological Review, XXIII (June, 1958), 284-294; Wendell Bell and Maryanne T. Force, "Social Structure and Participation in Different Types of Formal Associations," Social Forces, XXXIV (May, 1956), 345-350;

expenditure patterns,⁹⁹ use of hospital facilities,¹⁰⁰ and toilet training¹⁰¹ and other childrearing practices.¹⁰²

Louis H. Orzack and L. Wesley Wager, "A Study of Mass Voluntary Behavior," Public Opinion Quarterly, XX (Winter, 1956-1957), 723-725; John C. Scott, Jr., "Membership and participation in Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, XXII (June, 1957), 315-326; Howard E. Freeman, Edwin Novak, and Leo G. Reeder, "Correlates of Membership in Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, XX (October, 1957), 528-533; Odell Uzzell, "Institution Membership in Relation to Class Levels," Sociology and Social Research, XXXVII (July, 1953), 390-394; Frederick A. Bushee, "Social Organizations in a Small City," The American Journal of Sociology, LI (November, 1945), 217-226; John M. Foskett, "Social Structure and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, XX (August, 1955), 431-438; Alvin H. Scaff, "The Effect of Commuting on Participation in Voluntary Organizations," American Sociological Review, XVI (April, 1952), 215-220; William Spinrad, "Correlates of Trade Union Participation: A Summary of the Literature," American Sociological Review, XXV (April, 1960), 237-244; and Lipset, chap. iv, pp. 79-103.

⁹⁷See, for example, Mather, American Sociological Review, VI, 380-383.

⁹⁸For example, the rate of edentulous persons in the population (United States) decreases sharply with increasing income. National Health Survey, Loss of Teeth: United States (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1960), Public Health Service publication no. 1000, series B, no. 22. See also, Talbert, Journal of Health and Human Behavior, III, 128-132.

⁹⁹See, for example, Handel and Rainwater, Sociology and Social Research, XLVIII, 281-288; and Kathryn R. Murphy, "Contrast in Spending by Urban Families," Monthly Labor Review, LXXXVII (November, 1964), 1249-1253.

¹⁰⁰Edward G. Stockwell, "Socioeconomic Status and Mortality," U. S. Public Health Service Reports, LXXVI (January, 1961), 1081-1086; and Graham, Handbook of Medical Sociology, p. 76.

¹⁰¹See, for example, Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child Rearing," American Sociological Review, XI (December, 1946), 698-710; and Alfred Yankhauer, Walter E. Boek, Edwin D. Lawson, and

Sociologists have also heavily documented class differentials about such pithy social facts as residential segregation,¹⁰³

Francis A. J. Ianni, "Social Stratification and Health Practices in Child-bearing and Child-rearing," American Journal of Public Health, XLVIII (June, 1958), 732-741.

¹⁰²See, for example, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Patricia K. Gibbs, and the Staff of the Laboratory of Human Development at Harvard University, "Methods of Child-rearing in Two Social Classes," Readings in Child Development, ed. William E. Martin and Celia Burns Stendler (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1954), pp. 380-396; Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Socialization and Social Class Through Time and Space," Readings in Social Psychology, ed. Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1958), third edition, pp. 400-425; Robert J. Havighurst and Allison Davis, "A Comparison of the Chicago and Harvard Studies of Social Class Differences in Child Rearing," American Sociological Review, XX (August, 1955), 438-442; Kathryn P. Jonsen and Gerald R. Leslie, "Research on Childrearing Practices and Social Class: A Methodological Critique" (an unpublished paper presented to the Ohio Valley Sociological Society, 1966); Urie Bronfenbrenner, "The Changing American Child--A Speculative Analysis," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Development, VII (April, 1961), 73-84; Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and Parental Values," The American Journal of Sociology, LXIV (January, 1959), 337-352; Robert R. Sears, Eleanor E. Maccoby, and Harry Levin, Patterns of Childrearing (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1957); Walter E. Boek, Marvin B. Sussman, and Alfred Yankhauer, "Social Class and Child Care Practices," Marriage and Family Living, XX (November, 1958), 326-333; Richard A. Littman, Robert A. Moore, and John Pierce-Jones, "Social Class Differences in Childrearing: A Third Community for Comparison with Chicago and Newton, Massachusetts," American Sociological Review, XXII (December, 1957), 694-704; Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and Parent-Child Relationships: An Interpretation," The American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII (January, 1963), 471-480; and Ethelyn H. Klatskin, "Shifts in Child Care Practices in Three Social Classes Under an Infant Care Program of Flexible Methodology," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XXII (January, 1952), 52-61; Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and the Exercise of Parental Authority," American Sociological Review, XXIV (June, 1959), 352-366; and Psathas, American Sociological Review, XXII, 415-423; and Catherine S. Chilman, "Child-Rearing and Family Relationship Patterns of the Very Poor," Welfare in Review, III (January, 1965), 9-13.

quality of housing,¹⁰⁴ treatment by bureaucratic officials,¹⁰⁵ educational opportunity,¹⁰⁶ educational achievement,¹⁰⁷ the

¹⁰³See, for example, Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification," The American Journal of Sociology, LX (January, 1955), 493-503; Peter Collison and John Mogey, "Residence and Social Class in Oxford," The American Journal of Sociology, LXIV (March, 1959), 599-605; Eugene S. Uyeki, "Residential Distribution and Stratification, 1950-1960," The American Journal of Sociology, LXIX (March, 1964), 491-498; and Alan B. Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys," American Sociological Review, XXIV (December, 1959), 836-845.

¹⁰⁴See, for example, Alvin L. Schorr, Poor Kids: A Report on Children in Poverty (New York: Basic Books, 1966), pp. 13 and 24; and Alvin L. Schorr, Slums and Social Insecurity (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Social Security Administration, research report no. 1.

¹⁰⁵See, for example, Gideon Sjoberg, Richard A. Brymer, and Buford Farris, "Bureaucracy and the Lower Class," Sociology and Social Research, L (April, 1966), 325-337; and Richard M. Elman, The Poorhouse State: The American Way of Life on Public Assistance (New York: Pantheon Books, 1966).

¹⁰⁶See, for example, Patricia Cayo Sexton, Education and Income: Inequalities in our Public Schools (New York: Viking Press, 1964); Raymond A. Mulligan, "Socio-economic Background and College Enrollment," American Sociological Review, XVI (April, 1951), 188-196; Elbridge Sibley, "Some Demographic Clues to Stratification," American Sociological Review, VII (June, 1942), 322-330; C. Arnold Anderson, "Social Class Differentials in the Schooling of Youth Within the Regions and Community-size Groups of the United States," Social Forces, XXV (May, 1947), 434-440; and Lynd and Lynd, pp. 185-186.

¹⁰⁷See, for example, William H. Sewell and Vimal P. Shah, "Socioeconomic Status, Intelligence and the Attainment of Higher Education," Sociology of Education, XL (Winter, 1967), 1-23; Bruce K. Eckland, "Academic Ability, Higher Education, and Occupational Mobility," American Sociological Review, XXX (October, 1965), 735-746; Bruce K. Eckland, "Social Class and College Graduation: Some Misconceptions Corrected," The American Journal of Sociology, LXX (July, 1964), 36-50; F. L. Babcock, The U. S. College Graduate (New York: Macmillan Company, 1941); Allison Davis, Social-class Influences Upon Learning (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948); Lynd

distribution of college scholarships,¹⁰⁸ the rate of war casualties,¹⁰⁹ the distribution of legal justice,¹¹⁰ and

and Lynd, pp. 185-186; Sibley, American Sociological Review, VII, 322-330; Anderson, Social Forces, XXV, 434-440; Patricia Cayo Sexton, "Social Class and Pupil Turn-over Rates," Journal of Educational Sociology, XXXIII (November, 1959), 131-134; Bernard Barber, "Social-class Differences in Educational Life-chances," Teachers College Record, LXIII (November, 1961), 102-113; A. Little and J. Westergaard, "The Trend of Class Differentials in Educational Opportunity in England and Wales," The British Journal of Sociology, XV (December, 1964), 301-316; E. Grant Youmans, "Factors in Educational Attainment," Rural Sociology, XXIV (March, 1959), 24-28; Sexton, Education and Income; Mulligan, American Sociological Review, XVI, 188-196; Horace Mann Bond, "Talents and Toilets," Journal of Negro Education, XXVIII (Winter, 1959), 3-14; Robert E. Herriott and Nancy Hoyt St. John, Social Class and The Urban School: The Impact of Pupil Background on Teachers and Principals (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), pp. 45-50; and Alan B. Wilson, "Social Stratification and Academic Achievement," Education in Depressed Areas, ed. A. Harry Passow (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), pp. 217-235.

¹⁰⁸For example, according to a study by Horace Mann Bond, a student whose father is a "professional, technical, or kindred worker" has one chance in 12,672 to win a National Merit Scholarship award, while a student whose father is a "laborer, except farm and mine, has only one chance in 3,581,370. Horace Mann Bond, "The Productivity of National Merit Scholars by Occupational Class," School and Society, LXXXV (September 28, 1957), 267-268. See also: Sexton, Education and Income, pp. 159-161.

¹⁰⁹See, for example, Albert J. Mayer and Thomas Ford Hoult, "Social Stratification and Combat Survival," Social Forces, XXXIV (December, 1955), 155-159.

¹¹⁰See, for example, Attorney General's Committee on Poverty and the Administration of Federal Criminal Justice (Francis A. Allen, chairman), Poverty and the Administration of Federal Criminal Justice (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963); Jerome E. Carlin and Jan Howard, "Legal Representation and Class Justice," U. C. L. A. Law Review, XII (January, 1965), 381-437; Jerome H. Skolnick, "The Sociology of Law in America: Overview and Trends," Law and Society, supplement to Social Problems, XIII (Summer, 1965), especially 11-15; Austin L. Porterfield, Youth in Trouble (Fort Worth: Leo Potishman Foundation, 1946), p. 41;

the distribution of power.¹¹¹

F. Ivan Nye, James F. Short, and Virgil J. Olson, "Socio-economic Status and Delinquent Behavior," The American Journal of Sociology, LXIII (January, 1958), 384-388; Walter Reckless, The Crime Problem (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1950), pp. 57-60; Robert Hardt, "Delinquency and Social Class: Studies of Juvenile Deviation or Police Dispositions?" (an unpublished research report, Syracuse University Youth Development Center, December, 1964); Clarence Darrow, "Crime and Criminals: Address to the Prisoners in the Cook County Jail, 1902," Attorney for the Damned, ed. Arthur Weinberg (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961), 3-15; George E. Bodine, "Factors Related to Police Referrals to Juvenile Court" (an unpublished paper presented at the American Sociological Association meetings, 1964); Martin Gold, Status Forces in Delinquent Boys (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1963), pp. 9-11; Albert J. Reiss, Jr., and Albert L. Rhodes, "A Sociopsychological Study of Conforming and Deviating Behavior Among Adolescents" (Iowa City, Iowa: State University of Iowa, mimeographed, 1959), chap. viii; Yona Cohen, "Criteria for the Probation Officers Recommendations to the Juvenile Court Judge," Crime and Delinquency, IX (July, 1963), 265-274; Nathan Goldman, The Differential Selection of Juvenile Offenders for Court Appearance (New York: National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1963); George W. O'Connor and Nelson A. Watson, Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime: The Police Role (Washington: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1964), p. 134; Irving Piliayin and Scott Briar, "Police Encounters with Juveniles," American Journal of Sociology, LXX (September, 1964), 206-214; Stuart S. Nagel, "The Tipped Scales of American Justice," Trans-action, III (May-June, 1966), 3-9; Lee Silverstein, Defense of the Poor in Criminal Cases (New York: American Bar Foundation, 1955); Harold S. Trebach, The Rationing of Justice (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1964); and Dallin H. Oaks and Warren Lehman, "Lawyers for the Poor," Trans-action, IV (July-August, 1967), 25-29.

¹¹¹See, for example, Allen Potter, "The American Governing Class," The British Journal of Sociology, XIII (December, 1962), 309-319; Todashi Yagi, "An Examination of the Theory of Class Power," Japanese Sociological Review, XIII (June, 1962), 59-84; C. Wright Mills, "The Structure of Power in American Society," The British Journal of Sociology, IX (March, 1958), 29-41; Mills, The Power Elite; Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953); Ralf Dahrendorf, "Recent Changes in the Class Structure of European Societies," Daedalus, XCIII (Winter, 1964), 225-270; Robert E. Agger, "Power Attributions

in the Local Community: Theoretical and Research Considerations," Social Forces, XXXIV (May, 1956), 322-331; and Melvin M. Tumin, "Social Class," A Dictionary of the Social Sciences, ed. Julius Gould and William L. Kolb (New York: The Free Press, 1964), p. 649.

CHAPTER V

CODA: WEBER'S CONCEPTION OF CLASS

American sociologists have by and large misinterpreted Max Weber's ideas about social stratification.¹ According to Weber, class, status, and power are not the dimensions of class stratification (nor, for that matter, of social stratification).² These concepts are not even of the "same

¹The only notable exception is, I think, Reissman. Leonard Reissman, Class in American Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1959), pp. 56-69.

²As a matter of clarity it should be noted that not all scholars agree on this point. For example, Mayer refers to these concepts as the "dimensions" of stratification. Kurt Mayer, Class and Society (New York: Random House, 1955), pp. 22-28. Montague calls them "units." Joel B. Montague, Jr., Class and Nationality: English and American Studies (New Haven, Connecticut: College and University Press, 1963), p. 27. Keller refers to them as "rewards." Suzanne Keller, Beyond the Ruling Class: Strategic Elites in Modern Society (New York: Random House, 1963), p. 183. Kahl calls them "orders." Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1957), p. 5. According to Demerath, they are "types." N. J. Demerath, III, Social Class in American Protestantism (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965), p. 130. According to Svalastoga, they are "criteria." Kaare Svalastoga, "Social Differentiation," Handbook of Modern Sociology, ed. Robert E. L. Faris (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1964), p. 536. Still, most scholars are themselves not consistent about the use of terms in this regard.

Moreover, although most sociologists refer to the three dimensions of stratification as "class, status, and power" (following the title suggestion of the well-known Bendix and Lipset readers), not all scholars do. Ostensibly, there is substantial disagreement over what the three dimensions are

logical kind."³ Class and status are modes of stratification (different modes at that). Power is not. Neither is party. Power is the "essence" of stratification whatever its mode (class or status), whatever its form or manifestation (caste, class, estate, or status group), and whatever its source (economic, political, or social). Parties are voluntary organizations and, according to Weber, are

(or, at least, over the choice of words used to refer to these dimensions). The concepts class, status, and power are most often used. See, for example, Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), Class, Status, and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953); Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), Class, Status, and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective (New York: The Free Press, 1966); and Ely Chinoy, Society: An Introduction to Sociology (New York: Random House, 1967), chap. viii, pp. 168-208. Sometimes "class, status, and authority" are used. See, Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1962), p. 266. Svalastoga refers to them as "wealth, honor, and power." Kaare Svalastoga, Social Differentiation (New York: David McKay, 1965), p. 9. Still other sociologists refer to the dimensions as "class, status, and party." See, for example, Montague, p. 27; and Kahl, p. 5. Tumin refers to the dimensions as "property, power, and prestige." Melvin M. Tumin, Social Stratification: The Forms and Functions of Inequality (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), p. 6.

Finally, it should be noted that sociologists also disagree about the number of dimensions of stratification which Weber identified. Most sociologists say three. See, for example, Mayer, pp. 22-28. Thernstrom says two. Stephan Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 115. Svalastoga says four. Svalastoga, Handbook of Modern Sociology, p. 536; and Svalastoga, Social Differentiation, p. 56.

³W. G. Runciman, Relative Deprivation and Social Justice: A Study of Attitudes to Social Inequality in Twentieth-Century England (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1966), p. 37.

not universal.⁴ Moreover, status groups are community (or intra-community) phenomena and, therefore, by definition, do not extend beyond a community.⁵

Weber wrote two major essays about social stratification. One, translated by Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills and originally published in Politics, has been widely cited by American sociologists.⁶ This essay, which Weber entitled "Distribution of Power in Community: Classes, Status Groups, Parties,"⁷ was translated under the title of "Class, Status,

⁴"Parties are, therefore, only possible within communities that are societalized, that is, which have some rational order and a staff or persons available who are ready to enforce it. For parties aim precisely at influencing this staff and, if possible, to recruit it from party followers." Max Weber, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, trans. and ed. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 194.

⁵"In contrast to classes, status groups are normally communities." Ibid., p. 186.

⁶Max Weber, "Class, Status, Party," trans. and ed. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, Politics, I (October, 1944), 271-278. This essay has been reprinted in several sources. See, for example, Gerth and Mills (trans. and eds.), From Max Weber, pp. 180-195; C. Wright Mills (ed.), Images of Man: The Classic Tradition in Sociological Thinking (New York: George Braziller, 1960), pp. 121-135; Bendix and Lipset, Class, Status, and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification, pp. 63-75; Bendix and Lipset, Class, Status, and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective, pp. 21-28; and S. M. Miller (ed.), Max Weber (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1963), pp. 42-58.

⁷Max Weber, "Machtverteilung innerhalb der Gemeinschaft: Klassen, Stände, Parteien," Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundriss der Verstehenden Soziologie, ed. Johannes Winckelmann (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1956), II, 531-540.

Party."⁸ Why the translators deleted the major part of the title and altered the subtitle is not known. The alteration in the title, however, plus the author's (Weber) arrangement of material, may partially explain why American sociologists have erroneously interpreted the concepts of class, status, and power as constituting three coequal and exclusive dimensions of stratification.⁹

The title of Weber's other major essay about stratification was also dramatically changed in translation. The essay that Weber entitled simply, "Status Groups and Classes,"¹⁰ was translated by Talcott Parsons as "Social Stratification and Class Structure."¹¹ This essay has been largely ignored by American sociologists.

⁸Weber, Politics, I, 271.

⁹In the introduction to the second edition of their reader, Bendix and Lipset note, "Titles of books are not the place to resolve difficulties of conceptualization, and we have decided to retain our original title in this second edition. But we are uncomfortably aware that in choosing it originally we were swayed by its euphonious appeal and failed to pay attention to the fact that classes and status-groups are themselves bases of aggregations of power." Emphasis mine. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, "Introduction," Class, Status, and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. xvi.

¹⁰Max Weber, "Stände und Klassen," Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundriss der Verstehenden Soziologie, ed. Johannes Winckelmann (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1956), I, 177.

¹¹Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. A. M. Henderson, and trans. and ed. Talcott Parsons (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1947), p. 424. Parsons alone, however, was responsible for translating and editing this particular essay. Ibid., p. v.

I

According to Max Weber, the essence of stratification is power:¹² Social stratification is the institutionalized unequal distribution of power. "Power," said Weber, is "the chance of a man or of a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action."¹³

According to Weber, there are two fundamental modes of social stratification (ways which inequality is institutionalized in society): class stratification and status stratification. These modes coexist, although one is usually

¹²"Interestingly enough, this emphasis upon power, upon which the meaning of Weber's theory of stratification depended, has been almost totally overlooked by many sociologists. Few theories and fewer research designs have done anything with Weber's system, nor has either picked up the cue of power as the central focus for the study of class." Reissman, p. 58. Keller does note the centrality of power in Weber's study of class, but after only a couple of fleeting comments she turns away from his ideas. Keller, pp. 183-184.

¹³Weber, From Max Weber, p. 180. It should be noted that according to Weber's definition of power it was not necessary for "power to be actually exercised. The probability of its success was sufficient, for the power was just as potent and real if its possible use caused persons to alter their original intentions as it would be if actually employed. In truth, there would be little difference." Reissman, p. 58. Moreover, Weber "did not, it should be noted, include the capacity to gain one's ends all the time on every issue. Instead, he speaks of the 'chance,' the probability of such, thus avoiding what seems to be an unduly stringent requirement that even the most arbitrary and powerful elite could not meet. Weber's emphasis upon opposition is also a critical factor; it not only sharpens the test of power, but postulates an essential condition of pluralism, namely that opposition to an elite is the best test of the existence of competing centers of power." Robert Prethuis, Men at the Top: A Study in Community Power (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 4.

dominant depending, as Weber noted, upon the rapidity of change in the economic institution.

When the bases of the acquisition and distribution of goods are relatively stable, stratification by status is favored. Every technological repercussion and economic transformation threatens stratification by status and pushes the class situation into the foreground.¹⁴

Thus, following Weber, most scholars generally refer to the major forms of stratification in the period prior to the industrial revolution as "caste" and "estate" systems, wherein the status mode of stratification predominated.¹⁵ In modern industrial societies, indeed, since the industrial revolution, stratification by class has dominated.

¹⁴Weber, From Max Weber, pp. 193-194. Weber went on to say that: "Epochs and countries in which the naked class situation is of predominant significance are regularly the periods of technical and economic transformations. And every slowing down of the shifting of economic stratification leads, in due course, to the growth of status structures and makes for a resuscitation of the important role of status honor." Ibid., p. 194.

¹⁵Weber treated slavery not as a major system of stratification but as an estate or status group. "Those men whose fate is not determined by the chance of using goods or services for themselves on the market, e.g., slaves, are not, however, a 'class' in the technical sense of the term. They are, rather, a 'status group.'" Ibid., p. 183.

"In translating Weber's term Stand, most translators have used the word 'status.' This--though not false--is misleading in that it does not convey the double meaning of the German Stand as 'status' and 'estate.'" Dahrendorf, p. 7. As the concepts are used here, an estate form of social stratification obtains when ". . . the sacred tie of tradition and the undisputed belief in the historically founded legitimacy of . . ." [Dahrendorf, p. 7] status groups are ". . . more or less clearly delimited from other strata in customary or statutory law. . . ." Oliver C. Cox, "Estates, Social Classes, and Political Classes," American Sociological Review, X (August, 1945), 464-469. The usage here is also consistent with the judgment of Bendix and Lipset. They have

II

Class, according to Weber, "was objectively determined by the rational economic processes of the market."¹⁶ Class situation referred to position in the economic structure, and all persons were in one class who shared a common, "specific causal component of their life chances, in so far as this component is represented exclusively in economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income, and is represented under the conditions of the commodity or labor markets."¹⁷ In other words, class situation is not simply "similar life chances," as some scholars have suggested,¹⁸ but rather similar life chances insofar as

stated: "The proper translation of the German word Stand is estate, and the original meaning of the term was that status-difference between persons were legally defined, so that changes in status required legal sanction. Accordingly, where differences in social rank no longer have such a legal basis, the term 'status' seems more appropriate, but it is so general as to be applicable to 'estate-societies' as well." Bendix and Lipset, Class, Status, and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective, p. xv.

The term Stand has been translated not only as "estate" and "status group" but also as "esteem" (see, for example, Weber, From Max Weber, p. 187p, "stratum" (see, for example, Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, pp. 347-348), "social stratum" (see, for example, Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, p. 428), and "prestige" (see, for example, Weber, From Max Weber, p. 180).

¹⁶Reissman, p. 58.

¹⁷Emphasis mine. Weber, From Max Weber, p. 181.

¹⁸Milton M. Gordon, Social Class in American Sociology (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1958), p. 14.

these chances are determined by the power of the market situation. Class situations are thus differentiated according to the power manifested in the complex of one's market relationships; for, in the final analysis, class was established by the power one could command by virtue of his market situation vis-à-vis the power manifested in the market relationships of others. Wrote Weber:

But always this is the generic connotation of the concept of class: that the kind of chance in the market is the decisive moment which presents a common condition for the individual's fate. "Class situation" is, in this sense, ultimately "market situation."¹⁹

Clearly then, for Weber, power was derived from an institutional position "rather than from any accidental or idiosyncratic characteristic of particular individuals."²⁰ And

¹⁹Author's emphasis. Weber, From Max Weber, p. 182.

²⁰Leonard Reissman, "Social Stratification," Sociology: An Introduction, ed. Neil J. Smelser (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967), p. 207. In this regard, Presthus is in error when he contends that "one shortcoming of Weber's definition is that in focusing upon the individual aspect of power, it neglects, to some extent, its more important social dimensions. This is a crucial omission, for even though the power of individuals qua individuals can be empirically determined, such an emphasis overlooks two vital characteristics of power. One is that individual power is always worked out within some larger framework of institutional power. Even Robinson Crusoe's relations with Friday faced this imperative. Men are powerful in relation to other men. The other fact is that the power of any given individual is in large measure a result of his ability to manipulate this larger system." Author's emphasis. Presthus, p. 5. Dahrendorf also contends that Weber's conceptualization of power is too individualistic: "The important difference between power and authority consists in the fact that whereas power is essentially tied to the personality of individuals, authority is always associated with social positions or roles." Dahrendorf, p. 166.

Weber noted that "'property' and 'lack of property' are, therefore, the basic categories of all class situations."²¹

Accordingly, a property-ownership class²² is a class "insofar as differences in property-ownership primarily determine the class situation."²³ Weber then went on to specify three major types of class situations which obtained in terms of property ownership: (a) "positively privileged property-ownership classes,"²⁴ (2) "negatively privileged property-ownership classes,"²⁵ and (3) "middle property-ownership classes,"²⁶ which Weber treated largely as a residual category.

The positively privileged property-ownership classes were "typically rentiers,"²⁷ persons with a stable income from the property they owned. Weber also noted that the kind

²¹Weber, From Max Weber, p. 182.

²²The original, Besitzklasse, was translated by both Parsons and Dahrendorf as "property class." Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, p. 424. Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 24. Bergel translated it as "ownership class." Egon Ernest Bergel Social Stratification (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1962), p. 180.

²³Weber, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, I, 177-180.

²⁴Ibid., 177.

²⁵Ibid., 178.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

of property owned, "whether it was men, land, fixed capital equipment or money assets,"²⁸ was important in the analysis of class, for it "indicated how power could be manifested."²⁹ Accordingly, he indicated that the positively privileged property-ownership classes would include:

- a) human rentiers (slaveowners)
- b) land rentiers
- c) mine rentiers
- d) fixed equipment rentiers (owners of plants and apparatus)
- e) ship owners
- f) creditors and indeed:
 - . livestock creditors
 - . grain creditors
 - . money creditors
- g) securities creditors.³⁰

Those who were not property-owners, the negatively privileged property-ownership classes, were, of course, essentially powerless. They were the debtors, the poor, the proletariat, and the slaves. According to Weber:

Negatively privileged property-ownership classes are typically:

- a) possessed objects (unfree--to be in a "status group"),
- b) the déclassé ("proletarians" in the sense meant in antiquity),
- c) debtors,
- d) "poor."³¹

Between the positively privileged property-ownership classes and the negatively privileged property-ownership

²⁸Reissman, Class in American Society, p. 59.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Weber, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, I, 178.

³¹Ibid.

classes were the middle property-ownership classes. Although Weber recognized that these classes existed, he gave them only minor consideration in his analysis. He says of the middle classes that they "are provided with property or educational qualification"³² and "are in a position to draw their support from these sources."³³

FIGURE 1: PROPERTY-OWNERSHIP CLASSES

Property-ownership Classes	<u>Basic Class Situations</u>	
	Propertied	Propertyless
positively privileged	capitalists creditors land owners plant and equipment owners ship owners slave owners	
middle	"middle and small sized property owners"	"educationally 'qualified'"
negatively privileged		debtors poor proletariat slaves

Relationships in the commodity and credit markets did not exhaust the universe of market relationships, however.

³²Ibid.

³³Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, p. 425.

Not all of the propertyless and the debtors necessarily occupied precisely the same class situation in the labor market. Thus, Weber further differentiated class situations according to the amount and kind of services that could be offered for exploitation in an economically relevant manner. One's position in the labor market formed the essential basis for what Weber called the "income-acquisition classes."³⁴

Accordingly, an income-acquisition class is a class "insofar as the chance of making a profit with goods or services primarily determines the class situation."³⁵ Weber then went on to specify three major types of class situations which obtained in terms of income-acquisition: (1) "positively privileged income-acquisition classes,"³⁶ (2) "negatively privileged income-acquisition classes,"³⁷ and (3) "middle income-acquisition classes."³⁸

The positively privileged income-acquisition classes were "typically entrepreneurs."³⁹ They included, according to Weber:

³⁴The original, Erwerbsklasse, was translated by Parsons as "acquisition class." Ibid., p. 424. Dahrendorf translated it as "income class." Dahrendorf, p. 24. Bergel translated it as "occupational class." Bergel, p. 180.

³⁵Weber, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, I, 177.

³⁶Ibid., 178.

³⁷Ibid., 179.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid.

- a) merchants
- b) shipowners
- c) industrial entrepreneurs
- d) agricultural entrepreneurs
- e) bankers and financial entrepreneurs, under certain circumstances
- f) provided with special capabilities or special schooling, the "free professions" (lawyers, physicians, artists),
- g) workers with monopolistic qualifications (their own, or by inheritance, or by schooling).⁴⁰

The negatively privileged income-acquisition classes were "typically workers,"⁴¹ the proletariats whose class situations differed "according to their various qualifications":⁴²

- a) skilled
- b) semiskilled
- c) unskilled.⁴³

In between the positively privileged income-acquisition and the negatively privileged income-acquisition classes were the middle income-acquisition classes "of independent peasants and craftsmen."⁴⁴ Furthermore, Weber noted, one often finds here public and private officials as well as workers with special talents, or special schooling, or special monopolistic qualifications (their own, or by inheritance, or by schooling).⁴⁵

⁴⁰Author's emphasis. Ibid., 178-179.

⁴¹Ibid., 179.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

FIGURE 2: INCOME-ACQUISITION CLASSES

<u>Basic Class Situations</u>		
Income-acquisition Classes	Properties	Propertyless
positively privileged	ship owners	independently wealthy merchants industrialists agriculturalists bankers financiers certain "free professionals" "specially 'qualified'"
		craftsmen peasants officials certain "free professionals" "specially 'qualified'"
		skilled semiskilled unskilled
middle		
negatively privileged		

Thus, according to Weber, class situation is neither a simple nor a unidimensional phenomenon, as Leonard Reissman, W. G. Runciman, and Norbert Wiley have correctly pointed out.⁴⁶

⁴⁶Reissman, pp. 56-69; Runciman, pp. 37-52; and Norbert Wiley, "America's Unique Class Politics: The Interplay of the Labor, Credit, and Commodity Markets," American Sociological Review, XXXII (August, 1967), 529-541.

Class situation refers not merely to situation in the labor market, but to situation in the commodity and credit markets as well.⁴⁷ In Weberian terms, class situation is the amount, kind, and stability of one's relationship to the production, distribution, and exchange of economic resources in the commodity, credit, and labor markets.⁴⁸ Therefore, in principle the power over each kind of consumer goods, means of production, wealth, capital funds, marketable skills constitutes a special class situation. . . ."⁴⁹ With some oversimplification, the major dimensions of market situation which define one's class situation can be typologized as follows.⁵⁰

⁴⁷As a matter of clarity, it should be noted that in one instance Weber implies that situation in the credit market is not relevant in determining class situation. In another instance, he implies that it is. "We may speak of a 'class' when (1) a number of people have in common a specific causal component of their life chances, in so far as (2) this component is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income, and (3) is represented under the conditions of the commodity or labor markets." Emphasis mine. Weber, From Max Weber, p. 181. In another instance, Weber notes: "The creditor-debtor relation becomes the basis of 'class situations' only in those cities where a 'credit market,' however primitive, with rates of interest increasing according to the extent of dearth and a factual monopolization of credits, is developed by a plutocracy." Emphasis mine. Ibid., p. 183.

⁴⁸Weber also speaks of the master-slave relationship and the landlord-tenant relationship but the first does not obtain in modern industrial societies and the second can be handled adequately as but one of a number of possible relationships of the commodity market, that is, as a buyer-seller relationship.

⁴⁹Weber, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, I, 177.

⁵⁰This (figure 3) is consistent with the interpretations of Weber's work by: Reissman, pp. 53-69; Runciman, pp. 37-40; and, especially, Wiley, American Sociological Review, XXXII, 531-532.

FIGURE 3: A PROBATIONARY TYPOLOGY OF THE DIMENSIONS OF CLASS SITUATION

Market	Amount	Stability	Class Consistents	
			Propertied ("High"power)	Propertyless ("Low" power)
Commodity	high	stable	seller (landlord)	
	low	unstable		buyer (tenant)
Credit	high	stable	creditor	
	low	unstable		debtor
Labor	high	stable	owner (employer)	
	low	unstable		worker (employee)

"A social class," according to Weber, "is the totality of those class situations between which personal and inter-generational interchange is easily possible and typically takes place."⁵¹

⁵¹Ibid. This is a very "free" translation. Parsons has translated the same passage this way: "The 'social class' structure is composed of the plurality of class statuses between which an interchange of individuals on a personal basis or in the course of generations is readily possible and typically observable." Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, p. 424. Parsons' translation implies that only one factor, personal exchange for example, is sufficient where Weber implied that both were necessary.

III

These many and various distinctions of class situations were crucial, for, as Leonard Reissman has pointed out, they indicated "how power could be manifested."⁵² For example, the primary significance of the ownership of property rested in the fact that it could "confer a means to power"⁵³ through monopoly of the (a) purchase of expensive consumer goods, (b) sale of goods, (c) opportunity for accumulating capital and property through unused surpluses, (d) opportunity of capital formation through savings, and (e) privileges of socially advantageous education insofar as it was expensive.⁵⁴

The primary significance of the positively privileged income-acquisition classes, the "class of entrepreneurs"⁵⁵ including the bankers, financiers, and others with economically valuable skills, rested in their ability to monopolize "the management of the production of goods"⁵⁶ in their own interests as well as "the securing of its chances for gain by the influencing of the economic politics of political and other associations."⁵⁷ As the demand for their services

⁵²Reissman, Class in American Society, p. 59.

⁵³Ibid., p. 60.

⁵⁴Weber, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, I, 178.

⁵⁵Weber, From Max Weber, p. 182.

⁵⁶Weber, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, I, 178.

⁵⁷Ibid.

increased and the availability of such services decreased, the chance for monopoly increased. The class of workers, the negatively privileged income-acquisition classes, held no such monopoly on skill, and its services were not especially scarce. "Where labor was available and relatively unskilled, there was little possibility for economic control."⁵⁸ And, unlike the class of entrepreneurs who could organize their relatively small numbers "to gain greater control over their speciality in the market,"⁵⁹ the class of workers was numerically huge and "obstacles to its effective economic organization were that much greater."⁶⁰

Only by organizing into an effective group with commonly recognized goals, that is, by the development of a "class consciousness," could the proletariat gain power.⁶¹

And, as is well known, Weber did not support the view that common class situation per se was sufficient to "spontaneously generate a common interest and mobilize it [the class] into action."⁶² As Reissman has pointed out, to Weber, collective behavior, like any other, "whether it was

⁵⁸Reissman, Class in American Society, p. 60.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 61.

⁶²Ibid., p. 62. "The differentiation of classes on the basis of property alone is not 'dynamic,' that is, it does not necessarily result in class struggles or class revolutions." Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, p. 425.

buying soap, voting for a president, choosing an occupation or striving for higher status, depended upon a complexity of . . . social factors."⁶³

IV

Weber's conceptual scheme for the analysis of class stratification is dated in some of its specific labels and illustrations, but it is, nonetheless, contemporary in its excellence. "For Weber as for Marx, the basic condition of 'class' lay in the unequal distribution of economic power and hence the unequal distribution of opportunity."⁶⁴

Weber's conceptual scheme still offers the most useful method for analyzing the class structure of modern industrial societies. It directs the attention of the investigator not merely to the possession or non-possession of property, but rather uses this crucial distinction in conjunction with the complex of market relationships so that it forces the analyst to view specific elements (such as the amount of income) in terms of their relationship to the whole. Certainly it is legitimate to abstract specific elements from the complex of the social fabric for extensive and exhaustive analysis, but a full understanding is obtained only when these elements

⁶³Reissman, Class in American Society, p. 62.

⁶⁴Reinhard Bendix, Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1962), p. 86.

are viewed in their social context; and, the Weberian perspective of class yields this more comprehensive view.

V

In what is probably the most famous wrangle in American literary history, F. Scott Fitzgerald wrote: "Let me tell you about the very rich. They are different from you and me."⁶⁵ "Yes," replied Ernest Hemingway, "they have more money."⁶⁶ Hemingway, of course, had the better of the exchange; even a tautology can be useful. Fundamental to Hemingway's rejoinder was the implication that the basic and primary source of the distinctiveness of the rich was money. Indeed, no matter how long established or with what

⁶⁵F. Scott Fitzgerald, "The Rich Boy," The Stories of F. Scott Fitzgerald (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), p. 177.

⁶⁶"The rich were dull and they drank too much, or they played too much backgammon. They were dull and they were repetitious. He remembered poor Scott Fitzgerald and his romantic awe of them and how he had started a story once that began, 'The very rich are different from you and me.' And how someone had said to Scott, 'Yes, they have more money.' But that was not humorous to Scott. He thought they were a special glamorous race and when he found they weren't it wrecked him just as much as any other thing wrecked him." Ernest Hemingway, "The Snows of Kilimanjaro: A Long Story," Esquire, VI (August, 1936), 200. This original publication of "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" is the only one that identifies Fitzgerald by name. All other printings of this story refer instead to "Julian." See, for example, Ernest Hemingway, The Snows of Kilimanjaro and Other Stories (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), p. 23.

privileges, once the rich lose their possessions, they must begin the long Chekhovian slide downward.⁶⁷

Nonetheless, while Hemingway (like Karl Marx) emphasized the essential basis of class, Fitzgerald (like Max Weber) stressed the analytical variations on the theme. Fitzgerald's point analytically disjoins old and new money: old money is inherited, new money is not. Still, the difference is short-lived, for it is usually only a few generations back to the time when old money was "new." If the uncouth nouveaux riches--caricatured so well by George McManus in "Jiggs and Maggie"--are not accepted at first, their children eventually are. As Weber succinctly phrased it, "money increasingly buys--at least on an intergenerational basis--everything."⁶⁸

⁶⁷A fuller discussion of this theme (and one which suggested some of the rhetoric of this closing section) is: "The Rich are Different," Trans-action, I (September-October, 1964), 21-24.

⁶⁸Author's emphasis. Weber, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, I, 179. Parsons translates this as: "In the most highly privileged classes, at least over the period of more than one generation, it is coming more and more to be true that money is overwhelmingly decisive." Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, p. 427. Bergel's translation agrees more with the text, above. For example: ". . . Max Weber remarked with regard to enormous wealth that 'money buys everything'. . . ." Bergel, p. 192. Later, Bergel writes: ". . . Max Weber remarked that, once wealth has reached a certain stage, 'money simply buys everything'. . . ." Bergel, p. 333.

APPENDIX

A considerable part of the confusion among sociologists about the reality and meaning of class stratification in American society is a consequence not only of the way in which sociologists generally conceptualize the issue, it is also a consequence of the way in which they research the problem.

Sometimes, for example, to ensure excellence in the data, sociologists researching class phenomena select a simple random sample which "creates" a more homogeneous view of the class structure than that which actually exists.¹ In addition, researchers frequently exclude the most disenfranchised segments of the population (females, Negroes, farmers, transients, unemployed, etc.) in the interest of eliminating "contaminating" factors from the analysis and thereby render simple and unambiguous the interpretation of the data.²

¹For a noteworthy exception, as well as a fuller discussion of this point, see Joan Rytina, "The Ideology of American Stratification" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1967).

²For example, a study of the relationship between class situation and psychiatric and psychosomatic illnesses--which found no relationship between class and illness--"did not include people at the very bottom of the economic scale." Katherine B. Laughton, Carol W. Buck, and G. E. Hobbs, "Socio-economic Status and Illness," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XXXVI (January, 1958), 46-47. Another study which found no

Similarly, sociologists who use individuals' perceptions to define the class structure also necessarily "discover" a more homogeneous class structure than that which actually exists. Arnold Rose, for example, has shown that:

People who do not know many upper-class people do not attribute to them as high an income as do those who know more upper-class people, and people who do not know many lower-class people do not attribute them to as low an income as do those who know more lower-class people.³

While many of these kinds of research procedures are used to try and ensure scientific excellence in the data and to eliminate "subjective" factors from an area of social life which is blatantly related to ideology and politics, much of it also adds alleged "scientific" support to popular and erroneous contentions about the classlessness of American

difference in illness rates, according to class situation, eliminated farm occupations from the study population. Saxon Graham, "Socio-economic Status, Illness, and the Use of Medical Services," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XXXV (January, 1957), 58-66. And, in their "Oakland Mobility Study," Lipset and Bendix specifically eliminated from consideration cases outside the opportunity structure. Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1962), p. 150. In another study dealing with occupational stratification, Duncan and Duncan omitted from their analysis, farmers and farm managers, farm laborers, private household workers, persons for whom the occupation was not reported, and unemployed persons. Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification," The American Journal of Sociology, LX (January, 1955), 493-503. See also, Raymond A. Mulligan, "Social Characteristics of College Students," American Sociological Review, XVIII (August, 1953), 305-310.

³Arnold M. Rose, "The Popular Meaning of Class Designation," Sociology and Social Research, XXXVIII (September-October, 1953), 18.

society.⁴ Those researches produce study populations more homogeneous in terms of class situation than that which actually exists.

One of the most noticeable examples in this regard concerns attempts to describe the general "shape" of the American class structure. In a recent essay entitled "The Changing Shape of the American Class Structure,"⁵ Kurt Mayer concluded that "the most obvious transformation has occurred in the economic hierarchy which no longer represents a pyramid with a broad base, a smaller middle and a narrow top."⁶ Rather, says Mayer, "America's social structure today and in the proximate future can be perceived as a diamond."⁷ Mayer supports his interpretation about the shape of the

⁴See, for example: "Worker Loses His Class Identity," Business Week (July 11, 1959), pp. 90-98.

⁵Kurt B. Mayer, "The Changing Shape of the American Class Structure," Social Research, XXX (Winter, 1963), 458-468.

⁶Ibid., 463.

⁷Ibid., 468. Elsewhere, Mayer has written: "The redistribution of incomes which began in World War II has transformed the traditional income pyramid into a diamond." Kurt B. Mayer, "Diminishing Class Differentials in the United States," Kyklos: International Review for Social Sciences, XII, Fasc. 4 (1959), 624. Mayer, however, was not the only scholar to make this interpretation. Indeed, Miller and Rein, have observed: "In a spirit of 'dazed euphoria,' American social scientists formulated a new natural law of income equalization." S. M. Miller and Martin Rein, "Poverty and Social Change," American Child, LXVI (March, 1964), 10. For an "early" example, see: H. Gordon Hayes, "The Narrowing Gulf Between Rich and Poor." Harper's Magazine, CXCIV (July, 1947), 57-60

American class structure by presenting annual income data in the form of a columnar bar graph (see Figure 4).⁸

FIGURE 4: THE DISTRIBUTION OF DISPOSABLE CASH INCOME FOR FAMILIES AND INDIVIDUALS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1953

Cash Income after Taxes		Percent of Income Receiving Units
\$7,500 and over		10.0
\$4,000 to \$7,500		34.9
\$2,000 to 4,000		32.2
Under \$2,000		22.9

⁸Adapted from: Mayer, Kyklos: International Review for Social Sciences, XII, 609.

There are, of course, a number of sociological objections which one may raise regarding the description presented in Figure 4. The two objections which are of concern here are: (1) the false assumption that all persons in each of the four categories are similar in terms of their class situations; and (2) the error of showing each of the four income categories as being equal units. Although Mayer's graph describes the differences in terms of the proportion of the population which falls into each of the four income categories, it does not show that each of the four income categories differ in volume. The lowest category, under \$2,000, has a range of only \$2,000 while the highest category, \$7,500 and over, has a range of more than \$100,000.⁹

If one were to describe the shape of the American class structure solely in terms of annual income--but exclusive of the two objections raised above--the shape of the American class structure would look more like a soft drink bottle with an incredibly long straw, than a diamond, as Figure 5 shows.¹⁰

⁹For example, in 1959 there were approximately 28,000 individual income tax returns with incomes in excess of \$100,000. Herman P. Miller, Rich Man, Poor Man, Signet Books (New York: The New American Library, 1964), p. 143.

¹⁰Adapted from: United States Bureau of the Census, "Income in 1966 of Families and Persons in the United States," Current Population Reports: Consumer Income, Series P-60, No. 53. (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967), table 1, p. 23.

The description presented in Figure 5 is also supportive of the speculation by Miller and Rein that "the traditional income pyramid [seems] to be slowly changing into a giant barrel-shaped distribution." Miller and Rein, American Child, XLVI, 11.

Figure 5: THE "SHAPE" OF THE AMERICAN "CLASS" STRUCTURE IN TERMS OF ANNUAL TOTAL MONEY INCOME FOR FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS, 1966



Still, to define class situation solely in terms of earned annual income only gainsays the theoretical insights of Max Weber; if nothing else, it neglects the differential distribution of wealth.¹¹ In large measure the pith of Weber's ideas about class is, of course, that "the structure of power reflects the structure of class, for class determines the routes and barriers to advancements up our institutional hierarchies."¹² And wealth is a crucial factor in class stratification for at least three reasons: first, it enables the one who possesses it to exercise substantial power over many other positions; second, it is much more unevenly distributed than income;¹³ and, third, it is transmissible from generation to generation in a way that education, experience, and other occupationally-related skills are not.¹⁴

¹¹Wealth has been much neglected in the American study of social stratification as other scholars have observed. See, for example, Donald G. MacRae, "Social Stratification: A Trend Report," Current Sociology, II, No. 1 (1953-1954), 26-28; and Louis Wirth, "Social Stratification and Social Mobility in the United States," Current Sociology, II, No. 4 (1953-1954), 279-303.

¹²John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 5.

¹³For example, in the United States of America the top one percent of the families in terms of annual earned income, those with annual incomes of \$25,000 or more, "had a median net worth of about one-quarter of a million dollars." Miller, p. 145.

¹⁴Horowitz, for example, reports that "distribution of wealth, in the form of monies and bonds, has remained virtually the same since 1929." Irving Louis Horowitz, Three Worlds of Development: The Theory and Practice of International Stratification (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 9.

Max Weber's understanding of class stratification still offers the sociologist the best vantage point for viewing the class structure of American society; but the translation of Weber's conceptual scheme into the empirical reality of our time and place is still unaccomplished. In an attempt to suggest the character and direction of that translation, however, "a probationary neo-Weberian typology of the general outline of the American class structure" is presented as Figure 6.

FIGURE 6: A PROBATIONARY NEO-WEBERIAN TYPOLOGY OF THE
GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE AMERICAN CLASS STRUCTURE¹

Negatively Privileged Classes			Middle Privileged Classes	Positively Privileged Classes
PROPERTYED			PROPERTYLESS	
<u>Owners</u>			<u>Managers</u>	<u>Workers</u>
capital land			profes- sional	profes- sional
large-scale owners of capital	large-scale land owners		top-level governmental and professional administrators	top-level technical administrators
middle-sized business entrepreneurs	middle-sized agricultural entrepreneurs		medium-level governmental and professional administrators	medium-level technical administrators
small-sized and subsistence family farm entrepreneurs			low-level supervisors	low-level white-collar
			low-level technical administrators and small-sized	low-level professionals (non-administrators) and white-collar
				top-level professionals (non-administrators)
				skilled technicians and "exceptionally" skilled workers

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