

RESOURCES AND CAPITAL OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL CLASSES IN MODERN LATVIA

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the resources and capital of modern Latvia's social classes located close to the opposite poles of social structure. The article intends to address two research tasks: (1) checking the possibility of identifying social classes in modern Latvia; (2) searching for differences in resources and capital between the identified social classes. The study is based conceptually on the multi-criteria theory of social classes and the conception of 'ideal types' as well as on the theory of capital and the innovative resource-based approach. The article presents results of the survey conducted in Latvia (2019, n = 798). Research results show that 'ideal types' of the working class and the middle class, identified by two objective (income and education) and one subjective (self-identification) criteria, together form only 9% of modern Latvia's society. These social classes differ among themselves not so much by the amount of resources as by the amount of capital, meaning that the working class in Latvia is less able to capitalize resources.

Keywords: Latvia, social classes, resources, capital, degree of the resource capitalization, working class, middle class

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INTRODUCTION

At the end of the 20th century, Central and Eastern Europe experienced a transition from

socialism to capitalism which "had a massive impact on the living conditions and economic situation of the population" (Aasland & Fløtten, 2001: 1023), as well as significantly influenced

the social structure and social mobility in the post-socialist societies of Europe (Jackson & Evans, 2017).

In Latvia, the issues of social classes are little considered by researchers (Menshikov, 2016). At the same time, without a thorough and reliable analysis of the state and dynamics of social classes, the expert community cannot provide the authorities and society with effective tools for solving Latvia's pressing problems. Lakis is the first Latvia's sociologist who thoroughly studied the issues of social classes in Latvia. He identified three of the most important dimensions of social stratification in the transitional society of Latvia in the 1990s: (1) the material dimension; (2) relations with political power; and (3) the prestige of the occupation (Lakis, 1994).

Another Latvian sociologist, Menshikov, claimed that there is no scientifically identified middle class in Latvia at all, and introduced the concept of 'candidates for the middle class' (Menshikov, 2016). He suggested (2011) to study social classes in modern Latvia based on the theory of capital by Bourdieu (2005) and the resource-based approach by Tikhonova (2006).

This study is aimed at analyzing the resources and capital of those social classes in modern Latvia that are located close to the opposite poles of social structure. The article intends to address two research tasks: (1) checking the possibility of identifying social classes in modern Latvia; and (2) searching for differences in resources and capital between the identified social classes. The research question is: Are different amounts of the resources and capital of social classes of modern Latvia's society determined by different degrees of capitalization of the resources that representatives of these classes have at their disposal? The authors will answer this question based on the data from a representative sociological survey of the adult population of the Latgale region of Latvia, conducted in 2019; the sample's size was 798 respondents (Daugavpils University, 2019). The Latgale region was selected for the study as one of the typical peripheral Latvian regions, where Daugavpils University is located.

The limitation of this study is related to the structure of resources and capital, because groups of resources and capital – economic, cultural, professional, social, administrative, political, symbolic, physical, and geographical –

are relevant only in the societies of Western civilization, but it would be different in other civilizations. For example, the results of a recent study in two societies of Southeast Asia – Indonesia and Thailand – show that religious capital has an important role in the public domain as it is used as the basis for access to resources (Seda et al., 2020). But in modern Latvia, the religious affiliation of people does not give them any social advantages (Menshikov, 2016), which is most likely true for Western civilization as a whole.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Although the concept of 'social class' often is ideologized, it remains one of the basic concepts of sociology (Menshikov, 2016). In the scientific literature, the identification of social classes is usually based on the multi-criteria theory of social classes (Schmoller, 1906; Sorokin, 2007). Here, Sorokin (2007) argues that social classes have a multidimensional system of references and can be divided into three main dimensions – economic, political and professional, which structure inequalities between different social classes. Despite the unanimous acceptance of the multi-criteria approach in the research of social structure in general (Wong, 2011) and of separate social classes (Mensikovs et al., 2020), disagreements between structural functionalism theorists (Bourdieu, 2005; Parsons & Shils, 2013) and proponents of the social conflict theory (Dahrendorf, 1994; Wright, 2000) over which objective criteria are useful for measuring social classes still exist.

Nowadays there also are innovative approaches to the study of social classes (Menshikov, 2016). For example, the research carried out in the UK for the BBC suggested defining social classes by three parameters – economic (income, savings, property), social (communication and social networks) and cultural (interests and modes of pastime) (Savage et al., 2013). In turn, the founder of the creative class theory, Florida, found a new type of social class: the creative class (about 30% of the total US workforce) (Florida, 2002).

In the United States, a subjective criterion also was used to identify social classes. For example, the General Social Survey conducted by the University of Chicago included the following question: "If you were asked to use one of five names for your social class, which would you say

you belong in: the lower class, the working class, the middle class, the upper middle class, or the upper class?" The global analytics and advice firm Gallup has, for a number of years, asked Americans to place themselves – without any guidance – into five social classes: upper, upper-middle, middle, working and lower (Bird & Newport, 2017). The problem with a subjective assessment is that some people say that they belong to a social class that clearly does not meet the objective criteria that characterize them.

Thus, the relevant literature substantiates the expediency of combining both subjective psychological and objective socio-economic criteria for identifying social classes: "the material conditions in which people grow up and live have a lasting impact on their personal and social identities and that this influences both the way they think and feel about their social environment" (Manstead, 2018: 267). In turn, Gallup's researchers concluded that income is a powerful determinant of the social class into which people place themselves, as is, to a lesser degree, education (Bird & Newport, 2017).

Parsons (2010) argued that at least 3 groups of factors, accumulated by the agents in various social fields and determined by their social positions, should be viewed as the identification criteria for social classes. These are empirically observable material circumstances of the life of the agents (dominant – average income per family member), the most important immaterial factors (dominant – the level of education) for the time being, and subjective factors (dominant – self-identification with a certain class) (Parsons, 2010).

According to the authors, the combination of objective and subjective criteria makes it possible to most efficiently identify 'ideal types' of social classes that are suitable for analysis. The 'ideal type' (or 'pure types') is one of Weber's best known contributions to contemporary sociology (Johnson, 2000). Weber was particularly concerned with the problem of objectivity in social sciences. Hence, he used 'ideal type' as a methodological tool that looks at reality objectively. The 'ideal types' have nothing to do with values; their function as a research tool is for classification and comparison. According to Weber, the 'ideal type' could serve as a measuring rod of reality. The object of constructing 'ideal types' is not to compare an empirical situation with the ideal type, but to

compare several empirical situations with one another (Swedberg, 2018).

A major contribution to the study of social classes was made by the theory of capital, which is based on the idea that agents' disposition to a particular activity within a social structure mainly depends on the instruments they possess (Bourdieu, 2005). In order to classify the instruments with the help of which agents can satisfy their needs, Bourdieu (2005) introduced the notion of 'capital'. According to his idea, agents (individuals or institutions) are characterized by the amount of capital; agents determine the structure of the social space (for example, economic) in proportion to their capital share (Bourdieu, 2005). Accordingly, capital becomes the 'leading structures' that allow individuals and institutions to achieve their objectives (Menshikov, 2011).

Bourdieu (2005) distinguished four capital groups: economic, cultural, social and symbolic. Menshikov (2011) argued that the amount and structure of personal capital are not so complicated to empirically measure. Usually, researchers use only fragments of the theory of capital, analyzing mainly social inequality or political leadership. However, such aspects as the role of different types of capital, their conversion mechanisms, and main strategies of their reproduction are analyzed rather rarely (Menshikov, 2011).

Tikhonova (2006) offered to analyze the social structure of modern society using the resource-based approach – a new theoretical paradigm that formed and actively developed in the last 2-3 decades. The amount and structure of resources (assets, capital) differ between social classes, and this is the basis for social structure. Within the resource-based approach, special importance is attached to new types of resources – arising from the nature of socialization, behavioral characteristics, the general level of culture, etc. (which were previously considered only as a consequence of economic status), as well as physiological (health, age, gender), symbolic, personal and other resources. According to Tikhonova (2006), the transition to the concept of resources as the basis of social structure is not only determined by all the previous development of stratification research in the world, but also promises a significant methodological breakthrough in relation to the

contradictions and difficulties in which today's stratification studies are 'stuck'.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Based on the relevant literature review, the authors try to identify 'ideal types' of social classes in modern Latvia based on two objective (family income and education) and one subjective (self-identification) criteria. For

constructing 'ideal types', it is necessary to select a certain number of traits from the whole in order to compose an intelligible entity (Swedberg, 2018). The following table presents a method for identifying 'ideal types' of social classes within this study, assuming the simultaneous compliance of representatives of classes with several selection criteria.

Table 1: Identifying 'ideal types' of social classes within this study

Criteria for the selection of 'ideal types' of social classes	Working class*	Middle class*
Monthly income per family member**	<= 100 EUR per family member	>= 300 EUR per family member
Respondent's education	Below secondary	Higher education
Self-identification	Self-identification with lower class or working class	Self-identification with middle, upper middle or upper class

* According to the results of a sociological survey of the population of the Latgale region of Latvia, it is not possible to single out either the lower class or the upper class separately, since only a few respondents self-identify with these groups.

** Having many years of experience in conducting and analyzing sociological research data in Latvia, the authors argue that the monthly income per one family member of the respondent has a stronger effect on social behavior, worldview and self-identification than personal income.

The two social classes of Latvia's society, obtained as the result of the application of the method presented in Table 1, are further compared:

- according to individual socio-economic parameters that make it possible to draw up a 'sociological portrait' of the working class and middle class;
- in terms of the amount and structure of the resources and capital of the working class and middle class;
- according to the degree of capitalization of the resources that representatives of the working class and middle class have at their disposal.

The resource-based approach (Tikhonova, 2006) is used for justification of the activation and capitalization process of personal resources within this study. This approach is based on the following conceptual premise: the resources at the disposal of a person can be turned into his/her assets (through activation), which, in

turn, can give a socio-economic return, i.e., become a person's capital (Boronenko & Drezgic, 2014). Thus, resource specificity (Thaning, 2021), as well as capital specificity, are the hallmarks of social classes since they [social classes] can differ not only in the amount of resources at their disposal, but also (and even more) in the amount of capital. The general model of the process of activation and capitalization of resources at the disposal of a person (the authors' modification based on Boronenko & Drezgic, 2014) is shown in Figure 1.

The ability of a person to activate resources at his/her disposal as well as resource activation technologies deserves special attention in the presented model. The authors believe that representatives of different social classes have differences both in the ability to activate the resources at their disposal and in the objective and subjective availability of resource activation technologies for them.

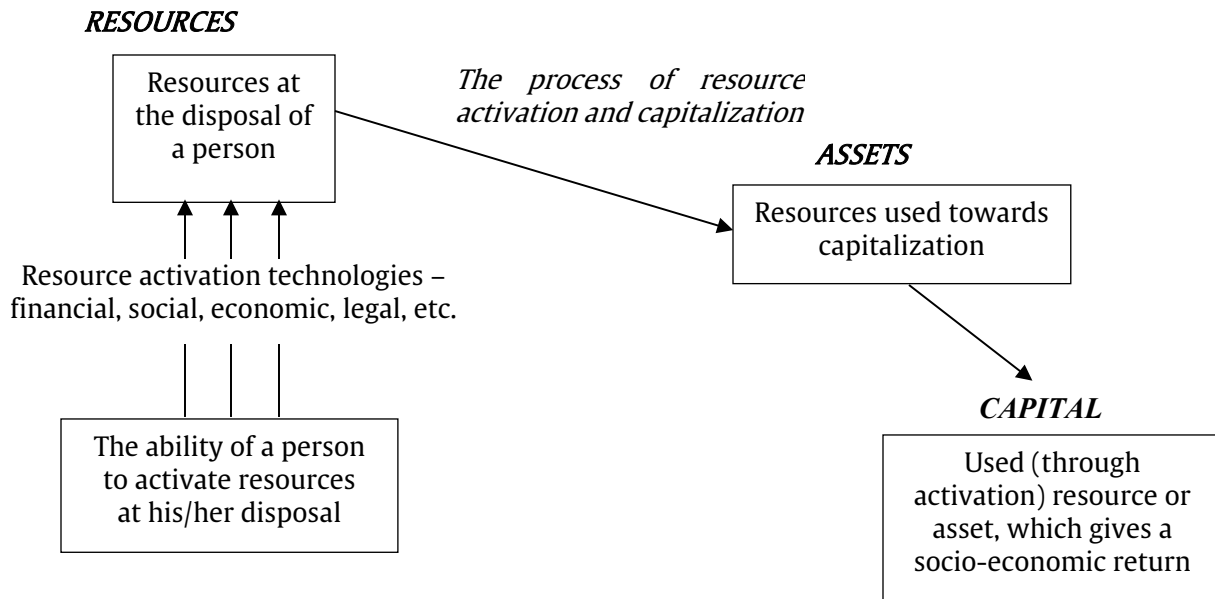


Figure 1: The general model of the process of personal resource activation and capitalization

The list of resources underlies the compilation of the sociological survey questionnaire developed by Menshikov, the Professor of Sociology at the Daugavpils University (Latvia) and based on the theory of capital by Bourdieu (2005). All resources potentially convertible into the respondents' capital are united into nine groups (three resources in each group):

- (1) economic resources (real estate or movables, monetary savings, income);
- (2) cultural resources (wide mental outlook, high level of intelligence, foreign language skills);
- (3) professional resources (called “human resources” in the original methodology developed by Menshikov) (good education, occupation, high level of professionalism);
- (4) social resources (favorable family environment, a lot of friends, connections with influential people);
- (5) administrative resources (leadership skills, responsible position, experience of managerial work);
- (6) political resources (membership in a public organization/political party, citizenship of the Republic of Latvia, status of a deputy/politician);
- (7) symbolic resources (good reputation, ability to come up with new ideas and engage others, popularity in your community);

- (8) physical resources (good health, ability to overcome stress, beauty/attractive appearance);
- (9) geographical resources (good place of residence, good demographic situation in the place of residence, wide access to information in the place of residence).

MATERIALS AND METHODS

According to the resource-based approach (Tikhonova, 2006), capitalization of resources is a process as a result of which a particular resource of a person provides him/her (according to the respondent's own assessment, expressed during the survey) monetary income and/or social status and/or moral satisfaction, i.e., becomes his/her capital (Menshikov, 2016). These types of returns on resources were included in the questionnaire of the analyzed sociological survey (Daugavpils University, 2019). According to the authors, they reflect the range of possible types of socio-economic returns on resources.

Figure 2 shows the measurements applied to different stages of the process of resource activation and capitalization. These measurements allow the comparison of the result of the transformation of resources into capital for representatives of different social classes. Only the resources that bring a concrete benefit (material, social or moral) are considered to be capital. That is why each respondent

specified what benefit he/she got from his/her resources.

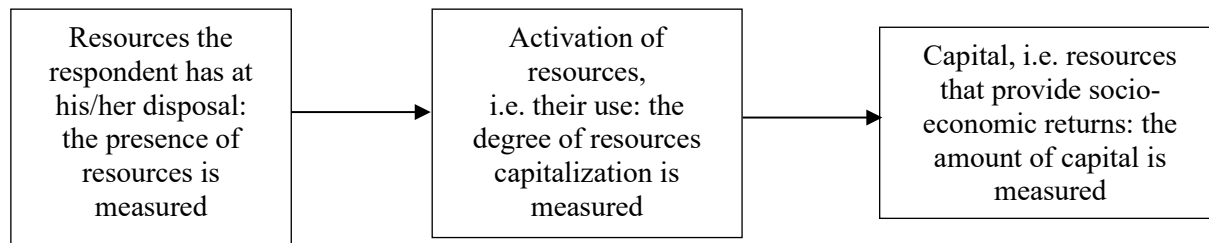


Figure 2: Measurements applied to the process of resource activation and capitalization

In the framework of this study, monetary income, social status, and moral satisfaction are methodologically considered by the authors as an equivalent return on the resource. If, for example, the resource provides the respondent (according to his/her own assessment) monetary income and social status or all three benefits at

once, then the degree of the resource capitalization is equal to 2 or 3, respectively. The amount of capital received due to activation and subsequent capitalization of each of the 27 resources is calculated using the following formula:

$$CAP_{tot,i} = RES_i * (RET_{mi,i} + RET_{ss,i} + RET_{ms,i}), \quad (1)$$

where:

$CAP_{tot,i}$ – amount of capital from a resource, from 0 to 3;

i – number of a resource, from 1st to 27th;

RES_i – presence of the resource, 0 or 1;

$RET_{mi,i}$ – return in the form of monetary income, 0 or 1;

$RET_{ss,i}$ – return in the form of social status, 0 or 1;

$RET_{ms,i}$ – return in the form of moral satisfaction, 0 or 1;

$RET_{mi,i} + RET_{ss,i} + RET_{ms,i}$ – degree of the resource capitalization, score from 0 to 3.

In turn, the total amount of the respondent's capital is the sum of his/her resources with a certain degree of capitalization (from 0 to 3) of each resource. The amount of certain types of capital is the sum of three resources included in each of the nine groups, with a certain degree of capitalization of each of them. The amount of certain types of capital can theoretically vary from 0 to 9.

Based on the results of a comparative analysis of the amount of the resources and capital of the working class and the middle class of Latvia's society, conclusions will be made about statistically significant differences between these groups, i.e. the research question of this study will be answered.

As mentioned in the Introduction to this article, the empirical basis for this study is the data of a sociological survey of the adult

population of the Latgale region of Latvia that was conducted at the Daugavpils University (Latvia) on October 2019. The actual sample size is 798 respondents, and it is representative of the adult population of the Latgale region of Latvia. The sample is stratified by such socio-demographic variables as age, gender, education, ethnicity, and place of residence. The maximum deviation of the sample from the structure of the entire adult population of the Latgale region of Latvia is 4% (Table 2).

Table 2: The sample structure in comparison with the structure of the entire adult population of the Latgale region of Latvia (2019)

Criteria for constructing the sample of a sociological survey	Share (%) in the sample of a sociological survey, n = 798 respondents*	Share (%) in the structure of the entire adult population of the Latgale region of Latvia, N = 233 505 people**	The sample deviation from the structure of the entire adult population, %
Age			
15-24	11.1	11.7	-0.6
25-49	38.5	36.6	+1.9
50-64	29.7	27.0	+2.7
65 and more	20.7	24.7	-4.0
Gender			
Male	43.1	45.4	-2.3
Female	56.9	54.6	+2.3
Education			
Below secondary	18.0	18.1	-0.1
Secondary (common + vocational)	57.1	53.1	+4.0
Higher	24.9	28.8	-3.9
Ethnicity			
Latvians	42.1	45.7	-3.6
Russians	38.4	36.9	+1.5
Others	19.5	17.4	+2.1
Place of residence			
Urban	67.8	65.3	+2.5
Rural	32.2	34.7	-2.5

* Daugavpils University, 2019

** Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, 2020a, 2020b

Within this survey, the data were gathered via questionnaires at the place of residence of the respondents. Printed questionnaires with closed questions were used, which [questionnaires] were filled out by respondents either independently (in the absence of the interviewer), or the interviewer read the questions and answer options to the respondent, and then noted the respondent's answer in the questionnaire.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the methodology for identifying 'ideal types' of social classes (Table 1), the authors found in the data set consisting of 798 residents of the Latgale region of Latvia only 36 representatives of the working class and 35 of the middle class. In total, they amounted to 9% of

all respondents, and all the rest do not correspond to any of these social classes either by monthly income per family member, or by education level, or by self-identification.

The authors consider it expedient not to investigate further the entire set of data, but to focus specifically on the study of two – albeit small, groups of respondents (according to the literature, “minimum sample size for social science research should be 30-200” (Kish, 1965: 17)). These groups most clearly (using three criteria at once) belong to those 'ideal types' of social classes that are more or less distinctive for modern Latvia's society: the working class and the middle class.

Table 3: 'Sociological portrait' of representatives of the working class and the middle class of Latvia (2019)

Criteria for comparison of social classes	Working class, n = 36			Middle class, n = 35			Significance of differences, Mann-Whitney U test
Average age, years	39.6			39.3			0.700
Ethnic group, %	LV	RU*	Other	LV	RU	Other	0.482
	42.4	45.5	12.1	40.6	34.4	25.0	
Place of residence, %	Urban		Rural	Urban		Rural	0.493
	65.7		34.3	57.6		42.4	
Gender, %	Male		Female	Male		Female	0.564
	63.9		36.1	57.1		42.9	
Average monthly income per family member, euros	78.2			420.3			0.000
Average household size, people	3.6			2.5			0.001
Average number of children	1.3			1.2			0.553
Status at the labor market							
Student, %	16.7			5.7			0.147
An employee of a state institution or state-owned enterprise, %	8.3			45.7			0.000
Employee of a private enterprise, %	36.1			42.9			0.564
Unemployed, %	19.4			0.0			0.006
Housewife, %	11.1			2.9			0.177
Pensioner, %	19.4			0.0			0.006
Entrepreneur, %	0.0			20.0			0.005
Self-employed person, %	2.8			5.7			0.541

* RU means Russian-speaking population of Latvia, which includes ethnic Russians, Belorussians, Ukrainians, Poles and others (in 2019, they were 54% of the population of Latgale region of Latvia – Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, 2020b).

The results of a comparative analysis of the working class and the middle class presented in Table 3 show that the characteristics-determinants of belonging to these social classes are the following:

- size of the household (the working class has more populous households);
- the status of an employee of a state institution or state-owned enterprise (this status is very characteristic for representatives of the middle class);
- the status of an unemployed and a pensioner (neither one nor the other belongs to the middle class);

- the status of an entrepreneur, which in turn often determines a person's belonging to the middle class.

Table 4: Comparative analysis of the resources of representatives of the working class and the middle class, amount of resources (2019)

Criteria for comparison of social classes	Working class n = 36	Middle class n = 35	Significance of differences, Mann-Whitney U test
Amount of the resources, from 0 to 27	6.5	13.7	0.000
The amount of resources in each group:			
Economic resources, 0-3	0.9	1.7	0.009
Cultural resources, 0-3	0.8	1.8	0.001
Professional resources, 0-3	0.5	1.6	0.000
Social resources, 0-3	0.9	1.4	0.075
Administrative resources, 0-3	0.3	1.8	0.000
Political resources, 0-3	0.5	1.1	0.000
Symbolic resources, 0-3	0.6	1.7	0.000
Physical resources, 0-3	0.8	1.4	0.081
Geographical resources, 0-3	1.1	1.3	0.483

Thus, it can be argued that in Latvia's society, first, those social characteristics of people that are not attainable as a result of certain social behavior – for example, such as gender, age and ethnicity – are not determinants of social structure. The non-determining role of ethnicity in social structure is also confirmed by the results of empirical analysis of the relationships between social exclusion and ethnicity in Latvia, which was carried out by Aasland and Fløtten (2001). At the same time, the strong determining

role of professional and labor characteristics is very noticeable, especially the status of an employee of a state institution or state-owned enterprise, which has shown itself to be one of the most reliable 'social lifts' for getting into the middle class. Further, the authors compared the 'ideal types' of social classes in terms of their resources, not highlighting each resource separately, but combining them into resource groups.

Table 5: Comparative analysis of the capital of the working class and the middle class, amount of capital (2019)

Criteria for comparison of social classes	Working class n = 36	Middle class n = 35	Significance of differences, Mann-Whitney U test
Amount of the capital, from 0 to 81	5.6	15.8	0.000
The amount of each type of capital:			
Economic capital, 0-9	0.7	2.0	0.001
Cultural capital, 0-9	0.6	2.3	0.000
Professional capital, 0-9	0.5	2.1	0.000
Social capital, 0-9	0.8	1.4	0.036
Administrative capital, 0-9	0.4	2.4	0.000
Political capital, 0-9	0.4	1.0	0.004
Symbolic capital, 0-9	0.5	2.2	0.000
Physical capital, 0-9	0.7	1.3	0.078
Geographical capital, 0-9	1.0	1.2	0.879

Based on the results of analysis of the data presented in Table 4, it can be concluded that the amount of resources of the middle class is

statistically significantly ($p = 0.000$) larger than that of the working class: on average, the middle class representatives have on average 13.7

resources vs 6.5 for the working class representatives. In turn, the results of the comparative analysis of the resource groups show that the middle class has a larger (statistically significant) amount of all types of resources, except for social, physical and geographical ones (Table 4).

Further, the authors compared the 'ideal types' of the working class and the middle class in terms of the amount and structure of their capital, also not highlighting each capital separately but combining them into groups corresponding to different types of capital.

Results of the comparative analysis of the capital of social classes presented in Table 5 show that an average amount of the capital of the middle class (15.8) almost three times exceeds an average amount of the capital of the working class (5.6). But in the differences between the working class and the middle class for certain

types of capital, a slight discrepancy appears here only differences in physical and geographical capital are statistically insignificant (Table 5).

In Figure 3, the authors showed only those types of capital, the amount of which is statistically significantly different between the working class and the middle class.

The largest statistically significant differences between the working class and the middle class are observed for such types of capital as administrative, cultural, symbolic and professional (Table 5 and Figure 3). These types of capital are the main determinants of social structure in modern Latvia's society. In turn, the amount of such types of capital as physical and geographical (Table 5) is not statistically significantly different between the working class and the middle class, being not determinants of social stratification in Latvia.

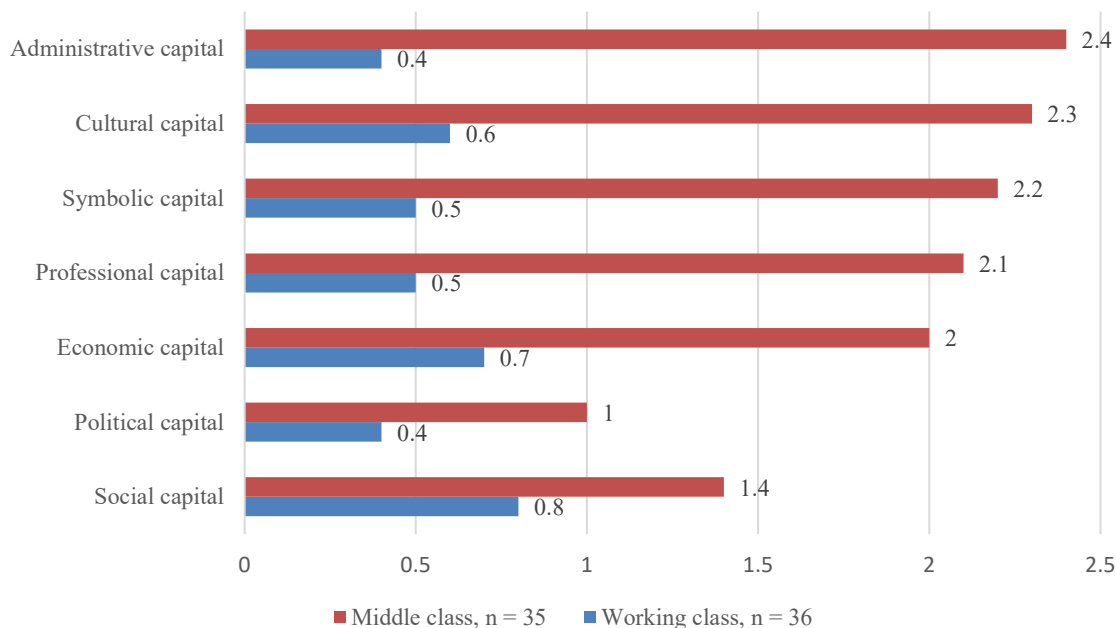


Figure 3: Types of capital,* which amount is statistically significantly different** between the representatives of the working class and the middle class (2019)

* Types of capital ranked according to decreasing statistical significance of differences between social classes.

** Mann-Whitney U test used to determine the statistical significance of differences.

Finalizing, the authors present in a generalized form the results of a comparative analysis of the main parameters of the process of transforming resources into capital between the working class

and the middle class.

Table 6: Comparison of the main parameters of the process of resource capitalization between the working class and the middle class (2019)

Criteria for comparison of social classes	Working class n = 36	Middle class n = 35	Significance of differences, Mann-Whitney U test
Amount of the resources, from 0 to 27	6.5	13.7	0.000
Average degree of the resource capitalization, from 0 to 3	0.8	1.2	0.001
Amount of the capital, from 0 to 81	5.6	15.8	0.000

The summarized data presented in Table 6 show that the working class, as opposed to the middle class, has not only fewer resources at its disposal than the middle class, but is also less capable of capitalizing its resources. These statistically significant two-level differences have to be considered when pursuing social policies aimed at reducing the differences between social classes within modern Latvia's society. For example, for the lower classes it is necessary not only to provide resources as such, but also to increase an ability of people to activate resources at their disposal as well as to use all available resource activation and capitalization technologies more efficiently.

CONCLUSIONS

Checking the possibility of identifying social classes in modern Latvia, the authors conclude the following: a small number of respondents who, based on the multi-criteria theory of social classes, can be most confidently attributed to 'ideal types' of the working class and the middle class, testify to the extreme blurring of the social structure of modern Latvia's society. Modern Latvia's society contains a huge variety of social types – from low-income, but highly educated groups to relatively wealthy, but low-educated groups, with all possible spectra of self-identification. Thus, the division of Latvian society into the working class, the middle class and so on no longer reflects the real picture.

Based on the cases of the working class and the middle class, the authors found the differences in the amount of resources and capital between these social classes. In modern Latvia, the 'ideal types' of social classes differ among themselves not so much by resource specificity as by capital specificity. This is determined by at least two main reasons: (1) representatives of the working class have at their disposal statistically

significantly fewer resources than the middle class; (2) the working class is not as successful as the middle class in turning the resources at their disposal into capital. Within this study, the need for the lower social classes not only to receive resources, but also to capitalize them has been scientifically substantiated.

In the future, when investigating the social classes of modern Latvia, the authors suppose it would be expedient to apply cluster analysis using different sets of criteria (including, for example, cultural interests and modes of pastime (Savage et al., 2013) or a type of mindset (Andriushyna et al., 2020)). This will help to highlight really emerging social groups that may differ from the social classes generally accepted in the scientific community, i.e. lower class, working class, middle class, upper middle class, and upper class. Furthermore, the authors are interested in empirically testing the resource multiplication hypothesis (Kim et al., 2020), which can be realized on the sociological data set of this study.

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