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A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE AGE AND SOCIAL-CLASS POSITION OF UNWED MOTHERS WHO VOLUNTARILY SEEK HELP AT A PRIVATE SOCIAL AGENCY AND THEIR DECISION TO RELINQUISH CUSTODY OF THEIR CHILD

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BY

Richard Aldrich Edgerton Elliott Charles Foster Jerry Jeffreys

AN ABSTRACT

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK



THESIS

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine if there is a statistically significant relationship between the age and social class position of unwed mothers and their decision to relinquish custody of their child. It was hypothesized that the higher the social class and the older the unwed mother, the greater the likelihood would be that she would relinquish custody, i.e. place her child for adoption.

The sample consisted of 202 case records of unwed mothers who made such decisions during the years 1967 and 1968 at the Michigan Children's Aid Society of Kalamazoo, Michigan. Those cases in which there were three or less contacts with the Agency were disregarded since such decisions were not made. There were two cases of the child dying at birth and one of miscarriage. These, too, were not utilized in the sample.

The unwed mother's age was divided into three categories for the purpose of testing, as follows: (1) under age 17, (2) seventeen through age twenty and, (3) over 21 years. Social class was determined by utilizing Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position.

Our results indicate that there is a significant relationship between the unmarried mothers social class and her decisions to release her out-ofwedlock child, thus confirming our hypotheses that the higher the social class the greater the likelihood relinquishment will occur. Even though the percentages of relinquished children, according to age group, seemed significant we had to accept the null hypothesis upon chi-square analysis, since the age factor was not significant at the .05 level.

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RESEARCH PROJECT

Submitted to Michigan State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

Michigan State University School of Social Work

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A. Purpose of Study

The purpose of this research project is to isolate and test two characteristics of unwed mothers to determine if these variables have a significant influence on the decision to relinquish custody of her child. The characteristics which we will examine are the age and social class of the unmarried mother.

We assume that behavioral patterns and conceptions of right and wrong, of self, of others, and of society in general are essential aspects of class culture. Therefore, it seems likely that there may be a functional relationship between the class position of the unwed mother and this aspect of her social behavior--that is, her decisions to relinquish custody of the child. In studying the relationship of age and its influence on the mother's decision we have arbitrarily classified the individual's age into three categories, under 17 years, 17 years to age 21, and over 21 years of age. Thus, we will determine if a girl of one age group will be more likely to release her child than a girl of another age group, and if a girl from one particular social class will be more likely to release her child than a girl from another social class.

B. The Problem

Community services are being geared to safeguarding and promoting the well being of the unmarried mother and her child. When the unmarried mother comes to a private agency she is helped to make use of services available to her particular needs as well as to utilize her own strengths to achieve mature social functioning. Her planning for the future of

the child usually takes into consideration alternative plans based on the needs of the child and the mother such as adoption, temporary foster family care, or care in the mother's own home. She often needs help in deciding on a plan which will be best for the child and herself, as well as support from the caseworker in carrying through these plans. This help considers the circumstances resulting in her pregnancy, the meaning of the child to her, her relationship with the father, her inner resources, and the environmental resources available for meeting her needs and those of the child.

The unmarried mother has the sole right to formulating decisions relative to the child's future. Her rights to the child are terminated only through her voluntary release to an authorized child caring agency as provided for by state law; or through legal procedures which terminate parental rights and transfer responsibility of the child to an agency, including the Juvenile Court itself, authorized to assume the powers and duties of legal custody. If the mother is a minor, there may be the additional safeguard of consent by her parents or guardian, or a court-appointed guardian <u>ad litem</u>. If she has a legal husband, he is legally assumed to be the father, and his consent is also required in planning for the child's future.

The release that the mother may sign, immediately terminates her rights and responsibilities toward the child. This is a private hearing involving only the mother, the Juvenile Court judge, and a representative of the private child-care agency. The child then becomes a ward of the court and the agency is given the right of consent to adoption, with final approval by the court. If the mother's rights are terminated by court action, she holds the right of appeal for ninety days. This latter procedures is seldom pursued by the private agency, but rather by legal authorities because of the mother's neglect of the child. The release procedures is regulated by the Juvenile Court and is completed only when the child is more than 10 days old. This time factor is established for the purpose of assuring that the mother's decision is based on rational objectivity.

From the above discussion one can logically assume that the casework service provided to the unwed mother is of crucial importance since the mother's decision made at this point in time will, without question, have a profound psychological influence on both herself and the child throughout their lifetime. Therefore, it is of great importance that correct decisions are made. If the variables of age and social class, in themselves, exert significant influence in making these decisions we might infer that these characteristics negate the value of casework as it is now being practiced; herein lies the problem.

C. Survey of Literature

The studies of unmarried mothers and their children indicate that the issue of releasing a child for adoption, or keeping it, is very complex. A study by Clark Vincent in 1961 indicates that the decision to release is influenced by the choice of adoption outlet (voluntary or statutory agency, private placement) which is available to the mother. He found that mothers keeping their babies had significantly less positive family relationships and home situations than those releasing them. They were of lower socio-economic status, more often come from broken homes and had less self-confidence. Mothers releasing their babies for adoption, being generally younger, seemed to have more to lose by keeping their babies.

Margaret Yelloly studied the decisions of 160 unmarried mothers in England who were referred to a voluntary adoption agency. She found a definite association between "strong" variables in the girl's background and the decision to release for adoption. There was a higher proportion of unstable mothers in the group which kept their babies than those who released.

Barbara Costigan reports from her study of factors related to the decision regarding adoption made by unmarried mothers than social factors and environmental pressures or opportunities, which vary between age level and between ethnic groups, are important. Factors which she found associated with releasing the child include: the unmarried mother being between sixteen and eighteen; being a student (unless under sixteen); parents favoring adoption; a good casework relationship; and a good psychological adjustment. Those factors seen as related to keeping the baby were: being twenty-five to thirty years of age; being a Negro; a "distant" casework relationship; and a poor psychological adjustment.

David Fanshel, et al, have conducted a series of studies in agencies of different cities in the United States. This study showed that among white mothers, there was a slight association between being of a lower social class, or being older, and releasing the baby for adoption. There was no association between grandparents occupation and the adoption decision.

A. Hypotheses

H₁ It is hypothesized that the unwed mother's social class influences her decision to relinquish custody of her child; specifically, that the higher the mother's social class the greater the likelihood of relinquishments.

H₂ It is hypothesized that the unwed mother's age influences her decision to relinquish custody of her child; specifically that the older the mother the greater the likelihood of relinquishments.

B. Definitions

<u>Unwed Mothers</u> - A girl or woman who is not legally married to the man by whom she has conceived a child.

<u>Age</u> - The chronological age of the unwed mother upon her first contact with the Kalamazoo, Michigan, Children's Aid Society. Mothers are grouped by age into three categories for the purpose of testing:

1. Under age 17. This age corresponds to Michigan's statutory definition of a child.

 Age 17 through 20. This age would correspond to adolescence.
Age 21 and over. This age group consists of adults who can legally exercise their full civil and personal rights according to statutory provisions.

<u>Relinquish Custody</u> - The unwed mother voluntarily relinquishes her rights as a legal mother. This is a legal procedure, authorized by state statute, where the parent signs a release for adoption before a Probate Judge. This immediately terminates all rights of that parent and is considered invulnerable.

<u>Social Class</u> - The social classification measured by Hollingshead's <u>Two Factor Index of Social Position</u>.¹ Social classes will be designate by Roman numerals I through V, as explained in the following:

Hollingshead and Warner both conducted studies of social class in the same town, Morris, Illinois. Warner called the town Jonesville, while Hollingshead called it Elmtown. Both researchers used five social classes. Hollingshead numbered the social classes with Roman numerals: I corresponded to Warner's upper-class; II to Warner's upper-middle; III to the lower-middle-class; IV to the upper-lower; and V to Warner's lower-lower class.²

Since both researchers used five social classes, it was possible to compare the class placement of 134 families involved in both studies. Hollingshead concluded, "the agreement between the two studies was so high that it should be clear that the two stratification techniques as used by independent investigators produced a valid and reliable index of stratification in the sample studied."³ Therefore, we will designate class position by the Roman numeral classification developed by Hollingshead which corresponds to Warner's more descriptive label, since the classes are interchangeable and the use of Roman numerals facilitate the mechanics of coding.

Hollingshead and Myers conducted a study of social stratification and psychiatric disorders in New Haven, Connecticut. They developed an

¹August B. Hollingshead, <u>Two Factor Index of Social Position</u> (copyrighted 1957), privately printed, 1968 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut. For a detailed description of the Two Factor Index and its determination see Appendix I.

²Thomas E. Lasswell, <u>Class</u> and <u>Stratum</u>, Houghton Mifflin Co., New York, 1965, p. 86.

³August B. Hollingshead, <u>Elmstown</u> Youth, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1949, p. 41.

Index of Social Position which utilized the three factors of ecological area of residence, occupation, and education. This was known as the three-factor ISP technique.

In addition to the three-factor technique, Hollingshead and Myers also developed a two-factor technique which uses the same educational and occupational scales, but which omits the residential factor. This is particularly useful (especially in this project), when studying persons from communities where it is impossible or inconvenient to divide the social area into six categories--that is, ranking residential areas on a six-point scale ranging from the finest homes to the poorest tenements. It was found in the New Haven study that the correlation between the two-factor index and the three-factor index was 0.968,⁴ so high that it raised the question as to whether the additional effort required to obtain placement on all three scales is rewarded by increased accuracy. For these reasons the two-factor index will be used.

In measuring the social class of the population of this study--unwed mothers of Kalamazoo and St. Joseph counties--we will determine the head of the household's occupation and amount of education since it is assumed that the unwed mother will have the same attitudes and values as the nuclear family. If the client lives alone, her own occupational and educational level will be utilized.

The number of years of school completed and the occupations were assigned scale values, according to the two-factor ISP technique, each factor ranging from one to seven. The scale value for education is multiplied by a weight of four and the scale for occupation by a weight

⁴Jerome K. Myers and Lee L. Bean, <u>A Decade Later: A Follow Up of Social</u> <u>/Class and Mental Illness</u>, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1968, p. 16.

of seven--these weights being designated by Hollingshead. The resulting score is assumed to be an index of the unwed mother's position in the class structure of the community. The social class position varies inversely with the individual's numerical score. A score of eleven represents the highest social position. To receive a score of eleven, the individual must have a graduate or professional degree and be engaged in a profession or a high executive position. The score of 77 would be assigned to a person with less than seven years of schooling who is an unskilled laborer or unemployed.

According to Hollingshead the most meaningful breaks for the purpose of predicting the social class position of an individual or of a nuclear family are shown in the following chart. In this chart we will also correlate Warner's descriptive class position with Hollingshead's numerical designation.

Social Class/Warner	Social Class/Hollingshead	Range of Computed Scores
Upper	I	11-17
Upper-Middle	II	18-27
Lower-Middle	III	28-43
Upper-Lower	IV	44-60
Lower-Lower	V	61-77

A. Data Collection

The data for this study will be obtained from the case records of unwed mothers at the Michigan Children's Aid Society of Kalamazoo. The purpose of the case record is to provide the worker and the agency with a complete report of what has taken place and information about the client on which assistance can be based.

The cases selected cover the total intake for the years of 1967 and 1968 at the Michigan Children's Aid Society of Kalamazoo, Michigan. We excluded those cases where three or fewer casework contacts were made since it is not possible to determine the mother's decision in such cases. In addition to those cases of three or fewer casework contacts, there were two other cases excluded; one in which the child died at birth and one of miscarriage.

According to this pre-established criteria we utilized a sample of 202 records for this study. The data is based on this census which should serve as a representative sample of a normal intake for such an agency.

B. Limitations

This method of selection does not necessarily provide a true sample of all unwed mothers since the unwed mother's decision to retain or relinquish custody of the child depends on the personality of the individual who turns to a private agency for help. Since only unmarried mothers who come to some type of social agency can be studied, conclusions applying to those who do not cannot be made. Since adoption records show that many unmarried mothers never reach any social agency, so these

records do not give a fair picture of the total scope of the problem. They do not include those girls who place babies with relatives and friends or who keep them but do not request outside assistance.⁵ Adoption records do not give any indication of those families who take out-of-wedlock babies on a private basis but never complete the adoption legally. Possibly the girls with the most economic and social resources handle their situation independently.

⁵Leontine Young, <u>Out of Wedlock</u>, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1954, p. 18.

A. Social Class Analysis

The results of this survey with reference to the first hypothesis, which concerned unmarried mother's social class, are seen in Table I.

Class	Relinquished Child	Did Not Relinquish Child
I	3 (100%)	0 (0%)
II	12 (100%)	0 (0%)
III	36 (86%)	6 (14%)
IV	68 (67%)	34 (33%)
v	18 (42%)	25 (58%)
TOTALS	137 (68%)	65 (32%)

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This data indicates a systematic relationship between the social class and the decision of relinquishing the illegitimate child. However, because of the phenomena of two cells with no members--classes I and II with no cases of a relinquished child--we combined these classes with class III for statistical purposes. Table II shows the newly grouped data. Chisquare was selected as the statistical tool to test the significance of the relationship between class position and the mother's decision.⁶

Table	Ι	Ι
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	Class	Relinquished Child,	Not Relinquished Child
	1,11,111	51 (90%)	6 (10%)
	IV	68 (67%)	34 (33%)
	v	18 (42%)	25 (58%)
	TOTALS	137 (68%)	65 (32%)
$x^2 = 25.56$	p >. 00	1 p >.05	

⁶N.M. Downie and R.W. Heath, <u>Basic Statistical Methods</u>. New York: Harper and Rowe Publishers, 1959, p. 147. On the basis of this finding we are able to reject the null hypothesis that our findings were the result of chance. Thus, it can be said that there is a highly significant positive relationship, as hypothesized, between the unmarried mother's social class and her tendency to release her out-ofwedlock child.

B. Age Factor Analysis

The second hypothesis was concerned with the age of the unmarried mother at the time of her contact with the adoption agency. We grouped the ages according to the procedure utilized by Michigan's Children's Aid Society for its Annual Report of Services. The chi-square test was used with this data to determine the significance of the relationship between mother's age and her decision. Table III shows the findings related to age.

Ta	ble	Ι	Ι	Ι

	Class	Relinquished Child	Not Relinquished Child
	Under 17 years	19 (58%)	14 (42%)
	17 through 20	62 (67%)	30 (33%)
	21 and older	56 (73%)	21 (27%)
	TOTALS	137 (68%)	65 (32%)
$x^2 = 2.47$	3 p >.30	p <.05	

Therefore, we cannot reject the null hypothesis since this result could be due to chance more than five in one hundred times. In examining the raw data, however, there is a systematic increase in the percentage of relinquishing the child for adoption as the age increases, so there is some possibility that a significant relationship would be shown in a larger sample.

V. IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Two basic facts emerge from the study: first, the data indicates that the agency caseload is composed mainly of lower class people and second the lower an unmarried mother's social class the less likely it is that she will decide to relinquish custody of her child. Both of these facts need to be elaborated in terms of there implications for adoption agency practice and further research.

A. Implications for Practice

Table I indicates that 51% of the unmarried mothers are in social class IV (upper-lower) and an additional 21% are in class V (lower-lower). Together the lower classes form 72% of the caseload. This has implications for practice in this and similar adoption agencies. It provides a key to understanding the background and the subsequent needs of these clients.

Much data has been gathered concerning the relationship between social class and the effectiveness of various types and methods of therapy. By using this, information services can be geared more to the type of therapy which has been shown, through research to be most effective with the lower social class groups shown here to predominate in the caseload.

The second significant fact is related to the agency treatment goal. The study indicates a highly significant relationship between the "decision to relinquish custody" and the social class of the unmarried mother. Specifically Table II indicates the higher the social class, the greater the chance that the mother will decide to relinquish custody of the child. The upper-lower and lower-lower social classes account for 91% (approx.) of the total number of mothers who "decide not to relinquish custody" yet this group accounts for only 71% of the total sample. The implications here depend upon the assumption, made throughout this study, that the preferred treatment goal for the mother and child is to have the

mother release the child. This goal can be reached more frequently, in light of the results of this study, if ways are found to deal with the problems which prevent the lower class unmarried mothers from "deciding to relinquish." New methods related to working with the lower classes may be useful to enhance attainment of the treatment goal.

There is a current trend in this area to use and develop new methods specifically designed to treat a neglected and large portion of our country's population, the lower socio-economic class. Some of the techniques suggested are home calls, long term supportive family therapy, the use of case aides with similar social class background and a variety of reaching out techniques arising from the new theories and data concerning lower class deprived and disturbed families.

B. Implications for Research

This study indicates a strong relationship between high social class and decision to release the child. It points to areas where more specific information is needed concerning the reasons that unmarried mothers in the lower class tend to release custody of their child less than upper class mothers. Specific kinds of interactions in the family of origin which tend to account for this need to be identified. The question is, can these interactions be countered through casework therapy so that a higher incidence of mothers would achieve the preferred treatment goal of relinquishing custody? Are certain interactions on the part of the worker's tending to play into a previously established client system which is preventing the decision to release? Finally, it is unclear whether the optimum treatment plan is in action to remedy lower class environmental problems or through more effective problem-solving with the unmarried mother when she appears at the agency. All of these questions are yet to be answered.

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APPENDIX I

TWO FACTOR INDEX OF SOCIAL POSITION

Two Factor Index of Social Position

August B. Hollingshead 1965 Yale Station New Haven, Connecticut



THE TWO FACTOR INDEX OF SOCIAL POSITION

I. Introduction.

The Two Factor Index of Social Position was developed to meet the need for an objective, easily applicable procedure to estimate the positions individuals occupy in the status structure of our society. Its development was dependent both upon detailed knowledge of the social structure, and procedures social scientists have used to delineate class position. It is premised upon three assumptions: (1) the existence of a status structure in the society; (2) positions in this structure are determined mainly by a few commonly accepted symbolic characteristics; and (3) the characteristics symbolic of status may be scaled and combined by the use of statistical procedures so that a researcher can quickly, reliably, and meaningfully stratify the population under study.

Occupation and education are the two factors utilized to determine social position. Occupation is presumed to reflect the skill and power individuals possess as they perform the many maintenance functions in the society. Education is believed to reflect not only knowledge, but also cultural tastes. The proper combination of these factors by the use of statistical techniques enable a researcher to determine within approximate limits the social position an individual occupies in the status structure of our society.

II. The Scale Scores.

To determine the social position of an individual or of a household two items are essential: (1) the precise occupational role the head of the household performs in the economy; and (2) the amount of

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formal schooling he has received. Each of these factors are then scaled according to the following system of scores.

A. The Occupational Scale.

1. Higher Executives, Proprietors of Large Concerns, and Major Professionals. a. Higher Executives Bank Presidents; Vice-Presidents Military, Commissioned Officers, Major Judges (Superior Courts) and above. Officials of the Executive Branch of Government, Large Business, e.g., Directors, Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Federal, State, Local, e.g., Assistant Vice-Presidents. Mayor, City Manager, City Plan Executive Secretary. Director. Internal Revenue Treasurer. Directors. Research Directors, Large Firms b. Large Proprietors (Value over \$100.000¹). Brokers Dairy Owners Contractors Lumber Dealers c. Major Professionals Accountants (C.P.A.) Economists Engineers (College Grad.) Actuaries Foresters Agronomists Architects Geologists Artists, Portrait Lawyers Astronomers Metallurgists Auditors Physicians Physicists, Research Bacteriologists Chemical Engineers Psychologists, Practicing Symphony Conductor Chemists Teachers, University, College Clergyman (Professionally Trained) Dentists Veterinarians (Veterinary Surgeons) 2. Business Managers, Proprietors of Medium Sized Businesses, and Lesser Professionals. a. Business Managers in Large Concerns. Advertising Directors Office Managers Branch Managers Personnel Managers Brokerage Salesmen Police Chief; Sheriff District Managers Postmaster Executive Assistants Production Managers Executive Managers, Govt. Officials, Sales Engineers minor, e.g., Internal Revenue Agents Sales Managers, National Concerns Sales Managers (Over \$100,000) Farm Managers

^{1.} The value of businesses is based upon the rating of financial strength in Dun and Bradstreet's Manual.

Advertising Owners (-\$100,000) Clothing Store Owners (-\$100,000) Contractors (-\$100,000) Express Company Owners (-\$100,000) Fruits, Wholesale (-\$100,000) Furniture Business (-\$100,000) Jewelers (-\$100,000) Labor Relations Consultants

c. Lesser Professionals Accountants (Not C.P.A.) Chiropodists Chiropractors Correction Officers Director of Community House Engineers (Not College Grad.) Finance Writers Health Educators Librarians

b. Proprietors of Medium Businesses (Value \$35,000-\$100,000) Manufacturer's Representatives Poultry Business (-\$100,000) Purchasing Managers Real Estate Brokers (-\$100,000) Rug Business (-\$100,000) Store Owners (-\$100,000) Theater Owners (-\$100,000)

> Military, Commissioned Officers, Lts., Captains Musicians (Symphony Orchestra) Nurses Opticians Pharmacists Public Health Officers (M.P.H.) Research Assistants, University (Full-time) Social Workers Teachers (Elementary and High)

3. Administrative Personnel, Small Independent Businesses, and Minor Professionals. a. Administrative Personnel Adjusters, Insurance Section Heads, Federal, State, and Advertising Agents Local Government Offices Chief Clerks Section Heads, Large Businesses Credit Managers and Industries Insurance Agents Service Managers Managers, Department Stores Shop Managers Passenger Agents--R.R. Store Managers (Chain) Private Secretaries Traffic Managers Purchasing Agents Sales Representatives

b. Small Business Owners (\$6,000-\$35,000)

Art Gallery Auto Accessories Awnings Bakery Beauty Shop Boatyard Brokerage, Insurance Car Dealers Cattle Dealers

Cigarette Machines Cleaning Shops Clothing Coal Businesses Convalescent Homes Decorating Dog Supplies Dry Goods Electrical Contractors Engraving Business

b. Small Business Owners (Continued)

Feed Finance Co., Local Fire Extinguishers 5 & 10 Florist Food Equipment Food Products Foundry Funeral Directors Furniture Garage Gas Station Glassware Grocery-General Hotel Proprietors Inst. of Music Jewelry Machinery Brokers Manufacturing

c. Semi-Professionals

Actors and Showmen Army M/Sgt; Navy C.P.O. Artists, Commercial Appraisers (Estimators) Clergymen (Not professionally trained) Concern Managers Deputy Sheriffs Dispatchers, R.R. Train I.B.M. Programmers Interior Decorators Interpreters, Court Laboratory Assistants Landscape Planners

Monuments Package Store (Liquor) Painting Contracting Plumbing Poultry Producers Publicity & Public Relations Real Estate Records and Radios Restaurant Roofing Contractor Shoe Shoe Repairs Signs Tavern Taxi Company Tire Shop Trucking Trucks and Tractors Upholstery Wholesale Outlets Window Shades

Morticians Oral Hygienists Photographers Physio-therapists Piano Teachers Radio, T.V. Announcers Reporters, Court Reporters, Newspaper Surveyors Title Searchers Tool Designers Travel Agents Yard Masters, R.R.

d. Farmers

Farm Owners (\$25,000-35,000)

4. Clerical and Sales Workers, Technicians, and Owners of Little Businesses. (Value under \$6,000)

a. Clerical and Sales Workers Bank Clerks and Tellers Bill Collectors Bookkeepers Business Machine Operators, Offices Claims Examiners Clerical or Stenographic Conductors, R.R. Employment Interviewers

Factory Storekeeper Factory Supervisor Post Office Clerks Route Managers (Salesmen) Sales Clerks Shipping Clerks Supervisors, Utilities, Factories Toll Station Supervisors Warehouse Clerks

b. Technicians

Camp Counselors Dental Technicians Draftsmen Driving Teachers Expeditor, Factory Experimental Tester Instructors, Telephone Co., Factory Inspectors, Weights, Sanitary Inspectors, R.R., Factory Investigators Laboratory Technicians Locomotive Engineers

c. Owners of Little Businesses.

Flower Shop (\$3,000-\$6,000) Newsstand (\$3,000-\$6,000) Tailor Shop (\$3,000-\$6,000)

d. Farmers.

Owners (\$10,000-\$20,000)

5. Skilled Manual Employees.

Adjusters, Typewriter Auto Body Repairers Bakers Barbers Blacksmiths Bookbinders Boilermakers Brakemen, R.R. Brewers Bulldozer Operators Butchers Cabinet Makers Carpenters Casters (Founders) Cement Finishers Cheese Makers Chefs Compositors Diemakers Diesel Engine Repair & Maintenance (Trained) Diesel Shovel Operators Electricians Electrotypists Engravers Exterminators Fitters, Gas, Steam Firemen, City Firemen, R.R. Foremen, Construction, Dairy Gardeners, Landscape (Trained)

Operators, P.B.X. Proofreaders Safety Supervisors Supervisors of Maintenance Technical Assistants Telephone Co. Supervisors Timekeepers Tower Operators, R.R. Truck Dispatchers Window Trimmers (Store)

Glassblowers Glaziers Gunsmiths Gauge Makers Hair Stylists Heat Treaters Horticulturists Lineman, Utility Linoleum Layers (Trained) Linotype Operators Lithographers Locksmiths Loom Fixers Lumber jacks Machinists (Trained) Maintenance Foremen Installers, Electrical Appliances Masons Masseurs Mechanics (Trained) Millwrights Moulders (Trained) Painters Paperhangers Patrolmen, R.R. Pattern and Model Makers Piano Builders Piano Tuners Plumbers Policemen, City Postmen

5. Skilled Manual Employees (Continued)

Printers Radio, T.V., Maintenance Repairmen, Home Appliances Riggers Rope Splicers Sheetmetal Workers (Trained) Shipsmiths Shoe Repairmen (Trained) Stationary Engineers (Licensed) Stewards, Club Switchmen, R.R. Tailors (Trained) Teletype Operators Toolmakers Track Supervisors, R.R. Tractor-Trailer Trans. Typographers Upholsterers (Trained) Watchmakers Weavers Welders Yard Supervisors, R.R.

Small Farmers

Owners (under \$10,000) Tenants who own farm equipment

6. Machine Operators and Semi-Skilled Employees

Aides, Hospital Apprentices, Electricians, Printers Steamfitters, Toolmakers Assembly Line Workers Bartenders Bingo Tenders Building Superintendents (Cust.) Bus Drivers Checkers Clay Cutters Coin Machine Fillers Cooks, Short Order Delivery Men Dressmakers, Machine Drill Press Operators Duplicator Machine Operators Elevator Operators Enlisted Men, Military Services Filers, Benders, Buffers, Foundry Workers Garage and Gas Station Assistants Greenhouse Workers Guards, Doorkeepers, Watchmen Hairdressers Housekeepers Meat Cutters and Packers Meter Readers Operators, Factory Machines Oiler, R.R. Paper Rolling Machine Operators

Photostat Machine Operators Practical Nurses Pressers, Clothing Pump Operators Receivers and Checkers Roofers Set-up Men, Factories Shapers Signalmen, R.R. Solderers, Factory Sprayers, Paint Steelworkers (Not Skilled) Stranders, Wire Machines Strippers, Rubber Factory Taxi Drivers Testers Timers Tire Moulders Trainmen, R.R. Truck Drivers, General Waiters-Waitresses ("Better Places") Weighers Welders, Spot Winders, Machine Wiredrawers, Machine Wine Bottlers Wood Workers, Machine Wrappers, Stores and Factories

Farmers

Smaller Tenants who own little equipment.

7. Unskilled Employees.

Amusement Park Workers (Bowling Alleys, Pool Rooms) Ash Removers Attendants, Parking Lots Cafeteria Workers Car Cleaners, R.R. Car Helpers, R.R. Carriers, Coal Countermen Dairy Workers Deck Hands Domestics Farm Helpers Fishermen (Clam Diggers) Freight Handlers Garbage Collectors Grave Diggers Hod Carriers Hog Killers Hospital Workers, Unspecified Hostlers, R.R.

Janitors, Sweepers Laborers, Construction Laborers, Unspecified Laundry Workers Messengers Platform Men, R.R. Peddlers Porters Roofer's Helpers Shirt Folders Shoe Shiners Sorters, Rag and Salvage Stagehands Stevedores Stock Handlers Street Cleaners Unskilled Factory Workers Truckmen, R.R. Waitresses -- "Hash Houses" Washers, Cars Window Cleaners Woodchoppers

Relief, Public, Private Unemployed (No Occupation)

Farmers

Share Croppers

This scale is premised upon the assumption that occupations have different values attached to them by the members of our society. The hierarchy ranges from the low evaluation of unskilled physical labor toward the more prestigeful use of skill, through the creative talents of ideas, and the manipulation of men. The ranking of occupational functions implies that some men exercise control over the occupational pursuits of other men. Normally, a person who possesses highly trained skills has control over several other people. This is exemplified in a highly developed form by an executive in a large business enterprise who may be responsible for decisions affecting thousands of employees.

B. The Educational Scale

The educational scale is premised upon the assumption that men and women who posses similar educations will tend to have similar tastes and similar attitudes, and they will also tend to exhibit similar behavior patterns. The educational scale is divided into seven positions: (1) Graduate Professional Training. (Persons who complete a recognized professional course leading to a graduate degree are given scores of 1). (2) Standard College or University Graduation. (All individuals who complete a four-year college or university course leading to a recognized college degree are assigned the same scores. No differentiation is made between state universities, or private colleges.) (3) Partial College Training. (Individuals who complete at least one year but not a full college course are assigned this position. Most individuals in this category complete from one to three years of college.) (4) High School Graduates. (All secondary school graduates whether from a private preparatory school, a public high school, a trade school, or a parochial high school, are assigned the same scale value.) (5) Partial High School. (Individuals who complete the tenth or the eleventh grades, but do not complete high school are given this score.) (6) Junior High School. (Individuals who complete the seventh grade through the ninth grade are given this position.) (7) Less Than Seven Years of School. (Individuals who do not complete the seventh grade are given the same scores irrespective of the amount of education they receive.)

III. Integration of Two Factors

The factors of <u>Occupation</u> and <u>Education</u> are combined by weighing the individual scores obtained from the scale positions. The weights for each factor were determined by multiple correlation techniques. The weight for each factor is:

Factor	Factor Weight
Occupation	7
Education	4

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To calculate the <u>Index of Social Position</u> score for an individual the scale value for <u>Occupation</u> is multiplied by the factor weight for <u>Occupation</u>, and the scale value for <u>Education</u> is multiplied by the factor weight for <u>Education</u>. For example, John Smith is the manager of a chain supermarket. He completed high school and one year of business college. His Index of Social Position score is computed as follows:

Factor	Scale Score	Factor Weight	Score X Weight
Occupation	3	7	21
Education	3	4	12
	Index of Socia	al Position Score	33

IV. Index of Social Position Scores.

The Two Factor Index of Social Position Scores may be arranged on a continuum, or divided into groups of scores. The range of scores on a continuum is from a low of 11 to a high of 77. For some purposes a researcher may desire to work with a continuum of scores. For other purposes he may desire to break the continuum into a hierarchy of score groups.

I have found the most meaningful breaks for the purpose of predicting the social class position of an individual or of a nuclear family is as follows:

Social Class	Range of Computed Scores
I	11-17
II	18-27
III	28-43
IV	44-60
V	61 - 77

When the <u>Two Factor Index of Social Position</u> is relied upon to determine class status, differences in individual scores within a specified range are ignored, and the scores within the range are treated as a unit. This procedure assumes there are meaningful differences between the score groups. Individuals and nuclear families with scores that fall into a given segment of the range of scores assigned to a particular class are presumed to belong to the class the <u>Two Factor Index of Social Position</u> score predicts for it.

The assumption of a meaningful correspondence between an estimated class position of individuals and their social behavior has been validated by the use of factor analysis.² The validation study demonstrated the existence of classes when mass communication data are used as criteria of social behavior.

2

See August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1958, pp. 398-407.

