The relationship of the social structure to the value system of a society has been central to the sociological tradition. Karl Marx attempted to base the value system of any society ultimately upon the material, or technological, infrastructure. In response to late nineteenth century popularizations of Marxism which claimed that values were always the effect of antecedent technological factors, Max Weber demonstrated that values or "ideational" factors were a necessary part of any explanation of the generation of technological change. More recently, Kerr et al., developed what has been termed the "convergence thesis" that "industrialization in any country displays many of the same features"; a crucial feature of which system, despite different pre-industrial cultural traditions. Kerr states that, "the industrial society, as any established society, develops a distinctive consensus which relates individuals and groups to each other and provides a common body of ideas, beliefs and value judgments." Upon the basis of such a theoretical explanation, it is clear that similarity of popular evaluations of occupational prestige rankings in societies at the same stage of industrialization, despite different cultural traditions.

Since the original National Opinion Research Center study on occupational prestige in the USA, there has been an increasing number of similar studies. However, before discussing these results in a cross-societal framework, it is necessary to investigate the meaning of these different studies. The operational definitions of occupational prestige cited by Hodge et al. are "social standing," "prestige," "social status," "respect," "admiration," "social prestige," "honor or importance" and "general desirability." Such a diversity leads one to wonder if the operationalizations are interchangeable or whether they are measuring different concepts. The only possible solutions to this dilemma are either to analyze the concept of prestige (a feature generally lacking in the research material) and thereby discern the logical relevance of the various operationalizations or to discover empirically if operationalizations in the same manner when they are asked questions involving different operationalizations on a questionnaire.

Prestige is a broad conception. In popular usage it refers to notions of esteem, honor, reputation, eminence, renown, admiration and acclamation. In
The actual bases of deference are multiple. Shils suggests occupational role and occupational accomplishment, wealth, income, style of life, education and the possession of "objective acknowledgments," such as titles and ranks, as all constituting "prestige entitling properties." Yet the prestige of an individual results from a different combination of factors which produce its relative moral worthiness and, consequently, entitle it to the show of deference behavior. These moral worthiness and deference behavior as action only become meaningful in a given societal context if the dominant value system erects such criteria as subjective or objective, and only become meaningful symbols of worthiness and, therefore, legitimate grounds for the general allocation of prestige and deference when the do not produce a commonly acceptable. Prestige as an attitude forming the basis for deference behavior can only be similar in different societies if the accepted criteria of worthiness and deference are the same in every society.

It is evident that all the different operationalizations appear to be related to this broad conception of prestige. Yet, in order to discover whether such similarity is widespread, American college students were asked two different questions about the same set of thirty occupations. The first question was a direct replication of the original NORC questionnaire and alternative operationalization was to ask the same students to rank the occupations "according to how much you personally esteem and honor that occupation." The comparison of 19 occupations with the original NORC study and produced a correlation of .87, a figure that suggests strongly that this socialist society falls into the same "logic of industrialism" as the U.S. student sample and the NORC results was .97, and this suggests strongly that students in the U.S. are typical in their attitudes of the wider population. These two summary measures of "esteem and honor" within the U.S. sample was .95, which indicates that the two operationalizations measure the same concept. The correlation between "esteem and honor" rankings in Czechoslovakia and the U.S. student sample and the NORC results was .97, and this suggests strongly that students in the U.S. are typical in their attitudes of the wider population. These two summary measures indicate that the research of Brenner and Hrouda and my research can be compared on the broader basis of a general comparison between Czechoslovakia and the U.S. student sample.

The extension of the study of occupational prestige to non-industrialized societies has produced evidence that many of these societies have prestige hierarchies. The increasing number of industrial studies of occupational prestige has led sociologists to investigate the relationship of prestige hierarchies across societies. Inkeles and Rossi present rank correlation coefficients for the U.S., U.K., New Zealand, West Germany, Japan and the USSR, all of which are very high, indicating a basic similarity in prestige rankings. Since the six nations were all relatively industrialized, Inkeles and Rossi conclude that "a great deal of weight must be given to the interaction which arise from the industrial system." By and large, they found little evidence to support any "culturalist" contention that, "within each country system would result in substantial-and, indeed, sometimes extreme-differences in the evaluation of particular jobs in the standardized modern occu- structuralist position" that "there is a relatively invariant hierarchy of prestige associated with the industrial system, even when it is placed in the otherwise differentiated." Clearly, Inkeles and Rossi's interpretation suggests that Kerr et al.'s theory about convergence is empirically close to the mark. It produces a relatively invariant popular evaluation of occupational prestige in all industrialized societies.

The evidence for the apparent unimportance of socialist cultural values is relatively unimportant when compared to the necessary structure of both industrialized and complex societies. Socialist societies, most of which are complex and industrialized social structures, are assumed to fall within this general framework. The evidence for values is based on research on the USSR and Poland. The study by Inkeles of Soviet émigrés forms the basis for a correlation between the U.S. and the USSR. It is evident that this evidence supports Kerr et al.'s theory about convergence. The comparison of 19 occupations with the original NORC study and produced a correlation of .87, a figure that suggests strongly that this socialist society is similar to the U.S. student sample.

The comparison between "esteem and honor" rankings in Czechoslovakia and the U.S. student sample produced a correlation of .56. When a direct replication of the original NORC questionnaire and the Czechoslovakian responses on esteem and honor and the original NORC results on the question on "social standing" the correlation was .30. The reason for the lower correlation was that only 10 occupations were directly comparable with NORC, as compared to 25 in the former correlation.

It would appear as if two distinct but interrelated processes are at work in Czechoslovakia that explain the gross dissimilarities between the Czechoslovakian respondents seem to have a more favorable evaluation of skilled manual workers than is the case in the U.S. Yet they so régime in a far less favorable light. In addition, the main difference between the U.S. sample of students and the main body of the American population is that the students gave occupations like Cabinet Minister and Army Officer far less prestige than the general population. Hence, the lower position of political hierarchy is even more striking. The Czechoslovakian respondents have internalized the values of socialism with its special emphasis on the dignity and the possession of "objective acknowledgments," such as titles and ranks, as all constituting "prestige entitling properties." Yet the prestige of an occupational role and occupational accomplishment, wealth, income, style of life, education and the possession of "objective acknowledgments," such as titles and ranks, as all constituting "prestige entitling properties." Yet the prestige of an individual results from a different combination of factors which produce its relative moral worthiness and, consequently, entitle it to the show of deference behavior. These moral worthiness and deference behavior as action only become meaningful in a given societal context if the dominant value system erects such criteria as subjective or objective, and only become meaningful symbols of worthiness and, therefore, legitimate grounds for the general allocation of prestige and deference when the do not produce a commonly acceptable. Prestige as an attitude forming the basis for deference behavior can only be similar in different societies if the accepted criteria of worthiness and deference are the same in every society.

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The results discussed in this research indicate that the "convergence," "structuralist" explanations of occupational prestige hierarchies are mistaken because they suffer from the serious methodological problem of trying to base an inter-social comparison upon a few small analysis of the stratification profiles in an aggregated manner. Marsh’s "great empirical invariant of sociology" is merely a great empirical myth of

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