THE FORMATION OF EGALITARIAN ORIENTATIONS AMONG THE WORKING CLASS AND NONWORKING CLASS: A DIFFERENTIAL SOCIALIZATION PROCESS APPROACH

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摘　　要

由於社經背景不同美國勞工階級與非勞工階級對重要的社會態度，如公平主義傾向（Egalitarian orientations）之形成受到不同程度的大眾媒體和人際傳播的影響。這種差別社會化的過程是本研究探討的中心議題。依據社會學家Wright所建構的客觀社會階級指標，作者將534位接受電話訪問的美國民眾分成勞工階級與非勞工階級兩組，就其媒體使用行爲和人際傳播情形以及對兩個層次的公平主義傾向——主觀認知的不平等和對公平主義經濟改革政策的態度做一跨組比較。本研究採用線性結構關係（LISREL）共變量分析法來驗證因果結構模式中所列的各項假設。在選擇跨組比較的策略時，作者捨棄了傳統以T檢定法來比較兩組平均數差異，而改用多指標測量變項，結構方程式模式，和兩組同時比較策略。作者期望能在比較兩組的自變項與依變項間的關係是否有差異的同時也考慮到跨組測量指標是否具有對等性（measurement comparability）的問題。由研究結果顯示：美國勞工階段與非勞工階級在形成其社會態度時媒體和人際傳播的影響力差異頗大，此外在各組內受訪者的教育程度，收入，和主觀的社會階級歸屬感也對其社會態度和傳播行爲有不同程度的影響力。

ABSTRACT

A simultaneous multi-group comparison was made between the working class and the non-working class, as defined by Wright's operationalization of class, with regard to their formation of egalitarian orientations. Survey data from a two-wave panel study was analyzed so as to ascertain the direction of the causal linkage between mass media exposure and interpersonal discussion in relation to individual

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egalitarian attitudes. Compatibility of the measurement structure across groups was examined and discussed before comparing the structural relationships across groups. The data suggested that the non-working class seemed to have a more consistent belief system than their working class counterpart. Working class was found to be more susceptible to the influences from interpersonal discussions than from mass media in forming their attitudes toward egalitarian aspects. Both subjective social class and education showed different effects on the formation of egalitarian orientations between the two groups.

INTRODUCTION

Egalitarian Orientations and Social Climate

Throughout most of the twentieth century, Americans' belief in the American Dream has provided an important motivational underpinning to their commitment to central values of the society. Holding that with the reality of the equality of opportunity in the United States, any talented and hard-working person — no matter how humble his or her origins — can be successful, this belief has enjoyed a strong support among broad segments of American society. But this belief has recently suffered some erosion (Parenti, 1988; Schlozman & Verba, 1979). Young Americans in particular were found to be more skeptical about the viability of the American Dream, especially with regard to the fairness of the distribution of opportunities.

Although equality has been central to all conceptions of democracy, changes in the practices of democracy seemed to swing from period to period (McClosky & Zaller, 1984). In one period the nation may be shocked by society's failure to fulfill the democratic promise of taking care of the poor, the unemployed, and other disadvantaged groups, prompting it to undertake efforts to rectify the situation; in another period, however, many people may complain that the nation has gone too far in pursuing these goals, prompting it to shift back toward a more conservative, laissez-faire orientation. The 1980s seemed to herald another swing toward unrestrained capitalism, with the conservative administration of Ronald Reagan claiming to further this mandate to revive individual initiative, reduce government regulation of the economy, and promote business productivity by cutting taxes.

With its emphasis upon individual acquisition of vast concentrations of wealth and material resources, capitalism is a kind of economic development that can be characterized as irrational and socially irresponsible, insofar as it is governed by

individual appetite, without concern for the human and environmental consequencies of its growth. Unrestrained capitalism encourages hierarchy and segmentation, which is in opposition to the premises of democracy and its emphasis upon equality.

Thus reform measures are introduced, especially in the 20th century to correct this contradiction: income tax, anti-trust legislation, social security, unemployment, regulatory industries, such as labor relations boards, Interstate Commerce Commission, Public Utilities Commision, etc., to protect individual workers and consumers. The most far-reaching reform measures were provided by the New Deal program of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, during the 1930s. These measures were intended to rebuild the American economy, which had collapsed from a crisis in capitalism, and to provide regulations of capitalism that would protect individuals from its excesses and forestall another such crisis.

Much of the "Reagan Revolution" was simply the roll-back of New Deal provisions and an ideological assault upon the social and economic philosophy of liberalism that had produced its programs.

While in a recent study, (McClosky & Zaller, 1984) reported that many American people preferred a more regulated economy in which business and government share responsibility for many key economic decisions; there are also opposite findings to refute this line of thinking. After surveying 1542 American leaders representing fifteen different social groups, Verba and Orren (1985) concluded that these American leaders do not support radical egalitarianism (i.e., re-distribution of wealth). On the contrary, these leaders considered having a substantial income gap to be fair. Their findings suggest that a perceived fair income distribution depends not on narrow self-interest but on one's beliefs about equality in general and about where one's group stands in relation to competing groups.

Both objective and subjective social class may have some impact on people's attitudes toward such issues as inequality and appropriate reform measures/ policies to remedy such inequality. This study aims at comparing the working class to the non-working class, as defined by Wright's (1985) objective class, with regard to their level of perceived inequality and their resulting egalitarian orientations. Mass media (e.g., television, and newspapers) and discussions with reference groups are the two socialization forces being examined.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Economic Equality and Egalitarian Orientations

Equality is a multi-dimensional concept which may ecompass various facets including those of race, gender, and class (Verba & Orren, 1985). As indicated earlier, the historical tendency toward inequality in capitalist society was adjusted by the New Deal and the New Deal dimension is one of the six dimensions identified in their study which comprises a disparate set of economic issues related to social welfare. These issues include whether to lessen the income gap between rich and poor, whether the government should guarantee citizens jobs, and whether it is fair to tax the rich to help the poor. These issues lie at the heart of the conflict that dates back to the struggle of Roosevelt's New Deal policies over governmental responsibility for economic welfare. This dimension has assumed a greater relevance today under the conservative Reagan administration and recent replacement by another conservative administration.

Economic equality is closely linked to political and social equality, since for Americans money is what primarily defines the idea of social class (Verba & Orren, 1985). Hence, it is reasonable to postulate that people belonging to different social classes are likely to hold different views about various political and economic issues. Although it was reported that the public, across social classes, generally supported the myth of capitalism as expressed in American Dream — the rights of property ownership, the values of competition, the importance of hard work in achieving success, and income differentiation (McClosky & Zaller, 1984); Schlozman & Verba (1979) reported that different views regarding the "New Deal" type of economic change nevertheless exist between the working class and the non-working class.

The Democratic and Republican platforms traditionally differ on economic issues. The Democratic party takes a position in favor of more governmental intervention in the economy and greater responsibility for the economic welfare of those citizens unable to provide for themselves. The Republicans, on the other hand, hold a traditional position of opposition to governmental intervention. The advent of the Reagan administration in 1981 demonstrated that the dispute over the issues of the New Deal era are still far from settled. Hence, it is expected that the traditional and conservative economic policies of the current administration may well revolt an egalitarian sentiment as well as an increasing inclination toward economic reform and social welfare among citizens.

Differential Socialization And Attitude Formation

According to the differential socialization theory, the processes of interaction and information flow are crucial to the formation of radical orientations. Embedded in a primary group structure identified with persons — family, friends, neighbors — protesters seek to advance the interests of self and others who compose that structure (Wilson & Orum, 1976). The differential socialization perspective leads us to view broad structural positions (e.g., class) as operating through interactional and "definitional" processes to affect political orientations and behaviors. We can expect the varying import of such structural influences in different subgroups of a population. Beginning with this framework, we find that there are sound structural reasons for expecting the formation of economic egalitarian orientations to vary by social class, defined in both objective and subjective terms.

Portes (1971) asserts that leftist radicalism is seen as the outcome of exposure to a structurally oriented political ideology learned over a period of time through a variety of interactional or information sources such as parents, peers, coworkers, and neighbors, Schools, however, were generally regarded as channels of political conservatism, especially in the case of working-class students (Mann, 1970). Mann (p.436) states that the working-class child learns deviant or radical political orientations from his family or peers.

Becker, McComb, and McLeod (1975) pointed out that the content and extent of people's interpersonal discussion are partially determined by what they see and read in the media. While mass media may have an effect on interpersonal discussion, the amount and content of that discussion may differ depending on the medium explored. For example, television has been reported to decrease the amount of discussion of social issues; newspapers have been credited with facilitating it (Weaver & Buddenbaum, 1980; Eyal, 1981). Since news content provides the bulk of politically relevant information in the mass media (Atkin, 1981), it is the impact of this content in television and in newspapers that we examined in this study. Lazarseld and ,erton (1948) suggested that exposure to news in the media might have a "narcotizing" effect, leading individuals to replace vicarious participation in politics for actual political activity. In addition, most of the surveys on political attitudes suggest that newspapers mainly reinforce pre-existing political attitudes and add to the formation of new ideas (Weaver & Buddenbaum, 1980).

Some speculation and several empirical studies (Becker & Whitney, 1980; Miller, 1974; Miller & Resse, 1982; Roper, 1977) suggest that greater exposure

to television news is related to less political participation and efficacy. Also, considerable research has indicated that newspaper use is helpful to political processes while television is detrimental (Miller & Reese, 1982). There is also substantial literature documenting the potent ideological power of news in reinforcing the political and social status quo (Epstein, 1973; Fishman, 1980; Gans, 1979; Gary, 19987; Hall, 1977; Lester, 1980; Tuchman, 1978; Tuchman, 1983).

Most of what each of us knows about the political environment certainly comes from the news media, but interpersonal discussion is also an integral element in this process (Chaffee, 1981). In studying the impact of mass media on political socialization, the findings have generally suggeted that mass media are more effective on the child's acquiring of knowledge about political/economic issues and about public affairs, but they are far less influential than interpersonal discussion in forming attitudes toward political issues and government (Kuo, 1985; Allen & Kuo, 1988). Exposure to mass media and participation in interpersonal discussion may reinforce one another — that is, exposure to political information from mass media may lead to more interpersonal discussion on political issues; meanwhile, interpersonal discussion may also encourage information seeking from the mass media. But the relative strength of the causal path in their direction is still unknown (Kuo, 1985).

Class Structure And Class Attitude

Class structure is of pervasive importance in contemporary social life. Both Marx and Weber adopt production-based definitions to define classes with respect to the effective ownership of production assets (Wright, 1985). It was postulated that the class structure arouses class consciousness — collective awareness of commonly held interests. And class consciousness is the lever that converts the deprivations associated activity to change those conditions (Wright, 1976). Nevertheless, research finds that the relationship between class structure and class consciousness may be either strong or weak depending upon the political and organizational practices that characterize the history of class struggle in various countries (Wright, 1985). For example, compared with Sweden, the degree of polarization in class attitude was much weaker in the United States. In a multivariate analysis, it was further revealed that, in the United States, except for unemployment experience and union membership, the immediate class experience (measured by current location, working class network, and working class trajectory) was not

as salient a determinant of class consciousness. However, the consequences of class — income, home ownership — appeared to be more significant predictors of class attitude in the United States. Another interesting insight into the class structure of the United States reveals that a substantial proportion of the labor force occupies exploitative locations (Wright, 1985, p. 285). Most of these individuals are still more capitalistically exploited than they are exploiters through other mechanisms. Nevertheless, they have material interests which are fundamentally different from those of workers.

In addition, the ebb and flow of class consciousness among American citizens was largely influenced by the current political and economic climate and policy of the government. Schlozman and Verba (1979) reported a striking difference in the strength of the association between occupational level and economic attitudes in 1939 as compared with 1976. There was, on average, more receptivity to the radical economic change (i.e., the limitation on income and the end of the capitalist system) in 1939 than in 1976. In 1939, there was a clear relationship between occupational level and working-class identification. In 1976, there was an across-the-board lowered level of such identification. If the objective social location and the individual's political and economic beliefs are not securely linked, we are led to inquire what, if anything, actually structures political orientations and behaviors.

Non-working Class — The Active Participatory Group

American intellectuals have been predominantly progressive, liberal, and leftist for the present century (Hofstadter, 1963; Lipset & Dobson, 1971). Sclznick and Steinberg (1969) reported that those who have earned postgraduate degrees are less likely to have preferred the Republican candidate than are those with bachelor degrees. Lipset and Ladd (1971) also found that the well educated are more likely today to hold values consistent with social- change advocacy. This "enlightment thesis" has also received empirical supports from other studies (Jackman, 1978; Robinson, 1983; Schuman, Steeh, & Bobo, 1985). Although Jackman (1978) argued that increasing years of education lead to a greater superficial adherence to egalitarian principles but not to a greater commitment to implementations of such principles. Nevertheless, Schuman, Steeh, and Bobo (1985) found that under certain circumstances more-educated people appeared to provide more support than less-educated people for implementing egalitarian principles (Schuman et. al. p.174).

Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that education leads to greater awareness of political events and a greater awareness of the discrepancy between the actual democratic practices (e.g., inequality) and the ideal states (e.g., equality for all).

In addition, education is usually positively correlated with income. The observed higher rates of sociopolitical participation in the middle class may derive from the fact that they have more money to join organizations since many organization memberships require nothing more than yearly dues. In a sense, affluence gives people greater resources to support their civic value; they can join and contribute widely to organizations. McClosky and Zaller (1984) also reported that the politically sophisticated were more likely than the unsophiscated to oppose segregation and to favor government programs promoting equal rights for blacks and women. Consistent with McCarthy and Zald's (1973) "professional movement theory", many middle class people belonging to the upper education and income groups became the financial supporters and even leaders for a social reform movement, although they themselves are totally separate from the presumed beneficiaries.

Cross-nationally, educational attainment and economic position were also found to positively correlate with sociopolitical participation in all five countries of Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Mexico, and the United States (Almond & Verba, 1965). The general findings can be summarized as follows (Almond & Verba, 1965, pp.380-381): The more educated person (a) is more aware of the impact of government on the individual, (b) is more likely to report that he follows politics and pays attention to election campaign, (c) is more likely to engage in political participation, (d) is more likely to consider himself capable of infulencing the government, (e) is more likely to be a member of some political organization or social organization, (f) has more political information, (g) has opinions on a wider range of political subject, and (h) feels free to discuss politics with a wider range of people.

Following this line of thinking, we postulate that the non-working class as defined in this study is more aware of the existence of inequality in society on the one hand; and is more favorable toward egalitarian economic change on the other hand. Besides, compared with its working-class counterpart, we postulate that the non-working class is more likely to seek political information from mass media and to engage in political discussions on this regard with reference groups.

Theoretical Frameworks

In the past, three theoretical frameworks — mass society theory, relative deprivation theory, and differential socialization theory — have been utilized to study the formation of unconventional and radical political orientations (Snyder, 1978; McPhail, 1971; Portes, 1971). Mass society theory contends that lack of education and individual isolation or detachment from primary groups may lead to political extremism. The relative deprivation theory postulates that an individual's perception of relative deprivation of his/her anticipated reward may result in radical political orientations. The third theoretical framework, the differential socialization perspective, which examines processes of interaction and information flow to explain redical political orientations.

Isaac, Mutran, and Stryker (1980) integrated these three models and proposed a generic causal model in examining the formation of protest orientation among American whites and blacks. They found significant racial differences with regard to the development of such political orientations — blacks were more in favor of the use of protests as political menas. Verba and Orren's (1985) research findings reinforced the belief that inequality will become a political issue and bring about radical political orientations only when the disadvantaged share traits (as a group) that help them identify their common plight. The differential socialization perspective is the most pertinent to our interests since it involves both exposure to mass media and interaction with reference groups.

This study will concentrate on a comparison of the working class and the non-working class with regard to their respective perception of economic inequality and the resulting attitudes toward egalitarian economic changes. It is postulated that the working class and the non-working class, located in different social structures, will have a different "general interpretative framework of a coherent theory of classes, class-interests, and class conflict" (Portes, 1971, p.829). As a result of this differential socialization process, the two classes may well have developed different perceptions of inequality and the proper solutions to eliminate such inequalities. The differential socialization process refers to exposure to a structurally oriented political ideology learned over a period of time through a variety of interactional or information sources (e.g., mass media, family, peers, school, coworkers, etc.)

In many early studies concerning the relationships between communication sources and individual orientations, the direction of the causal impact could be a problem since the researchers used cross-section data. It is possible that individuals

with certain pre-existing orientations deliberately seek out information in support of their own predisposition. However, most researchers presupposed that the causal impact flowed only in one direction — from communication sources toward individuals. In order to avoid this ambiguity of specifying the causal paths, cross-lagged data from a two-wave panel study were utilized in this study. That is, the measurement of mass media exposure and of interpersonal discussion proceeded the measurement of the individual's orientations in time, and thus it leaves no ambiguity about the direction of causal effects between the individual's political orientations and the communication sources.

The objective of this study is, therefore, twofold: first, to assess to what extent the differential socialization process may influence an individual's perception of the existence of inequality as well as his/her attitude toward economic changes; and second, to compare the working class to the non-working class with regard to their respective socialization processes in forming the orientations toward economic change.

THEORETICAL HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 1: In the socialization processes, the mass media usually tend to reinforce the status-quo. As a result, it is expected that exposure to television news and to newspapers will lead people to perceive less inequality and to hold less favorable attitudes toward economic changes.

Hypothesis 2: In the socialization processes, interpersonal discussion will have an enlightment effect on the development of egalitarian orientations among both social classes so that interpersonal discussions will lead to greater awareness of social inequality and to more favorable attitudes toward economic changes.

Hypothesis 3: Perceived inequality will have an influence on the attitude toward economic change in both groups so that those who perceived more inequality will show more support toward government regulation of business.

In addition, three individual background and demographic variables — perceived social class, educational level, and income — were included and controlled so as to examine the independent effects of communication variables (i.e., media exposure and interpersonal discussion) on subsequent dependent variables. Five hypotheses involving these background variables are proposed in the following.

Hypothesis 4: Subjective social class will have different effects on the

two groups such that workers who identified with a higher social class will be more supportive of economic change; whereas, nonworkers who identified with a high social class will show less support toward economic change.

Hypothesis 5: Education will have an enlightment effect on both workers and non-workers and make them more aware of inequality as well as more supportive of economic change.

Hypothesis 6: Income will have a uniform effect of both the workers and nonworkers such that those who have a lower income would perceive more inequality and would support economic change.

Hypothesis 7: The three background variables will have some effects on people's uses of mass media. Those who are more educated, identified with a higher class, and have more income will read newspapers more frequently than those who are located in a lower socioeconomic category.

Hypothesis 8: The three background variables will also affect people's interest in discussing social issues. Those who are placed in a higher socioeconomic category will conduct discussions on political and social issues more frequently than those who are located in a lower socioeconomic bracket.

RESEARCH METHODS

Data Collection

A telephone survey was conducted in the suburbs of a large metropolitan area from June through September 1984. The households interviewed were selected using random digit dialing. A two-stage random dialing procedure (Waksberg, 1978) was employed to increase the proportion of randomly generated phone numbers. This procedure began with a random generation of a sample of telephone numbers, but the actual identification of sample telephone numbers was performed in two stages. First, a set of primary sample numbers was selected. Then, for each primary number that was a working household number, secondary selections were made within the same hundred series as the primary number. Under the sample design, each phone household in the specified study area had an equal probability to be contacted for interviews. Of the 800 eligible households, 534 interviews were completed, resulting in a 65% response rate.

The second-wave telephone survey was conducted at about same time in 1985. The households which participated in the first-wave survey were contacted

and asked to be interviewed again on the telephone.

THE CAUSAL MODEL

In order to look into the differential socialization processes of attitude formation with regard to egalitarianism and economic change between the working and non-working classes, a simple generic causal model was proposed and tested (Figure 1). This model includes three socialization agents variables — exposure to news/public affairs on television (Eta 1), exposure to news in newspapers (Eta 2), and interpersonal discussion of political/societal issues (Eta 3). These three constructs were treated as intervening variables. A correlated disturbance (psi) was specified between TV news and newspaper exposures because no theoretical guidance was available for specifying the direction of causal paths between these two latent constructs. Specifying a correlated disturbance is an acceptable alternative of indicating that the two constructs are symmetrically related (Hargens, 1988).

Three background variables are included in the model and were taken to be reasonable indicators of location in the social structure. Two background variables — education (X2) and income (X3), and one subjective class identification variable (X1) were included as the social structural antecedents. The two outcome variables are perceived inequality (Eta 4) and attitude toward economic change (Eta 5).

Stratification and Measures of Theoretical Variables

Objective class was a stratification variable used in the study to divide the sample into two subsamples — working class and non-working class.Although there is an enormous literature documenting the various problems and issues involved in conceptualizing and operationalizing social class, we chose to adopt Wright's (1985) operationalization of class because empirical results have provided considerable support to his conceptualization of class structure. A series of questions were used to provide a detailed operationalization of class as defined by ownership (self-employment or proprietorship), purchase of labor power (employees), and control over labor power (subordinates). (Note 1)

Using these questions, a scheme was developed which identified two classes: (1) working class, which included those who work for others with no subordinates,

and (2) non-working class, which included both capitalists and managers. Capitalists refer to those who were self-employed with more than one employee, whereas, managers referred to those who worked for others with subordinates.

Perceived social class was measured by responses to a question which asked individuals to specify whether they were upper: middle, or lower class (X1). In addition, two individual background variables were included, *education* (X2) and *income* (X3). Education was measured by the number of years of formal schooling completed. Income was measured by the total family income from all sources.

Communication Measures

Television news exposure was measured on a seven-point scale: (a) the frequency of watching television news (Y1) and (b) the amount of attention paid to news and public affairs programming (Y2). *Newspaper exposure* was composed of three seven-point scale measures: (a) the frequency of reading news sections in the newspaper (Y3), (b) the frequency of reading a daily newspaper (Y4), and (c) the amount of attention paid to the front page of a newspaper (Y5). The *Interpersonal discussion* construct consisted of three indicators. The respondent was asked to indicate on a seven-point scale the frequencies of discussing with friends or families on (a) political issues (Y6), (b) economic issues (Y7), and (c) environmental issues (Y8). All the observed indicators of the three constructs were taken from the first wave data set.

Dependent Variables

Perceived inequality was reflected by three items. On a seven-point scale, the respondents indicated the extent of agreement with the following statements: (a) not enough women in responsible positions, (b) there should be an equal number of men and women in important positions, and (c) not enough blacks in responsible positions. This scale was coded so that high scores reflected a perception of greater inequality.

Attitude toward economic change (or Attitude toward government regulation of business) was measured on a seven-point scale. The respondents indicated the extent of their agreement with the following statements: (a) corportions benefit

only the owners, (b) management should not hire strike breakers, and (c) big corporations have too much power. The scale was coded such that high scores reflected a more favorable orientation toward greater government regulations on business, namely, the economic change policies.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In using the LISREL covariance analysis, several assumptions are implied. First, the observed indicators are assumed to be multi-normally distributed if the Maximum Likelihood method is to be used in estimating the parameters. Second, the residuals (zetas) are assumed to be uncorrelated with the exogenous latent variables (Xis). And third, the measurement errors (epsilons) are assumed to be independent from xis, etas, and zetas but may correlate among themselves (Joreskog & Sorbom, 1984).

A simultaneous multi-group comparison strategy was utilized in evaluating the overall model on the two subsamples. The advantage of using this strategy lies in the fact that it assures the compatibility of measurements across groups (Liang & Bollen, 1985). The meaning of a quantitative comparison is ambiguous unless invariant factorial structures of the measures can be assumed (Baltes & Nesselroade, 1970).

The Nested LISREL Models — Checking the Measurement Structure

In order to assure that the factorial structures of the measures are invariant across groups, eight nested LISREL models, in which the invariant measurement assumption was systematically tested for each multi-indicator latent construct, were evaluated and compared first (Note 2). If differences in measurement exist, the meaning of class comparison would be ambiguous because the observed differences in the causal relationships is confounded by the difference in measurement structure. On the other hand, if no differences in measurement exist across groups, the causal relationships may be interpreted without reservations. Table 1 presents the overal goodness-of-fit indices of the eight nested LISREL models.

The comparison of the nested LISREL models was based on the overall goodness-of-fit indices, especially the Chi square statistics of each model. The difference of Chi squares in relation to the difference in degrees of freedom

Table 1

Comparison of Eight Nested Models

Model	Measures constrained to be invariant across groups	Measures Freely Estimated	Chi Square (df)	Chi square/df ratio	GFI
Model 1	All (Eta1 – Eta5)	None	355.36 (df=197)	1.80	.910 .911
Model 2	None	All	322.65 (df=188)	1.72	.918 .919
Model 3	Eta2 – Eta5	Eta1 (TV Exposure)	349.33 (df=195)	1.79	.912 .912
Model 4	Eta1, Eta3-Eta5	Eta2 (NP Exposure)	341.14 (df=194)	1.76	.912 .914
Model 5	Eta1,Eta2, Eta4,Eta5	Eta3 (Inp. Discussion)	351.16 (df=195)	1.80	.911 .912
Model 6	Eta1 – Eta3, Eta5	Eta4 (Inequality)	340.14 (df=195)	1.74	.913 .916
Model 7	Eta1 – Eta4	Eta5 (Econ. Change)	354.43 (df=195)	1.81	.912 .911
Model 8*	Eta1, Eta3, Eta5	Eta2, Eta4	329.95 (df=193)	1.71	.915 .918

* Figure 1: The Theoretical Model

between two models will indicate whether the two models are significantly different in terms of its goodness-of-fit (Bagozzi & Yi, 1986). Finally, Model 8 was the one chosen for reporting and discussing. Comparing Model 8, in which the lambda Y's of Eta2 and Eta4 was freed, with Model 1, in which none of the lambda Y's were freed, we observed that the Chi square is significantly improved at a .001 level (Chi square = 25.41, df = 4, P-value < .001). It indicates that the measurement structure of Newspaper Exposure (Eta2) and of Perceived Existence of Inequality (Eta4) were significantly different across groups, but that all the other measures were relatively stable across groups (Note 3).

The measurement structures of newspaper exposure (Eta 2) and of perceived inequality (Eta 4) have the same factorial pattern but not invariant values on the lambda's across groups. By examining the lambda Y's (the LISREL estimates) of these two latent constructs in Table 2, it was found that the newspaper exposure measures were not significantly different; however, two items measuring the perceived inequality received somewhat different responses from the two groups. It may imply that these two groups interpreted the two corresponding survey questions somewhat differently. The degree of the overall factorial invariance of our model is still acceptable. The minor differences in measurement structure do not invalidate our results.

Table 2

Comparison of Lambda Y's of Eta 2 and Eta 4
(Unstandardized LISREL Estimates)

Subsample	Working Class	Non-Working Class
Eta 2: Newspaper Exposure		
Y 3	1.000*	1.000*
Y 4	1.271	1.108
Y 5	0.505	0.706
Eta 4: Perceived Inequality		
Y 9	1.000*	1.000*
Y 10**	1.907	2.650
Y 11**	1.465	0.504

Notes: *: Y 3 and Y 9 were specified to equal one as the reference indicators.
**: Y 10 and Y 11 have significantly different lambda values across groups.

Several measures were used to assess the goodness-of-fit of the models because a consensus has not emerged on which measure is the best one. The first one was a Chi square measure which assessed the probability that the observed covariance matrices could have been generated by the hypothesis model. The smaller the Chi square, the better the overall fit. However, the Chi square statistic is sensitive to violations of the multinormality assumption and is proportionate to sample size. Therefore, we need to examine the Chi square ratio, namely, the Chi square divided by its degrees of freedom. In practice, a Chi square ratio of three or less is considered as indicative of an acceptable fit (Carmines & Mclver, 1981). The third measure, the Goodness-of-fit Index (GFI), was devised by Joreskog and Sorobom (1984). GFI is relatively robust against departurers from normality and is a measure of the relative amount of variances and covariances jointly accounted for by the entire model. Separate GFI's were printed for both worker and non-worker subsamples.

The parameter estimates from the within-group standardized solution are presented in Figures 2 and 3 since we are more interested in the structural relationships within each group (Note 4). The unstandardized maximum likelihood estimates are presented in Appendix A. The Chi square statistic indicates a good overall fit of the data to the proposed model on the two subsamples. The Goodness-of Fit Index provides a measure to show the fit between the model and the data from each subsample. Both the working class and the non-working class samples have a decent GFI: .915 for the working-class sample and .918 for the non-working class sample. Approximately 15 per cent of the variance in the Attitude Toward Economic Change (Eta5) and 8 per cent of variance in the Perceived Existence of Inequality (Eta4) have been accounted for in the working class sample. About 26 per cent of variance in the Economic Change (Eta5) and 7 per cent of variance in the Perceived Inequality (Eta4) were explained in the non-working class sample.

Parameter Estimates of the Structural Part

After examining the overall goodness of fit, we now move to the structural relationships. Significant across-group differences have been found concerning the following paths: (1) Beta(5,3) — (chi square=5.77, df=1, p-value<.05). Interpersonal discussion led to an unfavorable attitude toward economic change (Beta=-.207) in the working class group but not in the non-working class group.

(2) Beta(5,4) — (Chi square=5.17, df=1, p-value<.0.5). Perception of inequality led to a favorable attitude toward economic change (Beta=.411) in the non-working class but not in the working class. (3) Gamma(5,1) — (Chi square=17.2, df=1, p-value<.005). Perceived social class showed an opposite effect on attitudes toward economic change. In the working-class group, an individual who classified himself or herself into a higher class tended to be in favor of economic change (gamma=.294). By contrast, in the non-working class group, an individual who identified with a higher class tended to be in opposition to the economic change (Beta=-.188). (4) Gamma(5,2) — (Chi square=5.45, df=1, p-value<.0.5). Educational attainment led to a favorable attitude toward economic change (gamma=.293) in the non-working class sample, but such a relationship did not hold in the working class sample. (5) Ps(1,2) — (Chi square=18.04, df=1, p-value<.005). The error variance of television news exposure and that of newspaper exposure were positively correlated. This correlated zeta indicates that exposure to both TV news and newspapers news may reinforce each other, but the direction of the causal path was unknown. Nevertheless, it was quite clear that the strength of the association was much stronger in the non-working class sample (Psi=.680) than that in the working class sample (Psi=.257). A summary of the cross group differences in the structural relationships is presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Significant Across-Group Differences in Structural Relationships

	Working Class	Nonworking Class
Interpersonal Discussion/ Attitude Toward Econ Change	Negative (−.207)	No Relationship
Perceived Inequality/ Attitude Toward Econ Change	No Relationship	Positive (.411)
Subjective Social Class/ Attitude Toward Econ Change	Positive (.249)	Negative (−.188)
Education/ Attitude Toward Econ Change	No Relationship	Positive (.293)
TV News Exposure/ Newspaper News Exposure	psi=.257	psi=.680

* All differences are significant at .05 level
All the coefficients reported are standardized estimates

Except for the most distinctive differences in the structural relationships mentioned above, we observed some other trends which may exist in one group but not in the other group; but the between-group difference of these path coefficients did not reach the .05 significance level in a chi square difference test. (1) Education showed a positive effect on workers' exposure to news content on both television and newspapers (gamma's=.132, .148), but no such effect were observed in the non-working class. Nevertheless, in both groups education was found to facilitate interpersonal discussions on political and economic issues (working class: gamma=.204; non-working class: gamma=.226). (2) The subjectively perceived class enhanced interpersonal discussion (gamma=.130, t-value=1.631) only in the working class. (3) A high income seemed to result in a negative attitude toward economic change (gamma=−.139) and a lower level of perceived inequality (gamma=−.128) in the working class respondents. However, a high income failed to show any effects on such egalitarian orientations in the non-working class people.

Exposure to newspapers did enhance interpersonal discussion (beta=.202) in the non-working class. This finding was consistent with early research results. However, compared with television news exposure, newspapers seemed to reduce the perception of inequality in non-working class (beta=−.259). By contrast, television news exposure seemed to increase the level of perceived inequality (beta=.302, t-value=1.609) in the non-working class respondents.

With regard to the individual background characteristics, we also observed some differences of the correlations between those background antecedents between the two groups. In the non-working class, education and income are both positively correlated with the subjectively perceived class (Phi's=.230, .166); and education is also positively related to income (Phi=.189). However, in the working-class group, the subjectively perceived class correlates with neither education for (Phi=.310). The implication here seemed to suggest that a greater proportion of the working-class respondents, who though classified as working class based on the objective production means, wanted to identify with a higher class (i.e., middle class). As a result, we observed no association between their background characteristics and their perceived class.

DISCUSSION

The central question of this research was whether the socialization processes

fostering egalitarian orientations were different between the working class and the non-working class. Instead of presenting the results along with each hypothesis, the authors will report and discuss the results with an emphasis on corss group comparison. That is, both differences and similarities between groups will be discussed.

Our findings can be summarized as follows. First, the working class was more susceptible to the influence from primary groups than that from mass media in the formation of their egalitarian orientations. As for the non-working class, newspapers showed a moderate effect on reducing their perception of inequality, but TV news seemed to increase their perception of inequality in society.

Second, the non-working class seemed to have a more consistent belief system such that their perception of inequality lead them to think about possible measures to take in order to change the status quo. By contrast, such a linkage between perception of inequality and favorable attitude toward economic change was missing in the working class group. In a sense, the non-working class people seemed to be more aware of the citizen's capability of influencing the government's policy and operation than their working-class counterpart. This finding squares with Huntington's observation that the poorer classes "have an interest in substantial economic change, but they lack the ideological motivation to make that change a reality, and indeed, they are mobilized for political action by appeals to values which guarantee that major economic change will not become a reality" (Huntington, 1981, p.107).

Third, the subjective social class appeared to cultivate opposite trends on attitudes toward economic change in the two groups. In the working class, the higher the class a person identified with, the more likely she or he welcomed economic changes; by contrast, in the non-working class the higher the class a person classified himself or herself into, the more likely he or she tended to oppose economic changes. This finding was quite in line with early findings that middle class is generally more progressive and favorable to economic changes. The Capitalists would certainly not welcome economic change because it was against their best self-interest. As for those who were objectively classified into as well as subjectively identified with working-class, they may represent the segment of the "red-necks" who tend to reflect the very conservative sentiment of opposing any change.

Four, education cultivated a favorable attitude toward economic change among the non-working class, but such an effect did not hold in the working class. The lack of effect of education in the working class may be due to the fact that

many of the more educated workers were the "exploiters," whose material interests may be fundamentally different from those of the majority of the workers. In another sense, the finding also coincides with the Wright's observation of a "complexity of class interest" in the middle class.

Five. consistent with early research findings, education led to more interest in political and economic issues, which was manifested in frequent interpersonal discussions of such issues in both groups. In the working class, eduction was also found to enhance newspaper reading on news and public affairs content.

Six, subjective social class failitated interpersonal discussion of political and economic issues among working-class people. This suggested an interesting "upward mobility anticipation" effect which motivated those who identified with the higher class to act like members of that class by showing more interest and concerns on political and economic issues.

Seven, consistent with our hypothesis that the financially worse-off people would welcome economic change, this study yielded some evidence in support of it. The low-income, working-class respondents were more likely to be in favor of economic change than those working class people who received higher incomes.

Eight, the non-working class showed a consistent pattern of seeking political information from both television and newspapers. As a result, we observed a stronger association between TV news exposure and newspaper exposure in the non-working class than we observed in the working class. The between-group difference in the strength of association between television and print media exposure may indicate a more consistent pattern of media uses in seeking politically relevant information among the non-working class respondents.

Nine, compared with television, newspapers seemed to reflect a more conservative stand in covering political and economic news and issues since exposure to news content in newspapers led people to perceive less inequality in society. On the other hand, television news seemed to uncover more inequality, since exposure to television news led the non-working class people to recognize more inequality in society. In a sense, newspapers are even more so than television news in maintaing the political and social status quo.

CONCLUSION

This study is our first attempt of examing the cross-group differences between working and non-working classes with regard to their development of egalitarian

orientations. The independent effects of mass media and interpersonal discussions on this regard were examined in a multivariable causal modeling context. In addition, a multi-group comparison strategy was adopted using the LISREL covariance analysis so as to take into consideration possible measurement incomparability while comparing the differences in structural relationships among the two groups.

Results from the analysis have provided some qualified evidences to support as well as to refute some of our hypotheses. One of the strength of this study lies in the use of a multi-group comparison strategy in which the measurement comparability was considered. Another accomplishment of this study is that the proposed model considered impacts from both objective and subjective class in the comparison. The two groups were stratified along the objective class (i.e., Wright's operationalization); meanwhile, the individual's subjective perception of his/her own social class was included so as to capture the upward mobility effect within each group. Finally, the study used cross-lagged data from a panel study to ascertain that the causal agents (i.e., mass media exposure, interpersonal discussions) indeed preceeded the dependent variables in time. However, a trade off could be that the effect between the causal agents and the dependent variables tended to be weaker as a result of using cross-lagged predictors.

A caution needed to be mentioned is that the response rate of the survey was not very satisfactory in the first wave (65%). The second wave survey also lost some cases as a result of respondent's refusal or moving. The cumulative loss of respondents further lowered the response rate which may affect the external validity of our results. Nevertheless, the authors believe that the internal validity of the study is not impinged. However, the author would love to see more research to be done in order to uncover the still mythical processes in the development of egalitarian orientations as a result of mass media exposure and social interactions.

NOTES

1. The wording of the questions were:

A) Are you self-employed or do you work for someone else?
(For ownership of the means of production)
a) self-employed b) work for someone else

B) (If self-employed) How many people work for you?
(For purchase of labor power)

C) (If work for someone else) In your job, do you supervise anyone who

is directly responsible to you?
(For control over labor power) 0 a) yes b) no c) does not apply

D) (If yes) Does any of those persons supervise anyone else?
a) yes b) no c) does not apply

2. In Model 1, the measurement structures (1ambda Y's) were all specified to be invariant across groups whereas in Model 2, the measurement structures of the lambda Y's were specified to have the same pattern but different values. In Model 3 through Model 6, the measurement structure of one latent construct was set to be freely estimated at a time. That is, in Model 3 the lambda Y's of Eta 1 (TV News Exposure) were set free while the other three remained invariant across groups. In Model 4, the lambda Y's of Eta 3 (Interpersonal Discussion); in MOdel 6, the lambda Y's of Eta 4 (Perceived Existence of Inequality); and in Model 7, the lambda Y's of Eta 4 (Perceived Existence of Inequality); and in Model 7, the lambda Y's of Eta 5 (Attitude Toward Economic Change) were set free respectively. The comparison was based on the overall goodness-of-fit indices, especially the Chi square statistic of each model.

Comparing the first two models, the difference of Chi square values between Model 1 and Model 2 indicates that some measurement structures were indeed different (Chi square=32.71, df=9, p-value<.01) across groups. Then, the measurement structure of each Eta was freely estimated at a time so as to identify the Eta's that have different factorial structures across groups. Based on the Chi Square statistics of Model 3 through Model 7, it clearly shows that the Chi square value improves substantially when Eta2 and Eta4 were set free to be estimated. It means that the two latent constructs of Newspaper Exposure (Eta2) and of Perceived Existence of Inequality (Eta4) have different measurement structures across the two groups. In other words, the two groups of people seemed to interpret the measurement items somewhat differently Therefore, Model 8 was tested, in which both Eta2 and Eta4 were set free and estimated.

3. When we compared the unstandardized LISREL estimates of the lambda Y's of Eta 2 and Eta 4 between the two groups, did not see too much difference in the measurement structure of Eta 2 (Newspaper Exposure), but we did find that two items (Y10 and Y11) of Eta 4 had more discrepant values of lambda Y's. (See Table 2). Nevertheless, the factorial invariance is a matter of degree. In our case, the degree of factorial invariance of the overall model across two groups is still acceptable considering the number of items that varied and the moderate discrepancy between the lambda Y's.

4. In a multi-group comparision, we usually compare the unstandardized

LISREL solution estimates. However, it is easier to compare the relative strengths of each path by examining the standardized solution estimates since they usually range between zero and one. In our case, we were interested in the across-group as well as the within-group comparisons; hence, we presented the within-group standardized solution estimates in the Figures 2 and 3.

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Figure 1: The Theoretical Model

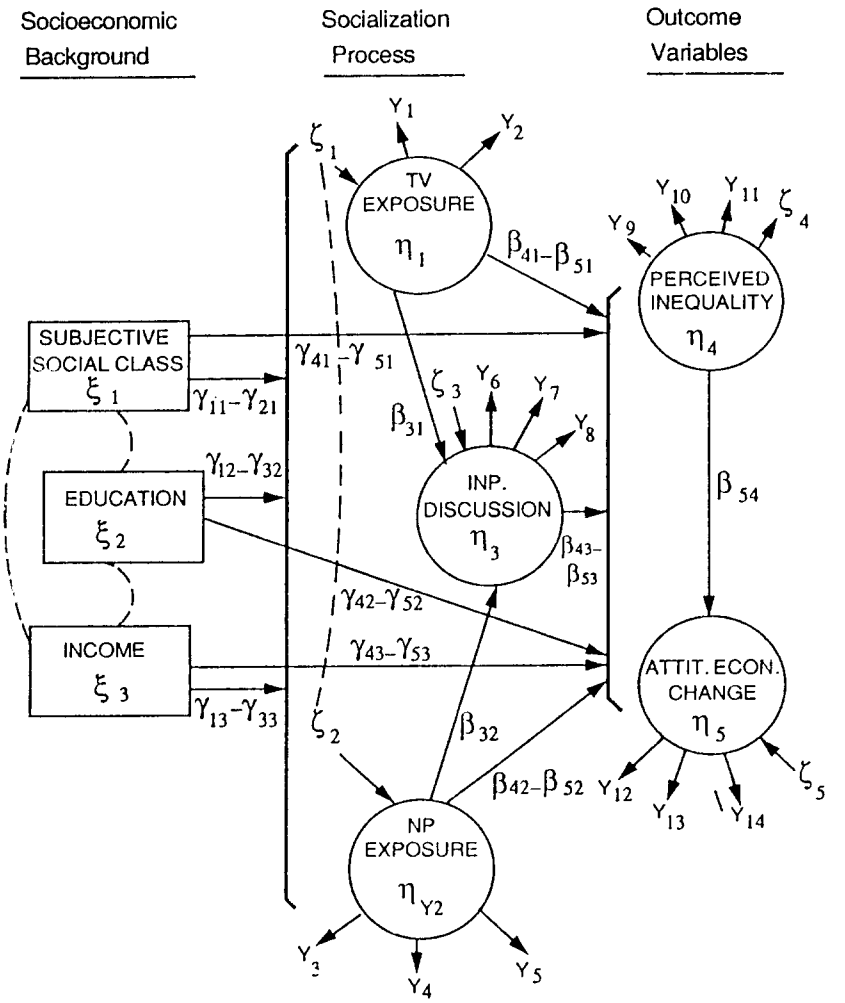
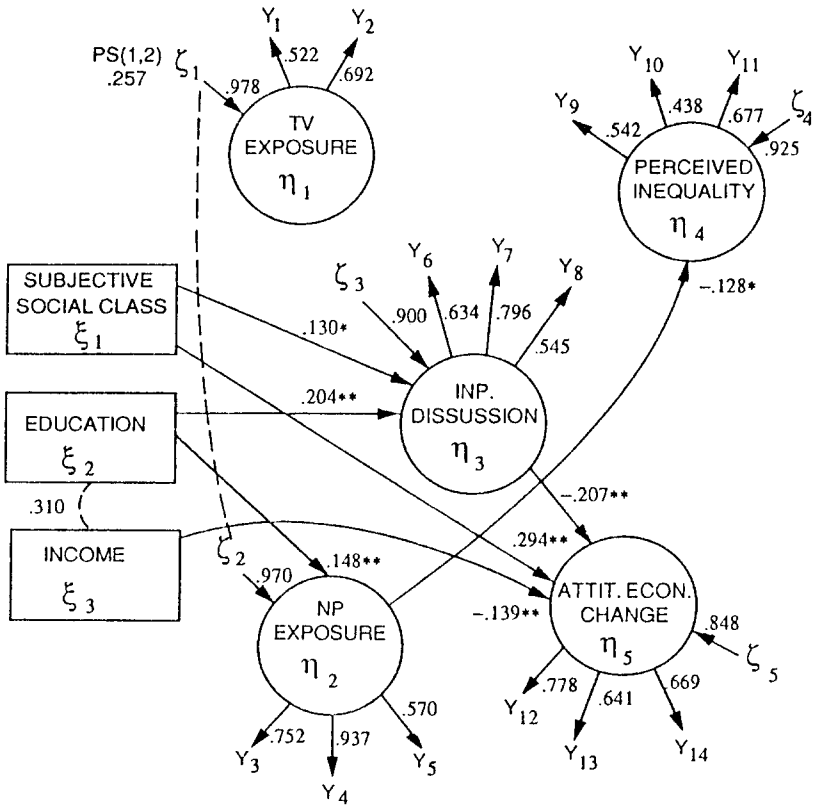
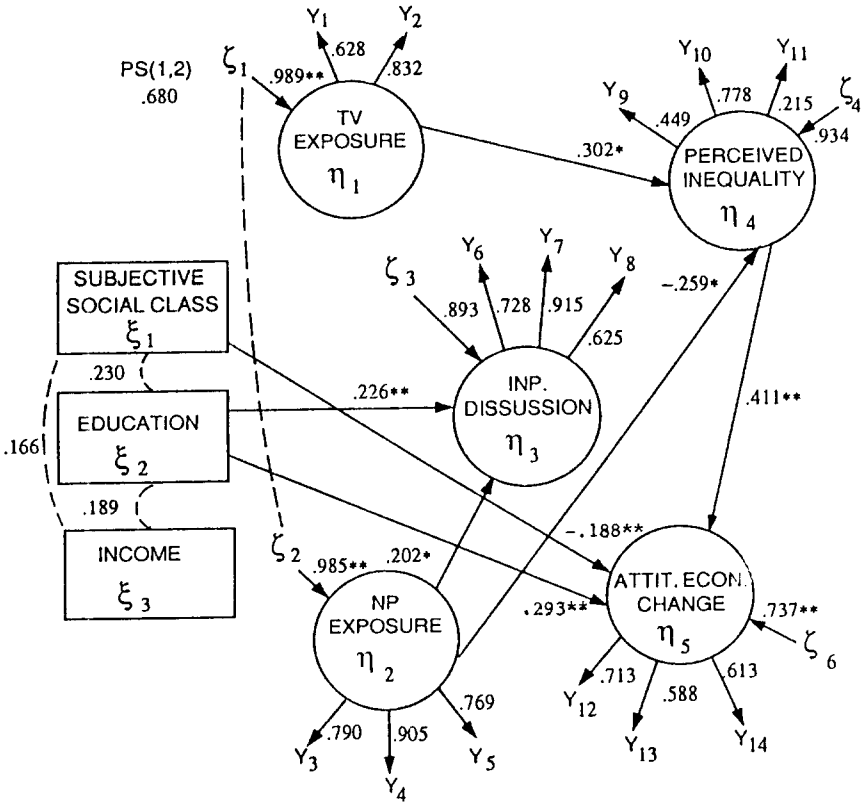


Figure 2: Parameter Estimates on the Working Class Group (Within group standardized solution)



Notes: All the Lambda Y's are significant at .05 level
* Parameter is significant at .10 level
** Parameter is significant at .05 level

Figure 3: Parameter Estimates on the Non – Working Class Group (Within group standardized solution)



Notes: All the Lambda Y's are significant at .05 level
* Parameter is significant at .10 level
** Parameter is significant at .05 level

Appendix A.1

Unstandardized Maximum Likelihood Estimates of Lambda Y's

Construct	Item		Lambda Y	Theta Epsilon
TV News Exposure (Eta_1)	Y_1	A	1.000	9.686
		B	1.000	7.398
	Y_2	A	1.173	2.509
		B	1.173	3.230
Newspaper Exposure (Eta_2)	Y_3	A	1.000	7.663
		B	1.000	7.567
	Y_4	A	1.271	2.479
		B	1.108	3.460
Interpersonal Discussion (Eta_3)	Y_5	A	.505	5.334
		B	.706	4.307
	Y_6	A	1.000	5.277
		B	1.000	4.249
	Y_7	A	1.194	2.502
		B	1.194	1.451
	Y_8	A	.836	4.186
		B	.836	6.293
Perception of Inequality (Eta_4)	Y_9	A	1.000	7.374
		B	1.000	10.116
	Y_{10}	A	1.097	16.192
		B	2.650	10.997
	Y_{11}	A	1.465	8.326
		B	.504	13.621
Attitude toward econ. change (Eta_5)	Y_{12}	A	1.000	3.038
		B	1.000	4.840
	Y_{13}	A	1.214	11.338
		B	1.214	12.809
	Y_{14}	A	.844	5.631
		B	.844	4.253

Notes: 1) Row A contains estimates for the working-class sample, and row B contains estimates for the non-working class sample.
2) One indicator of each latent construct was fixed to one as a reference indicator.
3) The lambda Y's of Eta2 and Eta4 were allowed to be freely estimated while all the other lambda Y's were specified as invariant across groups. The Theta Epsilons were allowed to be freely estimated.

Appendix A.2

Unstandardized Maximum Likelihood Estimates of Structural Relations

Beta Matrix		(Eta 1) TV News Exposure	(Eta 2) Newspaper Exposure	(Eta 3) Inp. Discussion	(Eta 4) Perc. Inequality	(Eta 5) Attitude/ Econ.Change
TV News Exposure	A	--	--	--	--	--
	B	--	--	--	--	--
Newspaper Exposure	A	--	--	--	--	--
	B	--	--	--	--	--
Inp. Discussion	A	n.s.	n.s.	--	--	--
	B	n.s.	.128*	--	--	--
Perceived Inequality	A	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	--	--
	B	.217**	-.117*	n.s.	--	--
Attitude/ Econ. Change	A	n.s.	n.s.	-.279**	n.s.	--
	B	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.539**	--

Gamma Matrix		(Ksi 1) Perceived Class	(Ksi 2) Education	(Ksi 3) Income
Tv News Exposure	A	n.s.	.039*	n.s.
	B	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Newspaper Exposure	A	n.s.	.084**	n.s.
	B	.601*	n.s.	n.s.
Inp. Discussion	A	.434**	.063**	n.s.
	B	n.s.	.070**	n.s.
Perceived Inequality	A	n.s.	n.s.	-.058*
	B	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Attitude/ Econ. Change	A	1.317**	n.s.	-.082**
	B	-.599**	.084**	n.s.

PSI Matrix (Diagonal terms)		(Eta 1) TV News Exposure	(Eta 2) Newspaper Exposure	(Eta 3) Inp. Discussion	(Eta 4) Perc. Inequality	(Eta 5) Attitude/ Econ.Change
	A	2.661**	9.903**	2.726**	2.922**	4.665**
	B	4.902**	12.403**	4.545**	2.389**	3.244**
PS(1,2)	A	1.355**				
	B	5.374**				

Notes: * significant at .10 level, ** significant at .05 level.
n.s. not significant at .10 level, — parameter not estimated.
Row A contains estimates for the working-class sample.
Row B containg estimats for the non-working class sample.