

# SOCIAL CLASS IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL SCIENCES: A META-ANALYSIS

by

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## ABSTRACT

ANDREW CALEB LOIGNON. Social class in the organizational sciences: a meta-analysis. (Under the direction of DR. DAVID J. WOEHR)

Social class has become increasingly popular in the organizational sciences. Recent studies have found that one's social class influences phenomena ranging from decision-making, to pro-social behavior, and interpersonal interactions. Despite the burgeoning interest in this topic, there remains a great deal of ambiguity concerning the conceptualization and operationalization of social class. For instance, scholars have used income, education, as well as subjective ratings to measure one's social class. In order to improve the conceptual clarity of social class, I develop and present a model that draws on the dominant theories of social class from both sociology and psychology, while organizing their key principles to explain how social class influences an individual's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. By using this model as a framework, this dissertation attempts to refine the conceptualization of social class by testing core research questions pertaining to the construct validity of this construct. Based on a comprehensive, interdisciplinary literature search, which yielded nearly 4,000 effect sizes, I used meta-analytical structural equation modeling to test the proposed research questions and hypotheses. The findings offer clear support for two distinct components of social class (i.e., objective and subjective) that are both highly related to one another and associated with other micro-level constructs (i.e., job attitudes). Given the timeliness and importance of social class, the findings of this conceptual review and empirical meta-analysis offer a means of summarizing this large, interdisciplinary literature while guiding future management research on this critical topic.

## DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my mom, Lil, and my wife, Kristy. Mom, the sacrifices you made, lessons you shared, and support you provided allowed me to follow my interests and eventually reach this milestone in my career. Kristy, your encouragement and patience made this project possible. Whether serving as a sounding board for my off-the-wall research ideas, listening to me practice my presentations, or simply tearing me away from my laptop to take Daphne for a walk and rejuvenate, your support was fundamental to my success.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
INTRODUCTION	1
AN INTEGRATIVE MODEL OF SOCIAL CLASS	4
Objective Social Class	7
Social Class Structures	10
Social Class Signals	19
Subjective Social Class	19
Individual Outcomes	22
OUTSTANDING RESEARCH QUESTIONS	24
Measurement Models for Objective and Subjective Social Class	24
The Dimensionality of Objective Social Class	27
The Role of Subjective Perceptions of Social Class	30
The Generalizability of Social Class Across Time and Space	32
The Relationships Among Status, Power, and Social Class	35
SOCIAL CLASS AND JOB ATTITUDES	38
CURRENT STUDY	43
METHOD	44
Literature Search	44
Screening Articles Based on Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria	46

	viii
Coding Articles	47
RESULTS	49
Characteristics of Social Class Studies	49
Common Measures of Social Class	50
Preliminary Meta-Analyses	51
Meta-Analytic Structural Equation Modeling (MA-SEM)	52
Measurement Models of Social Class	55
Social Class's Influence on Job Attitudes	60
Discriminant Validity of Social Class from Power and Status	61
Homogeneity and Moderator Analyses	62
DISCUSSION	68
Reviewing the Social Class Literature	69
Primary Contributions	70
Additional Implications	74
Limitations and Future Research	77
Conclusion	79
REFERENCES	80
APPENDIX A: DATABASE SEARCH CRITERIA	119
APPENDIX B: REQUEST FOR UNPUBLISHED WORKS	121
APPENDIX C: DIRECT REQUEST FOR UNPUBLISHED WORKS	122
APPENDIX D: SUMMARY OF INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION CRITERIA	123



APPENDIX E: CODEBOOK	124
APPENDIX F: OUTLIERS AND SENSITIVITY ANALYSIS	132
APPENDIX G: SAMPLE SIZES (M/SD) AND NUMBER OF EFFECT SIZES (K)	135
APPENDIX H: REGIONAL CLUSTERING OF COUTRIES	140
APPENDIX I: META-ANALYTIC EFFECT SIZES FOR REGIONAL CLUSTERS	141
APPENDIX K. MULTIVARIATE RELATIVE WEIGHTS ANALYSIS	149
APPENDIX L: PUBLICATION BIAS ANALYSES	152
APPENDIX M: REFERENCES FOR ARTICLES FROM META-ANALYSIS	160

## LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1: Summary of theoretical perspectives of social class	99
TABLE 2: Descriptive statistics for study characteristics	101
TABLE 3: Descriptive statistics for measure characteristics	102
TABLE 4: Examples of common social class measures	104
TABLE 5: Meta-analytic correlations	106
TABLE 6: Model fit indices	108
TABLE 7: Principal components analysis	109
TABLE 8: Association among composite social class measures	110
TABLE 9: Meta-regression model for moderator analysis	111

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1: Integrative model of social class	112
FIGURE 2: Application of inclusion and exclusion criteria	113
FIGURE 3: Path model for reflective one factor model	114
FIGURE 4: Path model for reflective two factor model	115
FIGURE 5: Path model for reflective four factor model	116
FIGURE 6: Path model for causal indicator (mimic) model	117
FIGURE 7: Path model for three-component mimic model	118

## INTRODUCTION

As the world continues to recover from one of the deepest economic recessions in recent history, divisions based on inequality have become increasingly apparent. Within the United States, the average income of the top 1% of the population accounts for 21% of the country's total income (Cote, 2011). Similar divides in the prestige of one's social network and a person's access to cultural goods (e.g., music, art) have also widened (Savage et al., 2013). Even the jobs that individuals hold are clearly divided into those that require specialized skills and afford autonomy, and those that are highly structured and routinized (Kalleberg, 2011). These growing divisions shows no signs of abating and may continue to accelerate in the coming years (Piketty, 2014).

Given these trends, it should come as no surprise that scholars have begun to acknowledge the important role that social class plays within the organizational sciences. For example, social class, which generally reflects the social context a person occupies based on the objective resources that they hold and their subjective interpretation of that context, influences (1) the likelihood that one engages in pro-social behavior, (2) how a person processes ethical dilemmas and strategic decisions differently, and (3) the types of stereotypes one faces during their everyday interactions (Cote, 2011; DiPetre, Gelman, McCormick, Teitler, & Zheng, 2011; Dubois, Rucker, & Galinsky, 2015; Kish-Gephart & Campbell, 2014). Furthermore, the importance of social class is acknowledged by a variety of stakeholders. In fact, a recent survey found that both management scholars and practitioners identified the reduction of inequalities based on social class as a grand challenge that should energize the field and direct its collective attention (Banks et al., in press).

Despite the renewed interest in social class within the organizational sciences, many researchers have struggled to conceptualize this construct (Leavitt & Fryberg, 2013). For instance, some studies use income to operationalize social class (Cote, Piff, & Willer, 2013), others use education (Stephens, Hamedani, Markus, Bergsieker, & Eloul, 2009), while some combine these two indicators to form composite measures (Kraus, Piff, & Keltner, 2009). Furthermore, other studies eschew the role of objective resources entirely and rely on subjective measures of social class (e.g., “Which of the following best describes your family’s socioeconomic situation while you were growing up?”) (Bishop Smith, Menon, & Thomspson, 2012; Cote et al., 2013; Kish-Gephart & Campbell, 2014, p. 21; Kraus et al., 2009).

The abundance of operationalizations within this research stream is concerning. That is, when these authors refer to social class, it is not entirely clear what construct they are considering or if they are referring to the same thing. Such imprecision raises critical questions about the fundamental relationship between observed measures of social class and the underlying construct (J. R. Edwards & Bagozzi, 2000). Even more concerning than the inconsistent operationalization of social class is the tendency for these studies to overlook existing and relevant theories. Oftentimes authors will make a fleeting reference to a single, classical theorist (e.g., Karl Marx) and proceed directly to their propositions, hypotheses, or research questions (e.g., Kraus, Piff, Mendoza-Denton, Rheinschmidt, & Keltner, 2012). Thus, although social class has begun to be incorporated within the organizational sciences, much of the existing work remains disconnected from earlier theories.

Given the various models of social class, organizational scholars may wonder how best to operationalize this construct. Thus, in an effort to improve the clarity of this construct, this study makes three contributions to the emerging body of social class research in the organizational sciences. First, I provide an integrative model of social class. This model is used to organize the dominant theories of social class from across multiple disciplines. Ideally, this model will help organizational scholars who are interested in social class navigate the labyrinth of existing research. Second, I test competing measurement models using meta-analytically derived correlations matrices based on aggregated relationships among the primary indicators from each perspective of social class (Landis, 2013; Viswesvaran & Ones, 1995). This quantitative review will help address fundamental questions about how social class is operationalized. Third, I compare the pattern of relationships among measures of social class with similar, yet conceptually distinct, constructs (i.e., subjective status and power) (Cote, 2011) and job attitudes (e.g., job satisfaction and organizational commitment) (Harrison, Newman, & Roth, 2006). These analyses are designed to begin to situate social class within an existing nomological network.

In the sections that follow, I draw on the dominant theories of social class to introduce an integrative, interdisciplinary model of social class that incorporates the major principles and propositions from these various perspectives. Next, I propose a series of research questions that are derived from the proposed model and merit additional examination. Then, I describe the design and results of a meta-analysis of the social class literature intended to address the proposed research questions. Finally, I summarize the findings of this review and identify areas for future research.

## AN INTEGRATIVE MODEL OF SOCIAL CLASS

Although social class has been a topic of interest among sociologists for decades (e.g., Kohn, 1977; Page, 1970), it has only recently been considered explicitly in the organizational sciences. Recent findings demonstrate how social class has direct implications for many phenomena that are of central interest to organizational scientists (Cote, 2011). That is, there is a growing body of literature that suggests that members of different classes form distinct causal attributions, engage their social networks in different ways, and reach different ethical and strategic decisions (Bishop Smith et al., 2012; Cote et al., 2013). Even though a minority of these effects have been directly tested in organizational contexts (e.g., Kish-Gephart & Campbell, 2014), all of the constructs studied reflect topics that are traditionally of interest to organizational scientists (Cote, 2011; Leana, Mittal, & Stiehl, 2012).

Despite the renewed interest in social class within the organizational sciences, the studies included in the preceding review use distinct measures to operationalize this construct. For example, some studies use income (Cote et al., 2013), others use education (Stephens et al., 2009), some combine these two indicators to form composite measures (Kraus et al., 2009), while others rely exclusively on subjective measures of social class (e.g., “Which of the following best describes your family’s socioeconomic situation while you were growing up?”) (Bishop Smith et al., 2012; Cote et al., 2013; Kish-Gephart & Campbell, 2014, p. 21; Kraus et al., 2009).

The abundance of measures, especially within such a small sample of studies, is concerning. That is, when these authors refer to social class, it is not entirely clear what construct they are considering or if they are referring to the same thing. This problem

would become more pronounced if one were to introduce additional studies from more authors that spanned other disciplines (e.g., Diemer, Mistry, Wadsworth, Lopez, & Reimers, 2013; Krieger, Williams, & Moss, 1997). Such imprecision raises critical questions about the fundamental relationship between observed measures of social class and the underlying construct (Bacharach, 1989; J. R. Edwards & Bagozzi, 2000).

Even more concerning than the inconsistent operationalization of social class is the tendency for these studies to overlook earlier theories that pertain to this construct. Oftentimes the authors will make a fleeting reference to a single, classical theorist (e.g., Karl Marx) and proceed directly to their propositions, hypotheses, or research questions (e.g., Kraus, Piff, et al., 2012). By ignoring the wealth of information pertaining to social class that already exists, and overlooking earlier theoretical debates, these recent studies of social class have failed to situate their measures within an existing stream of research (Leavitt & Fryberg, 2013). This lack of theoretical grounding encourages the current plethora of indicators for social class, which ultimately limits the ability to accumulate findings.

In order to improve the conceptual clarity of social class while it continues to emerge with the organizational sciences, I propose a model to help organize and integrate the social class literature (see Figure 1). This model draws on the dominant theories of social class from both sociology and psychology and organizes their key principles to explain how one's social class influences an individual's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. Each of the major theories that contribute to the proposed model is briefly summarized in Table 1. Specifically, I present the basic definition of social class



provided by each theory, the theory's main assumptions, and the primary measures used to operationalize different social classes.

As the summary in Table 1 demonstrates, the manner in which dominant theories of social class conceptualize this construct differ along two key dimensions. First, some theories emphasize structural conceptualizations of social class, which emphasize the stable, external forces that create divisions of inequality. For example, both Neo-Marxists and Neo-Weberians discuss macro-level structures that exist and function independently of a given individual (i.e., the mode of production and marketplace, respectively). Other theories, on the other hand, either focus exclusively on an individual's perceptions or objective resources (e.g., the social cognitive model of social class) or emphasize the dual effects of both structures and an individual (e.g., the sociocultural model of social class). Second, theories of social class differ on whether they conceptualize this construct as reflecting distinct categories or some underlying continuum (Grusky & Weeden, 2008). For example, from a Neo-Durkheimian perspective, modern social classes are best reflected in one's occupation (Grusky & Galescu, 2005), while a Neo-Ricardian view highlights one's total amount of wealth (Sorensen, 2005).

Despite these differences, I sought to identify areas of consensus among the different theoretical perspectives or opportunities for integration while developing the proposed framework. For example, multiple theories highlight the role of one's social class identity (i.e., habitus) as an important intervening mechanism between objective resources and subsequent outcomes. Thus, this construct is included within the proposed framework. Likewise, multiple theories highlight the important role of specific objective

resources (i.e., capital or indices of socioeconomic status). Therefore the framework highlights the central position of one's objective social class. Here it is important to note that this framework still requires empirical evaluation. However, it does represent an initial attempt at forming a cohesive understanding of the extant social class literature.

In the following paragraphs, I elaborate on the key components of the framework while making specific reference to the theories of social class that each component is based upon.

### Objective Social Class

The first component of the proposed model of social class is an individual's objective resources (see Figure 1). That is, most theories of social class argue that one's class standing reflects, at least in part, a social context that is defined by prolonged access, or in access, to critical resources (Kraus, Piff, et al., 2012). Kohn (1977) referred to one's social class as "systematic conditions of life" that confront an individual with specific demands or opportunities that he or she must meet. Thus, individuals spend much of their time in particular social contexts that are arranged based on the objective resources that they hold and how those resources are valued within broader social structures (Goldthorpe, 2000b; Kraus, Piff, et al., 2012). These varied social contexts are reflected in the neighborhoods where people live, the educational institutions they attend, and the social clubs they frequent (Cote, 2011).

In one of the most expansive views of social class, capital is treated as the defining feature of class differences (Wright, 2008, p. 332). That is, one's capital, or set of usable resources and powers, determines their position within a society (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 114; Holt, 1998; Savage et al., 2013; Weininger, 2005). Thus capital reflects a

resource that has market value, provides access to scarce rewards, and under certain conditions, can be transmitted from one generation to the next (Prieur & Savage, 2011, p. 569). In other words, capital reflects an accumulation, storing, and accentuation of advantage (Savage, Warde, & Devine, 2005, p. 42).

In particular, this perspective argues that social life can be conceived as a multidimensional status game in which people draw on three different types of capital to advance their standing (Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998). First, individuals hold varying levels of economic capital, such as income and other financial resources (Savage et al., 2013). Second, individuals possess different levels of social capital, or contacts and connections that allow them to draw on their social networks. That is, social capital consists of both informal and formal networks of acquaintance and relationships that give advantages via contacts, support and representation (Goldthorpe, 2007, p. 4; Stewart, Prandy, & Blackburn, 1973). Finally, one's social class is also determined by their cultural capital, or a set of socially rare and distinctive tastes, skills, knowledge, and practices (Holt, 1998). This form of capital can be expressed through practical knowledge, skills, and dispositions (e.g., artistic abilities), cultural objects (e.g., items of clothing) or institutionalized via degrees and diplomas (Holt, 1998). In general, one's cultural capital can be classified into two-broad categories (Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998). Individuals who hold minimal cultural capital focus on the material rigors of everyday life and therefore emphasize what is functional and practical (e.g., paying monthly utility bills, keeping the car running). Those who possess high cultural capital, on the other hand, emphasize abstract discussion of ideas that are removed from material world and focus less on the material value of objects or skills (Holt, 1998).

Along with Bourdieu's (1984) tripartite model of capital, others have identified specific resources that represent one's objective social class. For example, some theorists focus on three forms of objective resources that typically comprise one's socioeconomic status: financial wealth, educational attainment, and occupational prestige (Cote, 2011; Kraus, Piff, et al., 2012; Kraus & Stephens, 2012; Stephens, Markus, & Fryberg, 2012). Thus, taken as a whole, these three measures provide an indication of the environments and experiences that an individual shares with other members of his or her social class.

A neo-Ricardian theory of social class emphasizes the role of wealth as a form of objective social class. Wealth refers to one's property rights or the assets that they control (Sorensen, 2000). Wealth is generally conceptualized as a broader indicator of class than income (Diemer et al., 2013; Sorensen, 2000). Income pertains to the returns that one receives for their labor, while wealth can be attained through a variety of mechanisms (e.g., inheritance, investments, home value, land ownership) (Diemer et al., 2013; Marx, 1978). Within this theory of social class, one's prestige and income emerge based on either direct or indirect exchanges of their assets or wealth (Sorensen, 2005). That is, by shaping one's economic position, well-being, and future opportunities, wealth may also constrain or facilitate decisions, behaviors, and actions of individuals (Sorensen, 2005, p. 128). Put more simply, people generally make choices under time and budget constraints. Thus, those who have more wealth experience fewer constraints which yields different behavioral and cognitive outcomes (Hout, 2008). Furthermore, this perspective argues that people orient themselves to specific living conditions that correspond to their total wealth (Sorensen, 2005).

Finally, it is important to note that these objective resources are likely to change over one's lifetime. However, as demonstrated by previous studies of social mobility, dramatic changes in one's objective resources are unlikely, especially for those who occupy extreme social class positions (Breiger, 1981; Grusky & Hauser, 1984). Furthermore, as earlier theories have noted (e.g., Bourdieu, 1984), the influences of one's objective social class on thoughts, emotions, and behaviors will be greater to the extent that they hold similar levels of objective resources for longer periods of time (Cote, 2011). Thus, a sudden influx of a large amount of human capital (e.g., winning the lottery) does not necessarily translate into a corresponding increase in one's subjective social class. Likewise, increases in one category of objective social class (e.g., income) other objective indicators of social class may remain unchanged (e.g., one's cultural capital may still reflect low-brow tastes) (Savage et al., 2013). Thus, the legacy of one's objective class standing throughout their lifetime is more likely to influence how they display their class standing, their subjective social class, and eventually their thoughts, attitudes, and behavior (Cote, 2011).

### Social Class Structures

Along with one's objective resources, sociologists have argued that social class also reflects distinct positions within broader structures of inequality (Kalleberg & Berg, 1987). These structures influence subsequent thoughts, emotions, and behaviors by moderating or shaping how one's objective resources are valued or applied (Bourdieu, 1984; Breen, 2005; Goldthorpe, 2000b). As depicted in Figure 1, one's social class standing is based on their position within a broader, multilevel structure of inequality. At the highest level of analysis are the most macro models of social class which discuss

one's position within either a capitalist system of production (Wright, 2000a) or the labor market (Goldthorpe, 2000b). Next, at an intermediary level, there is one's occupation (Grusky & Galescu, 2005). Finally, at the most proximal level are fields (Weininger, 2005). Each of these structures is reviewed in more detail in the following sections.

Relationship to means of production. One of the earliest theories of social class characterized these distinctions as historical, social structures that emerge based on the dominant system of production (Lopreato & Hazelrigg, 1972; Marx, 1978). That is, within a system like capitalism, production requires some resource or asset to be deployed. Thus, to the extent that two people relate to the assets or resources that are required for production differently, one would anticipate greater distinctions in their social classes. For example, an individual who has ownership rights to a plot of land occupies a distinct social position in comparison to the people who use that land as a means of production (Wright, 2005).

Based on these considerations, one can form three basic class categories (Wright, 2000a). First, there are capitalists who own their own means of production and purchase the labor power of others. A contemporary example of capitalists includes majority shareholders of large companies. Next, there is the petty bourgeoisie who do not purchase the labor power of others (except maybe in a very limited way), but who own some means of production. Examples of the petty bourgeoisie include people who are self-employed as independent consultants and contractors. Finally, there are workers who do not own any means of production and must sell their own labor power. In most modern capitalist societies, this group accounts for 60-80% of the workforce (G. T. Wodtke, 2015; Wright, 2000a).

In addition to delineating these three major categories based on access to the means of production, other distinctions in the social class structure can be identified based on the amount of authority that an individual holds (Wright, 2000a). Authority reflects a key component of the social class structure given the development of modern corporations. That is, within entrepreneurial firms, which predominated the U.S. economy in the early 1800s, capitalists owned the means of production and were able to directly control the activities of their workers (R. Edwards, 1979). However, as firms grew in size and complexity, capitalists became further removed from the production process. Thus, although they still owned the means of production, direct control over the labor process was delegated to managers (Wright & Perrone, 1977). Based on this historical development, social classes can be further distinguished using the amount of authority afforded to individuals by their positions (G. T. Wodtke, 2015). In other words, managers reflect an intermediary class between workers and capitalists in that they do not own their own means of production and do not formally employ workers, but they exercise control and supervision on behalf of owners (Wright, 2000a). Thus, rather than focusing solely on a group's control over capital, this model argues that differences in social class emerge due to distinctions in authority, or the probability that one's commands will be obeyed by others (Sennett & Cobb, 1972; Wright & Perrone, 1977).

Along with controlling the means of production and exercising authority, one's class position also depends on the degree to which they possess skills or expertise (Wright, 2000a). In particular, skills that are relatively scarce within a labor market, either because of structural barriers or their exceptional quality, afford workers additional power and privileges within organizations (e.g., additional bargaining power and more

job security) (Kalleberg, 2011). Furthermore, to the extent that individuals are more skilled or have more expertise, it is more difficult for organizations to monitor their work (R. Edwards, 1979). This ability to subvert monitoring or authority also increases one's power within an organization and thus raises their class standing (Wright, 2000a).

Marketplace. An alternative theory of social class argues that such distinctions are based on the extent to which individuals share similar opportunities in accessing scarce or valued outcomes (Lopreato & Hazelrigg, 1972). That is, this perspective argues that social classes are primarily distinguished by different levels of life chances (Breen, 2005, p. 33). Furthermore, this perspective argues that differences across social classes in achieving life chances are primarily mediated by individuals' positions in labor markets (Breen, 2005). In other words, life chances are distributed based on the resources that an individual brings to the market and how the market values these resources (Goldthorpe & Marshall, 1992, p. 382).

The dominant theory of social classes that adopts this perspective is Goldthorpe's class schema (Goldthorpe, 2000b). The most recent version of this perspective begins by distinguishing among social classes based on whether an individual owns any means of production (Geoffrey Evans & Mills, 2000). Thus, this perspective argues that there are three broad class positions: employers, the self-employed, and employees (Goldthorpe, 2000a). These positions, in many ways, correspond to the capitalist, bourgeoisie, and workers described previously (Wright, 2005).

However, because so few individuals have access to any means of production, Goldthorpe's schema makes finer distinctions among employees using the basic propositions of agency theory. Specifically, as employers seek to ensure adequate levels



of productivity among their employees, they also strive to minimize the costs needed to monitor their behavior. These competing demands are resolved through different forms of labor contracts or employee-employer relationships (Hill, 1990). Thus, within this model, an employee's social class position is further distinguished based on various employment relationships (Breen, 2005; Goldthorpe, 2000b).

More specifically, if an individual does not own any means of production (i.e., is an employee), and must exchange his or her labor within a marketplace, he or she generally faces two types of work arrangements (Goldthorpe, 1996). First, employers offer labor contracts, which consist of specific exchanges of wages for effort. For example, an employer may provide a piece-rate or commission-based wage structure (Goldthorpe, 2000b). Typically, these positions are highly supervised and offer minimal additional incentives. Labor contracts are most common among unskilled, manual workers or routine and automated non-manual work (Goldthorpe, 2000b). Second, rather than rely on specific, well-defined exchanges, employers may form more long-term, diffuse relationships with employees (Goldthorpe, 1996). This form of exchange, also called service relationships, provides employees with long-term, fixed rewards and benefits. The open-ended nature of this relationship and numerous perquisites are designed to minimize an employee's likelihood of shirking or leaving the firm. Such arrangements are commonly afforded to managers and professionals (Goldthorpe, 2000b).

Within this model of social class, the extent to which an employee holds a labor contract or occupies service relationship depends on the resources that they can exchange with potential employers (Breen, 2005). These resources fall within two categories.

First, the degree to which an employee possesses skills, expertise, and knowledge that is specific to their position influences the likelihood of obtaining a service relationship rather than being offered a labor contract. Specifically, to the extent that an employee has skills or expertise that pertains to a particular job, there is more of an incentive for the employer to retain this individual. Thus, the employer would be more inclined to establish a service relationship with individuals who have job-specific skills or expertise. Second, along with skills and expertise, employees whose tasks or duties are more difficult to monitor are more likely to receive service relationships. Higher levels of autonomy require greater investments from employers to ensure that employees continue to provide maximal levels of effort (Goldthorpe, 2000b).

Finally, market-based perspectives of social class also argue that these positions of inequality are empty spaces (Lopreato & Hazelrigg, 1972). That is, this theory of social class is less concerned with the particular skills or resources that an individual possesses and instead emphasizes how these assets are treated or exchanged within a market. In other words, rather than assuming a given asset or component of human capital (e.g., skill) is equally valuable or necessary for attaining higher social class, this perspective considers what employers will provide in return for an asset (Goldthorpe, 1996). Thus, a given class position is a social structure that exists independently of its particular occupants.

**Occupation.** Within the system of production of labor market, one's class position is situated within particular occupations (Grusky & Galescu, 2005). Occupations are defined as groupings of technically similar jobs that are institutionalized in the labor market (Grusky & Galescu, 2005, p. 63). This perspective formed in direct

response to the previously described social structures of social class that emphasized either the means of production or marketplaces. This perspective argues that macro or “big class” models, which classify entire societies or nations using a handful of categories, may be interesting academically but are rarely institutionalized (Grusky & Galescu, 2005). That is, few laypeople would understand or be able to identify the specific social classes that make up these earlier models (i.e., petty bourgeoisie, semi-credentialed supervisors, operatives, or routine non-manuals) (Grusky & Galescu, 2005, p. 62).

Occupations have, however, gradually been integrated within many of the critical institutions in modern societies. For example, companies regularly request information about an individual’s occupation during the hiring process. Likewise, federal and state governments ask about one’s occupation for taxes and censuses. Such a high-level of institutionalization, prepares people to treat differences based on occupations as natural (Grusky & Galescu, 2005, p. 19). Thus, this model of social class asserts that as occupations emerge and become institutionalized, people do not identify with the “working class” or “managerial class”, but instead recognize their specific occupation (Emmison & Western, 1990; Weeden, Kim, Di Carlo, & Grusky, 2007, p. 705).

Occupations are highlighted as the defining feature of contemporary social classes because of their ability to facilitate social closure (Weeden et al., 2007). That is, occupations clearly differentiate between those who belong to their group those who do not. Then, based on these distinctions, occupations act collectively on behalf of their members and extract rents that benefit these individuals (Grusky & Galescu, 2005, p. 64; Weeden, 1999). In other words, occupations can ensure that their members’ objective

social class position does not falter by restricting the supply of valued labor. For example, occupations regularly establish credentials and certifications that protect their members from the broader market and prohibit other workers from offering the same services (Weeden, 1999, 2002). These practices are often most obvious in professions (e.g., medical doctors, lawyers) where income may be inflated because occupations reduce the supply of skilled labor by restricting access to these valued positions and increasing demand (Grusky & Galescu, 2005; Weeden, 2002).

Overtime, occupations also become increasingly homogenous. That is, those people that enter particular occupations are more likely to share similar values and sentiments (Grusky & Galescu, 2005, pp. 57-58). As members' sentiments and interests coalesce, these individuals gradually develop common values that can be pursued collectively. For example, occupations establish systems for administering ethics, resolve conflicts among members and with other associations, and structure and shape the ambitions of their members (Grusky & Galescu, 2005, p. 57). Occupations may even lead to solidarity among various sectors of the workforce in that members of interdependent or related occupations regularly interact with one another (e.g., nurses and doctors). These interactions allows members of similar occupations to see how they are situated in a broader scheme of production and devise structures that determine how labor is divided and rewards are allocated (e.g., codes, credentials) (Grusky & Galescu, 2005; Grusky & Sorensen, 1998).

It is important to note that this perspective of social class adopts an ungraded perspective (Grusky & Weeden, 2008). That is, occupations are not arranged in a hierarchical fashion like measures of occupational prestige (Kohn, 1977; Stewart et al.,

1973). Instead, occupations are simply used to demarcate one group of people from another and highlight the potential opportunities for social closure mechanisms to operate (Grusky & Weeden, 2008). Thus, occupational prestige reflects a resource that an individual can exchange or draw upon, whereas, one's occupation reflects a context that shapes how these resources are gained and used through mechanisms of social closure (Grusky & Galescu, 2005).

Fields. At the most proximal level, some theorists have proposed that one's objective social class may provide distinct benefits depending on the particular field being considered (Bourdieu, 1984). That is, although economic, social, and cultural capital generally enhances one's class standing, the relative effects of capital are field specific (Savage et al., 2005). Fields reflect social structures where individuals struggle for placement within a social hierarchy through acquisition of institutionalized forms of capital that are distinctive to that area of society (Prieur & Savage, 2011). Thus, certain forms of capital may be more or less effective for accumulating and converting such resources into advantages in one field or a closely related field. For example, if one acquires a large volume of cultural capital at home (e.g., extensive early childhood training in the arts and music), this capital may be leveraged in an educational field (e.g., social capital via teachers and professors), which ultimately yields advantages in the labor market (i.e., human capital based on higher paying jobs) (Savage et al., 2005). Nevertheless, the same capital does not allow one to compete, collude, or advance as effectively across all fields (Bourdieu, 1984).

## Social Class Signals

In addition to one's objective resources and position within broader social class structures, multiple theories of social class discuss how individual's signal their social class standing (Bourdieu, 1984; Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013; Kraus, Piff, et al., 2012). Likewise, Bourdieu (1984) discusses how individuals form specific tastes based on their objective resources, which are then reflected in a number of signals (e.g., household items, cuisine, activities dialects). More recent studies have demonstrated how basic social class signals (e.g., one's wardrobe, non-verbal behaviors, and speech patterns) are readily and accurately perceived by others (Kraus & Keltner, 2009; Kraus & Mendes, 2014; Snibbe & Markus, 2005).

## Subjective Social Class

Multiple theorists have also argued that various psychological or subjective mechanisms underlie one's social class (Kraus, Piff, et al., 2012; Stephens et al., 2012) and serve as important intervening mechanisms (Kohn, 1989). For example, in one of the earliest theories of social class, Marx (1978) differentiated between a class-in-itself and a class-for-itself. The prior refers to the social class structures described earlier, while the latter pertains to a shared recognition of one's class position, the boundaries that divide various social classes, and an alignment between one's personal interests and their social class's interests (Landecker, 1963). Much of the recent research on social class conducted by social psychologists emphasizes these subjective components and consist of two primary mechanisms: perceptions of social rank and social class identity (Fiske, 2013; Kraus & Stephens, 2012; Stephens & Townsend, 2013).

Social cognitive rankings. The social cognitive perspective emphasizes the psychological and social responses that emerged based on social hierarchies (Kraus, Piff, et al., 2012). Specifically, one's perceived relative standing within society is identified as a primary mechanism in understanding one's social class. That is, because social comparisons and ranking are considered fundamental processes in social life (Festinger, 1954), this mechanism is critical to understanding the effects of one's social class (Kraus, Piff, et al., 2012, p. 548). These perceptions are thought to form quickly based on relatively brief interactions and influence how social actors respond to one another (Kraus & Keltner, 2009, 2013; Kraus, Rheinschmidt, & Piff, 2012). Perceptions of rank are typically measured by asking individuals to locate their relative position within a broader social group (e.g., society, local community) (Adler, Epel, Castellazzo, & Ickovics, 2000; Goodman et al., 2001; Kraus, Piff, et al., 2012; Norton, 2013). The social cognitive ranking perspective of social class argues that where one locates themselves within a social hierarchy has direct implications for their behavior and cognitions (Adler et al., 2000; Kraus, Horberg, & Goetz, 2011; Kraus & Keltner, 2009; Kraus, Tan, & Tannenbaum, 2013). Furthermore, this perspective contends that there are "likely to be instances where perceptions of social class rank are more powerful predictors than objective measures" (Kraus, Piff, et al., 2012, p. 562).

Social class identity. Along with relative subjective comparisons of one's social class, other theories of social class emphasize class-based identity mechanisms (Landecker, 1963; Sennett & Cobb, 1972). These identity mechanisms, which some theorists refer to as one's *habitus*, reflects a "socially constructed system of dispositions that orient thoughts, perceptions, and actions" and is designed to bridge the gap between

structural and agential arguments (Weininger, 2005, p. 120). Others have argued that one's identity reflects an "interpretive framework at the center of one's experience" that guides how he or she interprets and behaves in response to the environment (Stephens, Brannon, Markus, & Nelson, 2015, p. 3).

Identities consist of pre-reflexive tastes and preferences. Weininger (2005) describes such tastes and preferences as being akin to a tennis player charging the net to win a point. The player does not think about this action, but simply responds to his or her environment and performs the behavior. Similarly, the more an individual's identity aligns with their social class structure and objective social class standing, the more automatically they can function in their environment.

Given that one's identity serves as a filter, theorists have proposed different reciprocal relationships between this construct and other components of the proposed social class model (see Figure 1). That is, people expend their capital (i.e., human, social, and cultural) in a manner that corresponds with the tastes that emerge from their identity (Bourdieu, 1984). Thus, one's identification with particular lifestyles and tastes is entangled with their position within a social hierarchy (Tomlinson, 2003). That is, individuals are drawn towards specific tastes or symbols of social class based on their social class identity (i.e., habitus). Higher class individuals may be more inclined towards cultural pursuits that are abstract, while lower class individuals prefer those that are functional (Holt, 1998). Likewise, higher class individuals may pursue items that signify their independence and choice, while lower class individuals prefer items that demonstrate conformity and principles of collectivism (Stephens, Markus, & Townsend, 2007).



## Individual Outcomes

Ultimately, one's objective and subjective social class culminates in differences in a variety of basic social-psychological outcomes (i.e., thoughts, feelings, and behaviors) (Kohn, 1969). As noted previously, a growing body of literature has found distinct outcomes for individuals from different social class backgrounds across a variety of contexts (e.g., decision-making, attribution, ethical behavior) (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007; Cote, 2011; Kish-Gephart & Campbell, 2014; Kraus, Piff, et al., 2012; Wright, 2000a). Many of these outcomes are directly linked to the two subjective social class mechanisms of identity (Stephens et al., 2007) and rank (Cote et al., 2013; Kraus & Stephens, 2012; Paul K. Piff, Kraus, Cote, Cheng, & Keltner, 2010).

For example, people are more likely to take actions when their selves are congruent with the behaviors required by a context or environment (Stephens et al., 2015; Stephens et al., 2007). One's identity or self also allows them to make sense of their environment and provide source of meanings that guide behavior. That is, people construe their situation in systematic ways based on their identity. Thus, although individual characteristics and structural factors are important, it is also critical to understand how an individual interprets or perceives themselves within this sociocultural context. Stephens et al. (2012) review a series of examples where simply providing individuals from lower class backgrounds the requisite skills and resources were insufficient to bring about behavioral change. Instead, these authors argue, one needs to also consider how people from different class backgrounds understand and make sense of their social class position. These arguments correspond with earlier findings that demonstrate that members of lower social classes (defined by either their objective social

class or relationship to the means and modes of production) believe they have less control over their environments (i.e., less complex work, greater supervision, more routinization), which subsequently impacts parental values, ideational flexibility, and psychological distress (Kohn, Naoi, Schoenbach, Schooler, & Slomczynski, 1990; Sennett & Cobb, 1972).

Despite these mediating psychological mechanisms, it is important to note that most theories acknowledge that one's objective resources can directly influence their thoughts, feelings, and behaviors regardless of any psychological or subjective processes (Kraus, Piff, et al., 2012). The direct effects of one's objective social class are not difficult to imagine given that certain behaviors are highly improbable simply due to a lack of resources (e.g., limited objective resources, like education and income, at an early age diminishes any intention of pursuing a college education) (Stephens et al., 2015).

## OUTSTANDING RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Along with providing a means of integrating the extant literature, the proposed model also highlights important research questions that remain unaddressed. First, it is unclear to what extent the existing literature reflects this proposed model. Thus, a key contribution of the proposed study is to assess and organize the literature by reviewing the use and frequency of various measures of social class, consider alternative levels of analysis, and inventory the types of samples that have been used within existing research studies.

In addition to the state of the existing literature, this model highlights the need to answer critical questions about how social class is operationalized. Specifically, these questions pertain to the appropriate measurement model for the subjective and objective component of the social class model, the degree of dimensionality that underlies one's objective social class, the role of one's subjective perceptions of their social class, the extent to which social class functions differently across contexts (i.e., time and place), whether social class is distinct from similar constructs (i.e., status and power), and the degree to which social class influences an individual's thoughts, feelings, and actions (e.g., job attitudes). In the following sections, I present these questions and relevant findings.

### Measurement Models for Objective and Subjective Social Class

As suggested by the proposed model of social class (Figure 1), one's social class primarily consists of an objective and subjective component. In addition to being defined by different indicators, these components may also rely on distinct measurement models (Bollen, Glanville, & Stecklov, 2001). That is, the assumed relationships among the

observed measures of one's objective social class (e.g., education, income) may be quite distinct than those for subjective social class (e.g., rank and identity) (see Figure 1).

Within the parlance of structural equation modeling, researchers either assume that one's latent variable (i.e., construct) is defined by a reflective or formative measurement model (J. R. Edwards, 2011; J. R. Edwards & Bagozzi, 2000). With reflective models, an underlying construct is thought to cause their responses on objective indicators of that construct. Thus, observed indicators reflect, or are manifestations, of their respective constructs. For example, if one proposes that job satisfaction is best conceptualized using a reflective measurement model, then it is assumed that the extent to which an individual endorses items on a job satisfaction questionnaire are driven or caused by their underlying level of job satisfaction (J. R. Edwards, 2011). Reflective measurement models also assume specific patterns of interrelationships among the various indicators (J. R. Edwards, 2011).

Formative (i.e., causal-indicator) models, on the other hand, assume a different relationship between objective indicators or measures and underlying constructs (Bollen & Diamantopoulos, in press). With formative models, measures are viewed as causes of constructs. That is, the construct is formed or induced by its measures. One of the most common examples of formative models is socioeconomic status (J. R. Edwards & Bagozzi, 2000). That is, people occupy positions of higher socioeconomic status because they hold high levels of income, education, or occupational prestige (J. R. Edwards, 2011). They do not gain more wealth or become more educated because their socioeconomic status increases.

Like socioeconomic status, researchers have commonly acknowledged that the components of objective social class may be more likely to conform to a formative model of measurement (Kohn, 1969). Specifically, with formative measurement models, indicators or observed measures may function independently so there is no basis to expect item covariances to be any particular size or follow a specific pattern (J. R. Edwards, 2011). For example, earlier studies of social class have noted how one's education imbues different life conditions regardless of their income (Kohn, 1969). Formative models also assume there is minimal independence between the underlying construct of objective social class and its corresponding measures (J. R. Edwards & Bagozzi, 2000). That is, it is difficult to conceptualize objective social class without considering the specific resources (e.g., wealth, education, occupational prestige), which make up this construct. Thus, based on these arguments, I propose the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: A formative model will demonstrate better statistical fit for measures of objective social class than a reflective measurement model.

One's subjective social class, on the other hand, may be best characterized by a reflective measurement model (J. R. Edwards & Bagozzi, 2000). First, one's social class rank and identity are distinct from the measures used to assess these constructs. That is, demonstrating particular behavior that is reflective of a particular class identity (e.g., choosing an item that reflects notions of communal, working class) or relative ranking (e.g., limiting eye contact with someone of lower class) differs from each underlying construct (Kraus & Keltner, 2009; Landecker, 1963; Stephens et al., 2007). Second, one can easily conduct mental experiments and imagine how a change in one's social class

identity or rank would equate to changes in the respective measures. For example, if one occupied higher levels of social class, we would expect them to rate themselves higher on surveys or visual analog scales asking about their relative position within the broader society (Adler et al., 2000; Bishop Smith et al., 2012). Given these considerations, I propose the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: A reflective model will demonstrate better statistical fit for measures of subjective social class than a formative measurement model.

### The Dimensionality of Objective Social Class

Even after establishing the appropriate measurement model for one's objective social class, there are still competing conceptualizations of its dimensionality. Of the previously reviewed theoretical perspectives, few try to establish one's class standing based on a single objective indicator. That is, these models account for one's social class with multiple measures of either an individual's position within the system of production or marketplace (Goldthorpe, 2000b; Wright, 2008) or specific resources (Kraus, Piff, et al., 2012; Savage et al., 2013). Furthermore, many theorists argue that the measures emphasized in alternative models are insufficient for capturing one's social class. For example, some theorists argue that simply holding large amounts of wealth is not enough to ensure entry into higher classes. That is, there may be other assets that generate class differences (Savage et al., 2005, pp. 34-35; Wright, 2000b).

Even if two models of social class incorporate the same indicators, each perspective may argue that the measure reflects distinct processes. For example, although two models define one's social class based on their capital, one situates wealth within a tripartite model and argues that its effects occur within relation to other forms of

resources (i.e., social and cultural capital) (Bourdieu, 1984), while another exclusively emphasizes the role of wealth or human capital (Sorensen, 2000). Similarly, occupation is incorporated within multiple models of social class. However, some models frame occupations as a means of social closure (Grusky & Weeden, 2008; Weeden & Grusky, 2005), while others treat these technical divisions of labor as indicators of status or prestige (Kraus, Piff, et al., 2012).

These alternative, and sometimes, competing indicators suggest that one's objective social class is best conceptualized as a multidimensional construct. That is, each of the indicators reflects an alternative measure of the same construct. Furthermore, to the extent that these indicators are in fact distinct, one would need to account for each measure to fully capture one's social class standing. In considering the multidimensional nature of social class, Grusky and Weeden (2008) proposed a framework for summarizing this construct. Specifically, they argued that a multidimensional space of inequality may be defined by three factors: endowments, rewards, and working conditions. These three categories may also reflect distinct components of one's objective social class. That is, endowments corresponds with various forms of capital (e.g., human, social, and cultural) or skills that are central to some models of social class (Savage et al., 2013; Wright, 2005). Rewards correspond with wealth and income (Kraus, Piff, et al., 2012; Sorensen, 2000; Stephens et al., 2012). Working conditions reflect one's employment relationship (i.e., labor contract vs. service relationship) (Breen, 2005), occupation (Grusky & Galescu, 2005), or location within the system of production (Wright, 2008). Working conditions, then, would correspond with the proposed concept of social class structures and reflect an entirely distinct construct within

the social class process. Thus, rather than treating each of the indicators proposed by the different models as entirely distinct measures, this framework summarizes the multidimensional nature of social class using three latent factors (Grusky & Weeden, 2008).

Still, others argue that social class is a unitary construct (e.g., Kohn et al., 1990). For example, Conley (2008) claims that by focusing on specific objective components of inequality (e.g., occupational prestige, education, wealth), researchers have overlooked the broader, general dimension of social class. More specifically, Conley (2008, p. 371) contends that social class is an ephemeral or latent force that exists “between the cracks of wealth, income, occupation, and education that constitutes the mortar of the class system”. This perspective echoes earlier critiques of the social class literature that have asserted that to the extent that different objective indicators of social class are related, then various models of social class are less distinct than we would initially anticipate (Ossowski, 1963, p. 138). That is, if one only measures a single dimension of objective social class, or adopts one particular perspective, and all of the indicators reflect a single latent construct, one would observe a reasonable approximation of the class structure. Thus, this perspective suggests that one’s objective social class would be best conceptualized as a single unidimensional construct that consists of various indicators or measures of inequality.

Although this perspective challenges the multi-dimensional models of social class, there is some initial evidence to support this claim. That is, previous studies using large, representative samples have found that three common indicators of objective social class (i.e., income, education, and occupational prestige) tend to correlate highly, but not



perfectly. Thus, these three variables may be all tapping into the material substance of an individual's social class (Kohn, 1977; Kraus, Piff, et al., 2012, p. 547). Nevertheless, despite the potential for a unitary model, there has been little systematic research examining competing, or even multiple, perspectives of social class. That is, scholars typically make a passing reference to an alternative paradigm and proceed without considering other models or indicators of social class (Grusky & Weeden, 2008). Given these considerations, one research question that still remains within the social class literature is:

Research Question 1: Is one's objective social class better represented by a unidimensional or multidimensional measurement model?

#### The Role of Subjective Perceptions of Social Class

Along with questions about the dimensionality of one's objective social class, there are distinct perspectives on the relevance of subjective components of one's social class. For some theories, subjective perceptions are fundamental components of social class. For instance, one of the earliest theories of social class distinguished between a class structure that is purely based on one's environmental conditions (e.g., lacking capital and having to sell one's labor) versus recognizing or being conscious of that experience (Lopreato & Hazelrigg, 1972; Marx, 1978; Wright, 2000a). That is, based on this perspective, social class can be viewed, as social categories that generate subjectively salient experiences used by people to locate themselves within a system of inequality (Wright, 2008, p. 331).

Other perspectives, on the other hand, argue that social class is exclusively structural. For instance, the market-based perspective argues that identifying one's

position within the broader labor market is sufficient for determining their social class (Lopreato & Hazelrigg, 1972). That is, researchers should not be concerned about how an individual perceives their position within a marketplace, but should instead focus on the quality and type the assets they can exchange or actual returns that individuals receive (Goldthorpe, 2000b). In other words, differences in access to life chances can occur without an individual being conscious of their class position (Kohn, 1989). Other perspectives of social class also place little emphasis on one's subjective perceptions and instead favor structural factors (Grusky & Galescu, 2005; Sorensen, 2000).

In support of these structural arguments, there is some evidence that suggests people do not distinguish among class positions (Emmison & Western, 1990). For example, large-scale, representative surveys that ask individuals to identify themselves as being either lower, middle, or upper class, usually yield triangular distributions in which people select the middle class and avoid either ends of the continuum (Hout, 2008; Lopreato & Hazelrigg, 1972). Thus, most individuals prefer to identify themselves as middle class regardless of their objective resources, which calls into the question the utility of such perceptions (Grusky & Galescu, 2005). Likewise, Americans are often unable to accurately describe the wealth gap that exists within in the United States and typically underestimate the level of inequality by large margins (Kraus & Tan, in press).

Given these competing perspectives, it is unclear to what extent subjective perceptions play a role in defining one's social class. That is, there are differing perspectives about the degree to which subjective perceptions of social class are distinct from objective resources. In other words, is one's perception of their social class (e.g., identity, perceived standing) distinct from their objective position or resources? Or does

one's social class depend purely upon how their objective class standing? Thus, one research question that merits additional examination is:

Research Question 2: Are subjective perceptions of social class distinct from one's objective class standing?

### The Generalizability of Social Class Across Time and Space

Researchers have also questioned the extent to which social class would generalize across different time periods and nations. That is, few perspectives of social class assume that there is a single hierarchy that generalizes across all contexts (Kohn et al., 1990; Lopreato & Hazelrigg, 1972; Ossowski, 1963, p. 142; Weininger, 2005). What remains unclear, however, is the extent to which the integrative model of social class proposed previously would function differently across these important boundary conditions (Bacharach, 1989) and whether social class can be applied with the same meaning across contexts (Busse, Kach, & Wagner, in press).

In considering the potential boundary effects of a given time period, critics of different social class models suggest that changes in the structures of organization and forms of labor production mean that some objective indicators of social class have become less relevant (Goldthorpe & Marshall, 1992; Marx, 1978; Pakulski & Waters, 1996). For examples, one's access to the means of production may be less relevant in a modern economy where heavy manufacturing and industry have declined, traditional working class communities have withered, and consumer-driven economies have prevailed (Goldthorpe & Marshall, 1992; Sennett & Cobb, 1972, p. 175). Likewise, some models of social class have argued that one's occupation is now more important for determining an individual's social class than whether he or she is a worker, private

business owner, or capitalist (Grusky & Galescu, 2005). The emphasis on occupations reflects the increasing relative influence of these organizations relative to other structures within a society (Weeden, 1999). Some have even argued that the role of cultural capital in determining one's social class has been diminished in recent years (Holt, 1998). That is, post-modern theorists have argued that as consumer goods have proliferated and diversified, there is no longer a dominant form of culture. This suggests that rather than contributing to a hierarchy of high-brow and low-brow culture, cultural capital reflects more of a quagmire and is therefore less relevant to determining one's social class.

In addition to particular historical eras, researchers have highlighted how social class may function differently across countries (Kohn et al., 1990). For example, countries vary in both current and historical levels of inequality (Breen & Jonsson, 2005, p. 230; Grusky & Hauser, 1984). That is, some countries have much greater and persistent levels of inequality (e.g., United Kingdom), while others have been consistently far more egalitarian (e.g., Sweden) (Piketty, 2014; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009; Wright, 2000a). Likewise, some countries adopt different structures that support and reflect macro-level models of social class. For example, the collective bargaining process in Sweden incorporates entire social classes as actors, while in the United States collective bargaining is primarily the purview of unions, professional associations, or occupations (Weeden et al., 2007).

Countries also differ in the extent to which ideas of social class and inequality have been institutionalized within their culture. For example, the United Kingdom's government readily acknowledges the important role of one's social class and regularly collects data about this construct as part of government funded studies (e.g., Rose &

Pevalin, 2005). This perspective differs dramatically from the dominant view in the United States where the concept of social class is far less institutionalized and directly conflicts with the fundamental principles of the American Dream (i.e., hard work directly corresponds with better life chances) (DiMaggio, 2012; Rubin, 2014).

To the extent that the structural position and degree of institutionalization of social class varies across nations, one may expect that this construct also manifest differently in these contexts. For example, it is possible that the indicators of social class may be less cohesive within either more egalitarian countries (e.g., Sweden) or nations with more diffuse notions of social class (e.g., the United States). That is, within these contexts, objective indicators of social class may be more independent or exhibit smaller correlations with subjective measures of social class.

In fact, there is some preliminary evidence to suggest that the broader, national environment influences how social class relates to basic interpersonal perceptions. More specifically, individuals from countries with greater disparities in objective resources (i.e., greater inequality) are more likely to differentiate among members different social classes in terms of perceptions of warmth (i.e., perceptions capturing a person's perceived intent, such as friendliness, liking, trustworthiness) (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2006). People from countries with more egalitarian distributions, on the other hand, tend to perceive people from different social classes similarly (Fiske, 2013). Thus, the more structural divisions are apparent within a given country, the more likely one's social class influences fundamental interpersonal perceptions.

Given these considerations, it is important to examine the degree to which the proposed model of social class functions consistently across time and space. Thus, I propose the following research questions:

Research Question 3: To what extent are the relationships among measures of social class consistent across time periods?

Research Question 4: To what extent are the relationships among measures of social class consistent across countries?

#### The Relationships Among Status, Power, and Social Class

In addition to examining the dimensionality and generalizability the proposed model of social class, it is also important to determine the extent to which one's social class is distinct from similar constructs that contribute to and reflect inequality. In particular, social class scholars have debated the extent to which one's class is synonymous with their status and power.

In terms of status, some of the earliest theorists argued that social class was primarily based on property and resources, while status reflected one's level of respect or honor (Goldthorpe, 2008; Goldthorpe & Marshall, 1992; Lopreato & Hazelrigg, 1972). More specifically, status reflects the extent to which people treat a person as a social equal. That is, status pertains to hierarchical social relations that are attached to social positions (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2004). One's social class, on the other hand, is grounded in their economic situation and objective resources (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2004). From this perspective, status and social class are independent. That is, one could be a member of an elite social class (i.e., rich nobility), but share the same status as members from lower classes (i.e., an esteemed, but impoverished actor or artists).

Other theorists have argued that there are minimal differences between one's social class and their status. For example, Bourdieu (1984) viewed distinctions between one's class and status as nominal (Weininger, 2005). That is, to the extent that a person's capital contributes to differences in their social standing, one would anticipate corresponding differences in signals or symbols of their overall lifestyle or status (Weininger, 2005, p. 122). Thus, from this perspective, social class and status are very similar forms of inequality that emerge from fundamental differences in access to valued resources (i.e., capital).

Along with status, it is also important to consider whether social class differs from power. Power reflects a person's relative control over resources and the ability to administer punishments (Blau, 1967; Cook, Cheshire, Rice, & Nakagawa, 2013). Recent models of social class present this form of inequality as distinct from power (Cote, 2011). For example, an individual may work as a gas station manager in which they have control over valued resources (e.g., scheduling, pay), but still belong to a lower social class (i.e., minimal levels of capital, limited skills) (Goldthorpe, 2000b; Kraus, Piff, et al., 2012). Thus, although higher class individuals may be more likely to hold greater power, various models of social class argue that these constructs are not equivalent. There is some initial empirical evidence supporting such distinctions between power and status. For example, previous studies have found small to moderate correlations among self-ratings of power and subjective perceptions social class, which suggests that these constructs are related but distinct (Anderson, Kraus, Galinsky, & Keltner, 2012; Belmi & Neale, 2014; Dubois et al., 2015).

Taken as a whole, the previous arguments and findings demonstrate the importance of examining the degree to which measures of social class are distinct from closely related forms of inequality (i.e., status and power). Thus, I propose the following research question:

Research Question 5: To what extent is social class distinct from status and power?



## SOCIAL CLASS AND JOB ATTITUDES

Having examined alternative measurement models, this study will then begin to situate social class within the broader nomological network of existing constructs. As noted earlier, one's social class is thought to ultimately influence their thoughts, behaviors, and emotions. Thus, based on the extant literature, I will examine the relationship between social class and job attitudes. Job attitudes reflect "a fundamental evaluation of one's job experiences" and are considered to be one of the most enduring individual-level constructs within the organizational sciences literature (Harrison et al., 2006; Judge, Thoresen, Bono, & Patton, 2001; Locke, 1969). Although job attitudes consist of a range of constructs (e.g., job involvement, job identification), a recent review found two dominant forms: job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Harrison et al., 2006). Each of these constructs is reviewed below.

Job satisfaction is typically defined as an emotional state resulting from the evaluation or appraisal of one's job experience (Locke, 1969). This evaluation consists of both cognitive and affective indicators (Spector, 1985). Specifically, job satisfaction is an emotional response based on the perceived relationship between what one wants from one's job and what one perceives it as offering or entailing. Although researchers have considered various facets of job satisfaction (e.g., pay, contingent rewards, supervision, coworkers), many acknowledge that job satisfaction also reflect a general, global emotional and cognitive response to one's job (Judge et al., 2001; Locke, 1969; Spector, 1985). Furthermore, there is empirical evidence to suggest that these different facets reflect a broader, general level of satisfaction ( $\alpha = .91$ ) (Spector, 1985). Finally, given its designation as an attitude, individuals with higher levels of satisfaction are more likely to

approach (i.e., stay with) a satisfying job and avoid or quit a dissatisfying job (Harrison et al., 2006; Spector, 1985).

Rather than focus on one's job, organizational commitment is considered a psychological state that characterizes an individual's relationship with an organization (Meyer & Allen, 1991; Meyer, Allen, & Smith, 1993). Organizational commitment consists of three forms: affective, continuance, and normative commitment (Meyer & Allen, 1991). Affective commitment refers to an emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement with one's organization (Mathieu & Zajac, 1990). Continuance commitment reflects an individual's evaluation of the costs with leaving an organization. These two forms of commitment emphasize how an individual conceptualizes their relationship with an organization (Meyer & Allen, 1991). Normative commitment reflects a perceived obligation to remain in an organization. Thus, this form of commitment pertains to the mechanisms by which individuals become locked into a given organization (Meyer & Allen, 1991). Like job satisfaction, organizational commitments has implications for the decision to continue being a member of the organization (Meyer, Stanley, Herscovitch, & Topolnytsky, 2002).

Despite the distinctions between these two attitudes, researchers have recently asserted that job satisfaction and organizational commitment can be considered indicators of a single, global job attitude. From this perspective, both constructs consist of affective responses to one's work experience and are simply distinguished by the referent (i.e., one's work role or one's organization) (Harrison et al., 2006). In fact, meta-analyses of the job satisfaction and organizational commitment literatures have found affective organizational commitment and job satisfaction are highly correlated ( $\rho = .53$  to  $.65$ )

(Mathieu & Zajac, 1990; Meyer et al., 2002). Others have estimated that the relationship may be as high as .91 once additional artifacts are taken into account (Le, Schmidt, Harter, & Lauver, 2010). Thus, both constructs may be closely linked and reflect a more generalized response to one's workplace (Mathieu & Zajac, 1990).

In addition to providing a general representation of one's cognitive and affective response to their workplace, one's job attitude appears to be a more robust predictor of their general effectiveness at work. Drawing on the principle of compatibility (e.g., Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977), which argues that attitudes are most effective predictors of behavior when both share similar actions, targets, contexts, and time, Harrison et al. (2006, p. 316) found one's general job attitude was a robust predictor of his or her effectiveness ( $\gamma_{\text{standardized}} = .59$ ). The authors argued that because job satisfaction and organizational commitment refer to broad and diffuse targets, the behaviors that emerge from these attitudes should predict wide sets or aggregates of behaviors rather than specific responses. In other words, the more positive one's general job attitude, as reflected by their job satisfaction and organizational commitment, the more they should express generally favorable work behavior and effectiveness.<sup>1</sup> These results address prior findings demonstrating that job satisfaction and organizational commitment, when treated as distinct attitudes, are weak, inconsistent predictors of various individual-level outcomes in the organizational sciences (e.g., turnover, task performance, contextual performance) (Judge et al., 2001; Mathieu & Zajac, 1990; Meyer et al., 2002).

Given that one's job attitude has considerable importance for understanding behavioral outcomes in the workplace, it is important to determine the antecedents of

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<sup>1</sup> Effectiveness was operationalized as a latent factor consisting of task performance, contextual performance, lateness, absenteeism, and turnover.

these general attitudes (Harrison et al., 2006). One potential factor that contributes to or influence a person's job attitude could be his or her social class. Although little attention has been devoted to the relationship between social class and job attitudes, there is initial evidence to suggest that one's class position is related to their job attitudes (M. White & Smeaton, 2016).

First, multiple studies have shown that one's working conditions are associated with both their job satisfaction and organizational commitment. For example, the more autonomy one experiences at work, which reflects a higher social class position (Goldthorpe, 2000b), the more job satisfaction they report (Loher, Noe, Moeller, & Fitzgerald, 1985; Spector, 1985). As noted earlier, greater autonomy is identified as a key structural indicator of one's social class (Goldthorpe, 2000b). Likewise, job complexity or scope is related to both job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Judge et al., 2001; Mathieu & Zajac, 1990). Given that complexity is based on, at least in part, the technical and managerial demands of one's job, it appears that higher class workers (i.e., greater authority and more asset specificity) may be more committed to and satisfied with their positions (Goldthorpe, 2000b; Wright, 2000a). Similarly, positions that require more skill variety also yield more satisfaction ( $\rho = .41$ ) and organizational commitment ( $\rho = .21$ ) (Loher et al., 1985; Mathieu & Zajac, 1990).

There is even evidence that the relationship between job satisfaction and performance varies across occupations. Specifically, based on more than 300 effect sizes and 54,000 respondents, Judge et al. (2001) found that job satisfaction was less related to the performance of nurses ( $\rho = .19$ ) and more influential for scientists and engineers ( $\rho = .45$ ). Given that similar effect sizes were observed for accountants and laborers (i.e.,

unskilled and semi-skilled), it appears that these differences across occupational categories are not simply based on the skill-level of the workers. Thus, to the extent that one's social class is defined by his or her occupation (Grusky & Galescu, 2005), there is some evidence that their class standing is related to their job attitudes.

Along with these working conditions, it appears that the rewards associated with different social classes also correspond with job attitudes. For example, Mathieu and Zajac (1990) found that higher salaries were associated with higher levels of organizational commitment ( $\rho = .18$ ). Thus, given that members of higher social classes hold more wealth and human capital (Savage et al., 2013; Sorensen, 2000), they may be more committed to their organizations. Likewise, the more one is invested within a firm, the more affective ( $\rho = .24$ ) and normative commitment ( $\rho = .21$ ) they express (Meyer et al., 2002). These investments (e.g., pensions, seniority) correspond with the enduring, broadly defined service relationships that are key differentiators of social class within the marketplace based model (Breen, 2005). Workers who rely on labor contracts, on the other hand, are less likely to receive these investments and thus express lower levels of organizational commitment (Meyer & Allen, 1991).

Given these findings, I propose the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3: One's social class is positively related to his or her job attitudes.

## CURRENT STUDY

As the previous discussion demonstrates, there are a number of fundamental questions about social class that remain unanswered. Specifically, the appropriate measurement model, dimensionality, subjective nature, generalizability, and divergent validity of social class all remain unclear. Furthermore, there is little evidence considering how members of different social classes respond to and evaluate their work environments (i.e., job attitudes). Each of these hypotheses and research questions should be addressed as organizational scientists begin to incorporate social class into their research. Thus, in addition to reviewing the dominant theories of social class, this study also includes a meta-analysis of the social class literature designed to address these research questions. In the section that follows I describe the method for conducting this quantitative review.

## METHOD

### Literature Search

To gather primary studies for this meta-analysis, I conducted a systematic search of the literature from multiple sources (Rothstein, 2012; H. D. White, 1994). Given that social class has been studied by scholars from different disciplines, my initial search strategy focused on the *Web of Science* database (ISI Web of Knowledge, 2009). I also supplemented the results obtained from *Web of Science* with searches in *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses* and *PapersFirst* to identify relevant unpublished dissertations and conference proceedings. In addition to articles and unpublished papers, I searched for books within the University of North Carolina Charlotte's Library System using *WorldCat*.

Given the size of the social class literature, I adopted a strategy intended to retrieve as many relevant sources as possible while limiting the number of sources that were irrelevant to the current research questions (H. D. White, 1994). Thus, my key terms combined general social class terms (e.g., "social class", "working class", "middle class") with a list of indicators or measures based on the theories of social class presented in Table 1 (e.g., "property", "wealth", "occupation"). Also, in order to identify studies that examined the relationship between social class and relevant constructs, I also included search terms for job attitudes (e.g., "commitment", "organizational commitment", "affective", "job satisfaction") and subjective status and power. A summary of the search terms, filters, and date of execution for each database search is provided in Appendix A.

Along with database searches, I also conducted supplemental literature searches using an ancestry approach (Reed & Baxter, 2009). Specifically, I conducted forward and backward-reference searches in *Google Scholar* using seminal social class articles (see key references in Table 1). That is, I identified which articles these studies cited and which subsequent studies referenced their work.

In addition to examining the results from the *PapersFirst* database, I also reviewed the past five years of conference proceedings for the American Economics Association, Academy of Management, Society for Personality and Social Psychology, Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, American Sociological Association, and American Society for Public Administration. If the submission was not immediately available, I contacted the authors of the article and asked for a copy of their paper. I also posted messages to the list-servs of divisions of these national associations asking authors to provide copies of unpublished studies. A copy of the message that was sent is provided in Appendix B.

Along with locating articles via conference proceedings and list-servs, I also directly contacted the primary researchers for each of the dominant theories listed in Table 1. Specifically, I sent e-mails to Drs. Breen, Goldthorpe, Grusky, Kraus, Piff, Weeden, Weininger, Wright, Savage, and Stephens asking for any unpublished or in-press articles that meet the exclusion and inclusion criteria.<sup>2</sup> This message was similar to the request that was sent to the list-servs (see Appendix C).

Finally, because social class is a topic of interest to various institutions, I conducted additional searches to identify technical and government reports that are

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<sup>2</sup> Dr. Sorensen passed away in 2001 and therefore was not contacted.



relevant to the current study (H. D. White, 1994). Specifically, I searched for technical reports released by federal government agencies (i.e., the Departments of Commerce, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Labor, and Treasury) by entering the term “social class” directly into these agencies’ websites. Also, I conducted similar searches of the websites of not-for-profit agencies (i.e., the Russell Sage, Bill and Melinda Gates, MacArthur foundations) and social policy think tanks (i.e., the Center for American Progress, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, Center for Economic and Policy Research, Economic Policy Institute and Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies).

#### Screening Articles Based on Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

After conducting the various searches described above, I identified 9,949 potential articles. I then reviewed each article or document to determine if it was relevant to the current study (H. D. White, 1994). Specifically, I reviewed the title, abstract, and, if necessary, the methods section of each article to determine if it met the inclusion and exclusion criteria (see Appendix D for a description of the inclusion and exclusion criteria) (Reed & Baxter, 2009).

A flow chart summarizing the screening process is presented in Figure 2. As this figure suggests, the largest proportion of studies were removed because the article did not report quantitative data (37%), did not provide sufficient data to estimate an effect size (27%), and did not include multiple measures of social class or examine the relationship between social class and relevant constructs (i.e., job attitudes, power, and status) (14%). Ultimately, after applying the exclusion and inclusion criteria, I retained 592 (6%) of the articles for subsequent analysis.

## Coding Articles

In order to capture study information, characteristics of social class measures, potential moderators, and effect sizes, I developed a codebook to facilitate the coding process (see Appendix E). To increase the efficiency of the coding process, I recruited two people with graduate training in industrial-organizational psychology to help code. I trained coders using a two-part process (Orwin & Vevea, 2009; D. B. Wilson, 2009). First, coders participated in a didactic training session that provided an overview of the study (i.e., discussed dominant theories of social class and their various operationalizations) and reviewed the coding process (Woodworth, 1994). Second, the coders and I practiced using the codebook and database by independently coding five randomly selected studies. Coders were asked to identify problematic items and ambiguous codes within the codebook. After completing these five articles, we met and discussed discrepancies between our codes and revised the codebook as necessary.

Following this initial pilot test and training, two coders independently coded 5% of the primary studies. Using these codes, I calculated percentages of agreement and kappa coefficients for categorical items and one-way random effects intraclass correlation coefficients (ICCs) for continuous items (Orwin & Vevea, 2009). These estimates, along with the full distribution information for each coding category (i.e., median, range, frequency) are presented in Tables 2 and 3. For the majority of the codes, the level of inter-rater agreement (average  $\kappa = .71$ ) and consistency (average ICC = .95) was adequate. However, there were a few instances where the kappa estimates fell below traditional cutoffs (i.e., measure for construct, referent of measure, type of reliability estimate, and occupation scheme). These low kappa values can be attributed primarily to

either a small number of opportunities for coders to apply the categories (e.g., occupation scheme = 18; type of reliability estimate = 10) or a larger range of potential response options (i.e., measure for construct = 16 options). Based on the percentage of agreement, which is less sensitive to these issues, each of these categories (excluding occupational scheme), exceeded common cutoffs ( $> 90\%$ ). Nevertheless, for any instance of disagreement, the coders resolved their discrepancies through consensus discussion. After the calibration process, the remaining studies were coded by a single coder.

## RESULTS

### Characteristics of Social Class Studies

One of the goals of the current study was to provide a summary of the extant social class literature. By examining the common design features of studies,<sup>3</sup> an image of the prototypical social class article emerges (Table 3). For example, the majority of the studies were published in journal articles (71%). However, my review also identified a substantial grey literature (27%), which primarily consists of dissertations (10%) and unpublished work (16%). Also, it appears that the social class literature often relies on large (median sample size = 1,239), archival data sets (75%). Common sources of archival data were the U.S. Census, the General Social Survey, the British Household Panel Study, the National Childhood Development Study, the European Social Survey, and the World Values Survey. However, these sources only accounted for approximately 30% of the archival studies. Thus, the data included in this review is drawn from a wide array of sources.

Similar levels of variability were also observed in the number of nationalities that are represented in the social class literature. More specifically, samples were drawn from 94 different countries. Thus, although the United States and United Kingdom represent 41% of the studies, there are countries from different continents that are also represented. That is, multiple studies were drawn from other parts of Europe (e.g., Finland = 36, Spain

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<sup>3</sup> Because a single article or document can report multiple studies or distinct samples, each of which may have unique design features, the number of studies (939) exceeds the total number of articles (562) identified in the literature review.

= 16), Asia (e.g., China = 21, Japan = 11), South America (e.g., Chile = 5, Brazil = 9), and Africa (e.g., Egypt = 6).

Interestingly, one area of consistency across the studies is the type of design that was used. More specifically, studies of social class are almost exclusively correlational (99%). Thus, only a few studies actually manipulated one's social class. Furthermore, when social class was manipulated, the measure was always one of subjective social class (e.g., the McArthur ladder scale).

#### Common Measures of Social Class

Along with considering the characteristics of studies of social class, it is also useful to review how the construct is commonly operationalized. Based on this review, measures of occupation, education, and income account for over 67% of the social class measures. However, within these categories, there is still variation in how each component of social class is operationalized. For instance, the number of categories included in the occupational coding schemes ranges from 2 to 17. Similar ranges were also observed for categorical measures of education (13) and income (38).

Compared to occupation, education, and income, the other components of objective social class were measured less frequently (<1% means of production to 6% of wealth). There were also few instances where researchers measured subjective perceptions of social class. That is, the identity-based and rank-based perceptual measures account for 3% and 2% of all measures, respectively.

Despite the variety of indicators of social class, the construct is predominantly operationalized using either individual (90%) or household (6%) level characteristics.

Interestingly, for those measures that used individual or household level referents, 14% refer to the respondents' parents.

My review also identified how the indicators of social class are commonly operationalized. Specifically, I coded brief descriptions of each measure of social class and aggregated these codes within a given indicator (see Table 4). For example, the majority of studies operationalized the indicator of scarce skills using measures of training, work experience, skill level, or job complexity.

### Preliminary Meta-Analyses

The following section describes how I conducted the meta-analysis for this study. For each of these steps, I used either the MAc (Del Re & Hoyt, 2012) or metafor (Viechtbauer, 2010) packages for the R statistical computing software (R Development Core Team, 2010).

The primary effect size used for this review was the correlation coefficient. However, because social class has been studied across a number of disciplines, each with its own preferred analytical framework, many of the effect sizes needed to be converted. Generally, this process consisted of either computing correlation coefficients from other statistics (e.g., chi-square values, t-statistics, means and standard deviations) or transforming Spearman's *rho* and Kendall tau's coefficients (Gilpin, 1993; Rupinski & Dunlap, 1996). Overall, 33% of the effect sizes were converted prior to being included in the meta-analysis.

Having compiled and converted the effect sizes, I then corrected these values for unreliability of the measures (Hunter & Schmidt, 2004). As shown in Table 3, 29% of the measures included a reliability estimate. However, across the constructs, there were

differences in how many measures included reliability estimates (min. = 0% for occupation, max. = 100% for organizational commitment). Thus, I imputed reliability estimates for constructs where at least 20% of the measures included measures of reliability. Ultimately, I corrected 359 (10%) effect sizes for measurement error (Geyskens, Krishnan, Steenkamp, & Cunha, 2009; Hunter & Schmidt, 2004).

After correcting the effect sizes for measurement error, I conducted a series of univariate meta-regression analyses using robust maximum likelihood estimation to identify potential outliers and influential effect sizes. More specifically, for relationships that included at least 15 effect sizes, I examined a set of diagnostic indices (i.e., studentized deleted residuals, standardized different in fits, and Cook's distance) and conducted a one-sample removed analysis (see Appendix F for more details on these analyses and individual results). These analyses identified 15 effect sizes that could be classified as outliers or influential cases. The majority of these effect sizes were substantially larger than the average effect size for a given relationship among social class measures and often were based on measures from a higher-level of analysis (i.e., occupations or cities). Despite having identified a number of outliers, the average difference between the minimum and maximum effect size observed for each of the leave-one-out analysis was .02 (range = .00 to .03). Nevertheless, I ran the subsequent analyses both with and without influential effect sizes and outliers.

#### Meta-Analytic Structural Equation Modeling (MA-SEM)

One of the primary goals of the current study was to compile synthesized bivariate relationships among social class indicators and between measures of social class and related constructs (e.g., job attitudes). Thus, I adopted Wilson, Polanin, and Lipsey's

(2016) three-level multi-level technique to account for interdependence among effect sizes.<sup>4</sup> More specifically, I used a multi-level mixed effects weighted meta-regression analysis that incorporated dummy variables identifying which cell in the correlation matrix the effect size pertained to. The formula for this model is:

$$r_{ik} = \beta_1 Cell_{1ik} + \dots + \beta_p Cell_{pik} + v_{0k} + n_{ik} + \varepsilon_{ik}$$

where  $r_{ik}$  is an observed correlation coefficient  $i$  from study  $k$ ,  $v_{0k}$  is Level 3 random effect for studies,  $n_{ik}$  is a Level-2 random effect for multiple measures from a single study, and  $\varepsilon_{ik}$  is the Level 1 random effect for a given correlation coefficient. Also, each *Cell* coefficient reflects the  $p$ th cell in the correlation matrix. In the current study, there are 18 indicators of social class, which results in 153 dummy variables.<sup>5</sup> These variables are coded either 1 or 0 to represent each of the off-diagonal cells in the matrix. Here it is important to note that there is no intercept in this multi-level model so the *Cell* coefficients reflect the synthesized correlation coefficient for a given relationship. Prior to estimating this model, each correlation coefficient was weighted by the inverse of its sample size (Hunter & Schmidt, 2004; S. J. Wilson et al., 2016).

The synthesized effect sizes, and their corresponding sample sizes and number of samples, are presented in Table 5 and Appendix G, respectively. Although this correlation matrix is informative, it is missing a number of bivariate relationships among

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<sup>4</sup> An alternative approach for estimating structural equation models using meta-analytic correlation matrices is referred to as a two-stage structural equation model (Cheung & Chan, 2005). This approach includes an initial step where one assesses the degree to which matrices from different studies diverge or reflect different populations. Although this approach is preferable, it requires at least one study to provide a complete matrix to facilitate the comparison process (Landis, 2013). Because I did not identify a single study that examined the 171 parameters included in the full matrix  $((18*(18+1))/2)$ , this approach was not feasible.

<sup>5</sup> Although there are 171 cells in the complete matrix  $((18*(18+1))/2)$ , it is common practice to set the variance estimates or diagonals to unity (1) in a correlation matrix. Thus, effect sizes between the same measures (e.g., correlation between education and education) were excluded.



social class, job attitudes, power, and status (i.e., Appendix G). For example, there are very few effect sizes pertaining to the relationship between indicators of social class and subjective power and status. More specifically, only effect sizes between subjective power and status and three of the social class indicators were identified (i.e., education, income, and subjective social class – identity). There were also missing effect sizes between some indicators of social class and job attitudes (e.g., wealth) and among the social class indicators (e.g., means of production with autonomy and social capital).

In order to address the remaining missing data, I used the following procedures recommended by Landis (2013) and Bergh et al. (2016). First, I attempted to identify either previously published meta-analyses that reported the missing bivariate relationship or primary studies that examined these variables. That is, I entered the phrase “meta-analysis” along with the key terms for each pair of social class measures into the *Web of Science* database.<sup>6</sup> Second, given the large number of missing effect sizes for subjective status and power, I omitted these measures from subsequent analyses. Third, for the remaining effect sizes that were missing, I imputed the correlation between two variables using the average corrected coefficient from the cell’s respective rows and columns.

Given that the correlations in the combined matrix were synthesized across various studies, the use of these aggregate values in subsequent analyses is a potential concern. Thus, I examined the within-cell variability of the 18 x 18 matrix relative to the total variability across all correlations. The synthesized values are only appropriate for subsequent analyses if the within-cell variance is small in absolute terms and small

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<sup>6</sup> This searched returned three primary studies that provided effect sizes for three missing relationships (i.e., means of production with job satisfaction, means of production with organizational commitment, and occupational prestige with job satisfaction). These measures have been included in the current matrices.

relative to the between cell variance. In essence, this would suggest more consistency for a given relationship across the studies. To test this, I examined the mean within-cell variance (i.e., average variance across correlations contributing to each cell of the matrix) relative to the total variance across all of the correlations. The variance across all of the correlations was .06, while the average within-cell variance was .02. Thus, the within-cell variance is small and the within-cell variance is small relative to the between-cell variance. Therefore, I proceeded with using this meta-analytic correlation matrix as input for subsequent analyses.

### Measurement Models of Social Class

One of the primary objectives of this study was to examine alternative conceptualizations, or measurement models, of social class. Thus, one of the first considerations was whether social class is best characterized as a reflective or formative construct. As an initial test of the operationalization of social class, I examined the pattern of the relationships among social class indicators. If social class was a reflective construct, one would expect to observe high, positive intercorrelations among the various indicators (Coltman, Devinney, Midgley, & Venaik, 2008; J. R. Edwards & Bagozzi, 2000). As seen in Table 5, however, the average intercorrelation was .19 ( $SD = .13$ ). Furthermore, if one only examines the correlation among social class indicators from a single theoretical perspective (e.g., Neo-Marxist's emphasis on means of production and authority), the average correlation remains relatively unchanged ( $\rho = .22$ ,  $SD = .04$ ). One exception to these relatively low intercorrelations was the relationship between the two subjective measures of social class ( $\rho = .61$ , 95% CI = .48 to .74). This correlation suggests that the manner in which individuals' perceive their own social class is

consistent across the two dominant operationalizations (i.e., relative rankings or general identification).

Although the initial inspection of the correlation matrix is informative, researchers have recommended conducting additional tests to determine the appropriate measurement model for a given construct. Thus, I drew on recent work by Bollen and Bauldry (2011) and tested a series of competing confirmatory measurement models. For each model, I examined the fit indices (see Table 6) and the parameters estimates (e.g., factor loadings, covariances; see Figures 2-7) (Becker, 2009). The sample size for this analysis was based on the harmonic mean of the sample sizes reported from each study identified during the review ( $n = 556$ ) (Landis, 2013; Viswesvaran & Ones, 1995).

For the first model, I considered a unidimensional, reflective factor to account for the variability among the various social class indicators (Figure 3). Overall, this model fit the data poorly ( $\chi^2 (77) = 1,081.67, p < .01$ ; CFI = .57, TLI = .50, RMSEA = .15, SRMR = .09) (Table 6). Also, three factor loadings from this model fell below the traditional .40 cutoff ( $\lambda$  - means of production = .32,  $\lambda$  - employment relationships = .25,  $\lambda$  - social capital = .37). Furthermore, the average variance extracted (AVE), which is equivalent to the average  $R^2$  value across the indicators for a given construct (Fornell & Larcker, 1981), was .26. The low AVE value does not support a reflective model of social class and is consistent with the pattern of intercorrelations discussed previously.

As an alternative model, I examined whether loading the two subjective indicators (i.e., identity and rank) on their own factor would provide a better representation of the data (Figure 4). This two-factor reflective model showed significantly better fit ( $\Delta\chi^2 (1) = 85.63, p < .01$ ). However, the overall fit was still poor ( $\chi^2 (76) = 996.05, p < .01$ ; CFI =

.61, TLI = .53, RMSEA = .15, SRMR = .09). As with the earlier model, the AVE for the objective social class factor remained low (AVE = .24). However, the AVE was higher for the subjective social class factor (AVE = .62). Furthermore, the standardized factor loadings for the subjective social class factor were both large and significant ( $\lambda$  - identification = .85,  $\lambda$  - rank = .72).

I also examined a multi-dimensional reflective model based on Grusky and Weeden's (2008) proposed framework (Figure 5). More specifically, this model retained the latent subjective social class factor and examined whether objective social class was well-represented by three latent constructs (i.e., working conditions, rewards, and endowments). As seen in Table 6, this model did not represent the data well ( $\chi^2$  (77) = 975.50,  $p < .01$ ; CFI = .62, TLI = .51, RMSEA = .15, SRMR = .09). Furthermore, the high intercorrelations among the latent factors for objective social class ( $r = .90$  to  $.99$ ) raise concerns about their discriminant validity. Also, the factor loadings for the objective indicators and the AVE estimates (.21 - .30) for the reflective objective social class factors remained similar to those observed for earlier models.

Formal comparisons between these three nested models suggest that the four factor model, which included the three latent objective factors and a latent subjective factor, fit significantly better ( $\Delta\chi^2$  (5) = 20.55,  $\Delta\text{CFI} = .01$ ). Thus, there is some evidence to suggest that social class is better represented by a distinct subjective component and that there is some degree of multidimensionality among the objective indicators. Nevertheless, as noted earlier, none of these models provided adequate representations of the current data.

Given the challenges with these reflective models, and the earlier conceptual experiments which suggest the objective component of social class may be better represented by a formative model (p. 22), I next tested a latent causal indicator model (Figure 6). Causal indicator models represent variables that have defined conceptual meaning, assume that there are other, unmeasured factors which may influence the latent variable, and expect the relationship between the indicators and the construct to be stable across different outcomes (Bollen & Bauldry, 2011). In order to estimate such a model, I used a multiple indicator- multiple cause (MIMIC) model. MIMIC models specify a latent construct based on formative indicators and at least two reflective indicators. In choosing reflective indicators of the formative measures of social class (i.e., objective social class), I used the two subjective measures of social class (i.e., rank and identification). As J. R. Edwards (2011) noted, reflective measures in MIMIC models should describe the construct in its entirety, such that the reflective measures and the construct are expected to operate at the same level of abstraction. By using direct reflective measures from the same construct space, the formative construct acquires its meaning through measures that describe the construct itself (J. R. Edwards & Bagozzi, 2000).

Overall, based on fit indices designed for non-nested models (average  $\Delta\text{BIC}$  = 938.68), this causal indicator model was a better representation than the reflective models. However, conventional fit indices (CFI = .77, TLI = .51, RMSEA = .16, SRMR = .04) still suggested that the causal indicator model did not adequately represent the data. Furthermore, there were a number of objective indicators that were non-significant

predictors of the latent social class variable ( $\beta$  - education = .00,  $\beta$  - occupation = -.06,  $\beta$  - autonomy = .05,  $\beta$  - scarce skills = -.07,  $\beta$  - means of production = .07).

Because none of the apriori models provided an adequate representation of the data, I adopted an exploratory approach in determining an appropriate representation of social class. Given that two of the earlier models suggested some degree of dimensionality among the social class indicators, I conducted a principal components analysis to determine whether the number of objective indicators could be reduced into reasonable composites. Principal components analysis attempts to explain all of the variance in the correlation matrix rather than simply the covariance among indicators (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2014). Thus, this item reduction technique is more appropriate when one expects the construct to function as a formative measure. To determine the appropriate number of components, I conducted a parallel analysis using minimum residual estimation in the psych package from R (Revelle, 2015).<sup>7</sup> Parallel analysis is a technique that compares the eigenvalues of the components from the observed data with that of a random data matrix of the same size as the original (Ledesma & Valero-Mora, 2007). For this analysis, the random data matrix was resampled based on 100 iterations.

The parallel analysis indicated that three components exhibited eigenvalues that exceeded those generated from random data. Thus, I retained a three component solution (Table 7). By retaining only those indicators that have a loading greater than .40 on a single component, the three components are defined by (1) typical measures of socioeconomic status (e.g., occupation, occupational prestige, income, and education), (2) structural characteristics (i.e., means of production and employment relationship) and (3)

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<sup>7</sup> The pattern of results is comparable if I use alternative estimation procedures (e.g., maximum likelihood).

wealth, social capital, authority, and autonomy. Compared to earlier models, the AVE for each component is larger for the three components (.49 - .68) than a general factor. Nevertheless, the AVE for two of the three components ( $C1 = .56$ ,  $C3 = .49$ ) does not exceed correlations among the components ( $r = .55$ ). This suggests there is more shared variance between the components than within a given set of indicators and offers further support for a formative representation of the objective indicators of social class.

Using the components identified based on the principal components analysis, I re-examined the causal indicator (MIMIC) model (Figure 7). Specifically, I treated the three components as causal indicators of a latent social class construct, which was defined by the two subjective social class measures (i.e., rank and identification). This model accounted for 48% of the variance in social class and substantially reduced the BIC (17,135.18). However, it still was not an adequate representation of the data ( $CFI = .74$ ,  $TLI = .46$ ,  $RMSEA = .18$ ,  $SRMR = .03$ ).

#### Social Class's Influence on Job Attitudes

Given the challenges with identifying a model that adequately represented both the subjective and objective indicators, I chose to use a simple composite of the objective indicators as a means of data reduction prior to examining the effects of social class on job attitudes. Composite indicators simply reflect weighted elements that form a composite variable with no disturbance or error term (Bollen & Bauldry, 2011). Thus, a composite indicator does not influence a latent social class variable. Instead, in the current study, this composite indicator represents social class as a weighted sum of the objective indicators. To form the composite indicator, I combined the aggregate effect sizes reported in Table 5 for the objective indicators into four separate estimates (i.e.,

identification, rank, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment). Then, I did the same for the subjective indicators with job attitudes. To combine the effect sizes for the objective and subjective indicators, I used the following formula (Hunter & Schmidt, 2004, p. 435):

$$\frac{\sum r_{xy_i}}{\sqrt{n + n(n-1)\bar{r}_{y_iy_j}}}$$

where  $\sum r_{xy_i}$  is the sum of the correlation among different measures (e.g., each objective indicator with job satisfaction),  $\bar{r}_{y_iy_j}$  is the average correlation among similar measures (e.g., subjective rank and identification), and  $n$  is the number of correlations.

Overall, there is a moderate sized association between social class and job attitudes (Table 8). For the composite objective social class measure, the aggregated, corrected estimate was .48, while for subjective social class this value was .23.

#### Discriminant Validity of Social Class from Power and Status

As noted previously, my review of the literature identified very few studies where indicators of social class were associated with subjective ratings of power or status (total  $k = 16$ ). Thus, there is limited data to examine the degree to which these constructs diverge from social class. Nevertheless, I compared the magnitude of the available correlations among social class indicators and power and status with the effect sizes observed among social class indicators. On average, social class indicators exhibited moderate correlations with power ( $\rho = .32$ , min. = .13, max. = .63) and status ( $\rho = .27$ , min. = .10, max. = .49). Using only the indicators that included effect sizes for power or status (i.e., occupational prestige, income, education, subjective rankings), the average corrected correlation among social class measure was .35 (min. = .27, max = .47). Thus,



the magnitude of the relationship among social class indicators for which there is data available is greater than their relationship with other constructs.

### Homogeneity and Moderator Analyses

Along with considering different models of social class, its influence on job attitudes, and the degree of discriminant validity with similar constructs, I also examined the extent to which the mean effect sizes reported in the synthesized correlation matrix represent a heterogeneous population. First, I examined two measures of homogeneity to see if there were potential moderators within the larger sample of effect sizes (Geyskens et al., 2009). For the first measure, I examined the  $Q$ -statistic, which is similar to a chi-square test. A statistically significant  $Q$ -statistic, suggests that the study-level effect sizes (i.e.,  $r$  values) do not reflect a single population. The observed  $Q$ -statistic was large and significant ( $Q(3672) = 7,106,997.70, p < .01$ ), which suggests that subsequent moderator analyses are warranted (Aguinis & Pierce, 1998).<sup>8</sup>

Along with the  $Q$  statistic, I also considered two intraclass correlation indices (ICCs) to further delineate what sources of variance may account for the heterogeneity in effect sizes (Cheung, 2015). The ICC values can be interpreted as the proportion of the total between-study variation of the effect sizes due to multiple measures from the same study (i.e., Level 2) and differences between studies (i.e., Level 3). The ICC value for Level 2 was .76, while the value for Level 3 was .24. This suggests that the majority of the between-study variance in effect sizes was observed at the measure-level, rather than the study level.

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<sup>8</sup> Although the observed  $Q$ -statistic for the multilevel meta-analysis was large, the average  $Q$ -statistic for separate, univariate meta-analyses (32,599.31,  $SD = 14,4008.50$ ) was much smaller. This suggests that much of the heterogeneity in effect sizes could be attributed to between-cell variability.

Given the significant level of heterogeneity in effect sizes, and that this heterogeneity can be attributed to both of the higher level of analysis, I estimated a meta-regression model with multiple moderator variables to examine differences in the correlation coefficients (S. J. Wilson et al., 2016). This model reflects an extension of the earlier three-level meta-regression model. Specifically, it can be written algebraically as:

$$r_{ik} = \beta_{00} + \beta_1 X_{ik} + \beta_2 \gamma_{0k} + v_{0k} + n_{ik} + \varepsilon_{ik}$$

where  $X_{ik}$  are effect-size moderators and  $\gamma_{0k}$  are study-level moderators. In order to account for differences in effect sizes due to design characteristics, I included methodological moderators at the measure-level and study-level. At the measure-level, the methodological moderators included the level of analysis (e.g., individual, household, occupation) and the referent of the measure (i.e., parent or respondent), while the study-level moderator was the source of data (i.e., archival vs. author collected).

Along with these methodological moderators, I included two theoretical moderators to determine the consistency of the effect sizes across different nations and time periods. Given the variety of nationalities that were represented in the current study, I categorized the samples into ten different geographic regions using the classification scheme developed by the Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness (GLOBE) research program (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004). Using respondents' ratings of cultural values and practices, as well as a content analysis of historical and archival information pertaining to geographic proximity, shared migration, and religious and linguistic commonalities, the GLOBE research team developed 10

regional clusters (see Appendix H) (Gupta & Hanges, 2004).<sup>9</sup> These regions, along with examples of countries within a region, include Anglo countries (e.g., United States of America, United Kingdom), Latin European countries (e.g., France, Spain), Nordic European countries (e.g., Denmark, Finland), Germanic European countries (e.g., Germany, Austria), Eastern European countries (e.g., Poland, Russia), Latin American countries, (e.g., Brazil, Colombia), Sub-Saharan African countries (e.g., Nigeria, Zimbabwe), Middle Eastern countries (e.g., Egypt, Turkey), Southern Asian countries (India, Thailand), and Confucian Asian countries (e.g., China, Japan).

Using this classification scheme, I categorized 58 nations that were represented by samples from the primary studies (Appendix H). Some countries that I classified were not originally apart of the GLOBE study, but were very similar to countries included in the existing classification scheme. For example, I classified Iceland and Norway as Nordic European countries. Also, I excluded countries identified during the literature review from the classification scheme that were not included in the original GLOBE study classification and occupied ambiguous geographic or cultural positions (e.g., Belgium, Puerto Rico, Vietnam). Finally, the original GLOBE scheme differentiated between sub-cultures within Switzerland and South Africa based on language (e.g., Italian-speaking Switzerland vs. German-speaking Switzerland). Because the primary studies from these countries did not provide sufficient information to make similar distinctions, I omitted these countries from the moderator analysis.

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<sup>9</sup> Initial validation studies found these ten regions accounted for 54%-65% of the variation in respondents' ratings of cultural values and practices, respectively (Gupta & Hanges, 2004). Further examination of the between-region differences suggested that the clusters are predominantly differentiated based on ratings of collectivism (individual vs. collective), time-future orientation (short-term vs. futuristic), and uncertainty avoidance (rule-based vs. uncertainty-oriented). The GLOBE team also concluded that these regions were comparable to earlier classifications of nations or societies based on attitudes or cultural ratings (Ronen & Shenkar, 1985).

Along with considering differences in geographic regions, I also examined differences in the magnitude of effect sizes across time periods. Based on the observed range of time periods for the various studies, I categorized studies based on whether their data was collected prior to, or after, the onset of the shareholder value era (pre/post-1984) (Goldstein, 2012). This time period is characterized by the growing influence of financial markets on corporate activities, an increasing emphasis on stock performance versus other performance metrics like growth and expansion, an emphasis on cost-cutting and short-term profits, and lean organizational structures that emphasize core competencies. These shifting priorities led companies to conduct mass layoffs, pursue mergers and acquisitions, and introduce new forms of technology. The shareholder value era also overlaps with the time period most closely aligned with the post-class perspective (Pakulski & Waters, 1996; G. T. Wodtke, 2015). That is, during this era, some social class theorists argued that the development of advanced telecommunications and computers would catalyze the growth of economic sectors involving the provisions of services and information. Given the complexity of such services, there would be more demand for managers with authority and decision-making opportunities rather than unskilled, manual workers. Thus, whether one emphasizes the role of financial motives or changing technology, the mid-1980s reflects a distinct time period in which the nature of social class may change.

The results of the meta-regression model suggested that the various design features were not significantly related to the magnitude of the effect size (Table 9). However, there were significant differences observed across time periods ( $\gamma = -.13, p < .01$ ) and between the Anglo geographic region and four of the other regions (Nordic

Europe;  $\gamma = .06$ , Eastern Europe;  $\gamma = .12$ , Latin America;  $\gamma = .14$ , and Middle East;  $\gamma = .15$ ). Taken as a whole, this model provides preliminary evidence indicating that the region and time period in which the sample was drawn has an effect on the magnitude of the correlation coefficient among indicators of social class.

To further investigate these significant main effects, I conducted a series of post-hoc comparisons between geographic regions and time periods. More specifically, I identified instances where both levels of the moderator featured at least five effect sizes and the 95% confidence intervals for the effect sizes were not overlapping. For the geographic regions, there were 26 instances where at least two regions reported five effect sizes for a single relationship (see Appendix I). Of these 26 instances, four exhibited non-overlapping confidence intervals. Interestingly, these instances of significant cross-national moderation were only observed for relationships among objective indicators. For instance, the relationship between occupation and education was significantly higher in Nordic ( $\rho = .52$ ), German ( $\rho = .53$ ), and Eastern ( $\rho = .45$ ) European regions than Anglo countries ( $\rho = .28$ ). Similarly, samples drawn from Latin American countries ( $\rho = .45$ ) exhibited a larger relationship between income and education than Nordic European ( $\rho = .23$ ), and Anglo ( $\rho = .32$ ) countries. The relationship between wealth and income (Germanic Europe,  $\rho = .37$ ; Nordic Europe,  $\rho = .15$ ) and wealth and education (Middle East,  $\rho = .54$ ; E. Europe,  $\rho = .33$ ; Germanic Europe,  $\rho = .29$ ; Nordic Europe,  $\rho = .21$ ; Latin Europe,  $\rho = .22$ ) also significantly differed across the regions. Overall, the average absolute difference between geographic regions with at least five effect sizes was .09.

For the comparisons between pre-1984 and post-1984 effect sizes, eleven relationships among measures of social class had at least five effect sizes for each era (see Appendix J). Of these possible differences, four exhibited non-overlapping confidence intervals and all of the effect sizes were larger prior to the shareholder value/post-class era (i.e., pre-1984). The four effect sizes that differed included occupation with wealth, occupation with education, occupation with subjective social class identification, and wealth with education (average difference:  $\rho = .18$ ).

Given that the onset of shareholder value/post-class era is unlikely to be confined to a single year, I conducted two sensitivity analyses to determine whether slight modifications to the time period would alter the results. Specifically, I changed the dummy code for the time period to reflect pre-/post-1980 and pre/post-1988 eras. For 1980, eleven relationships were observed with at least five effect sizes and five of those featured non-overlapping confidence intervals. All of the larger effects were observed for pre-1980 samples (average difference:  $\rho = .20$ ). Similarly, for 1988, eleven relationships were observed with at least five effect sizes and four of those had non-overlapping confidence intervals. As with the earlier analyses, all of the larger effects were observed for pre-1988 samples (average difference:  $\rho = .20$ ). Thus, the differences in the relationships among social class indicators appear to be robust to subtle distinctions in the starting point of the shareholder value era.

## DISCUSSION

Theories consist of two major components (J. R. Edwards, 2011; J. R. Edwards & Bagozzi, 2000). One component specifies relationships among constructs (Bagozzi & Phillips, 1982). The other component, also known as auxiliary theories, proposes the relationship between measures and constructs (J. R. Edwards, 2011). Although auxiliary theories, and issues of construct validity, typically receive less attention within the organizational sciences (J. R. Edwards & Bagozzi, 2000; MacKenzie, Podsakoff, & Jarvis, 2005), they reflect critical propositions that bridge the gap between abstract constructs and empirical phenomena (Bagozzi & Phillips, 1982). That is, without clearly specifying the relationship between observable measures and their latent constructs, researchers may overlook alternative models (Costner, 1969, 1971), misspecify their models (J. R. Edwards & Bagozzi, 2000), or commit Type I and Type II errors (MacKenzie et al., 2005). Thus, as social class becomes increasingly popular in the organizational sciences, the primary goal of this study was to review the existing literature with an emphasis on common measurement strategies and to clarify the relationship between the latent social class construct and its indicators.

Drawing upon seven distinct models of social class, I identified fourteen indicators which have been proposed for this construct (Table 1). These indicators range from structural, macro-level measures (e.g., means of production, occupation), to micro-level measures of objective social class (e.g., wealth, education), and subjective perceptions of one's social class (i.e., identity and rank). After organizing these indicators into a comprehensive framework (Figure 1), I identified a large body of literature that has examined these indicators. This literature spans multiple decades,

nationalities, and disciplines. Using data from 592 distinct studies, I tested fundamental questions about the nature of social class including its dimensionality, discriminant validity, and criterion-related validity.

### Reviewing the Social Class Literature

As noted previously, this study attempted to provide a roadmap for navigating the immense social class literature. Thus, rather than viewing social class from a single disciplinary or theoretical perspective, I began by summarizing different models of social class. This review focused on identifying assumptions pertaining to the operationalization of social class and isolating the key indicators from the different theoretical perspectives. As Table 1 indicates, this review highlights the importance of considering social class from various perspectives. For example, if one were to adopt a strict Neo-Marxist interpretation of social class (Wright, 1997), he or she may overlook the way in which individuals form unique social class identities or compare their relative standing to others (Kraus, Piff, et al., 2012; Stephens et al., 2007).

Although the models of social class are grounded in different disciplines and literature, there were areas of consensus or commonality. For instance, the majority of the theories of social class emphasize multiple measures of objective social class (e.g., wealth, education). Furthermore, these objective resources typically pertain to a particular level of analysis, ranging from measures that focused on the individual (e.g., income) to more macro measures (e.g., access to means of production, occupation). Thus, despite potential differences, I also sought to identify ways in which the various indicators of social class could be integrated. That is, rather than treating the measures of



social class as distinct, I considered ways in which they reflect similar aspects of social class (Figure 1).

Along with considering how different theoretical models of social class can be integrated, this review provides insight into the prototypical social class study (Table 3). In general, studies of social class commonly draw on large sample sizes using both archival and primary data. Furthermore, social class studies usually rely on correlational designs that use individual-level or household-level measures (96%). Finally, this review found that traditional measures of socioeconomic status (i.e., income and education), as well as one's occupation, account for more than two-thirds of the indicators identified during the review

#### Primary Contributions

Along with this framework and the summary of the literature, the results of the meta-analysis provide a means of developing a holistic representation of social class. Based on aggregate relationships from various studies, I conducted multiples tests of construct validity and examined alternative models. The major findings and conclusions from these analyses are reviewed below.

First, the findings from this meta-analytic review indicate that social class does not function as a unitary construct. More specifically, there appears to be at least two distinct components: subjective social class and objective social class. Subjective social class corresponds more closely to a reflective measurement model in which an underlying latent construct influences an individual's perceptions of their relative ranking and the degree to which they identify with a particular class. For instance, along with mental experiments that support the interchangeability of the ranking and identification measures

(p. 24), I found a large, positive correlation between these two indicators ( $\rho = .61$ , 95% CI = .47 to .75). Furthermore, the parameters from alternative factor models regularly supported a reflective subjective factor that was defined by these two indicators (i.e., high AVE estimate, high factor loadings) (Bollen & Bauldry, 2011; J. R. Edwards & Bagozzi, 2000). Thus, the current findings provide support for my second hypothesis (H2).

Objective social class, however, appears to correspond more closely to a formative measurement model. In addition to earlier mental experiments demonstrating the minimal degree of interchangeability among these measures (p. 24), the results of the meta-analysis suggest that although the objective indicators generally show a positive manifold, the magnitude of the effect sizes are relatively small (average  $\rho < .20$ ). These low correlations are further reflected in the relatively poor fit observed for reflective models, as well as the non-significant factor loadings and low AVE estimates (Bollen & Bauldry, 2011). Furthermore, model fit generally did not improve when additional dimensions were added to the reflective models and the correlations among the objective social class factors was far too high to support their discriminant validity ( $r \geq .90$ ) (Shaffer, DeGeest, & Li, 2016). That said, the formative, or causal indicator (MIMIC), model provided statistically better fit than the alternative reflective models. There is also some evidence to support multiple formative dimensions using the objective indicators – although these composite indicators do not correspond with any existing theoretical frameworks of social class. Thus, although none of the confirmatory models provided an adequate representation of the matrix, it appears that a composite measure is the better representation of objective indicators of social class (H1) and there may be some degree of multidimensionality among these indicators (RQ1).

A second contribution of the current study is determining the degree to which one's subjective perceptions of their social class are distinct from their objective standing (RQ2). Interestingly, even though the two forms of social class are defined by distinct measurement models, the results of the meta-analysis suggest that the subjective and objective indicators are highly correlated. In fact, after correcting both measures for unreliability, the association among the two latent factors begins to approach reliability (Shaffer et al., 2016; Williams & McConagle, 2016). More specifically, across the various measurement models the relationship between objective and subjective ranges from .69 to .82, when specifying objective social class as a reflective measure and from .61 to .81 when specifying it as a formative measure. Furthermore, when using a composite measure that aggregates all of the objective indices into a single index, the correlation between subjective and objective social class was .56. Here it is important to note that this estimate does not account for measurement error in either the subjective or objective social class measures. If one were to correct this correlation for attenuation, the association among the composite measures would be .81.<sup>10</sup> Along with the moderate to high association between objective and subjective social class, these two forms of social class correlate similarly with other constructs. For example, the average correlation with subjective power was .33 for objective social class and .29 for subjective social class. Likewise, the average correlation with job attitudes was .48 for objective social class and .21 for subjective social class.

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<sup>10</sup> Many of the objective indicators identified in this review rely on self-reported data. Thus, this effect size may be slightly inflated because respondents commonly report both of their subjective and objective social class.

Taken as a whole, these findings suggest that individuals are attuned to their own objective position. That is, their perceptions correspond systematically with various objective indicators of social stratification. This degree of correspondence is so high in some circumstances, and regularly approaches levels of association that are consistent with reliability estimates, that one could argue the two components of social class may be interchangeable. Thus, if a researcher is unable to collect a comprehensive assessment of an individual's objective social class standing, that a person's subjective perception may be an adequate alternative.

As noted earlier, social class has only recently begun to be explicitly incorporated within many of the organizational sciences (e.g., management, industrial-organizational psychology). However, given the positive and robust correlation with job attitudes (H3), this may be a critical omission. The observed effect sizes between job attitudes and a composite index of objective social class ( $\rho = .48$ ) and subjective social class ( $\rho = .23$ ) suggests that individuals who occupy lower objective positions, or perceive themselves to be in a lower position, report generally less favorable job attitudes. Furthermore, these composite values, especially those for objective social class, exceed what has traditionally been reported for individual indicators (e.g., income, skill variety) (Mathieu & Zajac, 1990). Thus, in accordance with earlier findings demonstrating the systematic effect of job attitudes on employee outcomes (e.g., performance and withdrawal) (Harrison et al., 2006), it seems reasonable to infer that social class may be an important characteristic that influences how individuals think, behave, and feel while at work.

Furthermore, these findings buttress recent calls within the organizational science literature to incorporate social class into our models. For instance, scholars have argued

that organizational sciences focuses exclusively on managers and senior executives (Bergman & Jean, 2015; Cote, 2011) and overlooks the working poor (Leana et al., 2012). There have even been recent calls from both management researchers and practitioners to respond to the grand challenge of growing social class divides (Banks et al., in press). Given the strong association between social class and job attitudes, and the integral position of job attitudes within the broader nomological network, such calls appear to have merit.

#### Additional Implications

Along with these contributions, there are two additional implications that can be drawn from the findings of this review. First, if researchers intend to measure one's objective social class, the findings presented here suggest that they should, at the very least, use a representative group of indicators. That is, given that the objective indicators do not appear to conform to a reflective measurement model, these various measures are not interchangeable (Bollen & Bauldry, 2011; J. R. Edwards, 2011). Likewise, because objective social class is defined by a formative measurement model, the construct domain is sensitive to the breadth of the indicators sampled. Thus, without a representative sample of objective indices, the latent objective social class measure would be deficient and may bias other parameters in the model (Bollen & Bauldry, 2011; Coltman et al., 2008).

Alternatively, if one is unable to capture the array of objective indicators proposed by the different theories, he or she could use those that are uniquely, and highly correlated, with one's subjective ratings of social class. Based on a multivariate relative weights analysis (see Appendix K), which identifies the unique contribution of each of

the objective predictors (Tonidandel & LeBreton, 2011), subjective social class is primarily influenced by occupational prestige (18.14%), income (11.62%), wealth (15.87%), social capital (14.08%), and cultural capital (8.5%). Taken as a whole, these indicators account for over two-thirds (68.21%) of the variability in one's subjective perception of their social class standing. Thus, if one is faced with logistical constraints and cannot assess all twelve indicators, these five measures may provide an adequate representation of one's objective social class.

Lastly, if researchers can only use a single objective measure of social class, the findings presented here suggest that they should not refer to this construct as social class. Again, because the objective measures are not consistently influenced by a single underlying latent construct, they are not interchangeable. Instead, researchers should refer to that specific measure directly (e.g., cultural capital or occupation) and be very precise in specifying the underlying mechanisms linking the construct to other phenomena (e.g., signaling shared similarities, social closure) (see Table 1 for a useful summary) (Bourdieu, 1984; Weeden, 2002). At the very least, researchers should clearly indicate which theoretical perspective they are adopting and how this perspective informs their auxiliary theory of social class (for recent examples of this approach see G. T. Wodtke, 2015, 2016).

Second, in addition to informing how researchers operationalize social class, the findings of this review suggest that the relationship among social class indicators may not be consistent across time and space (RQ3 & RQ4). Furthermore, this effect was predominantly observed for different time periods rather than geographic regions. That is, the frequency of significant differences was greater across time periods than between

regions (36% vs. 15% of relationships with sufficient data) as was the average magnitude of the difference ( $\rho = .18$  vs.  $.09$ ). These findings suggest that researchers may need to be cognizant of how broader contextual changes can influence how indicators of social class are related to one another and how social class manifests (Bacharach, 1989; Busse et al., in press).

Although there are many possible explanations for the moderating effect across time periods, it may reflect, at least in part, mechanisms discussed in relation to the shareholder value era (Goldstein, 2012). During this time period (mid-1980s), organizations enacted a number of specific strategies that reshaped the structure of firms, work, and employment. In particular, organizations pursued these strategies by laying off large numbers of employees, merging together or acquiring smaller firms, and introducing new forms of technology. More refined analyses suggest that many of these tactics aimed directly at highly unionized industries and that even firms that were profitable adopted these behaviors. Thus, as firms continue to dismantle internal labor markets and favor broader market pressures (Davis-Blake & Broschak, 2009; R. Edwards, 1979; Kalleberg, 2011), the cohesive and coherent class structure, and corresponding internal consistency among indicators, observed during earlier generations may become increasingly fragmented (G. T. Wodtke, 2015). This would be consistent with the fact that, in general, the indicators of social class were more highly correlated in earlier time periods than during more recent eras and the most consistent or robust differences across time periods involved occupational measures of social class.

## Limitations and Future Research

The conclusions drawn from this study are especially noteworthy given the breadth of the literature that was reviewed. That is, the results of this review are based on nearly 600 studies from multiple disciplines (e.g., management, psychology, sociology) that were conducted over 85 years (1928 to 2013) with samples based on over 50 nations. Furthermore, post-hoc analyses found minimal evidence of publication bias for the effect sizes reported in the meta-analytic correlation matrix (see Appendix L). Such low levels of publication bias likely reflect, at least in the part, the rigorous literature search that identified a substantial body of grey literature (25% of the effect sizes see Table 3).

Despite the breadth and rigor of this review, this study is not without limitations. First, as noted previously, there are some cells within the correlation matrix that are based on imputed effect sizes. Although, such imputations are less than ideal, meta-analysts must regularly strike a balance between model specification and what is well understood in the literature (Becker, 2009; Landis, 2013). Unfortunately, subsequent literature searches intended to identify additional effect sizes from either primary studies or meta-analyses yielded only moderate success. Thus, addressing the gaps in the meta-analytic correlation matrix with primary studies represents timely areas for future research. For instance, research that examines the relationship among certain objective social class indicators (e.g., one's autonomy with means of production or wealth) or between specific objective and subjective social class measures (e.g., identification with employment relationships and autonomy or rank with means of production and social capital), would be a logical contribution to the literature.



Along with these imputed effect sizes, there were areas of the correlation matrix that were too sparse to generate informative estimates. In particular, there were few studies that examined the degree of convergence and divergence among indicators of social class and subjective power and status. That is, my review of the literature yielded only 16 pertaining to the relationships between power and status with income, education, or subjective rank. Interestingly, the majority of the studies that examined these relationships were conducted by either psychologists or management scholars. Thus, this represents both an omission, as well as a disciplinary boundary, in the literature. Because demonstrating the discriminability of a group of measures is an important component of evaluating an auxiliary theory (Bagozzi & Phillips, 1982), it would appear that future research that examines the distinctiveness of subjective identification measures, as well as many objective indicators from subjective power and status would be worthwhile.

Finally, because the majority of the social class measures referred to the individual or household (96%), I was unable to fully test the multilevel nature of the social class structures within the proposed model (see Figure 1). That is, even measures that pertain to a higher level often referred to a lower-level unit (e.g. an individual's specific occupation). Given that prior social class theories have emphasized macro-level structures (e.g., occupations), it would be useful to further examine the extent to which the models reported here are homologous or consistent when using higher-level units (Klein & Kozlowski, 2000; Kozlowski & Klein, 2000). Such analyses would address earlier questions about the degree to which social class reflects large-scale societal-level divisions or more fine-grained individual distinctions (Grusky & Weeden, 2008; G. T. Wodtke, 2016). Although the non-significant moderating effect of the level of analysis

the social class measure on the magnitude of the effect provides some initial insight into these questions (Table 9), future research that directly models these multi-level contingencies would be useful

## Conclusion

Despite these limitations, this study provides a number of important findings that should help organizational scientists navigate the labyrinth of social class research. The summary of existing theories of social class, as well as the integrative model, provides a comprehensive means of building upon existing knowledge and facilitating the accumulation of findings across disciplines. Also, the findings from the meta-analysis provide clear insights for how to measure and operationalize the objective and subjective components of social class. The meta-analysis also suggests that social class likely has direct implications for how one responds to his or her job and thus supports recent efforts to better integrate this construct within the existing organizational science literature. Taken as a whole, this study addresses fundamental questions about the nature of social class and highlights fruitful areas for future research.

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TABLE 1: Summary of theoretical perspectives of social class

<i>Theoretical Perspective</i>	<i>Definition of Social Class</i>	<i>Assumptions</i>	<i>Operationalization</i>	<i>References</i>
Neo-Marxists: Social Class based on the Relationship to Production	Structured patterns of interaction that are primarily based on rights and powers over productive resources	Structural	Means of production	Wright (2000a)
		Categorical	Authority	
		Relationships of exploitation are primary mechanisms	Scarce skills	
Neo-Weberian: Social Class via the Marketplace	Similar chances to access scarce or valued outcomes	Structural	Employment relationship	Goldthorpe (2000b)
		Categorical	Asset specificity	
		Market-based exchanges are the primary mechanisms	Autonomy	
Neo-Durkheimian: Social Class via Occupations	Occupational associations	Structural	Occupations (i.e., grouping of technical similar jobs that are institutionalized in the labor market)	Weeden and Grusky (2005)
		Categorical		
		Social closure is a key mechanism		
Neo-Ricardian: Social Class as Wealth	Capacity to receive return on assets, directly or indirectly, through exchange	Structural	Total wealth	
		Gradational		
		Extracting rents based on wealth is key mechanism		

TABLE 1: (continued)

<i>Theoretical Perspective</i>	<i>Definition of Social Class</i>	<i>Assumptions</i>	<i>Operationalization</i>	<i>References</i>
Bourdieu: Social Class as Capital	Divisions of labor based on symbolic relations and economic realities	Individual/Structural  Gradational  Habitus is a key mediating mechanism	Human capital  Social capital  Cultural capital	Bourdieu (1984)  Savage et al. (2013)
Sociocultural Self Model: Social Class as Sociocultural Selves	A unique identity that forms based on one's environment and shapes how they respond to this environment	Individual/Structural  Gradational  Self/identity is a key mediating mechanism	Objective resources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wealth</li> <li>• Education</li> <li>• Occupational prestige</li> </ul> Identity	Stephens et al. (2012)
Social Cognitive Model: Social Class as Social Cognitive Rankings	A social context that individuals inhabit in enduring and pervasive ways over time	Individual  Gradational  Social comparisons are key mechanisms	Objective: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wealth</li> <li>• Education</li> <li>• Occupational prestige</li> </ul> Rank-based comparisons	Kraus, Piff, et al. (2012)

TABLE 2: Descriptive statistics for study characteristics

Variable	Descriptive Statistics					% <i>Agree</i>	$\kappa$	ICC
	MD	Min.	Max.	Freq.	%			
Sample size ( $n = 878$ )	1,239	21	11,616,944					.99
Time period ( $n = 738$ )	1999	1928	2013					.74
Reference type ( $N = 933$ )						100%	1.00	
Journal				659	71%			
Book/Book Chapter				25	3%			
Dissertation/Thesis				90	10%			
Technical Report				8	1%			
Other (e.g., Working Paper)				151	16%			
Data source ( $N = 933$ )						98%	.95	
Archival				697	75%			
Author Collected				231	25%			
Other – Specify				3	<1%			
Country <sup>a</sup> ( $N = 939$ )						100%	1.00	
United States				270	29%			
United Kingdom				109	12%			
Finland				52	6%			
Germany				36	4%			
Canada				35	4%			
Netherlands				28	3%			
Sweden				21	2%			
China				19	2%			
Spain				16	2%			
Ireland				15	2%			
Various Countries <sup>b</sup>				56	5%			
Missing/Indeterminate				20	2%			
Study design ( $N = 933$ )						100%	1.00	
Correlational				922	99%			
Experimental				11	1%			

Note. MD = median, Min. = minimum, Max. = maximum. Descriptions of categories are included in the codebook (see Appendix E). Kappa estimates are provided for categorical variables and ICC estimates, which are based on a one-way random effects model, are reported for continuous variables. <sup>a</sup>Studies reported samples from 94 different countries. However, only the ten most frequent countries are reported in this table. <sup>b</sup>Studies were classified as “various countries” if they featured multi-national samples and only reported aggregate information.



TABLE 3: Descriptive statistics for measure characteristics

Variable	Descriptive Statistics					% <i>Agree</i>	$\kappa$	ICC
	MD	Min.	Max.	Freq.	%			
Measure for Construct ( $N = 3,389$ )						92%	.52	
Means of Production				15	<1%			
Authority				30	1%			
Scarce Skills/Asset Specificity				106	3%			
Employment Relationship				60	2%			
Autonomy				45	1%			
Occupation				776	23%			
Occupational Prestige				136	4%			
Wealth				205	6%			
Income				514	15%			
Education				996	29%			
Social Capital				121	4%			
Cultural Capital				139	4%			
Subjective Social Class – Identity				107	3%			
Subjective Social Class – Rank				75	2%			
Job Satisfaction				37	1%			
Organizational Commitment				12	<1%			
Power				10	<1%			
Status				5	<1%			
Level of Analysis ( $N = 3,389$ )						91%	.80	
Individual				3049	90%			
Household				195	6%			
Organization/Firm				6	<1%			
Occupation				62	2%			
City/Neighborhood				62	2%			
National				15	<1%			
Referent of Measure ( $N = 3,389$ )						93%	.66	
Target				2,907	86%			
Parent				461	13%			
Type of Reliability Estimate ( $N = 217$ )						90%	.00	
Internal Consistency				212	98%			
Test-Retest				5	2%			

Note. MD = median, Min. = minimum, Max. = maximum. Descriptions of categories are included in the codebook (see Appendix E). Kappa estimates are provided for categorical variables and ICC estimates, which are based on a one-way random effects model, are reported for continuous variables.

TABLE 3: (continued):

Variable	Descriptive Statistics					% <i>Agree</i>	$\kappa$	ICC
	MD	Min.	Max.	Freq.	%			
Reliability Estimate ( $N = 218$ )								1.00
Authority	.76	.66	.88	6				
Scarce Skills/Asset Specificity	.79	.66	.99	23				
Employment Relationship	.74	.53	.90	15				
Autonomy	.74	.57	.92	18				
Occupation	.76	.68	.83	2				
Occupational Prestige	.94	.92	.95	2				
Wealth	.67	.55	.85	13				
Income	.75			1				
Education	.64	.59	.68	2				
Social Capital	.81	.57	.93	46				
Cultural Capital	.74	.44	.92	35				
Subjective Social Class – Identity	.81	.42	.97	13				
Subjective Social Class – Rank	.97	.87	.97	3				
Job Satisfaction	.80	.57	.89	15				
Organizational Commitment	.84	.67	.90	12				
Power	.92	.90	.94	8				
Status	.94	.93	.96	4				
Occupation Scheme ( $N = 775$ )								
Goldthorpe				198	26%	53%	.33	
Wright				7	1%			
CAMSIS				24	3%			
ESeC				17	2%			
Other				529	68%			
Number of Occupational Categories	4	2	17					1.00
Education – Type ( $N = 909$ )						93%	.84	
Continuous				155	17%			
Categorical				754	83%			
Number of Education Categories	5	2	15					1.00
Income – Type ( $N = 426$ )						90%	.72	
Continuous				156	37%			
Categorical				270	63%			
Number of Income Categories	8	2	40					1.00

TABLE 4: Examples of common social class measures

<i>Construct</i>		<i>Measure</i>	<i>Example References</i>
1.	Means of Production	• Employer	G. Veenstra (2005)
2.	Authority	• Supervisory Responsibility	G. Evans (1996)
		• Decision-Making	Lundqvist, Reineholm, Gustavsson, and Ekberg (2013) G. Veenstra (2005)
3.	Scarce Skills	• Training/Training Requirements	Tåhlin (2007)
		• Experience	Oliver and Shapiro (1995) Zhang, Yang, Tang, Au, and Xue (2013)
		• Skill Level	(Okay-Somerville & Scholarios, 2013)
		• Complexity	Sorgner and Fritsch (2013) Bol and Weeden (2015) Mattsson (2012)
4.	Employment Relationship	• Salary/Contract	Achterberg and Houtman (2006) Lee, Teng, Lim, and Gallo (2005)
		• Job Insecurity	Maggiori, Johnston, Krings, Massoudi, and Rossier (2013) Larner (2007)
5.	Autonomy	• Self-Direction	Shanahan, Bauldry, Roberts, Macmillan, and Russo (2014)
		• Scheduling Autonomy	Whitbeck et al. (1997) Banerjee, Tolbert, and DiCiccio (2012)
6.	Occupation	• Erikson-Goldthorpe Schema	Ishida (2009)
		• Wright Schema	G. Wodtke (2014)
7.	Occupational Prestige	• Duncan Scale	Judge and Kammeyer-Mueller (2012) Li and Gustafsson (2012)
		• Nakao-Tam Scale	Schwadel (2014) Claxton (2010)
		• International Socioeconomic Index	Bachmayer, Wilterdink, and van Venrooij (2014) Tomescu-Dubrow (2006)
8.	Wealth	• Home Ownership	Boscarino and Chang (1999) Jaeger (2007)
		• Asset Index (e.g., net worth)	Aitsi-Selmi (2013)
		• Items Owned (e.g., car, computer)	Lambert, Prandy, and Berman (2005) Stallings-Smith, Goodman, Kabir, Clancy, and Zeka (2014)
9.	Income	• Annual income	González, Swanson, Lynch, and Williams (2014) Reitzel and Leventhal (2014)
		• Poverty (income relative to absolute threshold)	Russell (2004)
10.	Education	• Years of Education	Saydah and Lochner (2010) Choi and Marks (2013)
		• Attainment	Teixeira, Silva, Severo, and Barros (2015) Cheng and Furnham (2014)
11.	Social Capital	• Trust	Kaltenthaler and Ceccoli (2008)
		• Network Characteristics	Brooks (2010)
		• Membership	Gerry Veenstra (2007)

TABLE 4: (continued):

<i>Construct</i>	<i>Measure</i>	<i>Example References</i>
12. Cultural Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Composite (Omnivore/Highbrow)</li> <li>• Arts</li> <li>• Food</li> <li>• Books</li> <li>• Leisure</li> <li>• Music</li> <li>• Newspaper</li> </ul>	<p>van Hek and Kraaykamp (2013)</p> <p>Güveli, Need, and De Graaf (2007)</p> <p>Warde, Martens, and Olsen (1999)</p> <p>Gerhards, Hans, and Mutz (2012)</p> <p>Shkaratan and Yastrebov (2010)</p> <p>Coulangeon (2013)</p> <p>Jaeger (2007)</p>
13. Social Class – Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Placement</li> <li>• Consciousness</li> <li>• Identification</li> </ul>	<p>Floyd, Mcguire, Shinew, and Noe (1994)</p> <p>G. Evans (1992)</p> <p>Strama (2006)</p>
14. Social Class – Ranking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• McArthur Ladder Scale</li> <li>• Relative Ranking</li> </ul>	<p>P. K. Piff (2014)</p> <p>Freeman (2001)</p>

TABLE 5: Meta-analytic correlations

Variable	1		2		3		4		5		6		7	
	<i>P</i>	95% CI	<i>p</i>	95% CI	<i>p</i>	95% CI	<i>p</i>	95% CI	<i>p</i>	95% CI	<i>p</i>	95% CI	<i>p</i>	95% CI
1. MOP														
2. Authority	.23	.23												
3. Sca. Skills	.16	.30	.27	.11										
4. Empl. Rel.	-.41	.30	.31	.19	.14	.09								
5. Autonomy	.15		.35	.17	.33	.08	.27	.12						
6. Occupation	.22	.11	.26	.09	.20	.09	.06	.08	.19	.10				
7. Occ. Prest.	.20	.28	.19	.20	.43	.21	-.08	.42	.32	.24	.48	.04		
8. Wealth	.34	.41	.25		.17	.07	.22	.19	.32		.20	.05	.25	.08
9. Income	.24	.14	.31	.13	.25	.06	.16	.12	.22	.10	.24	.03	.36	.05
10. Education	.10	.14	.21	.13	.19	.05	.11	.08	.16	.10	.37	.02	.47	.04
11. So. Cap.	.17		.23	.29	.15	.08	.11	.19	.44	.14	.10	.07	.20	.22
12. Cu. Cap.	.12	.29	.25	.19	.28	.12	.19		.20	.19	.14	.05	.40	.17
13. SC id.	.16	.18	.33	.28	.24	.44	.23		.29		.24	.06	.47	.16
14. SC rank	.21		.32	.25	.27		.20	.41	.23	.42	.24	.41	.27	.17
15. JS	.05	.45	.13	.19	.29	.12	.19	.10	.45	.11	.14	.09	.25	.41
16. OC	-.05	.45	.17	.40	.25	.12	.35	.19	.38	.18	.17	.24	.29	
17. Power													.63	.33
18. Status														

Note. Italicized estimates have been imputed using the average of the correlations observed, synthesized correlations from the adjoining row and column cells. MOP = Means of production, Sca. Skills = scarce skills, Empl. Rel. = employment relationship, Occ. Prest. = occupational prestige, So. Cap = social capital, Cu. Cap. = cultural capital, ID = subjective identification, Rank = subjective ranking. Harmonic mean  $N = 556$ .

TABLE 5: (continued)

Variable	8		9		10		11		12		13		14		15	
	<i>P</i>	95% CI	$\rho$	95% CI	$\rho$	95% CI	$\rho$	95% CI	$\rho$	95% CI	$\rho$	95% CI	$\rho$	95% CI	$\rho$	95% CI
8. Wealth																
9. Income	.30	.05														
10. Education	.29	.04	.31	.02												
11. So. Cap.	.19	.09	.16	.09	.16	.06										
12. Cu. Cap.	.21	.11	.16	.06	.23	.05	.25	.07								
13. ID	.41	.19	.37	.07	.30	.06	.09	.25	.36	.25						
14. Rank	.17	.18	.39	.07	.27	.06	.31	.61	.31		.13					
15. JS	.24		.23	.15	.09	.13	.44	.15	.24		.27	.23				
16. OC	.26		.23	.28	.16	.28	.60	.34	.27		-.02	.46	.26	.61	.14	
17. Power			.24	.23	.13	.26					.29	.22				
18. Status			.21	.42	.10	.42					.49	.42				

Note. Italicized estimates have been imputed using the average of the correlations observed, synthesized correlations from the adjoining row and column cells. MOP = Means of production, Sca. Skills = scarce skills, Empl. Rel. = employment relationship, Occ. Prest. = occupational prestige, So. Cap = social capital, Cu. Cap. = cultural capital, ID = subjective identification, Rank = subjective ranking. Harmonic mean  $N = 556$ .

TABLE 6: Model fit indices

Model	ML $\chi^2$	df	CFI	TLI	SRMR	RMSEA	CI		BIC	$\Delta df$	$\Delta\chi^2$	$\Delta CFI$
<i>Measurement models</i>												
1. Reflective - One Factor Model	1081.67	77	.57	.50	.09	.15	.15	.16	20,890.86			
2. Reflective - Two Factor Model	996.05	76	.61	.53	.09	.15	.14	.16	20,811.56			
One factor vs. Two Factor Model										1	85.63**	.04
3. Reflective – Four Factor Model	975.50	71	.62	.51	.09	.15	.14	.16	20,822.61			
Two vs. Four Factor Model										5	20.55**	.01
4. Causal Indicator Model	175.98	12	.77	.51	.04	.16	.14	.18	19,903.00			
5. Three-Component MIMIC Model	185.17	10	.74	.46	.03	.18	.16	.20	17,135.18			

*Note.*  $N = 556$ . CFI = comparative fit index; TLI = Tucker-Lewis index; SRMR = standardized root mean square; RMSEA = root-mean-square error of approximation; CI = confidence interval. \* indicates  $p < .05$ . \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ .

TABLE 7: Principal components analysis

Objective Indicators	Loadings			$R^2$		
	C1	C2	C3	C1	C2	C3
1. MOP	.04	-.82	.38		.67	
2. Authority	.05	.11	.62			.38
3. Sca. skills	.38	.05	.26			
4. Empl. Rel.	-.07	.83	.39		.69	
5. Autonomy	-.12	.06	.82			.67
6. Occupation	.78	-.06	-.16	.61		
7. Occ. Prest.	.87	-.12	-.08	.76		
8. Wealth	.11	-.12	.54			.29
9. Income	.43	-.03	.23	.18		
10. Education	.82	.10	-.17	.67		
11. So. Cap.	-.26	-.10	.79			.62
12. Cu. Cap.	.33	.13	.27			
				.56	.68	.49
<i>Correlations</i>				C1	C2	C3
C1				1.00		
C2				-.02	1.00	
C3				.55	.03	1.00

Note. N = 556. C = component; AVE = average variance extracted; MOP = Means of production, Sca. Skills = scarce skills, Empl. Rel. = employment relationship, Occ. Prest. = occupational prestige, So. Cap = social capital, Cu. Cap. = cultural capital. \* indicates  $p < .05$ . \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ .



TABLE 8: Association among composite social class measures

	1	2
1. Objective Social Class		
2. Subjective Social Class	.56 <sup>a</sup>	
3. Job Attitudes	.48 <sup>a</sup>	.23 <sup>b</sup>

Note. Aggregate relationship based on synthesized effect sizes from <sup>a</sup>twelve objective indicators of social class and <sup>b</sup>two subjective indicators of social class (see Table 5).

TABLE 9: Meta-regression model for moderator analysis

	Full Sample	Outliers Removed
Intercept	.37**	.33**
Effect-Size-Level Moderators (L1)		
Level of Analysis: Individual-Level Measures	-.03	-.01
Referent: Parent	.03	.02
Converted Effect Size	.04	.04
Study-Level Moderators (L2)		
Time Period: Post-1984	-.13***	-.12**
Geographic Region: Latin Europe	-.03	-.03
Geographic Region: Nordic Europe	.06*	.06*
Geographic Region: Germanic Europe	.01	.01
Geographic Region: Eastern Europe	.12**	.13**
Geographic Region: Latin America	.14*	.15**
Geographic Region: Sub-Saharan Africa	.16	.17
Geographic Region: Middle East	.15*	.16*
Geographic Region: Southern Asia	.04	.05
Geographic Region: Confucian Asia	.01	.01
Data Source: Archival	-.01	.00
Data Source: Other	.06	.07
<i>N</i> – Effect Sizes (L1)	3,920	3,905
<i>N</i> – Multiple Measures (L2)	2,785	2,769
<i>N</i> – Studies (L3)	580	576

*Note.* \* indicates  $p < .05$ . \*\* indicates  $p < .01$ . Reference categories for moderators are

effect sizes based on measure at either household, occupation, city or national level (level of analysis), respondent (referent), pre-1984 (time period), Anglo region (geographic region) and author collected (data source).

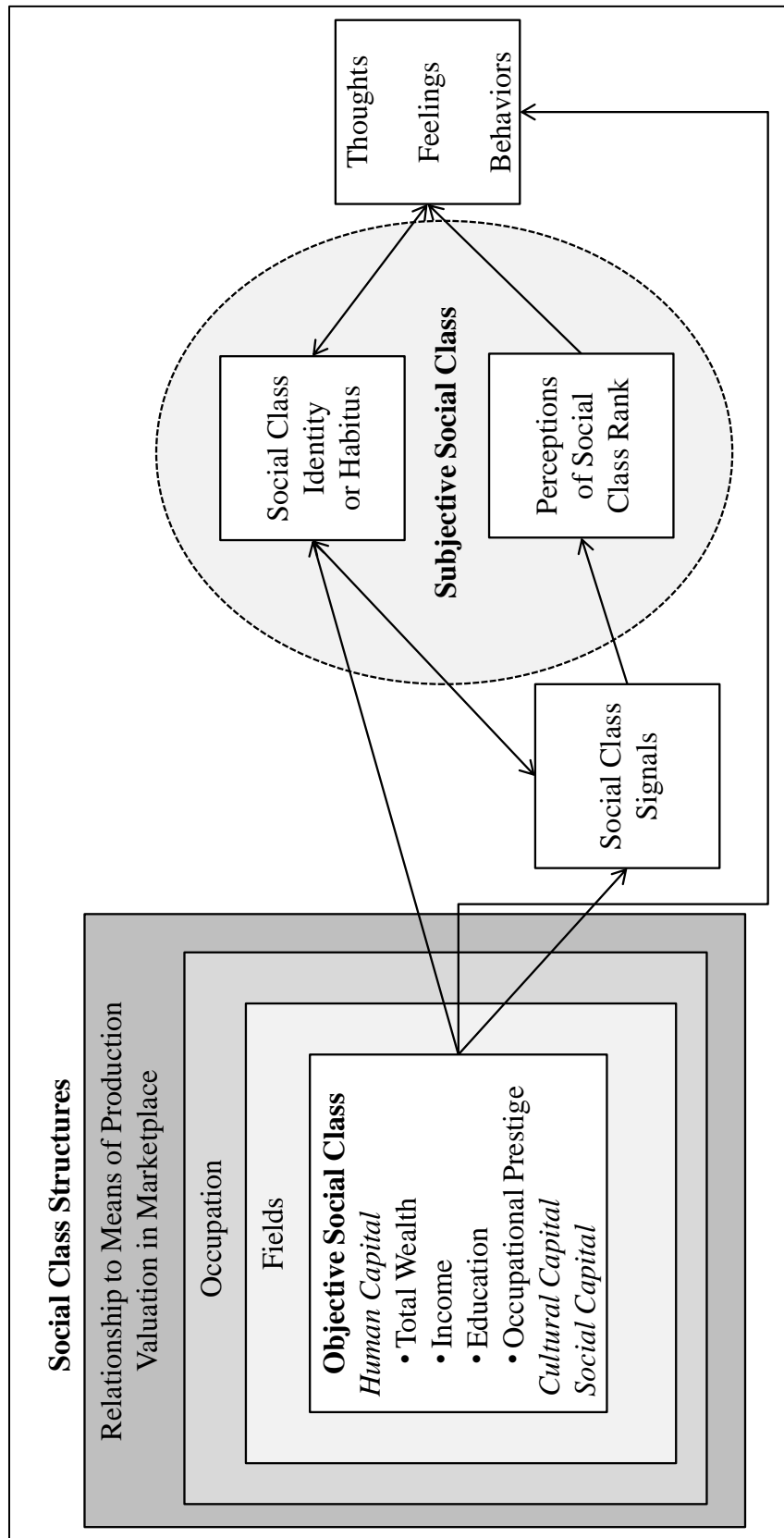


FIGURE 1: Integrative model of social class

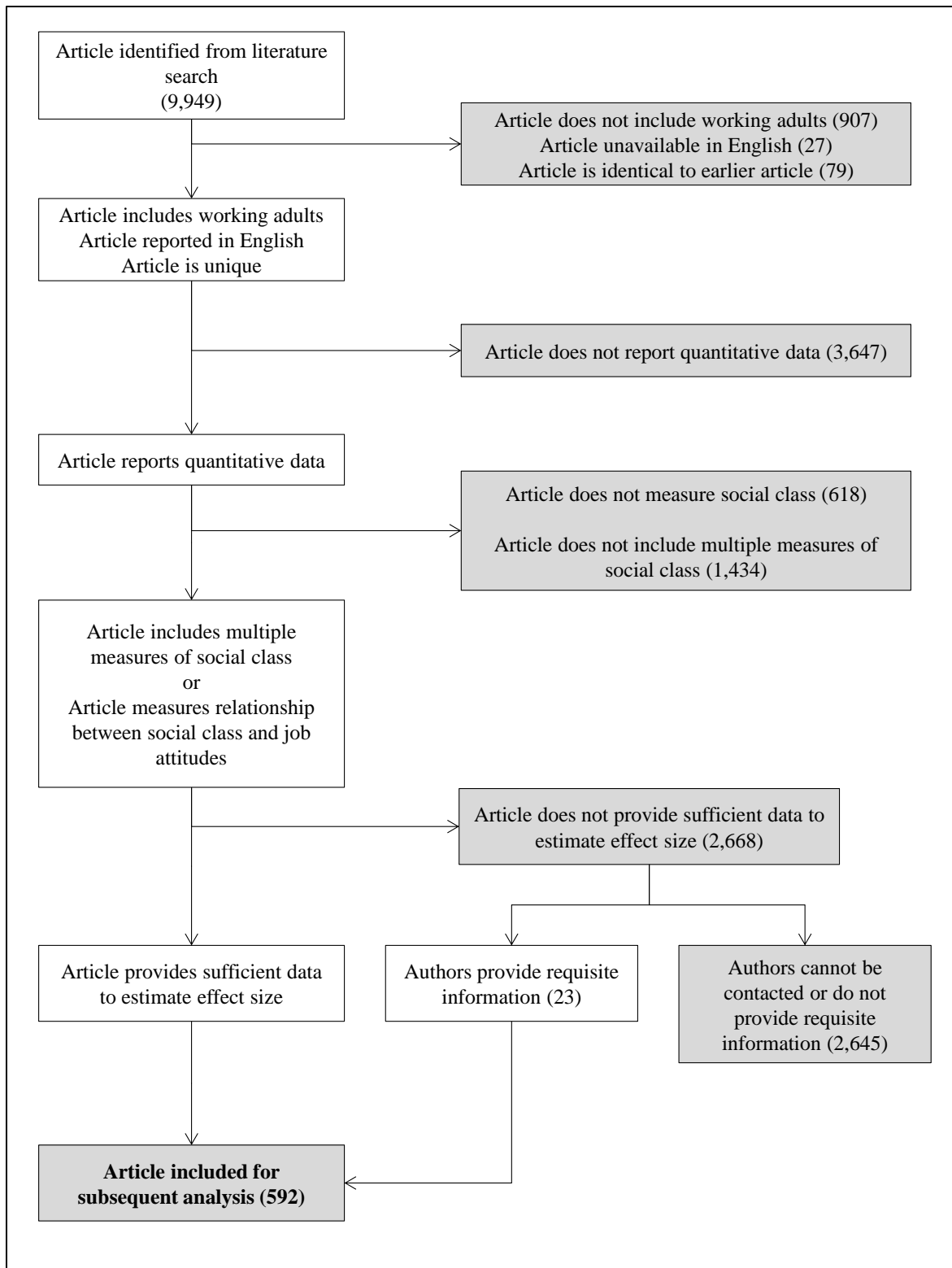


FIGURE 2: Application of inclusion and exclusion criteria

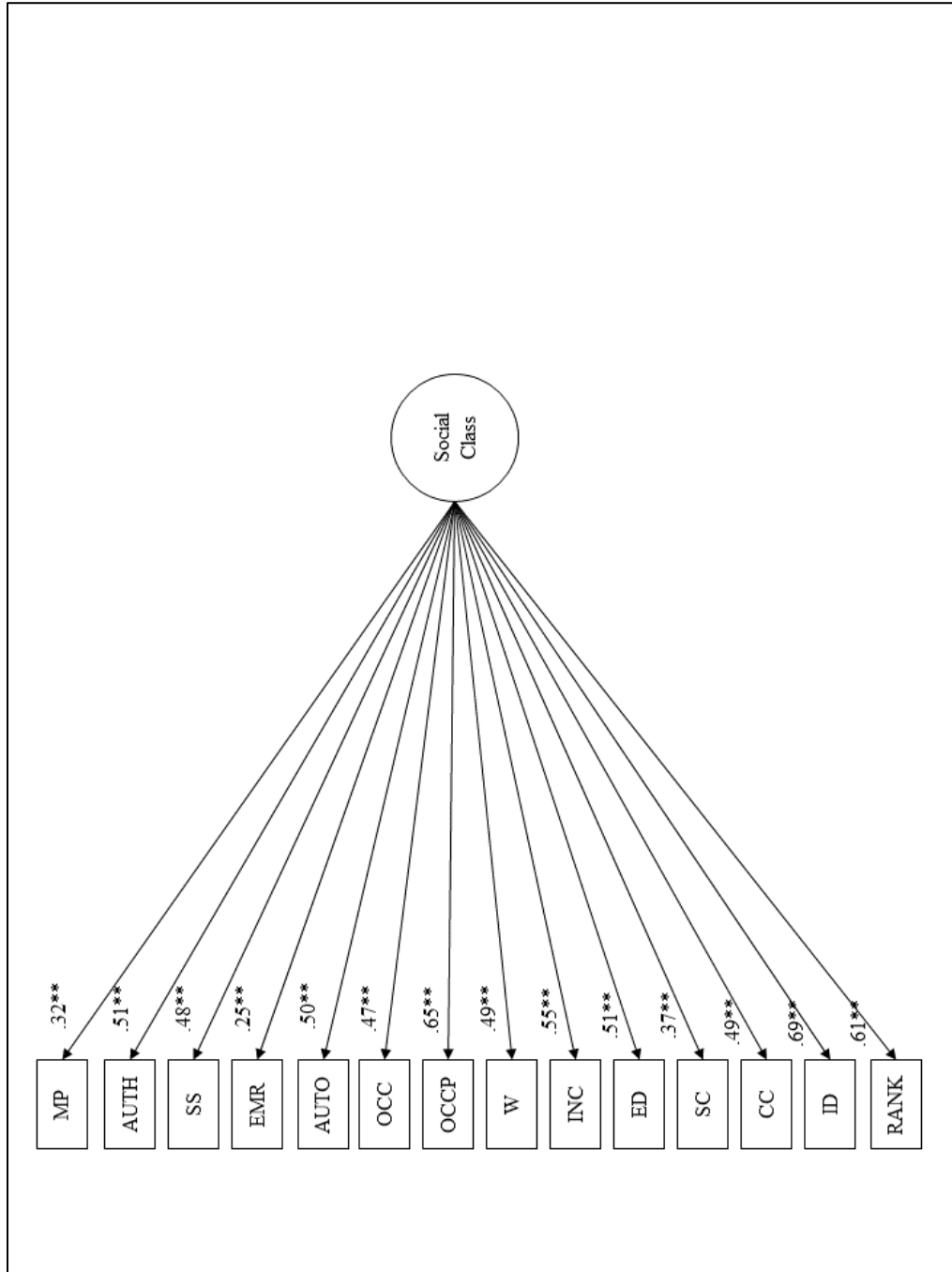


FIGURE 3: Path model for reflective one factor model

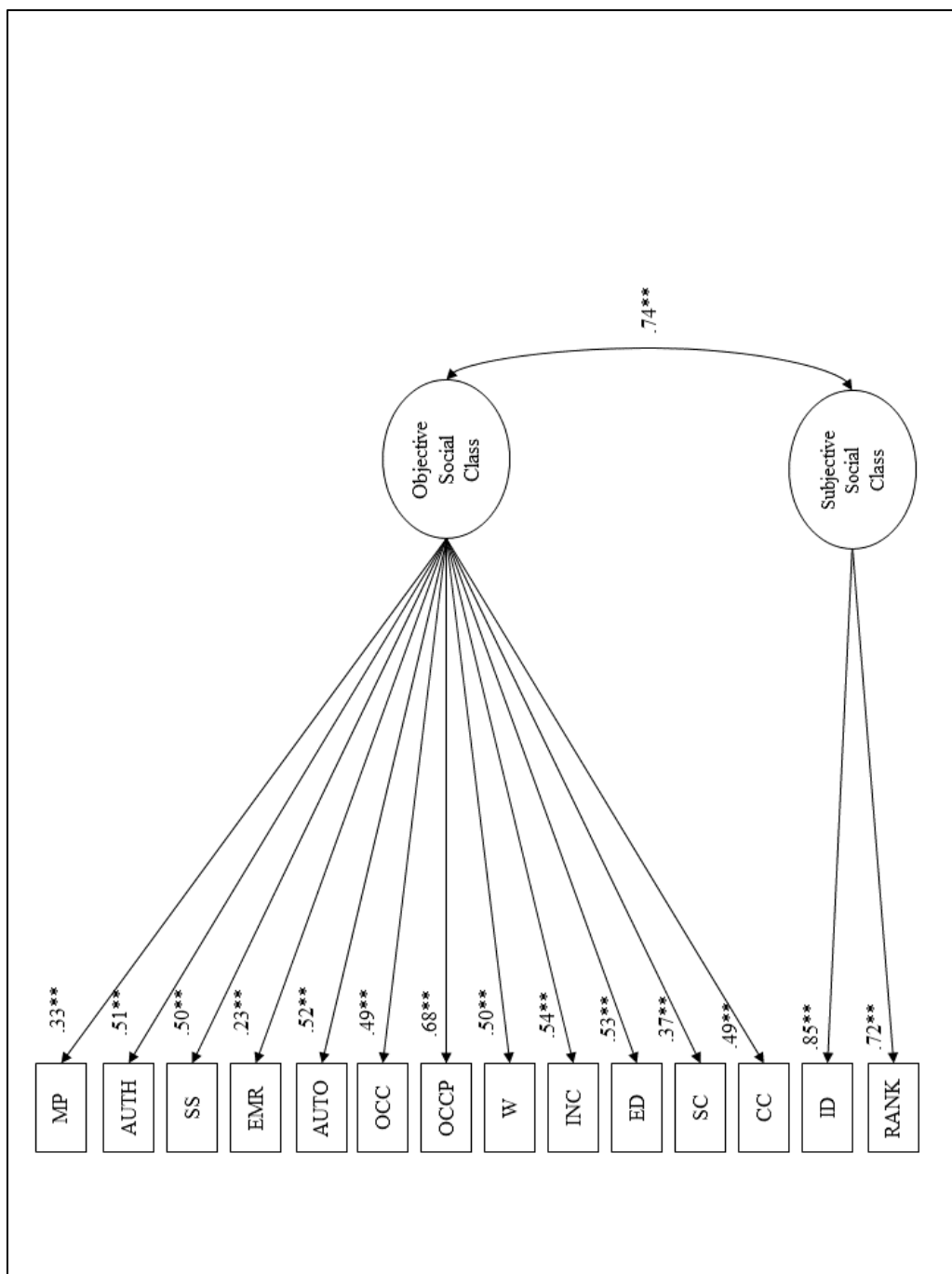


FIGURE 4: Path model for reflective two factor model

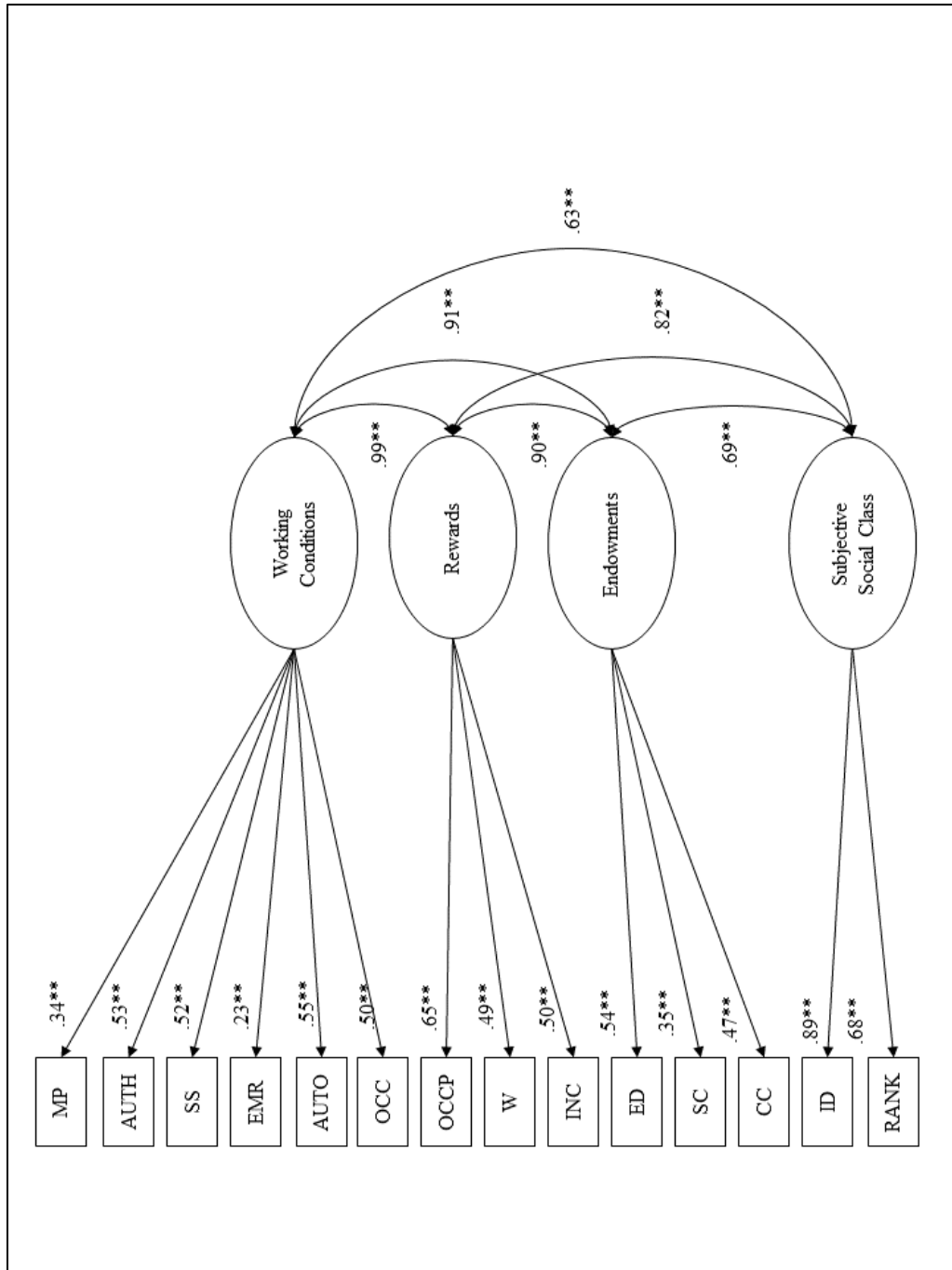


FIGURE 5: Path model for reflective four factor model

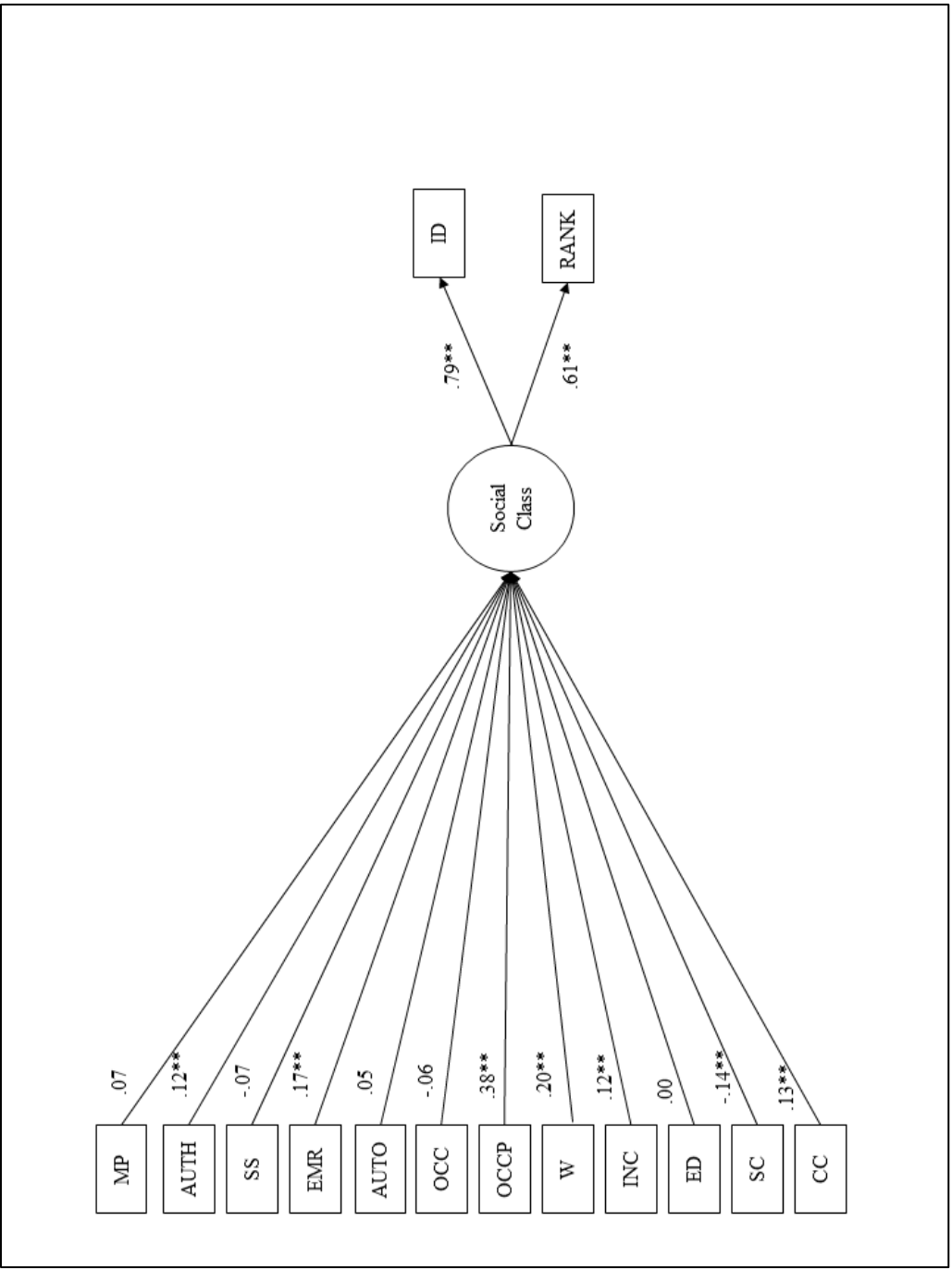


FIGURE 6: Path model for causal indicator (mimic) model



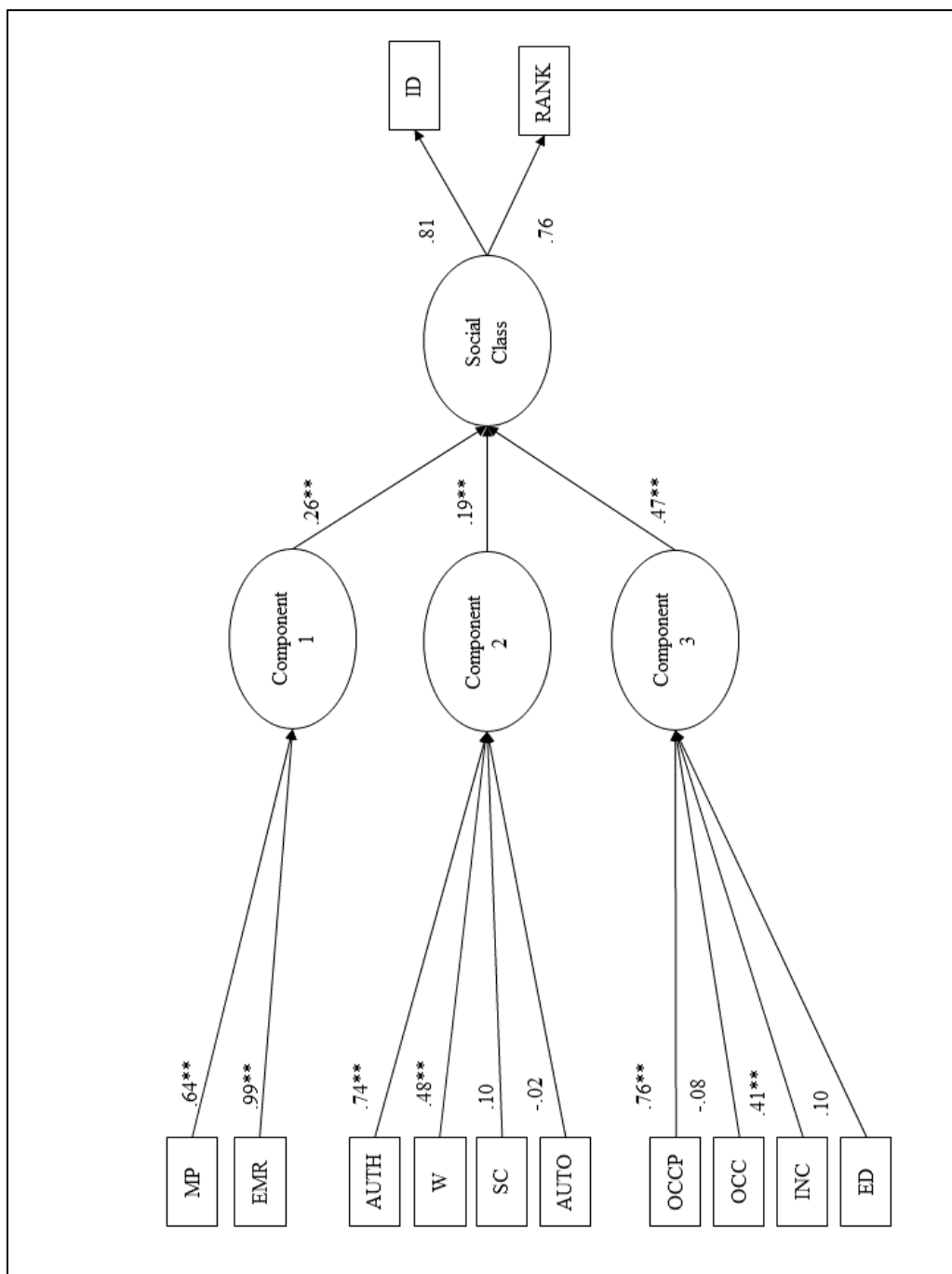


FIGURE 7: Path model for three-component mimic model

## APPENDIX A: DATABASE SEARCH CRITERIA

<i>Database</i>	<i>Search Criteria and Restrictions</i>
Web of Science <i>Search executed on:</i> September 8 <sup>th</sup> , 2015	<p>Search Terms:</p> <p>TS=( "social class" OR "working class" OR "middle class" OR "upper class" OR "class schema" OR "class structure" OR "class mobility" OR "underclass" OR "working poor" or "Occupy Wall Street") AND TS=( "Mean* of production" or "Mode* of production" or "Property" or "Owner*" or "Self-employed" or "Petty bourgeoisie" or "Bourgeoisie" or "Manager*" or "Employer*" or "Worker*" or "Proletariat" or "exploit*" or "Employment status" or "Authority" or "Manager*" or "Subordinate" or "Span of control" or "Supervisory role*" or "Supervisor*" or "Policy decision-making" or "Strategy formation" or "Sanctioning authority" or "Formal position*" or "Managerial hierarch*" or "Management" or "Decision-making" or "Sanction" or "Skills/Asset specificity" or "Unskilled" or "Routine" or "Routinization" or "Routinized" or "Rote" or "Rote application of technique" or "Knowledge-driven" or "Entrepreneurial" or "Complex" or "Education" or "Educational attainment" or "Occupation" or "Labor contract vs. service relationship" or "Salary" or "Salaries" or "Contract" or "Contracts" or "Service relationships" or "Labor contract" or "Spot contract" or "Exchange" or "Autonomy" or "Self-Supervision" or "Unit occupations" or "Occupation" or "Occupational prestige" or "Human capital" or "Total wealth" or "Wage*" or "Wage premium" or "Wealth" or "Inheritance" or "Investment" or "Saving*" or "Accumulated asset*" or "Asset*" or "Stock*" or "Bond*" or "Mutual Fund" or "Share*" or "Rent*" or "Education" or "Social capital" or "Occupational status of best friend" or "Occupational prestige of best friend" or "Relationship*" or "Organizational affiliation*" or "Network*" or "Cultural capital" or "Television" or "Media" or "Eating out" or "Sport" or "Consumption" or "Consuming" or "Tastes" or "Food" or "Music" or "Art" or "Lifestyle" or "Habits" or "Culture" or "Cultural" or "Practice*" or "Cinema" or "Leisure" or "Reading" or "Readership" or "Literature" or "Film" or "Visual art*" or "Museum*" or "Interior decor" or "Clothing" or "Popular culture" or "Hobbies" or "Sport" or "Omnivo*" or "Organizational Commitment" or "Commitment" or "Affective" or "Normative" or "Continuance" or "Job Satisfaction" or "Power" or "Status" or "Marx*" or "Weber*" or "Bourdieu" or "Durkheim**")</p> <p>AND WC = (BUSINESS OR ECONOMICS OR MANAGEMENT OR POLITICAL SCIENCE OR PSYCHOLOGY APPLIED OR PSYCHOLOGY SOCIAL OR SOCIOLOGY)</p> <p>Restrictions: English only and result is either an article, book, book chapter or proceedings paper</p>

Note. TS = topics, WC = web of science category.

<i>Database</i>	<i>Search Criteria and Restrictions</i>
ProQuest Dissertations and Theses <i>Search executed on:</i> October 29 <sup>th</sup> , 2015	Search Terms: IF("social class" OR "working class" OR "middle class" OR "upper class" OR "class schema" OR "class structure" OR "class mobility") AND IF("Means of production" OR "Property" OR "Owner*" OR "Self-employed" OR "Petty bourgeoisie" OR "Bourgeoisie" OR "Manager*" OR "Employer*" OR "Worker*" OR "Employment status" OR "Authority" OR "Manager*" OR "Subordinate" OR "Span of control" OR "Supervisory role*" OR "Supervisor*" OR "Supervision" OR "Policy decision-making" OR "Strategy formation" OR "Sanctioning authority" OR "Formal position*" OR "Managerial hierarchy" OR "Management" OR "Decision-making" OR "Sanction" OR "Skills/Asset specificity" OR "Unskilled" OR "Routine" OR "Routinization" OR "Routinized" OR "Rote" OR "Rote application of technique" OR "Knowledge-driven" OR "Entrepreneurial" OR "Complex" OR "Education" OR "Educational attainment" OR "Occupation" OR "Labor contract vs. service relationship" OR "Salary" OR "Salaries" OR "Contract" OR "Contracts" OR "Service relationships" OR "Labor contract" OR "Spot contract" OR "Exchange" OR "Autonomy" OR "Self-Supervision" OR "Unit occupations" OR "Occupation" OR "Occupational prestige" OR "Human capital" OR "Total wealth" OR "Wage*" OR "Wage premium" OR "Wealth" OR "Inheritance" OR "Investment" OR "Saving*" OR "Accumulated asset*" OR "Asset*" OR "Bond*" OR "Stock*" or "Mutual Fund" or "Share*" or "Rent*" or "Education" OR "Social capital" OR "Occupational status of best friend" OR "Occupational prestige of best friend" OR "Relationship*" OR "Organizational affiliation*" OR "Network*" OR "Cultural capital" OR "Television" OR "Media" OR "Eating out" OR "Sport" OR "Consumption" OR "Consuming" OR "Tastes" OR "Food" OR "Music" OR "Art" OR "Lifestyle" OR "Habits" OR "Culture" OR "Cultural" OR "Practice*" OR "Cinema" OR "Leisure" OR "Reading" OR "Readership" OR "Literature" OR "Film" OR "Visual art*" OR "Museum*" OR "Interior decor" OR "Clothing" OR "Popular culture" OR "Hobbies" OR "Sport" OR "Omnivor*") Restrictions: Index term (i.e., keyword) = "social class"
PapersFirst <i>Search executed on:</i> October 29 <sup>th</sup> , 2015	Search Terms: "kw:Social w1 Class or kw:Middle w1 Class or kw:Working w1 Class or kw: Upper w1 Class"
WorldCat <i>Search executed on:</i> June 17 <sup>th</sup> , 2016	Restrictions: Sources owned by UNC Charlotte
	Search Terms: Keyword = "social class" and subject = "social class"
	Restrictions: Print books, English, non-juvenile, and limit to psychology, sociology, business and economics, and political science
Note. TS = topics, WC = web of science category.	

## APPENDIX B: REQUEST FOR UNPUBLISHED WORKS

Dear colleagues,

As part of an ongoing meta-analysis, I am writing to request any unpublished and in-press studies of social class. Because there are competing operationalizations of this construct, this request may be a bit cumbersome. However, I am most interested in work that has used *multiple* measures from the following list:

- Designating an individual as either an owner, a manager, a worker
- Job authority
- Job autonomy
- Working under a fixed or temporary contract
- Skills or expertise
- Occupational membership
- Occupational prestige
- Wealth
- Income
- Education
- Status or prestige of one's social network
- Cultural capital (e.g., preferences for music, art, food, sports, leisure activities)
- Subjective perceptions of one's social class

Also, I would be interested in any studies where you have examined how any of the measures from the previous list relate to:

- Status
- Power
- Organizational commitment
- Job satisfaction

If you choose to share your work, I would be grateful if you could provide the following information.

- Design of your study (e.g., cross-sectional, longitudinal, time-lag if longitudinal, experimental)
- Sample size
- Measures of association among the variables (e.g., correlation coefficient, Cramer's V)
- Means and standard deviations of measures
- If using specific scales, the citation for the measure or any modifications you've made to the existing measure
- How you would like your work to be cited

Thank you very much.

## APPENDIX C: DIRECT REQUEST FOR UNPUBLISHED WORKS

Dear [Insert Name of Researcher],

As part of an ongoing review of the literature, I am writing to request any unpublished and in-press studies of social class. Because there are competing operationalizations of this construct, this request may be a bit cumbersome. However, I am most interested in work that has used any of the following measures:

- Designating an individual as either an owner, a manager, a worker
- Job authority
- Job autonomy
- Skills
- Occupational membership
- Occupational prestige
- Wealth
- Human capital (i.e., income, education)
- Social capital (e.g., status or prestige of one's social network)
- Cultural capital (e.g., preferences for music, art, food, sports, leisure activities)
- Subjective perceptions of social class

Also, I would be interested in any studies where you have examined how these measures relate to:

- Status
- Power
- Organizational commitment
- Job satisfaction.

If you choose to share your work, I would be grateful if you could provide the following information.

- Design of your study (e.g., cross-sectional, longitudinal, time-lag if longitudinal, experimental)
- Sample size
- Correlations among the variables
- Means and standard deviations of measures
- If using specific scales, the citation for the measure or any modifications you've made to the existing measure
- How you would like your work to be cited

Thank you very much.

Andrew

Andrew C. Loignon

Doctoral Student - Organizational Science

UNC Charlotte| Colvard 4058

9201 University City Blvd. | Charlotte, NC 28223

## APPENDIX D: SUMMARY OF INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION CRITERIA

<i>Criteria</i>	<i>Examples of Articles Excluded</i>
<i>Inclusion Criteria</i>	
Study must have examined the social class of adults (i.e., greater than 18 years old)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Children or young adults</li> <li>• Vignettes</li> <li>• Text-based data sources (e.g., newspapers, restaurant guides)</li> </ul>
Study reports quantitative findings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Qualitative studies</li> <li>• Narrative reviews</li> <li>• Theoretical essays</li> </ul>
Study includes multiple measures of social class  or  Study includes measures of social class and relevant construct (i.e., job attitudes, power, status)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Uses a single measure of social class</li> <li>• Uses multiple measures of the same social class construct (e.g., two measures of education)</li> </ul>
studies must have reported sufficient information to estimate a correlation coefficient	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Study compares mean differences between two or more social classes, but did not provide sample size or standard deviations for each group</li> <li>• Study only reports multivariate analyses (e.g., multiple regression, ANOVA)</li> </ul>
<i>Exclusion Criteria</i>	•
Study examines adults from a non-traditional, working population	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Articles examining prisoners, retired, or mentally ill populations</li> </ul>
Article written in language other than English	•
Studies that report duplicate findings from other publication (Wood, 2008)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Articles with similar: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Study characteristics (e.g., time periods, methods of analysis)</li> <li>○ Sample characteristics (sample size, response rate),</li> <li>○ Measures (e.g., scales used, item wording)</li> <li>○ Effects (e.g., similar or identical effect sizes)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

# APPENDIX E: CODEBOOK

Tracking Table		
Field	Description	Codes
Reference ID	Numeric code assigned to each reference identified in the literature search.	
In-Text Citation	Short identifier for each source.	
Included in Review	Binary decision for retaining source in review (i.e., yes or no).	Reported in Author, Year format 1. No 2. Yes
How identified?	Point in the literature search at which the article was identified.	1. Database search 2. Ancestry search 3. Conference proceedings 4. Solicitation from list-serv 5. Directly contacting authors 6. Search of government, foundation, and think-tank website 7. PapersFirst 8. ProQuest 9. WorldCat
Reason for Exclusion	Indicate the reason why a reference was excluded from the coding process.	1. Non-traditional adult population 2. Non-English article 3. Identical sample to previous study (ID # for primary study) 4. Does not provide quantitative results 5. Does not include measure(s) of social class 6. Does not examine relationship between social class and relevant construct 7. Does not provide sufficient information to estimate effect size 8. Other: Specify.
Study Table		
Reference ID	Numeric code assigned to each source identified in the literature search.	
Study ID	Numeric code assigned to each study within a single reference.	
Time Point	Numeric code assigned to multiple time points collected in a single study.	

Type of Reference	Record the type of reference. If selecting “Other”, specify the particular type of reference.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Journal</li> <li>2. Conference Proceeding</li> <li>3. Book/Book Chapter</li> <li>4. Dissertation/Thesis</li> <li>5. Technical Report from Private Company/Foundation</li> <li>6. Government Document</li> <li>7. Other (specify: _____)</li> </ol>
Study Design	Indicate whether social class was experimentally manipulated or simply observed. If social class was manipulated, briefly describe (i.e., one sentence) how the authors manipulated this variable.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Experimental (i.e., manipulate social class)               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. If experimental, how did they manipulate?                   <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Open text: one sentence</li> </ol> </li> </ol> </li> <li>2. Correlational (i.e., measure social class in the “wild”)</li> </ol>
Sample Size	Record the sample size used for the final analysis.  If a study reports multiple values for a single analysis, take the smallest one shown as this is the most conservative estimate (Becker, 2009).	
Type of Data Source	Record the type of data that was used in the analysis. Author collected refers to studies where the researchers gathered the data firsthand, while archival data reflects data sets that already existed (e.g., government data)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Author collected</li> <li>2. Archival</li> <li>3. Other (specify: _____)</li> </ol>
Name of Data Source	If authors report the name of a specific data source, record that information.	<p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• General Social Survey</li> <li>• Survey of Working Conditions</li> <li>• Bureau of Labor Statistics Data</li> <li>• Census Data</li> </ul>
Time Period for Sample	Year that data was collected.  Note. This is not always equivalent to the publication date and is often older.	<p>Format: YYYY</p> <p>If range provided (1972-1982), use the midpoint (1977).</p>
Country or Nation	Record the country or nation where the data was collected.	<p>Examples:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. United States</li> <li>2. United Kingdom/England</li> <li>3. Sweden</li> </ol>



		4. France 5. Japan 6. China
<b>Measures Table</b>		
Reference ID	Numeric code assigned to each source identified in the literature search.	
Study ID	Numeric code assigned to each study within a single reference.	
Time Point	Numeric code assigned to multiple time points collected in a single study.	
Measure ID	Numeric code assigned to each measure within a single reference.	
Level of Analysis	Record the level of analysis for the data reported in the study. This should be based on considering the type of sample and the measures used.	1. Individual 2. Organizational 3. Job 4. Occupation 5. National
Measure for Construct	Record the construct that is reported as part of a given effect size.	1. Measures of social class 2. Job Satisfaction 3. Organizational Commitment 4. Power 5. Status 6. Other (Specify)
Social Class Measure	<p>If you selected “Measures of Social Class” for preceding field, please specify the type of social class measure.</p> <p>See Table below for more information about these measures.</p>	1. Means of Production 2. Authority 3. Scarce skills or Asset Specificity 4. Employment Relationship 5. Autonomy 6. Occupation 7. Occupational Prestige 8. Wealth 9. Income 10. Education 11. Social Capital 12. Cultural Capital 13. Subjective Social Class (Identity) 14. Subjective Social Class (Relative)

		15. Other - Specify
Describe Measure for Construct	Briefly describe the construct (2-3 words).	
Target of Measure for Construct	Record the type of measure used for the construct.  Measure based on parent is commonly used in college settings (e.g., parent's income).	1. Measure based on target 2. Measure based on parent
Reliability for Construct	Record reliability estimate provided for measure.	
Type of Reliability Estimate for Construct	Record the type of reliability estimate reported.	1. Internal consistency/Cronbach's Alpha 2. Test-Retest 3. Parallel Forms 4. Interrater 5. Other: please specify
Type of Occupational Coding Scheme	If stated explicitly, record the type of occupational coding scheme used.	1. Goldthorpe/EGP 2. Wright 3. CAMSIS 4. ISEI 5. ESEC 6. Other: please specify
Number of Occupational Categories	Record the number of categories for the occupational coding scheme.	
Type of Education Measure	Record whether measure of education is continuous or categorical.	1. Continuous 2. Categorical
Number of Educational Categories	Record the number of categories for education measure.	
Type of Income Measure	Record whether measure of income is continuous or categorical.	1. Continuous 2. Categorical
Number of Income Categories	Record the number of categories for income measure.	
<b>Effect Size Table</b>		
Reference ID	Numeric code assigned to each source identified in the literature search.	
Study ID	Numeric code assigned to each study within a single reference.	
Time Point	Numeric code assigned to multiple time points	

	collected in a single study.	
IV Measure ID	Numeric code assigned to a measure from a given study.	If a measure is a predictor in a regression analysis or a manipulated variable, make sure it is designated as the IV.
DV Measure ID	Numeric code assigned to a measure from a given study.	If a measure is a criterion in a regression analysis or an outcome variable in an experiment, make sure it is designated as the DV.
Effect Size Converted	Binary code indicating whether effect size was coded <i>prior</i> to being entered into the database	1. No 2. Yes
$r$		
$\beta$	Record <i>standardized</i> beta coefficients if the regression model includes only measures of social class (i.e., not other predictors or control variables)	
<i>Means and SD</i>	Always treat the higher social class as Class 1 and the lower social class as Class 2.  Example: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Class 1 = White Collar</li> <li>• Class 2 = Blue Collar</li> </ul>	
Mean for Class 1	Average score on measure for higher social class group	
SD for Class 1	Standard deviation on measure for higher social class group  If only variance is reported, take the square root of this number and record the resulting value.	
N for Class 1	Number of participants for higher social class group	
Mean for Class 2	Average score on measure for lower social class group	
SD for Class 2	Standard deviation on measure for lower social class group  If only variance is reported, take the square root of this number and record the resulting value.	

N for Class 2	Number of participants for lower social class group	
<i>Log odds ratio</i>	Record log odds ratios and variances if the model includes only measures of social class (i.e., not other predictors or control variables)	
Log odds ratio estimate		
Variance of log odds ratio		
<i>Odds ratio</i>	Record odds ratios if the model includes only measures of social class (i.e., not other predictors or control variables)	
<i>ANCOVA</i>	Always treat the higher social class as Class 1 and the lower social class as Class 2. Example: • Class 1 = White Collar Class 2 = Blue Collar	
<i>F</i>		
<i>T</i>		
Adjusted mean for class 1:		
Adjusted mean for class 2:		
Adjusted standard deviation:		
Pooled standard deviation:		
N for class 1:		
N for class 2:		
rCon (controls and DV):	Record correlation estimate among control variables and dependent or outcome variables	
Q (number of covariates):	Record the number of covariates included in the ANCOVA	
<i>F-test</i>		
<i>F</i>	Effect size	
N for class 1:	N for higher social class	
N for class 2:	N for lower social class	
<i>Independent samples t-test</i>		
<i>t</i>	Effect size	
<i>P</i>	Critical value for significance	
<i>N</i>	Sample size	

<i>d</i>	If the sample sizes are not reported for class, divide the total sample size used in the analysis by two (i.e., higher class and lower class are equally represented).	
N for class 1:	N for higher social class	
N for class 2:	N for lower social class	
Page # for Effect Size	Record the page number(s) where effect sizes are reported.	Example:
	Do not include abbreviations (e.g., p. or pg.).	126 or 150-158

Measure of Social Class	Definition	Examples/Categories
1. Means of Production	Whether individual owns capital or must sell his/her labor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Owner vs. Manager vs. Employee</li> </ul>
2. Authority	Degree of control over the labor process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Manage others</li> <li>Manage decisions within org.</li> </ul>
3. Scarce skills or Asset Specificity	Does individual possess skills, expertise, or knowledge that is specific to their position?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Years of experience</li> <li>Formal job training</li> </ul>
4. Employment Relationship	Employees who exchange their labor within a marketplace, generally face two types of work arrangements: Employers offer labor contracts, which consist of specific exchanges of wages for effort or they may offer long-term, diffuse relationships.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Temporary vs. permanent employees</li> <li>Perceptions of job security</li> </ul>
5. Autonomy	Positions where the tasks or duties are more difficult to supervise	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Deciding when to begin work</li> <li>Deciding what tasks to work on</li> </ul>
6. Occupation	Groupings of technically similar jobs that are institutionalized in the labor market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>International Standard Classification of Occupations</li> </ul>
7. Occupational Prestige	Status or respect deferred to a given occupation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Duncan's SEI index</li> </ul>
8. Wealth	Property rights or the assets that one controls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Assets (e.g., home, car)</li> <li>Investments</li> </ul>
9. Income	Money received, especially on a regular basis, often for work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Annual income</li> <li>Monthly income</li> </ul>
10. Education	The process of receiving or giving systematic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Years of education</li> </ul>

	instruction, especially at a school or university.	• Educational attainment (categories)
11. Social Capital	Both informal and formal networks of acquaintance and relationships that give advantages via contacts, support and representation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Perceived support</li> <li>• Bonding capital (e.g., trust)</li> <li>• Bridging capital (e.g., social groups)</li> </ul>
12. Cultural Capital	Set of socially rare and distinctive tastes, skills, knowledge, and practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Classical music concert attendance</li> <li>• Omnivores</li> </ul>
13. Subjective (Identity)	Socially constructed system of dispositions that orient thoughts, perceptions, and actions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Self-rated <i>absolute</i> social class</li> </ul>
14. Subjective (Relative)	One's perceived relative standing within broader social group is identified as a primary mechanism in understanding one's social class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• McArthur scale/ladder</li> <li>• Relative class standing (better off/worse than X)</li> </ul>

## APPENDIX F: OUTLIERS AND SENSITIVITY ANALYSIS

In order to identify potential outliers and influential effect sizes, I examined a series of residual and influence indices for relationships with at least 15 effect sizes (Geyskens et al., 2009). These indices included studentized deleted residuals, standardized difference in fits, and Cook's distance. Studentized deleted residuals reflect the degree to which a single study diverges from the distribution of the remaining effect sizes (Viechtbauer & Cheung, 2010). Standardized difference in fits (DFFITS) values represent how many standard deviations the average effect size would change after excluding a given effect size. Cook's distance corresponds with the distance between the entire set of effect sizes both when a single study is included and when the study is excluded. Finally, I also conducted a one-sample removed analysis. One-sampled removed analyses consist of conducting the meta-regression models multiple times, each time removing a single effect size.

The table below summarizes the results of these analyses. Specifically, for each pairwise relationship among social class indicators where at least 15 effect sizes are indicated, I describe the number of outliers identified, the average value for an influence statistic, and the minimum and maximum correlation coefficient across the various iterations from the one-sample removed analysis.

An effect size was considered to be influential if it surpassed one of the following cutoff scores for the diagnostic measures. First, influential effect sizes were identified if their DFFITS value was larger than:

$$3\sqrt{p/(k-p)}$$

where  $p$  reflects the number of coefficients in the meta-regression models (which, in this case, was always 1), and  $k$  is the number of effect sizes. For instance, for the effect sizes pertaining to the relationship between education and social class identity, the critical DFFITS value would be .47 because there were 42 effect sizes included in the analysis. For Cook's distance, the cutoff value was based on a chi-square distribution with 1 degree of freedom (i.e., one coefficient in the meta-regression model). That is, if the Cook's distance was larger than 50% of the lower tail area of a chi-square distribution with a single degree of freedom the effect size was classified as an outlier. Using the relationship between education and social class identity as an example again, the chi-square critical value for 1 degree of freedom and a critical value of .10 is 2.71. Given that the observed Cook's distance is less than half this value ( $.17 < 1.36$ ), this index would suggest that the effect size was not an outlier.

Because the cutoff scores for these diagnostic statistics are somewhat arbitrary, I also inspected the distributions of the effect sizes for a given relationship to determine the nature of the influential/outlying effect size. For example, the outlying effect size for education and social class identity was substantially larger ( $r = .78$ ) than the average estimate ( $r = .30$ ).



TABLE F1: OUTLIERS AND SENSITIVITY ANALYSES

Effect Sizes	Number of Outliers	Average Influence Statistics			One-Sample Removed	
		Studentized Deleted Residual	DFFITS	Cook's Distance	Min.	Max.
3. Sca. skills & 9. Income	1	3.66	.74	.35	.23	.26
3. Sca. skills & 10. Education	0				.18	.20
4. Empl. Rel. & 6. Occupation	0				.01	.03
4. Empl. Rel. & 10. Education	0				.03	.06
6. Occupation & 8. Wealth	1	3.20	.48	.19	.18	.19
6. Occupation & 9. Income	2	-3.60	-.26	.06	.31	.32
6. Occupation & 10. Education	2	-3.79	-.26	.06	.39	.39
6. Occupation & 11. So. Cap.	0				.09	.10
6. Occupation & 12. Cu. Cap.	0				.16	.18
6. Occupation & 13. SC Identity	1	3.51	.58	.26	.27	.30
7. Occ. Prest. & 9. Income	2	3.12	.49	.19	.39	.40
7. Occ. Prest. & 10. Education	0				.51	.52
8. Wealth & 9. Income	1	3.19	.50	.21	.29	.31
8. Wealth & 10. Education	1	3.54	.43	.16	.30	.31
9. Income & 10. Education	2	4.07	.23	.06	.32	.33
9. Income & 11. So. Cap.	0				.16	.19
9. Income & 12. Cu. Cap.	1	6.42	1.25	.60	.12	.14
9. Income & 13. SC Identity	0				.37	.40
9. Income & 14. SC Rank	0				.41	.43
10. Education & 11. So. Cap.	0				.14	.16
10. Education & 12. Cu. Cap.	0				.23	.24
10. Education & 13. SC Identity	1	4.00	.48	.17	.30	.31
10. Education & 14. SC Rank	0				.25	.26

Note. Effect sizes were averaged within each study. Analyses limited to relationships with at least 15 effect sizes. Sca. Skills = scarce skills, Empl. Rel. = employment relationship, Occ. Prest. = occupational prestige, So. Cap = social capital, Cu. Cap. = cultural capital. SC identity = social class identity, SC rank = social class rank, DFFITS = standardized difference in fits.

APPENDIX G: SAMPLE SIZES (M/SD) AND NUMBER OF EFFECT SIZES (K)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Means of production									
<i>M</i>									
<i>SD</i>									
<i>K</i>									
2. Authority									
<i>M</i>	1812								
<i>SD</i>	978								
<i>K</i>	3								
3. Scarce skills									
<i>M</i>	18460	545							
<i>SD</i>	25141	241							
<i>K</i>	2	18							
4. Employment relationship									
<i>M</i>	82438	402	1088						
<i>SD</i>	0	136	1557						
<i>K</i>	2	5	22						
5. Autonomy									
<i>M</i>		756	1366	1551					
<i>SD</i>		481	2319	1293					
<i>K</i>		6	28	12					
6. Occupation									
<i>M</i>	9869	1373	1817	2106	1635				
<i>SD</i>	19925	934	6025	2481	2083				
<i>K</i>	15	24	26	33	31				
7. Occupational prestige									
<i>M</i>	58944	1561	891	2249	1132	19980			
<i>SD</i>	0	455	614		969	122386			
<i>K</i>	2	6	4	1	3	149			

## APPENDIX G: (continued)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
8. Wealth									
<i>M</i>	82438		4358	33282		19327	301190		
<i>SD</i>			7152	44873		46039	488988		
<i>K</i>	1		38	5		99	29		
9. Income									
<i>M</i>	5381	854	42812	1594	1899	50975	184355	77371	
<i>SD</i>	11614	655	182671	1356	3440	632821	406728	257436	
<i>K</i>	9	10	47	12	18	342	68	66	
10. Education									
<i>M</i>	30401	1622	2195	49182	1717	152713	124356	42978	66512
<i>SD</i>	33120	869	5213	234145	2972	770492	337133	189737	557175
<i>K</i>	8	12	94	30	21	451	163	250	474
11. Social capital									
<i>M</i>		1317	832	742	1364	5864	333	2752	5288
<i>SD</i>		0	658	294	906	10361	295	11026	11889
<i>K</i>		2	33	5	9	47	4	31	31
12. Cultural capital									
<i>M</i>	29770	1109	2590		1109	4030	17945	6739	4320
<i>SD</i>	41258	286	3015		286	9621	28057	5926	5797
<i>K</i>	2	5	15		5	98	7	17	51
13. Social class identity									
<i>M</i>	1955	2377	202			1841	6918	1613	4995
<i>SD</i>	945	0				2189	16065	1677	13761
<i>K</i>	5	2	1			66	7	5	38
14. Social class rank									
<i>M</i>		799			316	795	6600	2750	1977
<i>SD</i>		419		751			16199	1719	6378
<i>K</i>		3		1	1	1	7	6	47

APPENDIX G: (continued)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
15. Job Satisfaction									
<i>M</i>	216	10275	871	1468	3952	994	633		2394
<i>SD</i>		12978	1089	949	6831	871			1455
<i>K</i>	1	5	13	29	15	23	1		8
16. Organizational Commitment									
<i>M</i>	216	379	866	831	9612	318			1840
<i>SD</i>			1137	1384	10138	106			2065
<i>K</i>	1	1	12	5	5	3			2
17. Power									
<i>M</i>							248		234
<i>SD</i>							291		186
<i>K</i>							2		4
18. Status									
<i>M</i>									316
<i>SD</i>									
<i>K</i>									1

## APPENDIX G: (continued)

Variable	10	11	12	13	14	15
11. Social capital						
<i>M</i>	3640					
<i>SD</i>	11276					
<i>K</i>	67					
12. Cultural capital						
<i>M</i>	4655	1571				
<i>SD</i>	10664	7475				
<i>K</i>	119	89				
13. Social class identity						
<i>M</i>	4424	1100	1497			
<i>SD</i>	12650	982	549			
<i>K</i>	51	3	3			
14. Social class rank						
<i>M</i>	672			4266		
<i>SD</i>	1054			12315		
<i>K</i>	70			12		
15. Job Satisfaction						
<i>M</i>	2015	628				
<i>SD</i>	1313	432				
<i>K</i>	11	9				
16. Organizational Commitment						
<i>M</i>	1840	142		191		4579
<i>SD</i>	2065	0				8516
<i>K</i>	2	2		1		10

APPENDIX G: (continued)

Variable		10	11	12	13	14	15
17. Power	<i>M</i>	189				179	
	<i>SD</i>	110				92	
	<i>K</i>	3				4	
18. Status	<i>M</i>	316				316	
	<i>SD</i>						
	<i>K</i>	1				1	

## APPENDIX H: REGIONAL CLUSTERING OF COUTRIES

<b>Anglo</b>	<b>Latin Europe</b>	<b>Nordic Europe</b>	<b>Germanic Europe</b>
Australia	France	Denmark	Austria
Canada	Israel	Finland	Germany
England/United Kingdom	Italy	<i>Iceland</i>	Netherlands
Ireland	Portugal	<i>Norway</i>	
New Zealand	Spain	Sweden	
<i>Northern Ireland</i>			
United States			
<b>Eastern Europe</b>	<b>Latin America</b>	<b>Sub-Saharan Africa</b>	<b>Middle East</b>
Albania	Argentina	Nigeria	Egypt
Georgia	Brazil	Zimbabwe	<i>Iraq</i>
Greece	<i>Chile</i>		<i>Jordan</i>
Hungary	Colombia		Morocco
Poland	Ecuador		<i>Saudi Arabia</i>
Russia	El Salvador		Turkey
Slovenia	Mexico		
<i>Ukraine</i>	<i>Peru</i>		
	Venezuela		
	<i>Uruguay</i>		
<b>Southern Asia</b>	<b>Confucian Asia</b>		
<i>Bangladesh</i>	China		
India	Hong Kong		
Indonesia	Japan		
Iran	Singapore		
Malaysia	South Korea		
Philippines	Taiwan		
Thailand			

Note. Italicized countries were added to the original classification. The following countries were omitted from the classification scheme: Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Belgium, Bosnia & Herzegovia, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Croatia, Czech Republic, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Ethiopia, Latvia, Luxembourg, Macedonia, Malta, Moldova, Nepal, Puerto Rico, Romania, Senegal, Serbia and Montenegro, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Switzerland, Tanzania, Uganda, Vietnam.

# APPENDIX I: META-ANALYTIC EFFECT SIZES FOR REGIONAL CLUSTERS

Relationship	Anglo	L. Europe	N. Europe	G. Europe	E. Europe	L. America	Sub. Africa	Mid. East	S. Asia	C. Asia	Sig. Diff
	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	
MOP-AUTH	.21	.34		.08	.28					.23	.21
MOP-SSK	.14	.34									
MOP-ER									-.21	.38	
MOP-AUTO											
MOP-OCC	.19	.33								.24	.11
MOP-OCCP											
MOP-W											
MOP-INC	.21	.17		.04	.28	.43		.69	.54	.43	
MOP-ED	.05	.23		.11	.28				.29	.43	.21
MOP-SC											
MOP-CC	.03	.30									
MOP-ID	.21	.31									
MOP-RANK										.16	.16
MOP-JS	.09	.37									
MOP-OC	-.01	.37									
AUTH-SSK	.27	.08									
AUTH-ER	.28	.15									
AUTH-AUTO	.35	.12									
AUTH-OCC	.25	.08								.23	.14
AUTH-OCCP	.20	.15									No
AUTH-W											
AUTH-INC	.28	.10								.59	.28
AUTH-ED	.21	.11								.47	.28
AUTH-SC	.27	.21									
AUTH-CC	.22	.14									
AUTH-ID											
AUTH-RANK	.36	.25								.34	.21
AUTH-JS	.25	.17	-.11	.22						.31	.34
AUTH-OC	.17	.29									

Note. Bold and italicized values reflect estimates based on at least five effect sizes. Significant differences refer to comparisons based on at least five effect sizes and non-overlapping 95% confidence intervals. L. Europe = Latin Europe, N. Europe = Nordic Europe, G. Europe = Germanic Europe, E. Europe = Eastern Europe, L. America = Latin America, Sub. Africa = Sub-Saharan Africa, Mid. East = Middle East, S. Asia = South Asia, C. Asia = Confucian Asia. MOP = Means of production, AUTH = Authority, SSK = Scarce skills, ER = Employment relationship, AUTO = Autonomy, OCC = Occupation, OCCP = Occupational prestige, W = Wealth, INC = Income, ED = Education, CC = Cultural capital, ID = Subjective identification, RANK = Subjective ranking, JS = Job satisfaction; OC = Organizational commitment. Harmonic mean N: Anglo = 403, L. Europe = 617, N. Europe = 1928, G. Europe = 797, E. Europe = 1933, L. America = 373, Sub. Africa = 805, Mid. East = 1507, S. Asia = 303, C. Asia = 727.







APPENDIX I: (continued)

Relationship	Anglo		L. Europe		N. Europe		G. Europe		E. Europe		L. America		Sub. Africa		Mid. East		S. Asia		C. Asia		Sig. Diff
	r	CI	r	CI	r	CI	r	CI	r	CI	r	CI	r	CI	r	CI	r	CI	r	CI	
ED-SC	.18	.06	-.12	.22	.12	.23	.26	.09							.02	.08	.18	.48	.06	.18	No
ED-CC	.18	.06	.21	.11	.06	.15	.28	.09	.52	.70					.04	.08			.05	.33	No
ED-ID	.33	.07	.00	.32	.26	.19	.00	.42	.26	.42					.21	.07	.31	.22	.31	.12	No
ED-RANK	.29	.06			.30	.25													.17	.34	
ED-JS	.12	.13	.06	.17			.04	.27													
ED-OC	.17	.20																			
SC-CC	.21	.07			.12	.33	.29	.11							-.08	.09	.69	.58	-.03	.33	No
SC-ID	.10	.29																			
SC-RANK																					
SC-JS	.37	.13	.70	.25			.43	.30													
SC-OC			.72	.25																	
CC-ID	.49	.28																	.05	.33	
CC-RANK																					
CC-JS																					
CC-OC																					
ID-RANK	.63	.13			.64	.25															
ID-JS																					
ID-OC																			-.02	.37	
RANK-JS																					
RANK-OC	.42	.31																			
JS-OC	.70	.13	.87	.33													.60	.57			

## APPENDIX J: META-ANALYTIC EFFECT SIZES ACROSS LEVELS OF MODERATORS

Relationship	Pre-1984		Post-1984		Sig. Diff		Ind. Level		Higher Level		Sig. Diff		Converted		Unconverted		Sig. Diff	
	R	CI	R	CI	R	CI	r	CI	r	CI	r	CI	r	CI	r	CI	r	CI
MOP-AUTH			.21	.25			.23	.24			.21	.16						
MOP-SSK			.15	.31			.16	.30			.14	.31			.08	.54		
MOP-ER			-.44	.32			-.41	.31			-.34	.21						
MOP-AUTO																		
MOP-OCC			.19	.12			.21	.11			.22	.08			.16	.54		
MOP-OCCP			.18	.30			.19	.29			.19	.19						
MOP-W			.31	.43			.33	.41			.41	.27						
MOP-INC			.14	.18			.24	.14			.31	.11			.08	.38		
MOP-ED	.43	.17	.07	.15			.09	.15			.12	.11			.08	.38		
MOP-SC																		
MOP-CC			.11	.30			.12	.29			.12	.19						
MOP-ID			.12	.19			.15	.18			.17	.12						
MOP-RANK																		
MOP-JS							.04	.45			.05	.35						
MOP-OC							-.06	.45			-.05	.35						
AUTH-SSK			.26	.11			.27	.12			.27	.08						
AUTH-ER			.32	.20			.30	.20			.27	.14						
AUTH-AUTO	.15	.32	.38	.19			.34	.17			.35	.12						
AUTH-OCC	.45	.45	.22	.10			.25	.09			.21	.10			.23	.14	No	
AUTH-OCCP	.31	.32	.13	.23			.18	.20			.23	.14						
AUTH-W																		
AUTH-INC	.28	.32	.32	.15			.31	.16			.32	.09						
AUTH-ED			.20	.15			.20	.13			.25	.10						
AUTH-SC			.20	.31			.22	.30			.28	.20						
AUTH-CC			.20	.44			.25	.19			.22	.29			.16	.28		
AUTH-ID			.29	.30			.32	.28			.32	.18						
AUTH-RANK			.29	.32			.31	.25			.36	.20						
AUTH-JS	.26	.32	.07	.23			.12	.19			.25	.16			-.11	.38		
AUTH-OC			.16	.42			.16	.40			.17	.27						

Note. Bold and italicized values reflect estimates based on at least five effect sizes. Significant differences refer to comparisons based on at least five effect sizes and non-overlapping 95% confidence intervals. Abbreviations for regions: L. Europe = Latin Europe, N. Europe = Nordic Europe, G. Europe = Germanic Europe, E. Europe = Eastern Europe, L. America = Latin America, Sub. Africa = Sub-Saharan Africa, Mid. East = Middle East, S. Asia = South Asia, C. Asia = Confucian Asia. Abbreviations for measures: MOP = Means of production, AUTH = Authority, SSK = Scarce skills, ER = Employment relationship, AUTO = Autonomy, OCC = Occupational prestige, W = Wealth, INC = Income, ED = Education, SC = Social capital, CC = Cultural capital, ID = Subjective identification; RANK = Subjective ranking, JS = Job satisfaction; OC = Organizational commitment. Harmonic mean N: Pre-1984 = 418, Post-1984 = 876, Individual-Level = 661, Higher-Level = 262, Converted = 467, Unconverted = 895.

## APPENDIX J: (continued)

Relationship	Pre-1984		Post-1984		Sig.		Ind. Level		Higher Level		Converted		Unconverted		Sig.	
	<i>r</i>	CI	<i>R</i>	CI	Diff		<i>r</i>	CI	<i>R</i>	CI	<i>r</i>	CI	<i>r</i>	CI	Diff	
SSK-ER	.32	.22	.12	.10			.14	.10	-.05	.32	.15	.07				
SSK-AUTO			.29	.09			.30	.09	.80	.42	.32	.06				
SSK-OCC			.18	.10			.19	.09			.18	.07	.50	.54		
SSK-OCCP			.45	.32			.42	.21					.48	.27		
SSK-W	.25	.22	.17	.08			.16	.08	.21	.18	.18	.05	.14	.54		
SSK-INC	.44	.16	.24	.08	No		.22	.08	.29	.10	.24	.05	.24	.22	No	
SSK-ED	.32	.14	.18	.06	No		.18	.06	.21	.14	.19	.04	.26	.22	No	
SSK-SC			.11	.10			.14	.09	.14	.29	.16	.06				
SSK-CC			.31	.15			.26	.12			.37	.12	.20	.18		
SSK-ID	.49	.33					.24	.44					.18	.55		
SSK-RANK																
SSK-JS			.28	.13			.28	.12			.29	.08				
SSK-OC			.24	.13			.24	.12			.26	.09				
ER-AUTO			.28	.14			.26	.12			.27	.09				
ER-OCC			.05	.08			.06	.08			.15	.08	-.01	.13		
ER-OCCP							-.08	.43					-.03	.54		
ER-W	.52	.28	.17	.22			.22	.19			.24	.13				
ER-INC			.16	.14			.14	.13	.26	.30	.12	.10	.21	.31		
ER-ED	.43	.19	.09	.09			.10	.08			.16	.07	.04	.22		
ER-SC			.12	.22			.11	.19			.11	.13				
ER-CC																
ER-ID																
ER-RANK							.19	.42			.19	.28				
ER-JS			.18	.12			.19	.10			.27	.08	.14	.17	No	
ER-OC			.40	.30			.35	.19			.40	.14				
AUTO-OCC			.19	.10			.19	.10			.15	.13	.23	.13	No	
AUTO-OCCP	.17	.32					.32	.24			.23	.28	.48	.38		
AUTO-W																
AUTO-INC	.14	.32	.21	.13			.21	.10			.23	.08	.39	.38		
AUTO-ED			.14	.13			.16	.11	.07	.31	.19	.08	.29	.54		



## APPENDIX J: (continued)

Relationship	Pre-1984		Post-1984		Sig. Diff	Ind. Level	Higher Level		Sig. Diff	Converted	Unconverted		Sig. Diff
	R	CI	R	CI	No	r	r	CI	No	r	r	CI	No
INC-ED	.33	.08	.31	.03	No	.31	.32	.04	No	.30	.34	.07	No
INC-SC			.15	.10		.17	.16	.12	No	.15	.15	.15	No
INC-CC			.13	.07		.19	.16	.09	No	.14	.21	.14	No
INC-ID	.45	.21	.24	.10		.31	.47	.11	No	.36	.34	.24	No
INC-RANK			.26	.11		.31	.44	.08	No	.40	.16	.39	
INC-JS	.17	.32	.24	.18		.21	.41	.28		.27	.10		
INC-OC			.22	.30		.22				.24			
ED-SC	.16	.41	.15	.07		.18	.34	.28		.19	.10	.16	No
ED-CC			.22	.05		.16	.08	.18	No	.24	.21	.10	No
ED-ID	.51	.18	.27	.08		.30	.16	.36		.31	.25	.13	No
ED-RANK			.23	.11		.26				.29	.20	.14	No
ED-JS			.08	.15		.07				.13	.06	.31	
ED-OC			.15	.30		.15				.17			
SC-CC			.21	.10		.24				.28	.11	.22	No
SC-ID			.12	.32		.09				.06	.17	.54	
SC-RANK													
SC-JS			.43	.18		.44				.41			
SC-OC			.63	.35		.61				.52			
CC-ID			.48	.32		.36				.14	.24	.54	
CC-RANK													
CC-JS													
CC-OC													
ID-RANK			.59	.27		.60				.61	.11	.33	
ID-JS													
ID-OC						-.02				-.02	.41		
ID-RANK													
RANK-JS						.28				.34	.20	.56	
RANK-OC													
JS-OC			.69	.20		.60				.63	.10		

## APPENDIX K. MULTIVARIATE RELATIVE WEIGHTS ANALYSIS

In order to determine the unique contributions of each objective measure of social class to one's perception of their own social class position, I also considered the independent effects of each objective indicator on subjective social class (Table H1). More specifically, I conducted a multivariate relative weights analysis in which both subjective measures of social class (i.e., rank and identification) were regressed onto the objective indicators. Relative weights analysis provides an indication of the unique contributions of each predictor by creating new, latent variables for each objective social class measures that are orthogonal to one another and provide the highest degree of correspondence to the original measure (Tonidandel & LeBreton, 2008). These orthogonal objective predictors are then regressed on orthogonal indicators of subjective social class, which are generated in the same fashion. By squaring the beta-weights from these regressions, one can determine the unique, relative contribution of each objective indicator to subjective social class.

As suggested by the re-scaled relative weights, subjective social class is primarily influenced by occupational prestige (18.14%), income (11.62%), wealth (15.87%), social capital (14.08%), and cultural capital (8.5%). Taken as a whole, these indicators account for over two-thirds (68.21%) of the variability in one's subjective perception of their social class standing.

It is also interesting to compare beta-weights obtained from a path model in which subjective social class (as defined by the identification and ranking measures) to the raw weights obtained from the relative weights analysis. There are a number of instances where the absolute values of the beta-weight are different from the raw relative weight



(e.g., employment relationships and social capital). These discrepancies highlight areas in which the effects of a given objective indicator of social class may not be uniquely their own, but instead reflects the correlation or shared variance among multiple indicators (Tonidandel & LeBreton, 2008).

I also examined the unique effects of the social class indicators on job attitudes. More specifically, I estimated a model in which a latent job attitude factor, as defined by job satisfaction and organizational commitment, was regressed onto the indicators of social class (see Table H2). I also conducted a multivariate relative weights analysis, which accounts for the correlation among the job attitudes measures ( $\rho = .61$ , 95% CI = .47 to .75), to determine the unique contribution of the indicators of social class (Tonidandel & LeBreton, 2008).

Overall, the social class indicators account for nearly 48% of the variance in job attitudes and eleven of the fourteen predictors were statistically significant. Furthermore, based on the re-scaled weights, it appears that three indicators are primarily driving individuals' attitudes towards their jobs. That is, social capital (24.18%), subjective social class identification (21.50%), and autonomy (10.49%) represent over 50% of the variance accounted for by social class indicators.

TABLE K1: RELATIVE WEIGHTS ANALYSIS FOR SUBJECTIVE SOCIAL CLASS AND JOB ATTITUDES

Indicators	Subjective Social Class			Job Attitudes		
	$\beta^a$	Raw Weight	Re-Scaled Weight	$\beta^a$	Raw Weight	Re-Scaled Weight
1. MOP	.14*	.02	4.49	.16**	.01	2.32
2. Authority	.12**	.02	5.91	.08*	.01	1.47
3. Sca. skills	-.01	.01	4.11	.04	.02	3.94
4. Empl. Rel.	.23**	.02	5.31	.27**	.04	8.80
5. Autonomy	.02	.01	4.04	.09*	.05	10.49
6. Occupation	-.01	.01	3.37	.01	.01	1.14
7. Occ. Prest.	.28**	.06	18.14	.36**	.03	7.23
8. Wealth	.09	.05	15.87	.22**	.02	5.03
9. Income	.21**	.03	11.62	.08*	.01	2.77
10. Education	.05	.02	4.55	.13**	.01	1.05
11. So. Cap.	-.01	.05	14.08	.45**	.12	24.18
12. Cu. Cap.	.17**	.03	8.50	.06	.02	3.20
13. ID				.51**	.10	21.50
14. Rank				.27**	.03	6.88

Note. N = 556. <sup>a</sup>Standardized coefficients based on path analysis in which subjective social class defined by identification and rank perceptions. MOP = Means of production, Sca. Skills = scarce skills, Empl. Rel. = employment relationship, Occ. Prest. = occupational prestige, So. Cap = social capital, Cu. Cap. = cultural capital, ID = subjective identification, Rank = subjective ranking.

## APPENDIX L: PUBLICATION BIAS ANALYSES

In addition to testing the proposed research questions, I also conducted a series of analyses to examine the likelihood of publication bias. These analyses are intended to determine the extent to which studies that are published are systematically different from those that are unpublished (Sutton, 2009). Given that these analyses are sensitive to small samples, I only examined relationships that consisted of at least 15 effect sizes (Kepes, Banks, McDaniel, & Whetzel, 2012).

First, I examined the potential for publication bias using a trim-and-fill technique (Sutton, 2009). This method attempts to rectify asymmetries observed in a funnel plot by iteratively removing effects from, or adding imputed effects to, the non-skewed side of the distribution until a symmetrical distribution is achieved (Banks, Kepes, & McDaniel, 2015). For these analyses, I used univariate, fixed-effects models to estimate the observed or comparison effect. Fixed effects models provide more accurate adjustments for asymmetry to the distribution and give appropriate weight to imprecise samples (Kepes et al. (2012). These analyses indicated there were substantial differences between the trimmed-and-filled effect sizes and the observed estimates for scarce skills with education, employment relationships with occupations, occupation with income, income with education, and education with cultural capital (Table K1). That is, the difference between the two distributions was greater than 40% of the observed effect size (Kepes et al., 2012).

Second, I conducted a cumulative meta-analysis where the effect sizes were entered into a meta-analysis iteratively based on their level of precisions (i.e., sampling variance) (Banks et al., 2015). That is, the most precise effect size was entered first, then

the second most precise effect size, and so on. At each step in the process, a mean effect size was calculated. Publication bias is more likely to be occurring to the extent that the average effect size differs as imprecise effect sizes are entered into the analysis.

Although formal cutoff scores are not available, Kepes et al. (2012) suggest comparing the average effect sizes for the most precise studies (e.g., highest 20%) to the original estimate.<sup>11</sup> The results of the cumulative meta-analysis (Table K1) suggested that studies based on smaller, imprecise samples are more likely to report larger effect sizes between scarce skills and income and employment relationships with education.

Third, I conducted a series of selection models that estimated the likelihood that an effect would be suppressed based on its level of precision (Sutton, 2009). That is, with these selection models, effects are assumed to be suppressed or omitted as the magnitude of the effect size decreases or the standard error increases. By comparing the difference in the magnitude of the selection model-corrected effect size and the observed effect size, one can estimate the degree to which publication bias may be occurring. Based on these models (see Table L1), the effect sizes for employment relationship and occupation large degrees of publication bias (i.e., smaller, more imprecise effect sizes being more likely to be suppressed).

Overall, these analyses suggest that publication bias may be occurring, but its effects are generally negligible. That is, the majority of the 24 relationships that were examined demonstrated minimal to no publication bias when considering the three analyses (i.e., trim-and-fill analysis, cumulative meta-analysis, and selection models). Furthermore, only the effect sizes pertaining to scarce skills with education and

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<sup>11</sup> As with the trim and fill analysis, these analyses were based on univariate, fixed-effect meta-analyses. The average effect sizes were also compared to a fixed effects meta-analysis.

employment relationships with occupation exceeded common cutoff values for two of the publication bias analyses (Banks et al., 2015; Kepes et al., 2012). Nevertheless, these findings suggest that one should use caution when interpreting the effects of these indicators of social class (i.e., scarce skills and employment relationships, in particular).

Finally, although these analyses are informative, they may be misleading given the level of heterogeneity observed for the various effect sizes (Banks et al., 2015; Sutton, 2009). Thus, in order to test the robustness of these analyses, I re-ran the trim-and-fill analyses, cumulative meta-analyses, and selection models for different geographic regions and time periods (see Appendix J).

In general, these analyses are comparable to those based on the larger sample of effect sizes (see Table L2). For samples drawn from the Anglo region, substantial publication bias was observed based on the three analyses for the relationship between scarce skills and education. For the remaining relationships that were identified (i.e., occupation with wealth, occupation with subjective identification, and wealth with education) only a single analysis suggested there was evidence of substantial publication bias. For the remaining geographic regions with at least 15 effect sizes for a given relationship (i.e., Nordic European, Germanic European, Eastern European, and Confucian Asian), none of the relationships were classified as demonstrating substantial publication bias based on all three analyses. In fact, only the relationship between occupation and education demonstrated substantial bias based on the selection models for the Nordic and Germanic European samples.

As with the cross-national comparisons, the publication bias analyses based on pre-1984 or post-1984 effect sizes were comparable the original results. For the

relationships from samples collected prior to 1984 with at least 15 effect sizes, there was no evidence of publication bias. For the post-1984 sample, the results are comparable to the larger sample of effect sizes. In particular, the effect sizes pertaining to the relationship between scarce skills and education and employment relationships and occupation demonstrated substantial bias for at least two of the three analyses.

TABLE L1: PUBLICATION BIAS ANALYSIS FOR COMPLETE SAMPLE (SEE TABLE 5)

Relationship <sup>a,b</sup>	$\bar{r}$ - Random Effects	$\bar{r}$ - Fixed Effects	Trim and Fill Analysis		Cumulative Meta-Analysis		Selection Model	
			$k$ - Imputed Effect Sizes	Trim-and-Fill Effect Size	$\Delta r^c$	Avg. of Top 10%	$\Delta r^c$	Model Estimate
SSK-INC	.25	.79	14	.80	.01	.79	.00	.25
SSK-ED	.19	.11	18	-.10	.21	-.01	.12	.19
ER-OCC	.06	-.05	8	-.13	.08	-.13	.08	.02
ER-ED	.11	.01	1	.01	.00	.01	.00	.04
OCC-W	.20	.18	10	.25	.07	.21	.03	.19
OCC-INC	.24	.14	41	.01	.13	.12	.02	.31
OCC-ED	.37	.53	80	.59	.06	.50	.03	.39
OCC-SC	.10	.07	4	.06	.01	.05	.02	.09
OCC-CC	.14	.12	8	.10	.02	.08	.04	.17
OCC-ID	.24	.35	12	.41	.06	.40	.05	.29
OCCP-INC	.36	.65	22	.74	.09	.69	.04	.40
OCCP-ED	.47	.60	30	.65	.05	.61	.01	.51
W-INC	.30	.27	2	.26	.01	.27	.00	.31
W-ED	.29	.34	0	.34	.00	.32	.02	.31
INC-ED	.31	.17	154	.04	.13	.16	.01	.33
INC-SC	.16	.16	0	.16	.00	.15	.01	.18
INC-CC	.16	.12	0	.12	.00	.08	.04	.14
INC-ID	.37	.48	7	.49	.01	.52	.04	.39
INC-RANK	.39	.43	4	.45	.02	.44	.01	.42
ED-SC	.16	.11	7	.08	.03	.09	.02	.15
ED-CC	.23	.30	23	.45	.15	.34	.04	.24
ED-ID	.30	.34	9	.34	.00	.35	.01	.34
ED-RANK	.27	.22	12	.17	.05	.17	.05	.26
SC-CC	.25	.21	1	.20	.01	.20	.01	.23

Note. <sup>a</sup>Effect sizes were averaged within each study. <sup>b</sup>Analyses are limited to relationships with at least 15 effect sizes. <sup>c</sup>Effect sizes for these publication bias analyses were compared to estimates based on univariate, fixed-effects meta-analyses. SSK = Scarce skills, ER = Employment relationship, OCC = Occupation, OCCP = Occupational prestige, W = Wealth, INC = Income, ED = Education, SC = Social capital, CC = Cultural capital, ID = Subjective Class - Identification, RANK = Subjective Class - Rank.

TABLE L2: PUBLICATION BIAS ANALYSIS FOR GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS

Relationship <sup>a,b</sup>	$\tilde{r}$ - Random Effects	$\tilde{r}$ - Fixed Effects	Trim and Fill Analysis		Cumulative Meta-Analysis		Selection Model		
			$k$ - Imputed Effect Sizes	Trim-and-Fill Effect Size	$\Delta r^c$	Avg. of Top 10%	$\Delta r^c$	Model Estimate	$\Delta r$
<i>Anglo Region</i>									
SSK-INC	.25	.79	11	.80	.01	.80	.01	.25	.01
SSK-ED	.19	-.04	12	-.11	.07	-.12	.08	.15	.04
OCC-W	.20	.13	8	.08	.05	.02	.11	.26	.06
OCC-INC	.24	.29	4	.28	.01	.31	.02	.33	.09
OCC-ED	.37	.26	10	.23	.03	.25	.01	.29	.08
OCC-ID	.24	.45	8	.54	.09	.69	.24	.31	.07
OCCP-INC	.36	.78	16	.79	.01	.78	.00	.40	.04
OCCP-ED	.47	.69	17	.72	.03	.73	.04	.49	.02
W-INC	.30	.36	0	.36	.00	.28	.08	.40	.10
W-ED	.29	.35	11	.61	.26	.43	.08	.25	.04
INC-ED	.31	.44	58	.45	.01	.45	.01	.36	.05
INC-ID	.37	.57	3	.57	.00	.59	.02	.48	.11
INC-RANK	.39	.44	7	.48	.04	.46	.02	.39	.00
ED-SC	.16	.14	1	.14	.00	.14	.00	.13	.03
ED-CC	.23	.14	4	.12	.02	.09	.05	.19	.04
ED-ID	.30	.40	5	.41	.01	.42	.02	.35	.05
ED-RANK	.27	.22	8	.18	.04	.17	.05	.27	.00
<i>Nordic Europe Region</i>									
OCC-INC	.24	.12	9	.00	.12	.08	.04	.28	.04
OCC-ED	.37	.54	2	.54	.00	.41	.13	.54	.17
INC-ED	.31	.08	12	.02	.06	.05	.03	.24	.07

Note. <sup>a</sup>Effect sizes were averaged within each study. <sup>b</sup>Analyses are limited to relationships with at least 15 effect sizes. <sup>c</sup>Effect sizes for these publication bias analyses were compared to estimates based on univariate, fixed-effects meta-analyses. SSK = Scarce skills, ER = Employment relationship, OCC = Occupation, OCCP = Occupational prestige, W = Wealth, INC = Income, ED = Education, SC = Social capital, CC = Cultural capital, ID = Subjective Class - Identification, RANK = Subjective Class - Rank.



TABLE L2: (continued)

Relationship <sup>a,b</sup>	$\bar{r}$ - Random Effects	$\bar{r}$ - Fixed Effects	Trim and Fill Analysis			Cumulative Meta-Analysis		Selection Model	
			$k$ - Imputed Effect Sizes	Trim-and-Fill Effect Size	$\Delta r^c$	Avg. of Top 10%	$\Delta r^c$	Model Estimate	$\Delta r$
<i>Germanic Europe Region</i>									
OCC-ED	.37	.37	8	.33	.04	.30	.07	.57	.20
<i>Eastern Europe Region</i>									
OCC-ED	.37	.52	4	.57	.05	.57	.05	.49	.12
<i>Confucian Asia Region</i>									
INC-ED	.31	.41	5	.42	.01	.43	.02	.43	.12

TABLE L3: PUBLICATION BIAS ANALYSIS FOR TIME PERIODS

Relationship <sup>a,b</sup>	$\bar{r}$ - Random Effects	$\bar{r}$ - Fixed Effects	Trim and Fill Analysis		Cumulative Meta-Analysis		Selection Model	
			$k$ - Imputed Effect Sizes	Trim-and-Fill Effect Size	$\Delta r^c$	Avg. of Top 10%	$\Delta r^c$	Model Estimate $\Delta r$
<i>Pre-1984 Period</i>								
OCC-ED	.37	.61	12	.63	.02	.67	.06	.42 .05
INC-ED	.31	.30	1	.30	.00	.29	.01	.29 .02
<i>Post-1984 Period</i>								
SSK-INC	.25	.79	9	.80	.01	.80	.01	.22 .03
SSK-ED	.19	.09	13	-.12	.21	-.05	.14	.18 .01
ER-OCC	.06	-.05	8	-.13	.08	-.13	.08	.02 .05
ER-ED	.11	.01	0	.01	.00	.01	.00	.02 .09
OCC-W	.20	.18	12	.26	.08	.21	.03	.17 .03
OCC-INC	.24	.13	32	.01	.12	.12	.01	.30 .06
OCC-ED	.37	.50	56	.58	.08	.46	.04	.38 .01
OCC-CC	.14	.12	8	.09	.03	.08	.04	.17 .03
OCC-ID	.24	.28	0	.28	.00	.28	.00	.28 .04
OCCP-INC	.36	.39	4	.39	.00	.42	.03	.35 .01
OCCP-ED	.47	.60	21	.64	.04	.61	.01	.51 .04
W-INC	.30	.28	4	.26	.02	.27	.01	.32 .02
W-ED	.29	.35	0	.35	.00	.32	.03	.31 .02
INC-ED	.31	.17	111	.06	.11	.16	.01	.35 .04
INC-SC	.16	.16	0	.16	.00	.15	.01	.17 .01
INC-CC	.16	.12	0	.12	.00	.07	.05	.13 .03
INC-ID	.37	.50	10	.52	.02	.56	.06	.28 .09
ED-SC	.16	.11	2	.10	.01	.08	.03	.16 .00
ED-CC	.23	.30	21	.45	.15	.35	.05	.24 .01
ED-ID	.30	.33	9	.34	.01	.36	.03	.32 .02

Note. <sup>a</sup>Effect sizes were averaged within each study. <sup>b</sup>Analyses are limited to relationships with at least 15 effect sizes. <sup>c</sup>Effect sizes for these publication bias analyses were compared to estimates based on univariate, fixed-effects meta-analyses. SSK = Scarce skills, ER = Employment relationship, OCC = Occupation, OCCP = Occupational prestige, W = Wealth, INC = Income, ED = Education, SC = Social capital, CC = Cultural capital, ID = Subjective Class - Identification, RANK = Subjective Class - Rank.

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