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AUTHOR ELIZABETH MALCOLM DOUVAN

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THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CLASS MEMBERSHIP ON REACTIONS TO FAILURE

by
Elizabeth Malcolm Douvan

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Committee in charge:

Professor Theodore M. Newcomb, Chairman
Assistant Professor Ronald Freedman
Associate Professor Max L. Hutt
Professor Daniel Katz
Associate Professor Edward L. Walker

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CHAPTER I

THE PRESENT INVESTIGATION IN RELATION TO PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Introduction: An Overview of the Study

One of the phenomena in our complex culture which has stimulated interest and prodigious speculation and research among modern sociologists and psychologists is the appearance of sub-cultures based on differences in rank, income, occupation, power, or all of these. That such sub-groups do exist is a widely accepted fact. The exact nature of the effects of such groupings on individual behavior is still, however, in need of a good deal of clarification.

The present study is an attempt to demonstrate that membership in a particular social class influences the behavior of individuals in response to failure. Specifically, it is designed to demonstrate that the strength of a projected need to achieve in two failure situations will be influenced by social class membership. Class membership, for the purposes of the study, is defined on two bases: 1) an occupational classification, and 2) the individual's subjective identification.

High school students were used as subjects in the study. In all there were four groups of subjects: two working class and two middle class. One group from each social class experienced failure under conditions where it meant failing to achieve a material reward. The other two groups failed in a situation where it meant failing to meet a sym-

bolic standard, but entailed no loss of material reward. The prediction was that the need to achieve among working class students would vary with the conditions of failure, whereas the same need among middle class individuals would be relatively high regardless of the specific reward potential of the situation in which failure occurred.

The hypothesis stems from a theoretical position which relates behavioral differences between classes to sociological and social psychological factors. There is a fairly extensive body of previous research on class differences on which the present study relies heavily.

In keeping with the two sources of the hypothesis of the present research, the presentation will assume the following outlines. First, there will be a consideration, in this chapter, of previous research in the general area of class differences in success-failure orientation. This forms the empirical basis for the hypothesis.

The second chapter will be a presentation of the theory which underlies the prediction of motivational variations on the basis of occupational groupings. This theoretical section includes a description of the different social conditions of the work situations of middle class and working class individuals in our industrial society. From the descriptions of these different conditions two types of behavioral resultants are projected which form the basis for the hypothesis of this study. These resultants can be broadly classified as 1) differences in values and attitudes toward success and striving, and 2) differences in interpersonal relationships.

The subjects in this experiment were high school students. It is not sufficient in the theoretical formulation, therefore, to establish a connection between an individual's occupation and his attitudes.

Since the subjects had not yet any permanent occupation, it must be shown why the occupations of their parents should make a difference in the motivation of youths.

While the values and attitudes of parents are partly transmitted directly to children through custom built reward systems---and so influence motivation---, it is believed that the processes through which these values and attitudes are transmitted are also important in the determination of motivational characteristics. It is for this reason that the second class of resultants is discussed. Motivation is instilled by rewarding behavior selectively, but the reward system lies in the context of the relationship between parent and child. The nature and meaning of this relationship has an effect on what the motivational structure of the child will be. The discussion of the two types of resultants will point out their consonance and mutually supportive interconnections within each of the social class subcultures considered in this study.

Following the theoretical discussion and the statement of the derived hypothesis, the experimental test of the hypothesis is described. Finally the results are presented and discussed in relation to the theory, and suggestions made for further research in this area.

The Nature of Previous Research

Like most other problems within the general area of the effects of social class membership, the meaning of success and failure to subgroups has been extensively investigated. It seems appropriate, therefore, to review selected examples of this prior research in order to establish the basis on which the present study was undertaken.

The discussion of previous work in this area is, on the one hand, crucial as an introduction to the present study, since it was on the basis of existing research that the hypothesis for this study was conceived. On the other hand, such a discussion is bound to be somewhat frustrating to the sense of scientific correctness to which social scientists currently aspire. This frustration stems from two characteristics of the large body of the established research in the field.

The first of these characteristics has to do with the non-experimental nature of most of the previous work. In some cases the data for the research have been collected from files or from census-type reports of facts about economic behavior and related phenomena. This type of material, while fruitful for hypotheses about the psychological resultants of the social phenomena which it reflects, is too far removed from behavior to reveal much directly about psychological relationships.

The bulk of material relating to social class differences has been collected from participant observer studies which provide a great deal of rich raw material for speculation and hypotheses. But the tests of the hypotheses remain to be made, since for gains made in closeness to behavior, these methods have usually relinquished a great deal in rigor and control. Often the material is not abstracted or generalized, and in other cases we can only guess on what basis general statements are made. Another source of concern in such studies is the problem of the middle class bias of observers, the influence of which even the most objective attitude cannot entirely eliminate.

The second problem which confronts us in reviewing the experimental literature on social class is the lack of agreement among

researchers on a definition of social class. Warner and his school use a complex system based on a number of characteristics including occupation, source of income, house type, and dwelling area. They also use a system of informant placement and group membership of each individual.

Davis varies this approach somewhat, using records of common participation in socio-economic groups and expressions of willingness to associate with others in social relationships. Hollingshead used ratings by different informants and found on various occasions indices of percentage agreement with Warner rankings ranging from 72 to 100 percent.

The Warner school have all used informant criteria, and pooled informant data, and have defined class largely in terms of prestige level. Others use economic criteria alone---Bakke deals only with manual workers and distinguishes skill levels within this group; Lynd speaks of the business class and the working class; Goldschmidt's elite can be set apart by economic criteria. Centers uses occupational strata in his analyses, and reserves the term "class" for a consciously recognized group with which individuals identify themselves.[1]

To the extent that these various definitions divide people into similar groups, i.e., to the extent that they overlap, the findings based on them can be compared and used together as evidence on which to base generalizations and hypotheses. Despite the differences,

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[1] Centers' method of categorization is the closest to the method used in the present study.

it is believed---and there is some evidence to support this belief[2]---that there is a good deal of overlap and that consequently evidence based on the various definitions may be used cautiously for generalization.

Evidence Supporting the Hypothesis that There Are Class Differences in Orientation toward Success and Failure

There is evidence from a number of studies pointing to class differences in "ambition" orientation. In the area of economic behavior a number of writers have noted that in the "lower" classes (manual workers) there is markedly less foregoing of immediate pleasures in the interests of attaining future long range goals than appears in the middle-class. Hollingshead, for example, observed this factor operating along with economic pressures in the decisions of "lower" class youth to leave school. In this case, he points out, the immediate satisfactions of financial independence (which includes funds for participating in amusement with friends) are stronger than the long range prospects of more interesting or more stable employment to be gained by finishing high school. Youths in this group did drop out of school more frequently than others; and he found that in this group those adolescents who did state that they had plans for vocational training were very unspecific, and that the percentage of actual per-

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[2]While it is not possible to equate occupation and prestige rank, there are indications of considerable overlap. For example, for Lynd the working class meant earning one's living by manual labor. Warner found in his analysis of millworkers in Jonesville that 85% of the workers fell in the lower-lower and upper-lower classes. Bakke talks about skill levels within the "working class" of Lynd. Of his two "lower" classes---determined economically---80% of the upper-lowers were unskilled or semi-skilled and all of the lower-lowers fell into these classifications. In each of these cases there is evidence of some lack of coordination between occupational and economic or prestige classification, but there is evidence that the degree of correspondence is sizable.

formance was small. (28, p. 383).

Davis has noted that low income level and unevenness of income result in a seeking for immediate gratifications whenever possible. (12, p. 27). He and Lynd both found a lot of installment buying among workers, and Goldschmidt noted that frequently expensive consumers goods were preferred to getting a better home among farm workers in Wasco. (24, p. 72).

The difficulty of maintaining "ambition" strivings in the working class has been noted by a number of researchers. Bakke found that long range saving for "ambition" was impossible for workers because of the unsteady nature of earnings and the possibility that they would be entirely wiped out through sickness or unemployment. This, he observes, thwarts attempts to plan for future advance. (4, p. 44). McConnell also reports that what he calls defensive saving---- an attempt to preserve one's present status rather than advance---- characterized workers. (39, p.22).

That ambition is a more important value in the middle class than among manual workers is manifested in certain of Centers' findings. In studying the job dissatisfactions of various occupational groups, he found that low pay and lack of a chance to advance and to realise one's ambitions were first among white collar workers; among factory and common laborers the emphasis fell on low pay, insecurity, speed and difficulty of work. Thus, while income level is a problem for both groups, in one it is more likely to take the form of seeking a better job and higher status, in the other the desire for a guarantee of a steady income.

Centers also asked what types of job would be preferred,

(e.g., "Would you like a job where you could be your own boss?"). From responses to such questions he found that security was the most desired characteristic for semiskilled and unskilled labor and farm labor, while self-expression was emphasized by white collar and skilled workers. Semiskilled and unskilled workers preferred the government to be a protector of steady jobs rather than of opportunities for advancement more frequently than the other occupational groups (8, p. 212).

But ambition is not merely of low value among workers, relative to other goals, because of the improbability of its fruition. There is also some evidence which indicates that ambition is negatively viewed by members of this group as a threat to group solidarity. Whyte noted that the street corner boys who were favorites of the social workers were called "Cream Puffs," for it was believed that the chief purpose of the social workers was to win the boys from the street corner and stimulate social mobility (56, p. 102). The same type of suspicion is reflected in Hollingshead's observation that teachers give most help to higher class students who need it less, but that "lower" class students resented aid from teachers as meddling.

The different causes attached to success or failure by the two classes throw an interesting light on the success-failure orientations they maintain. Hollingshead reports that among his two lower classes there was a widespread belief that grades are determined by the position of parents rather than the child's performance (28, p. 181). Centers found that while white collar workers and skilled workers emphasized ability as the important economic differentiating factor, unskilled workers viewed luck and better opportunity as the important source of differences (9, p. 147).

And, in a similar manner, luck and fate were seen as the chief factors contributing to the economic and status deprivations experienced by this group. This is not, of course, entirely unrealistic in view of the lack of control this group exerts over such conditions as their own employment.

As we would expect from the imputed causes of failure, there is evidence that failure is not the source of shame among workers that it is for middle class individuals. It was a common practice for street-corner boys, according to Whyte, to support one another in time of need. While it was not desirable to be dependent, the practice was taken for granted and no shame was attached to the dependence. The practice was as much accepted as supporting one's family, and among the more articulate group members, Whyte points out, there was a sense of conscious choice in the system. Even the group leader was for a time dependent on the group for support.

Davis observed the same phenomenon in Chicago where an unemployed worker might move from friend to friend or relative to relative. And in Deep South (15) mutual support was frequent, although restricted mainly to kinship lines. It should be noted that this system is not only a response to need, but involves a choice in the expenditure of surplus, implying a very different orientation from that of the middle class value of saving up for one's own future emergencies or ambitions.

As Bakke points out, the workers he studied were conscious of the practical control of their destiny from beyond themselves, leaving them with a minimum of responsibility for their own fate, and a sense of lack of choice (4, p. 255). As was indicated above, the attempts at choice involved in financial planning are frequently frustrated by

external factors like sickness and unemployment, so that the only buttress possible is dependence on the chance that some of one's friends and relatives will be momentarily on an economic crest. This tends to stimulate a passive attitude and lack of feeling of personal responsibility for success, or shame at failure.

While ambition for one's children, either in terms of education or occupation, is frequently verbalized by manual workers as well as business or professional people, there is little evidence that this reflects any deep feeling or is implemented by any pressure in the working class. Hollingshead in his close contact with adolescents found that while education, especially of the vocational variety, was spoken of as a value among lower groups, frequently they were either ambivalent or really saw school as a needless expense and were neutral or supported the child when he wanted to leave school. Lynd reports finding often a kind of negative ambition for children among workers. One woman expressed it in this way: "I hope they won't have to work as hard as their father" (34, p. 49).

Ericson reports (21) that while working mothers often verbalized a desire for their children to go to college, or to become famous, there was much less reflection of feeling or strong intention than in similar statements made by middle class mothers.

Quite a different kind of evidence supporting the hypothesis that the working class is less consistently motivated by success or ambition in an abstract, long range sense, has been described mainly by Davis and a few of his students. This evidence is different because it is related to the treatment of infants and children and reflects directly the influence of ambition orientations of parents on their

relationships with their children. Thus, it deals not only with the values of adults, but with the personality variables which intervene between values and behavior and which act as mechanisms in the transmission of values from parents to children.

Both Davis (13) and Duvall (20) have reported that in the "lower" classes there is a much greater freedom permitted in the expression of hostility. Davis points out that is the "lower" class physical aggression is not only permitted, but is actually an approved and socially rewarded form of behavior; whereas "...in the middle class, aggression is clothed in the conventional forms of 'initiative' or 'ambition.'" (13, p. 147).

It would seem that for the sake of respectability, the middle class harnesses aggression into ambition or success channels. We might also predict, on the basis of this widely reported difference in the degree of control imposed on the expression of aggression, that there would be fewer internalized controls among children of manual workers. Studies of sexuality indicate an equally large difference in the controls placed on children's expression of curiosity and interest about sexual matters which would further support this speculation.

Ericson's investigation (22) indicates that greater ambition characterises the environment of the middle class child from at least the period of weaning. She reports that in general the infant care pattern of "lower" class people is characterized by greater permissiveness than that of middle class groups. "Lower" class mothers breast fed their children more often than middle class mothers, and weaned them later. The children were on a self-demand schedule more frequently. Toilet training started later than with middle class

children---although it was completed at the same time. She found that the pattern in middle class groups was to enforce early demands on the child, while in the working class group the training was postponed until the child could learn relatively easily.

These observations, combined with those concerning controls over aggression and sexuality, give a general picture of the environment of the middle class child as more demanding, more restrictive, and consequently more accomplishment-centered. Erikson found that this more demanding nature of the environment of the middle class child extended into age expectations, and observes that:

> In the middle class families, there was more emphasis on the early assumption of responsibility for the self, closer supervision of children's play, and greater emphasis on individual achievement . . . . Middle class life is in general more demanding with reference to all learning areas (22, p. 501).

Davis, in summarizing observations from a number of community studies, also notes the greater demands and emphasis on success which characterize the middle class socialization scheme. From the demanding, individualistic, and complex nature of middle class life, he finds developing the mainspring of motivation in this group---what he terms "socialized anxiety."

According to Davis, the middle class child is trained largely through a process of conditional love (e.g., threat of loss of love), so that he acquires early the psychogenic need to succeed and its reverse, the need to avoid failure, in those extensive areas crucial to his parents' values and to middle class society. He points out that since the middle class child is highly restricted in the exploration of his environment and thus in the discovery of many satisfactions, the child becomes closely dependent for satisfaction on those goals

provided by the parents. Since these satisfactions are dependent on the approval of the parents, the child conforms to the parents' demands in order not to lose them.

This fear of failure becomes central to the motivational structure of the middle class child because of the pervasiveness of its function in the middle class training scheme.

> To propel the child along the apparently endless route of socialization---the middle status family uses pressures and goals which build anxiety. . . . Anxiety of this type is a most effective motivation toward social learning because it leads to reward. In our (middle class) social system the instrumental acts to attain prestige rewards are acts of striving (13, p. 146).

In contrast, the socialization process in working families demands a great deal less adaptation to sustained striving and impluse control. We would consequently conclude with Davis that fear of failure is less characteristic among children socialized in workers' families. Naegele (44) quotes Merton as considering the mother figure in "lower" class families as more an image of security than as ambivalent because of conditional love. Certainly the lack of rigid childhood training and of repression of aggression later, would add to this possibility. Ericson speculates that:

> Middle class children are probably subjected to more frustrations in the process of achieving these learnings (weaning, toilet training, age and sex roles) and are probably more anxious as a result of these pressures than are the lower class children (22, p. 501).

While we must be wary of character structure generalizations on the slender evidence available, we may at least make the observation that the self-driving forces in the middle class and the willingness to impose restrictions on immediate satisfactions for reasons of ambition seem often to stem from the fear of loss of parental love in

the middle class child (more often used as a threat than actual physical punishment), and that this fear is reinforced by guilt over unexpressed hostilities. One might, then, expect in the case where actual physical punishment is used and hostilities are expressed by children, that internal prohibitions and achievement drives would be less.

On the basis of the foregoing evidence we may conclude that in our society there are differences between classes in orientation toward success and failure and in the degree to which ambition is a motivating force.

It appears consistent with these findings to conclude that ambition and striving, individual initiative, self-reliance, and the ability to postpone immediate gratification are behaviors valued in the middle class. These values are transmitted to the child through rewarding behavior consistent with the values. Such learning is bulwarked by the important process of training through conditional love and thus enlisting anxiety as a force in the installation of these values into the child's developing personality.

Value among workers, on the other hand, seems to be attached more to direct satisfaction, impulse expression, and group security. Coordinated to these values are the less demanding and restrictive child training practices employed in this group.

It is the premise of this study that such differences are the resultants of social experiences which are in turn related to the type of function performed by members of the two classes in our highly differentiated productive system. The relationship between social function and individual behavior will be considered in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

There are in our culture many pressures toward uniformity of motivation and behavior in all social classes. Through the public education system and mass communication media, the child is acquainted with the ideals and values of the broader culture. He is taught the importance of ambition and is told the goals of such behavior in movies, comic strips, and in the school room.

As Merton (41) has pointed out, the pressures toward uniformity are for the most part confined to the area of goals. We are all shown clearly the things we should want. We are not always shown as clearly the means by which these rewards can be had, and herein, Merton feels, lies one of the disruptive elements in our culture. The working girl knows well that a "smart" life in the suburbs is a desirable goal, but often the closest she gets to a direction for obtaining it is Hollywood's advice to fall in love with her boss and have her feeling returned, or to use a particular tooth paste or soap.

Some of the goals <u>are</u> attainable. The working girl may not be a debutante, but she can look like one. Mass production is a force toward uniformity. Even where no path is indicated, the goals can be seen widely, and this fact tends to create certain uniformities in motivation.

Despite these pressures toward uniformity, motivational

differences between social classes do appear---as has been indicated in the preceding chapter. Such differences in values and goals are the results of many factors. Among the factors tending to produce class differences are economic differences, power differences, differences in opportunity for advanced education, and differences in socialization methods used in the two groups.

Of the many kinds of factors which contribute to class differences in success orientation, two have been selected for consideration in this discussion: the social experiences attendant on the individual's role in the productive system, and experiences in the socialization process. These particular factors have been selected for a number of reasons. They have been important foci in the author's thinking in the area of social influences on individual behavior, and in this sense have been important in the derivation of the hypothesis of the present study. The first of the two factors---the nature of experiences attendant on occupational roles---while it seems of some importance for individual behavior, has been largely ignored in previous speculation about the derivation of class differences. Finally, it is believed by the author that the consideration of these factors produces a number of provocative leads for social psychological research.

The discussion which follows can only be considered theory in the most general sense---that is, it is not a system of postulates from which the hypothesis was deduced by a rigorous logic. It is, rather, a description of the background of thinking from which the hypothesis was derived.

For some of the statements there is a good deal of empirical

backing. Others are more frankly speculative and enjoy no such firm base in empirical data. With many of the statements the reader may find himself disagreeing, either in part or in whole. This is entirely in line with the author's intentions, since she feels strongly that one of the important functions of the scientist is to make statements which stimulate disagreement, discussion, and ultimately critical tests between alternative views.

To the extent that alternative conceptions of social class are valid and conflict with the view on which this study is based, the predictions in the present study should be less clearly demonstrated.

An Overview

In this discussion two factors are considered as they may affect the appearance of class differences in reaction to failure. These two factors, as mentioned above, are: (1) the social experiences related to the different functional roles of the two classes in the productive system, and (2) the social experiences resulting from the different socialization processes in the two classes.

The author recognizes the fact that social behavior is the result of an interaction process between the individual and his environment. Thus, for example, it is clear that while the conditions for reward in a job situation will affect the way people behave (perhaps even, by generalization, in a non-working situation), the particular ways in which two individuals behave may be very different, depending on how they perceive the reward conditions.

So, in the relationship between adult work experiences and childhood learning experiences, we recognize that there is an inter-

action between the two: What the reality of the work situation teaches to the adult about values and behavior will have an effect on his child's training. The parent will train his children through selective rewards to behave in certain ways. And, in the reverse direction, the values and behaviors learned in childhood will influence the way in which the reality of the work situation will be perceived and reacted to, and so the things which will be learned from that experience in adulthood. Thus the two kinds of social experience can be thought of as mutually reinforcing over a period of time.

Both factors are discussed in this chapter, and both were considered in the original design of the study. The influence of the occupational factor on socialization was recognized in the definition of objective class. By using the parent's occupation as one criterion of class membership and predicting from this the child's behavior, we are, in fact, implying that the way in which a parent fits into the productive scheme influences the reactions his child will learn. By utilizing, as well, a subjective measure of the child's class identification, we are implying that two parents could have the <u>same</u> function in society and yet have raised their children in different ways---perhaps because they themselves perceived their social function differently, perhaps because of other influences in the training of their children. The subjective identification was used as a control for intervening psychological variables.

While, then, it is recognized that the two factors selected for extended discussion interact with each other in influencing individual behavior, the particular approach presented in the following

discussion emphasizes the influence in one direction only---to wit, the influence of the social function performed by a group on the socialization methods employed by that group in the training of their young. This approach represents an attempt to point out some aspects of the social context within which class differences in behavior occur.

The notion underlying the study is that whether an individual performs a manual working function or a managerial function in our society has broad implications for the kinds of social experiences he will have. What some of these experiences are and how they may influence behavior are the topics considered in this chapter.

The outline of the discussion is as follows:

1. Different functions in the productive system carry with them certain social relations which constitute the basis for broad areas of social experience of the individual.

2. These social experiences influence the individual in two parallel areas: in the establishment of particular goals and goal directed behavior patterns, and in the quality of interpersonal relationships.

3. These effects are incorporated into the socialization process characterizing groups having particular functions in the social system, and in this way affect personality development and motivation.

The two occupational groups considered were industrial manual workers (working class) and managerial-professional workers (middle class). Utilizing such a split assumes that there exists a break in the occupational hierarchy---that there are relatively distinct groups rather than an unbroken continuum from, say, very manual to

not manual at all.

To study behavioral differences between these groups implies another assumption---that is, that there is relatively slight opportunity for mobility from the subordinate working class to the supraordinate middle class. In order for subcultural goals and behavior patterns to arise in the subordinate group, rewards for learning the goals and behavior patterns of the more privileged middle class group must be seen as unobtainable. If members of the working class recognized abundant opportunities for rising in the social system, there would be sufficient potential reward to stimulate the learning of middle class patterns. When the rewards are not apparent, new patterns, differing from those of the middle class and adjusted to the conditions of working class experience, will arise.

There is sufficient evidence on this point to warrant the assumption that members of the working class perceive their opportunities for rising in the social system to be minimal.

Lynd found that of the men eligible for promotion from technological to supervisory jobs in six plants, only one in fifty-three got a chance in the two years of his study (34, p. 65). Centers reports that among the white collar workers whom he interviewed, only 14 percent said that their fathers were semiskilled or unskilled workers (7, p. 174).

More revealing even than these data on actual mobility are the observations which have been made of workers' own estimates of their chances for mobility.

Middletown workers, according to Lynd (34, p. 66), were skeptical about their opportunity to advance, and worried more about

immediate layoffs and unemployment in old age than about any chance of improving their job status. What was called a "good future" turned out to be steady work at the same wage level.

Centers found (9, p. 150) that 52 percent of the unskilled workers and 40 percent of the semiskilled believed that they did not have a good chance to "get ahead" at their present line of work, even though "getting ahead" was a somewhat vague term. In a study conducted by the Survey Research Center (30) it was found that workers generally did not aspire to foremen's jobs.

Most researchers working in the area of community studies have noted an awareness on the part of workers of the unlikelihood of increasing their status and rewards. Lynd (35, p. 245) quotes a worker's description of the idea of unlimited mobility: "Another one of the fairy tales the Chamber of Commerce puts out."

Within this social framework, then, where a subordinate class recognizes that the ladder to success has a break in the middle which makes chances of reaching the top section low, we would expect a break with the traditional goals and behavior patterns of the supraordinate class and a new subculture to appear. The new subculture goals and behavior would have a character consonant with the life experiences of the subordinate group and different from the middle class patterns in those areas where life experiences in the two groups differ.

One such area consists of the conditions of the work situation. The kinds of social experiences characterizing manual labor differ from those marking the managerial and professional occupations. This is obviously not the only area where the experiences of the two groups differ. The kind of work one does is also related to one's income,

type and adequacy of housing, size of family, and other aspects of living conditions. It is maintained, however, that on the job relations constitute one of the important factors differentiating the two groups---and it is this factor with which the following theoretical discussion is primarily concerned. Other factors are specifically excluded, but the reader may want to draw from his own experience or from the observations in Chapter I for the influence of other parallel factors.

Let us, then, consider what the social relations of the two occupational types are and how they lead us to a specific hypothesis concerning particular behavior patterns of members of the two classes.

The World of Work: A Description of Selected Aspects of the Social Conditions of Working Class Occupations

A. The nature of the product. The product of manual workers is the result of collective effort. If one man on an assembly line is slower or faster than his co-workers, a disruption in production occurs. Each man is part of a complex productive unit and must learn to gear his pace and his efforts in with those of the men about him. This factor tends to set up a noncompetitive situation between workers.

B. Conditions for reward. The flat wage scale of industrial workers has also contributed to this lack of competitiveness, since a man's wage as well as his product is now independent, to a large extent, of his individual strivings on the job.

C. Satisfactions and frustrations of the work. With increasing mechanization and division of labor has come a breakdown in the skill hierarchy. The chances for experiencing creative satisfactions

or "pride in skill" in a technological job have diminished increasingly to the point where even the most highly skilled factory job requires a minimum of training and is inherently routine and monotonous (52).

This factor of monotony of the job added to the noncompetitive nature of the work tends to push workers together in two ways:

1. They depend heavily on relations with other workers for their on-the-job satisfactions. Satisfactions are largely limited to pay and the interpersonal relations with co-workers.

2. The monotony of the job tends to serve as a source of frustration to the workers. Again because of the basic cooperative nature of their work and because the breakdown of skills has decreased status differences between workers, this frustration tends to be communicated and to act as a bond between workers. Since the factory job is a relatively insecure one, insecurity also functions as a shared frustration and bond between workers.

D. Type of skills required.—The skills required in a factory job are skills in the manipulation of tools. There is almost no demand for the development of skills related to manipulation of people. In his position at the bottom of the industrial hierarchy, the industrial worker exerts control over no one. None of the job rewards (pay, working conditions) are contingent on manipulating co-workers in competitive or other ways.

E. The meaning of social organization.—Many writers have made the observation that workers' membership in formal organizations is extremely limited (52). The union appears to be the one important contact this group has with formal groups. Aside from this, associations

are largely informal---dominated either by kinship or geographical considerations.

Union membership, since it is the main formal organization of manual workers is important in that it largely defines the workers' experiences with and lays the basis for workers' attitudes toward social organization. When the union effectively represents workers' interests, it clarifies for its members the value of collective action as against individual action. Through the advances won for members, the union points up the efficiency of social action.

The chief experiences of workers with formal social organization are derived in an association the chief function of which is the defense of workers' interests. The aims of the members and the aims of the organization are consonant. Since collective action provides the means to the goals of individual members, group security tends to be highly valued.

The Social Conditions of Managerial and Professional Occupations

A.—The nature of the product and conditions for reward.—The individual in the managerial class is rewarded for individual competition. Raises and promotions are to a large extent dependent on the individual's ability to perform more successfully in a work situation than his co-workers. His product may be the amount produced by the men under him, or the number of successful sales he makes, but the responsibility for the product is individual, and it is on the basis of his own managerial prowess or sales ability that rewards are contingent. His rewards may depend on the production of others (underlings), but not on his co-workers or people on an equal competitive

footing. His success and security depend on his ability to perform better than his competitor.

B.—Type of skills required.—The skills required in managerial and professional occupations are skills in the manipulation of people rather than the manipulation of tools. If we consider the case of a top level supervisor whose job depends on his successful manipulation and control of the men working for him in the interests of management, of the lawyer whose success in a case depends to a large extent on being more convincing to a jury or judge than the opposing lawyer, or of a salesman whose success depends on the manipulation of his customers---in any of these cases the rewards of the work are largely dependent on the success with which one controls people. In their superior position in the power hierarchy, members of this group exert control over people in the interests of the business unit.

C.—The meaning of social organization.—Compared to manual workers, Warner reports, middle class individuals belong to many formal organizations.(53, pp. 335-337). The function and meaning of membership in organizations related to middle class occupations is, however, quite different from the function of workers' memberships described above.

The individual competitive nature of middle class occupations tends to inhibit the development of stable social organization around the work situation itself. Since achievement of individual goals (success) is seen as a matter of individual efforts, rewards are lacking for group organization of this kind.

To the extent that the goals and functions of a social organization extend into the areas in which individual members are competi-

tors, the unity and effectiveness of the group suffer. This limits considerably the fields where group organization can be relied on. There are only a few conditions under which middle class occupational groups can function or have value:

1. Where there is a common threat to a group of competitors. Thus, for example, when students compete with local restaurateurs by serving inexpensive midnight snacks in the dormitory, the restaurant owners may unite to bring pressure on college officials to stop such activities. The restaurant owners' association may be very effective and the individual owners may recognize fully that it was only through the organization that the threat was undone. But such common threats do not occur frequently since the usual pattern is for the interests of the individual owners to be opposed to each other. This fact tends to undermine group unity. For this reason after the threat is dispelled, so often is the organization.

2. Where the function of the group is limited to the provision of a framework within which members can move more easily through individual efforts to goals outside of the group. Professional organizations often have this character. Through annual meetings they provide opportunities for young aspirants to make contacts and gain recognition in their field. Such organizations may also serve broad protective functions, but only in those areas where the interests of members are unified——a situation occurring somewhat infrequently because of the basic competition among members.

In both of these types of occupational organizations we note one consistent theme. The business relations of middle class individuals tend to be dominated by personal competition rather than by

group action. The chief goals of individual members are different from the group goals and provide a less stable basis for the development of strong or stable groups than in the case where the goals of individual members are consonant with group goals.

On the basis of these differences in social experience attendant on the job situation and position in the power hierarchy, we would expect to find differences arising between the two broad occupational groups. Such differences are also, of course, related to other factors accompanying occupational classification (e.g., income, demands on time, living conditions, etc.) and are not entirely a function of the kinds of on-the-job relations which have been described. It is postulated, however, that job experiences are among the important aspects of social experience underlying such differences.

Two kinds of resultant differences are postulated. The first type consists of differences in goals and goal directed behavior. The second type consists of parallel differences in the quality of interpersonal relationships characterizing the two class groups.

Resultant I. Differences in Goals and Goal Related Behavior

From the foregoing observations about social experiences on the job, we would predict certain differences between classes in goals and in behavior instrumental to the attainment of goals. The following differences are postulated;

1. Accepted patterns for the expression of hostility differ in the two groups. Among workers the expression of hostility is a valued type of behavior when it is directed toward management, because

it effectively assists in attaining the common goals of workers. In the middle class hostility and aggression are controlled and channeled into competitiveness, with no direct expression permitted. Direct expression of feeling cannot characterize one's behavior when manipulation is the keynote of relationships.

2. Different value is placed on group membership and group security in the two classes. In the middle class group, achievement of membership is often viewed as a sign of personal achievement, and the group used for the acquisition of personal status. Among workers, on the other hand, the security of the group takes primacy over personal advancement and its function is the maintaining and advancing of common interests of members.

3. The meaning and importance of personal achievement and ambition differ in the two groups. The notion of self-determination is more characteristic in the middle class---and with it, all of the accompanying values on independence, ambition, and personal success. Failure is viewed as an individual matter and guilt-laden in the middle class, and fear of failure is both an important and a central drive in this setting.

For the working class individual higher value is placed on collective action and greater recognition given to the effectiveness thereof. Individual ambition is less relied on or perhaps even mistrusted. Failure is viewed as less a reflection of individual shortcomings, and thus less as a cause for shame.

Resultant II. Differences in Interpersonal Relationships

On the premise that normal human behavior is integrated, i.e.,

that the behavior of an individual in one situation is influenced by previous experiences in others, we would expect that the qualities characterizing one's relationships with people for forty hours a week would have an influence on one's relationships with people outside of working hours.

Broadly, then, we would expect certain differences in the qualities of the interpersonal relationships characteristic of members of the two classes---these differences derived from the meaning of personal relationships to people in the different job situations. Among these differences, we would postulate the following:[1]

1. There is, in general, less overt competition between manual workers in their daily relationships than between members of the managerial and professional class.

2. Relationships of manual workers are characterized by less manipulation than those of business people. Another way of putting this is that relationships to people are an end in themselves more frequently in the working class than in the middle class where more characteristically they constitute a means to an end.

3. Relationships among workers are characterized by less formality, less distance, and more direct expression of feeling.

4. Among workers, judgments of others are based less on achievement criteria than in the middle class where self-determination is considered important and where one aspect of manipulation consists of judging people and relating to people on the basis of how much they

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[1] The differences postulated are only expected to be statistical differences, and there is no assumption involved that there would not be wide variation within class groups as well as between them.

can "do" for one.

Up to this point we have been concerned with outlining some of the social factors which may be related to class differences in behavior and values. Such differences should, theoretically, have an effect on life areas where values are relevant. One such area is the socialization of children. It is postulated that the experiences of adults in their functional roles and the values which may be learned from these experiences are transmitted to children through the early training process.

If this is true, we would expect to find differences between members of the two groups even before they have had direct experience with work situations. Since early learning is so important in the determination of motivational patterns like the need to achieve, and since the children of workers and managers would more uniformly have been introduced to the values of their class subculture at an early age, it was felt that class differences in this area might be even clearer between the children of the two classes than they would be between the adults. For this reason, high school subjects were used in the study.[2] We would predict, according to the approach presented here, that differences which appear between the children would be intensified by direct job experience.

The following section will consider briefly the nature of the socialization process in the two classes and the derivation from this process of a difference between youths raised in the two groups in

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[2] Even younger subjects would have been desirable, according to this criterion, but for reasons related to the measure of need achievement used, this was not possible. The desirability of using high school subjects is discussed further in the following chapter.

their reaction to failure. This derived difference constitutes the hypothesis which the study was designed to test.

Transmission of Goals and Goal Related Behavior Through the Parent-Child Relationship

The resultants described in the two preceding sections appear not only in the goals of adults, but also in the goals which their children learn from the important adults in their lives through selective rewarding of behavior; the effect appears not only in the quality of interpersonal relationships between adults, but also in the relationship of adults to their children.

Specifically, we would postulate the following differences between the two classes in the socialization of children:[3]

The nature of his experiences does not provide incentives for the working person to manipulate other people---he has no necessity in his function to "use" people for personal advancement. Thus he has little reason to try to "sell himself" and to cover his real feelings. Along with these negative reasons for non-manipulative relations, there is the positive aspect---the fact that interpersonal relations and group security offer both many of the satisfactions in an intrinsically uninteresting job as well as the means toward greater personal satisfaction.

His relationship to his children will also, then, be characterized by freedom of expression of real feeling and a greater permis-

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[3] The differences described here refer to differences between the "typical" middle class family and the "typical" working class family. There is unquestionably wide variation within groups which will reduce the differences between groups, but it is contended that such differences will be in the direction described.

siveness toward impulsivity. He will not "use" his child as characteristically as the middle class parent for the realization of his own ambitions. The working class individual relies on collective organization for the achievement of his goals. The middle class person relies on himself in a fashion not altogether adjusted to the realities of modern power relations. The frustrations which he meets cannot be referred to a strong power group, and he must resolve them either alone or through the hope of his children.

The child, as an individual, is held responsible for his own actions much more in the middle class than among workers. He is judged early for what he does, since the experience and education of middle class individuals teaches them that an individual determines his own fate. The child is therefore expected to be responsible for his own actions and self-controlled at a much earlier age in the middle class.

The success of a middle class individual hinges often on how successfully he manages people---how well he gets them to do what he wants---in the interest of the business unit. The way in which his subordinates perform is a reflection on his managerial ability. His success or failure in "managing" his children is also a reflection on himself. It becomes doubly important, therefore, for the child to learn early the ways approved by his culture. In this sense also the middle class parent "uses" his children as a demonstration of his own ability. The working class parent, on the other hand, has less of the sense of personal responsibility for success or failure, does not learn to manage other people toward his own success, values relationships more as an end than as a means, and thus does not "use" his

children in this way.

In the middle class group, as Ericson (21) has demonstrated, the training process emphasizes independence, self-control, and success. We would expect this to be the case both because the parent admires and values these qualities and because the way parents relate to their children (the way they "handle" their children), and the successes of the children are viewed as personal reflections on the parent.

Just as middle class individuals compete with each other in work, they also compete through their children. The tendency of middle class parents to boast of their children's accomplishments in the acquisition of social habits is a reflection of this competition. The mark of a good parent is the quickly trained and accomplished child. Since this competitive need of the parents' often conflicts with the needs of the growing child, the child is often used for the parents' purposes rather than admitted full status as an individual with needs of his own.

Since the child is responsible for his own action, is a reflection of his parents' worth, and since, further, there is strong competition between parents, the environment of the middle class child is highly demanding. The child raised in the working class family, on the other hand, is subject to many fewer pressures because of the minimum role striving and competition play in relationships in this group.

We would therefore expect the middle class child to be judged more frequently by what he does, and his training to be characterized by conditional love. A child, since he is responsible for his own actions, is loved if he learns well and quickly, not loved if he

fails. As Davis (13) points out, the child must learn to constantly fear failure under these circumstances. The working class child, surrounded by many fewer demands (especially in regard to internal impulse control), is less constantly in danger of failing to meet the expectations of his world.

Since anxiety is attendant on failure from such an early age in the middle class---and pressures to succeed so strong---the middle class child develops strong needs to achieve and to avoid failure. These deep needs provide a consistent reaction to failure situations.

Because of its early connection with the threat of losing love, failure has a consistent meaning. In facing such a situation, the middle class child reacts more directly to this meaning related to deep needs than to changing aspects of the reality situation surrounding a particular failure. The working class child, for whom fear of failure is not so consistently reinforced nor learned so early, is able to react more directly to different reality conditions surrounding failure.

On the basis of empirical observations reported in the preceding chapter and the foregoing speculation concerning the influence of class membership on the meaning of failure, the following general hypothesis was formulated:

> The need to achieve is more directly a function of the reward potential of a task situation in working class subjects than in middle class subjects.

The specific hypothesis which the present study was designed to test reads:

> Whereas working class subjects will manifest a significantly lower need to achieve when confronted with failure to meet an abstract norm than when confronted with failure to obtain

a material reward, middle class subjects will manifest a need to achieve which does not vary significantly between the two situations.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The Subjects

The subjects for this experiment were high school seniors in two public high schools in South Bend, Indiana.[1] In all there were 336 students used as subjects in the experiment. Both male and female students were used, and the age range of subjects was from sixteen to eighteen years.

School children were used as subjects because it is here possible to get established groups with both social classes represented under similar objective conditions.

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, children were also better suited as subjects than adults because of the greater likelihood of finding among them a substantial proportion who had been subject to the influences of their class subcultures during early training. Since early training is so critical in the determination of motivation patterns like our dependent variable, this was a necessary consideration.

Students in the last year of high school were used for the

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[1] South Bend is a highly industrialized midwestern community with a population of some 120,000. The predominant products are automobiles and automotive parts, farm equipment, sewing machines, and machine tools.

following practical reasons:

1. It was found in a pretest of the experiment that younger subjects responded to the picture stimuli used in the measure of Need Achievement with a minimum of achievement related material scorable under the system to be used. This was true even under conditions of failure. They more frequently responded with family conflict and autobiographical stories even when the stimulus was a picture of a work situation.

2. Since in the pretest differences in Need Achievement were so much influenced by age, this factor was held relatively constant in order to permit measurement of the influence of social class on Need Achievement without this disturbing influence.

Of the four public high schools in South Bend, the two selected for use in this research were chosen because of characteristics which seemed to make them peculiarly adapted to the needs of this study.

Both schools are located in middle class neighborhoods bordering on or close to large settlements of industrial workers. The schools draw students about equally from these two populations, thus initially assuring good representation of the two groups to be studied in this investigation.

This split in population provided another condition favorable to this research. It provided contact between the two groups, and thus made possible aspirations toward mobility, since it was possible for working class students to see and experience a difference---either in the way students themselves behaved or in the way they were treated by teachers---between business class students and themselves. One school in South Bend was specifically rejected because the student

body is entirely working class. The students in this school have had little opportunity to observe directly values or behaviors different from those of the working class. Thus, their identification with the working class might not have involved any recognition of the meaning of this identification, but merely lack of awareness of any other form of response. In this case, our identification measure would act less effectively as a control for the acceptance of values.

The possibility of upward mobility in the two schools used was enhanced by another characteristic shared by both---that is, relative "newness" of the schools. They are the two most recently built schools in South Bend. One is about fifteen years old, the other was opened in 1941. There may be other factors operating with time, but this appears at least to be one of the important factors in the lack of rigid social lines within the schools. Unlike the "downtown" high school in the old part of the city where there is an elaborate and recognized system of clubs maintaining fixed prerogatives and carrying differential degrees of prestige, the two new schools are relatively free from such obvious demarcating sign posts.

In both of these schools there is, at least apparently, a relatively good possibility for a working class student to gain recognition on the basis of academic, athletic, or other skills. While there remain general unverbalized taboos against dating "outside of one's crowd," differences are less accentuated than in the downtown school. For this reason mobility is more possible for those students who aspire toward middle class membership.

The situation in which the experiment was done was characterized, then, by the apparent possibility of mobility and by strong

pressures exerted toward mobility by teachers and by the middle class satisfactions reflected in the well kept and expensive homes surrounding the schools.[2] Working class students who do not yield to such pressures---who identify with the working class even in this situation---should be stable representatives of people with working class values and goals. They should be almost "ideal types" of the manual working class group discussed in the previous chapters.

One further characteristic which made these two schools appropriate for this study was the very small number of minor commercial occupations represented in their populations. This fact was discovered in initial checking of occupational data in all of the schools, and was one further reason for rejecting the downtown school, since these occupations were the most difficult to classify and would have introduced unnecessary sources of error.

Criteria for Rejection of Subjects

In all there were 361 students' names listed on attendance records for the eleven homerooms from which subjects for the experiment were selected. However, twenty-five students were absent on the days on which the experimental sessions were held.

Of the 336 students who took part in the experiment, 313 were used in the final analysis. The deletion of the remaining twenty-three subjects was necessary for the following reasons.

Five subjects were dropped from the high motivation group

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[2] For an interesting discussion of the role of the American school teacher in the transmission of middle class norms, see W. L. Warner, R. J. Havighurst, and M. B. Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated? (New York: Harper, 1944).

because they indicated on a questionnaire that they were not motivated toward the goal offered. It was felt that even though this was a crude measure of motivation, it should serve as a criterion for elimination of subjects. Since the situation was to be used as a high motivation condition, those subjects who did not desire the goal were not used in the analysis.

For a small group of students it was not possible to obtain adequate data on parents' occupation. Seven cases were dropped for this reason. These cases are referred to in the following section under the reliability of class placements of subjects according to occupational criteria.

The other eleven subjects who were not used did not complete one or more of the stories on which Need Achievement scores were based. A story, to be considered complete and scorable, had to be forty words long or longer. Aside from this minimum, no control was directly exercised on the length of stories since Atkinson (1) reports findings indicating that story length and achievement scores are not related. Three of these cases also identified with the lower or upper classes which were not considered in the study.

The distribution of the 313 subjects according to class membership---as determined by the two class indices utilized in the study---is presented in Table I.

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECTS BY OCCUPATIONAL AND SUBJECTIVE CLASS IDENTIFICATION

Occupational Classification	Subjective Identification	Number	Percent of Sample
Working class	Working class	87	28%
Middle class	Middle class	110	35
Working class	Middle class	107	34
Middle class	Working class	9	3
Total		313	100%

One fact about this distribution is worth comment. The size of the group falling according to occupational criteria in the middle class who identify themselves as working class is very small. This is quite different from the situation found in certain other populations. Centers (9), working with a national sample of adults, reports that 23 percent of all business, professional, and white collar workers in his study identified with the working class. The difference between this and the finding in the present study might at first appear to be the result of the difference in age of subjects. However, Steiner (44), working with a high school sample in Dearborn, Michigan, obtained a distribution very similar to Centers'.

While the occupational classifications in the three studies are not identical, they do not vary sufficiently to account for the unusual reduction in the size of downward identifying subjects in the present research. The most tenable hypothesis seems to be that this is a manifestation of the strong pressures toward upward mobility which exist in the schools in which the present study was done. This explana-

tion is further substatiated by the fact that neither of the above mentioned authors report as large a percentage of upward identifying cases as appears in Table I.

Measures and Controls

Independent Variables

Class membership.--Two types of index were utilized in defining the subjects' social class membership. The first was an occupational index and was based on data derived from school records and a questionnaire in which the subjects were asked to describe their parents' work[3] (Appendix A).

The second index was based on a variation of Centers' questionnaire on subjective class identification (Appendix B).

Independent placements of each subject on the basis of occupation were made by two judges. Percentage agreement between judges was .95. On all of the six cases in which there was disagreement, the judges had independently stated in their notes that the data available were inadequate for definitive class placement. One other case was rejected entirely by the judges on this basis. None of these cases were used in the analysis.

The criteria for placement in the two classes were as follows:

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[3]The school records were cumulative cards which included occupational and other information on the students' parents and the students.

MIDDLE CLASS	WORKING CLASS
1. Addresses himself to people.[4]	1. Addresses himself to tools.
2. Exerts control over (manipulates) people either in a disciplinary capacity within the business power unit, or as an active agent of control over people outside the business unit. In either case the exertion of control serves the interest of the business unit.	2. Exerts control over no one in the job situation.
3. Income increasable through individual efforts---some degree of effect on the market for his services and skills.	3. Income relatively fixed. No control over market for his labor, the only source of his income.
	4. Easily replaceable skill.

A complete list of occupations represented by the parents of the subjects, along with the class placements of the occupations, appears in Appendix F.

The first criterion is the broadest and the least rigorous. In many cases, the placement which was made purely on the basis of this criterion was superseded on the basis of later and more stringent criteria. For example, a clerk in a department store addresses himself to people, but exerts no control over these people. The same is true of a set-up man on an assembly line.

On the other hand, a surgeon might be said to be addressing himself to tools, yet by virtue of the application of a more stringent criterion (control over his own income), he is placed in the middle class.

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[4]This is the criterion used by the Lynds (34) in differentiating between the business and working classes in Middletown.

In most such cases, where placement on the basis of the first criterion differed from that based on the later criteria, there was some margin of doubt as to whether such a job involved addressing people or tools---as in the case of the surgeon or the set-up man in a factory. In such cases the later criteria simply provide additional information on the basis of which the decision as to the initial placement can be made more accurately.

In other cases, like that of the sales clerk in a grocery store, the first placement really seems to conflict with placement based on later criteria. Ideally such subjects would have been excluded from the experiment. Since the initial number of subjects was not large---considering the number of other controls to be used and the number of breakdowns in the final analysis---, these subjects were used. They were placed in all cases in accord with the later criteria. Wherever possible placements based on all criteria were used. There were fifteen cases in which the first criterion was not met, in the sense that the placement based on it was superseded. If this group were larger, an interesting analysis might be made between this group and the groups having uniform positions according to all of the criteria.

The second criterion of middle class membership---exertion of <u>active</u> control over people inside or outside the business unit---is phrased in these terms to distinguish between, for example, a collection agent (middle class) and a gas meter reader (working class). The latter, while he could be conceived as an agent of control, has a passive role and is not actively manipulating people in the interest of the business unit.

The third criterion---control over income---made possible the inclusion of professionals in the middle class. This was considered necessary because of the gross difference between the self-determination permitted the professional and the manual worker in our society.

One of the most fortunate results of this type of occupational analysis, it is believed, is that it avoids the traditional oversimplified view of white collar workers as necessarily middle class. In the present analysis, a white collar job like that of a private secretary to an executive (directing the work of underlings or "handling" business situations) is placed in the middle class, since there is manipulation involved in the work. On the other hand, a typist-clerk employed by one of the large local offices of a national insurance company would be classified as working class. In this job there is no manipulation of people, no control. The individual clerk works with other people in a situation not unlike that of an assembly line job. The job requires a minimum of skill and is controlled and checked by a supervisor.

Motivation.---In the high motivation groups, a ten dollar prize was offered for high scores. There was no reward offered for achievement in the low motivation situation. This use of a prize in the high motivation groups was intended to increase the objective satisfactions to be achieved in the situation. It was designed to establish a need to achieve based on the objective conditions of the immediate situation, and thus to differentiate between the two work situations. The effectiveness of this goal was measured by a questionnaire administered to the subjects which asked in various forms the question "Would you like to win this prize?" (Appendix C).

Dependent Variable: Need Achievement

Need Achievement was measured by the use of an adapted Thematic Apperception Test consisting of three pictures (Appendix D). In response to each picture, the subjects were asked to write a story. The scoring system developed by McClelland, Clark, Atkinson, and others (35) for deriving a measure of Achievement Need from verbal material was employed.

These authors report (1) a correlation of .64 between two alternate three picture forms of the test employed (Spearman-Brown formula), and a split-half reliability of the measure obtained from all six pictures of .78.

The same authors report an index of agreement of .91 for the score-rescore of particular categories. In the present study three indices were obtained for agreement between the two scorers. At the beginning of the scoring procedure, the three protocols of twenty-five subjects were scored by each of the two judges. An index of agreement was computed by dividing the number of actual agreements between judges by the total number of possible agreements. This resulted in an index of agreement of .83. Such indices of agreement between judges were computed twice later——once at about the half-way mark in scoring, and once near the end. The indices obtained on these two occasions were .96 and .94 respectively.[5]

Score-rescore reliabilities were computed on the basis of the scoring on two separate occasions, of three pictures for each of fifty subjects. The product-moment correlation between scores assigned the

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[5] An example of the derivation of such an index is presented in Appendix G.

fifty subjects on the first and second scoring was .87 for one scorer and .94 for the other.

There was no possibility of contamination of the scoring procedure arising from knowledge of the class membership of the subject whose paper was being scored. Each sheet of a subject's questionnaire booklet was labeled with a code number and subsequently the booklet was dismantled. The protocols contained no identification other than the subject's number. In addition, the three protocols of any particular subject were separated to avoid halo effects from influencing the scoring of the second and third stories. Since scoring was done on scoring forms (Appendix D), there was no possibility of the judges influencing each other by marks or notes on the protocols themselves.

Tasks

Between the dependent and independent measures, it was necessary to have some simple tasks on which the subjects could be made to feel they had failed. This was necessary to create an unsatiated state of the need to achieve where such a need was aroused by the terms of the situation.

The two tasks used for this purpose were an anagrams test and a simple motor test (Appendix E). These were chosen for the following reasons:

1. They were different enough from each other to decrease any possibile class difference in previous experience with the tasks.

2. They served as controls for possible class differences in interest, since they were of minimum interest.

Procedure

Students were assigned by a method of random numbers to one of three groups. For this process, school lists were used. Two of these three groups were then selected by the same method to be subjects in the low motivation condition. The third group experienced the high motivation condition.[6]

The subjects were given the following tasks, tests, and questionnaires:

1. A questionnaire concerning the subject's class identification
2. An anagrams test
3. A simple motor test
4. The Atkinson-McClelland measure of Need Achievement
5. A questionnaire on parents' occupation

The situation was introduced in the following manner by the experimenter:

> A group of psychologists are administering a series of tests to high school students in different parts of the country. These tests tell us about various abilities of people. We're going to give the tests to you now. I'll describe the ability which each test measures or gets at before we give it. And after each test, so that you can know how you did as compared to other people your age, I'll give you the average score for South Bend high school students on that particular test. This is so you'll know how you're doing as we go along. Don't talk about your scores or look at anyone else's score on the tests during the testing period.

Following this introduction, in the high motivation group, there was added a short statement concerning the fact that we had found from experience that students didn't seem to do as well as they

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[6]The larger sized groups were necessary in the low motivation situation largely because of a practical consideration, that is, because a limited amount of money was available for prizes. It was felt that using high school students and offering them an unobtainable reward demanded that a substantial actual reward be given. The possibility of complying with this imperative was limited by financial considerations which thereby limited the practical size of the high motivation group.

could because they didn't always try their hardest. Therefore, they were told, we had decided to offer prizes for high scores on the tests:

> All those students getting combined scores above a certain point will be given a ten dollar prize. Remember, it's your overall score that counts. We'll have the winning scores tomorrow, but in the meantime, you'll have the average scores for South Bend students with which to compare your own score so you'll know how you're doing.

The effectiveness of this goal in increasing motivation was attested to by the increased excitement in the room following this part of the statement in the high motivation group sessions---and by the large numbers of "Oh Boy's" and "Wow's" issuing from the groups. A somewhat more controlled measure of the degree to which the goal was a real one was obtained through use of a questionnaire following the introduction and preceding the tasks. This questionnaire immediately asked the subject to rate himself on a six point scale of how much he would try for the goal, when he would be willing to try out for the prize if we needed more time, and how much he thought he wanted the prize as compared to other students.

A period was allowed for questions, and the subjects were next asked to fill out the class-identification questionnaire. They were cautioned against looking at anyone else's paper, and told that all we were interested in was their own answers, as they thought of themselves.

The anagrams test was next introduced. It was described as a "verbal test, or a test of how well you work with words." The subjects were told that this was a time test, that they should not turn over their papers until the signal was given and should stop as soon as the experimenter said. They were given four minutes in which to work

on the test, then very quickly told falsely high norms for South Bend high school students on this "test," and quickly introduced to the purpose of the next test, the simple motor task:[7]

> This is a test of what we call motor coordination. It measures how well you work with your hands, and how well your hands and eyes work together. This is another time test, so work quickly from the time I say 'Turn' until the time I say 'Stop.'[8]

Again four minutes were allowed for work on the task. Then the falsely high norms were read and we moved on to the next part of the experiment, the Atkinson-McClelland picture measure of Need Achievement. Students were told that this was not a test in the ordinary sense of the word, and that there would be no scores given on it. Previous experimenters (1) have reported that when the writing of the picture-stories is itself made part of the activity instrumental to an achievement goal, a general constriction in the imaginative flow occurs. In order to avoid such an occurrence, two precautions were utilized. The picture measure was verbally dissociated from the other "tests" and a different experimenter did the instructing in this section of the procedure.

In connection with this "test" the subjects were told:

> This next test is a test of your creative imagination. A number of pictures will be projected on the screen before you. You will have twenty seconds to look at the picture and then five minutes to make up a story about it. Notice that there is one page for each picture. The same four questions are asked. They will guide your thinking and enable you to cover all the elements of a plot in the time alotted. Plan to spend about a minute on

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[7]The steps in the procedure followed each other very quickly in order to reduce communication between students and provide no release of tension.

[8]The order of the two tests (anagrams and motor) was reversed in the two runs of the experimenter.

each question. I will keep time and tell you when is about time to go on to the next question about each story. You will have a little time to finish your story before the next picture is shown.

Obviously there are no right or wrong answers, so you may feel free to make up any kind of a story about the pictures that you choose. Try to make them vivid and dramatic, for this is a test of creative imagination. Do not merely describe the picture you see. Tell a story about it. Work as fast as you can in order to finish in time. Make them interesting. If you need more space for any question, use the reverse side.

After the last task the students were asked to answer a questionnaire on which they gave the name of their fathers' job, where he worked, and a description in their own words of what their fathers did on the job.

Following this, the experimenter began to explain, in general terms, what the last "test" was, and what we were trying to find with all these "tests." In the middle of the first few sentences, the experimenter's assistant came up to the front of the room and whispered something to the experimenter, after which she announced that she had made an error in reading the norms. She announced that she had given the norms for college graduates instead of those for high school students, and then announced the "true" norms for high school groups. These norms were so low that all of the students either achieved them or came close to them. This was done to reduce anxiety created by the previous norms.

Analysis

In that part of the analysis relating to the main hypothesis, comparisons are made between two class groups: those who are occupationally classified as working class and identify with the working class, and those who are occupationally middle class and identify with

the middle class. Within classes, comparisons are made for motivation.

In all tests of significance, the following formula for Critical Ratio was used:

$$C.\ D. = \frac{M_1 - M_2}{\sigma_D}$$

The five percent level was set as the criterion of significance, on the basis of which the hypothesis was to be accepted or rejected.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

The Influence of Social Class Membership on Shifts in Need Achievement Scores

The two working class groups (high motivation and low motivation) were compared on mean Need Achievement scores. The two middle class groups were compared in the same manner. The results are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2

MEAN NEED ACHIEVEMENT SCORES OF MIDDLE CLASS AND WORKING CLASS SUBJECTS UNDER HIGH AND LOW MOTIVATION CONDITIONS

Class	Motivation Condition						Critical Ratio	p Level
	High			Low				
	N	Mn	S.D.	N	Mn	S.D.		
Working	34	8.06	3.61	53	4.89	2.89	4.3	>.0001
Middle	37	8.30	3.71	73	7.56	3.76	.94	.25
	C.R. = .27			C.R. = 4.3				
	p. = .38			p. = >.0001				

The findings indicate that there is a significant difference between the two working class groups. That is, under conditions where there is an immediate material goal present, the working class group shows a significanly greater need to achieve than under conditions

where the potential rewards are restricted to satisfactions derived from reaching an abstract norm.

The difference in mean Need Achievement scores between the two middle class groups is not significant. Among middle class subjects, the average need for achievement under conditions where achievement means the obtaining of a material reward does not differ significantly from the average need to achieve in a situation where achievement is defined as surpassing a norm.

This would seem to indicate that the need to achieve among members of the middle class group is less dependent on the conditions of the achievement situation than it is for members of the working class group. Or, in other words, that satisfaction derived from success, as such, is a more important and independent motivational force in the middle class group than it is in the case of working class subjects.

The difference in mean Need Achievement scores between the working class and middle class groups under the high motivation condition is not significant. This indicates that the Need Achievement measure is not under all conditions class differentiating.

We may consider the condition of immediate goal as a control situation designed to establish the fact that the measure of Need Achievement is not a seriously class biased measure---that is, that under certain conditions high Need Achievement scores are obtained by subjects regardless of their class membership. In this case, the generalization from the results in the low motivation situation would read:

In response to a failure, defined as not achieving an abstract

standard, middle class individuals will manifest a significantly higher need to achieve than will working class individuals.

Stated in this way, the generalization means that middle class subjects, relative to working class subjects, would have a greater desire to achieve in a situation which offers no material reward. Satisfactions to be obtained by success were limited by the definition of the situation to those which the individual could derive from being successful in meeting a norm. Since each subject knew only his own scores, success did not entail any immediate gratification of prestige strivings or needs for recognition from the group. This fact further limits the satisfactions dependent on success in the situation, and leads us to conclude that the manifestation of a high need to achieve under such circumstances attests to the independent and central nature of success as a motivating factor in the individuals who respond in this manner.

The results reported in this analysis were obtained when the independent variable (social class) was defined both on the basis of objective occupational criteria and on the basis of a subjective criterion. The working class group consisted of those subjects who were classified as working class on the basis of parent's occupation and who, further, perceived themselves as belonging to the working class. The middle class subjects were chosen on the same bases.

Marginality

Possibly the most provocative groups defined by this dual-aspect classification system are those individuals who perceive themselves to be members of one class, while according to objective criteria they are members of a different social class.

From the data of this study it is possible to make even tentative remarks about only one type of marginal case——those individuals who are objectively classified as working class but subjectively identify themselves as middle class. The other case of marginality, where an individual identifies his position lower than it is according to objective criteria, occurred so rarely that no trends can be determined. There were only four such cases under high motivation conditions, and five in the low motivation group.

Let us, however, consider the upward-identifying marginal group. The number of factors which might lead an individual to identify himself upward in social class position is large. Among the most likely are the American Dream, the incomplete character of the alignment of jobs with specific classes, the shifts in jobs which were forced on many people during the depression, the shifting of relative economic position of manual workers and certain white collar workers which has been developing with the growth of powerful industrial trade unions, and the age of the subjects. All of these factors might tend to confuse the situation with which subjects are identifying. One further reason for upward identification might be anxiety which attends working class status and against which upward identification may act as an ego defense.[1]

Because of the variety of factors which upward-identification could reflect, no specific predictions were offered as to the behavior

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[1]The author is indebted to Lloyd Barenblatt for first bringing this theoretical point to her attention.

of this group under the two motivation conditions.[2] The results for this group were analyzed for exploratory purposes with two general possibilities in mind.

In a previous study on class differences, Steiner (47) found inconclusive data indicating a tendency for these marginal cases to behave like the middle class group with whom they identify---but more extremely. The present author felt that the only hypothesis she was willing to hazard was that this group should show a greater degree of heterogeneity than either of the others in the low motivation situation.

While these individuals aspire to middle class membership, they have presumably not had an opportunity to learn the valued behavior patterns of the middle class through a consistent middle class socialization process. Davis points out a difference between what he calls socialization and acculturation. The former is the training of an individual in the behavior systems of the group into which he is born, beginning with birth. Acculturation is the process by which an individual adapts his behavior to that of a group other than his birth group after socialization is under way. This latter type of learning is difficult, he points out, because it usually requires the unlearning of old patterns as well as the learning of new.

Since these subjects were probably not uniformly socialized in

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[2]The exploration of factors differentiating the marginal group from working class subjects who identify with the working class offers many interesting possibilities for research. A few of these are referred to in a later section of this chapter. Unfortunately, since the present study was specifically designed to test certain hypotheses, adequate data were not collected for testing differences between these groups on other variables. These differences are, however, the specific interests of a study being done by Lloyd Barenblatt.

the middle class, we would expect wide variations in the extent and accuracy with which they have learned middle class behavior patterns. Some might have overlearned, some not yet have learned the accepted middle class responses to failure in a non-reward situation. It was for this reason that greater heterogeneity was expected in this group.[3]

The results of analysis of Need Achievement scores for this group are presented in Table 3. The data for middle class and working class groups are included in the table to provide the reader with a basis for judging the data obtained in marginal cases.

TABLE 3

MEAN NEED ACHIEVEMENT SCORES UNDER TWO CONDITIONS OF MOTIVATION FOR WORKING CLASS, MIDDLE CLASS AND MARGINAL SUBJECTS

Class	Motivation Condition						Critical Ratio	p Level
	High			Low				
	N	Mn	S.D.	N	Mn	S.D.		
Marginal	36	7.85	3.72	71	7.71	4.93	.18	.39
Working	34	8.06	3.61	53	4.89	2.89	4.30	<.0001
Middle	37	8.30	3.71	73	7.56	3.76	.94	.26

The results seem to bear out both of the suggestions made in the preceding paragraph. The mean of the marginal group is higher under low motivation conditions than the mean of the middle class group, although this difference is not significant.

[3] The predictions were made, of course, only for the low motivation condition, since it was expected that when a ten dollar reward was to be gained by succeeding, subjects would show considerable need to achieve regardless of class membership. The order of group means in this condition was of no special interest.

There is less homogeneity in this group than in either of the other groups under low motivation conditions.

The F ratios between the variance of the marginal group and each of the other two groups are presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4

COMPARISONS OF THE VARIANCE OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF MARGINAL SUBJECTS WITH THE VARIANCES OF THE DISTRIBUTIONS OF MIDDLE CLASS AND WORKING CLASS SUBJECTS UNDER LOW MOTIVATION CONDITIONS

	Middle Class	Marginal	Working Class
Number	73	71	53
Standard Deviation	3.76	4.93	2.89
F Ratio	1.6	3.2	
Degrees of Freedom	70, 72	70, 52	
p Level	>.05	>.01	

In both cases, F is significant beyond the five percent level, the criterion set for accepting or rejecting hypotheses in this research.[4]

Need Achievement in Relation to Factors Other Than Class

A number of factors were analyzed for their influence on Need Achievement scores. Since these factors might provide alternative

[4]The formula used for the derivation of F is:

$$F = \frac{s_1^2}{s_2^2}$$

where s_1^2 is the estimate of the universe variance based on the distribution with the larger variance, and s_2^2 is the estimate of the universe variance based on the distribution with the smaller variance. F was interpreted according to Snedecor's tables of F.

explanations for the differences between groups, they were checked for control purposes, and the results reported herein.

Sex membership has been found by Atkinson (1) to have an effect on the production of achievement related imaginative material in the Thematic Apperception Test stories. It was found that the need to achieve among girls tended to be high even under "neutral" experimental conditions.

The sex factor was controlled through randomization between the high and low motivation conditions. However, since it might be expected that representation of the two sexes would not be equal in the two social classes,[5] the results under each motivation condition were analyzed for sex difference. The results are presented in Table 5.

TABLE 5

NEED ACHIEVEMENT SCORES FOR MALE AND FEMALE SUBJECTS UNDER HIGH AND LOW MOTIVATION CONDITIONS*

Motivation Condition	Sex						Critical Ratio	p Level
	Male			Female				
	N	Mn	S.D.	N	Mn			
Low	76	6.71	3.49	121	6.99	4.51	.31	.38
High	50	8.22	3.33	57	8.09	3.33	.20	.39

*The nine cases in which subjects classified as middle class identified with the working class were not used in any of the analyses.

While it will be noted that girls do get a higher mean score than boys in the low motivation condition, this difference is not significant. The lack of a significant sex difference can be explained, it

[5]It might be felt, for example, that girls would be somewhat overrepresented in the working class group, since by the senior year in high school some working class boys would have dropped out of school to get jobs. Actually representation of the sexes was approximately equal in the two class groups.

is believed, by the fact that the experimental conditions under which the Need Achievement measure was used are distinctly different from those used in previous studies.

In the present study there was no experimental condition which could be designated "neutral." In both experimental conditions, subjects were given the picture test after they had failed to meet certain standards of performance. Thus neither of the situations was free from threat——the question being primarily what influence the introduction of a material reward would have on the reaction to this threat. Within this framework, sex does not prove to be a critical factor.

Age was controlled by using as subjects only students in their last year of high school. There were only two age groups substantially represented in the sample. Again, it might be expected that there would be a class difference in regard to age representation in high schools. Since in the pretest it was found that younger subjects (freshmen and sophomores) produced little in the way of achievement material even under failure conditions, an analysis was made for the influence of age on Need Achievement in the two large age groups used in the study. In Table 6 it will be seen that there is no significant difference between the mean Need Achievement scores of seventeen and eighteen year old subjects in either of the experimental conditions.

TABLE 6

NEED ACHIEVEMENT SCORES FOR SEVENTEEN AND EIGHTEEN YEAR OLDS UNDER HIGH AND LOW MOTIVATION CONDITIONS

Motivation Condition	Age						Critical Ratio	p Level
	Seventeen Years			Eighteen Years				
	N	Mn	S.D.	N	Mn	S.D.		
Low	107	6.85	4.36	75	7.08	4.03	.36	.37
High	57	8.29	3.18	41	7.95	3.53	.48	.35

The pretest group of freshmen and sophomores was similar to the experimental groups in most factors other than age. It is possible that the lack of achievement related material in the stories of thirteen and fourteen year old subjects was caused by interference from family themes more dominant in this stage of development. Whatever the interference stems from, it seems to have lost its dominance by the time youths near the end of their high school training.

One other factor was checked for its influence on achievement imagery. This was the school situation. Two high school populations were sampled in the study. The results for the two populations were not significantly different, as will be seen in Table 7.

TABLE 7

NEED ACHIEVEMENT SCORES FOR STUDENTS FROM TWO HIGH SCHOOL POPULATIONS UNDER HIGH AND LOW MOTIVATION CONDITIONS

Motivation Condition	School						Critical Ratio	p Level
	I			II				
	N	Mn	S.D.	N	Mn	S.D.		
Low	85	6.72	3.93	111	6.96	4.37	.39	.37
High	55	8.47	3.38	52	7.92	3.46	.82	.29

On the basis of this finding, the two groups were combined for the social class analysis.

Conclusions

It has been demonstrated that social class membership, as defined by the procedures employed in this study, exerts an influence on individual behavior in response to failure. Between two failure situations——one the path to a material reward, the other related to

to no objective goal---working class students manifested a significant shift in need to achieve, while middle class subjects showed a more consistently high need to achieve. This substantiates the hypothesis of the study and experimentally supports Davis' observations concerning the more central nature of achievement strivings in the motivational make-up of middle class adolescents as compared to working class youths.

There are a number of ways in which the results of this study seem to have importance for the study of social class differences. The most significant contribution of the study appears to be the demonstration, in an experimental setting, of motivational variation between classes. While both psychoanalytic literature and the work of social anthropologists are filled with provocative speculations about personality and motivational effects of class membership, to the author's knowledge there has been no previous attempt to utilize projective measurements and experimental controls in the testing of these hypotheses.

The empirical work of Ericson (21) utilizes controls and is consistent with the speculations of the Davis group about motivational variation between classes. But without follow up studies to check the influence of child training differences on personality development, this study also stops short of directly demonstrating such differences.

Most of the previous studies which have used controlled situations in the investigation of class differences have been concerned with attitudinal variation and have used adult subjects. The differences found in the present study are believed to be more directly related to personality and socialization because of both the nature of the measurement used and the age of the subjects.

One further important aspect of the present research lies in the nature of the definition of objective class membership. It has a distinct advantage over the informant placement type of definition (employed by Warner and his students,) in that it is usable in large industrial centers where the face to face contact which forms the basis for informant placements is at best confusing to locate and at worst eliminated between members of a community.

Relation of the Findings to the Theoretical Framework

The theoretical section of this paper has attempted to point up possible connections between motivation and certain aspects of social experience accompanying particular functions in our complex culture. The author is aware that the findings of this study are subject to a number of interpretations other than that presented in this paper. One might maintain, for example, that the differences which Ericson has demonstrated between the child training practices of the two classes are sufficient to explain the difference in reaction to failure, and that a consideration of other areas in which the experiences of the two groups differ is unnecessary.

In any case, it seems to the author that the crucial condition necessary for the appearance of any class difference in behavior is the breakdown of relatively free mobility from the working class to the middle class. Without this condition, the experiences of the two groups would not be distinct. Contact between the classes and the chance of gaining the rewards offered by rising in the social structure would decrease the possibility of differences arising between classes. With mobility high, neither job conditions nor child training

practices would have crucially differentiating effects. Conversely, we cannot expect to train members of the working class to behave and feel as middle class members until they can be shown that there are numerous real opportunities to gain by their efforts the privileges and satisfactions of the middle class.

As to the explanation of the results of this study as the outcome of varying child training practices found in the two class groups: We have a good deal of evidence that such differences are very important in the determination of motivational differences, and it was on the basis of this evidence that socialization was discussed. We must be aware, however, that child training practices gain their significance from the broader cultural context in which they occur. It can be observed, for example, that a single practice of child training---that of binding the child---may have various effects on personality development, depending on the context in which it occurs. No single aspect of a culture can be segregated and labeled as <u>the</u> factor important in personality development. If a particular child training practice is important, it derives its meaning from the fact that it is part of a consistent system of social experience.

Even if we were able to demonstrate that a particular way of treating children always is accompanied by the development of certain kinds of attitudes and motives, as social psychologists we would want to go beyond this fact to ask: What conditions are related to the development of this or that particular training procedure? What is it in the social conditions of a culture that channels behavior along certain directions rather than others? What is the framework of social pressures within which particular ways of treating children

occur?

The fact is that Ericson, in selecting particular criteria with which to define class, assumes specific kinds of connections between social factors and individual behavior. The fact that neither the rationale behind the selection of these criteria nor the way in which the various criteria are combined to define class is ever made explicit, is unfortunate. It limits generalization based on her results, and makes it more difficult for other research workers to find leads in the study as to what kind of research might produce clearer delineation of these connections.

The definition of objective class used in the present study was based on occupation. It seemed relevant, therefore, to consider the kinds of experiences that accompany occupational roles and the ways in which these experiences might influence the socialization process, so important in the development of motivation.

This is by no means considered the only factor in the broad culture tending to differentiate the experiences of the two class groups. Income level, for example, influences the kinds of experiences people have and the kind of child training methods which are available to them. In addition, there are important intervening psychological factors (values and attitudes) which will influence the way in which children are treated. It was for such factors that the measure of subjective identification was used as a control.

It was, however, felt important to single out for special consideration the ways in which job experiences may fit into the causal complex. It seemed important primarily because these factors played a large part in the thinking which led to the derivation of the hypothesis

and definition of class for the present study. Secondly, such speculation seemed fruitful because of certain findings of other research workers. Thus, for example, Warner found (52, pp. 159-170) that the factory workers in Yankee City differed substantially from other people of similar status in both membership participation in the community and in clique behavior. This would seem to indicate that the nature of the social experience in the job situation might have some influence on these very important aspects of behavior.

Despite such findings as Warner's, the factor of occupation-related social experience has been largely ignored in previous speculations about psychological differences between social classes. Job experiences do represent a large segment of the life experience of citizens in a modern industrial society, and speculation about the possible effects of such experiences offers fruitful leads for further research.

The theory concerning the relationship between job experiences and socialization methods has not, of course, been proved in this study. Theories are never proved in a single experiment. Two facts from the present study seem to indicate that occupational criteria are useful in the prediction of behavior:

First, the fact that such criteria, combined with a rather crude measure of intervening psychological factors, yield groups which differ substantially and predictably in their reactions to failure.

Second, the fact that such criteria made possible the differentiation between the behavior of two groups, both of which are composed of individuals who identify with the middle class, but only one of which is made up of people who are engaged in middle class occupa-

tions.

There is a need for a good deal of further experimental work to clarify the nature of the influence of occupational position on motivational variables.

Suggestions for Further Research

In this study failure was induced by the use of two very simple and intrinsically uninteresting tasks for which falsely high norms were presented. An interesting question concerns the effect of the task. Just as we predicted that the need to achieve among middle class subjects would show less shift between goal and non-goal failure situations, it would be interesting to find whether these subjects would also show a more consistent need to achieve, relative to working class subjects, regardless of the interest of the task failed.

The dual nature of the definition of class used in the study presents interesting possibilities for research. For example, what peculiar characteristics distinguish those subjects whose parents are manual workers and who, despite this fact, identify with the middle class. It might hypothesized that the work histories of these subjects' families would show a more recent entrance into the manual occupations than the family work histories of those subjects who do identify with the working class. Perhaps the mothers of more of the marginal subjects had middle class positions prior to marriage.

Could upward identification be demonstrated to have specific effects on the personality and social behavior of individuals? And are, perhaps, the family relationships of these youths different in some way from those characteristic of the youths who recognize their

working class membership? What effect will direct work experience have on the identifications of these upward identifying subjects?

Finally there is a great need for closer investigation of the influence of job experiences on the goals and values of individuals. Longitudinal studies might be made of the changes in these areas which accompany experience in particular functions. Workers who went from professional or business occupations into factory work during World War II or those who make this shift during the present crisis would be fruitful populations to study over a period and compare with workers who have longer factory histories.

The investigation of motivational differences between social classes has been shown to be fruitful. The possibility of the use of projective measurement in such studies extends the meaningful areas and ways in which such differences can be probed.

From the point of view of practical implications, the results of this study are significant mainly in the field of education. Davis has pointed out that in the education of working class youth we cannot utilize the same kinds of goals that we have traditionally transferred from experience with middle class culture. It would seem that working class youth <u>can</u> be motivated to work hard, even on uninteresting tasks, if we utilize goals which are meaningful to them. This applies also to the fields of intelligence testing and production maintenance. Our conception of goals must be reoriented and adapted to the needs and experiences which characterize this group.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

This thesis has been concerned with the influence of social class membership on individual reactions to failure. It has been observed by many authors that middle class individuals, because of the nature of their social environment, tend to develop a strong sense of personal responsibility for success and failure. Working class individuals, on the other hand, are subject to many pressures from fortuitous circumstances and so tend to develop less of this sense of personal responsibility for success and failure. Such differences also appear in the socialization processes of the two classes.

In the present study it was hypothesized that because of the central nature of success striving as a motivational force in middle class culture, members of this class will react relatively consistently to failure, regardless of the specific conditions under which it occurs. Working class individuals, on the other hand, since they learn to fear failure less and are less consistently urged to succeed, will react more specifically to reality conditions surrounding any particular failure. For example, they would be expected to react one way to a failure which meant losing a potential reward, and another way to a failure which involved no such loss.

The study was carried out in two public high schools in a midwestern industrial community. The sample of subjects consisted of 336

students in the senior year of high school. Because of inadequate data relating to one or more of the experimental variables, twenty-three subjects were eliminated for purposes of analysis.

The remaining 313 subjects were separated into social class groups on the basis of two types of criteria: the occupation of their parents, and their own subjective class identification. Occupations were classified as working or middle class depending on such considerations as whether or not the job involved manipulating or exerting control over people in the interest of a business unit, and whether the individual in a particular occupation exerts any control over the market for his own services. The groups used to test the main hypothesis were those whose occupational classification and subjective classification agreed.

The procedure consisted of exposing subjects to one of two failure situations in order to create an unsatiated state of the need to achieve, if such a need was enlisted by the terms of the situation.

Subjects were given an anagrams test and a simple motor test, and were told falsely high norms to create the illusion that they had failed to meet standards of other high school students. Following the induced failure, they were given an adapted Thematic Apperception Test which was used to measure the degree to which a need to achieve had been aroused in them.

An experimental variation of motivation was introduced to differentiate between the two failure situations to which subjects were assigned at random. In one group, comprising nearly two-thirds of the total sample, failure was defined purely in terms of failing to meet the announced norms. In the other group failure entailed,

as well, the loss of a potential material reward offered for high scores. The desirability of this reward ($10.00) was checked by means of a questionnaire, and subjects who indicated that the goal was unimportant for them were eliminated before the final analysis.

With two criteria of social class membership and two conditions of failure, then, we had the following groups:

1. Two groups of subjects classified as working class by both objective and subjective criteria——one under high motivation conditions (34 subjects) and one under low motivation conditions (53 subjects).

2. Two groups of subjects classified as middle class by both objective and subjective criteria——one under high motivation conditions (37 subjects) and one under low motivation conditions (73 subjects).

3. Two groups of subjects classified as working class by the objective criteria, but as middle class according to their subjective identification——one under high motivation conditions (36 subjects) and one under low motivation conditions (71 subjects).

4. Two groups of subjects classified as middle class by the objective criteria, but as working class according to their subjective identification——one under high motivation conditions (4 subjects) and one under low motivation conditions (5 subjects).

Of these eight groups, the main hypothesis of the study was related to the first four (listed under 1 and 2 above). The prediction was that while the working class subjects would manifest a significantly higher mean Need Achievement score in the reward condition than in the nonreward condition, the middle class subjects would show no significant

difference between mean Need Achievement scores obtained in the two failure conditions.

Critical ratios were utilized in testing the significance of difference between means. The five percent level was designated as the criterion for accepting or rejecting the hypothesis.

Analysis revealed that the difference between the mean Need Achievement scores of the two working class groups (high motivation and low motivation) was significant well beyond the five percent level, while there was no significant difference between the two middle class groups. It was found, as well, that the two groups under high motivation conditions——one middle class and one working class——did not differ significantly in mean Need Achievement scores. This indicated that the measure of Need Achievement was not seriously class-biased and that the difference reported in the main analysis reflects a difference in the reaction of the two class groups to failure in a non-reward situation. On the basis of these results, the hypothesis was accepted.

A number of other factors were analyzed for their effect on Need Achievement in order to dismiss as many as possible of the factors which might provide alternative explanations of the results reported above. Among these factors were age, sex, and school attended.(since the subjects were drawn from two schools). None of these factors had a significant effect on Need Achievement scores.

A secondary hypothesis of the study concerned the behavior of the upward identifying marginal cases——those who are occupationally classified as working class but identify themselves as middle class—— under the low motivation conditions. While these subjects identify

with the middle class, they have presumably not uniformly had the opportunity to learn middle class behavior patterns through a consistent training process. One thing which might be hypothesized about their behavior, then, is that it would not show as consistent a tendency as the behavior of either of the two class groups in which occupational membership corresponds to subjective class identification. It was predicted that this group would show a greater degree of variability than either the middle class or working class groups. We tested this hypothesis by use of the F test of significance of difference between variances. The variance of the marginal group proved to be significantly larger than the variance of either of the other two groups, and on this basis the hypothesis was accepted.

The importance of this study appears to stem mainly from the fact that it both deals with motivational variables and utilizes experimental controls. Previous studies have, for the most part, had only one or the other of these two characteristics of the present research. Most studies of motivational differences between classes have been of the participant-observer type. The use of this method makes difficult the evaluation of generalizations, since control is relinquished in the interest of securing rich raw material. On the other hand, most controlled studies of class differences have not dealt with motivational variables.

In the discussion an attempt was made to indicate where job experiences might fit into the causal complex producing class differences in motivation. This took the form of indicating ways in which experiences accompanying particular occupational roles in our society differ, and how such experiences might influence the nature of the

socialization processes in groups filling these roles. Such a consideration produces a number of leads for further research which were discussed in the last chapter. Finally, the applicability of the findings of the present study to the fields of education, intelligence testing, and industrial relations were suggested.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE ON PARENT'S OCCUPATION

Name_____

1. What is your father's job?

2. Where does he work?

3. Describe in your own words what your father does on his job.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE ON CLASS IDENTIFICATION

Name_____

1. Which one of the following classes would you like to be a member of?

___ middle class
___ lower class
___ working class
___ upper class

2. Which one of the following classes do you think you will be a member of in 10 years?

___ middle class
___ lower class
___ working class
___ upper class

3. Which one of the following classes are you a member of now?

___ middle class
___ lower class
___ working class
___ upper class

4. Mark an "M" in front of the occupations in the list below which you think belong in the middle class. Mark a "W" in front of those which you think belong to the working class. Mark "L" for lower class ones, and "U" for upper class ones.

___ Big business owners and executives

___ Small business owners and operators.

___ Factory workers

___ Office workers

___ Doctors and lawyers

___ Servants

___ Farmers

___ Laborers, such as miners, truck drivers, and shop workers.

___ Store and factory managers

___ Waiters and bartenders

___ Salesmen

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE ON MOTIVATION

1. I would like to win a $10.00 prize:

very much	quite a lot	a little more than average	a little less than average	not much	not at all

2. I think most students would like to win it:

very much	quite a lot	a little more than average	a little less than average	not much	not at all

3. I think, compared to other students, I want this prize:

much more than most	more than most	about the same as most	less than most	much less than most

4. How hard would you be willing to try for the prize?

my very hardest	pretty hard	a little harder than average.	a little less than average.	pretty little	not at all

5. Mark each of the times when you would be willing to come to try out for the $10.00. If you would come, but can't for some reason, write the reason in the blank provided. If you would not want to come at all, check under the column to the right.

Would come		Would, but can't because	Would not
_____	1. during class, if it were permitted	_____	_____
_____	2. on a Saturday	_____	_____
_____	3. after school	_____	_____
_____	4. during study hall	_____	_____
_____	5. during noon hour	_____	_____

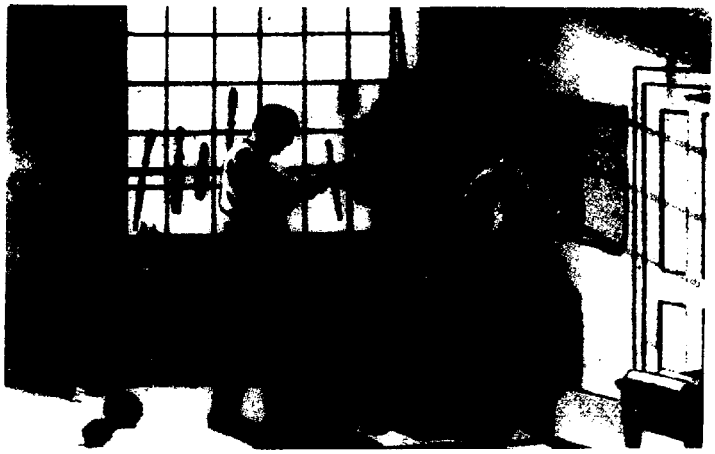
APPENDIX D

THE NEED ACHIEVEMENT MEASURE

The Picture Stimuli







Response Form for Need Achievement Measure

1. What is happening? Who are the persons?

2. What has led up to this situation. That is, what has happened in the past?

3. What is being thought? What is wanted? By whom?

4. What will happen? What will be done?

Scoring Form for Need Achievement Measure[1/]

Category	Symbol	Score	Tally
Imagery			
Achievement	A		
Unrelated	U	-1	
Need	N	1	
Instrumental Acts			
Successful	I+	1	
Unsuccessful	I-		
Doubtful	I?		
Anticipatory Goal Reaction			
Successful	Ga +	1	
Unsuccessful	Ga-	1	
Doubtful	Ga?		
Obstacles			
Personal	dp	1	
Environmental	dw	1	
Press			
Nurturant	Nup	1	
Hostile	Hop		
Goal States			
Positive	G +	1	
Negative	G-	1	
Thema			
Achievement	Ach	1	
Deprivation	DTh	1	
Involvement	gI	1	
TOTAL			

Protocol Number_____ Story Number ___

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[1]Adapted from E. L. Lowell, and J. W. Atkinson. Scoring Projective Records for Need Achievement. Wesleyan University, 1950.

APPENDIX E

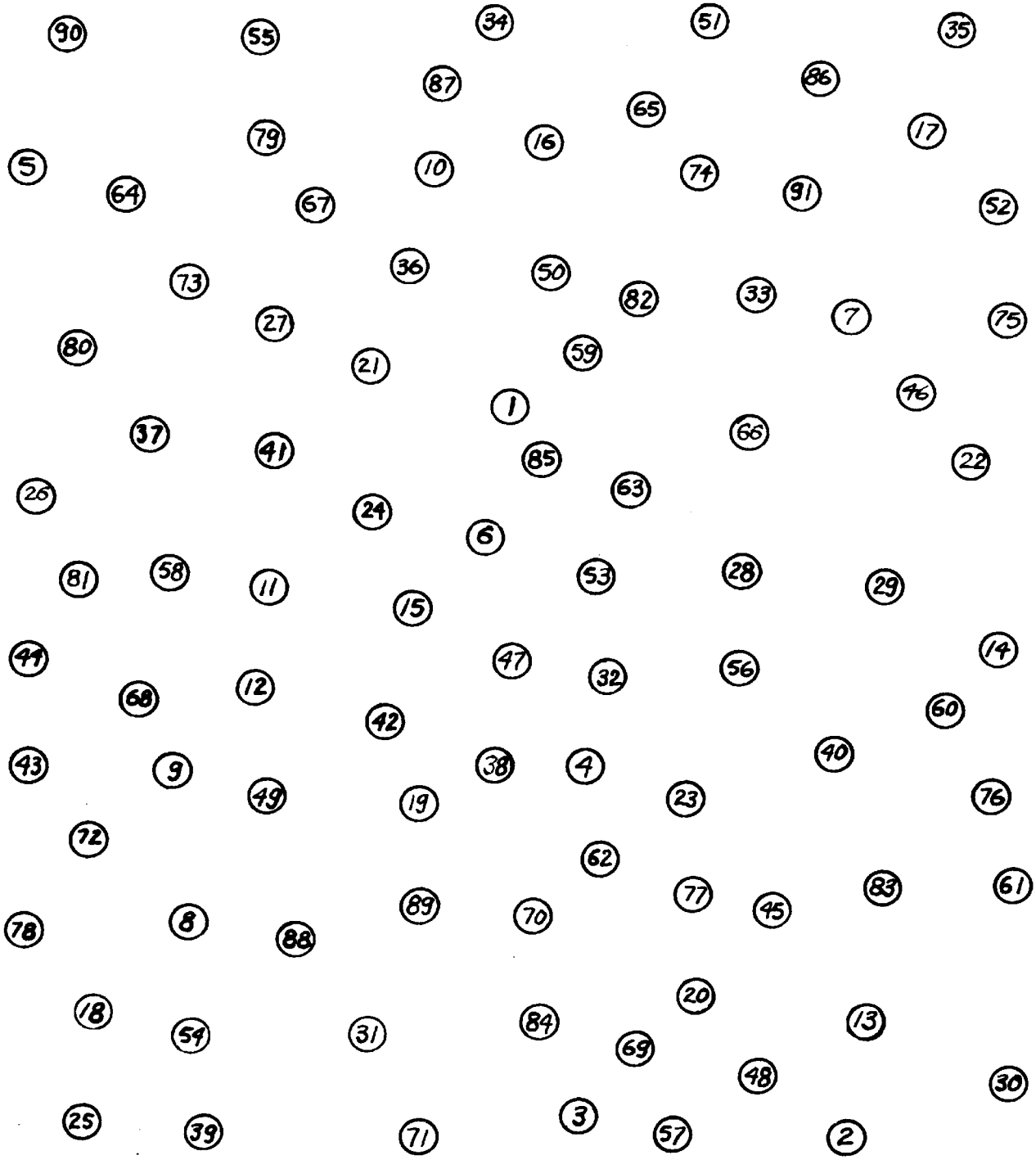
TASKS

The Anagrams Test

Instructions: List as many words as you can make out of the letters in the word GENERATIONS. You may use a letter in any one word only as many times as it appears in the word GENERATIONS. For example, the word "soon" would not do, because there is only one letter "O" in your key word. But the word "son" would be a good one.

The Motor Test

Instructions: Draw a line from the circle marked "1" to the one marked "2", and from there to "3", and so on until I tell you to stop.



APPENDIX F

OCCUPATIONS REPRESENTED BY PARENTS OF SUBJECTS

Working Class

Factory
- Assembler
- Bearing worker
- Bottler (brewery)
- Carpenter
- Clerk
- Crane operator
- Die caster
- Die sinker
- Door hanger
- Drill press operator
- Driver (loading dock)
- Finisher (wood)
- Finisher (toys)
- Fireman
- Fitter
- Foundry worker
- Grinder operator
- Iron worker
- Janitor
- Lathe operator
- Lathe scraper
- Loader
- Machinist
- Machine repairman
- Metal finisher
- Millwright
- Molder
- Painter
- Paint mixer
- Parts grader
- Parts inspector
- Pattern maker
- Punch press operator
- Reamer
- Sander
- Set-up man
- Sheet metal worker
- Shipping clerk

Middle Class

Owners of businesses
- Automobile Agency
- Auto parts store
- Boiler & Welding Company
- Brokerage firm
- Contracting firm
- Dairy
- Drug company
- Engineering firm
- Fan Manufacturing Co.
- Fur shop
- Furniture store
- Grocery wholesaler
- Heatin unit agency
- Insurance company
- Interior decorating shop
- Realty company
- Resort hotel
- Restaurant
- Roofing company
- Rug cleaning company
- Shoe store
- Tool parts manufacturing Co.
- Ventilating system manufacturing company

Managerial workers
- Branch manager
- Executive
- General foreman
- Office manager
- Personnel manager
- Plant foreman
- Plant manager
- Purchasing agent
- Sales manager
- Sales representative
- Secretary to executive
- Time-motion expert

Working Class (con't)

Steamfitter
Stitcher
Stock clerk
Sweeper
Tool clerk
Tool and die maker
Tool maker
Trimmer
Truck driver
Typist
Unit operator
Upholsterer
Welder
Wrapper (bakery)

Non-factory
Auto body mechanic
Auto repairman
Brick layer
Caretaker
Carpenter
Clerk (cigar store)
Clerk (dept. store)
Clerk (garage)
Clerk (grocer)
Cook
Gas meter reader
Gas meter repairman
Hodcarrier
Laborer
Milkman
Plumber
Printer
Railroad lineman
Service station attendant
Truck driver
Typesetter
Waiter
Warehouse worker

Middle Class (con't)

Professionals
Accountant
Architect
Attorney
Commercial artist
Dentist
Engineer
High School teacher
Newspaper editor
Newspaper writer
Osteopath
Pediatrician
Physician
Politician
Professor
Psychiatrist
School principal
School teacher

APPENDIX G

SAMPLE DERIVATION OF INDEX OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN JUDGES

Scoring Category	Scoring by First Judge	Scoring by Second Judge	Agreements	Possible Agreements
U	0	0	1	1
N	X	X	1	1
I+	0	0	1	1
Ga+	X	0	0	1
Ga-	0	0	1	1
dp	0	X	0	1
dw	X	X	1	1
Nup	0	X	0	1
Hop	X	0	0	1
G+	X	X	1	1
G-	0	0	1	1
AchTh	X	X	1	1
DTh	0	0	1	1
gI	X	X	1	1
TOTAL			10	14

$$\text{Percentage Agreement} = \frac{\text{Number of agreements}}{\text{Number of possible agreements}}$$

$$= \frac{10}{14}$$

$$= .71$$