OCCUPATIONAL EVALUATION AND SELF IDENTIFICATION

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This is to certify that the

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# ABSTRACT

## OCCUPATIONAL EVALUATION AND SELF IDENTIFICATION

by Charles Wright Tucker, Jr.

The guiding question of this study was: "What are the social processes that produce, maintain and alter self-identification behavior?" This question was reformulated for empirical research by: (1) setting it within a theoretical framework, (2) relating it to a single principle of self-identification behavior, and (3) limiting the question to a certain class of activities and identities. The product of this reformulation was the general research hypothesis of this study. It stated: The higher the degree of positive evaluation of a person's occupational activities by himself or others the greater the likelihood a person will identify himself in occupational and work terms. From this general hypothesis, three separate hypotheses were derived using three different variables to measure the evaluation of occupational activities. The variables were: Occupational Prestige, "Subjective Social Class," and Comparative Evaluation of Self with Occupation. Sub-hypotheses were derived from each of these major hypotheses for both occupational

and work self-identification. They were then submitted to empirical test using several statistical techniques.

The data for the present study came from a survey research study done in the United States in 1963. The design of the original study was an area probability sample. The data were obtained by interviewing 1528 persons of voting age. From the original study a sub-sample of full-time employed men was selected for this analysis. This sub-sample was assessed as representative within 95% level of confidence using U. S. Census information for 1960.

The general research hypothesis was supported for all three evaluation of occupation variables and occupational self-identification. The results for the relationships between Occupational Prestige, "Subjective Social Class" and work self-identification were not consistent with the hypotheses. These results were interpreted within the theoretical framework. A number of other findings were found to have implications for future research within this theoretical framework and social stratification. These implications were briefly elaborated in the final chapter of the study.

# OCCUPATIONAL EVALUATION AND SELF IDENTIFICATION

By

Charles Wright Tucker, Jr.

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# CHAPTER I

# INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM

The general question that guides this study is: "What are the social processes that produce, maintain and alter self-identification behavior?" To answer this question several alterations and specifications of it are made in this study. First, the question is set within a theoretical framework. Secondly, a principle of evaluation is derived from several studies dealing with self-other relationships. Thirdly, a general research hypothesis is derived from the central proposition of Self-Other Theory and the Evaluation Principle. Fourthly, a number of sub-hypotheses are developed from the general research hypothesis. And, finally, these hypotheses are submitted to empirical test in a secondary analysis. This chapter presents an overview of the theoretical framework, a specification of the problem and a review of pertinent research.

## Overview of Self-Other Theory

Self-Other Theory, according to Manford Kuhn, is a "sub-theory" within the tradition of Symbolic

Interactionism.[1] Its central assumptions are taken from the philosopher George Herbert Mead. This theory is, in a sense, a re-statement of Mead's ideas in a form that is empirically verifiable. It was the intent of Kuhn and the "Iowa School" to empirically test this theory. This study is seen as an extension, elaboration and continuation of that plan.[2]

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[1]See M. H. Kuhn, "Major Trends in Symbolic Interaction Theory in the Past Twenty-five Years," Sociological Quarterly, 5 (Winter, 1964), pp. 61-84. This article also contains an extensive bibliography of studies done in this tradition (pp. 79-84).

[2]Some of the studies are: C. J. Couch, "Self-Attitudes and Degree of Agreement with Immediate Others," American Journal of Sociology, LXIII (March, 1958), pp. 491-496; C. J. Couch, "Family Role Specialization and Self-Attitudes in Children," Sociological Quarterly, 3 (April, 1962), pp. 115-121; W. S. Garretson, "The Consensual Definition of Social Objects," Sociological Quarterly, 3 (April, 1962), pp. 107-113; M. H. Kuhn and T. S. McPartland, "An Investigation of Self-Attitudes," American Sociological Review, 19 (February, 1954), pp. 68-76; M. H. Kuhn, "Self-Attitudes by Age, Sex and Professional Training," Sociological Quarterly, 1 (January, 1960), pp. 39-55; T. S. McPartland and J. H. Cummings, "Self-Conceptions, Social Class and Mental Health," Human Organization, 17 (Fall, 1958), pp. 24-29; T. S. McPartland, J. H. Cummings and W. S. Garretson, "Self-Conception and Ward Behavior in Two Psychiatric Hospitals," Sociometry, 24 (June, 1961), pp. 111-124; C. McPhail, "Perceived Consensus regarding Statements about the Self in Response to the Question "Who Am I?"," Paper read at the Ohio Valley meetings (Spring, 1964); S. C. McPhail, "Self Identification within a Specific Context of Experience and Behavior," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, Michigan State University, 1965; H. A. Mulford and W. W. Salisbury II, "Self-Conceptions in A General Population," Sociological Quarterly, 5 (Winter, 1964), pp. 35-46; K. P. Schwiran, "Variations in the Structure of the Kuhn-McPartland Twenty Statements Test and Related Response Differences," Sociological Quarterly, 5 (Winter, 1964), pp. 47-59; R. L. Stewart and G. M. Vernon, "Four Correlates of Empathy in the Dating Situation," Sociology and Social Research, 43 (March, 1959), pp. 279-

Briefly stated, this theory begins with the conception of human society as an ongoing series of social activities and acts taking place between and among acting units.[3] The child is born into a family where the procedures of living are being carried on. Within such a context the child becomes aware of the social world. Of central, although not exclusive importance, in this process of becoming conscious of the world is the class of behavior called language. It is by means of simple act symbols which accompany other behavior (e.g., non-vocal gestures) that the child is introduced to the "objects" in his social environment. Hence, it is asserted that all "objects" are social before they become physical.

It is from the assertions involving a "behavioral theory of meaning" that the ideas regarding self-other relationships are formulated. If all "objects" are such by virtue of the behavior taken toward them, then this is true for the self as an "object." The self is possible only by

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285; C. W. Tucker, "Dimensions of Self-Attitudes: A Working Paper," Department of Sociology, Michigan State University, Spring, 1965 (mimeograph); G. M. Vernon, "Religious Self-Identification," Pacific Sociological Review, 5 (Spring, 1962), pp. 40-43; L. H. Warshay, "Breadth of Perspective," in A. M. Rose (ed.), Human Behavior and Social Processes (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1962), pp. 148-178.

[3]At this point of the study I just briefly present the main features of this theory and oversimplify somewhat. A detailed account will be given in the next chapter. The account of "Society" which is used in this theory is adequately presented by Herbert Blumer in "Society as Symbolic Interaction," A. M. Rose (ed.), Human Behavior and Social Processes (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1962), pp. 179-192.

reflexive acts or acts of self-consciousness. As Blumer states:

> The human being may perceive himself, have conceptions of himself, and act toward himself. As these types of behavior imply, the human being may become the objects of his own action. This gives him the means of inter-acting with himself, addressing himself, responding to the address, and addressing himself anew.[4]

Thus, the human being, as conceived in this theory, can be alternately the subject and object of his own activities.[5] This is a central conception in the theory of this study.

It is further stated that the selfing process we observe in a consequence of the person's interaction with others. As Becker and Carper point out:

> . . . individuals identify themselves--answer the question "Who Am I?"--in terms of the names and categories of the groups in which they participate. By applying these labels to themselves they learn

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[4]Herbert Blumer, "Sociological Implications of the Thought of George Herbert Mead," Paper read at the American Sociological Association meetings, Chicago, 1965, p. 2.

[5]This conception is a behavioristic notion of the "self." The notion of "self" as behavior is not popular in the social sciences, especially in those which are more psychological. Heine comments on the behavioristic notions by saying: "There remains a stubborn insistence that a person cannot be defined solely in terms of his behavior; there is a recurrent notion that if we define the self in behavioristic terms we are missing part of the person. That indefinable part was, in the past, called 'soul'; it may now be variously labeled 'style of life,' or 'character,' or 'inner self.' Its elusiveness is linked to the fact that it is indeed hard to know another person completely; but it is also linked to our ideas of privacy and our implicit assumption of a kind of absolute solitariness of the other that we cannot really bridge." C. Wepman and R. Heine (eds.), The Concepts of Personality (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1963), p. 406.

> who they are and how they ought to behave, acquire a self and a set of perspectives in terms of which their conduct is shaped.[6]

A person becomes an object to himself " . . . only by taking the attitudes of other individuals toward himself within a social environment or context of experience and behavior in which he and they are involved."[7] Hence, the central proposition in this theory is that self behavior and the activities of other are reciprocally related.

For example, if others behave toward a person in a certain manner, we would expect him to identify himself in that manner. That is, if others consistently praise a person's activity it is expected that he will identify himself in terms of that activity. If his actions are degraded, he will either identify himself in derogatory terms (e.g., "poor student," "lousy worker," etc.) or not identify himself with the activity. In addition, if the behavior of others toward a person alters, it is expected that his self-identification behavior will also alter. The investigation of the circumstances for the appearance of certain self-identification behaviors is the focus of this study.

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[6] H. S. Becker and J. Carper, "The Elements of Identification with an Occupation," American Sociological Review, 21 (June, 1956), p. 341.

[7] G. H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), p. 138.

## Specification of the Problem

This study focuses on a certain class of self-identification behaviors in order to investigate the central theoretical proposition. This class is called "occupation and work identities." Occupational self-identities are terms which specify a specific occupational title. These terms are usually found in answer to the question: "What is your occupation?" Work self-identities, on the other hand, are terms which do not specify a particular occupational title. They are, instead, general references to the activity of work. From work self-identities an observer would not be able to discover the exact occupational title of the person. These are the two types of self-identities used in this study.

The self-identities used in this study are obtained by having the respondent ask himself the question, "Who Am I?" The procedures used are a revision of the Kuhn-McPartland "Twenty Statements Test" which was derived from the Self-Other Theory.[8] A complete discussion of this technique is given later in this report.

Finally, this study is only concerned with one principle of self-other relationships: evaluation. More specifically, this evaluative behavior is focused upon

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[8] M. H. Kuhn and J. S. McPartland, "An Investigation of Self-Attitudes," American Sociological Review, 19 (February, 1954), pp. 68-76.

occupational activities. Prestige of occupation and several "subjective" questions from the original research are used to measure evaluation.

Hence, by way of specification, this study investigates the general question of self identification using occupational behavior. It focuses on the relationship between evaluation of occupational activities and occupational and work self-identities. Even with this focus, the major concern is self-other relationships, <u>not</u> occupational behavior. In doing this, of course, some information regarding occupations is used, especially as this information relates to the theoretical rationale for the hypotheses. Therefore, this study: (1) investigates the central proposition of Self-Other Theory, (2) provides some information about occupation-work self-identification, and (3) presents some information relevant to the sociology of occupations.

## Review of a Relevant Study

In this section I discuss an empirical study dealing with occupational self-identification. This study is relevant to the theory used here and deals explicitly with occupational self-identification. Studies which deal with other theoretical and conceptual issues are discussed in the next chapter.

In 1964, Mulford and Salisbury did a study of a quota sample (N = 1208) in the state of Iowa.[9] To obtain self-identification behaviors they asked each respondent to write answers to the question "Who Am I?" These statements were content analyzed into thirteen different categories.[10] Here we are only interested in the category of "occupation-work" self-identities.

In this study "specific occupational identity" was defined as:

> All statements which refer to a specific type of job that could be classified in the U. S. Census Occupational categories . . .[11]

It was found that 62% of the respondents made one or more "occupational identity" statements.[12] With regard to sex, 60% of the men (N = 572) and 64% of the women (N = 631) mentioned specific occupational identities.

A second observation of interest is the comparison of occupational categories with the mention of

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[9]H. A. Mulford and W. W. Salisbury II, "Self-Conceptions in a General Population," Sociological Quarterly, 5 (Winter, 1964), pp. 33-46.

[10]See Mulford and Salisbury, Sociological Quarterly, 5, pp. 37-39 for the list of their categories.

[11]Mulford and Salisbury, Sociological Quarterly, 5, p. 39.

[12]It should be noted that the word "housewife" was coded as an "occupational identity" in this study. Occupation had the highest percentage of mention for all identities.

occupation-work identities.[13] The table below presents these data:

Mention of Occupation and Work Roles by Occupation and Sex*

| Occupation | Number in Sample | | | Percentage Mention | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Men | Women | Total | Men | Women |
| Professional, technical | 46 | 36 | 10 | 74 | 69 | 90 |
| Business | 72 | 64 | 8 | 60 | 61 | 50 |
| Clerical, Sales | 93 | 56 | 37 | 66 | 63 | 70 |
| Skilled | 63 | 61 | 2 | 59 | 59 | -- |
| Semi-skilled | 54 | 45 | 9 | 52 | 49 | 3 |
| Service | 63 | 28 | 35 | 67 | 64 | 69 |
| Farmer | 137 | 137 | -- | 89 | 89 | -- |
| Unskilled | 29 | 27 | 2 | 62 | 59 | 3 |
| Housewife | 506 | -- | 506 | 68 | -- | 68 |
| Not in work force | 95 | 77 | 18 | 61 | 66 | 39 |
| Blank (N.R.) | 55 | 44 | 18 | 60 | 66 | 36 |
| TOTAL | 1208 | 575 | 633 | 68 | 68 | 67 |

*Adapted from Table 6 in Mulford and Salisbury, Sociological Quarterly, 5, p. 45.

Several descriptive observations can be made from this table. First, "Farmers" have the highest percent in mention of these identities (89%), "Professional, Technical" is next (74%), while "housewife" (68%), "Service" (62%) and "Clerical, Sales" (66%) cluster in the third position.

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[13] It should be noted that excluding statements referring to specific occupations, only six percent of the sample made statements which referred to work roles. Examples of such statements are: "I enjoy work," "I help my husband with the crops," etc. Mulford and Salisbury, Sociological Quarterly, 5, p. 39.

Secondly, sex makes little difference in the total percentage of mention in occupation. Thirdly, "Retired, students, unemployed," although a gross category, has a higher percent of mention than does "Business" (60%), "Skilled" (59%), and "Semi-skilled" (52%), and almost equal to the percentage of those in the "Unskilled" (62%) category. And, finally, in three occupational categories, "Professional, Technical," "Clerical, Sales," and "Service," women have a higher percentage of mention of occupation-work than men.

Several other observations can be made from this table which are relevant to the present study. First, if the list of occupations is considered as a ranking in terms of "prestige," then "prestige" has a weak relationship with occupational mention. That is, such categories as "Farmer," "Service," and "Clerical, Sales," have a percentage of occupational-work mention which is not "significantly" lower than the category of "Professional, Technical." The problem is that these categories are too gross to use as measures of "prestige." A measure of prestige is employed in the present study which attempts to eliminate this problem.

Another difference which is unexplained in the article is that between Farmers and all the other occupations. Eighty-nine percent of the Farmers mention these identities; this is fifteen percent greater than any other occupational category. This points to a difference which the present study attempts to explain.

As one can see the Mulford and Salisbury study is just an initial step in the investigation of occupation-work identities. Their study mainly serves as a heuristic device leading to further investigation of these identities. The present study is an attempt to increase our knowledge of these self-identities in the hope that this will lead to a clearer understanding of self-other relationships.

## Summary

This chapter included the introduction and problem statement of this study. It began with the general question: "What are the social processes which produce, maintain and alter self-identification behavior?" Then this question was set within a framework called "Self-Other Theory." The central proposition of this theory is that the self and activities of others are inter-dependent. This study deals with this proposition.

This chapter included other specifications of the problem. First, the problem deals with one class of self-identities: occupation and work. Secondly, it is based on one principle of self-identification: evaluation. Thirdly, the problem focuses on one class of activities: occupation. Therefore, the problem of this study is the relationship between evaluation of occupational activities and occupational work self-identities.

Finally, this chapter included a brief review of a study relevant to occupational and work self-identification. There were several unexplained observations noted in a table from that study. The present study will attempt to account for several of these discrepancies. By doing this, we hope to increase the knowledge of self-other relationships.

# CHAPTER II

# THE THEORETICAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

This chapter includes the theoretical rationale for this investigation. Theory, in this case, refers to ". . . a logically interrelated set of 'propositions' or 'statements' that are empirically meaningful, as well as to the assumptions the scientist makes about his method and data."[1] The assumptions and propositions are in this chapter, while the discussion of methodology is found in the next chapter.

## Some Theoretical Assumptions[2]

As Sjoberg indicates, some of the assumptions concerning the "nature of reality" and the "nature of man" are rarely stated by sociologists but are frequently implied in

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[1]G. Sjoberg, "The Nature of Social Reality and of Man: Some Implications for theory Construction in Sociology," Paper read at the ASA meetings, Chicago, 1965 (mimeograph), p. 3.

[2]Many of these assumptions are part of the "world-taken-for-granted" of present-day American Sociologists. In light of this, extensive quotation from various sources seems unnecessary. The quotations would not alter the character of these statements as assumptions. Some of the sources for these assumptions are cited in previous footnotes and include the works of Mead, Kuhn, Rose, Blumer and Goffman. A similar discussion of theoretical assumptions for various theories is found in D. Martindale, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960).

their research efforts. So, at this point, I mention some of the assumptions that are evident in this theory.

The theory begins with the notion that social life consists of the activities and behavior of acting units. There is an emphasis upon the social processes involved in human action. The question of how fluid or stable these processes appear to be is never completely resolved because their character depends upon the problem one is attempting to solve. That is, if one is asking a question which requires that he find a stable pattern of action, then he is apt to find the pattern. Thus, one resolution of this issue (i.e., fluidity or stability) is to frame the problem to allow for the investigation of both the stable and fluid features of social action.[3]

Related to the above assumption is one which involves the organism versus environment issue. It is assumed that this issue is resolved by considering relationships or co-determining actions as the main concern of study. Therefore, there is no concern over which is the determining factor because, by paying attention to relationships, the duality is not relevant.[4]

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[3]This is done in the present study by asking the guiding question so it includes the phrase "produce, maintain and alter."

[4]Part of the problem is that the structure of our language, with its "linear codification of reality," forces us to think and write in dualistic terms.

The problem of materialism versus idealism is a false duality in this theory when one considers its conception of experience and reality. Reality is not conceived as an absolute within experience or as a structure beyond experience, but as Mead puts it:

> . . . experience is not itself a problem. It is simply there. The problems arise within it. The criterion of truth does not then transcend experience, but simply regards the condition of ongoing experience which has become problematic through the inhibition of the natural processes of men. The solution of the problem lies entirely within experience and is found in the resolution of the inhibitions.[5]

Hence, the so-called "material" or "physical" world is that part of man's experience which he designates as "material" or "physical." It is not, therefore, something which is beyond and apart from his ongoing social experiences.

And, finally, there is the assumption concerning the basic unit of observation and analysis. In the past this issue was concerned with the dualism of "individual versus group."[6] But in this theory the basic unit of analysis is neither the "individual" or the "group." The central unit is called the "social act," which is a " . . . class of acts which involves the co-operation of more than one

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[5]G. H. Mead, "A Pragmatic Theory of Truth," reprinted in A. J. Reck (ed.), Selected Writings: George Herbert Mead, p. 342.

[6]See C. K. Warriner, "Groups are Real: A Reaffirmation," American Sociological Review, 21 (October, 1956), pp. 549-554 for a discussion of some of the questions involved in this issue.

individual, and whose object as defined by the act . . . is a social object . . . one that answers to all parts of the complex act, though these parts are found in . . . the life process of the group, not in those of separate individuals alone."[7] Hence, the concern of this theory is with the on-going social action of human life as seen in behavioral relationships.

## A General Statement of Self-Other Theory

As mentioned above, the child is born into a specific family context where the procedures of living are being carried out. By behaving toward him and the "world" about him, others construct social objects for him. They behave toward and designate the clothing he is to wear, the toy he is to play with, the oven he is not to touch, and the like. In doing this, others construct for the child a world of social objects and their correlative symbols.[8]

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[7]G. H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society, p. 6. For a brief discussion of the conception see: M. H. Kuhn, "Social Act," in J. Gould and W. H. Kolb (eds.), A Dictionary of the Social Sciences (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 643f and S. Frank Miyamoto, "The Social Act: Re-Examination of a Concept," Pacific Sociological Review, 2 (Fall, 1959), pp. 51-55.

[8]Therefore, a social object is defined as: " . . . any distinguishable aspect of social reality. It may be a thing, quality, an event, or state of affairs. All that is necessary is that it has been given unity and disjunctiveness from other matters by having been given a name (i.e., label, symbol) which distinguishes it and assigns it a meaning." M. H. Kuhn, "Social Objects," in J. Gould and W. H. Kolb (eds.), p. 659.

In a like manner, others designate the child's own behavior. They tell him what he can do and how he is to do it. Statements like: "Stop biting yourself" or "Stop hitting yourself" refers to his own behavior. When referring to the child's behavior the others use such words as: "you," "yourself," "his," "him," "he," "baby," "boy," but never the word "I." Therefore, the child's first words referring to his own activities are incorrect pronouns. But these are the only words that he has to refer to himself; these were given to him by others.[9]

In the "play stage" of socialization the child increases the behavior that is directed toward his own activities.[10] He speaks to himself in terms of another role or "takes-the-role-of-the-other." This is done within certain activities where the child plays the role of another toward himself or the role of the other toward another social

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[9]One early study of this phenomenon was C. H. Cooley, "A Study of the Early Use of Self Words of a Child," Psychological Review, 15 (1908), pp. 338-357. A "replication" of that study was reported in Read Bain, "The Self-and-Other Words of a Child," American Journal of Sociology, XLI (1936), pp. 767-775.

[10]The labels for and discussion of the "stages" in the socialization process come from G. H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society, "Play, the Game, and the Generalized Other," Section 20, pp. 152-164. It is unfortunate that there are very few empirical studies of childhood play, especially in these terms. For an excellent article on the issue, see: G. P. Stone, "The Play of Little Children," Quest Monographs, I (1965), pp. 23-31.

object. Or the child may play a sequence of different roles toward his own activities. This type of activity increases the awareness of the child's relationship with other roles within certain social acts. In this sense, the child is taking another into account in his ongoing activity and learning to control and adjust his behavior in accord with another.[11]

The "game stage" of the socialization process is fundamental for the development of the person as a self. It was for Mead the best "model" for explaining self development. The "game" differs from "play" in that the person cannot as easily "cast" the other to suit his own behavior. Secondly, he has to deal with a number of others and not just a single other. And, finally, the place of the rules as they develop in the game are not as evident in the "play" stage. The consequences of these differences for self development are discussed next.

Initially, the child's games are quite simple. They involve only three or four others and a simple set of rules. Such games as "Duck, Duck, Goose," and "Ring around the Rosie," have very simple rules. The "purpose" of these

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[11]The advantage that the child has in the "play stage" that is not evident in the "game stage" (to be discussed next), is that the child is "casting" both sets of role behaviors; his own and the other. This makes it possible for the child to "cast" the other as he intends it to be within his knowledge of the behavior of the other role. Only systematic observation of these acts can give us any notion of the variations and the consequences of this "casting" behavior.

games, from a theoretical point of view, is to show the children how to co-ordinate their behavior with others within a specific set of rules. If they fail to do this, they leave the game to take part in it another time.

As the child goes through school the games become progressively more complex. More others must be taken into account, the timing of the activity becomes a factor and the rules and their ramifications appear complex. One game that is a good example of this change is "Dodge Ball." In this game a player must take a number of others into account in a sequence. To stay in the game, a player must be able to anticipate the behavior of another and respond to that behavior quickly.[12] If he has anticipated wrongly or he does not respond quickly, he will be out of the game. This is an example of an early game in which the child must take a number of others into account.

After the child has experienced a number of games in which he has to take a number of others into account in sequence, he is ready for more complex games (e.g., baseball). In this type of game the player has to take a number of others into account at the same time. For a player to execute certain plays, he must know what several others are

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[12]This anticipation behavior is called an "attitude" by Mead. It usually is a physical position of the body or intonation of the voice which suggests the next act. In this way they are "incipient acts" as Edward Gross and G. P. Stone discuss them in "Embarrassment and the Analysis of Role Requirements," American Journal of Sociology, LXX (July, 1964), p. 1.

going to do and anticipate their behavior in relation to his own behavior. He must act in terms of a "generalized other" or a rule to have his activities co-ordinate with the others in the game.[13] Only by behaving toward himself in terms of the "generalized other" can a person stay in this type of game and continue to play.

This brief discussion of the "game stage" was not presented out of an interest in games _per se_, but rather with a concern for the behavioral process they illustrate. The process, which is essential for self development, is known as "taking-the-role-of-the-other" or generally, "taking-others-into-account." Before proceeding to the final notion of the selfing process a brief account of this process is given.

Several accounts of this process in the literature can be used as a comparison to the one given here.[14] First, this process does _not necessarily_ include conceptions which

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[13]For a discussion of this process, see: R. H. Turner, "Role-Taking, Role Standpoint, and Reference Group Behavior," _American Journal of Sociology_, LXI (January, 1956), pp. 316-328.

[14]Walter Coutu, "Role-Playing vs. Role-Taking: An Appeal for Clarification," _American Sociological Review_, 16 (1951), pp. 180-187; Herbert Blumer, "Psychological Import of the Human Group," in M. Sherif and M. O. Wilson, _Group Relations at the Crossroads_ (New York: Harpers and Brothers, 1953), pp. 185-202; R. H. Turner, _American Journal of Sociology_, LXI, pp. 316-328; G. M. Vernon, _Human Interaction_ (New York: The Ronald Press, 1965), Chapter 13, pp. 179-192; and J. T. Borhek, "A Theory of Incongruent Experience," _Pacific Sociological Review_, 8 (Fall, 1965), p. 92.

are characterized by the words: "empathy," "sympathy," or "identification with." When one takes another into account within social acts, this class of behavior may be exhibited, but it is not necessary. For example, in the doctor-patient relationship "empathy" in terms of "bed-side manner" may be appropriate and necessary for the treatment to continue, but if "empathy" is displayed in an employer-employee relationship the action could discontinue. Whether "empathy" is shown or not, the actors must take each other into account for the activity to continue. So, "empathy" (and any similar notion) is added to certain social acts but not necessary for them to take place and continue.[15]

In addition, "taking-the-role-of-the-other" is always a reflexive class of behaviors.[16] Reflexive behavior is self-conscious behavior. In other words, the person is

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[15] This point is emphasized in a paper by Sheldon Stryker. He writes " . . . it is useful to emphasize that the concept of role-taking--anticipation of responses of others implicated in some social (act)--contains no necessary element of sympathy. Much confusion stems from reading sympathy into role-taking concepts. I am asserting, simply, that one can anticipate behavior of another without becoming emotionally involved," in "Symbolic Interactionism." Paper read at the Ohio Valley Sociological Society meetings, May, 1965, p. 8.

[16] Turner writes of non-reflexive role-taking (p. 321), but he holds that reflexiveness always includes an element of evaluation. Evaluation is not necessarily a factor in reflexive behavior. A person can just designate his own behavior without making or implying an evaluation of that behavior. In fact, I would maintain that designation must preceed evaluation.

aware of his own activities within the ongoing social act. He must be aware of his behavior to have it "fit" with the behavior of others within the social act for the action to continue. For a person to develop a self, he must become aware of his own behavior and how it is co-ordinated with the activities of others. Therefore, "taking-the-role-of-the-other" is always a reflexive activity.

In sum, "taking-the-role-of-the-other" involves co-ordinating one's activities with the activities of others within the context of ongoing social acts. This is done by seeing what the other is doing, anticipating what he will do next, reflecting on one's own behavior and adjusting one's behavior for the next action that is anticipated. Within this situation, "others" who are not "physically present" and one's past experiences may be brought into the action. This will depend upon the content of the activity and whether the rules allow the expression of such activities. But, the point of this discussion is, that the self can not develop without the experience of this process within the activities of group life.

A person acquires a self by becoming conscious of his own activities (i.e., self-conscious). He becomes an object to himself by attending to his own activities. For a person to have a self means that he " . . . can designate things to himself--his wants, his pains, his goals, objects around him, the presence of others, their actions, their expected actions, or what not."[17] So, like other social objects, the person has a self by virtue of naming his own behavior. The symbols or labels that he uses for his own activities refer to the self, just as symbols refer to the other social objects in his world.

As labels for other objects in his environment are developed through transactions with others, this is the case for the self as an object. "It is the social process itself that is responsible for the appearance of the self; it is not there as a self apart from these types of experiences."[18] The self is a social product when the person names his own activities with those symbols that others have directed towards him. In other words, when he takes over into his own behavior, the behavior of others, he then becomes a self. This means then, that the self is always developing relative to the social processes in which the person is involved. As new groups are encountered the labels for those groups are taken over into one's own behavior. And, finally, it is asserted that only through the continual development of selves in human group life can society control and make possible its present and future existence.[19]

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[17] Herbert Blumer, "The Sociological Implications of the Thought of George Herbert Mead," p. 2.

[18] G. H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society, p. 161.

[19] G. H. Mead, "The Problem of Society--How We become Selves," Movements of Thought in the Nineteenth Century (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), pp. 360-385.

## Self-Other Theory: Definitions

Given this general statement of the theory, this section presents its central definitions. The next section presents the major propositions with a review of the relevant literature.

### Self

As mentioned above, the self is the person as he acts toward his own activities. The self as a social object, similar to all social objects, is known by symbols within naming behavior. Hence, the term "self" is defined as the set of symbols or labels a person employs when naming his own activities.[20]

This means that all the labels a person uses for his own activities are the self. Some of these include: one's identity, in role and status terms (e.g., "son," "father," "banker," "wife," etc.); one's evaluation of role and status terms as well as other activities (e.g., "good father," "bad writer," "poor reader,"); one's view in ideological

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[20]With this definition one can easily refer to the "self" as "self-symbols" or "self-identities" as long as he remembers that the labels refer to the person's own activities. This definition is similar to that used by S. C. McPhail in "Self Identification . . . , " p. 37. Likewise, the definition by Kinch which states: "The self-concept is that organization of qualities that the individual attributes to himself" in "A Formalized Theory of the Self-Concept," American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII (January, 1963), p. 481, is similar to this one. For a discussion of "Self" and "Self-Conception" see M. H. Kuhn in J. Gould and W. H. Kolb (eds.), pp. 628-631.

terms (e.g., "religious," "politically active," etc.); one's interests and aversions (e.g., "stamp collector," "football fan," etc.), and the like. Theoretically, any statement made by a person which refers to his own past, present or future activities (usually "I" sentences) can be classified as self behavior.

## Self and Self Identification

As one can see, the self as a set of symbols for one's own activities is rather a large class of behaviors.[21] One sub-set of these labels, which is used in this study, is called "identities" and the activity is called "self-identification." But the term "identity" used in this study does not have the meaning given to it in most of the social science literature.

The most prevalent meaning of the term "identity" in social science is one which includes some feeling or cathectic relationship with objects.[22] Accordingly, a person is identified with an object if he is emotionally attached to the object. But, this is not the meaning of identity used in this study.

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[21] This fact is evident to many students of self behavior. The most recent expression of this is found in Edward Gross and G. P. Stone, "Embarrassment and the Analysis of Role Requirements," American Journal of Sociology, LXX, p. 3.

[22] For a discussion of this use of the term and sources, see: P. Halmos, "Identification," in J. Gould and W. H. Kolb (eds.), pp. 314-315.

In the usage employed here, the terms "identification" and "designation" are synomous. The emphasis is upon description or identification _of_, rather than identification _with_.[23] As Stone appropriately states:

> . . . when one has identity, he is _situated_--that is, cast in the shape of a social object by the acknowledgment of _his participation or membership in social relations_. One's identity is established when others _place_ him as a social object by assigning the same words of identity that he appropriates for himself or announces. It is in the coincidence of placements and announcements that identity becomes a meaning of self.[24]

Therefore, one's identity is " . . . his generalized position in society deriving from his statuses in groups of which he is a member, the roles which stem from these statuses, and the social categories which his group membership lead him to assign to himself."[25] So, identification is defined as the naming of one's activities by using role, status, or category labels.[26] This study is limited to

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[23]"Identification with" would be called "preferential" or "appraisive" signs as compared to the usage employed here. As Stone points out " . . . identification _with_ one another, in whatever mode, cannot be made without identification _of_ one another," in "Appearance and the Self," in A. M. Rose (ed.), _Human Behavior and Social Processes_ (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1962), p. 90.

[24]G. P. Stone, "Appearance and the Self," p. 93.

[25]M. H. Kuhn, "Self-Conception," in J. Gould and W. Kolb (eds.), p. 630f.

[26]Therefore, all identities are relational and not property terms. That is " . . . the full meaning of a symbol (identity term) includes all of the potential behavioral relationships between an actor and objects which might occur in a sequence or in different situations, either actual behavior or as this behavior can be known through

self-identification behavior and is not concerned with all of the self-symbols which are possible.

Others

There are a variety of conceptions for the term "other(s)" in the literature of sociological social psychology.[27] Various labels are used to discuss the "other" such as: "significant," "relevant," "generalized," "orientational," and "reference group." Most of the definitions which use these labels refer to such notions as: "to relate to," "to identify with," "to assume one shares the norms with," "to aspire to attain or maintain membership in," "norm enforcement," "evaluative group," "comparative group," "perspective" and the like.[28] But few, if any, accounts use this term as a class of activities which can be employed in an empirical study.

The main task is to conceptually distinguish self behaviors from non-self behaviors. To do this "others" is

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reflexive thought," Worth Summers, "Social Structure, Behavior, and the Meaning Component of Self Symbols," Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, 1964, p. 56.

[27]For a brief review of the definitions and their sources, see: R. L. Gold, "Generalized Other," and M. H. Kuhn, "Reference Group," in J. Gould and W. H. Kolb (eds.), pp. 283ff, pp. 580f. A short article which illustrates the confusion concerning this term is the one by Everett Hughes, "What Other?" in Rose (ed.), Human Behavior and Social Processes, pp. 119-127.

[28]M. H. Kuhn, "Reference Group," in J. Gould and W. H. Kolb (eds.), p. 581.

defined as persons whose activities the actor takes into account when ordering his behavior in any activity. The labels given to these persons (e.g., friend, wife, son, teacher, etc.) usually indicate the class activities which the actor takes into account. What makes other "significant" is that they are taken into account in terms of the ongoing activity of the person.

### Summary

In this section three terms were defined: self, self-identities and other. Self is the set of symbols or labels a person employs when naming his own activities. One sub-set of these labels refer to roles, statuses and categories. This sub-set is known here as self-identities. And, finally, the term "other" is defined as persons whose activities an actor takes into account when ordering his behavior in any activity. So, with these terms briefly defined, the next section considers the propositions and relevant literature.

## Self-Other Theory: Propositions

### Proposition I

From the discussion of the theory and the definitions of major terms, the first proposition is:

I. Initially, a person's self is developed from the behavior his others direct toward his activities.[29]

In this proposition the self is cast as the "dependent variable," while other behavior is the "independent variable." This means when an investigator uses this proposition to derive hypotheses for test, he must establish the logical priority of others' behavior over self. One case is when one is studying children who are developing a self. Another might be a case where persons are being introduced into a new group or a new country. In these instances, an investigator would observe a person's self behavior at one point and then make similar observations at a second point, noting any alterations. He would have to investigate the activities of the person's "others" to note what behaviors they directed toward the person in the intervening time period. In this way an investigator can show that the alterations in the person's self are contingent upon the activities of others. Although most studies do not use this

[29]This proposition is similar to Zetterberg's Second Cooley Hypothesis: "In an action system (social act) any actor has a tendency to develop self-cognitions (self behaviors) that are synonomous with the uniform description of him ("other" behavior) that are in the system." In "Compliant Actions," Acta Sociologica, 2 (1957), p. 193. He found empirical support for this hypothesis (pp. 193f).

specific design, there are several which tend to support Proposition I.[30]

Several of the studies done by Manford Kuhn and his students give support to this proposition.[31] An example is the study by McPartland and Cummings.[32] In one hypothesis they were interested in the relationship of class to self-conception. Their observations of class were based on occupation, education and income, while self-conception was measured by the question "Who Am I?" Using only two classes (i.e., middle and low), they found that those in the middle class give a significantly higher modal response in terms of role and status identities than did the lower class persons. Reasoning that self-conception is an organization of social

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[30]The rule for citing supporting literature used by Zetterberg is also used in this study. He contends that it is more helpful to the theorist and his readers if he just cites a few strategic studies which support his proposition. The number of studies used to support any proposition does not change its character as a proposition; it still is being suggested for empirical test. On Theory and Verification in Sociology (New Jersey: The Bedminister Press, 1965), pp. 153-156.

[31]M. H. Kuhn, "Major Trends in Symbolic Interaction Theory in the Past Twenty-five Years," Sociological Quarterly, 5 (Winter, 1964), states that "Self theory of this variety (i.e., Kuhn's) has implied one or another of the five deterministic models in our diagram (the same type of proposition that is stated here), although this point is implicit rather than explicit, and never a salient issue." p. 71f. For this reason it is difficult to clearly assess much of the work by Kuhn and his students. It was seldom explicit as to how they treated the "self" and "others" as variables.

[32]T. S. McPartland and J. H. Cummings, "Self-Conception, Social Class and Mental Health," Human Organization, 17 (Fall, 1958), pp. 24-29.

experience and that middle class persons are highly involved in activities, this high modal response is the result of others directing behavior toward them in this variety of activities.

A similar notion was expressed in research reported by Kuhn.[33] Using data gathered in a variety of studies done in grade schools, high schools and professional schools he investigated the relationship between age, professional training and self-conception. With regard to age he found a direct relationship between the mention of self-identities and increase in age up through the early twenties.[34] The rationale for this relationship is that those persons become increasingly involved in group activities and take over the labels of these groups for their own behavior.

Another relevant relationship is the one between professional training and professional role identity. Using a sample of nurses, he found that those in the last years of training have a proportionally higher mention of the role identity than those in the early years. This finding shows, according to Kuhn, that as one becomes increasingly involved in training for a particular role, identification increases.

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[33] M. H. Kuhn, "Self-Attitudes by Age, Sex and Professional Training," Sociological Quarterly, 1 (January, 1960), pp. 39-55.

[34] This trend has not been investigated for all identities beyond that age limit. It seems reasonable that these identities would decrease after the age of seventy when involvement in community activities decreases for most persons.

Involvement is the result of others directing behavior toward the person relevant to the particular role. This finding lends additional support to the proposition under consideration.

In a recent study, Sherwood explored the relationship between self-identity and the evaluation of others in six training groups.[35] He assumed, operationally, that the same categories are used for self as for others. Bipolar scales were used to measure the evaluations of self and others. By a variety of statistical tests of a number of hypotheses he concluded that there was only indirect support for the relationship between evaluation, identity and one's own view of these behaviors. But, he did support the relationship between one's view of others and one's assessment of self.

Finally, the McPhail study was designed to test the proposition: "The person who is implicated in a religious context of experience and behavior will identify himself as religious."[36] It was asserted that the "context of experience and behavior" is logically prior to self-identification

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[35]J. J. Sherwood, "Self Identity and Referent Others," Sociometry, 28 (March, 1965), pp. 66-81.

[36]S. C. McPhail, "Self Identification . . . , " p. 61. The present study is similar to McPhail's in that it is a secondary analysis of the same survey study. It differs, in that it focuses upon a different set of observations.

and served as the "independent variable." Identification was defined as it is in this study and "context of experience and behavior" was defined as those activities in which a person is implicated where the behavior of others could be directed toward his behavior. The two variables in the proposition are called "religious implication" and "religious self-identification."

Using a combination of three variables for "religious implication" he found that the extent of association between the variable was significant and accounted for seventy-seven percent of the cases in the predicted cells. Of these three variables he found that religious participation contributed most to the association.

These studies, if my interpretations are acceptable, contribute to the empirical support of Proposition I. In addition, the review of these studies shows that some research has been done on this proposition but that further empirical work is necessary.

Proposition II

The next proposition derived from the theory is:

> II. The activities that others direct toward a person are dependent upon the symbols or labels he employs when naming his own activities (i.e., self).

In other words, the labels that a person placed on his own activities effects the behaviors that others direct towards him.

This proposition seems to contradict the first proposition but a careful consideration shows that it complements rather than contradicts. In the second proposition, although not always in the first, we begin with a person who displays self-symbols. So, this proposition is more concerned with the continuance and alteration of self, than with the initial development of self.

Much, but not all, of Erving Goffman's work takes the view evident in this proposition.[37] One of the first articles that indicates this view was on the idea of "face work." He stated: "one's face (self image) then, is a sacred thing, and expressive order required to sustain it is therefore a ritual one."[38] In a similar manner, he points out that through embarrassment one discovers which identity he can safely project.[39] And, of course, one of the focal ideas in The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life is that the way a person presents himself influences the behavior that others take toward his activities.

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[37] See C. W. Tucker, "Erving Goffman: A Comparative Analysis," Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, 1963 for a more complete review of Goffman's work.

[38] Erving Goffman, "On Face Work: An Analysis of Ritual Elements in Social Interaction," Psychiatry, 18 (August, 1955), p. 213.

[39] Erving Goffman, "Embarrassment and Social Organization," American Journal of Sociology, LXII (November, 1956), pp. 264-271. For an extension and refinement of these ideas see: Edward Gross and G. P. Stone, American Journal of Sociology, LXX, pp. 1-15.

Gregory Stone's study on "appearance" also lends some support to this proposition.[40] Appearance, as a part of a social transaction, establishes one's identity in a non-verbal but meaningful manner. How one makes himself appear to others influences their behavior toward him. By dressing in a particular manner one can determine, to a great extent, the behavior of others. This is the central thesis of Stone and it is consistent with the proposition under discussion.

Although little systematic evidence has been gathered on this proposition everyday experience seems to testify to its utility. One only has to make certain announcements about his behavior and observe alterations in the behavior of others toward him. But, systematic observation of an inter-subjective character, must be collected before clear confirmation of this proposition is possible.

## Proposition III

The final proposition is derived from Proposition I and II and it states:

III. The self and the activities of others are co-determining.[41]

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[40] Stone, "Appearance and the Self," in Rose (ed.), pp. 86-118.

[41] Other terms for "co-determining" are: "mutually related," "reciprocally related," and "inter-dependent." The form of relationship specified in this proposition is called "interdependent" by Zetterberg. It contains the causal relation which is a combination of "reversible, sequential, and contingent," according to him, in On Theory and Verification . . . , p. 72f.

This proposition focuses on the relationship between self-symbols and others activities. It holds, in contrast to the previous propositions, that neither variable is "independent" because their logical and behavioral priority can not be clearly established. Even though, for technical reasons one may have to establish a sequence for these activities, the main concern is with the association that appears between them. This will be the focal concern of this study.

Other articles by Erving Goffman take the position of this proposition. In one place he states:

> The Meadian notion that the individual takes toward himself the attitudes others take toward him seems very much an oversimplification. Rather the individual must rely on others to paint in certain parts. Each individual is responsible for the demeanor image of himself and deference image of others, so that for a complete man to be expressed, individuals must hold hands in a chain of ceremony, each giving deferentially with proper demeanor to the one on the right what will be received deferentially from the one on the left.[42]

This statement implies that a transaction is necessary to maintain an ongoing process of action. Although, there are times when Goffman uses this proposition in his work, it usually is unclear because of his concentration on rules of interaction and the dramaturgical model.[43]

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[42]Erving Goffman, "The Nature of Deference and Demeanor," American Anthropologist, 58 (June, 1956), p. 500.

[43]This is pointed out by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in "Awareness Contexts and Social Interaction," American Sociological Review, 29 (October, 1964), pp. 674f.

Recent work by Glaser and Strauss shows that some attention is being given to this proposition.[44] Done within a paradigm they call "awareness contexts" they suggest a concern for the observations which are necessary to study this proposition.

By "context of awareness" they mean " . . . the total combination of what an interactant in a situation knows about the identity of the other and his own identity in the eyes of the other."[45] For them it is a "structural unit" which encompasses the unit under study--interaction. Using this idea they attempt to study the " . . . developmental interaction process--interaction changes as it continues--as distinct from the relatively static study of the rules that govern interaction."[46] So, their work is the beginning of a detailed study of social transactions.

With the exception of the Glaser and Strauss study, a systematic empirical investigation of this proposition is not available. To bring evidence to bear on this proposition requires a constant set of observations over time regarding the detailed character of social acts. Usually, as is the case here, an investigator studies certain activities

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[44] Glaser and Strauss, American Sociological Review, 29, pp. 669-679. Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, Awareness of Dying (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1955).

[45] Glaser and Strauss, American Sociological Review, 29, p. 670.

[46] Glaser and Strauss, American Sociological Review, 29, p. 671.

and attempts to reasonably infer to the character of social acts. The fact that this is done in this study is considered to be one of its limitations. In the next section further specifications of this proposition will be made so it can be utilized in empirical research.

## Specification of the Central Proposition for Empirical Research

As stated above, the central proposition of this theory is:

*The self and the activities of others are co-determining*.

In this form the proposition contains no specific set of directions or content to be used in a research study. It is a general theoretical statement which can be used to derive both general and specific research hypotheses for use in an empirical investigation. Hence, this section: (1) presents a general research hypothesis which is related to this theoretical proposition, (2) discusses the type of activities which are the focus of this study, and (3) presents by example, several circumstances where this research hypothesis should be confirmed. We begin with the presentation of The Evaluation Principle and its relationship to the central proposition of Self-Other Theory.

### The Evaluation Principle

The Evaluation Principle attempts to specify the circumstances under which any particular set of self-identities is expected to appear. It is concerned not only with the appearance of self-identities but also with their salience or importance. Hence, the question which directs the development of this general hypothesis is: What is a rationale and set of circumstances for the appearance and importance of certain self-identification behaviors?

Probably the most recurrent theme for those concerned with the study of self behavior is the notion of self-evaluation or self-esteem.[47] For example, Zetterberg posits, as a basic psychological assumption in his theory, the notion of consistency in a person's evaluation of himself.[48] Erving Goffman, as mentioned above, employs the idea of a favorable presentation of self in some of his writings. William Faunce explores a variety of conditions under which occupational identities are used in self-esteem testing.[49] Ernest Becker presents the notion of self-evaluation as the basis of his theoretical orientation.[50] And, most recently, Sherwood's study is part of a continuing

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[47]For a brief review of this theme see: D. R. Miller, "The Study of Social Relationships: Situation, Identity, and Social Interaction," in S. Koch (ed.), Psychology: A Study of a Science, Volume Five (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1963), pp. 681-688.

[48]H. L. Zetterberg, "Compliant Actions," Acta Sociologica, 2 (1957), p. 181.

[49]W. A. Faunce, "Occupational Involvement and the Selective Testing of Self-Esteem," paper read at ASA meeting, Chicago, 1959.

[50]Ernest Becker, The Birth and Death of Meaning (New York: Free Press, 1962).

effort, using the approach of Daniel R. Miller, to investigate self-evaluation in an experimental-like situation. All of these studies illustrate the continuing interest of social scientists in the principle of evaluation as it relates to self-other relationships.[51]

In this study the principle of self-other evaluation is utilized as a link between the theoretical proposition and the observations used in a secondary analysis.[52] The central proposition, stated above, posits a co-determining relationship between a person's self behavior and the activities of others. This means that any sort of self-evaluative behavior requires the behavior of others for its continuance. As long as others evaluate a person positively he will continue to evaluate his own activities in a like manner.

It is further asserted that those activities where a person is positively evaluated have the greatest likelihood of being continued by him. In addition, it is these activities and their associated labels that the actor will employ in order to obtain further positive evaluations of his

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[51]For a review of the studies in psychology see: D. P. Crowne and M. W. Stephens "Self-Acceptance and Self-Evaluation Behavior: A Critique of Methodology," Psychological Bulletin, 58 (1961), pp. 104-121.

[52]This principle of self-evaluation was formulated in W. A. Faunce's "Occupation Involvement and the Selective Testing of Self-Esteem," paper read at ASA meetings, Chicago, 1959. What is given here is mainly an elaboration of ideas found in this paper as they pertain to this particular study.

behavior.[53] And, to the extent these self-evaluations are consistent with the evaluations of others in a variety of activities, the person will continue to maintain and express them.[54]

When considering a particular class of activities the degree of consensual confirmation of the evaluation must be taken into account. Consensual confirmation is mainly concerned with the extent of agreement among those others who participate with the person in the activity. The probability of confirming a positive evaluation is directly related to the number of others who are taken into account. And, finally, the continued consensual confirmation of a positive evaluation increases the likelihood that the label associated with the activity will be important and salient for the person.

With this brief statement of the self-evaluation principle, it is stated formally as a general proposition:

> The higher the positive evaluation of a person's activity by himself or others the greater the likelihood a person will identify himself in terms of that activity.

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[53] Hans Gerth and C. W. Mills, Character and Social Structure (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954), pp. 80-111; D. A. Goslin, "Accuracy of Self Perception and Social Acceptance," Sociometry, 25 (September, 1962), pp. 283-297; M. D. and L. Solomon, "Reactions to Evaluation by Others as Influenced by Self-Evaluations," Sociometry, 22 (June, 1959), pp. 93-112.

[54] J. J. Sherwood, "Self Identity and Referent Others," Sociometry, 28 (March, 1965), pp. 66-81.

We can treat this identity by itself as the label for the activity or, as noted above, we can compare it with other identities and thus incorporate an additional dimension of salience or importance. Therefore, when employing the evaluation principle in this investigation both designation and importance are part of the analysis.[55]

The General Research Hypothesis

The Evaluation Principle is stated above in such a form that it is applicable to any particular class of activities. In this study the focus is on a particular class of activities and their associated identities. As mentioned above, the class is occupational activities and the identities are occupational and work identities. In light of the empirical content of this study the general research hypothesis is stated as follows:

> The higher the degree of positive evaluation of a person's occupational activities by himself or others the greater the likelihood a person will identify himself in occupational and work terms.

Several circumstances where the confirmation of this general hypothesis is expected can now be considered.

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[55]There are several other "dimensions" of self-identification behavior that one could employ in analysis, but they are not available in the original data from which this study is constructed. In addition, and quite importantly, one could employ a different principle of self-other relationships which is distinct from evaluation. This study is limited to the self-evaluation principle.

The most obvious instance of the evaluation of occupation is the prestige of an occupation. Usually the prestige of an occupation is ascertained by the comparative "general standing" of it among a set of other occupations. It is found that prestige is related to income, political attitudes, education and a variety of other sociological variables. To relate prestige of occupation with self-identification it must be assumed that those in the higher prestige occupations are aware of this in their daily interactions with others. Their awareness could come from observing that others defer to them in interaction. It may come from the awareness that they are continually responded to in terms of their occupational role rather than the other roles they can assume. Or, they may find that they are continually forced into "talking shop" with others rather than assuming other roles. If this is the case, one would expect that those in occupations with higher prestige would have a greater tendency to identify themselves in occupational and work terms than those in lower prestige occupations.

Another equally important way to consider evaluation of occupational-work activities is in terms of a person's own assessment of his occupational role. Some may consider that their occupation is not as important as their other role. There may be those, on the other hand, who consider their occupation as the most important role they

consider their occupation as the most important role they

perform. In terms of this research hypothesis then, we would expect there to be a direct relationship between one's own evaluation of his occupational role and the importance of occupational and work self-identities.

## Summary

This chapter began with the theoretical assumptions of Self-Other Theory. The theory begins with the notion that social life consists of activities and the behavior of acting units. It rejects the dualistic assumptions of many theories which are current in social science. The theory assumes a pragmatic conception of experience as simply there which creates no epistemological problem. And, finally, the central unit of analysis is considered to be the social act rather than either the individual or the group.

The next section, included a general statement of the theory. It discussed the "play" and "game" stages of the socialization process and expanded on, and hopefully clarified, the Median notion of "taking-the-role-of-the-other." It is by way of this latter process that persons develop into selves. They must, within this process, attend to their own activities and co-ordinate them with others. When doing this they gradually become conscious of their own actions as they relate to the actions of others. As they take over into their own activities the behavior of others, persons become selves. It is only by developing persons as selves that society can control its members and continue to exist.

Following the general statement of the theory, the definition of terms and statement of propositions were given. Self is defined as the set of symbols or labels a person employs when naming his own activities. Given this gross set of behaviors, only one class will be the concern in this study: self-identities. These are labels which indicate roles, statuses or categories. "Others" is defined as those persons whose activities an actor takes into account when ordering his behavior in any situation.

The next section specified the three propositions that are evident in the theory. The first states that initially a person's self is developed from the behavior of others, while the second states that the behavior of others is dependent upon the person's self. So, from these two propositions, the central proposition is presented which states that the self and the activities of others are co-determining.

In the final section the central proposition of the theory was linked to the empirical concerns of this study. This linkage is based on the notion of self-other evaluation. The Evaluation Principle states that there is a direct relationship between positive evaluation of an activity and self-identification in terms of that activity. This study is concerned empirically with occupational activities, therefore, the general hypothesis was stated such that evaluation and self-identification are in terms of these activities. And, lastly, two general circumstances were cited where confirmation of this central research hypothesis is expected. Exact specifications of hypotheses are given in the next chapter.

# CHAPTER III

# THE METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE STUDY

This chapter presents all of the methodological and technical aspects of this study as a prelude to the presentation and discussion of its results. Initially, I discuss the nature of the sample and the rationale for its selection from the original survey research data. Next, the specific hypotheses are presented. Accompanying each hypothesis is a discussion of its relevance to the general research hypothesis and some sociological literature. Following that, there is the operationalization of the variables in each hypothesis along with a consideration of validity and reliability procedures. Then, each hypothesis is restated in operational language. And finally, the procedures of analysis and style of presentation are reviewed.

## The Sample

The original research of which this study is a part was conceived by certain faculty members in the Department of Sociology at Michigan State University and the data were gathered by The Gallup Organization. The interview schedule was constructed by the members of the department, while the sampling design, coding and original data card punching was done by Gallup.

The original sample was an area probability sample of the United States which consisted of 1528 persons.[1] After stratifying the nation geographically and by size of community, 143 different sampling points or areas were selected at random. Each interviewer was given a map of the area and told where to begin and the directions to follow. Only persons over 21 years of age were included in the original sample. So, the original sample is an area probability sample of 1528 voting age adults living in the United States between September 2 and October 6, 1963.

For this study on occupational activities and identities a sub-sample from the original sample was chosen. The sample consists of all full-time employed males found in the original sample (N = 525). This sample was selected for several reasons. The first reason is convention. Most, if not all, of the studies which deal with occupational activities exclude from consideration females and those who are not fully-employed (i.e., part-time employed, retired, unemployed). The main reason is to control for extraneous variables which could effect the relationships to be tested. But in this study there are several additional reasons.

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[1] For a complete discussion of the sample design and interviewing procedures see: Report to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology: G0/6368 GP (Princeton, New Jersey: The Gallup Organization, Inc., March, 1964), pp. 3-4.

First, the occupation for females was not coded in a systematic manner. Secondly, if the occupation for females was available a problem concerning self-identification is present. That is, the term "housewife" was coded as an occupational title. But, as this study developed, the term "housewife" was not defined as an occupational title. For these reasons all females are excluded from the study.

A second issue regarding this sample is the degree to which it represents the full-time employed men in the United States. Procedures provided by the Gallup Organization were used to estimate the degree of sampling error. The most recent United States Census data were used to judge the representativeness of the sample. It was found that the sample of this study is within the 95% level of confidence on such variables as: place of residence, age, ethnicity, income and occupation.[2] Therefore, all generalizations from this study can be made, within the limits of the probability error, to all full-time employed men living in the United States during the time of the study.

## The Presentation of Hypotheses

In this section I present the hypotheses that will be tested in this study. At this stage they are presented in conceptual rather than operational form; later in this chapter the operational form is presented. For each

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[2] All of the information on the representativeness is found in Appendix A at the end of this report.

hypothesis there is a discussion of its connection with research literature.

## The Evaluation Principle

The self-evaluation principle, given above in the form of a general research hypothesis, states a direct relationship between the evaluation of occupational activities and the appearance of occupational and work identities as part of the self. In the following sections, three measures of evaluation are discussed and their relationship to identification is specified.

Prestige of Occupation.--One of the most commonly used measures of occupational evaluation is the prestige of an occupation. The subject of occupational prestige has long interested sociologists and social psychologists.[3] Empirical studies of this phenomenon date back to 1925 and continue to the present day.[4] Over the years occupational prestige has been related to education, income, amount of leisure time, working conditions and minority group

[3] For some of the best reviews of this interest see: T. Caplow, The Sociology of Work (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954), pp. 33-57, or M. Gordon, Social Class in American Sociology (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958), pp. 210-233, or S. Nosow and W. H. Form (eds.), Man, Work and Society (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1962), pp. 236-283 and 579-581.

[4] See R. W. Hodge, P. M. Siegel, and P. H. Rossi, "Occupational Prestige in the United States: 1925-1963," American Journal of Sociology, LXX (November, 1964), pp. 286-302.

position.[5] Just recently a study reported that a "very high" or "high" average prestige score on occupations is directly related to such traits as: "regarded as desirable to associate with," "intelligence required," "scarcity of personnel who can do the job," "interesting and challenging work," "training required," "education required," "work calls for originality and initiative," "responsibility to supervise others," "having an influence over others," "security," "opportunities for advancement," "income," and "honorable and morally good work."[6] One common type of research using prestige of occupation has been concerned with the methodological problems involved in the measurement of the variable.[7] Occupational prestige has never been empirically related to occupation-work self-identification.[8]

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[5]For a discussion and review of these correlates see: A. J. Reiss, Jr., et al., Occupations and Social Status (New York: Free Press, 1961), Chapter IV.

[6]A. P. Garbin and F. L. Bates, "Occupational Prestige and Its Correlates: A Re-examination," Social Forces, 44 (March, 1966), p. 301. All the "traits" given above obtain correlations (r) with prestige of .77 or above. This study was done with 490 subjects which do not represent a cross-section of the occupational work-force in the United States, so generalizability is limited (see p. 296).

[7]For the latest see: R. W. Hodge, P. M. Siegel and P. H. Rossi, "Occupational Prestige in the United States: 1925-1963," American Journal of Sociology, LXX (November, 1964), pp. 286-302.

[8]While citing the work done with occupational prestige I want to caution the reader against drawing two conclusions which may be implied in such a review. First, I have not reviewed all of the studies done using this variable. But as the last statement notes, no studies exist

The article most frequently used as a conceptual foundation for discussions of prestige is the one written' by Benoit-Smullyan.[9] In this article he specifies three criteria for differentiating social positions. These are: (1) relative position in a hierarchy, (2) membership in a social group, and (3) socially defined function in an organized group. The first is labelled "status," and the second "situs," while the third is labelled "locus."

Benoit-Smullyan defines "status" as:

> A hierarchical position is thus always a position in which one individual is identified with others with regard to the possession or embodiment of some common characteristics, but differentiated from these others in degree or measure, to which that characteristic is possessed or embodied.[10]

He notes that there are three hierarchies which can be used for status differentiation: economic, political, prestige. The first is a differentiation in terms of wealth or income, the second in terms of power or the capacity to make decisions, while the third, prestige status, is in terms of

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that relate specifically to the problem of this study. Second, this review, as well as many others, seems to indicate a high degree of systematic accumulativeness in the research. This is simply not the case. The studies reported vary widely on a number of factors such as: sample composition, questions asked, scoring techniques, statistical analysis and the like. So, it is only a very general level that these studies can be deemed accumulative.

[9] E. Benoit-Smullyan, "Status, Status Types and Status Interrelations," American Sociological Review, 9 (April, 1944), pp. 151-161.

[10] E. Benoit-Smullyan, American Sociological Review, 9, p. 151.

admiration, deference, imitation, suggestion and attraction.[11]

The author makes several points regarding prestige which relate to this study. First, the idea that prestige status contains the characteristic of attraction which leads to notions of contagion. That is, those who are attributed prestige attract a following of others who like to participate in this prestige. They are also the ones who can continue the process of maintaining the person's prestigeful status. Secondly, there is a separation between the criteria of prestige and the sources of prestige. The criteria of prestige refer not to attributes of persons but rather to " . . . social interrelations surrounding persons."[12] Source or occasion, on the other hand, refers to those characteristics which are considered as valuable in any situation. Therefore, the sources of prestige may vary from situation to situation, but the criteria are always the social interrelations in which the person is implicated.

And finally, the author points out that prestige status differs from economic or political status, in that it can not be wholly described in behavioristic terms. That is, while economic and political status can be seen in the wealth or power displayed by a person, prestige status involves

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[11]E. Benoit-Smullyan, American Sociological Review, 9, pp. 156-157.

[12]E. Benoit-Smullyan, American Sociological Review, 9, p. 158.

sentiment and feeling which are not always as easily described (e.g., feeling of deference, attraction, etc.). It is with regard to this last point that the work of Cecil North, Paul K. Hatt and others, dealing with the empirical investigation of prestige status, becomes relevant to this study.

The work of North, Hatt and others was an attempt to measure prestige status.[13] Their work was based on the notion that stratification is mainly concerned with differentially valued positions in society. Hatt chose occupational titles as the source of the prestige status on the basis of its availability, simplicity, and commonality. After a review of other techniques used to classify occupations he concluded that none of them conformed to the requirement of displaying prestige status. Therefore, he devised a technique to measure the prestige status of occupations.

In March, 1946 the National Opinion Research Center, in cooperation with several other agencies, conducted a national quota survey of 2,900 persons in the United States.[14] As part of the survey the interviewees were asked

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[13]For the final report on their work see: A. J. Reiss, Jr., Occupations and Social Status (New York: Free Press, 1961). The most recent study is R. W. Hodge, P. M. Siegel and P. H. Rossi, "Occupational Prestige in the United States: 1925-1963," American Journal of Sociology, LXX (November, 1964), pp. 286-302.

[14]C. C. North and P. K. Hatt, "Occupational Status and Prestige," Opinion News, September 1, 1947, pp. 3-13.

to evaluate 90 occupations as to their "general standing" using "excellent," "good," "average," "somewhat below average," and "poor" as labels for evaluation. During the spring of 1963, the study was replicated using the same sampling technique (quota) but with only 661 interviews.[15] It was found that the relationship between the prestige ranking of the occupations in the initial study and the latest one is unusually high (product-moment correlations of .99). The central point of this discussion is that the prestige status (as "general standing") of occupations can be measured and that these measurements are consistent from one point in time to another. In this study a measure developed from the work of North and Hatt is used to represent the prestige status or evaluation of occupations.[16]

This section began with the statement of the evaluation principle of self-identification and its relationship to self-identification. Then, I discussed the types of status conceptually related to evaluation and, in particular,

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[15] R. W. Hodge, P. M. Seigel and P. H. Rossi, American Journal of Sociology, LXX, p. 288.

[16] The particular characteristics of this measure will be discussed later in this chapter. It is important for the reader to note that prestige status of occupations is used in this study to measure the evaluation of occupation not as a measure of the stratification system of the United States. It may be the case that the other measures of status (i.e., economic, political, etc.) are highly related to occupational prestige status but that is an empirical problem outside the realm of this study. Here we are dealing with only one criteria of status among the many which are conceivable.

the notion of prestige status. From that point I discussed the most common way sociologists measure prestige status. This is in terms of the prestige status of a person's occupation from the perspective of its "general standing" among other occupations. So, in line with this discussion, the hypothesis can be stated that:

1. The higher the prestige status of one's occupation the more likely he will be to mention and assign importance to occupational and work self-identities.[17]

As the reader will note, this hypothesis is in the conceptual rather than the operational form. The values of each variable and their operational specifications are discussed following the main hypotheses for this study.

Social Class and Comparative Evaluation.--There are several other hypotheses to be tested in this study which derive from the same principle of self-identification. They are concerned with the evaluation of occupational activities, but they involve a different way to measure evaluation. That is, they attempt to assess evaluation of an occupation from the viewpoint of the actor rather than from the "general standing" of his occupation as viewed by others.

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[17] "Occupational self-identities" are occupational titles which are found in the answers to a question which asks the respondent to ask himself "Who Am I?" "Work self-identities" are terms which refer generally to working without specifying the occupational title. These are also found in answer to the "Who Am I?" question. This procedure will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

In his discussion of the North-Hatt measure of prestige status, Reiss mentions the utility of a perceptual measure of occupational prestige.[18] This measure would attempt to assess the person's evaluation of his present occupation as compared to his other activities. One measure that I propose to use for this purpose is the person's assignment of himself to a particular social class, commonly called "subjective social class." What follows is the rationale for using this measure and its hypothesized relationship to self-identification.

The use of subjective social class has received wide and thorough criticism in sociological literature.[19] Central in these critiques is the notion that "subjective social class" does not *really* measure social class.[20] But, this study avoids this type of discussion and most of the criticisms related to it. It does this by simply stating that "subjective social class" is used in this study *not* to

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[18] A. J. Reiss, Jr., *et al*., *Occupations and Social Status* (New York: Free Press, 1961), pp. 106-108.

[19] For example, see: H. M. Hodges, *Social Stratification* (Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc., 1964), pp. 78-100, and M. Gordon, *Social Class in American Sociology* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958), pp. 193-209.

[20] I am referring here to the measure devised by Richard Centers and reported in *The Psychology of Social Class* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949) and "Social Class, Occupation and Imputed Belief," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (May, 1953), pp. 543-555.

represent or measure social class, but as a measure of the person's evaluation of his occupational activities.

In all of the studies that use this measure of "subjective social class" a high relationship is found between class and the prestige status of one's occupation.[21] That is, those who assign themselves to the higher classes also hold high prestige occupations. To use this measure of "subjective social class" as an evaluation of occupation it must be assumed, from the above mentioned relationship, that one's occupation is taken into account in his class assignment. Those who assign themselves to the "lower" or "working" class do so mainly on the basis of lowly evaluated occupations. This variable is an attempt to obtain some measure of the person's assessment regarding the evaluation of his occupation. Therefore, the hypothesis can be stated:

> 2. The higher the person's "subjective social class" the more likely he will be to mention and assign importance to occupational and work self-identities.

From this hypothesis we move to the next measure of evaluation from the actor's perspective.

A second way to discover an actor's evaluation of his occupation is to ask him to compare his occupation with

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[21] Richard Centers, American Journal of Sociology, LVIII, pp. 543-555; J. A. Kahl and A. D. James, "A Comparison of Indexes of Socio-Economic Status," <u>American Sociological Review</u>, 20 (June, 1955), pp. 317-325; R. A. Ellis, W. C. Lane and V. Olesen, "The Index of Class Position: An Improved Intercommunity Measure of Stratification," <u>American Sociological Review</u>, 28 (April, 1963), pp. 271-276.

another object. One likely object of comparison is the actor's self. A question was devised for this study which asks each respondent to compare the importance of his occupation to himself "as an individual." He was presented with a figure which he was told represented a ladder. The top of the ladder was designated as much more important than himself, while the bottom was designated as much less important than himself. Then, he was asked to place his "occupation" on a step of this ladder as an indication of its importance in relation to himself. Using the responses from this question, the hypothesis will be:

> 3. The higher the person's evaluation of his occupation as compared to himself the more likely he will be to mention and assign importance to occupational and work self-identities.

This hypothesis is the third and final one which deals with the three measures of evaluation in this study.

<u>Analyses with "Control" Variable</u>.--As pointed out above, there is a difference between the first measure of evaluation and the last two measures. The first is an expression of the "general standing" of an occupation among other occupations. It is a measure of the evaluations of "others" with regard to occupation. "Social class" and comparative evaluation of occupation and self are both concerned with the actor's point of view. The first reason for controlling is to discover what effect the "objective" measure of evaluation has upon the "subjective" measures and

their relationships with self-identification. If the evaluations of "others" are consistent with the evaluations actors make of themselves, then we should notice the effect on the relationships. In addition, we might notice some anomilies in the data which will give us insight into the relationship between evaluation and self-identification. For these purposes the following hypotheses are stated:

4. Holding the level of occupational prestige status constant, the higher the person's "subjective social class" the more likely he will be to mention and assign importance to occupational and work identities.

5. Holding the level of occupational prestige status constant, the higher the person's evaluation of his occupation as compared to himself the more likely he will be to mention and assign importance to occupational and work self-identities.

## The Operational Specification of the Variables

This section describes how the variables are operationalized in this study. Included in the description are the questions asked, the interviewer instructions and the coding instructions. For each variable the frequency and percentage of distribution of its values from the sample of full-time employed men are given. Finally, I discuss the rationale for the way in which the values of the variables are categorized for analysis.

Prestige Status of Occupations

To obtain the respondent's occupation the following questions were asked:

"What is your occupation? TITLE____________________."

"What do you do in your occupation? Description
________________________."

The interviewer was given the following instructions regarding these questions:

> Occupation of respondent is to be obtained in two steps. First, we want to know the title of the respondent's occupation, preferably in terms of a union or industry designation, e.g., "press operator," not press workman or "laboratory worker," etc.
>
> Secondly, we want a description of what the person actually does, including a statement of the kind of industry in which the person has his occupation. There are several specific cases which need special attention in this regard.
>
> 1. For salesmen (title), note in the description what they sell, e.g., bibles or stock or real estate, and whether it is retail or wholesale.
>
> 2. For owners, supervisors, manager, foremen, etc., get type of industry, e.g., construction, steel, etc., and if a retail agency, not what they sell.
>
> 3. For laborers and common workers, it is also necessary to get the industry in which they work.[22]

From the response to these questions the occupation was coded using a detailed nine column code. For each

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[22]Cited in "Interviewer Bulletin" of the original study. This bulletin was sent to all interviewers involved in this study and dated September 3, 1963.

occupation the following were coded: the General Census category, the exact title, a Socio-Economic Index score and a Transformed NORC Prestige score. Of particular interest for this study is the transformed NORC Prestige score.[23]

The NORC Scale score transformation was devised and calculated by O. D. Duncan using socio-economic data from the 1950 Census and the 1946 NORC Prestige Scale scores.[24] These transformations were done so sociologists would have a prestige scale score for occupations that are not found on the original NORC list. In other studies Duncan found that the procedures employed for assigning prestige scores to occupations not on the NORC list were quite arbitrary. Many studies used consensual agreement among judges, but even these procedures are not consistent across studies. Therefore, the transformation procedures used by Duncan are an attempt to assign prestige scores to the non-NORC study occupations in a less arbitrary manner.

First, Duncan calculated a Socio-Economic Index score using income, education and age for each of the 425

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[23]The list of occupations that was used is found in Appendix B of A. J. Reiss, Jr., Occupations and Social Status (New York: Free Press, 1961), pp. 263-275. It contains 425 occupations with the Socio-economic Index and N.O. R.C. Scale score for each.

[24]For a complete discussion of this construction see: A. J. Reiss, Jr., Occupations and Social Status (New York: The Free Press, 1961), Chapter VI, pp. 109-138. As noted above, the 1946 scores have a very high correlation (.99) with the 1963 study using the same occupational titles.

occupations found in the detailed classification of the Census (1950). Secondly, he selected 45 occupations that were found to have the same titles in the NORC study and the Census. He found a high correlation between the socio-economic index and prestige for these occupations. Finding this, he then ranked the 45 occupations with their prestige scores on the vertical axis of a diagram, while the 425 occupations were ranked by their socio-economic index scores on the horizontal axis. The Transformed NORC Prestige Scale scores were then assigned to each of the 425 occupations by interpolation using the linear diagonal of the figure. Thus, the prestige scores which are used in this study are those which incorporate the NORC Prestige Scale scores and the socio-economic data from the 1950 Census.

The prestige scores of the sample used in the present study ranged from a low of 23 to a high of 93 with the median score of around 65. Most of the scores contain 4% or less of the respondents. One exception to this is prestige scale score number 53. This score contains 8.8% of the sample and is the modal category (by at least 3%) for the distribution. By inspection it was discovered that of the 46 respondents in this score, 43 of them had the occupation of Farmer (Owner and Manager). Even though this percentage is not large enough to consider as a separate category, some analyses will be reported to note the effect that Farmers have on the results.

With the exception noted above, the distribution of scale scores is even enough to categorize them into quintiles. The distribution used initially in the analysis is:

| Prestige Scale Scores | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| 23 - 53 | 113 | 21 |
| 54 - 60 | 112 | 21 |
| 61 - 69 | 103 | 20 |
| 70 - 74 | 99 | 19 |
| 75 - 93 | 98 | 19 |

When control analyses are done this distribution is divided into thirds.

The occupational composition for these categories was discovered by inspecting the occupational title codes with each category. The first category (23 - 53) contains mostly Farmers as mentioned above, and some construction laborers, janitors and gardeners. Operatives (e.g., truck drivers, cranesmen, machine operators), auto mechanics and shipping clerks are in the majority for prestige scale scores 54 through 60. In the third category (61 - 69), one finds craftsmen (e.g., general mechanics, machinists, welders), some salesmen, civil servants (e.g., firemen, policemen) and some clerical occupations. The majority occupations in the category containing scores 70 through 74 are: craftsmen (e.g., linemen and telegraph, tool and die) engineers, self-employed managers and officials, real estate agents, foremen

(n.e.c.), technicians (n.e.c.) and clergymen. The last category (75 - 93) contains mostly those classified in the Professional and Managerial categories in the Census. Examples are: insurance agents, salaried managers, teachers, credit men, authors, accountants, business services, college professors, engineers, and lawyers. These lists of occupations show, in a very crude way, that there appears to be some homogenity within these prestige score categories, at least in terms of the Census classification. This would be expected from the procedures used to calculate the prestige scale scores.

## Subjective Social Class

As pointed out above, "subjective social class" is used in this study to indicate the person's evaluation of his occupation. It is assumed that the respondent takes his occupation into account when assigning himself to a social class. If he and others have a low evaluation of his occupation, we would expect him to assign himself to lower or working class; if they have a high evaluation, then he would assign himself to the middle or upper-middle class.[25] With this assumption in mind we go to the operationalization of this variable.

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[25]An empirical test of this assumption will be made in the analysis of these data. For now, it must stand as an assumption based on the relationship between "subjective social class" and occupational activities found in past research.

This question was asked to obtain "subjective social class":

"If you were asked to describe your social class, to which class would you say you belonged - working, lower, lower-middle, middle, upper-middle, or upper?"

The respondent was handed a card on which the class labels were printed. Interviewers were given the following instructions:

Let the respondent use his own subjective definition of social class and his position. Be sure to have respondent choose only <u>one</u> of the 6 classes.

In the sample the following distribution was obtained in answer to this question:

| Social Class | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| Working | 161 | 31 |
| Lower | 6 | 1 |
| Lower-middle | 49 | 9 |
| Middle | 216 | 41 |
| Upper-middle | 86 | 16 |
| Upper | 6 | 1 |
| No Response | 1 | -- |

One will notice that very few of these men put themselves in the lower or upper class and less than 10% put themselves in the lower-middle class. As in past studies the largest percent is found in the working and middle class but it is interesting to note that 16% of these men put themselves in the upper-middle class.[26] The research in the past has

[26]This is the first time, to my knowledge that the label "upper-middle" has been used in a study of this type. Usually the labels are working, lower, middle and upper.

usually combined the values of this variable into two classes, but because of the relatively large percent of respondents in the upper-middle class, I decided to categorize the answers into three classes. The categories are:

| Social Class | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| Working | 216 | 41 |
| Middle | 216 | 41 |
| Upper-middle | 92 | 18 |

Working class is composed of working, lower and lower-middle class answers, while upper-middle contains upper-middle and upper. These categories are used in the major analysis.

### Comparative Evaluation of Occupation

Another measure which attempts to assess the person's own view of his occupation is the one which asks the respondent to compare his occupation with himself.[27] Theoretically, as implied above, the person is supposed to compare his occupation with the other identities and activities in which he is involved (i.e., "himself"). It is assumed that the response to this question is indicative of this comparative evaluation.

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[27]This question was devised by Professor F. B. Waisanen using a technique developed by Hadley Cantril called the "self anchoring scale." The results from several studies using Cantril's technique are reported in The Pattern of Human Concerns (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1966).

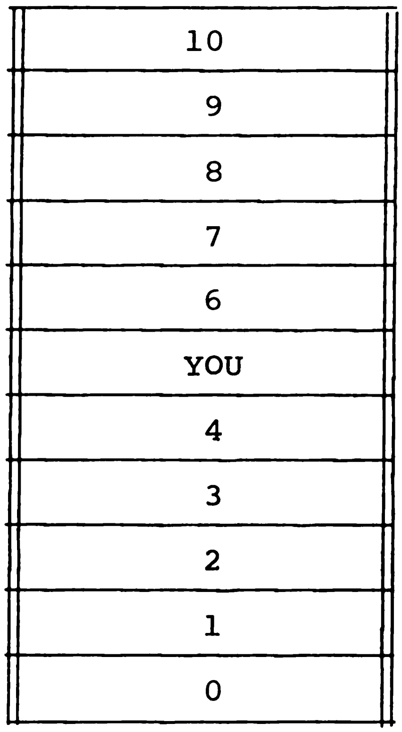
In terms of procedure, this is how the question was asked within the interview. First, the respondent was asked nine other questions which used the Cantril ladder technique. That is, he was given a card on which a ladder was drawn with the "rungs" of the ladder numbered. He was asked to put himself on various rungs of the ladder in answer to certain questions (e.g., where do you stand now in terms of religion if the top of the ladder represents those who are very religious and the bottom of the ladder represents those who are not religious at all). After answering these questions the respondent was told:

> "Now, let's use the ladder in a different way. I would like you to think of yourself as compared with such things as your political party, your nation and your family. On this card, imagine that you are in the middle step of the ladder right now. On the top steps of the ladder are things which, in your judgement, are more important than you as an individual, and on the bottom steps of the ladder are things which are less important than you as an individual."

The interviewer was given the following instructions:

> Be sure to switch to the use of Ladder Card B for this item. This ladder places "you" (the respondent) on step 5 of the ladder. Step 5 is still an acceptable answer, however, since the respondent may wish to place something on the same step with himself. If respondent says "Just a little ways up above myself" don't probe "One step, 6 or 7?" Instead say: "How many steps above yourself?" Community, family, country, etc., should be judged as of today.

A card was given to the respondent that looked like this:




Then the respondent was asked,

"Where would you place your occupation?"

and the interviewer was given the following instructions about this question:

> Occupation is what the respondent does usually. For "housewives," have them rank it as an occupation. For those who are "retired," have them rank the occupation they had before retirement. For those who are unemployed, have them rank their last job held.

The interviewer recorded the respondent's answer by step number.

In answers to this question, the following distribution of responses was found for the full-time employed men in the original study:

| Step Number (Occupation) | | N | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| (High) | 10 | 113 | 22 |
| | 9 | 48 | 9 |
| | 8 | 74 | 14 |
| | 7 | 64 | 12 |
| | 6 | 71 | 13 |
| (YOU) | 5 | 37 | 7 |
| | 4 | 61 | 12 |
| | 3 | 30 | 6 |
| | 2 | 11 | 2 |
| | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| (Low) | 0 | 8 | 2 |

As one can see, the distribution is skewed toward the "top" where more than 70% of the respondents evaluated the occupation as "more important than themselves as an individual." In collapsing this distribution for analysis there were several matters taken into account. First, was the skewed nature of the distribution. I did not want to put all those above step 5 together because there may be distinctions within that category which could lead to interesting theoretical reformulations. Secondly, I did not think that the 7% in step 5 (YOU) was large enough to consider as a separate category in analysis. Finally, I wanted to maintain some notion of "steps" from the original ladder for analysis. Therefore to dichotomize the distribution would be contrary to the "steps" notion.

With the above considerations in mind, the categories for this question employed in analysis are:

| Step Numbers (Occupation) | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| 0 - 5 | 152 | 29 |
| 6 - 7 | 135 | 26 |
| 8 - 9 | 122 | 23 |
| 10 | 113 | 22 |

This divides the distribution about in quartiles and keeps the notion of "steps" within the variable. The first value (steps 0 - 5) can be called "occupation equal to or less than self" while the other values are relative degrees of "occupation more important than self." These values are used in the initial analyses with this variable.

## Occupation-Work Self-Identification

The question employed to elicit self-identification behavior was derived from the Kuhn-McPartland "Twenty Statements Test."[28] Due to the fact that this variable is used in all the hypotheses of this study, greater consideration will be given to it. First, after discussing the alterations of the "Twenty Statements Test" made in this study, I mention several assumptions implied in the question which are relevant to the theoretical framework of this study. Secondly, I discuss the coding procedures used in this study along with their reliability. And finally, I discuss the

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[28] Initially reported in M. H. Kuhn and T. S. McPartland, "An Investigation of Self-Attitudes," American Sociological Review, 19 (February, 1954), pp. 68-76.

types of identification used here and the values of each type. I begin with the question used in this study and its relationship to the "Twenty Statements Test."

The original "Twenty Statement Test" (TST) asked each respondent to ask himself the question "Who Am I?" and respond to this question "as if you are giving the answer to yourself and not to anyone else." Answers to this question were written on twenty numbered lines. The question used in this study differs in three ways. First, the question was asked orally in an interview and second, the respondent was asked to give his responses in order of their importance. A "lead in" was used before asking the self-identification question:

> Now, we have quite a different thing for you to do. Although probably new to you, it is easy and I think you will find it quite enjoyable. Everyone we have asked to do this has found it to be interesting. Now, let me tell you what we have in mind.

Then the self-identification question was asked:

> Ask this question of yourself, "Who Am I?" Think of as many answers as you can in answer to the question, "Who Am I?" In a moment I would like you to give me the answers as if you were giving them to yourself, not to me or anyone else. Take a little time to think about it. (Interviewer: Pause here momentarily)

and the interviewer continued:

a. Now please make what you consider the <u>most important statement</u> about yourself first.
   1.________________________________________

b. Now make what you consider the <u>next most important</u> statement about yourself.
   2.________________________________________

c. Now, make what you consider the next most important statement about yourself.

3.________________________________________

d. (PROBE) Are there any other statements you could make about yourself in answer to the question "Who Am I?"

4.________________________________________

- . . -

- . . -

- . . -

10.________________________________________[29]

The interviewer was given the following instructions regarding this question:

1. Record all answers in the respondent's own words. <u>Do not edit</u>.

2. Record, when possible, a single unit of thought or statement on each line.

3. Present the question with assurance and allow the respondent time to consider the task demanded by the question.

4. In general, probe enough to indicate that the respondent is free to say anything in answer to this question.

5. There are three minutes allowed for this question but do not stop the respondent if he wants to continue beyond the time limit.

6. When initials of organizations are given ask the respondent for the name of the organization.[30]

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[29]The third way this question differs from the TST is that only ten responses are obtained to the question instead of twenty.

[30]The complete instructions are found in S. C. McPhail "Self-Identification . . . , " pp. 226ff. They are taken from the "Interviewer Bulletin" pp. 7f. The above was para-phrased from the latter source.

These are the procedures used to obtain self-identification behavior in this study.

There are several assumptions implied in these procedures which should be mentioned before discussing the coding procedures used on the responses.[31] First, there is the assumption that the person "knows" who he is and puts this "knowledge" into words in answer to the question "Who Am I?" Secondly, this assumption of "knowledge" precludes the use of fixed responses as answers to the self-identification question. This is also consistent with the definition of self as labels or symbols a person uses for his own activities. Finally, the assumption that the question as stated is general enough to elicit responses which are not applicable to a certain situation but to a variety of situations.[32] These assumptions seem to be in accord with the theoretical framework of this study.

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[31]These assumptions are found in my article "Some Methodological Problems of Kuhn's Self Theory," Sociological Quarterly, Special Issue (Summer, 1966), forthcoming.

[32]This is one of the assumptions which appears problematic to me as I discuss it in the "methodological problems" article. It is certainly the case that this question elicits responses that are applicable to situations outside of the one in which it is asked. But, the problem of the relative effect of the question-asking-situation has not been studied. As in the case of previous studies, the present study offers no evidence relevant to the solution of this problem.

Next we move to the procedures used for coding the answers to the self-identification question.[33] A statement is defined as a "single word, a phrase, or a complete sentence" which appears on a single line or several on the same line of the interview schedule. It is usually found as a noun alone, an adjective with a noun, or an adjective alone (e.g., "I am a teacher," "I am a good teacher," "I am good'). Each statement was coded without regard to: (1) negation or affirmation, or (2) verb tense. The coders were given approximately forty-five categories in which to classify the answers to this question.[34] But the only ones relevant to our concerns are two types of statements: Occupation and General Work.

The Gallup coders were instructed to code all statements which contained an occupational title as "Occupation." Such terms as "punch press operator," "musician," "post master," "educator," "teacher," "banker," "carpenter," "farmer," "entertainer," and "businessman," were found in

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[33]A detailed account of these procedures are presented in Appendix A (pp. 225-232) of McPhail's dissertation. They are also contained in the codebook of the "Five Nations Project" (U. S. and Mexico), Department of Sociology, Michigan State University.

[34]The coding procedures were formulated by R. L. Stewart, C. McPhail, C. Bettinghause and C. W. Tucker with the advise of F. B. Waisanen. Specially trained coders from Gallup coded the answers to this question; this was the only question they coded from the interview schedule. No alterations in coding procedures were instituted by Gallup without the written consent of the project co-ordinator, R. L. Stewart. Only a few minor alterations were necessary after the coding commenced.

the answers to this question and categorized as "occupational self-identities." General Work statements were those which included references to working but not a specific occupational title. Some examples found in the answers were: "worker," "retired," "unemployed," "working," "working man," "make a living," and "job." These are the two types of self-identities used in this study.

So that these self-identities can be used with confidence in analysis, a set of procedures was devised to calculate the coding reliability of the Gallup coding operation.[35] First, a random sample of 150 interviews was selected from the total in the original study. Secondly, the answers to the self-identification question were typed on ditto masters and reporduced. The lists of answers were then coded by five M.S.U. coders following the same procedures used by the Gallup coders. Then, the codes assigned to each statement by the M.S.U. coders was compared with the code given by Gallup.[36] For "Occupational Self-Identities" the following

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[35]Guido Stempel, "Increasing Reliability in Content Analysis," Journalism Quarterly, 32 (Fall, 1955), pp. 449-455.

[36]One may wonder about the reason for comparing the M.S.U. coders to Gallup and not to each other. First, we were not so much concerned with how well the coding procedures worked *per se*, but instead, how well they worked for someone unfamiliar with the theoretical framework implicit in the self-identification question. Secondly, we were faced with the fact that the codes given by Gallup for these statements were already punched on cards. Given this, a pragmatic decision was made to use only those identities which had a reasonable inter-coder reliability quotient (i.e., around 80%) rather than to re-code and re-punch all of the statements that were in error.

results were obtained:

> There were 70 occupation statements according to Gallup in the 150 interviews randomly selected. Each of the five coders made a judgement regarding these statements for a total of 350 judgements. Of these 350 judgements, 280 of them were in agreement with the Gallup coding. This constitutes an 80% inter-coder reliability quotient for occupational self-identities.

Given the specificity of "occupational titles" a higher quotient was expected. So to see what was the nature of the disagreements a complete list of them was compiled. It was found that 63% of the statements that the Gallup coders had classified as "occupational title" were consistently coded by the M.S.U. coders as "domestic." This category contains such terms as "homemaker," "housework," or other activities which are done within the household, usually by the woman of the house. In addition, of the 25 respondents on which errors were made, 21 or 85% of them were females. It seems that the inclusion of the "housewife" label as an occupational title not only reduced the utility of using females in the analysis of the data but also had a noticeable effect on the coding operations for this category. The main reason I mention this is to note that the majority of coding errors with the "occupational title self-identity" are found with respondents that are excluded from this study (i.e., females). In light of these observations, the 80% inter-coder reliability quotient is not as serious as first suspected. Next, we consider the reliability procedures for General Work statements.

Using the same procedures of five coders compared to the Gallup coding the following was found:

> There were 33 general work statements according to Gallup in the 150 interviews randomly selected. Each of the five coders made a judgement regarding these statements for a total of 165 judgements. Of these 165 judgements, 156 of them were in agreement with the Gallup coding. This constitutes a 95% inter-coder reliability quotient for General Work self-identities.

Within the nine errors I could discern no pattern like that found in the errors of occupational self-identity. But the inter-coder reliability quotient seems high enough not to be concerned with this issue.

Next, for categorizing the values of this variable, we look at the frequency and percentage distribution for these self-identities. The initial values of the variables are degrees of importance or the line on which the statement was written by the interviewer. In asking the question, the person was asked to give his most important statement first, the next most important second, and so on. The other value is "not mentioned." Hence, the values are:

The Distribution of Occupation-Work Identities

| Line Mentioned | Occupation | | General Work | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % |
| First | 32 | 6 | 23 | 4 |
| Second | 30 | 6 | 45 | 9 |
| Third | 28 | 5 | 41 | 8 |
| Fourth | 24 | 5 | 18 | 3 |
| Fifth | 11 | 2 | 25 | 5 |
| Sixth | 4 | 1 | 10 | 2 |
| Seventh | 1 | - | 2 | - |
| Eighth | 1 | - | 3 | - |
| Ninth or Tenth | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Not Mentioned | 393 | 75 | 357 | 68 |

As one can see only 25% of the full-time employed men mentioned "occupation" as a self-identity, while 32% of them mentioned General Work self-identities. But again, I wanted to categorize this variable so there are enough values that a pattern can be discerned in the relationships with other variables. Yet, the problem is that the respondents who mention these identities are in the minority. Therefore, I decided to use several categorizations and to discover empirically whether they were appropriate.[37] The suggested values are as follows:

| Values | Occupational Identities | | General Work Identities | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % |
| Lines 1-2 | 62 | 12 | 68 | 13 |
| Lines 3-4 | 52 | 10 | 59 | 11 |
| Lines 5-9 | 18 | 3 | 41 | 8 |
| N-M | 393 | 75 | 357 | 68 |

or,

| Values | Occupational Identities N | Occupational Identities % | General Work Identities N | General Work Identities % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lines 1-2 | 62 | 12 | 68 | 13 |
| Lines 3-9 | 70 | 13 | 100 | 19 |
| N-M | 393 | 75 | 357 | 68 |

And the other two values for these variables are mention-nonmention. So, the following variables and values are used in analysis: (1) Occupational Identities, by degree of importance, (2) Occupational Identities, by mention-nonmention,

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[37]Appropriateness, in the majority of instances, is decided by the rules of the statistical test being used to assess the relationship. For example, the rules of the chi-square test require that no more than 20% of the cells can have expected frequencies less than five. If that appears in a relationship then one of the variables must be recategorized to eliminate the low expected frequencies.

(3) Work Identities, by degree of importance, and (4) Work Identities, by mention-nonmention.

Due to the low percent of respondents who mentioned either occupational or work identities, I decided to construct another variable of self-identity.[38] This is a combination of occupation and work self-identities. They were combined by the degree of importance for each type. That is, if a respondent mentioned both occupational and work identities in answer to the self-identification question, then the type of statement with the highest degree of importance was recorded for him. Therefore, a respondent that mentioned Work on line four and Occupation on line two was coded as "2" for the variable of Occupation-Work Identity. The frequency and percentage distributions for this variable are:

Occupation-Work Identities

| Line Mentioned | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| First | 55 | 10 |
| Second | 74 | 14 |
| Third | 61 | 12 |
| Fourth | 36 | 7 |
| Fifth | 32 | 6 |
| Sixth | 10 | 2 |
| Seventh | 2 | -- |
| Eighth | 3 | -- |
| Nine or Tenth | 1 | -- |
| Not Mentioned | 251 | 48 |

[38]This self-identity was used in H. A. Mulford and W. W. Salisbury II, "Self Conceptions in a General Population," Sociological Quarterly, 5 (Winter, 1964), p. 45. The table is presented in Chapter I of this study.

Hence, when these identities are combined the percent of respondents who mention them increases to 52%. When the same categories used for the separate identities are employed to categorize the variable, the distributions are:

Occupation-Work Identities

| | N | % | | N | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lines 1-2 | 129 | 25 | Lines 1-2 | 129 | 25 |
| Lines 3-4 | 97 | 19 | Lines 3-9 | 145 | 27 |
| Lines 5-9 | 48 | 8 | Not Mentioned | 251 | 48 |
| Not Mentioned | 251 | 48 | | | |

In sum, the total list of values and types of self-identification to be used in this study are:

1. Occupation Identity: Degree of Importance
2. Occupation Identity: Mention - Nonmention
3. Work Identity: Degree of Importance
4. Work Identity: Mention - Nonmention
5. Occupation-Work Identity: Degree of Importance
6. Occupation-Work Identity: Mention - Nonmention

Before proceeding to the presentation of the hypotheses in operational form, a summary of this lengthy section is given.

## Summary

This section was concerned with the operational specifications for the variables of this study. We are concerned, in general, with two variables. One type is relevant to the evaluation of occupational activities, while the other is occupation-work self-identification. In this section I specified three measures for the evaluation of occupational activities and one measure for occupation self-identification.

The first measure of evaluation was the Transformed NORC Prestige score of the occupational title. These scores are used in this study as the measure of prestige for an occupation. The second measure for evaluation of occupational activities approaches the issue from a different angle. This measure is concerned with the person's own estimate of evaluation for his occupation. A person's assignment of himself to one of six "social classes" is taken as an evaluation of his occupation, especially for the full-time employed men which comprise this sample. The variable was categorized into three values: Working, Middle and Upper-Middle.

The final measure of evaluation is also concerned with the subject's perspective. In a question devised specifically for the original study, each respondent was asked to indicate the relative importance of his occupation to himself as an individual. He was given a drawing of a ladder and asked to imagine himself in the middle of it. From that vantage point he was asked to place his occupation as more important or less important than himself.

Self-identification is the last variable considered in this section. This study used a revised form of Kuhn-McPartland's "Twenty Statement Test" to elicit self-identification behavior from the respondents. Each respondent is asked to ask himself the question, "Who Am I?" and give the answers, in order of their importance, to the interviewer. From the variety of responses to this question this study only uses two kinds: Occupational statements and General Work statements. Then, because only a minority of the sample mentioned each type of statement, a third type of self-identification was constructed. This type is the combination of the other two types and is called "Occupation-Work Identity." For each of these identities, two different values are to be employed in analysis: Degree of Importance and Mention-Nonmention. This makes a total of six different values for the variables of self-identification.

## Operational Restatement of Hypotheses

In the second section of this chapter, I presented five separate hypotheses derived from the evaluation principle of self-identification. They were stated in conceptual form devoid of operations. This section takes the information given in the previous section and restates these hypotheses in an operational form. The first hypothesis is:

> 1. The higher the prestige status of one's occupation the more likely he will be to mention and assign importance to occupational and work self-identities.

Stated in operational form with the sub-hypotheses, it is as follows:

> The higher persons' scores on the Transformed NORC Prestige Scale the more likely they will be to:
>
> 1a. assign high importance to an occupational identity made
> 1b. mention an occupational identity

1c. assign high importance to a work identity made
1d. mention a work identity
1e. assign high importance to an occupation-work identity made
1f. mention an occupation-work identity

in response to a self-identification question.

The second hypothesis in conceptual form is:

2. The higher the person's "subjective social class" the more likely he will be to mention and assign importance to occupational and work self-identities.

The testable sub-hypotheses are:

The higher a person's own assignment in terms of working, middle or upper-middle "Social class" labels the more likely he will be to:

2a. assign high importance to an occupational identity made
2b. mention an occupational identity
2c. assign high importance to a work identity made
2d. mention a work identity
2e. assign high importance to an occupation-work identity made
2f. mention an occupation-work identity

in response to a self-identification question.

The third major hypothesis is:

3. The higher the person's evaluation of his occupation as compared to himself the more likely he will be to mention and assign importance to occupational and work self-identities.

This hypothesis takes the following operational forms:

The higher a person places his occupation on a ladder where the top is defined as "more important than you as an individual" the more likely he will be to:

3a. assign high importance to an occupational identity made
3b. mention an occupational identity
3c. assign high importance to a work identity made
3d. mention a work identity

3e. assign high importance to an occupation-work identity made
3f. mention an occupation-work identity

in response to a self-identification question.

The hypothesis derived by combining hypotheses one and two is:

4. Holding the level of occupational prestige status constant, the higher the person's "subjective social class" the more likely he will be to mention and assign importance to occupational and work identities.

The operational form is as follows:

For each category of the Transformed NORC Prestige Scale scores, the higher the person's own assignment in terms of working, middle or upper-middle "social class" labels the more likely he will be to:

4a. assign high importance to an occupational identity made
4b. mention an occupational identity
4c. assign high importance to a work identity made
4d. mention a work identity
4e. assign high importance to an occupation-work identity made
4f. mention an occupation-work identity

in response to a self-identification question.

The final hypotheses is a combination of hypotheses one and three and reads:

5. Holding the level of occupational prestige status constant, the higher the person's evaluation of his occupation as compares to himself the more likely he will be to mention and assign importance to occupational and work self-identities.

The operational form is as follows:

For each category of the Transformed NORC Prestige Scale scores, the higher a person places his occupation on a ladder where the top is defined as "more important than you as an individual," the more likely he will be to:

5a. assign high importance to an occupational identity made
5b. mention an occupational identity
5c. assign high importance to a work identity made
5d. mention a work identity
5e. assign high importance to an occupation-work identity made
5f. mention an occupation-work identity

in response to a self-identification question.

So, from the five hypotheses discussed at the beginning of this chapter we have derived a total of 30 hypotheses to be tested in this study. This number does not include the variety of analyses which may be done to clarify any deviations within the empirical observations. And, in line with this last thought, before concluding this chapter, the analysis plans will be discussed.

## A Preview of Analysis Plans

At this point I briefly describe the analytical procedures of this study. The main concerns are: (1) the purposes of the analysis, (2) the use of a computer program and statistical techniques, (3) the style and rationale for the way the results are presented. I begin with the purposes of analysis.

The main purpose of this analysis is to answer the major question or problem of this study. Within the style of this study, the obvious way to accomplish this task is to use available statistical techniques to confirm or disconfirm hypotheses. But, in this analysis there will be several additional purposes. The first of these will be

an attempt to discern patterns of observations in addition to statistical results. That is, an attempt will be made within the restrictions imposed by the data, to look at the way the observations are clustered and to see if these patterns can be explained.

An additional purpose, related to the first, is an attempt to reformulate and develop the theoretical orientation. This can be done by looking for new and unexpected patterns in the observations. That is, after one describes a certain relationship he may think of some other variable which could account for the anomilies. Investigating the effect of the other variables may clarify the original empirical relationship and provide insights for the theory. These are attempts to expand the theoretical orientation.

Finally, another purpose will be to develop some insights into new ways of approaching the research problem and problems related to it. It may decide, for instance, that the means used to solve the present problem are faulty. In this case, other ways to solve it should be developed and explained. One could discover that the problem investigated is only a small part of a more fundamental problem. If this is discovered, ways to solve the "fundamental problem" should be presented. It should be a central purpose of any study to present new insights into the investigation of social phenomena.

To analyze the observations a contingency table of analysis will be employed.[39] It is designed for use with data whose level of measurement does not exceed that of ordinal. Contained in the program are a variety of statistical tests which will be used in this analysis. Those employed most often are: Chi-square, Cramer's V, Kendall's Tau C and Z. A brief discussion of these statistics is the topic of the next few paragraphs.

Probably the most widely used statistical test in sociology is Chi-square.[40] The purpose of this test is to determine the independence of observations as they are distributed for the values of two variables. This is done by calculating the discrepancy between the observed and expected frequencies and adjusting for the size of the table. The probability for any Chi-square value can be found in most statistics text books.

Cramer's V is probably the most seldom used measure of association in sociology. The value of V is calculated from Chi-square. It can obtain a value anywhere between zero and one and its significance is determined by the

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[39]The program used in this study was developed at Indiana University by Grafton and Laura Trout, now staff members at Michigan State University. The Indiana University program was converted for use on the CDC 3600 by Laura Trout.

[40]For a detailed presentation see: Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956), pp. 175-179.

probability of the Chi-square.[41] But this measure has two advantages over other commonly used measures of association. First, it can be used to assess the association of table with unequal sizes. That is, the degrees of freedom are taken into account when calculating V. Secondly, its maximum value is one so it does not have to be compared with the maximum possible association for the table as other statistics (i.e., Pearson's C).[42] This makes Cramer's V more intuitively understandable and simpler to use.

In the analysis, when variables are treated as ordinal, Tau C is used and the statistical significance determined by the probability of Z. For nominally measured variables Chi-square is used and Cramer's V is used to determine the comparative association of the tables.

An important part of the analysis plans is the presentation of results. In this study the results are presented in two separate chapters. The first chapter (IV) presents the results for the hypotheses containing the prestige variable. The next chapter (V) includes the results for both of the "subjective" measures of evaluation and the results of the control-type analysis using all three variables.

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[41] H. Cramer, Mathematical Methods of Statistics (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1946). It is also discussed in H. M. Blalock, Jr. Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960), p. 230.

[42] Cramer's V reaches the value of one when the frequency in the two diagonal cells is zero.

## Summary

This chapter discussed all of the methodological and technical aspects of this study. First, I described the sample and the rationale for selecting it from the original sample. The original study was done in the Fall, 1963 for Michigan State University by the Gallup Organization. It was an area probability sample of U. S. adult citizens. For this secondary analysis a sub-sample is chosen that includes only the full-time employed men from the original sample. Using procedures provided by Gallup and 1960 Census information this sample was found to be representative of the full-time employed men in the U. S.

The next section contained the major hypotheses of the study. They were presented in conceptual form and their relationship to the theoretical framework was discussed. All of the hypotheses were formulated to test the relationship between evaluation of occupational activities and occupational and work self-identification. One measure is concerned with the prestige of occupation, while the two remaining measures are concerned with the person's own evaluation of his occupation. These variables are combined in such a way that there are five major hypotheses in this study.

The next section contained the operational specifications for each variable. Prestige status is measured using a Transformed NORC Prestige Scale devised by O. D.

Duncan. The person's evaluation of his occupation is measured by: (1) his own assignment of himself to a "social class," and (2) his comparative evaluation of himself with his occupation. Self-identification is operationalized by the self-asked question of "Who Am I?" Occupational self-identities are statements which contain occupational titles, while work self-identities are statements which contain general references to working. For each variable the frequency and percentage distribution of its values was presented.

Following the above was a section containing the hypotheses in their operational form. For every major hypothesis, there are six sub-hypotheses. The types of self-identification (Occupation, Work and Occupation-Work) and their two values (Importance and Mention-Nonmention) are responsible for there being this number of hypotheses.

The final section reviews the plans of analysis and the statistical tests for this study. A contingency table type of analysis will be performed using Chi-square, V, Tau C and Z as statistics. The results will be presented in the next two chapters.

## CHAPTER IV

## PRESTIGE AND SELF-IDENTIFICATION: RESULTS

This is the first of two chapters which presents the results of this study. Here the concern is with the sub-hypotheses developed from the first major hypothesis:

1. The higher the prestige status of one's occupation the more likely he will be to mention and assign importance to occupational and work self-identities.

For each pair of sub-hypotheses one table containing all the relevant information is presented. Each table presents the data for the two values of the self-identification variable with an evaluation variable. The values for self-identification are: "degree of importance" and "mention-nonmention." Within each table the percent and frequencies for each cell are given. The percentages follow the "causal factor" rule of Zeisel.[1] That is, they are arranged in the direction of the causal relationship implied in the hypotheses. In all hypotheses for this study the evaluation variable is treated as the "independent" or "causal" variable, while self-identification is the "dependent" or "effect" variable. The following table is an example.

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[1]Hans Zeisel, Say it with Figures (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), Revised Fourth edition, pp. 24-41.

| Evaluation Variable | Importance of Mention Low | High | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Low | Row % (cell f) | Row % (cell f) | Row % (cell f) | Row % (cell f) | 100% (Row f) |
| High | Row % (cell f) | Row % (cell f) | Row % (cell f) | Row % (cell f) | 100% (Row f) |

All frequencies appear in parentheses. The percentages for "Importance of Mention" should equal the "Total Mention" percentage. By adding the "Total Mention" and "Total Non-Mention" the sum should be that of the TOTALS. The same addition procedures should result in the correct sums for the frequencies.

In the "degree of importance" hypotheses, three values of self-identification are analyzed: "Total Non-Mention," "Mention: low importance" and "Mention: high importance." The "Total Non-Mention" is always treated as the lowest value in this arrangement. There is "less value" assigned to no mention of an identity than to mention. This is important to remember when the ordinal measurement statistic (Tau C) is used for analysis.

## Prestige and Occupational Self-Identification

The sub-hypotheses relating prestige and occupational self-identification are:

1a. The higher persons' scores on the Transformed NORC Prestige Scale the more likely they will be to assign high importance to an occupational identity made in response to a self-identification question.

1b. The higher persons' scores on the Transformed NORC Prestige Scale the more likely they will be to mention an occupational identity in response to a self identification question.

The previous chapter included the operational procedures for each variable.

The test results for these hypotheses are found in Table IV. The Transformed NORC Prestige Scale Scores are grouped from "low" to "high" in this way: 23-53; 54-60; 61-69; 70-74; and 75-93. Each category contains between 22% (23-53) and 19% (75-93) of the respondents. Importance of mention has two values: "low" (i.e., identity on line three or below) and "high" (i.e., identity on lines one or two). The other two values in the table are "Total mention" and "Total Non-Mention."

Below the table are the statistical results for both hypotheses. For hypothesis 1a the Kendall's Tau C is .09, while the Z is 2.78. The probability of obtaining a Z value this extreme is .0025 (one-tail test). The statistical results for hypothesis 1a show a Chi-square of 23.4 (df=4) with a probability of .0005. For both of these hypotheses the null hypothesis is rejected using the probability of less than .05 for determining the region of rejection.[2]

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[2]In all hypotheses the direction of the identification variable is stated; hence, the use of a one-tail test. M. G. Kendall, Rank Correlation Methods (New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1955) reports the formula for converting Tau C to Z. It is also discussed in M. M. Blalock, Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960), p. 324. The probability of a one-tail test using the Chi-square statistic is one-half the probability found in the Chi-square table. See: Quinn McNemar, Psychological

Table IV-1. The Relationship between Prestige of Occupation and Occupational Self-Identification(N= 525)

| Prestige Scores | Importance of Mention Low(3-9) | High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 23-53 | 15 (17) | 7 ( 8) | 22 (25) | 78 (88) | 100% (113) |
| 54-60 | 8 ( 9) | 13 (15) | 21 (24) | 79 (88) | 100% (112) |
| 61-69 | 12 (12) | 11 (11) | 23 (23) | 77 (80) | 100% (103) |
| 70-74 | 9 ( 9) | 8 ( 8) | 17 (17) | 83 (82) | 100% ( 99) |
| 75-93 | 24 (23) | 20 (20) | 44 (43) | 56 (55) | 100% ( 98) |

Degree of Importance: (one-tail test)

Tau C= .09 Z= 2.78 p= .0027

Mention-Nonmention: (one-tail test)

$X^2$= 23.4 (df=4) $p < .0005$ V= .04

Although a strict linear assumption is not implied in these hypotheses, we expected a direction in the observed pattern. As the values for prestige increase, we expected an increase in the proportion of cases in the "high importance" mention of occupational self identities. On the other hand, we expected an inverse pattern for the "low importance" value; as the prestige increases there should be a reduction in the proportion of cases in these cells.

A similar pattern was expected for the mention-nonmention values of identification. As prestige increases we expect to find an increase in the proportion of cases mentioning these identities and a decrease in the proportion not mentioning them. Again, we did not expect a strict linear pattern but a general trend in the predicted direction.

In Table IV-1 we find at least three instances where the results do not conform to these expectations. First, we find a tendency toward a "curvilinear" pattern for the "Importance of Mention" results. The highest percent of cases in the "low importance" cells are found in both the highest and lowest values of the prestige variable. Secondly, we notice that there is little difference in the percent of "Total Mention" for the first three values of prestige. Thirdly, and related to the last point, we notice that the proportion of mention in the prestige category next to the highest values (scores 70-74) is the lowest of all those in

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Statistics, Third Edition (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), p. 244 for the rationale of this procedure.

the table. The question is: How can we account for these deviations?

One of the ordinary ways to account for deviations is by using "control" variables. That is, one finds other variables which are empirically related to the "independent variable" in a relationship, holds several of its values constant, and notes the consequences for the original relationship. In all instances, the investigator must have a theoretical rationale for using the "control" variable. If the "control" variable does not "make sense" in theoretical terms it should not be used, unless the investigator is doing an exploratory study. With this type of approach, the usable "control" variables are limited on both operational and theoretical grounds for the relationship between prestige and identification.

The usual variables such as age, education, occupational position, and income cannot be used as "control" variables for the above relationship because they are not operationally independent from the measure of occupational prestige. To transform the NORC Prestige Scale, Duncan used all of these variables, hence any relationship found between them and prestige is spurious by operation. Therefore, in lieu of a "control" type of analysis other procedures will be used to account for these deviations.

The last two deviations can be accounted for, in part, by a close examination of the transformation procedures used by Duncan. If there are problems with these procedures they would affect the outcome in the relationships using prestige. Two examples of such problems can be noted; one deals with farmers and the other with those occupations in the Prestige Score category of 70-74.

The lowest value of prestige contains the scores from 23 through 53. Almost half of this category constitutes those who are known occupationally as "farmers." They all have the prestige scale score of 53. Now, if the farmers are rated too low in the prestige scale and at the same time have a high percent mentioning occupational self-identities, then this would alter the expected pattern by disproportionately increasing the percent mentioning occupational identities in the lowest value of prestige. As it turns out, on close investigation, both of these occur with regard to farmers.

In the discussion of the Transformed NORC Prestige Scale, Duncan mentions 16 occupations which were not used in the procedures because they were "poorly matched" with the Socio-economic Index scores.[3] One of these occupations is "farmers." By "poorly matched" he meant that the relationship between the NORC Prestige Scale score and the Socio-economic Index score was low. The farmers' Transformed NORC Prestige Scale Score used by Duncan was "53," while the original NORC Prestige Scale score for farmers was "76" and the 1963 NORC study found a score of "74" for this occupational

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[3]A. J. Reiss, Jr., Occupations and Social Status (New York: Free Press, 1961), p. 126.

title.[4] But, because the Transformed NORC Prestige Scale is used in the study, farmers were placed in the lowest category of prestige in Table IV-1.

Adding to the problems of scoring, a high percent of the farmers mention occupational self-identities. In the lowest value of prestige for Table IV-1 we found:

| Prestige Scores | Importance of Mention Low(3-9) | Importance of Mention High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 23-53 | 15 (17) | 7 (8) | 22 (25) | 78 (88) | 100% (113) |

when the farmers are considered separately we find:

| | Importance of Mention Low(3-9) | Importance of Mention High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Farmers | 33 (14) | 18 (8) | 51 (22) | 49 (21) | 100% (43) |
| Others | 4 (3) | 0 (0) | 4 (3) | 96 (67) | 100% (70) |

Therefore, farmers account for a significant percent of the respondents mentioning occupational self-identities in this the lowest value of prestige.[5] Thus, if farmers were

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[4]Both figures are found in R. W. Hodge, P. M. Siegel and P. H. Rossi, "Occupational Prestige in the United States, 1925-1963," American Journal of Sociology, LXX (November, 1964), pp. 290-292.

[5]This finding is more or less consistent with Mulford and Salisbury who found that 89% of the farmers (all males) identified themselves with occupational and work statements. See Table 6 in H. A. Mulford and W. W. Salisbury, "Self-Conception in a General Population," Sociological Quarterly, 5 (Winter, 1964), p. 45. One should also note that the percent mentioning occupation self-identities for farmers, in both of these studies, is higher than the professionals.

excluded from the lowest category of prestige the observed pattern would better "fit" the expectations of the hypothesis.[6] But these observations regarding farmers do not account for the lack of expected pattern in the middle of the scale.

Again, much of the problem can be accounted for by the inability of the prestige scale to accurately measure evaluation of all occupations. To begin with, only forty-five of the original NORC study occupations were used in the transformation of the NORC Prestige Scale. Duncan used these because the discrepancy between the Socio-economic Index and the Prestige Scale Score was lowest. Several of the 16 "poorly matched" had discrepancies as high as thirty points. But even when the Transformed scores for these 45 occupations are related to the original Prestige Scale scores there are discrepancies. As one would expect the variability is greater in the "middle rank" occupations than in either the "high" or "low" ranked occupations (with the exception of farmers). Therefore, part of the lack of clarity in the pattern of results with identification, given the overall statistically significant results, can be attributed to difficulties in assigning prestige scores to the "middle rank" occupations.

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[6] If farmers were ranked according to the percent mentioning these identities they would be most like those in the highest prestige category. According to the score this occupational title received on the original NORC study this is where they should be classified. This discrepancy indicates one of the problems in the transformation procedures used by Duncan.

To further illustrate this issue, the occupations for those who identified themselves in terms of occupation in the 70-74 prestige category were copied from the original schedules. Then a comparison was made between the Transformed NORC Prestige Scale score and the NORC Prestige Scale score (1963) for those occupations on both lists.[7] They had only three occupational titles in common: undertaker, mail carrier and minister. The 1963 NORC Prestige Scale scores were:

Mail carrier - 66
Undertaker - 72
Minister - 87

We find a 21 point variation within these scores. Noting the Transformed scores, we find:

Mail carrier - 71
Undertaker - 74
Minister - 71

So, by transformation the ministers' occupation was <u>lowered</u> 16 points, the mail carrier <u>increased</u> by 5 points, while the undertaker <u>increased</u> only 2 points. One also notices that if the original scores were used the minister would be in a higher category, the mail carrier lowered and the undertaker would be in the one used here.

These observations suggest an interpretation for the lack of expected pattern in the results. It seems, as

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[7] See R. W. Hodge, R. M. Siegel and P. H. Rossi, <u>American Journal of Sociology</u>, LXX, pp. 290-292.

suggested above, that those occupations in the "middle ranks" are the ones most changed by the transformation process. Those occupations which include older men with low income but with high prestige (according to the NORC (1963) study) are rated further down on the list (e.g., ministers). A younger occupation with comparatively high income increases in prestige score when transformed (e.g., mail carriers). But because the relationship between age, income and education is highly correlated with prestige score at the high and low prestige levels, these prestige scores are only slightly altered by the transforming process. Thus, a tentative conclusion is that the Transformed NORC Prestige Scale is adequate at the extremes, but its utility for the "middle ranks" is limited and predictions are hazardous.

The other deviation in expected pattern concerned the percent of those in the highest prestige category who placed their occupational self-identities on line three or below ("low importance") in answer to the self-identification question. This cannot be accounted for by technical difficulties in the transformation procedures. This deviation must be explained in theoretical terms.

There are at least two related rationales for this finding using self-other theory and the evaluative principle. The first concerns the variability of roles which is possible for those in the higher prestige category. When a high prestige occupation is acquired it opens up the possibility for other role relationships which also receive high evaluation from others. If one is obtaining evaluative responses from others in a variety of relationships, then a single role (occupation) may not be considered as most important because the person views himself in a variety of relationships, all of which result in positive evaluations from others.

A second rationale concerns the problem of prestige. When one is moving up through the ranks of prestige the evaluations of others appear problematic. The main concern is with the occupational role and continued positive evaluation. But when one achieves a high status work role where future advancement is not likely, then occupational prestige is no longer so problematic. When this occurs, attention is turned to other role relationships from which evaluative responses are obtainable. The most available relationships are found in the family and kinship group and in community activities. Therefore, at the point of high occupational prestige one would find a greater concern for the self-identities and a lower "importance" placed on occupational self-identities.

Both of these rationales are consistent with self-other theory and the evaluative principle central to this study. They are contrary to the notion of Berger who states that occupation is the primary identification for those in high prestige occupations.[8] Berger's notion is not supported by the data regarding the mention-nonmention of occupational self-identities since only 44% of the highest prestige group mentions occupation in response to the "Who Am I?" question. His ideas are also not supported by the data dealing with the degree of importance for such identities. In light of this apparent contradiction, further empirical research is necessary.

## Prestige and Work Self-Identification

This section presents the statistical results and a discussion of the following hypotheses:

1c. The higher persons' scores on the Transformed NORC Prestige Scale the more likely they will be to assign importance to a work identity made in response to a self-identification question.

1d. The higher persons' scores on the Transformed NORC Prestige Scale the more likely they will be to mention a work identity in response to a self-identification question.

As in the previous hypotheses we expect an increase in mention of these identities as prestige scale scores increase.

For these hypotheses the values of the identification variable are altered. Of the total sample, 168 or 32% of the respondents mentioned work identities. This

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[8] P. L. Berger (ed.), The Human Shape of Work (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), p. 219.

makes it possible to categorize the "degree of importance" into three values, rather than two values. Thus, the values for this variable are: "high" - line one or two (13%), "medium" - line three or four (11%), and "low" - line five or below (8%). While there is a change in the values of the identification variable, the values of prestige remain the same. The data for the relationship between prestige and work self-identification are found in Table IV-2.

Statistically, for hypothesis 1c, the Kendall's Tau C is .05 with a Z value of -1.68 with an accompanying probability of .0465 in the _negative_ direction. In this instance the null hypothesis of no association can be rejected but the alternative (or statistical) hypothesis proposed for this relationship cannot be accepted. That is, the hypothesis is stated to expect a _positive_ relationship between the two variables but the results show a _negative_ relationship which is statistically significant.

For hypothesis 1d we find a chi-square of 6.14 (df=4) for the relationship between these variables. This Chi-square has the probability of chance occurrence which is less than .10. This probability is below the established limit for this study, thus we fail to reject the null hypothesis. There is a clear pattern, however, which was not expected under this hypothesis. There is a greater percent of respondents mentioning these identities at the lower

Table IV-2. The Relationship between Prestige of Occupation and Work Self-Identification(N= 525)

| Prestige Scores | Importance of Mention Low(5-9) | Med.(3-4) | High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 23-53 | 5 ( 6) | 12 (14) | 15 (17) | 33 (37) | 67 (76) | 100% (113) |
| 54-60 | 13 (14) | 10 (11) | 14 (16) | 37 (41) | 63 (71) | 100% (112) |
| 61-69 | 9 ( 9) | 15 (15) | 15 (15) | 38 (39) | 62 (64) | 100% (103) |
| 70-74 | 7 ( 7) | 9 ( 9) | 10 (10) | 26 (26) | 74 (73) | 100% ( 99) |
| 75-93 | 5 ( 5) | 10 (10) | 10 (10) | 26 (26) | 74 (74) | 100% ( 98) |

Degree of Importance:(one-tail test)

Tau C= -.05 Z= -1.68 p= .0465

Mention-Nonmention:(one-tail test)

$X^2$= 6.1 (df=4) p $<$ .10 V= .01

values of prestige than at the higher values. This is consistent with the finding noted above that for "Importance of Mention" we find larger percentages at the lower prestige value than at the higher values. These findings call for a theoretical as well as a technical explanation.

First, we again note the effect that farmers have on these results. For prestige scores 23-53 in Table IV-2 we find:

| Prestige Scores | Importance of Mention Low(5-9) | Med.(3-4) | High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 23-53 | 5 (6) | 12 (14) | 15 (17) | 33 (37) | 67 (76) | 100% (113) |

when farmers (score 53) are separated we find:

| | Importance of Mention Low(5-9) | Med.(3-4) | High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Farmers | 2 (1) | 10 (4) | 2 (1) | 14 (6) | 86 (37) | 100% (43) |
| Others | 7 (5) | 14 (10) | 24 (16) | 45 (31) | 55 (39) | 100% (70) |

Thus, when farmers are removed from analysis the percent mentioning work identities in the lowest prestige scale score category <u>increases</u> from 33% to 45%. The percent mention in "high" importance increases from 15% to 24%. Without the farmer the <u>negative</u> relationship for hypothesis 1c would be even greater and the observed pattern for 1d would be statistically significant.

The direction of the relationship between prestige and work self-identities is difficult to explain. Within the research and theory related to the problem of this study there are no explicit references to such a finding. Part of the issue is that little of the research deals with specific types of self-identities. When a specific identity is considered it is usually only one class (e.g., religion, marital, kinship).[9] Two separate types of self-identities related to the same activity has never been reported in any self-other research. In this study, these identities were separated with the notion (always implicit) that there might be some differences. What the exact nature of these differences would be was not clearly known.

The difference between work identities and occupational identities emerges when the findings of the hypotheses are compared. We found that occupational identities were directly related to prestige, while work identities were inversely related to prestige. One interpretation, using the evaluative principle, is that for those at the lower levels of prestige mentioning the fact of having work is more crucial than the naming of one's specific occupation. In fact, the mentioning of occupational title may invoke

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[9] G. M. Vernon, "Religious Self-Identification," Pacific Sociological Review, 5 (Spring, 1962), pp. 40-43; H. A. Mulford and W. W. Salisbury II, Sociological Quarterly, 5, pp. 35-46; S. C. McPhail, "Self-Identification within a Specific Context of Experience and Behavior," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, Michigan State University, 1965.

from others negative evaluations. For those at the higher levels of prestige the fact of work is taken for granted but positive evaluation most readily comes from the specific occupational title.

Another related interpretation involves the evaluation of work activities by the circle of co-workers. If a person in a higher prestige identifies himself as a "good" doctor," a "good lawyer" or other <u>specific</u> occupational title outside of the circle of those who can evaluate the quality of his work he is most apt to use his occupational title without the intra-positional evaluative reference since the prestige comparisons, in this instance, are more likely to be inter-positional, i.e., between occupations. Those, at the lower levels of prestige, whose work is highly evaluated by others say "I am a hard worker," or "I work hard," or "I am a good worker." The fact that you are a "good worker" for those at this level of prestige is a source of evaluation rather than the occupational title of your job. The prestige comparison, in this instance, is neither among people in a <u>specific</u> occupation nor among all occupations but among people who would be identified by others as and who would call themselves <u>workers</u>.

As a partial support for the above interpretation, Appendix B includes all the General Work Statements for this sample given in answer to the "Who Am I?" question. Looking through the list one finds that more than 75% of the statements have an evaluative connotation. Such terms as "good," "hard," "fairly good," "excellent" are found with the work self-identity terms. Theoretically, these statements are based on the evaluations of others. Empirically, they are mentioned most frequently by those in lower prestige occupations. Hence, for those in these occupations the fact that one is a good worker is a source of evaluation and self-identification.

## Prestige and Occupation-Work Self-Identification

The hypotheses relating prestige with occupation-work self-identification are:

1e. The higher persons' scores on the Transformed NORC Prestige Scale the more likely they will be to assign high importance to an occupation-work identity made in response to a self-identification question.

1f. The higher persons' scores on the Transformed NORC Prestige Scale the more likely they will be to mention an occupation-work identity in response to a self-identification question.

These hypotheses imply a positive relationship between prestige and occupational self-identities as well as a similar type of relationship for prestige and work self-identities. But, in the analysis of hypotheses 1a - 1d we found a positive relationship for occupational identities and a negative relationship for work identities. Both were statistically significant in their respective direction. Given these empirical results and their interpretations, the hypotheses using the combination of occupation and work identities will not be analyzed in this study as originally planned.

## Prestige and Self-Identification: Summary

This chapter included the analysis of several hypotheses relating prestige to self-identification. First, it was found that prestige and occupational self-identification were positively and significantly related using several statistical tests. Also the observed pattern for the hypotheses was as expected. Secondly, it was found that prestige and work self-identification were negatively and significantly related statistically. The observed pattern was not as expected under the statistical hypotheses. In addition to these findings, several others were noted.

First, the inclusion of farmers in the lowest prestige category seriously affected the expected pattern of results. Farmers have the highest percentage for mentioning of occupational identities and the lowest for work identities. When they were excluded from the prestige scale, the pattern of results was closer to that expected under the hypotheses.

Secondly, there are several problems in the transformation procedures used to obtain the NORC Prestige scores for this study. "Farmers" is one clear example where the Transformed NORC Prestige Scale score is in disagreement with the original NORC Prestige Scale score and has a low relationship to the Socio-economic Index score. Several other occupations in the "middle ranks" were cited as examples of the technical difficulties in the transformation procedures. It is asserted that the Transformed NORC Prestige Scale is most adequate at the extreme values but in the "middle ranks" prediction are problematic.

Thirdly, we found that those with the highest prestige scale scores gave their occupational identities in the "low" value of importance. One interpretation of this is that these persons derive evaluations from a wider range of self-other relationships; the occupational role is one among many evaluation evoking roles. A second interpretation for those in these occupations, is that occupational prestige is no longer problematic and other self-other relationships become sources of evaluative behavior. Both of these are offered as tentative interpretations.

Fourthly, and perhaps the most important finding, is the negative relationship between prestige and work self-identification. This finding indicates a difference in the two types of identities used in this study. An interpretation offered for this difference asserts that those in the lower prestige occupations employ work self identities as a consequence of evaluation by others, while higher prestige occupation incumbents employ their occupational title. In the former case the title might be a source of negative evaluation, while in the latter, worker identities might evoke negative responses from others. To support this interpretation, the nature of work identity statements was discussed. Again, these interpretations are tentative.

Finally, due to the results reported in this chapter, the hypotheses for prestige and the combined identities were deleted from the analysis. These hypotheses will also be excluded from consideration in the final chapter of results.

# CHAPTER V

## SUBJECTIVE EVALUATION AND SELF-IDENTIFICATION: RESULTS

This chapter is the final one which presents the results of this study. It includes the analyses and discussions for the hypotheses which deal with the "subjective" measures of occupational evaluation. One of these measures is the actors' placement of themselves in one of six "social classes." The other measure is the actors' comparison of themselves with their occupations. In addition, this chapter includes an analysis for each of the hypotheses using occupational prestige as a "control" variable.

### Subjective Social Class and Identification

The operations for obtaining "subjective social class" are intended to measure actors' own evaluations of their occupation. It is not intended as an objective measure of _social class_. As a measure it is based on the assumption that the full-time employed men in this sample take their occupation into account when choosing a "social class" label for themselves. In past studies, the relationship between the prestige of occupation and "class" self-assignment resulted in high positive correlations. It is on the basis of these findings that "subjective social class" is used here as an evaluation of occupation by the respondents.

As an approach to "criterion validity," prestige is related with "social class" for this sample. The values for the prestige variable are two: lowest scale scores, excluding farmers (23-52) and highest prestige scale scores (75-93). These values are chosen in light of the critique of the "middle" NORC Scale values and Farmer's scores given in the previous chapter. The values for "social class" are three: Working, which includes Lower, Working and Lower-Middle; Middle; and Upper-Middle, which includes Upper-Middle and Upper. The results are:

The Relationship Between Selected Values of Prestige and Social Class (N = 168)*

| Subjective Social Class | Lowest(23-52) | Highest(75-93) | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|
| Working | 48 | 8 | 56 |
| Middle | 17 | 49 | 66 |
| Upper-Middle | 5 | 41 | 46 |
| Totals | 70 | 98 | 168 |

*Numerals in table are frequencies

$X^2$ = 81.4 (df=2)  $p < .0005$ (one-tail test)
Tau C = .325  Z = 6.3  p = .00003

The statistical test results for these data are very high. If one was testing an explicit hypothesis, the null hypothesis would certainly be rejected.

A closer look at the above results shows that 86% of those in the Working Class are also in the lowest category of prestige, while 74% of those in the Middle Class are in the highest category. Related to that is the observation that 89% of those in the Upper-Middle Class are found in the highest prestige category. Looking at the table in another way, 69% of those in the lowest prestige category label themselves as Working Class, 24% as Middle Class and only 7% as Upper-Middle. In the highest prestige category, on the other hand, there is quite a different pattern. In this category 8% label themselves as Working Class, 40% as Middle Class and 42% as Upper-Middle Class. Hence, we notice that the pattern of "social class" differentiation is much clearer in the lowest prestige category than in the highest prestige category. In fact, there seems to be little if any distinction between the Middle and Upper-Middle Class for those in the highest prestige category. We would expect this lack of differentiation to affect the relationships between "social class" and self-identification examined in this chapter. The nature of this effect will be discussed later.

## Social Class and Occupational Self-Identification

This section includes the examination of the following sub-hypotheses:

2a. The higher a person's own assignment in terms of working, middle or upper-middle "social class" labels the more likely he will be to assign high importance to an occupational identity made in response to a self-identification question.

2b. The higher a person's own assignment in terms of working, middle or upper-middle "social class" labels the more likely he will be to mention an occupational identity in response to a self-identification question.

Table V-1 presents the data for these hypotheses.

The degrees of importance for identification are divided into three values: "low" for line 5 or below, "medium" for lines three or four, and "high" for lines one or two. As mentioned above, the "social classes" are: Working (including Lower and Lower-Middle response labels), Middle, and Upper-Middle (including Upper response label). The frequencies and percentages are arranged in the manner discussed in the previous chapter.

For hypothesis 2a, in statistical terms, it is found that the relationship between "social class" and degrees of importance produces a Chi-square of 27.9 (df=6) which has a probability of occurring by chance of less than .0005. The Tau C is .12 with a Z of 3.91 which has the probability of occurrence of .0005.[1]

Hypothesis 2b related "social class" and mention-nonmention of occupational self-identification. Statistically, we find a Chi-square of 18.6 (df=2) that has the probability of occurrence by chance of less than .0005. In

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[1]Both Chi-square and Tau C are given for those who prefer not to treat "social class" as a variable reaching the ordinal level of measurement.

Table V-1. The Relationship between Subjective Social Class and Occupational Self-Identification(N= 522)

| Social Class | Importance of Mention Low(5-9) | Med.(3-4) | High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Working | 1 ( 2) | 7 (14) | 8 (18) | 16 (34) | 84 (182) | 100% (216) |
| Middle | 3 ( 7) | 12 (26) | 15 (32) | 30 (65) | 70 (151) | 100% (216) |
| Upper-Middle | 10 ( 9) | 13 (12) | 13 (12) | 36 (33) | 64 ( 59) | 100% ( 92) |

Degree of Importance: (one-tail tests)

Tau C= .12 Z= 3.91 p= .0005 $X^2$= 27.9 (df=6) p$<$.0005 V= .03

Mention-Nonmention: (one-tail test)

$X^2$= 18.6 (df=2) p$<$.0005 V= .03

this instance, as in the above, the null hypothesis is rejected.

Looking at the patterns, we find that for "Total Mention" it is as expected with an increase in proportion of mention of occupational identities as "social class" increases. We also find that a lower percent of those who mention these identities in the Upper-Middle Class do so on line one or two ("high importance") as compared with the other classes. This pattern is contrary to the hypothesized direction of the relationship and similar to the one found for "Importance of Mention" at the highest values of occupational prestige in Table IV-1. One pattern not seen before is the one in the values of importance for the Working Class. There we find that the majority who mention these identities assign them "high" importance.

Of those who chose the Working Class label almost half (48%) are in the Craftsmen and Operatives occupational categories. Some of them are skilled and are located in the "middle ranks" of occupational prestige. I would suspect that a few may consider their occupation as an important means to future upward mobility. If this is the case, those few in the working class who do mention occupation as a self-identity would place it in "high importance" among their self-identities. Further analyses using prestige as a "control" variable may contribute to this tentative explanation.

In sum, it was found that the relationships between "social class" and occupational self-identification were statistically significant. The pattern of "importance" for those who mention occupation in the Upper-Middle Class was contrary to the hypothesis but similar to the one obtained for the highest values of occupational prestige and occupational self-identification. The pattern for the Working Class was unexpected and further analyses with prestige as a "control" variable should contribute to an explanation of this pattern.

## Social Class, Occupational Self-Identification and Prestige

There are two reasons for controlling for occupational prestige in the analysis of the relationship between "social class" and occupational self-identification. The first, a theoretical reason, deals with the use of two types of evaluation measures in this study. One is an "objective" measure of the evaluations of others in terms of "general standing" and socio-economic attributes. The other two are measures of evaluation which take the actors' perspectives into account. Therefore, the "control" analysis is done to discover the consequences that the "objective" measure has upon the relationship between "subjective" evaluation and self-identification.

The second reason is related to empirical findings. We have found that occupational prestige is highly related to occupational self-identification and also to "subjective social class." In light of these findings it may be of importance to discover what effect, if any, that prestige has upon the relationship between the "subjective" evaluation and self-identification.

For the "control" type of analysis the Transformed NORC Prestige Scale scores are grouped in this way: "Low" - scores 23-58, "Middle" - scores 59-70 and "High" - scores 71-93. Approximately one-third of the respondents are found in each category of scores. The "degree of importance" for mention of self-identification has two values: "low - lines three or below and "high" - lines one or two. "Social class" retains the same values as found in Table V-1: Working, Middle and Upper-Middle. The percentages, frequencies and statistics are arranged as they were in previous tables.

The results for this analysis are found in Table V-2. Statistical results for the "Degrees of Importance" are only significant at the "Middle" level of prestige. The results for mention-nonmention are statistically significant at the "Low" and "Middle" levels of prestige but not at the "High" level. Therefore, the statistical results for the relationship between "social class" and occupational self-identification are altered mainly at the "High" level when controlling for prestige. The data do suggest, however, that there is some relationship between "social class" and occupational self-identification even when the effects of occupational prestige are removed.

Table V-2. The Relationship between Subjective Social Class and Occupational Self-Identification for levels of Prestige of Occupation.

Prestige Scores 23-58(N= 185)

| Subjective Social Class | Importance of Mention Low(3-9) | High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Working | 8 ( 9) | 6 ( 7) | 15 (16) | 85 (93) | 100% (109) |
| Middle | 13 ( 8) | 13 ( 8) | 26 (16) | 74 (42) | 100% ( 62) |
| Upper-Middle | 0 ( 0) | 29 ( 4) | 29 ( 4) | 71 (10) | 100% ( 14) |

Degree of Importance:(one-tail tests)

$X^2$= 8.6 (df=4) $p < .05$ V= .02 Tau C= .08 Z= 1.87 p= .0307

Mention-Nonmention:(one-tail test)

$X^2$= 3.9 (df=2) $p < .10$ V= .02

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Prestige Scores 59-70(N= 170)

| Subjective Social Class | Importance of Mention Low(3-9) | High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Working | 6 ( 4) | 8 ( 6) | 14 (10) | 86 (63) | 100% ( 72) |
| Middle | 20 (14) | 14 (10) | 34 (24) | 66 (57) | 100% ( 71) |
| Upper-Middle | 12 ( 3) | 15 ( 4) | 27 ( 7) | 73 (19) | 100% ( 26) |

Degree of Importance:(One-tail tests)

$X^2$= 9.3 (df=4) $p < .05$ V= .03 Tau C= .12 Z= 2.25 p= .0054

Mention-Nonmention:(one-tail test)

$X^2$= 8.1 (df=2) $p < .01$ V= .05

(continued)

Table V-2. The Relationship between Subjective Social Class and Occupational Self-Identification for levels of Prestige of Occupation(concluded).

Prestige Scores 71-93(N= 169)

| Subjective Social Class | Importance of Mention Low(3-9) | High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Working | 9<br>( 3) | 15<br>( 5) | 24<br>( 8) | 76<br>(22) | 100%<br>( 34) |
| Middle | 13<br>(11) | 17<br>(14) | 30<br>(25) | 70<br>(58) | 100%<br>( 83) |
| Upper-Middle | 27<br>(14) | 15<br>( 8) | 42<br>(22) | 58<br>(30) | 100%<br>( 52) |

Degree of Importance:(one-tail tests)

$X^2$= 6.5 (df=4) $p < .10$ V= .02 Tau C= .09 Z= 1.57 p= .0582

Mention-Nonmention:(one-tail test)

$X^2$= 3.7 (df=2) $p < .10$ V= .02

Several interesting patterns appear in these data when we control for occupational prestige. First we notice that the "Importance of Mention" for those in the Working Class is not changed from Table V-1 on any level of prestige. About the same proportion place their occupational self-identities in the "high importance" value at each level. But, another pattern that we found in Tables IV-1 and V-1 appears in this table, especially at the "High" level of prestige.

This pattern is found in the "Importance of Mention" for those in the Upper-Middle Class and at the "High" level of prestige. At this level 27% of those in the Upper-Middle Class gave their occupational identity on line three or below, while only 15% gave it on line one or two ("high importance"). This pattern of results, which only appeared slightly in Table V-1 is clearly evident when, as in Table V-2, high occupational prestige is combined with Upper-Middle Class. Thus, at the high values on both types of evaluation measures there is a decrease in the "importance" of occupational self-identities as compared with the patterns at the other levels of evaluation. Whether this is the result of less concern with occupational prestige or an accumulation of additional self-other relationships which produce an evaluation of other roles cannot be clearly answered with these data. But, because of its reoccurrence it will be discussed further in the final chapter of this study.

## Social Class and Work Self-Identification

The sub-hypotheses for "social class" and work self-identification are:

2c. The higher a person's own assignment in terms of working, middle or upper-middle "social class" labels the more likely he will be to assign high importance to a work identity made in response to a self-identification question.

2d. The higher a person's own assignment in terms of working, middle or upper-middle "social class" labels the more likely he will be to mention a work identity in response to a self-identification question.

Table V-3 reports the results for these hypotheses using three values for "Importance of Mention."

Statistically, for hypothesis 2c, there is a Tau C of -.001 and a Z of -.52. A Z of this value has the probability of occurrence by chance of .3051. The Chi-square for this hypothesis is 5.6 (df=6) with a probability of occurrence by chance of less than .25.

For hypothesis 2d there is a Chi-square of .11 (df=2) with a probability of occurrence by chance of less than .475. Thus, for both of these hypotheses we fail to reject the null hypothesis.

These data, however, display a pattern similar to the one found with occupational prestige and work self-identities, i.e. an inverse relationship. The distinctions between the self-identification values for "social class" are not as "sharp" as those for prestige. But, these distinctions for work identification and "social class" become

Table V-3. The Relationship between Subjective Social Class and Work Self-Identification(N= 524)

| Social Class | Importance of Mention Low(5-9) | Med.(3-4) | High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-mention | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Working | 7 (16) | 11 (24) | 14 (30) | 32 (70) | 68 (146) | 100% (216) |
| Middle | 7 (16) | 10 (21) | 15 (32) | 32 (69) | 68 (147) | 100% (216) |
| Upper-Middle | 9 ( 8) | 15 (14) | 7 ( 6) | 30 (28) | 70 ( 64) | 100% ( 92) |

Degree of Importance:(one-tail tests)

Tau C= -.001   Z= -.52   p= .3015   $X^2$= 5.6 (df=6)   p $<$.25   V= .005

Mention-Nonmention:(one-tail test)

$X^2$= .11 (df=2)   p $<$.475   V= .005

"sharper" when the Lower-Middle Class is separated from the Working Class category. The results are as follows:

| Social Class | Importance of Mention Low(5-9) | Med.(3-4) | High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lower and Working | 8 (14) | 13 (22) | 16 (25) | 37 (61) | 63 (108) | 100% (167) |
| Lower-Middle | 4 (2) | 4 (2) | 10 (5) | 18 (9) | 82 (40) | 100% (49) |

This pattern is quite similar to that found for the lowest prestige scale scores examined in the previous chapter. Because of the high relationship between "social class" and prestige one would expect these results.

In sum, there is no statistically significant relationship between "social class" and work self-identification. The same percent of respondents mentioned work identities in the Working Class as in the Middle Class. When Lower-Middle class is separated from the Working Class category, there is an increase in the percent mentioning work identities for the Lower and Working Class. These results are consistent with previous findings regarding prestige and work self-identification.

### Social Class, Work Self-Identification and Prestige

This section includes the analysis of the relationship between "social class" and work self-identification

with occupational prestige controlled. The original relationship (Table V-3) was not significant statistically. But, because there is a significant negative relationship between occupational prestige and work self-identification some interesting patterns may be found in the data when prestige is controlled.

The statistical test results for Table V-4 are not significant at any level of the prestige variable. This is the case for both the "Degrees of Importance" as well as "Mention-Nonmention."

There are, however, several patterns in these data which are consistent with previous findings. On the "Low" and "Middle" levels of prestige there is a greater percent mentioning work-identities for those in the Working and Middle Class than in the Upper-Middle Class. Therefore, at the values of occupational prestige where the greatest negative relationship with work self-identities was found, a similar pattern of relationships between work identities and "social class" is found.

At the "High" level of occupational prestige there are two patterns in the data that can be related to previous discussions. The first is the <u>increase</u> in the percent of mention as "social class" increases. This same increase was seen in Table V-2 for occupational self-identities at the "High" level of prestige. The second is found in the "Importance of Mention" for those who chose the Upper-Middle Class label. There we see that 25% of those who mention

Table V-4. The Relationship between Subjective Social Class and Work Self-Identification for levels of Prestige of Occupation

Prestige Scores 23-58(N= 185)

| Subjective Social Class | Importance of Mention Low(3-9) | High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Working | 18 (20) | 15 (16) | 33 (36) | 67 (73) | 100% (109) |
| Middle | 19 (12) | 18 (11) | 37 (23) | 63 (39) | 100% ( 62) |
| Upper-Middle | 0 ( 0) | 27 ( 4) | 27 ( 4) | 73 (10) | 100% ( 14) |

Degree of Importance:(one-tail tests)

$X^2$= 3.3 (df=4) $p < .25$ V= .009 Tau C= .004 Z= .09 p= .4641

Mention-Nonmention:(one-tail test)

$X^2$= .49 (df=2) $p < .40$ V= .003

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Prestige Scores 59-70(N= 170)

| Subjective Social Class | Importance of Mention Low(3-9) | High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Working | 23 (17) | 14 (10) | 37 (27) | 63 (46) | 100% ( 73) |
| Middle | 21 (15) | 16 (11) | 37 (26) | 63 (45) | 100% ( 71) |
| Upper-Middle | 19 ( 5) | 4 ( 1) | 23 ( 6) | 77 (20) | 100% ( 26) |

Degree of Importance:(one-tail tests)

$X^2$= 2.9 (df=4) $p < .35$ V= .008 Tau C= -.06 Z= -.99 p= .1611

Mention-Nonmention:(one-tail test)

$X^2$= 1.8 (df=2) $p < .25$ V= .01

(continued)

Table V-4. The Relationship between Subjective Social Class and Work Self-Identification for levels of Prestige of Occupation (concluded).

Prestige Scores 71-93 (N= 169)

| Subjective Social Class | Importance of Mention Low (3-9) | Importance of Mention High (1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Working | 9 ( 3) | 12 ( 4) | 21 ( 7) | 79 (27) | 100% ( 34) |
| Middle | 12 (10) | 21 (10) | 23 (20) | 77 (63) | 100% ( 83) |
| Upper-Middle | 25 (13) | 10 ( 5) | 35 (18) | 65 (34) | 100% ( 52) |

Degree of Importance: (one-tail tests)

$X^2$= 5.6 (df=4) $p < .15$ V= .02 Tau C= .07 Z= 1.29 p= .0985

Mention-Nonmention: (one-tail test)

$X^2$= 2.6 (df=2) $p < .15$ V= .02

work identities place them on line three or below ("low importance"), while only 10% place them on line one or two. Again, this type of pattern was found for occupational self-identities at the "High" level of prestige in Table V-2.

There is an inclination to interpret the similarity in patterns for these two tables in the same way. That is, those few who mention work self-identities at the higher values of occupational prestige view their work in the same way as those who mention occupational identities at these values of prestige. But, the question is: if that is so, why do they identify in terms of work and not in terms of occupation? It may be the case that their jobs involve technical skills where the title of their occupation does not "make sense" outside of the circle of co-workers who are involved in the work. Or, it may be that they identify themselves in terms of a "job" or "position" within an organizational setting rather than in terms of the "good worker" type of labels found at the lower values of occupational prestige. Whatever, the case, this type of finding appears consistently in this study and is at variance with the assumptions found in some of the sociological literature on occupations. It will be discussed in the next chapter.

## Comparative Evaluation and Identification

The second "subjective" evaluation measure used in this study asks the respondent to compare his occupation with himself "as an individual." This measure will be referred to as "Comparative Evaluation" in this chapter.[2] Respondents were handed a card on which a ladder was drawn. The ladder had eleven steps and in the center step the word "YOU" was printed. They were told to consider the top of the ladder as "more important than you as an individual" and the bottom of the ladder as "less important than you as an individual." Finally, they were asked "Where would you place your occupation?" and the step number was recorded by the interviewer.

The values for this measure are grouped in the following way:

| Ladder Steps | | "Meaning" |
|---|---|---|
| Steps 0 - 5 | - | Self important |
| Steps 6 - 7 | - | Occupation somewhat important |
| Steps 8 - 9 | - | Occupation more important |
| Step 10 | - | Occupation much more important |

In the tables the values are labelled: Self (0-5); Occupation (6-7); Occupation (8-9) and Occupation (10) corresponding to the "meanings" and ladder steps.

## Comparative Evaluation and Occupational Self-Identification

The sub-hypotheses for comparative evaluation and occupational self-identities are:

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[2]This question was devised by Professor F. B. Waisanen from Cantril's "Self-Anchoring Scale" technique. A detailed operationalization of this measure is found in Chapter III.

3a. The higher a person places his occupation on a ladder where the top is defined as "more important than you as an individual" the more likely he will be to assign high importance to an occupational identity made in response to a self-identification question.

3b. The higher a person places his occupation on a ladder when the top is defined as "more important than you as an individual" the more likely he will be to mention an occupational identity in response to a self-identification question.

Table V-5 on the next page presents the data bearing upon these hypotheses.

For hypothesis 3a there is a Tau C of .072 with the resulting Z of 2.49. This Z value has the probability of occurrence by chance of .0064. For hypothesis 3b there is a Chi-square of 7.05 (df=3) with the probability of occurrence by chance of less than .05 (one-tail test). Hence, for each of these hypotheses the decision is to reject the null hypothesis.

The observed pattern for "Mention-Nonmention" is expected under the hypothesis. The pattern for "Importance of Mention," however, shows that there are few differences between any of the comparative evaluation levels. The pattern at the "Self is more important" level is similar to that obtained in Table V-1 for the Working Class where the proportion of mention increases as the values of "importance" increase from "low" to "high." So, those few who both consider "Self" as more important and mention their occupational identity, place this identity as highly "important." The

Table V-5. The Relationship between Comparative Evaluation of Occupation and Occupational Self-Identification(N= 522)

| Importance of: | Importance of Mention Low(5-9) | Med.(3-4) | High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Self(0-5) | 3 ( 5) | 6 ( 9) | 9 (13) | 18 (27) | 82 (125) | 100% (152) |
| Occupation (6-7) | 4 ( 5) | 11 (15) | 12 (16) | 27 (36) | 73 ( 99) | 100% (135) |
| Occupation (8-9) | 3 ( 4) | 10 (12) | 15 (18) | 28 (34) | 72 ( 88) | 100% (122) |
| Occupation (10) | 4 ( 4) | 14 (16) | 13 (15) | 31 (35) | 69 ( 78) | 100% (113) |

Degree of Importance: (one-tail test)

Tau C= .07  Z= 2.49  p= .0064

Mention-Nonmention: (one-tail test)

$X^2$= 7.1 (df=3)  $p < .05$  V= .01

analysis with occupational prestige as a "control" variable may help to clarify this pattern.

## Comparative Evaluation, Occupational Self-Identification and Prestige

In the analysis controlling for occupational prestige the values for comparative evaluation are: Self (0-5); Occupation (6-8) and Occupation (9-10). The values for "Importance of Mention are: "low" - line three or below and "high" - line one or two. Prestige has the same three values used in the other "control" type analyses.

Table V-5 above shows there is a positive relationship between comparative evaluation and the mention of occupation self-identities. Previous results show a positive relationship between occupational prestige and these same self-identities. The analysis reported in this section is designed to discover whether the relationship between comparative evaluation and mention of occupational identities will hold with occupational prestige held constant. This is to note the effect the "objective" measure of evaluation has upon the relationship between the "subjective" measure and self-identification.

The test results and the data for the "control" analysis are presented in Table V-6. Statistically, the relationships between comparative evaluation and occupational self-identification are only significant at the "Middle" and "High" levels of prestige. At the "Low" level of prestige

Table V-6. The Relationship between Comparative Evaluation and Occupational Self-Identification for levels of Prestige of Occupation.

Prestige Scores 23-58(N=185)

| Importance of: | Importance of Mention Low(3-9) | High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Self(0-5) | 14 (8) | 7 (4) | 21 (12) | 79 (44) | 100% (56) |
| Occupation (6-8) | 10 (7) | 7 (5) | 17 (12) | 83 (58) | 100% (70) |
| Occupation (9-10) | 10 (6) | 10 (6) | 20 (12) | 80 (47) | 100% (59) |

Degree of Importance: (one-tail test)

Tau C= -.002 Z= -.04 p= .4840

Mention-Nonmention: (one-tail test)

$X^2$= .41 (df=2) p$<$.45 V= .002

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Prestige Scores 59-70(N= 169)

| Importance of: | Importance of Mention Low(3-9) | High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Self(0-5) | 2 (1) | 7 (3) | 10 (4) | 90 (37) | 100% (41) |
| Occupation (6-8) | 16 (11) | 12 (8) | 28 (19) | 72 (50) | 100% (69) |
| Occupation (9-10) | 15 (9) | 15 (9) | 30 (18) | 70 (51) | 100% (59) |

Degree of Importance: (one-tail test)

Tau C= .12 Z= 2.15 p= .0158

Mention-Nonmention: (one-tail test)

$X^2$= 6.4 (df=2) p$<$.025 V= .04

(continued)

Table V-6. The Relationship between Comparative Evaluation and Occupational Self-Identification for levels of Prestige of Occupation(concluded).

Prestige Scores 71-93(N= 168)

| Importance of: | Importance of Mention Low(3-9) | High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-mention | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Self(0-5) | 9 (5) | 11 (6) | 20 (11) | 80 (44) | 100% (55) |
| Occupation (6-8) | 19 (13) | 16 (11) | 34 (24) | 66 (46) | 100% (70) |
| Occupation (9-10) | 23 (10) | 23 (10) | 47 (20) | 53 (23) | 100% (43) |

Degree of Importance:(one-tail test)

Tau C= .16  Z= 2.71  p= .0034

Mention-Nonmention:(one-tail test)

$X^2$= 7.8 (df=2)  $p < .01$  V=5

both the "Importance of Mention" and the "Mention-Nonmention" values are not statistically significant. But, the data do suggest that there is a relationship between comparative evaluation and occupational self-identification even when the effect of occupational prestige is held "constant."

In addition to the statistical test results, the patterns are interesting. At the "Middle" and "High" levels of prestige the differences between the percent mentioning these identities are accentuated. That is, there is a greater percentage difference between the "importance of self" value and either "importance of occupation" values than was found in the original table (V-5). This is most clearly seen at the "High" level of prestige where the percentage difference in mention of occupational identities between each value of comparative evaluation is about 13%.

The patterns of "Importance of Mention" were not altered by introducing prestige when compared with Table V-5. In the majority of instances the percent found in the "low importance" value does not differ from that found in the "high importance" value. Occupational prestige had the greatest effect at the "Low" level where its own relationship with occupational self-identification is the lowest.

<u>Comparative Evaluation and Work Self-Identification</u>

For the relationship between comparative evaluation and work self-identification the sub-hypotheses are:

3c. The higher a person places his occupation on a ladder where the top is defined as "more important than you as an individual" the more likely he will be to assign high importance to a work identity made in response to a self-identification question.

3d. The higher a person places his occupation on a ladder where the top is defined as "more important than you as an individual" the more likely he will be to mention a work identity in response to a self-identification question.

Table V-7 presents the data and statistical test results for these hypotheses. For hypothesis 3c there is a Tau C of .055 with a Z value of 1.78. The probability of this Z value occurring by chance is .0384. With these statistical test results the null hypothesis is rejected. But, for hypothesis 3d there is a Chi-square of 3.67 (df=3) that has the probability of occurrence by chance of less than .15. These statistical test results fail to reject the null hypothesis for the relationship between comparative evaluation and mention-nonmention of work self-identification.

The observed pattern for the mention-nonmention of work identities is as expected. There is an increase in the percent of cases in the "Total Mention" column for each value of comparative evaluation as those values increase toward the importance of occupation (Step 10). But, the differences between the percentages are slight when compared to those found for occupational self-identification and comparative evaluation. This is reflected in the statistical non-significance of the Chi-square value for the hypothesis.

Table V-7. The Relationship between Comparative Evaluation of Occupation and Work Self-Identification (N= 522)

| Importance of: | Importance of Mention Low(5-9) | Med.(3-4) | High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Self(0-5) | 9 (13) | 7 (11) | 13 (19) | 28 (43) | 72 (109) | 100% (152) |
| Occupation (6-7) | 6 ( 8) | 13 (18) | 11 (15) | 30 (41) | 70 ( 94) | 100% (135) |
| Occupation (8-9) | 7 ( 8) | 15 (18) | 11 (13) | 32 (39) | 68 ( 83) | 100% (122) |
| Occupation (10) | 11 (12) | 10 (11) | 19 (21) | 39 (44) | 61 ( 69) | 100% (113) |

Degree of Importance: (one-tail test)

Tau C= .005 Z= 1.78 p= .0384

Mention-Nonmention: (one-tail test)

$X^2$= 3.7 (df=3) p $<$ .15 V= .007

Although statistically significant, the observed pattern for "Importance of Mention" is somewhat different than found in previous results. For the "low" importance of mention the largest percents are in steps 0-5 and 10 while in "medium" importance they are in steps 6-7 and 8-9 and for "high" importance they are again in steps 0-5 and 10. Hence, the observed pattern tends toward curvilinearity. This, again, is unexpected and inconsistent with previous results using work self-identification.

## Relationships among Evaluation Measures

In the table above, the direction of the relationship between comparative evaluation and work self-identification is positive. For "social class" and work self-identities no significant relationship was found, but the pattern suggested a negative relationship. And, for occupational prestige, the relationship with these self-identities was significantly negative. These discrepancies in the relationships between the three evaluation measures and work self-identification imply differences among the evaluation variables. The question is: What are these differences and how can they be explained?

First, we consider the relationship between comparative evaluation and prestige of occupation. For prestige the values are: "Low" - scores 23-58, "Middle" - scores 59-70 and "High" - scores 71-93. Comparative evaluation maintains the same values as used in the preceeding tables. The table below presents the nature of their relationship.[3]

Ladder Steps for Occupation versus Self

| Prestige Scores | (0-5) | (6-7) | (8-9) | (10) | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 23-58 | 30 (56) | 28 (51) | 20 (38) | 22 (40) | 100% (185) |
| 59-70 | 24 (41) | 25 (42) | 26 (44) | 25 (42) | 100% (169) |
| 71-93 | 33 (55) | 25 (42) | 24 (40) | 18 (31) | 100% (168) |

These data display a curvilinear relationship. That is, for steps 0-5 the percentages for "Low" and "High" prestige are larger than for the "Middle" prestige category. At step 10 the percentage is higher for the "Middle" level than for either "Low" or "High" prestige. Also, there is a general decrease in the size of the percentages for "Low" and "High" prestige as the importance of occupation increases. For the "Middle" level of prestige there is little variation between the percentages for the values of comparative evaluation.

A somewhat similar relationship is found when comparing "social class" with comparative evaluation. The

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[3]The first observation that should be taken into account is that there is no statistically significant relationship to be found between either of the other evaluation measures and comparative evaluation. This is when both Tau C and Chi-square are used as statistical tests.

table below presents these results:

Ladder Skips for Occupation versus Self

| Social Class | (0-5) | (6-7) | (8-9) | (10) | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Working | 33 (71) | 21 (44) | 21 (45) | 25 (53) | 100% (216) |
| Middle | 24 (52) | 33 (72) | 25 (54) | 18 (38) | 100% (216) |
| Upper-Middle | 32 (29) | 21 (19) | 25 (23) | 23 (21) | 100% (92) |

We see that for both the Working Class and the Upper-Middle Class the percent of respondents is larger than the percent found in the Middle Class, when we look at the Steps 0-5 value of the variable.

The central observations which illustrate the curvilinear patterns are those at the extreme values of the measures. Specifically, for the Working and Upper-Middle Class as well as for the "Low" and "High" level of prestige the largest percent of respondents are found in the "self as important" (0-5) category. Both of these observations can be accounted for by previous findings.

The comparative evaluation measure asks the respondent to compare his occupation with himself. Empirically the Working Class and "Low" level of prestige respondents consider their occupations less important than themselves. This is consistent with two previous findings:

1. The lowest occupational self-identification is found at the lower levels of occupational prestige.

2. The lowest occupational self-identification is found for the Working Class.

Hence, those in the lowest values of the evaluation measures do not consider occupation as an important facet of their activities and identity. For them work identities are more relevant.

At the higher values of occupational prestige and "social class" the pattern of data and conclusions are different. At these values we found a greater percent mentioning occupational self-identities than at the lower values. But, we also found that of those who do mention these identities a majority assigned them "low importance," i.e., line three or below.[4] This was contrary to the expected pattern of results for these values of the evaluation measures.

These findings were interpreted as the consequence of those in highly evaluated occupations gaining entre into a variety of additional self-other relationships where a positive evaluation is likely. When this occurs the evaluation derived from occupation is less important. The person is viewed by others and comes to view himself not solely as having a certain occupation but as having a variety of

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[4]The percent who gave occupational self-identities below line three for the highest values of evaluation are: Prestige--54%(N=23), "Social Class"--63%(N=21) and Comparative Evaluation--52%(N=23).

important roles in the community, i.e., they may be "community influentials." At that point one's occupational prestige may be established and evaluation in terms of it is less problematic and consequently less salient than it might for those in the "middle ranks" of occupations where their status is ambigious. Hence, finding that the "self" (i.e., other non-occupational identities) is more important than one's occupation at the higher values of "social class" and occupational prestige is consistent with previous findings and interpretations.

In sum, this section began by testing the relationship between comparative evaluation and work self-identification. There was a significant relationship for "Importance of Mention" and a non-significant one for "Mention-Nonmention." Curvilinearity was found within the data and it was noted that these results were not consistent with the previous relationships found between the other evaluation measures and work self-identification. The relationships between the other two measures of evaluation and comparative evaluation were examined.

In both relationships a curvilinear pattern was found. At the extreme values of "social class" and prestige there was a larger percentage of respondents at the "self as important" level of comparative evaluation. This finding is consistent with others in this study. That is, the Working Class and "Low" prestige respondents do not identify themselves in occupational terms but rather with work self-identities. Those in the Upper-Middle Class and at the "High" prestige level mention occupational identities more frequently than others but they assign "low" importance to these identities. Therefore, the comparative evaluation measure "takes into account" both of these factors thereby resulting in a positive relationship with both occupational and work self-identification.

### Comparative Evaluation and Work Self-Identification and Prestige

This section includes the final "control" type analysis in this study. It involves the relationships between comparative evaluation and work self-identification while controlling for prestige. Because occupational prestige has a <u>negative</u> relationship with work identities and comparative evaluation has a <u>positive</u> relationship we should notice quite clearly from this analysis the effect that the "objective" measure of evaluation has upon the relationship between this "subjective" measure and work self-identification.

Table V-8 contains the data and the statistical test results for the analysis using prestige as a "control" variable. Statistically, there is only one significant relationship at the "Low" level of prestige for the "Importance of Mention" values of identification. At the other two levels of occupational prestige, no statistically significant test results appear. The data and test results

Table V-8. The Relationship between Comparative Evaluation and Work Self-Identification for levels of Prestige of Occupation.

Prestige Scores 23-58 (N= 185)

| Importance of: | Importance of Mention Low (3-9) | Importance of Mention High (1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Self (0-5) | 14 ( 8) | 13 ( 7) | 27 (15) | 73 (41) | 100% ( 56) |
| Occupation (6-8) | 20 (14) | 13 ( 9) | 33 (23) | 67 (47) | 100% ( 70) |
| Occupation (9-10) | 24 (14) | 19 (11) | 43 (25) | 57 (34) | 100% ( 59) |

Degree of Importance: (one-tail test)

Tau C= .099 Z= 1.72 p= .0427

Mention-Nonmention: (one-tail test)

$X^2$= 3.1 (df=2) $p < .15$ V= .02

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Prestige Scores 59-70 (N= 169)

| Importance of: | Importance of Mention Low (3-9) | Importance of Mention High (1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Self (0-5) | 22 ( 9) | 10 ( 4) | 32 (13) | 68 (28) | 100% ( 41) |
| Occupation (6-8) | 23 (16) | 13 ( 9) | 36 (25) | 64 (44) | 100% ( 69) |
| Occupation (9-10) | 20 (12) | 15 ( 9) | 36 (21) | 64 (38) | 100% ( 59) |

Degree of Importance: (one-tail test)

Tau C= .03 Z= .49 p= .3121

Mention-Nonmention: (one-tail test)

$X^2$= .25 (df=2) $p < .45$ V= .001

(continued)

Table V-8. The Relationship between Comparative Evaluation and Work Self-Identification for levels of Prestige of Occupation (concluded).

Prestige Scores 71-93(N= 168)

| Importance of: | Importance of Mention Low(3-9) | Importance of Mention High(1-2) | Total Mention | Total Non-Mention | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Self(0-5) | 13 ( 7) | 15 ( 8) | 27 (15) | 73 (40) | 100% ( 55) |
| Occupation (6-8) | 14 (10) | 9 ( 6) | 23 (16) | 77 (54) | 100% ( 70) |
| Occupation (9-10) | 21 ( 9) | 12 ( 5) | 33 (14) | 67 (29) | 100% ( 43) |

Degree of Importance: (one-tail test)

Tau C= .02 Z= .32 p= .3745

Mention-Nonmention: (one-tail test)

$X^2$= 1.28 (df=2) $p < .35$ V= .008

suggest that the positive relationship between comparative evaluation and work self-identification is not maintained when occupational prestige is introduced as a "control" variable.

## Subjective Evaluation and Self Identification: Summary

This chapter included the final set of empirical results for this study. Several analyses were considered. First, there were the relationships between "social class" and self-identification including several "control" analyses using occupational prestige. Next, the relationships between comparative evaluation and self-identification were analyzed and discussed. Also included was an analysis of the relationships between the other evaluation measures and comparative evaluation. What follows is a brief summary of the major findings of this chapter.

First, the relationships between "social class," comparative evaluation and occupational self-identification were statistically significant. The general pattern (with the exception noted for "Importance of Mention") for both relationships were consistent with the expectations of the hypotheses. These findings support the general research hypothesis of this study.

The relationships between "social class" and work self-identification were not significant but the pattern is quite similar to the one found for the relationship between prestige and work self-identification in the previous chapter, i.e., an inverse relationship. Those in the Working Class have a greater percentage of work identification than those in the other "social classes."

In the "control" analysis for "social class" there was an observation consistent with previous results. For those respondents who were both on the "High" level of occupational prestige and Upper-Middle Class the importance assigned to occupational identities was "low." This same "low importance" pattern was found in the relationship between prestige and occupational self-identification. Further interpretations of this finding will be discussed in the next chapter.

Contrary to previous findings there was a positive relationship between comparative evaluation and work self-identification. This implied a difference between the other evaluation measures and comparative evaluation. To find these differences "social class" and prestige were related to comparative evaluation and a curvilinear pattern was discovered. Those respondents at the extreme values of the other measures considered their "self" as more important than their "occupation." For those at the higher levels this finding is consistent with the observation discussed in the preceeding paragraph; for those at the lower values this is consistent with the findings that identification in terms of <u>work</u> is more relevant than identification in terms of <u>occupation</u>. Therefore, comparative evaluation seems to "incorporate" characteristics of the other evaluation measures thus resulting in a positive relationship with both types of self-identification. But, because of the curvilinear relationship with the other evaluation measures the interpretation of results with comparative evaluation is problematic.

Finally, and perhaps most significant, is the proportion of mention for these identities at the highest values of the evaluation measures. There was not an instance in the Upper-Middle Class or for those who consider their occupation "more important than themselves," where a majority of respondents even mentioned these self-identities. This seems to question the "significance" of occupational and work identities that is assumed by many sociologists. This finding, as well as the others in this summary, will be the basis for further discussion in the final chapter of this study.

## CHAPTER VI

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter contains the summary and conclusions of this study. It begins with a summary overview including the central conclusions. The next section includes a discussion of several findings and their implications for past and future research. It ends with a general conclusion regarding the major findings of the study.

### An Overview

This study began with this guiding question: "What are the social processes that produce, maintain and alter self-identification behavior?" In an attempt to answer this question several alterations and specifications of it were made. First, the question was set within Self-Other Theory. The central proposition of this theory is:

The self and the activities of others are co-determining.

Next, a principle of self-other activities was formulated from a variety of studies. It is known as the Evaluation Principle and it states:

> The higher the positive evaluation of a person's activity by himself or others the greater the likelihood a person will identify in terms of that activity.

These two statements served as the theoretical foundation for this study.

Then the class of activities and identities was specified. The class of activities which served as the focus of attention was occupational. Self-identification was limited to occupational and work self-identities. Hence, the general research hypothesis of this study was:

> The higher the degree of positive evaluation of a person's occupational activities by himself or others the greater the likelihood a person will identify himself in occupational and work terms.

Three different measures of evaluation were used from an original research project. Both occupational and work self-identities were used in the hypotheses.

The first measure of evaluation was the Transformed NORC Prestige Scale devised by O. D. Duncan. This was used to measure the evaluations of others with respect to occupation. The second variable was "Subjective Social Class" using three classes: Working, Middle and Upper-Middle Class. The third variable was a question which asked the respondent to assign importance to his occupation relative to himself. These last two variables were measures of the respondents' own evaluation of their occupation.

Two types of self-identities, considered originally to be in the same class, were used in analysis. "Occupational self-identities" were those terms found in the answers to a self-identification question ("Who Am I?") which referred to occupational titles. Those terms found in the answers to the same question which referred generally to work without a specification of occupation were called "Work-identities."

Given the three measures of evaluation and the two types of self-identities the main hypotheses were:

1. The higher the prestige status of one's occupation the more likely he will be to mention and assign importance to occupational and work self-identities.

2. The higher the person's "subjective social class" the more likely he will be to mention and assign importance to occupational and work self-identities.

3. The higher the person's evaluation of his occupation as compared to himself the more likely he will be to mention and assign importance to occupational and work self-identities.

The operational form of these hypotheses produced eighteen testable hypotheses and twelve of them were analyzed in this study.[1]

The data used to test these hypotheses came from research done in 1963 using an area probability sample of the United States. This study used a sub-sample composed of full-time employed men twenty-one years or older. This sample was assessed as representative within 95% limits of confidence (Appendix A) for such variables as: place of residence, age, ethnicity, income and occupation. All

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[1]The hypotheses using a combination of occupational and work identities for self-identification were discarded from analysis.

generalizations made from these data are limited by the character of this sub-sample.

Table VI-1 presents the statistical test results for the three major hypotheses. After examining these results two findings in support of the general research hypothesis are evident:

1. There is a positive relationship between the evaluations of others, as measured by prestige, and occupational self-identification.

2. There is a positive relationship between subjective evaluation of occupation and occupational self-identification.

On further examination there are two findings which do not support this hypothesis:

1. There is a negative relationship between the evaluation of others, as measured by prestige, and work self-identification.

2. There is a tendency in the negative direction for the relationship between "social class" and work self-identification.[2]

Hence, three conclusions are apparent. First, occupational self-identification and work self-identification are not in the same class. Secondly, further research is necessary to adequately assess the relationships between evaluation and

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[2]The relationship between comparative evaluation and work self-identification was not statistically significant but the pattern tended in the positive direction. This relationship was not consistent with those using the other evaluation measures. In addition, comparative evaluation was related to these evaluation measures in a curvilinear fashion. Although this relationship can be interpreted as consistent with other results, further research is necessary to adequately assess the apparent utility of this measure.

Table VI-1 A List of Statistical Test Results*

| Table # | Variables | Tau | Z | p | $X^2$ | df | p | V |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Table IV-1 | P-Occupation(I) | .09 | 2.78 | .0027 | ---- | - | ------ | --- |
| Table IV-1 | P-Occupation(M) | --- | ---- | ----- | 23.4 | 4 | $<$.0005 | .04 |
| Table V-1 | S-Occupation(I) | .12 | 3.91 | .0005 | 27.9 | 6 | $<$.0005 | .03 |
| Table V-1 | S-Occupation(M) | --- | ---- | ----- | 18.6 | 2 | $<$.0005 | .03 |
| Table V-5 | C-Occupation(I) | .07 | 2.49 | .0064 | ---- | - | ------ | --- |
| Table V-5 | C-Occupation(I) | --- | ---- | ----- | 7.1 | 3 | $<$.05 | .01 |
| Table IV-2 | P-Work(I) | -.05 | -1.68 | .0465 | ---- | - | ------ | --- |
| Table IV-2 | P-Work(M) | --- | ---- | ----- | 6.1 | 4 | $<$.10 | .01 |
| Table V-3 | S-Work(I) | -.001 | -.52 | .3015 | 5.6 | 6 | $<$.25 | .005 |
| Table V-3 | S-Work(M) | --- | ---- | ----- | .11 | 2 | $<$.475 | .005 |
| Table V-7 | C-Work(I) | .055 | 1.78 | .0384 | ---- | - | ------ | --- |
| Table V-7 | C-Work(M) | --- | ---- | ----- | 3.7 | 3 | $<$.15 | .007 |

*Symbols in table refer to:

P- Prestige of Occupation (I)- Degree of Importance
S- "Subjective Social Class" (M)- Mention-Nonmention
C- Comparative Evaluation

work self-identification. And finally, the general research hypothesis of this study is only supported when occupational evaluation is related to occupational self-identification.

## Results and Implications

In this section I discuss several problems and issues evident from the findings of this study. Some of these directly concern self-other evaluations while several relate to social stratification. Within the discussion I offer several suggestions for further research.

The inverse relationship between prestige and work self-identification implies two central problems. The first concerns the use of self-identities. It is clear from the evidence that occupational and work identities are not in the same class although they appear to be conceptually. Occupational identities are given most frequently by those at the high prestige level while work identities are given by those at the lower level. This, it seems to me, illustrates the importance of having at least some knowledge about the empirical relationships particular identities have with other variables before using these identities as variables. This is particularly necessary when combining different types of identities as is customary in studies of the self. Hence, in future studies, this issue should be clarified before self-identities are placed in the same class and treated as a single variable.

The second issue concerns the specification of a set of "others" when studying self-other relationships. Prestige was used in this study to indicate the evaluations of others. The "others" in this instance were those who evaluated the occupational titles on the basis of their "general standing." These evaluations are related to occupational identities but not to work identities. This implies, if the general research hypothesis is feasible, that a different set of "others" are evaluating work activities and hence the higher proportion of these identities among people in low prestige occupations. This set of "others" could be their co-workers or superiors who are located within the organization and who evaluate the person's work in comparison to the other workers. Or, the "others" could be their friends, neighbors or relatives who regard the person as a "good steady worker" and a "good provider." This points out the importance of specifying which set of "others" are taken into account with regard to a particular activity.

The importance of specifying the "others" is not a revelation of this study but a constant concern for self-other theories.[3] Some questions used to elicit a set of "others" have incorporated the notion of importance or evaluation within them. One which does not is this question:

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[3]M. H. Kuhn, "Reference Group Reconsidered," Sociological Quarterly, 5 (Winter, 1964), pp. 5-22.

> Who are those persons or groups of persons to whom you refer yourself, either directly or in your thinking, when you are confronted with a problem or in order to support or justify your actions?[4]

One problem with this question is that it does not specify the type of "problem" or the class of "actions" which are to be considered. Therefore, I recommend that any question used to elicit a set of "others" contain a specification of the activity to which the "others" are relevant and the notion that these "others" may be taken into account only within that activity. With this type of information the relationship between the behavior of others and identification can be clarified.

After specifying the activity and the set of "others," additional information regarding the criteria used in evaluation is necessary.[5] The observation regarding farmers seem to imply the necessity of this information. They do not fit the observed pattern of relationship between self identification and occupational evaluation. In addition to the technical difficulties in transforming the NORC scores, it seems reasonable to state that criteria used in assessing the "general standing" of occupations are not

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[4]C. A. Hickman and M. H. Kuhn, Individuals, Groups and Economic Behavior (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1956), p. 246.

[5]O. D. Duncan and J. W. Artis, Social Stratification in a Pennsylvania Rural Community (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State College, 1951); W. A. Faunce and M. J. Smucker, "Industrialization and Community Status Structure," Paper read at A. S. A. meetings, Chicago, 1965.

applicable to farmers.[6] This judgement is partly inferred from the high proportion of farmers who mention their occupational title as an identity in spite of their relatively low NORC score. This indicates that the evaluation directed towards farmers are not of the same character as the evaluation of the "general standing" of occupations.[7]

To be a farmer is more than an occupation, it is a total way of life. The activities and concerns of farming enter into every facet of one's existence. A farmer, within the context of the community, could be evaluated by a variety of criteria. Some of these might be: personal attributes, wealth, personal influence or involvement in community affairs. He could be highly evaluated within the community but in terms of the "general standing" of his occupation be evaluated as average or below average. This case illustrates that it is quite important for the investigation of self-other evaluation to specify the criteria used by "others" in their evaluative behavior.

In sum, there are at least four issues that should be faced in future studies of evaluation and identification

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[6]The technical problems are discussed in Lawrence Thomas, The Occupational Structure and Education (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), pp. 116-117 and Appendix A.

[7]This could be the case for a number of other occupational categories. In this study there are only two coding categories for farmers (i.e., Managers and Laborers) which makes the number large enough to notice this pattern.

within Self-Other Theory. First, the researcher should clarify the empirical relationships between certain identities and other variables before combining types of identities. Second, a set of "others" should be specified. Third, the activity or activities which are the focus of evaluation should be clearly indicated. And finally, the criteria used by "others" for evaluation should be obtained by the researcher. If a study follows these suggestions it seems to me there will be a great improvement in the analysis of evaluation and identification.

There are several other findings which concern issues involved in the study of social stratification. The first of these is the pattern found for those in the "middle ranks" of occupational prestige. The second is the degree of importance assigned to occupational identities by those at the higher levels of evaluation in comparison with those at the lower levels of evaluation.

Other sociologists have mentioned the problem with the "middle rank" occupations.[8] This study again demonstrated the problems involved in assuming a single hierarchy of status assignment. There seems to be consensus on

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[8]T. Caplow, The Sociology of Work (New York: McGraw-Hill and Co., 1964); G. P. Stone and W. H. Form, "Instabilities in Status: The Problem of Hierarchy in the Community Study of Status Arrangements," American Sociological Review, 18 (April, 1953), pp. 149-162; E. O. Laumann and L. Guttman, "The Relative Associational Continguity of Occupations in an Urban Setting," American Sociological Review, 31 (April, 1966), pp. 169-178.

evaluation only at the top and bottom of the prestige scale. Either the criteria of evaluation implicit in the NORC scale are not applicable at the "middle ranks" or there is a "status arrangement which is not discovered with a measure that assumes a single hierarchy."[9] In fact, both of these could operate for "middle rank" occupations.

To "solve" this problem of "status arrangements" it seems that the first requirement is to discard the assumption of a single hierarchy and a single set of criteria of evaluation. This would force the researcher to use a multifaceted approach to obtain these arrangements. Such a study should be carried out within an urban setting where variability is highest. The study should also be done with a variety of observational techniques including "unobtrusive" as well as the ordinary measures. This type of study should result in a systematic characterization of the stratification processes in an urban setting.

Several "Importance of Mention" patterns were discussed in this study. The first was found in the relationship between occupational prestige and occupational self-identification. For this relationship the pattern was curvilinear with the greatest proportion of "high importance" found in the middle range of occupational prestige. There

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[9]The differences between occupational identities and work identities also suggest that more than one single hierarchy is operating for evaluation.

were several interpretations offered for this pattern.

For those at the lower levels of prestige this pattern was expected. At the middle ranges of prestige these results were interpreted as an indication of upward mobility and a continued concern for evaluation in terms of occupational activities. The pattern that was unexpected appeared at the highest level of prestige where a greater proportion of respondents gave their occupational identities on line three or below ("low importance"). The last pattern was interpreted as a consequence of multiple possibilities for evaluation in terms of other role relationships. When these possibilities increase the importance in terms of occupation and the evaluation derived from others thereof is less important and other identities become more salient.

These interpretations were offered as tentative and meant to suggest further research regarding occupational self-identities and evaluation. For example, the interpretation given regarding the "Importance of Mention" pattern at the high level of prestige suggests several research questions. The most obvious are: What are the other role relationships for those at the high prestige level from which evaluation is derived? What, if any, is the relationship between their occupational role and these other role relationships? What are the criteria of evaluation in these role relationships? Other questions could be formulated incorporating such notions as: career patterns, economic status and power relationships. A simple question is: How are these notions related to self-identification at this level of occupational prestige? All of these questions indicate that further research is necessary before this observed pattern can be explained.

Another finding, related to the above, was evident in the relationship between "social class" and occupational self-identification. There it was found that those few who mentioned occupational self identities and choose the Working Class label for themselves had a higher proportion of "high importance" identities than those in the other two "classes." This pattern was not obtained with prestige and was not expected in these results.

The pattern is clearly deviant but it may imply something about the evaluation process that is important. If the Working Class label is a self-indication that one is employed in a lowly evaluated occupation, then self-identification in terms of occupation should not result. Yet, there may be a point in one's occupational career where he recognizes that others have a lowly evaluation of this occupation, but he still considers it an important facet of his life. Or, it may be the only focus of his attention and concern. Whatever the case may be, it points to the importance of taking the context of activities into account when studying self-identification behavior.

The last important finding to be mentioned involves both types of self-identities and the three measures of evaluation. Specifically, in no instance did a majority of the respondents, found at either the highest or lowest value of the evaluation measures, mention either occupational or work self-identities. This could be accounted for in terms of the "situationality" of the self-question used in this study to elicit self-identification behavior.[10] But if these findings cannot be accounted for in this manner they have important implications for the theories in social stratification. In fact, if these theories are based on the assumption that occupation and work are the most essential facets of life, these findings seriously call into question this basic assumption.

## General Conclusion

The results in this study indicate that there is a consistent relationship between evaluation and self-identification when limited to occupational behavior. There are findings which present a number of problems to be solved before the generality of the evaluation principle for self-other relationships can be firmly established. But, the results in this study strongly indicate that further pursuit

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[10]A discussion of this problem is found in: C. W. Tucker, Jr., "Some Methodological Problems of Kuhn's Self Theory," Sociological Quarterly, Special Issue (Summer, 1966), forthcoming.

of these problems and issues could prove to be beneficial both theoretically and substantively for sociology.

## APPENDIX A

### PROCEDURES AND ANALYSIS FOR ASSESSING REPRESENTATIVENESS OF THE SAMPLE

The procedures for calculating the confidence limits of the sample were provided by the Gallup Organization. The following table is given in the Gallup Report:

Recommended Allowances for Sampling Error of a Percentage

| Sample Percentage Near | In Percentage Points (at 95 in 100 confidence level) - - - - - Sample Size - - - - - 1500 | 750 | 300 | 100 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 7 |
| 20 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 9 |
| 30 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 10 |
| 40 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 11 |
| 50 | 3 | 4 | 8 | 11 |
| 60 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 11 |
| 70 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 10 |
| 80 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 9 |
| 90 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 7 |

The percentage points in the table indicate the range a given sample percentage can vary and still maintain the specified level of confidence. For example, if in one value of a variable the percent is 33 and the sample size is 1500, then to be accurate the other percent used for comparison must be between 30% and 36%. If it is not, then the sample percentage is not representative on that value of the variable.

One will notice that the above table does not have percentage points for a sample size of 500, which is the size in this study. Therefore, by interpolation the following figures were derived for use here:

Estimated Allowance for Sampling Error of a Percentage: Sample Size 500

| For Percentage Near: | 10 | 20 | 30 | 40 | 50 | 60 | 70 | 80 | 90 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Percentage Points(95%) | 4 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 4 |

So, if the percent on a value of a variable is 30, then the Census data would have to be between 24 and 36 percent to consider the sample variable value as representative.

First, we will consider the place of residence and its representativeness in this sample.

Table A-1. The Place of Residence for Full-time-Employed Men in the U.S. Census and Gallup Samples (percent)

| | U.S. Census (1960)* | Gallup (1963) |
|---|---|---|
| Urban | 72.2 | 73.8 |
| Rural, Non-farm | 19.9 | 18.8 |
| Rural, Farm | 7.9 | 8.4 |

*Source: Table 194, U.S. Census of Population: 1960 Detailed Characteristics PC (1) - 1D (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Printing Office, 1963), p. 1-487.

One can see, even without the tolerance limits provided by the table, that the sub-sample is quite representative of the U.S. Census data. We do notice, however, that the Gallup sample is slightly larger for Urban and Rural, Farm.

Next, we look at the age composition of the sample as compared with the Census data.

Table A-2. Age Composition for Full-time Employed Men in the U.S. Census and Gallup Sample (percent)

| Age in years | U.S. Census (1960)* | Gallup Sample (1963) |
|---|---|---|
| 20 - 29 | 19.3 | 19.6 |
| 30 - 39 | 26.7 | 28.4 |
| 40 - 49 | 24.6 | 25.5 |
| 50 - 59 | 18.4 | 14.9 |
| 60 - 69 | 8.1 | 9.3 |
| 70 - 78 | 2.1 | 1.9 |
| 80+ | .1 | .4 |

*Source: Table 194: U.S. Census of Population: 1960 Detailed Characteristics PC (1) - 1D (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Printing Office, 1963), p. 1-487.

The largest difference is found in the age categories of 30 - 39 and 50 - 59. In the first case, the Gallup sample is larger than the Census by 1.7%, while in the second case it is smaller by 3.5%. But in neither instance is the discrepency large enough to question its representativeness within a 95% level of confidence.

Table A-3, presents the comparison between the Census and the sample for the variable of ethnicity.

Table A-3. Ethnicity for Full-time Employed Men in the U.S. Census and Gallup Sample (percent)

| Ethnicity | U.S. Census (1960)* | Gallup Sample (1963) |
|---|---|---|
| White | 89.8 | 89.5 |
| Non-white | 10.2 | 10.5 |

*Source: Table 204, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Detailed Characteristics PC (1) - 1D (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Printing Office, 1963), p. 543.

As one can see, this sample is representative in terms of ethnicity when compared with the 1960 Census.

The next variable to be considered is family income.

Table A-4. The Total Family Income for Full-time Employed Men in the U.S. Census and Gallup Sample (percent)

| Annual Income in Dollars | U.S. Census (1959)* | Gallup Sample (1963) |
|---|---|---|
| Under 1000 | 3.2 | 2.5 |
| 1000 - 1999 | 4.6 | 4.2 |
| 2000 - 2999 | 6.6 | 5.9 |
| 3000 - 3999 | 8.8 | 5.7 |
| 4000 - 4999 | 11.2 | 11.0 |
| 5000 - 6999 | 24.8 | 26.7 |
| 7000 - 9999 | 22.1 | 23.6 |
| 10,000 - 14,999 | 11.5 | 13.5 |
| 15,000 and above | 5.1 | 4.2 |

*Source: Table 230 U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Detailed Characteristics PC (1) - 1D (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Printing Office, 1963), p. 610.

Although none of the percentages are beyond range of the 95% level of confidence, there are discrepancies. In particular, all of the income categories below $5,000 are under-represented and conversely, those above $5,000 are over-represented. But one must remember that the Census figures are for 1959, while Gallup's are for 1963. During that period of time there was a decrease in the number of persons in the lower categories and an increase in the upper brackets. In other words, the total distribution shifted upwards. This shift is reflected in the Gallup sample.

And finally, the occupational categories of both samples are compared.

Table A-5. The Major Occupations for Full-time Employed Men in U.S. Census and Gallup Sample (percent)

| Occupational Category | U.S. Census (1960)* | Gallup Sample |
|---|---|---|
| Professional, Technical | 10.3 | 12.6 |
| Farm, Farm Managers | 5.5 | 8.2 |
| Managers (all types) | 10.7 | 14.4 |
| Clerical | 6.9 | 7.0 |
| Sales | 6.9 | 5.0 |
| Craftsmen, Foremen | 19.5 | 20.2 |
| Operatives | 19.9 | 16.0 |
| Private Household | .1 | .0 |
| Service Workers | 6.0 | 5.5 |
| Farm Laborers | 2.8 | 2.5 |
| Non-Farm Laborers | 6.9 | 5.0 |
| Not Ascertainable | 4.5 | 3.6 |

*Source: Table 87 U.S. Census of Population: 1960 PC (1) - 1C (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Printing Office, 1962), p. 1-216.

There are no instances where the differences in percentages are beyond the range for the 95% level of confidence. But there are several categories which approach that range. The largest discrepancies appear in the "Manager" category (Gallup over-representative) and "Operatives" (Gallup under-representative). It appears that the sample for this study is over-representative in the categories of Professionals, Farm Managers and Managers, while being under-representative in the categories at the bottom of the list.

In sum, it appears that the sample for this study is representative on such factors as: place of residence, age, ethnicity, income and occupation. The representativeness was determined by comparing percentage distribution of these variables from the Gallup sample with the latest U.S. Census data. A procedure provided by the Gallup Organization was used to assess the representativeness. All of the variables were assessed as representative, with caution being noted for certain values of several variables. Both income and occupation have several discrepancies which approach the limits of the range for 95% confidence. Income is under-representative in the lower categories. Occupation is over-representative in the top three occupational categories, but still within the acceptable limits of confidence. Therefore, caution should be maintained when generalizations are made using the variables of income and occupation.

## APPENDIX B

## GENERAL WORK STATEMENTS

This appendix contains a list of the statements coded as "General Work." They are answers to the "Who Am I?" self-identification question for the sample of this study. Each one is taken from the interview schedule as it was recorded. With each statement is given: (1) the degree of importance for the statement, and (2) the Transformed NORC Prestige score. The statements are listed in the order of prestige starting with the lowest prestige score.

### General Work Statements

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3 | 23 | I have a job |
| 1 | 26 | I work hard; I'm a mill worker |
| 3 | 33 | My job |
| 4 | 34 | I consider my job important |
| 5 | 36 | I am a hard worker |
| 2 | 36 | Average working man; trying to make a living |
| 5 | 39 | Like my job and do it the best I can |
| 2 | 41 | I'm a good worker; I work 10 hours a day |
| 8 | 42 | A worker |
| 1 | 43 | I'm a worker |
| 1 | 43 | Just to make a living; I am hard working |
| 2 | 43 | I am a good working man |
| 4 | 44 | I am a wage earner and pay my bills |
| 1 | 44 | I'm a workman |
| 3 | 44 | I have pride in my work |
| 3 | 45 | a good worker |
| 2 | 45 | a good worker |
| 3 | 46 | I am a pretty good worker; I have worked all my life |
| 5 | 47 | I like my job alright |
| 1 | 47 | I am a hard working man |
| 2 | 47 | Working conditions |

General Work Statements (Continued)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | 47 | I work part time |
| 3 | 47 | I work hard |
| 3 | 50 | I like to work in this country |
| 2 | 50 | My work - foreman of estate |
| 2 | 51 | a hard worker |
| 4 | 52 | I am a working man |
| 4 | 53 | I work hard - that's all |
| 5 | 53 | I am an employer |
| 2 | 53 | I am dedicated to my work |
| 4 | 53 | Hard working man |
| 1 | 53 | I'm just a working man |
| 3 | 53 | Jack of all trades |
| 3 | 53 | I am a worker |
| 2 | 54 | good worker |
| 2 | 54 | Working 8 hours a day |
| 2 | 54 | I have worked hard |
| 3 | 54 | I am a good worker |
| 2 | 54 | I work too hard |
| 6 | 54 | good worker |
| 2 | 54 | I'm a working man; I'm a hard worker |
| 2 | 54 | I work as hard as I could |
| 4 | 54 | and hard working |
| 3 | 56 | secure job is important to me |
| 2 | 56 | a worker |
| 4 | 56 | I make a good living |
| 5 | 57 | like to put in 8 hours work |
| 5 | 57 | I'm employed |
| 5 | 57 | I'm a good worker |
| 1 | 58 | working |
| 5 | 58 | worker |
| 4 | 58 | I try to do my job right |
| 2 | 58 | I am a hard working man |
| 5 | 58 | Good work |
| 4 | 58 | Happy to have opportunity to work |
| 6 | 58 | I am a hard working man |
| 3 | 58 | I am just living and working |
| 2 | 58 | Hard worker |
| 3 | 58 | I know how to work |
| 1 | 59 | I'm just a laboring man; Jack of all trades; hard working |
| 3 | 59 | I work hard |
| 5 | 59 | I try to be a good employee to the company |
| 5 | 59 | An average job; I live by the sweat of my brow; I enjoy making a living |
| 2 | 59 | I am a poor working man making a living for my family |
| 1 | 59 | Hard working man |
| 2 | 60 | wage earner |
| 3 | 60 | I like my work |
| 3 | 60 | Good furniture worker |
| 6 | 60 | I'm a hard individual working man |

General Work Statements (Continued)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6 | 60 | working |
| 7 | 60 | I'm a good worker |
| 1 | 60 | Old everyday worker |
| 5 | 60 | I am a worker who tried to make a living for family |
| 1 | 60 | Happy soldier |
| 6 | 61 | I like my work |
| 2 | 61 | I go to work everyday |
| 6 | 61 | A worker |
| 7 | 61 | Have a living wage |
| 5 | 61 | My work is essential toward pipe fabrication to all parts of U. S. A. |
| 1 | 62 | An average worker |
| 4 | 62 | Glad to have the ability to work |
| 2 | 62 | I am ambitious and hard working |
| 5 | 62 | I am dedicated to my work |
| 2 | 62 | I am a good tradesman |
| 3 | 63 | good job |
| 4 | 63 | I like my work |
| 3 | 65 | Making a living in my trade |
| 4 | 65 | Just a guy who works |
| 3 | 65 | to be able to make a living |
| 1 | 65 | I'm a worker |
| 4 | 65 | I work |
| 2 | 65 | I do my work and don't wander off |
| 1 | 66 | I am an employed man |
| 3 | 66 | I am working hard to make a nice home and retirement |
| 2 | 66 | A hard working slob |
| 2 | 66 | My work is of excellent quality; I have a good business; I make a good living for my family |
| 3 | 67 | I'm a hard working man |
| 2 | 67 | I am a hard worker |
| 6 | 67 | I work in "this" farm program |
| 1 | 67 | I'm a hard working man |
| 2 | 68 | I have a good steady job |
| 3 | 68 | I'm satisfied in the type of work I'm doing |
| 5 | 68 | I am a hard working individual |
| 6 | 68 | I am a honest, hard working person |
| 2 | 69 | job |
| 3 | 69 | I am a good workman |
| 3 | 69 | I am a hard working man |
| 4 | 69 | A good employee |
| 4 | 69 | I have to work hard because I chose the wrong occupation |
| 2 | 69 | I've kept my job |
| 3 | 70 | Worker |
| 2 | 70 | Trying to make a livelihood |
| 3 | 70 | I try to make a living at home |
| 5 | 70 | I'm someone who works hard at his job to get ahead |
| 3 | 70 | I am successful in my work |
| 3 | 70 | I love to work |

General Work Statements (Continued)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8 | 71 | I feel I should have a better job than I have right now |
| 3 | 71 | I've always worked hard |
| 1 | 71 | I am a fairly good working man |
| 2 | 71 | I am a man with a fairly good job |
| 5 | 71 | I am a fruitful worker-employee |
| 2 | 71 | I do my best at my job |
| 3 | 71 | I work regularly |
| 5 | 71 | Good at work |
| 2 | 72 | position to hold job to give me security |
| 5 | 72 | I am an employee of the community |
| 2 | 72 | I've had a steady job all my life |
| 1 | 72 | wage earner |
| 9 | 72 | I am very happy about my new job |
| 1 | 73 | I am a hard worker |
| 8 | 74 | I have to think of my business |
| 4 | 74 | I serve grocers with produce |
| 2 | 74 | I work hard when I work |
| 2 | 74 | I endeavor to do a good job |
| 3 | 74 | A good worker in my field |
| 3 | 74 | Work hard in business |
| 5 | 75 | I work hard |
| 1 | 75 | I work hard |
| 4 | 76 | I'm a hard worker |
| 3 | 76 | I'm an efficient worker |
| 1 | 76 | Tried to be unselfish worker |
| 6 | 77 | I do my job as well as I can |
| 2 | 78 | I work hard at my job |
| 3 | 78 | I have the ability to earn a living wage |
| 4 | 78 | work for a nice organization |
| 5 | 78 | My work affects others |
| 3 | 78 | I am a conscientious worker |
| 2 | 79 | I am one who enjoys work |
| 1 | 80 | I work for a living |
| 2 | 80 | I have steady employment |
| 3 | 80 | I love income tax work |
| 3 | 81 | I am a good worker |
| 2 | 81 | If I do a job I do it to the very best of my ability |
| 2 | 81 | Try to maintain high position in my present job |
| 3 | 81 | responsible job |
| 5 | 83 | I'm steadily employed |
| 2 | 84 | Holding responsiblities in my company |
| 2 | 84 | I like to believe that I am hard working |
| 3 | 85 | Good worker |
| 5 | 85 | Have a good steady job |
| 3 | 89 | I'm a hard worker; I'm dedicated to my work; I love my work |

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