REPLICATION OF SOCIAL CLASS AND

RACIAL CLEAVAGES UPON

MAJOR SOCIAL INDICATORS

By

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For

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to replicate the work of Smith (1985) in the area of

social stratification. This replication is pursued in this study to put currently held

sociological theories of stratification and race to statistical test in relation to competing

theories, and possibly give some indication as to which direction both stratification and

race related research and theories should take in the future. Smith attempted to

comparatively assess theories of social stratification through the use of empirical data

provided by the General Social Survey. This study will modify the work of Smith to

focus on two key arguments concerning conflict models of social class, while also

considering race. The primary research question addressed in this study will be: how

well do measures of social class, based on position of authority in the workplace and

economic sector location, predict worldviews, social tolerance and political attitudes, and

how does race impact these relationships? This replication will address issues of the

usefulness of traditional models of social stratification in predicting the relationships

between social class and "worldview" indicators such as worldview (social orientations),

social tolerance (the level to which tolerance is expressed toward those with views

contrary to the norm), and political attitudes (referring to political views on issues, not

political affiliation).

Smith attempted to determine the relationship between various measures of social class and worldview indicators (referring to measures of worldview, social tolerance and political attitudes for the purpose of this study). This study was carried out by Smith in the desire to determine the validity of currently held sociological theories of social stratification and their links to worldviews and attitudes. In his study, Smith's worldview indicators were correlated with four measures of class. Social class was measured by economic sector, structural position of authority, self-reported class, and socio-economic status. After this was done, Smith also set out to determine if the relationships (or lack thereof) were influenced by race. The study revealed small correlations between measures of social class and the worldview indicators, and concluded that the exact nature of these relationships were unsettled. Likewise, no clear indications were given as to the impact of race upon these relationships. Due to the ambiguity of these results and the accompanying theoretical implications, Smith's study should be replicated in an attempt to ascertain the existence of these relationships.

Of all the measures of social class used in the Smith study, two stand out more than the others: economic sector location and structural position. Even though these measures proved to yield stronger overall relationships to the worldview indicators in classes and races, they are not significantly related to one another. These two measures also have a more solid theoretical sociological basis as theories of social structure in the line of traditional stratification literature. Further, a clear question arises from the use of these measures: Can differences in worldview, social tolerance and political views be explained more readily by the sectors individuals in work or the position individuals hold, and does this hold true when accounting for race? For these reasons, economic sector

location and structural position measures, along with race, have been chosen for the current study.

At this point it is necessary to provide an overview of the upcoming chapters. First I will define social stratification as it is used in the current study. Second, theories and research concerning the relationship between social group and views will be examined. Next, the theories of Marx and Marxist informed works will be presented to show the connection between socially stratified economic classes and their divergent interests and views. Then, a reflection of Weber's work will show how life-chances and non-material possessions tend to stratify individuals into groups with others like themselves, and how ideology is used in capitalist societies by elites. After that, Wright (1978, 1982) will be used to demonstrate how once fairly homogeneous classes have become fragmented due to contradictory relationships in the workplace. Next, I will use Dahrendorf's (1959) work to illustrate how ideology is used in society to prevent revolutionary behavior in the masses that have been subjected to lower social standing due to lack of personal authority. Then, Wilson's (1978) theory will be used to show the possibility of the decreased importance of race in determining social class. Finally, Smith's (1985) findings will be reviewed to give the basis for replication. This study will focus on structural theories in the conflict tradition in an attempt to determine the usefulness of these theories in explaining worldviews, social tolerance and political attitudes. The general null hypothesis used in this study is that social class may not be related to worldview, social tolerance and political attitudes.

The expected result of this change is to more narrowly frame the study into a comparison of conflict theories of social stratification. Namely, the focus is now on

authoritative position in the workplace, occupational type (manufacturing or service), and race (now treated as both an independent and control variable). This allows race to be looked at independently of other class measures and may reveal relationships that were obscured in Smith's study.

In chapter two, key concepts of theories in social stratification will be explored, as well as literature concerning the impact of worldviews upon class position. Chapter three will address the methodology of this replication and certain modifications that were employed in an attempt to more adequately address the relationships between social class, race and worldviews. The results of this study will be presented in chapter four, along with their implications regarding the hypotheses. Finally, chapter five will draw conclusions based upon the findings and will present some possible alternatives for future study.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTUALIZATION AND DESIGN

Social stratification and racial inequality have been two widely studied, often overlapping, areas in the social sciences. However, my study is limited to looking at the relationship between race, social class and worldview indicators through the conflict tradition in sociology.

One of the best simple definition of the macro-level conflict tradition in sociology is provided by Collins. Collins (1974: 148) states:

> The basic stance of conflict theory was taken by Machiavelli. Its fundamental element is a capacity for naturalistic realism, for sustained periods of intellectual detachment from the rhetoric of popular controversy. Men follow their own interests; success breeds honor; power breeds ambition; morality is based on violence, but works best by deception, especially through the staging of dramatic gestures; mass support is useful in the struggle of elites, and can be manipulated by show, especially of the externals of religion. This line of analysis was advanced by Marx's sociology, which specifies the conditions shaping interests and conflicts, describes the resources that enable particular interests to dominate, and generalizes about the relationship between the ideological surface of public consciousness and the real events below.

Within the conflict tradition in sociology, two views of stratification and racial inequality are prominent that are, in the end, mutually exclusive of one another (Wilson 1978). First, race is portrayed as a tool used by elites in society to keep one group of people from attaining equality with another group and reduce the threat of large-scale social unity of people that are diversified by race (Dahrendorf 1959). In this case, stratification

is the manifestation of hatred, malice or fear directed toward another group, usually the minority (which may be numeric, economic or level of empowerment). This type of stratification, in the form of racial stratification, can be seen very evidently in Jim Crow legislation in U.S. history and Apartheid of South Africa. The typically advocated response by sociologists who subscribe to this view of stratification is to empower the mistreated or underprivileged group through social action programs and social movements (Farley 1984).

The second sociological view of race and stratification can be summed as claiming that race is partially or completely irrelevant to stratification in society (Wilson 1978). The general assumption is that class distinctions are colorblind and are responsible for the stratification of people in society regardless of race. In this case, pronouncement of racial inequality is a vehicle that elites in society use to keep the lower classes divided and thus limit the threat to their power. Examples of this type of stratification are less overt than in the first type, but can be seen in the dynamics of consumer society. In short those with the most buying power and influence in the marketplace are the most prominent in society, and thus are privileged to a higher social class. The solution to this problem would be for the lower classes to unite regardless of racial distinction and see the similarities of their situations, with the end result being class unification (Marx and Engels 1970).

The following review of literature will display key points of each of these views and their intellectual bases. The primary goal of this study is to enlighten and enrich our understanding of the complex dynamics of social inequality. This study will also attempt to determine if structural conflict theories can be useful in predicting worldviews, social

tolerance and political attitudes and in making such claims as has been found in previous studies. In particular, this chapter will explore work that has been done in determining the impact of economic sector, position of authority in the workplace, and race on social stratification. To restate the outline in chapter one, social stratification will first be defined as it is used in the current study. Second, theories and research concerning the relationship between social group and views will be examined. Next, the theories of Marx and Marxist informed works will be presented to show the connection between socially stratified economic classes and their divergent interests and views. Then, a reflection of Weber's work will show how life-chances and non-material possessions tend to stratify individuals into groups with others like themselves, and how ideology is used in capitalist societies by elites. After that, Wright (1978, 1982) will be used to demonstrate how once fairly homogeneous classes have become fragmented due to contradictory relationships in the workplace. Next, I will use Dahrendorf's (1959) work to illustrate how ideology is used in society to prevent revolutionary behavior in the masses that have been subjected to lower social standing due to lack of personal authority. Then, Wilson's (1978) theory will be used to show the possibility of the decreased importance of race in determining social class. Finally, Smith's (1985) findings will be reviewed to give the basis for replication. This study will focus on structural theories in the conflict tradition in an attempt to determine the usefulness of these theories in explaining worldviews, social tolerance and political attitudes. The general null hypothesis used in this study is that social class may not be related to worldview, social tolerance and political attitudes.

<u>Stratification and Social Difference</u>

Before beginning the discussion of theories of stratification in this section, a formal definition of the subject needs to be established. This study will employ the following definition of stratification:

> Social differences become social stratification when people are ranked hierarchically along some dimension of inequality. Members of the Various layers or strata tend to have common life-chances or lifestyles and may display an awareness of a common identity, and these characteristics further distinguish them from other strata. It is safe to say that all large complex societies are stratified… (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner 2000:346).

As can be seen in the definition provided, at the heart of stratification is social ranking based on the possession or absence of something that can lead to viewing others as different or similar. These social indicators range from ascribed racial characteristics, to income, to job status, to geographical location, age, and sex. Social difference can be seen in many forms, these will be discussed in the proceeding pages. However, the majority of attention will be paid to how groups in various stratified positions tend to share fairly similar worldviews, social tolerance levels and political ideologies.

Social Class and Dispositions

According to Abercrombie, et al (2000), cultural values often create situations of social closure and exclusion as the primary reason for lack of interactions between social classes. Briefly stated, these commonly shared views possessed a group tends to exert heavy influence upon views of how the world should and should not be and how the current state of the society is perceived by those living in it (Ritzer 2000). For the

purposes of this project, commonly shared group views will include worldviews related to political views and social tolerance levels associated with class membership.

Based upon this argument, it is assumed that social class has measurable impacts on aspects of individual life other than socio-economic standing and status attainment. Research by Davis (1959) and Easterlin (1974) has tended to show that those in a social class tend to possess similar worldviews, levels of social tolerance and political attitudes to others in their class. Davis' (1959) study on relative deprivation points to the relationship between social status, level of happiness, and optimism in life. Davis found a positive correlation found between social class and positive worldview, accompanied by higher optimism concerning one's future, and current life satisfaction. However, Easterlin (1974) argues that as the socio-economic condition of a nation improves, worldview tends to remain constant, rather than increasing in a linear relation. These studies suggest that worldview is associated with social class, but has more to do with membership in a particular occupational class than the economic well-being of the individual.

However, the relationship between classes and worldviews are determined, in Davis' (1959) work, by numerous attributes of desirability in various combinations that are difficult to determine. The most noteworthy of such attributes include education, marital status, income, occupation, race and gender. Based upon this literature, designations of social class appear to be strongly associated with particular types of worldviews, with socio-economic status not being a determinate factor.

Research by Stouffer (1954), Hoge and Hoge (1984) point out the link between social class and social tolerance of others. Both studies found that groups, especially age

cohorts, tend to share levels of tolerance concerning issues of controversy. Stouffer found significant variation between classes in tolerance for atheists and communists as: speechmakers, college professors and authors of books found in public libraries (however, this raises the question of relevance being an atheist or a communist is today? Perhaps it was more important in the 1950s, which would likely cause lower levels of tolerance at that time). Higher social classes tended to be more tolerant of those possessing views outside the norm, while lower classes were less likely to accept such behavior by individuals. These findings indicate that those in higher social classes are exposed to a wider range of ideologies, and that lower social classes view the world more rigidly within the dominate ideology of their group (Smith 1985).

Janowitz (1970, 1978) found that those in higher socio-economic groups tended to be more conservative than lower socio-economic groups, with some variation between racial categories (blacks and whites). However findings by Converse (1958) indicate that this may not always be the case with higher and lower status groups. Therefore, based on conclusions of Converse socio-economic status seems to be more predictive of political attitudes in relation to political behavior than prestige rank, leading to the conclusion that socio-economic status is more important in determining some world views that status determined by social prestige alone. However, the relationships between political attitudes in relation to class position and class location were not addressed in his study and are undetermined.

By looking at class using worldviews, political attitudes and social tolerance, relationships can be determined that show where the boundaries of class are and if those boundaries correspond with the assumptions made by the theories of social class. These

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boundaries very often are responsible for social closure and limit life chances and social mobility of individuals that hold divergent worldviews and attitudes.

Economic Stratification and Political/Ideological Views and Structural Position

Conflict theories of stratification can be traced back to the work of Karl Marx. For Marx, social difference was based solely upon one's relation to the means of production in capitalist society. Marx divided capitalist society into classes: the owners and the workers. Either a person owned the productive mechanisms, in the form of factories or the resources necessary to complete manufacturing, or they were forced to labor for them.. Those who were in possession of the means of production were termed owners, or the "bourgeoisie," those who did not were referred to as workers or the "proletariat." The conflict comes in over control over material resources and ideology. Those that are alike in their relationship to the means of production compose class, or for this discussion, a group with its own habitus. The views of this group, in the mind of Marx, would be in opposition to the system of capitalism and exploitation, and would be set up for failure by those wielding power in society. According to Marx, views that are contradictory to those employed by the capitalist system can be combated through the manipulation of ideology. For the remainder of this study, ideology will be conceptualized to include worldviews, political attitudes and social tolerances that are held by individuals and groups.

Marx (1970) demarcated two types of consciousness that workers possess in capitalist society: false consciousness and class consciousness. The dominate ideology promoted by the elites is another mechanism by which the owners oppress the workers.

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The workers are forced to do things that are not in their best interests. Marx called this false consciousness, because when workers do not comprehend where their true interests lie and become complicit with the owners in their own exploitation. The inverse of false consciousness is being fully aware of exploitation or class consciousness (aware of the needs of the group to which an individual belongs), at which point the workers realize that their true interests are the interests of the class of which they are a part. When workers achieve class consciousness, they tend to become revolutionary in their behavior, such as that which occurred during the People Power Movement of 1986 in the Philippines.

Therefore, to keep the workers docile, the elites work very hard to maintain the dominant hegemony which is crucial to the continuance of the current social order. Acceptance of false consciousness becomes problematic when attempting to study class in that people often lose objectivity of where they stand and what their interests are. The truth or fiction of either false or class consciousness is not relevant to the issue, the acceptance of the ideology is the key to social order or unrest. As a result, worldview can be shaped by either false or class consciousness to an equal degree.

Landecker (1963) found that those who possessed a higher level of class crystallization were conscious of the status and interests of their class, but were often unconscious of the class barriers that prevented social mobility. Class crystallization was defined as the unification of or conformity to ideas the interests of the class in which the person is a member held in common with other members. Class crystallization was determined in the study by calculating a score in the rank system of agreement with others of the class they claimed to belong to on issues relating to class interests. The

more closely the respondent mirrored the responses of the group, the higher the level of class crystallization, or the unification of ideas about the interests of the class with those reported by other members of the same class. The study attributed the lack of consciousness regarding social mobility to the acceptance of the ideology of the "American Dream," the politically and economically motivated ideology that all people have equal opportunities to experience class mobility and happiness in life, with mobility being primarily a product of hard work and personal character. The acceptance of this ideology was found in every class to a similar degree, indicating that class ideology and views are common for all classes. However, this study did not account for racial and gender differences, and applies more readily to white males, which were the only group included in the study. This creates a situation in which there is a higher level of homogeneity and an increased likelihood shared group views (for example being a white, male).

Zingraff and Schulman (1984) studied class conflict consciousness, the extent to which workers are revolutionary in their views, in southern textile factories. Class conflict consciousness is conceptualized as having four components that lead to a more revolutionary disposition: working class identification, class verbalization, class action, and action toward egalitarian change. This type of consciousness was stronger for the entire group when income was low, people were more active in unions and expressed higher job dissatisfaction. The study also found that black class conflict consciousness was stronger if the worker had a farming background, which implies a lack of previous knowledge of and relationships within the industrial sector (Zingraff and Schulman 1984:107). When looking at class conflict consciousness of women no significance was

found, a conclusion that was explained as the result of the development of an "ideology of working women," a concept that implies that the views of women are very close to those of men in the workplace due to their similar experiences, with no indication that the women see themselves as being impacted by the "glass ceiling."

These finding are significant in that they show that within the working class, views of class situation are at times impacted by membership in particular groups such as racial, geographical and gender; though at times this relationship can be superceded by the acceptance of an ideology. These relationships are far from well defined, and will be addressed in this study. However, these works do reveal the existence of a definite relationship between structural position and worldviews, but this relationship may be moderated by acceptance of dominant ideology. This study will address this issue with a general hypothesis that structural position will be related to worldview indicators.

Life-chances, Non-material Objects, Cultural Values and Structural Position

While Marx was indeed groundbreaking in his concepts, the model is limited in that it only conceptualized social difference based upon relation to the means of production. Weber saw many of the same problems with modern, capitalist society and the exploitation of workers that Marx referred to, but attempted to create a more complex model to enhance the discussion of social stratification. Weber argued that the primary social difference that people face is what he termed "life-chances." Life-chances are the likelihood that an individual will be able to achieve their desired level of attainment of these socially valued objects. Factors that contribute to life-chances include educational attainment and credentials, family name and personal associations.

In this view, people are seen as being, above all, consumers of objects of social desire, which may be either material or non-material. This is how a key difference between the works of Marx (a materialist) and Weber are characterized in the literature (Ritzer 2000). The non-material objects most desired by individuals in society are political power, prestige and wealth. Political power is based on the possession of authority (i.e. power), and is the ability to cause your will to be done in the face of resistance of others. Prestige represents the rank a person has in society due to possession of socially sought objects, status symbols such as type of clothing, neighborhood, job title, etc. Weber looked at wealth in terms of its non-material properties, in the same way he viewed status, prestige and social esteem or respect. Wealth is therefore representative of something a person has other than currency or assets; put simply, it is an unseen force that allows objects to move in possession from one person to another. By using Weber's model of power, prestige, wealth and other socially valued characteristics in relation to life chances, people can be sorted into many more groups than was possible with the Marxist model of class based upon the relationship to the means of production (Ritzer 2000, Weber 1946, 1982). Stratification in Weber's work still focuses on position in some form of hierarchy, but it is more culturally dynamic than simply the relationship to the means of production.

Berger, Rosenholtz and Zelditch (1980) attempted to study processes by which prestige rank is determined. Various groups were given surveys that asked which adjectives better describe: males and females, blacks and whites, and photographs of individuals of various levels of attractiveness. These adjectives, whether positive or negative, were used to determine acceptance of the person. The study concluded that

being male, white or physically attractive increases the life-chances of an individual. The study determined that these factors are important for life-chances because they are visually observable and have significant social meaning that allow some status to be ascribed. It was unclear from the study if these factors work together in an additive manner to increase life-chances. However, the study did find that being attractive was more important for women than for men in determining status. These findings illustrate the impact of the perceptions of acceptance or rejection that are shared by social groups, and their impacts on life-chances. This conclusion further illustrates the existence of commonly held group habitus, and this tends to lead to social closure.

Artz, Curtis, Fairbank and Jackson (1971) attempted to determine if social rank systems differ from one community to another. Using a factor analysis, the study ranked six variables in relation to views of class. The variables for study were income, education, occupation, respondent's rating of neighborhood and class position, marital status and race. The study found that rating of neighborhood and class position were the most common factors for predicting status of the entire group. These findings support Weber, in that those with shared lifestyles are regarded as being in the same status group with similar levels of acceptance of group ideology. Being in a neighborhood and in a particular economic class gives a person access to those in the neighborhood with similar economic positions and other attributes in common, due to the fact that neighborhoods are most often homogeneous. The findings of the works presented in this section are significant to the current study, primarily due to their implications of social class as determined by non-material objects.

Relationships in the Workplace and Structural Position

Up to this point, stratification has been dealt with as either a result of relationship to the means of production (Marx) or possession of power, prestige or wealth (Weber). However, some theorists have attempted to bridge the gaps between these two views of class, among these theorists is Erik Olin Wright (1978, 1982). Wright conceptualized society in much the same way as Marx, providing a middle ground between Marx and Weber. Wright went beyond the simple equation of social position being equal to one's relation to the means of production. In this view, classes are defined by the amount of control a person possesses in legal economic ownership, means of production, and labor power of others. Because amounts of control of each of these measures of class vary, society becomes dominated by "contradictory relationships," which is similar to the condition of alienation. A contradictory relationship is found when a person possesses a similar level of control in one or two areas as another person, but differs in the other level(s). This creates multiple classes in which a clear class consciousness is hard to develop in a large group of people (Wright 1982, 2001).

Wright (1978) first attempted to clarify the relationship between race and social class regarding returns on education in the amount of money education was worth in the market. Social class was determined by two factors: controlling the means of production and controlling the labor power of others. Based upon these factors, individuals were placed into four categories: employers, mangers/supervisors, petty bourgeoisie, and workers. The study concluded that managers as a whole receive higher returns for education than workers. Black males are more concentrated in the working class than white males. When class position is ignored, black males receive lower returns on

education than white males. Within the working class and supervisor class, the returns to education for black and white males were more similar than for all blacks and all whites. The study was unable to show that within the managerial category, black males receive lower returns than white males. Wright concludes that control in capitalist society strongly determines the amount of return individuals receive on education, regardless of race. This control is provided through access to supervisory positions in the capitalist system. Therefore, social mobility tends to be more likely for those that have the ability to develop relationships with others in higher positions, once again bringing up the relevance of social closure and habitus. This brings us to one of the more recent methods of operationalizing class, which will be used in the analysis later.

Institutional Class Conflict, Decreased Class Consciousness and Structural Position

Other theorists, such as Ralf Dahrendorf (1959), fall more closely in line with the work of Weber. While Wright views stratification more in terms of economic ownership much like Marx, Dahrendorf stresses authority over ownership. Dahrendorf (1959) views social differentiations as being based upon varying amounts of authority possessed by individuals in society. People seek control over others above material gain, or at the very least to decrease the amount of control others have over them. Through the diffusion of authority over time and the increased complexity of capitalist systems, the polarized classes Marx referred to have become decomposed. Owners have been divided into upper, middle and lower management while workers have become skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled, by descending order of status and authority. This causes the interests of each group to become more distinct to that group, and prevents large scale class

consciousness of the formerly polarized classes from developing. The end result is smaller classes that attempt to protect themselves from the classes below while striving to be more like the classes above.

Britt and Galle (1972) looked at this type of vertical conflict in industry, namely the relationship between union size and union involvement and management types regarding frequency and duration of strikes. The study found that average sized unions were more likely to strike than larger unions, and those unions that were more highly involved with the cause of the union tended to be more intense in their strikes. The study found that a smaller union may be more likely to share the same interests, and may in fact be made up of workers of the same skill level. Justification for this was that such a group can mobilize more quickly and more unified than if there were competing interests inside the union. This type of union is often very selective, lacks diversity and has very little common ground with other groups, which in the end may cause the group to become ineffective. However, the system remains stable due to the fact that the workers are occupied with the matters of the union. Both small and large unions, due to makeup and lack of ability to cause large scale social movements, act to pacify the worker rather than empower through transmission of the ideology of equality and justice through the groups which are more likely to be revolutionary in their views. Belief in the validity of various organizations that provide institutionalized means of avoiding conflict must be maintained if the current social system is to survive, and this belief is maintained by the continued transmission of the ideology created for that purpose. Based upon this perspective, this study will utilize a general hypothesis that ideology of the group impacts worldview indicators more than the economic and social dispositions of the group.

The Continuation of Inequality in the Post-Civil Rights Era and Economic Sector

Similar types of organizations and policies have been used to suppress ethnic, racial and gender inequality and unrest as well. So-called "gains" that were made in the various forms of inequality have acted to bolster pre-existing class inequalities and have only marginally benefited the welfare of women and minorities as a whole. Wilson (1978:19) states that:

> The problem for blacks today, in terms of government practice, is no longer one of racial inequality. Rather the problem for blacks, especially the black underclass, is that the government is not organized to deal with the new barriers imposed by structural changes in the economy. With the passage of equal employment legislation and the authorization of affirmative action programs the government has helped clear the path for more privileged blacks, who have the requisite education and training, to enter the mainstream of American occupations. However, such government programs do not confront the impersonal economic barriers confronting members of the black underclass, who have been effectively screened out of the corporate and government industries. And the very attempts of the government to eliminate traditional racial barriers through such programs as affirmative action have had the unintentional effect of contributing to the growing economic class divisions within the black community.

This method of splitting disenfranchised groups and the pacification of the more powerful segment can also be found in struggles regarding women, other minorities and the underclass as a whole (Ritzer 2000). However, Wilson singled out the experience of blacks in America due to the nature of the historical struggle for equality and the modern usage of antiquated measures that are no longer sufficient to combat inequality on the part of the black community. To support this view, Wilson laid out a historical framework for race relations in America in three parts: plantation economy and racial-caste oppression – up to and immediately after slavery; industrial expansion, class conflict and racial oppression – up to World War II; and progressive transition from

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racial inequalities to class inequalities – which grew strong in the 1960's and continues to present day.

At this point Wilson contends that race is increasingly less significant, and one's placement in the industrial sector became more important in relation to social class and inequality, especially at the beginning of this period. In particular, life-chances tend to be better for those employed in the growing competitive sector rather than the declining manufacturing sector, even with similar levels of education, status and wealth. Wilson also speculated that blacks working in either the competitive or manufacturing sector would have more in common with white workers in similar positions than with other blacks in dissimilar positions, including worldviews, political attitudes and social tolerances. Those in the manufacturing sector were more vulnerable to job insecurity in the marketplace due to environmental costs and concerns, replacement of human labor by machinery, and the trend to use cheaper labor provided by third world countries. Wilson indicated that these more negative social and economic conditions could in turn produce negative worldviews in the workers of the manufacturing sector compared with the workers of the competitive sector (Smith 1985, Wilson 1978). Therefore, based upon the work of Wilson, this study will use a general hypothesis that economic sector location should be related to worldview indicators, and that the impact of race will not be significant.

Summary

Based upon the preceding works two things are clear. First, groups possess views and attitudes that are unique to them. These groups have been differentiated by relation

to means of production, socio-economic status, race, gender and credentials, among other things that are difficult to establish. Second, certain elements of the views of the group that may prove threatening to the current social order can be suppressed by the promotion of a dominate ideology through the values spread by the acceptance of social institutions, legal systems and political venues of protest, and thus reduce the impact of social class on views and attitudes. Therefore, it should be stated here that it may be difficult to gauge variations in worldviews, political attitudes and social tolerances due to the impact of what Marx referred to as "false consciousness" and this point should be kept in mind with the progression of this study.

Nonetheless, empirical analyses have served to clarify certain dimensions of the relationships between (or among) class, worldviews, social tolerance and political attitudes. It is in this tradition that the current study will progress. Put more succinctly, this study will attempt to ascertain the level at which cognitive structural measures of class coincide with institutional structural measures of class (either vertical or horizontal).

Methodology

This study uses data from the 2000 General Social Survey to replicate and refine the hypotheses laid out in Smith's study. The data were collected through the use of random selection of English speaking U.S. citizens over the age of 18 years that were individually interviewed. The respondent's replies were then coded and recorded, and made available through Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research. The total number of individuals included in the 2000 GSS sample was 2,817 before missing data was eliminated.

The GSS first began to sample the U.S. population in 1972 in order to create a data set with a broad range of topics exclusively designed for usage by members of the social science community. Since the first study was done up to 1994, the GSS has been administered every year with the exception of 1979, 1981 and 1992. After 1994, the survey has been conducted on a bi-annual basis. This data set is extremely useful in replication of previous research due to the wide availability and the repetition of the survey over time. This allows researchers to replicate studies over the same year and the years before and after the study was done. The GSS has surveyed over 25,000 individuals using 1,500 questions over this time (Davis and Smith,1992).

For this study, data was taken from the 2000 General Social Survey. Taking data from a single year of the GSS is a variation of the method Smith employed in the original study. This was done to reduce the possibility of corruption of the findings through invalid comparisons between years. By taking a single year of the GSS as a source of data the study can rely more heavily on the merit of the validity of the sample. This decision did have a negative consequence in relation to the replication of Smith's study, namely, not all the questions used in the original study were available in the 2000 GSS. However the core questions of the study remain, in many instances suitable replacement questions were found and other questions were omitted due to lack of relevance or the fact variables that were excluded in the more recent data set.

Two independent theoretical models will be employed to test the various hypotheses that were originally laid out in Smith's study and derived from the literature explicated in Chapter 2. These models are based upon the variables indicating social class as being defined by placement in the authority structure of economic sector (class1)

based upon the works of Marx, Weber, Dahrendorf and Wright, and location in the industrial sector (class2) based upon the works of Wilson and Smith. The two models will then be compared using three separate groups of variables, summed up as worldview, political views and social tolerance. In addition, each will also be compared by race to determine if these attributes are related to class, race, or a combination.

Recoding of the variables took place in the following manner to account for missing data. Missing data in the study was dealt with in two ways. In the instances in which the respondent was not asked the question (NAP), the response was deleted from the study. Other types of missing data are don't know (D/K) and no answer (N/A), and in both cases these were recoded to the series mean for that variable. This was done to reduce the likelihood that missing data would alter the distribution of the data and to insure that a D/K or N/A response would not eliminate other responses given by an individual in the data analysis (Babbie, 1992).

Dependent variables were placed into three groups: worldview, social tolerance and political attitude, each presented here with valid N after missing data was excluded. Worldview variables include "general level of happiness" (N=2,512), "happiness in marriage" (N=2,512), "view of life as dull or exciting" (N=2,512), "view of others as helpful" (N=2,512), "view of others as fair" (N=2,512), "others as trustworthy" (N=2,512), "confidence in banks and financial institutions" (N=2,512), "confidence in the executive branch of the federal government" (N=2,512), "confidence in organized labor" (N=2,512), "confidence in the military" (N=2,512), and "confidence in the courts (N=2512). Research has shown that worldview becomes more positive as social class increases (Davis 1959, Easterlin 1974, Smith 1985).

Social tolerance variables were tolerance of atheists as: speechmakers (N=1,027), college professors (N=1,027) and public library bookwriters (N=1,027); and tolerance of communists as: speechmakers (N=1,027), college professors (N=1,027) and public library bookwriters (N=1,027). Research has shown that as social tolerance increases as class increases (Hoge and Hoge 1984, Smith 1985, Stouffer 1954).

The political attitude variables include "conservatism" (N=2,512), "opposition to increased funding for: protecting the environment" (N=2,512), "health care" (N=2,512), "anti-crime programs" (N=2,512), "controlling drugs" (N=2,512), "improving education" (N=2,512), "programs for blacks" (N=2,512), "the military" (N=2,512), "foreign aid" (N=2,512), and "welfare" (N=2,512). Research has shown that conservative views increase as social class increases (Converse 1958, Janowitz 1970 and 1978, Smith 1985).

Responses to race were narrowed to either black or white, all other cases were few in number and eliminated from the study. In most cases, missing data of the D/K and N/A variety were relatively small in number.

After the recoding process all variables were aligned in a correlation matrix to determine if a relationship exists between variables to the point of statistical significance. At this time an issue came to light regarding the relationship of race to the other variables in the study. Race was recoded so that a positive relationship between race and worldview indicators would mean that whites responded more positively than blacks. This holds consistent with the other measures of class, which also indicate that a positive relationship means that higher classes respond more positively. This is based on assumption that whites are more likely to have more positive responses in relation to socio-economic variables (Ritzer 2000). Therefore, race was recoded to 1 for blacks and

2 for whites to maintain a consistent manner of measuring the relationship of social indicators. This measure in no way influenced the data other than changing the direction of the correlations.

The class1 variable was constructed by combining two separate variables to determine the position of the respondent in the occupational authority structure. More specifically, three types of responses were used: having no superior and having subordinates, having a superior and subordinates, and having a superior with no subordinates. This is a variation of the variable used in the original study, which looked at respondents as having zero, one or two levels of authority above them. This measure of class looks at class position as being the result of *ranking* based upon the amount of authority one has in the workforce. Therefore, the upper class must have no superior and at the same time have subordinates. The middle class must have both a supervisor and subordinates. The lower class must have only supervisors and no subordinates (Weber 1958, Wright 1984).

Figure 1. Model of the Hypothesized Relationship Between Structural Positions and Social Class Indicators.

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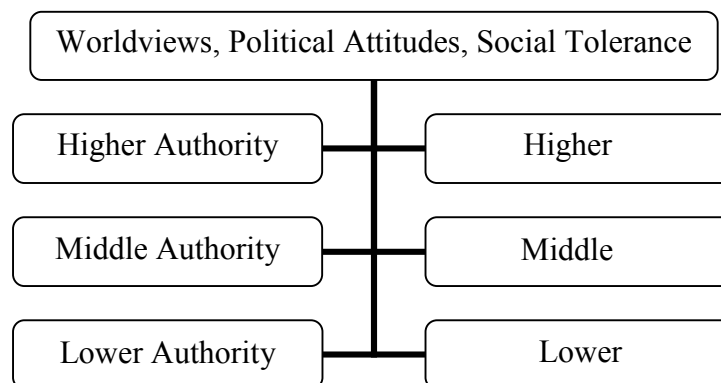
Class2 was determined by the occupational code of the industrial sector in which the respondent was employed. All responses were coded into two responses: those working in agriculture, forestry, fisheries, and manufacturing; and those working in all other sectors. This measure of class regards class distinctions as being the product of placement in the economic sector. Basically speaking, this is done through a process of *sorting* individuals into one of two industrial sectors: production and service. These two sectors show independent patterns in values and views (Wilson, 1978).

Figure 2. Model of the Hypothesized Relationship Between Economic Sector and Social Class Indicators.
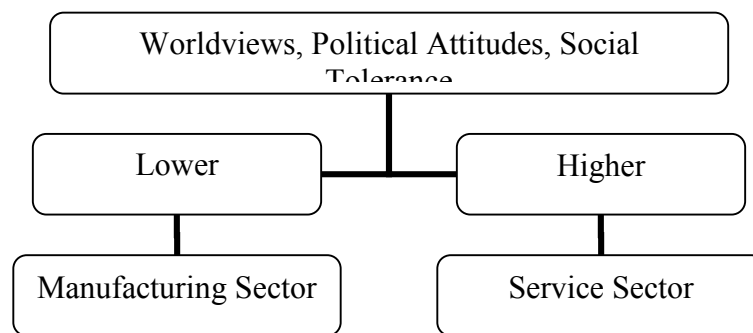
Both class variables were correlated with the groups of variables mentioned above, along with race. In addition, each of the class variables was correlated again while controlling for race to determine the impact that race has upon the class relationship in relation to the various responses. The latter is a different approach than that utilized in the previous study, in which racial categories were compared independently. This was problematic in the study, due to the fact that the whites outnumbered the blacks in the sample and were more likely to yield substantial results. The end result was data that showed signs of variation but did not allow statistical

significance necessary to discuss the relationship each group has to the variables

independently. The current methodology reduces this possibility.

Figure 3. Model of the Hypothesized Relationship Between Race and Social Class
Indicators.
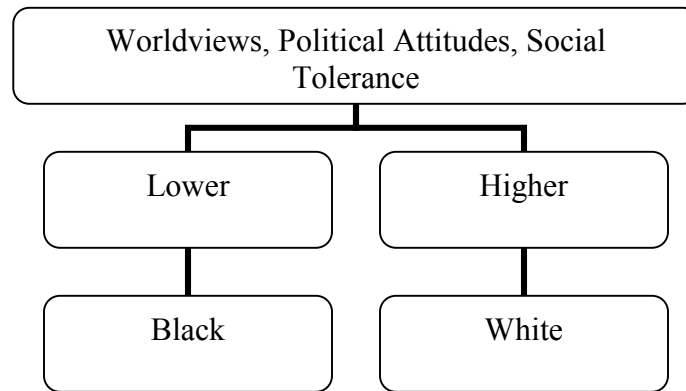
In an attempt to determine the validity of these models of social class, the

following hypotheses will be examined (measures of social class refer to the previously

noted models of class1, class2 and race). If these models are correct, these hypotheses

must be upheld.

Hypothesis 1: There will be a positive correlation between structural class and world

views. As structural class becomes higher, worldviews will be more positive.

Hypothesis 2: There will be a positive correlation between class as economic sector and

worldviews. The service sector will be more positive in worldviews than the

manufacturing sector.

Hypothesis 3: There will be a positive correlation between race and worldviews. Whites

will be more positive in their worldviews than blacks.

Hypothesis 4: There will be a positive correlation between structural class and

social tolerance. As structural class increases, social tolerance will be higher.

Hypothesis 5: There will be a positive correlation between class as economic sector and

social tolerance. The service sector will be more tolerant than the manufacturing

sector.

Hypothesis 6: There will be a positive correlation between race and social tolerance.

Whites will be more tolerant than blacks.

Hypothesis 7: There will be a positive correlation between structural class and

political attitudes. As structural class increases, political attitudes will become

more conservative. The exception will be with conservatism, in which case the

relationship will be negative due to the manner in which it was measured (this

also applies to hypotheses 8 and 9).

Hypothesis 8: There will be a positive correlation between class as economic sector and

political attitudes. The service sector will be more conservative than the

manufacturing sector.

Hypothesis 9: There will be a positive correlation between race and political attitudes.

Whites will be more conservative than blacks in political views.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

The results show that the social class measures of structural position (class1) and class as sector (class2) are not significantly related to one another, while a surprising relationship was found between race and class1 (see Table 1). The findings show that there is a slight but significant relationship between race and class1 indicating that the whites in the study were in lower in positions of authority than blacks..

Table 1. Correlations of Social Class Measures

	Class 1	Class 2	Race
Class 1	------	.052	-.043*
Class 2	------	------	.017
Race	------	------	------

*Significant at the .05 level.

However, the current study did not find the same relationship with the economic sector class measure (class2), suggesting that there is no significant relationship between economic sector and race.

Social Class Measures and Worldview Indicators

Table 2 shows the relationships that were found between structural class (class1), class as sector (class2) and race and eleven worldview indicators. Negative relationships in structural class (class1) and class as sector (class2) indicate that higher social class tends to lead to a more positive worldview, and with race a negative relationship indicates that whites are more negative than blacks in worldview.

Table 2. Relationship between Class Measures and Worldview Indicators

Worldview Indicators	Class Measures		Race
	Structural Class (Class 1)	Class as Sector (Class 2)	
Happiness in General	.051**	.091**	-.053**
Happiness in Marriage	.053**	.074**	-.019
View of Life as Dull or Exciting	.068**	.124**	-.020
Others as Helpful	.026	.101**	-.014
Others as Fair	.027	.101**	-.027
Others as Trustworthy	-.010	-.143**	.057**
Confidence in Banks	-.002	.058**	-.021
Confidence in Executive Branch	-.019	.047*	.039*
Confidence in Organized Labor	-.027	-.050**	.017
Confidence in the Military	.002	-.039*	.017
Harshness of Courts	-.016	.008	.042*

*Significant at the .05 level.
**Significant at the .01 level.

Structural class (class1) yielded three significant relationships to worldview, each of which was positive. Happiness in general, happiness in marriage and view of life as dull or exciting were related slightly at the .01 level. Relationships with all other

variables proved to be insignificant. These findings show that as structural class (class1) increases, happiness in general, happiness in marriage, and view of life as dull or exciting tend to increase slightly.

Class as sector (class2) proved to provide small but significant in relation to ten worldview indicators. Positive relationships indicating that the service sector is more positive were found in happiness in general, happiness in marriage, view of life as dull or exciting, others as helpful, others as fair, confidence in banks, and confidence in the executive branch, while negative relationships indicating that the service sector is more negative were found in others as trustworthy, confidence in organized labor and confidence in the military. These relationships were significant at the .01 level with the exception of confidence of the executive branch and confidence in the military, which were significant at the .05 level. No significant relationship was found between harshness of courts and class2. While these relationships were once again small, they were slightly stronger than the relationships found with class 1.

Race was found to be significant in relation to four of the eleven worldview indicators, but the directions of the relationships were not consistent. Race was found to be significant and positively related to others as trustworthy, confidence in the executive branch and harshness of courts, indicating that whites tend to have more positive views in these areas. Significant negative relationships between race and worldview indicators were found in happiness in general. Happiness in general and others as trustworthy were significant at the .01 level, while confidence in the executive branch and harshness of courts were significant at the .05 level.

Table 3 shows the relationships between structural class (class1) and class as sector (class2) in relation to the worldview indicators while controlling for the influence of race. The relationships between the three significant relationships found previously with class1 remain relatively unchanged. This suggests that the relationships found between structural class (class1) and worldview indicators are not impacted by the race of the respondent. Class as sector (class 2) also remained relatively unchanged after controlling for race, once again leading to the conclusion that these responses are not affected by the race of the respondent.

Table 3. Relationship between Class Measures and Worldview Indicators While Controlling for Race

Worldview Indicators	Class Measures	
	Structural Class (Class 1)	Class as Sector (Class 2)
Happiness in General	.049**	.090**
Happiness in Marriage	.052**	.073**
View of Life as Dull or Exciting	.068**	.124**
Others as Helpful	.026	.100**
Others as Fair	.026	.100**
Others as Trustworthy	-.007	-.142**
Confidence in Banks	-.003	.057**
Confidence in Executive Branch	-.017	.048*
Confidence in Organized Labor	-.026	-.050**
Confidence in the Military	.003	-.039*
Harshness of courts	-.014	.009

*Significant at the .05 level.
**Significant at the .01 level.

Overall, structural class (class1) and class as sector (class2) have been shown to be poor predictors of worldview indicators, with class as sector (class2) being marginally better. Race proved to be a poor indicator as well, with inconsistent directions found. These findings correspond with Smith's findings, but it appears that class as sector (class 2) has provided more significant relationships than before. However, it should be stressed that all significant relationships were small.

Social Class Measures and Social Tolerance

Table 4 shows the results of the correlations between structural class (class1), class as sector (class2) and race with social tolerance indicators. A positive relationship

Table 4. Relationship between Class Measures and Social Tolerance

Social Tolerance	Class Measures		Race
	Structural Class (Class 1)	Class as Sector (Class 2)	
Tolerance of Atheists as:			
Speechmakers	.038*	.082**	-.001
College Teachers	.030	.107**	-.028
Public Library Bookwriters	.046*	.105**	.000
Tolerance of Communists as:			
Speechmakers	.034	.127**	-.014
College Teachers	.002	.063**	-.002
Public Library Bookwriters	.027	.112**	-.001

*Significant at the .05 level.
**Significant at the .01 level.

indicates that higher social class (or in the case of race, whites) is related to higher levels of social tolerance. It should be noted here that these measures are examples of more extreme types of social tolerance, and is in turn a conservative measure.

These findings show two small but significant relationships between structural class (class1) and social tolerance. Small positive relationships significant at the .05 level were found between class 1 and tolerance of atheists as speechmakers and as public library book writers indicating that higher social classes tend to be more tolerant in regards to these issues. Class as sector (class 2) yielded significant relationships at the .01 level with all the social tolerance variables, though the relationships were once again small. All six relationships were positive, meaning that the service sector tends to be more tolerant in all the indicators. Race yielded no significant relationships to any of the

Table 5. Relationship between Class Measures and Social Tolerance Controlling for Race

	Class Measures	
Social Tolerance	Structural Class (Class 1)	Class as Sector (Class 2)
Tolerance of Atheists as:		
Speechmakers	.038*	.082**
College Teachers	.029	.067**
Public Library Bookwriters	.046*	.105**
Tolerance of Communists as:		
Speechmakers	.034	.126**
College Teachers	.002	.063**
Public Library Bookwriters	.027	.112**

*Significant at the .05 level.
**Significant at the .01 level.

social tolerance measures.

Table 5 shows the results of social class measures in relation to social tolerance while controlling for race. The same relationships that were found to be significantly related in Table 4 remain, with very little change in either direction or strength. The only relationship that provided noticeable change was between class 2 and tolerance of atheists as college teachers, which became stronger. This would imply that the service sector is slightly more tolerant of atheists in this situation while controlling for race. However, this change in strength is very minute relatively speaking. Based on these findings class 2 once again appears to be a better indicator of social tolerance than the other measures, but the lack of strong correlations show that none of the measures predict views very well.

Social Class Measures and Political Attitudes

Table 6 presents the relationship between structural class (class1), class as sector (class2) and race with political attitudes. A negative correlation would indicate that as social class increases (or in the case of race, whites) liberal political attitudes increase.

Both structural class (class1) and class as sector (class 2) yielded no significant relationship to any of the political attitude variables. Based upon the lack of significant relationships between either of the measures of class and political attitudes, it appears that neither class 1 nor class 2 are effective in predicting political views of class. Race did provide three significant relationships, all at the .01 level. A negative relationship was found with funding for health care programs, indicating that whites oppose increased funding for health care. Two positive relationships were found, funding for the military

and foreign aid, indicating the whites tend to favor increased funding in these areas.

However, as has been consistently found in this study, these relationships remain weak.

Table 6. Relationship between Class Measures and Political Attitudes

Political Attitudes	Class Measures		Race
	Structural Class (Class 1)	Class as Sector (Class 2)	
Conservatism	.014	.031	.027
Opposition to More Funding for:			
Protecting the Environment	.019	.004	-.001
Health Care Programs	-.010	-.012	-.059**
Anti-crime Programs	-.005	-.020	-.003
Controlling Drugs	-.009	-.023	-.014
Improving Education	.004	.036	.002
Programs for Blacks	-.005	.027	.026
Military	-.003	.027	.063*
Foreign aid	.001	.027	.057**
Welfare	-.019	-.013	.024

*Significant at the .05 level.
**Significant at the .01 level.

Table 7 shows the relationships between structural class (class1) and class as

sector (class2) regarding political attitudes while controlling for race. No significant

relationship was found with structural class (class1) or class as sector (class 2), indicating

the race has no impact on the relationships that would make them significant. Overall,

structural class (class1) and class as sector (class2) have been shown to be poor indicators

of political attitudes of liberalism or conservatism. Race did yield more statistically

significant correlations, but the strengths of those relationships were very small.

Table 7. Relationship between Class Measures and Political Attitudes Controlling
  for Race

	Class Measures	
Political Attitudes	Structural Class (Class 1)	Class as Sector (Class 2)
Conservatism	.015	.031
Opposition to More Funding for:		
Protecting the Environment	.019	.004
Health Care Programs	-.013	-.013
Anti-crime Programs	-.005	-.020
Controlling Drugs	-.010	-.023
Improving Education	.005	.036
Programs for Blacks	-.004	.027
Military	.000	.028
Foreign aid	.004	.028
Welfare	-.018	-.012

*Significant at the .05 level.
**Significant at the .01 level.

Summary of Results

The results of this study correspond with Smith's findings that structural class

position (class1), class as sector (class2) and race are poor indicators of worldview, social

tolerance and political attitudes. This study did find several statistically significantly

relationships between class 2 and many of the worldview indicators, but the relationships

were very slight, as was the case with all significant relationships found in each of the

measures of class and in race. The relationship between structural class (class1) and class

as sector (class2) while controlling for race did not find any change that would lead to the

conclusion that race has any impact of the views members of either a structural position

of sector location. The finding of each hypothesis is summarized in table 8.

Table 8. Summary of hypotheses.

	Hypothesis Conclusion
Hypothesis 1	*There will be a positive correlation between structural class and worldviews.* Rejected in all categories other than in happiness in general, happiness in marriage and view of life as dull or exciting.
Hypothesis 2	*There will be a positive correlation between class as sector and worldviews.* Accepted for all categories except harshness of courts.
Hypothesis 3	*There will be a positive correlation between race and worldviews.* Accepted in others as trustworthy and harshness of courts.
Hypothesis 4	*There will be a positive relationship between structural class and social tolerance.* Rejected in all categories except tolerance of atheists as speechmakers and public library bookwriters.
Hypothesis 5	*There will be a positive correlation between class as sector and social tolerance.* Accepted in all categories.
Hypothesis 6	*There will be a positive correlation between race and social tolerance.* Rejected in all categories.
Hypothesis 7	*There will be a positive correlation between structural class and political attitudes.** Rejected in all categories.
Hypothesis 8	*There will be a positive correlation between class as sector and political attitudes.** Rejected in all categories.
Hypothesis 9	*There will be a positive correlation between race and political attitudes.** Accepted for funding for military and foreign aid.

* With the exception of Conservatism (see Chapter 3 for explanation).

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

In contrast to the arguments of conflict theorists and the extant empirical studies, this study finds little support for the arguments that structural class (class1) and class as sector (class2) are significantly related to the social class indicators of worldviews, social tolerance and political attitudes. When controlling for race, none of the relationships became significant that were not before for structural class (class1) or class as sector (class2) in the worldview variables, but the direction of the relationship was the opposite of what was expected. Race was significantly related to several variables. Overall, structural class (class1), class as sector (class2) and race appear to be only marginally related to these variables even when statistically significant relationships were found..

Possible reasons for these findings can be found in the theories this study was based upon. The spread of a dominate ideology could account for the lack of significance in this study. A method of reducing the likelihood of class conflict would be to promote people of various classes and groups to think more uniformly, including worldviews, social tolerance and political attitudes. As these ways of thinking become more alike, differences between groups may grow less pronounced and the interests of the dominate group can be accepted more easily by the rest of society (Ritzer 2000). This possibility should not be taken lightly, due to the enormous social implications. In essence if this is

the case, one could only conclude that capitalist driven ideologies have been almost completely successful in suppressing the development of class consciousness. However, to say that these findings are a result of a society experiencing false consciousness may be too simplistic, and other possible explanations need to be examined.

A second possible reason behind the lack of significant relationships could be that these theoretical perspectives may define class or group membership too broadly. Wright (1978, 1982) brings up the fragmentation of social class in modern society through specialization in the workplace. Rather than a distinction between owners and workers, the workplace is made up of upper, middle and lower management and skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. While certain aspects of these levels in the workplace have been explored, there may be a need to break each group into even smaller segments. For example, management and labor types need to be addressed individually as a class to determine the existence of relationships between smaller groups and worldviews. These various distinctions lead to more selective groups that may be in a similar position to other groups but maintain different values and views (such as office manager and factory manager). This may also be true with race, as members of a racial group gain positions of higher power, prestige, income or enter more highly valued sectors they may begin to accept the values and views of those in the same position over those of the racial group to which the individual belongs (Wilson 1978).

While it is outside the scope of this study to address the issue of declining significance of race in modern society in stratification brought up by Wilson, one point concerning race is clear in the findings. Namely, that race is at times still an important distinction in worldviews, social tolerance and political attitudes, and by extension social

class. Due to this possibility race-related social concern is warranted in modern times, including issues such as unequal access to jobs, education and training, institutional discrimination and affirmative action programs. However, there is no evidence in the findings to suggest or discount the impact of social class for whites in relation to worldviews, social tolerance and political attitudes. Therefore, the issue of the significance of class, especially for the white lower class, is unsettled at this point.

However, despite the lack of significance found, the findings of this study are useful in the advancement of sociological thought. First, as previously stated, these findings show that traditional structural conflict theories of inequality do not act as adequate predictors of the worldviews, political views and social tolerance of stratified groups. While it is not the suggestion of this study to abandon these theories, perhaps a revision of the frameworks of these theories should be undertaken to increase accuracy of prediction and the likelihood of social benefit of this type of sociological thought. Second, this study reveals that worldviews, political attitudes and social tolerances do not appear to be shared by groups in the same manner as other types of ideologies, as found in the studies cited previously. This may indicate that these views may operate independently of each other, however this claim requires further examination before an adequate judgment can be made. Based upon the findings of this study, class appears to be made up of both qualitative (habitus) and quantitative (authoritative, positional and racial) components.

Limitations

Limitations to this study include the lack of clear-cut, causal relationships between social-psychological aspects of individuals expressed in worldviews and measures of structural social class. Unless such relationships can be established more precisely in the future, the validity of claims made by studies such as this one will continue to be problematic. Second, this study relied on data that was collect, for the most part, based upon respondent self-reporting. Even though the sample size used for this study was fairly large, it cannot be concluded that the results of the analysis were unaltered (through false or misleading responses) by randomness the of responses.

Future research should look at the relationship between more specific group membership and worldviews, social tolerance and political attitudes to determine if more narrowly defined models of class are more predicative of these views. For example, the question could be posed: "how do worldviews, social tolerance and political attitudes relate to class if determined by level of skill in the workplace, and how does race moderate this relationship?" By examining these issues in more distinctive groups, relationships between class and views may become more clear, as well as the impact of race. A second, related suggestion for future research would be to look at the variation between groups that are in similar situations. For example, society could be divided into the upper-class (elites), the middle-class (management) and the working class, with group membership being determined in each class. After these groups have been determined, a careful exploration of the subgroups within the larger group should be conducted to determine if more narrow definitions of group membership is more indicative of worldviews, political attitudes and social tolerances. In viewing society in this manner,

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subtle relationships may be found that could otherwise be obscured. Other issues that should be taken up for future research include generational group memberships, social network access, educational history (both generational and self) and the prestige of education received.

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Master of Science

Thesis: REPLICATION OF SOCIAL CLASS AND RACIAL CLEAVAGES UPON MAJOR SOCIAL INDICATORS

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical:

Education: Received Bachelor of Arts in Sociology May 2001 from Arkansas Tech University, Russellville, AR. Completed requirements for Master of Science degree in Sociology July 2005 from Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, OK.

Experience: Was raised in various locations throughout the Southwest and Western United States. Have spent time in various occupations after high school before returning to college to pursue degrees in sociology. Currently working toward a second master degree in International Studies from Oklahoma State University.

Name: Rodney Edward Clayton   Date of Degree: July, 2005

Institution: Oklahoma State University   Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

Title of Study: REPLICATION OF SOCIAL CLASS AND RACIAL CLEAVAGES
                UPON MAJOR SOCIAL INDICATORS

Pages in Study: 47   Candidate for the Degree of Master of Science

Major Field: Sociology

Scope and Method of Study: The purpose of this study is to replicate the work of Smith
    in the areas of social stratification and inequality. In particular, this study
    examines theoretical sociological views of class as a function of structural
    position, economic sector and race with their expected impacts upon world view
    indicators. The data used for this study was provided by the 2000 General Social
    Survey.

Findings and Conclusions: The findings reveal very weak correlations between
    class/race and world views, similar to the findings of Smith. This leads to a
    conclusion that there exists a need in sociology to reexamine traditionally held
    theoretical views by which class and social inequality are conceptualized. In
    particular, other emerging factors such as education, family social background
    and other demographic factors may need to be given more weight in sociological
    research into stratification.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: Beth Caniglia