

Peter Schmidt

SUBJECTIVE STATUS IDENTIFICATION, CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS
AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Introduction

"When a traditional positivist applied his criteria of testability to such 'nebulous' visions of social and psychological reality as are involved in Marxism or psychoanalysis, he could formulate only one conclusion; being untestable in their large areas and additionally loaded with value assumptions they have little in common with scientific thinking. They constitute spurious knowledge, belonging rather to the areas of Weltanschauung or ideology than to science. The best thing a real science can do is therefore to get rid of them and to start formulating real -i.e. testable, falsifiable- theories, free of evaluations and therefore unrelated to anything but empirical facts. But are things so simple?" (Nowak, 1982: 6-7).

We believe not and therefore want to explicate the fruitful but vague ideas concerning class consciousness by discussing firstly the relation between subjective status identification, class consciousness and political attitudes. Our model can be regarded as an attached model to Kort-Krieger's (1982) model on the structural determinants of objective and subjective status. In a next step we specify a structural equation model based on this theoretical discussion. The application of a general behavioral theory to the explanation of our lower level propositions relating subjective status identification, class consciousness and political attitudes is dealt with in the next section.

Section 2 contains information concerning the study design, the sampling and the measurement instruments. The core of our empirical analysis is the test and the modification of Structural Equation Models. In our theoretical conclusions we discuss whether by using the more general individualistic theory an increase in the explanatory power of our tested models can be achieved.

Finally let us discuss a proposal for clarification and explication of the terms class consciousness, class awareness and subjective class identification by Giddens (1979) which supplements the contributions of Centers, Converse and Guest. Giddens (1979: 137) differentiates between three stages of class consciousness. The least developed form implies only the conception of a class identity and differentiation. The perception of class identity is defined in the same way as the concept of awareness by Converse and Gould.

The next stage is characterized by the inclusion of the perception of class conflicts.

The third stage is the revolutionary class consciousness which is characterized by the perceived possibility of a fundamental reorganization in power structure of society and the belief that actions of a class can reach such a reorganization. As Giddens states, Marx did not differentiate between these three forms of class consciousness (Giddens, 1979: 137).

Contrary to Marx, who assumes that subjective class identification leads automatically to perception of class conflicts and that the perception of class conflicts will directly lead to the creation of a revolutionary class consciousness, Giddens argues that there is no deterministic relation between these two concepts. The following proposition can be therefore explicitly formulated:

H_4 The higher the subjective class identification the less people tend to perceive class conflicts.

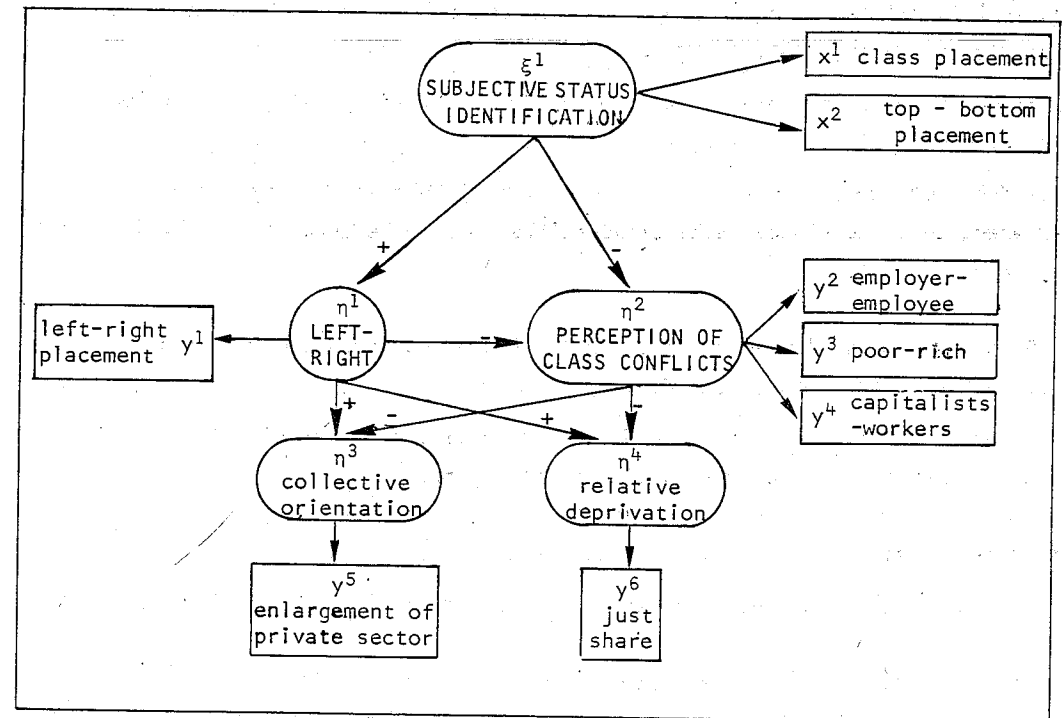
Furthermore it is important to note that this differentiation is not identical with the differentiation between a class-in-itself (Klasse an sich) and a class-for-itself (Klasse für sich) (See Kort-Krieger, 1982).

1.2. Specification of our model

Using basic ideas of the theoretical approaches discussed we can now construct a causal model to specify the relations between subjective class identification, perception of class conflicts, collectivist/left attitudes and relative deprivation.

Subjective class identification is measured by two different indicators based on judgements of the individual about its own place in society. It is the exogenous latent variable in model. This variable should influence directly the left-right placement of the individuals and the perceived class conflicts measured by three indicators (class conflicts between poor and rich, capitalists and workers, and employer and employees). We can formulate more precisely, that the lower the subjective status identification the more people tend to be left oriented, the more they perceive class conflicts the more they are against the expansion of the private sector and the more they feel relatively deprived. These two variables should influence directly deprivation and collectivistic attitudes measured by degree of approval toward an enlarged private economic sector. Now our basic model is given in figure 1. Latent variables are encircled, whereas indicators are within a rectangle.

FIGURE-1: Specification of our model



The propositions developed so far for the construction of our theoretical model about class consciousness and political attitudes have the character of 'low level laws'.

In the next section we shall proceed to integrate the results into a more general theory of behavior by trying to explain the lower level propositions. A cognitive-hedonistic theory (Kaufmann-Mall, 1978) is used as such a general theory to be applied to our problem of explanation: the relations between subjective class identification, left-right-attitude, perception of class conflicts, collectivist philosophy of government and relative deprivation.

1.3. Relation between the Marxist (lower-level) propositions and the individualistic research program

The individualistic research program can be characterized by three main theses (see Raub and Voss, 1981: 16-19).

a) Singular social science explananda can be explained by using propositions dealing with individual behavior.

This does not imply the selection of one general behavior theory but only the statement that individual level propositions have to be used for the explanation of singular events.

b) Generalizations (low-level laws) in the social sciences can be explained or modified by using propositions dealing with individual behavior.

This second thesis was first worked out and applied by Malewski (1967) and is seen as a central part of the individualistic program.

The third thesis refers not to explanation but to reconstruction.

c) Collective terms can be reconstructed (explicated) by individual terms.

Collective terms are terms characterizing collectivities like the class consciousness of West German workers, whereas individual terms refer to individual persons. An example is the class consciousness of one person (worker A).

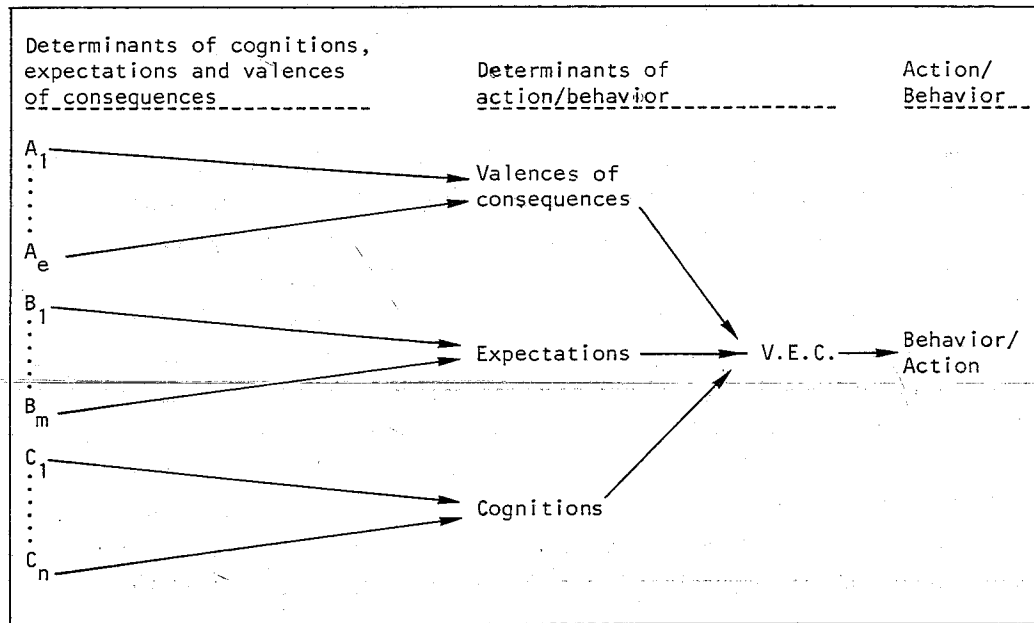
The most important consequence of this research program is the idea of an integration of social scientific knowledge (Malewski, 1967; Opp, 1970; Kaufmann-Mall, 1978). Such an integration seems to have two main advantages (Raub and Voss, 1981: 20) which go beyond a mere cumulation of knowledge. In the first place, one can apply propositions concerning individual behavior to new fields and applications which offer new and more severe possibilities of testing the propositions. In addition, by confronting the empirical generalizations with general propositions one can work out the conditions under which the generalizations are valid.

Referring to the Marxist research program Israel (1971: 145) vigorously defended the thesis, 'which at first may appear to be strange, that in order to base sociology (and knowledge) on Marxian epistemology one has to accept on an ontological level the position of methodological individualism and on a metatheoretical level a position of non-reductionism'. Israel (1971: 150) argues that the position of methodological individualism accounts for the notion of the active, creative human being and stresses the role of the subject. The non-reductionist approach tries to explain human action in terms of the total social situation. According to Israel, combining methodological individualism and non-reductionism allows for theories in which human actions as well as social events may be treated as independent variables and in which their interaction in an ongoing process can be emphasized. This is the way we want to proceed later.

A very informative and interesting analysis comparing propositions of the Marxist research program with propositions from the tradition of empirical social research can be found in Ultee (1978, 1980). Ultee compares sequences of propositions from both programs but does not confront them with a more general theory. Now the question comes up, which general theory we can use for the confrontation with our reconstruction of the empirical generalizations of the Marxist research program. For our purposes we have selected the cognitive-hedonistic theory of Kaufmann-Mall (1978), which is an integrative theory dealing with behavior, valences of consequences, expectations and cognitions. It is a general behavioral theory containing propositions concerning the relations between the just mentioned concepts. The theory is more general than value-expectancy theory and a mere decision theory as it also contains determinants of cognitions, valences of consequences and expectations.

Figure 2 offers at least a short overview of the structure of the theory. On the right side in the causal sequence we have behavior. As intervening variables called determinants of behavior Kaufmann-Mall uses cognitions, valences of consequences and expectations. On the left side one finds the determinants of valences, of consequences, expectations and cognitions.

FIGURE-2: Structure of the cognitive-hedonistic theory



All the latent and measured variables of our model in figure 1 can be interpreted as cognitions in the language of cognitive-hedonistic theory. Cognitions are defined as perceptions, attributions or general attitudes. They are not linked with consequences of specific actions in the same way as expectations or valences of consequences (Kaufmann-Mall, 1978). A compact overview of the relations between the terms is given in table 1.

TABLE-1: Coordination of terms

terms of lower level propositions		terms of cognitive hedonistic theory
latent variable	observed variable	latent variable
subjective status identification	class placement, top-bottom	cognition
left-right	left-right placement	cognition
perception of class conflict	poor-rich, capitalist-worker, employer-employee	cognition
private vs public sector	enlargement of private sector	cognition
relative deprivation	fair share statement	cognition

Now we must pose the question how the relations between the latent variables of our lower level propositions such as subjective status identification and perception of class conflicts, which we interpret as cognitions, can be explained. For explaining the formation of cognitions like the perception of class conflicts the following theoretical postulate (TP) from cognitive-hedonistic theory seems to be useful:

TP₁ The higher the relevance of a cognition, the higher is the probability of the formation of a cognition.

'Relevance' is defined as the product of the expectations of the consequences of a cognition and the valences of the consequences of the same cognition.

As we have no direct measurements for the relevance of the cognitions we cannot directly apply TP₁ for the explanation of our lower level propositions. However, we propose a potential explanation, which can be tested in later empirical studies.

As an example we use the relationship between subjective status identification and perception of class conflicts. Those people who identify themselves as working class will have a higher relevance (expected utility) for acquiring the cognition of class conflicts than those who identify themselves as middle-class. In other words: Working-class people perceive more class conflicts than middle-class people, since this fits better to their interests. What is important to note however is that the subjective status identification is not the only determinant of the relevance (expected utility) of that cognition. Other determinants will include attributes of the social network of the interviewed persons such as the professions of the three best friends, their education, income, and their perception of class conflicts.

It is very plausible from this explanatory sketch that the strength of the relations between the latent variables in figure 1 will not be very high, since many relevant explanatory variables are missing. These missing variables are additional determinants of the expected utility of acquiring the cognitions.

2. Study design, sampling and measurement instruments

For the test of our propositions we used data from a representative field study (ALLBUS, 1980; see Mayer and Schmidt, 1983). ALLBUS (previously National Social Survey) is a research program to collect and distribute data on topics in the social sciences for research and teaching. The basic design provides for repeated surveys of the West German population with partly constant, partly variable content to cover central areas of social research. There are three primary purposes of ALLBUS:

- (1) The scientific goal of studying social change.
- (2) Providing key data for researchers and students who have no direct access to national samples.
- (3) Providing a social report for informed policy decisions.

Data for the first ALLBUS were collected during January and February of 1980. The population sampled consisted of all individuals of German nationality who had completed their 18th year of life by January 1, 1980, and were resident in the Federal Republic or West Berlin. A random sample was drawn on the basis of the

multi-stage ADM-Sample using voting districts or artificially created districts from 1978. A total of 2955 interviews were completed.

The first ALLBUS contained, in addition to basic background items, questions regarding the importance of the various domains of life, educational goals, orientations toward work, contacts with and attitudes toward authorities and foreigners working in the FRG ('guest workers'), attitudes toward marriage and family, the perception of social conflict, political interests, voting intentions, evaluations of parties, ideological orientations, political goals and problems, attitudes toward the welfare-state, a subjective self-classification of social status, the perception of social justice and social networks.

We shall now describe the measurement instruments which we shall use in our empirical analysis. There are two operationalizations of subjective status identifications. The first of these is the 'classic' operationalization:

'There is a lot of talk today about different classes of people. What class would you put yourself in - the lower class, the working class, the middle class, the upper middle class, or the upper class?'

1. Lower class
2. Working class
3. Middle class
4. Upper middle class
5. Upper class
6. None of these classes
8. Don't know
7. Refused to classify himself/herself.

The second one was developed for Germany by Klingemann (1980):

'To come to the last question: In our society there are groups of people who rank higher and groups who rank lower. Here we have a scale that runs from high to low. When you think about yourself, where do you rank yourself on this scale? (10 point scale) (Interviewer: Note any comments the respondent makes in answering this question below.)'

Perception of class conflicts is operationalized in the following way:

'It is often said that there are conflicts of interest between different groups in the Federal Republic - for example, between political groups, between men and women, etc. However, these conflicts are not equally strong. I'll list a few such groups and please tell me whether, in your opinion, these conflicts are very strong, rather strong, rather weak, or whether you think there is no conflict at all between these two groups.

- between employer and employees
- between poor people and rich people
- between capitalists and the working class'.

Relative deprivation is measured as follows:

'In comparison to how other people in the Federal Republic live: Do you believe that you receive a just share of the pleasant things of life, more than your just share, somewhat less or much less than your just share?

1. Just share
2. More than a just share
3. Somewhat less than a just share
4. Much less than a just share
8. Don't know'.

A general left-right orientation also developed by Klingemann (1980, 1982) is operationalized in the following way:

'Many people think of political attitudes as being on the 'left' or on the 'right'. Here is a scale stretching from the 'left' to the 'right'. When you think of your own political attitudes, where would you put yourself. Please mark the scale in the box (01 = left to 10 = right)'.

Finally the attitude toward private vs. state ownership was measured by the following item:

'We would like to hear your views on some important political problems. With the help of this scale tell me to what extent you agree with the following statements. Number 1 means that you don't agree at all with the statement and number 7, that you agree completely with it. You can use any number between 1 and 7 for your answers.

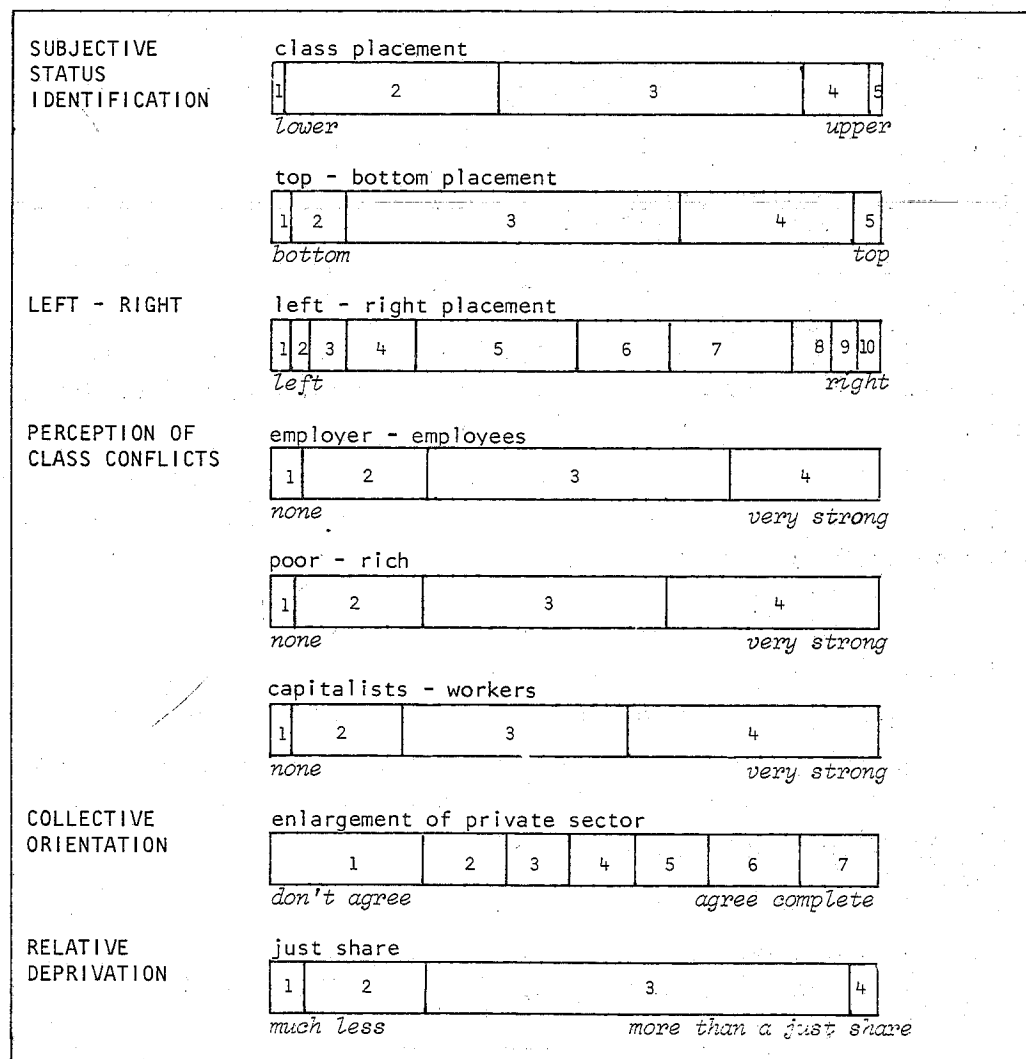
More public services, such as, for example, garbage collection, postal services, or mass transportation, should be taken over by private firms'.

3. Empirical results

3.1. Descriptive results

In the Appendix we present the code values, the absolute frequencies, the relative frequencies, the adjusted frequencies and the cumulative frequencies for our 8 measured variables. In Figure 3 one can find a graphic illustration of the frequency distributions we have just discussed.

FIGURE-3: Frequency distributions of the observed variables



We shall now discuss some of the results in figure 3. In our sample of full and part-time working people, 26.2% identify themselves as explicitly working class, whereas 59.3 consider themselves as middle class. When one compares the distribution of the two indicators of subjective status identification, one can see that the percentage in the higher middle class in the first and 'classical' indicator is much lower than in the comparable category of the top-down placement. This seems to be an effect of the different question format and scaling technique used in the two items. The distribution of the left-right placement shows that there is a slight tendency in the direction of the right end of the scale, as the mean is 5.839. The comparison between two of those items measuring perceived class conflict reveals the potential effect of variations in question wording. The approval rate to the question whether there are conflicts is much higher when the words capitalist versus worker are used instead of employer versus employee.

Table 2 contains Measurement Procedures, Means, Standard Deviations, Number of Persons and Missing Cases for our subsample of full and part-time working people.

TABLE-2: Means, Standard Deviations, N and Missing Cases

Latent variable	observed variable	Measurement Procedure	Mean	Standard Deviation	N	Missing Cases
subjective status	class placement (X_2)	5-point scale	2.833	.61	1355	54
	top bottom placement (X_1)	5-point scale	3.200	.74	1386	23
left-right	left-right placement (Y_1)	10-point scale	5.839	1.88	1378	31
perception of class conflicts	conflicts between employer/employee (Y_2)	4-point scale	2.931	.77	1376	33
	conflicts between poor and rich (Y_3)	4-point scale	3.061	.87	1365	44
	conflicts between capitalists and workers (Y_4)	4-point scale	3.197	.83	1333	76
collective orientation	privatization of state-owned companies and services (Y_5)	7-point scale	2.187	1.10	1405	4
relative deprivation	just share (Y_6)	4-point scale	2.718	.60	1328	81

It is interesting to note that the missing values vary considerably between the items. The question with the highest number of missing cases is also the most 'difficult' question (conflicts between capitalists and workers). As we suspect that the missing cases are not randomly distributed, these differences may have some effect on the parameter estimates. However, as we have no additional information, we cannot empirically test such effects and must therefore be very cautious in the interpretation of our results. To get an impression of the amount of the bivariate associations we present in the Appendix the Correlation matrix.

One can see from the Appendix that the correlations are without exceptions under .50. The determinant of the correlation matrix is .47, which additionally indicates that no problem of multicollinearity exists.

3.2. Specification and test of the LISREL models

The specification of our models has to follow certain rules, which we now describe. A LISREL model is defined by

1. the model specifying the structural relationships among the latent variables (the structural equation model);
2. the measurement model specifying the structural relationships between latent variables and observed variables (the measurement model);
3. assumptions referring to 1 and 2 (see Jöreskog and Sörbom, 1982).

Our structural model contains the causal relations we hypothesized in section 1.2 (see also figure 1). As our variables in the structural model are latent variables, we have to specify a measurement model between our eight observed variables and the five latent variables. In the case of three of our latent variables only one indicator is available. This implies -due to identification problems- that we assume a measurement error of zero and a one to one relationship between latent variable and observed variable. However, subjective social status and perception of class conflicts are measured by two resp. three items. It is therefore possible to test the amount of random and systematic measurement error for these latent variables. LISREL (version V) tests the specified model by maximum likelihood or unweighted least squares estimation of the coefficients (Jöreskog and Sörbom, 1982). Here we have used maximum-likelihood estimation as we have a large sample and furthermore there were no indications of severe violations of the assumption of multinormality of the observed variables.

Given these assumptions the maximum-likelihood estimators are optimal in the sense of being most precise in big samples.

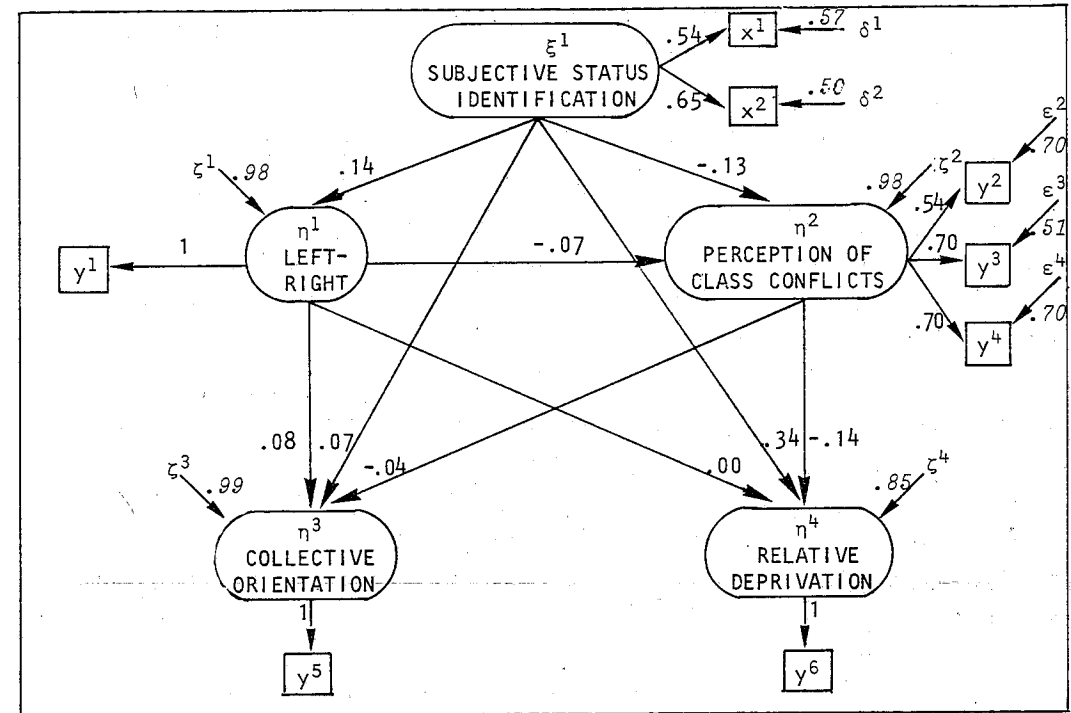
The assessment of the fit of the model is one important part in the application of LISREL. The first way of assessing the model is to examine the results of the following quantities (Jöreskog and Sörbom, 1982: 1.36):

1. Parameter estimates
2. Standard errors
3. Squared multiple correlations
4. Coefficients of determination
5. Correlations of estimates

As in the model none of the above quantities has an unreasonable value in the sense that there is no estimated correlation bigger than one, no negative variance, no extremely large standard errors, and the estimates do not correlate too highly, we can accept it. The second part of the model evaluation concerns the assessment of the overall fit of the model to the data. It may be judged by means of three measures of overall fit. The first and usual one is the overall χ^2 -measure and its associated degrees of freedom and probability level. Instead of regarding χ^2 as a test statistic in the strict sense, one should regard it as a goodness of fit measure in the sense that large χ^2 -values correspond to bad fit and small χ^2 -values to good fit. The degrees of freedom serve as a standard by which to judge whether χ^2 is large or small. The other two measures of overall fit are the goodness-of-fit index GFI and the root mean square residual RMR. GFI is a measure of the relative amount of variances and covariances jointly accounted for by the model and should be between zero and one. RMR is a measure of the average of the residual variances and covariances. The root mean square (RMR) residual can be used to compare the fit of two different models for the same data. The goodness of fit index can be used for this purpose too but can also be used to compare the fit of models for different data.

In figure 4 one finds the estimated standardized coefficients with the corresponding paths. Furthermore one finds in figure 4 all three measures of the goodness of fit of the model.

FIGURE-4: Maximum likelihood estimates for model 1 ($\chi^2=14.70$, NDF=14, $p=.399$, GFI=.997, RMR=.014)



We shall now discuss the interpretation of the results, beginning with the coefficients related to the structural model. The signs of all coefficients are as predicted. The positive coefficient of .14 between subjective status and left-right orientation indicates that people with rising subjective status tend to become more right-wing whereas the negative coefficient between subjective status and perception of class conflicts of -.13 tells us that with rising subjective status people tend to perceive less intensive class conflicts. As expected, people who have a more left-wing orientation tend to perceive more intensive class conflicts. However, the strength of the relationship is very small (-.07). Subjective status has the strongest effect (.34) on relative deprivation whereas the left-right orientation has no and the perception of class conflicts a less strong influence (-.14) in the sense that the higher the perception of class conflicts the less people think that they get their fair share.

The coefficients of the relations of collective orientation with subjective status, left-right orientation and perception of class conflicts have all the predicted signs. However they are without exception very small, that is lower than .10.

When one looks to the residuals of the latent endogenous variables one can see that they are all very high. They vary from .85 for relative deprivation to .99 for collective orientation. Correspondingly the explained variances of left-right, class conflicts, collective orientation and relative deprivation are .020, .026, 0.016, 0.148. This indicates that in our model the most relevant variables are still left out.

Potential explanations for the high amount of unexplained variance have been discussed in section 1.3. Furthermore, some of the objective status variables of Kort-Krieger's model may have an additional effect on our 'cognitive' variables. In addition some of the attributes of the personal networks of persons and ~~memberships in certain organizations like trade unions and parties should have~~ some effect.

However, for a deeper explanation of the relations between the latent endogenous variables in our model it would be more fruitful to apply a general theory like cognitive hedonistic theory than an ad-hoc strategy characterized by searching for 'relevant' additional variables. This point is taken up in section 4.

The measurement model seems to be much better than the structural model when one looks at the coefficients and the residuals. The formal validity of the observed variables expressed by the size of the coefficients is satisfactory and ranges between .54 and .70. Furthermore it is interesting to note that the coefficients themselves do not differ too much. This demonstrates that the formal validity of the items is rather similar.

The three goodness of fit indices indicate different things. Whereas the probability level of .39 demonstrates that an improvement of the model should be attempted, the two other indices are very satisfactory. The Goodness of Fit Index (GFI) is near the ideal value of one (.997). This means practically that the relative amount of variances and covariances jointly accounted for by the model is nearly one and that -in other words- a change in the model cannot improve the amount of explained variance in the model. The message of the Root Mean Square

Residual goes in the same direction. The value of 0.014 says that the average of the residual variances and covariances is very low in relation to the size of the observed variances and covariances.

Now the question comes up whether and how the model should be modified. Our proposed modifications refer to two different strategies. First, we delete those paths which are nearly zero and have not been significant. Secondly, we look at the modification index in LISREL V, which indicates at which place in the model a change from a fixed to a free parameter would result in the strongest improvement of the model in terms of goodness of fit of the whole model. According to this index, the zero path from left-right attitude to the first item of perceived class conflicts (conflicts between employers and employees) is wrong. There seems to be a unique covariance between these variables which cannot be explained by the latent variable class conflict. From a theoretical point of view it makes also sense that people who are more left oriented tend also to perceive more conflicts between employers and employees.

Now we have run two more models. Model 2, in contrast to model 1, has two zero paths specified between left-right orientation (η^1) and relative deprivation (η^4), and between perception of class conflicts (η^2) and collective orientation (η^3).

Model 3 is with one exception identical with model 2. It allows for a direct path from left-right orientation (η^1) to perception of conflict between employers and employees (γ^2).

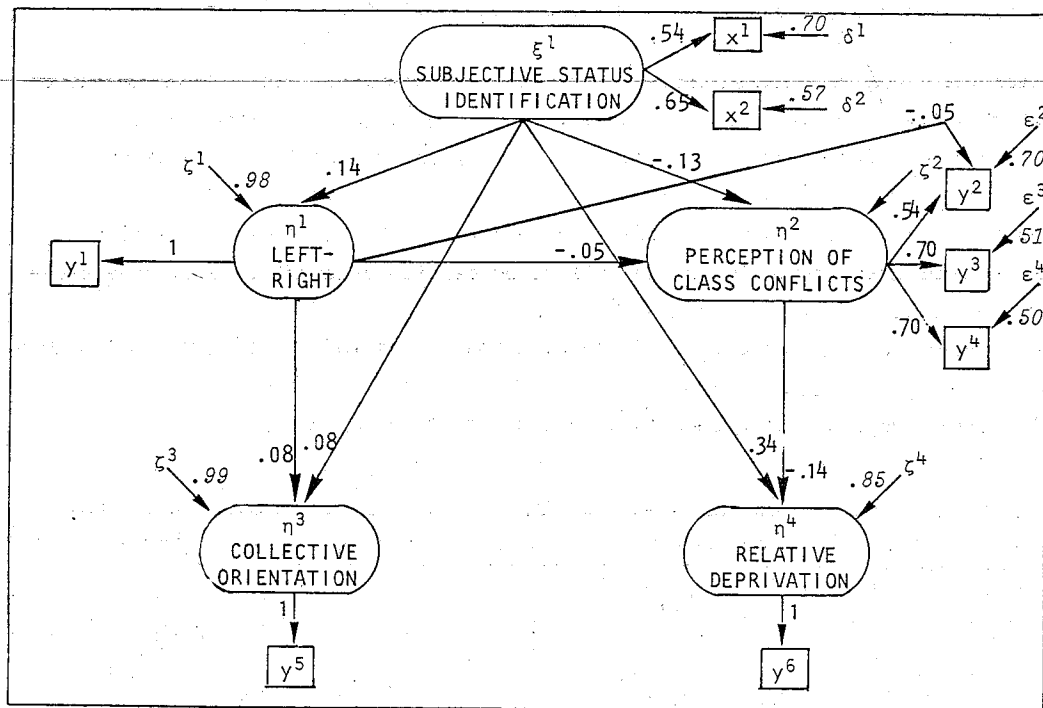
Table 3 contains a comparison of the goodness of fit indices of the three models.

TABLE-3: Comparison of Goodness of Fit of the three models

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
χ^2	14.70	15.91	11.39
df	14	16	15
p-level	.3999	.459	.724
GFI	.997	.997	.998
RMR	.014	.016	.013

According to all three criteria: p-level, GFI and RMR, the third model is best. For comparative model fitting one can use the χ^2 in the following way. When one compares two models (for example model 2 and model 3) one compares the differences in degrees of freedom and χ^2 . A large drop in χ^2 compared to the differences in number of degrees of freedom indicates that the improvement in fit is obtained by 'capitalizing on chance', and the added parameters may not have real significance and meaning (Jöreskog and Sörbom, 1982: 1.40). By using this rule for the comparison of our three models, one can see that model 1, which has two degrees of freedom less than model 2, is no improvement, since χ^2 does not diminish more than the degrees of freedom. Model 3 is however an improvement compared with model 2, since the reduction in χ^2 (4.52) is greater than the loss in degrees of freedom (1). In figure 5 one finds the standardized coefficients for model 3.

FIGURE-5: Standardized maximum likelihood estimates for model 3 ($\chi^2=11.39$, NDF=15, $p=.724$, GFI=.998, RMR=.013)



By comparing figure 4 with figure 5 it is easy to verify that the coefficients have not changed drastically by this respecification. Anyway, we think that a cross validation of our model 3 is necessary to test the stability of the model structure and the coefficients.

4. Theoretical conclusions

It is obvious from the results of our empirically tested models that the relations between the different components of class consciousness are rather low. The high unexplained variances (residuals) demonstrate that the most relevant variables in the model are still missing. At this point we have to ask whether the general framework of cognitive-hedonistic theory gives us some hints for explaining this result.

According to the postulate discussed in section 2, persons are more likely to perceive one cognition C_1 as causal for at least one other cognition C_2 the higher the relevance (expectation x valence of consequences) of this cognition.

Let us apply this postulate again to the relation of two of our variables in the model. We have postulated that people with left orientation will perceive more intensive class conflicts than people with middle, upper middle or upper class identification. Obviously the valence of consequences and the expectation of the cognition of class conflicts is not directly measured in our model. The effect of the independent variable can be seen as an effect of expected utility for the perception of class conflicts.

When one looks at our models 1 and 3, one can see that neither expectation nor valence of consequences are directly or indirectly measured. For the respecification of the models it would be therefore useful to incorporate indicators of these variables. Here we can use two strategies. On the one hand we could develop direct measurement instruments. The other strategy consists of specifying determinants of these latent variables and using them for explanation and prediction. An example might be the effects of the homogeneity of the three best friends of an interviewed person concerning relevant attributes like type of profession, election behavior and membership in trade unions, in a socialist or communist party. Furthermore, the social origin and objective social status variables in Kort-Krieger's paper are relevant too. Such complex models with different types of latent variables could be tested by the generalized LISREL model, assuming that the identification problem is solved.

Another point of interest is the chosen measurement theory. According to Converse instead of assuming an invariant measurement theory for the whole sample, one has

to assume different consistencies of attitudes in groups differing in education and political interest (Converse, 1964, 1970). Therefore one would have to test the stability of the coefficients of our measurement theory in subsamples. An alternative measurement theory would be Marx' own ideas of influencing the attitudes of people (Bewusstsein) by asking them questions about their social situation (see Weiss, 1936). By formalizing this idea via structural equation models one would specify causal arrows from observed variables to lagged endogenous latent variables.

So instead of ending with no more than the old motto 'further research is needed', we end up by saying something which is hopefully more informative. By using the approach outlined in our explanatory sketch in section 1.2 one should attempt to develop a more satisfactory model from the point of view of explained variance and explanatory power.

References

- AJZEN, I. and M. FISHBEIN, (1980), Understanding Attitudes and Predicting Behavior, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.
- CAMPBELL, A., E. CONVERSE, W.E. MILLER and D. STOKES (1960, 1964 abr.), The American Voter. New York: Wiley.
- CENTERS, R., (1949), The Psychology of Social Classes. New York: Russell and Russell.
- CONVERSE, Ph.E., (1964), 'The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics', pp. 75-169 in D.E. Apter (ed.), Ideology and Discontent. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- CONVERSE, Ph.E., (1970), 'Attitudes and Nonattitudes: Continuation of a Dialogue', pp. 168-189 in E.R. Tuft (ed.), The Quantitative Analysis of Social Problems. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.
- GIDDENS, A., (1979), Die Klassenstruktur fortgeschrittener Gesellschaften. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp.
- GUEST, A.M., (1974), 'Class Consciousness and American Political Attitudes', Social Forces 52: 496-510.
- ISRAEL, J., (1971), 'The Principles of Methodological Individualism and Marxian Epistemology', Acta Sociologica 14: 145-150.
- JÖRESKOG, K.G. and D. SÖRBOM, (1982), LISREL Version V, User's Guide. Chicago: International Educational Services.
- KAUFMANN-MALL, K., (1978), Kognitiv-hedonistische Theorie menschlichen Verhaltens. Bern: Huber (Beiheft 3 der Zeitschrift für Sozialpsychologie).
- KLINGEMANN, H.D., (1980), Links-Rechts und Oben-Unten, Mimeo.

- KLINGEMANN, H.D., (1982), 'What 'Left' and 'Right' Means to Mass Publics: Variations in the Understanding of Political Symbols'. Mimeo (paper read at the XII th World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil).
- KORT-KRIEGER, U., (1982), 'Structural Determinants of Objective and Subjective Status', in this volume.
- MALEWSKI, A., (1967), Verhalten und Interaktion. Tübingen: Mohr.
- MAYER, K.U. and P. SCHMIDT, (1983), Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften. Beiträge zu methodischen Problemen des Allbus 1980. Kronberg: Athenäum.
- NOWAK, S., (1982), 'Introduction', pp. 1-26 in T. Bottomore, S. Nowak and M. Sokolowska (eds.), Sociology: The State of the Art. London: Sage.
- OPP, K.D., (1970), Soziales Handeln, Rollen und soziale Systeme. Stuttgart: Enke.
- RAUB, W. and Th. VOSS, (1981), Individuelles Handeln und gesellschaftliche Folgen. Darmstadt: Luchterhand.
- SÖRBOM, D. and K.G. JÖRESKOG (1980), 'The Use of LISREL in Sociological Model Building', pp. 179-199 in E.F. Borgatta and D.J. Jackson (eds.), Factor Analysis and Measurement in Sociological Research. London: Sage.
- SWANSON, G.E., T. NEWCOMB and E.G. HARLEY (eds.), (1958), Readings in Social Psychology. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- ULTEE, W.C., (1978), 'Erkenntnisfortschritt durch Vergleich von Hypothesensequenzen. Das Problem des Wählerverhaltens in der Tradition der empirischen Sozialforschung und im revisionistischen Zweig des historischen Materialismus', pp. 107-118 in K.O. Hondrich and J. Matthes (eds.), Theorienvergleich in den Sozialwissenschaften. Darmstadt: Luchterhand.
- ULTEE, W.C., (1980), Fortschritt und Stagnation in der Soziologie. Darmstadt: Luchterhand.
- WEISS, H., (1937), 'Die "Enquete Ouvriere" von Karl Marx', Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung 5: 76-98.

Appendix

1. Frequencies for the eight variables

class-placement	Code	absolute freq.	relative freq. (PCT)	adjusted freq. (PCT)	cum. freq. (PCT)
lower	1.	5	0.4	0.4	0.4
working	2.	369	26.2	27.2	27.6
middle	3.	835	59.3	61.6	89.2
higher middle	4.	139	9.9	10.3	99.5
upper	5.	7	0.5	0.5	100.0
missing	6.	54	3.8	missing	100.0
	total	1409	100.0	100.0	

Top-Bottom Placement					
	Code	absolute freq.	relative freq. (PCT)	adjusted freq. (PCT)	cum. freq. (PCT)
down	1.	16	1.1	1.2	1.2
"	2.	185	13.1	13.3	14.5
"	3.	728	51.7	52.5	67.0
"	4.	420	29.8	30.3	97.3
top	5.	37	2.6	2.7	100.0
missing	6.	23	1.6	missing	100.0
	total	1409	100.0	100.0	

Left-Right Placement					
	Code	absolute freq.	relative freq. (PCT)	adjusted freq. (PCT)	cum. freq. (PCT)
left	1.	20	1.4	1.5	1.5
"	2.	36	2.6	2.6	4.1
"	3.	98	7.0	7.1	11.2
"	4.	154	10.9	11.2	22.4
"	5.	251	17.8	18.2	40.6
"	6.	353	25.1	25.6	66.2
"	7.	203	14.4	14.7	80.9
"	8.	156	11.1	11.3	92.2
"	9.	68	4.8	4.9	97.2
right	10.	39	2.8	2.8	100.0
missing	97.	17	1.2	missing	100.0
"	98.	3	0.2	missing	100.0
"	99.	11	0.8	missing	100.0
	total	1409	100.0	100.0	

	Code	absolute freq.	relative freq. (PCT)	adjusted freq. (PCT)	cum. freq. (PCT)
Perceived conflicts between employer and employees					
none at all	1.	33	2.3	2.4	2.4
moderate	2.	358	25.4	26.0	28.4
rather strong	3.	656	46.6	47.7	76.1
very strong	4.	329	23.3	23.9	100.0
missing	8.	31	2.2	missing	100.0
"	9.	2	0.1	missing	100.0
	total	1409	100.0	100.0	

Perceived conflicts between poor and rich					
	Code	absolute freq.	relative freq. (PCT)	adjusted freq. (PCT)	cum. freq. (PCT)
none at all	1.	69	4.9	5.1	5.1
moderate	2.	269	19.1	19.7	24.8
rather strong	3.	537	38.1	39.3	64.1
very strong	4.	490	34.8	35.9	100.0
missing	8.	43	3.1	missing	100.0
"	9.	1	0.1	missing	100.0
	total	1409	100.0	100.0	

Perceived conflicts between capitalists and workers					
	Code	absolute freq.	relative freq. (PCT)	adjusted freq. (PCT)	cum. freq. (PCT)
none at all	1.	44	3.1	3.3	3.3
moderate	2.	217	15.4	16.3	19.6
rather strong	3.	504	35.8	37.8	57.4
very strong	4.	568	40.3	42.6	100.0
missing	8.	72	5.1	missing	100.0
"	9.	4	0.3	missing	100.0
	total	1409	100.0	100.0	

Privatization of firms					
	Code	absolute freq.	relative freq. (PCT)	adjusted freq. (PCT)	cum. freq. (PCT)
don't agree at all	1.	368	26.1	26.2	26.2
"	2.	143	10.1	10.2	36.4
"	3.	138	9.8	9.8	46.2
"	4.	209	14.8	14.9	61.1
"	5.	178	12.6	12.7	73.7
"	6.	142	10.1	10.1	83.8
agree completely	7.	227	16.1	16.2	100.0
missing	97.	2	0.1	missing	100.0
"	99.	2	0.1	missing	100.0
	total	1409	100.0	100.0	

	Code	absolute freq.	relative freq. (PCT)	adjusted freq. (PCT)	cum. freq. (PCT)
Just share					
much less than just share	1.	50	3.5	3.8	3.8
some what less than a just share	2.	327	23.2	24.6	28.4
just share more than a just share	3.	899	63.8	67.7	96.1
missing	4.	52	3.7	3.9	100.0
"	8.	80	5.7	missing	100.0
"	9.	1	0.1	missing	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
total		1409	100.0	100.0	

2. Correlation matrix

	Y ₁	Y ₂	Y ₃	Y ₄	Y ₅	Y ₆	X ₁	X ₂
Y ₁	1.000							
Y ₂	-0.091	1.000						
Y ₃	-0.050	0.377	1.000					
Y ₄	-0.050	0.375	0.494	1.000				
Y ₅	0.091	-0.031	-0.029	-0.046	1.000			
Y ₆	0.064	-0.125	-0.115	-0.141	0.011	1.000		
X ₁	0.093	-0.043	-0.042	-0.040	0.055	0.193	1.000	
X ₂	0.083	-0.100	-0.068	-0.047	0.060	0.240	0.352	1.000