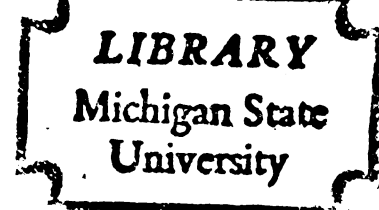


STATUS INCONSISTENCY, SOCIAL MOBILITY,  
AND POLITICO-ECONOMIC ORIENTATIONS  
AMONG A SAMPLE OF JUNIOR  
COLLEGE INSTRUCTORS

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
Marvin D. Leavy  
1968



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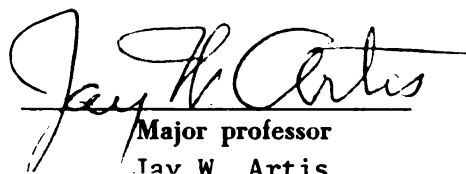
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AND POLITICO-ECONOMIC ORIENTATIONS  
AMONG A SAMPLE OF JUNIOR  
COLLEGE INSTRUCTORS

presented by

MARVIN D. LEAVY

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

Ph. D. degree in SOCIOLOGY

  
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Jay W. Artis

Date June 2

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## ABSTRACT

### STATUS INCONSISTENCY, SOCIAL MOBILITY, AND POLITICO-ECONOMIC ORIENTATIONS AMONG A SAMPLE OF JUNIOR COLLEGE INSTRUCTORS

by Marvin D. Leavy

This research investigates the comparative and joint effects of inconsistency of rank on various hierarchies of status evaluation (ethnic origin, education, occupation, and income) and of vertical social mobility on these hierarchies upon an individual's political opinions regarding economic issues. As such, it is focused at the microscopic level--the specification of the additive and interactive effects of these formal status attributes for individuals--rather than the macroscopic characterization of a social system in terms of the societal consequences of the incidence of status inconsistency and social mobility.

Much recent research literature supports the expectation that an inconsistent status profile (in particular, one of high rank on salient achievement criteria and low rank on salient ascribed criteria) for an individual tends to more often induce a more "liberal" politico-economic value orientation than does a profile consistently high. Other research findings indicate that significant increases in educational, occupational, and income levels



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intergenerationally or individually tend to induce in an individual greater "conservatism" on politico-economic matters than found among both initial status cohort and (more noteworthy) among those who have inter-generationally or individually maintained equivalent attained ranks. Without developing in great detail the backdrop of varying societal rates of status inconsistency and social mobility, a set of postulates is introduced and the following theoretical hypotheses are developed whereby varying degrees of politico-economic "liberalism" are associated with individuals' social mobility and consistency profile:

1. The (inter-generationally or individually) non-mobile at high achievement statuses register greater politico-economic liberalism than do the upward-mobile to these high achievement statuses.
2. The status inconsistent at high achievement statuses register greater politico-economic liberalism than do the status consistent at these same levels.
3. The stable (non-mobile) at high achievement statuses who remain status inconsistent (Set 3) register greater politico-economic liberalism than do the upward-mobile to these same statuses who attain status consistency (Set 2).
4. The upward-mobile to high achievement levels who in the process have become status inconsistent (Set 1) will not significantly differ from the stable (non-mobile) who remain status consistent (Set 4) in the registering of politico-economic liberalism.

A stratified random sample of eighty-three male junior college instructors (uniformly if not perfectly crystallized in their levels of education, income, and

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occupational prestige) was selected from three Public Junior Colleges in middle-sized, industrialized Michigan cities. From self-administered questionnaires, these instructors were classified as Status Consistent or Inconsistent (with ethnic group prestige the pivotal determinant) and as Upward Mobile or Stable. The differentiating power of the resultant four-fold distinction for direction of politico-economic belief (as tapped by six-item Likert-type scale constructed from existing scales) was then investigated.

The Mobility Hypothesis (1) is not supported by statistical analysis of the evidence: differences in politico-economic liberalism between the Non-Mobile and Mobile are non-significant. A Hypothesis of no difference must be rejected, however, for the degree of liberalism between the Status Inconsistent and Consistent instructors (2,  $p < .03$ ). The Third Hypothesis posits additive effects of Non-mobility and Status Inconsistency. This is confirmed but the significance of the total chi-square ( $p < .05$ ) is due to the Inconsistency variable, there being no interactive effects. The null hypothesis (Hypothesis 4) of moderating politico-economic effects for the two residual, inter-mediate sets is not rejected.

In interpreting these results, stress is laid upon pruning or, where necessary, elaborating upon the theoretical framework. Consistency profile differentiates the likely politico-economic orientation upon upward mobility. Possibility of more parsimonious explanation of the Status

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Inconsistency results is discussed as are research strategies to refine the concept for future crucial research test. Comparison of Achievement level (Class), Ethnicity, and "Ethclass" perspectives in accounting for variance in politico-economic orientation is suggested and strategies devised to test their respective value. After briefly discussing the salience of future politico-economic opinion research, the thesis concludes by urging recognition of the macro-scopic context in the micro-scopic formulations of the behavioral effects of status profiles of rank discrepancy and mobility.

STATUS INCONSISTENCY, SOCIAL MOBILITY, AND  
POLITICO-ECONOMIC ORIENTATIONS AMONG A  
SAMPLE OF JUNIOR COLLEGE INSTRUCTORS

By

Marvin D. Leavy

A THESIS

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

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Department of Sociology

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The opportunity to acknowledge the aid and cooperation given me throughout this study is a welcome one. The research was supported by National Science Foundation Grant GS-1878 for Improving Doctoral Dissertation Research and indeed this financial assistance did enable me to conduct the analysis more completely and rapidly.

To the Junior College instructors whose participation was so graciously accorded, I am especially thankful. I have found that their willingness to contribute to scholarly understanding corroborates my past experience with members of this profession. In that sense, this sample was representative.

Dr. Jay Artis, as Chairman of my doctoral committee, deserves special recognition. His encouragement of the research and provision of clerical resources was only an extension of the stabilizing guidance he has rendered throughout my graduate program.

Dr. William Faunce gave detailed criticisms of the prospectus of this thesis which clarified the path of my investigation. Two other members of the committee, Drs. Hideya Kumata and Harry Webb, are each due notes of appreciation.

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Finally, to my wife Sally, no words can quite adequately express my indebtedness for her special brand of support in the arduous path to this goal.

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## CHAPTER I

### OVERVIEW OF THE PROBLEM

#### Introduction

Nearly fifteen years have elapsed since Lenski first suggested that a measure of "Status Crystallization" might have powerful explanatory value in differentiating persons of varying degrees of politico-economic Liberalism.<sup>1</sup> Lenski adduced evidence from a Detroit-area sample that a low degree of consistency (i.e., inconsistency) of rankings on "important" status indicators was associated with a tendency to give "liberal" responses to questions tapping opinions on (federal) governmental economic policies.<sup>2</sup> Although some profiles clearly yielded more positive relationships than others, Lenski documented his contention that this tendency held regardless of the profile of inconsistency (when compared with all "high" crystallized respondents) of rank.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, Lenski charged that this tendency was manifest regardless of the "overall" socio-economic Class level of respondent.<sup>4</sup> Thus, it is depicted as a "non-vertical dimension of status rank."

This seminal report has provoked much criticism, thinking, and investigation. A plethora of research efforts has sprung from introduction of this quantitative concept

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into the sociological and socio-psychological lexicon.<sup>5</sup> Aside from the considerable semantic and methodological discussion it has raised,<sup>6</sup> attempts have been made to associate the phenomenon with suicide,<sup>7</sup> mental stress,<sup>8</sup> social participation,<sup>9</sup> and class consciousness<sup>10</sup> to name but a few. However, it has been with regard to political opinions vis a vis the social order and social change that the most controversial debate has been generated. Even a cursory survey of research in this area will reveal that no consistent, consensual body of findings exists. There are many reasons for this. One of the major objectives of this thesis is to elucidate them.

Rush, for example, found status inconsistency correlated with extra-conservative opinion ("Right-Wing Extremism") in his cross-sectional sample.<sup>11</sup> Even had he employed Lenski's criteria of status-rank, such a finding would not necessarily conflict with Lenski's, inasmuch as the relative frequency of both extreme polar (both more radically liberal and radically conservative) politico-economic orientations may be pronouncedly higher among those with discrepant ranks than those with consistent statuses.<sup>12</sup> This observation immediately suggests that only specific configurations of inconsistency may carry the burden of liberal or conservative association, respectively.

Kenkel<sup>13</sup> quite early and Kelly and Chambliss<sup>14</sup> more recently have disputed the substance of Lenski's (and



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Goffman's) contentions. Each has found no empirical support for the linkage of disparate structural ranks with an individual's espousal of liberal politico-economic beliefs. Lenski, in a celebrated defense, has replied that Kenkel's reliance upon two different status indicators than Lenski had used plus different "breaking points" dichotomizing the scorers were factors responsible for Kenkel's failure to confirm Lenski's results.<sup>15</sup> Kelly and Chambliss compensated for this latter charge in their test of the Lenski thesis, however, and found no association, regardless of "breaking point," with any of four types of liberalism.<sup>16</sup>

A methodological critique of Lenski's instrument (offered in Chapter III) buttresses the decision to set it aside in this research in favor of a simpler instrument of less questionable assumptions. For the moment, only one criticism will be made. Lenski's own specification of his original findings indicates that he has undoubtedly placed too much emphasis upon a monolithic conception of Status Inconsistency at the expense of particular profiles and their significantly different effect upon, and correlation with, behavioral and attitudinal variables. This concentration is certainly understandable at early, sensitizing stages of a concept's "career," but dogmatic debate regarding the consequences of status inconsistency regardless of juxtaposition or contour of status ranks retards the controlled study of specific profiles upon which knowledge

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advances. It is time to discover which particular profiles of status inconsistency (if any) reflecting determinative theoretical anchorages are associated with which politico-economic orientations.

Any review of relevant research efforts with reference to the linkage of individual status consistency (structurally objectified) with politico-economic opinions reveals that "ethnicity" rank is critical in its relation to the other salient status indicators in polarizing Liberal and Conservative economic orientations.<sup>17</sup> Lenski "paved the way" for this conclusion in his comparison of high-low pairs (permutations of ethnic, educational, income, or occupational prestige rank) among the low status consistency scorers.<sup>18</sup> These comparisons clearly showed that low ethnic status (reputationally ascribed) in conjunction with higher income, occupation, and education respectively resulted in the strongest Democratic Party allegiance and expression of Liberal politico-economic opinion.<sup>19</sup> Conversely, high ethnic status in conjunction with lower ranks on the other three criteria produced three of the four lowest F scores in expression of Liberal opinion, in fact not significantly different than all high consistency scorers.<sup>20</sup> Again, no controls for Social Class were presented.

Findings of this sort have led Mitchell<sup>21</sup> and Kelly and Chambliss<sup>22</sup> among others to charge that low ethnic rank alone is responsible for the aggregate association of status inconsistency with Liberalism. Since Lenski's analysis

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is not class controlled, no portrait of the consistently low (relatively low on all indicators) individual's politico-economic orientation emerges to "test" this allegation.<sup>23</sup> One burden of this work will be to argue that, indeed, ascribed ethnic prestige rank does not explain the total variance in politico-economic opinion independent of a conception of status inconsistency and the cross-cutting effects of inter-generational social mobility.

Level of ethnic prestige is by definition not a rank subject to individual change (vertically). Ascribed to a collectivity and then stereotypically applied to "representatives" thereof, it is a status indicator of a different order than individually achievable criteria of prestige (viz., education, income, and occupation).<sup>24</sup> This distinction between ascribed and achieved status-rank suggests two limiting case profiles which it will be theorized yield distinctive politico-economic orientations.<sup>25</sup> In brief, low ascribed and high achieved (or maintained) statuses predispose Liberalism; high ascribed and low achieved (or maintained) statuses yield significantly lower liberal tendencies. Empirical corroboration of only the former of these theoretical hypotheses is attempted in this study.

From the perspective of another body of research literature, that of the individual consequences of inter-generational social mobility, the relationship of one's disparateness of ranks to such ideological tendencies may be illuminated. Lipset<sup>26</sup> and Lipset and Bendix<sup>27</sup> have

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summarized the results of research dealing with the impact of inter-generational occupational mobility upon political orientation and voting behavior. Prior to a review of this evidence, a task reserved for the following section, certain caveats must be made. A sharp analytic distinction between "economic" and "non-economic" liberalism needs to be made. Lipset reports that "tolerance" on civil (non-economic) issues rises with general socio-economic position whereas, conversely, economic liberalism is negatively associated with general socio-economic position:

The poorer strata everywhere are more liberal or leftist on economic issues; they favor more welfare state measures, higher wages, graduated income taxes, support of trade unions, etc. But when liberalism is defined in non-economic terms--as support of civil liberties, internationalism, etc.--the correlation is reversed. The more well-to-do are more liberal, the poorer are more intolerant.<sup>28</sup>

Much data corroborate that high educational (and to a lesser extent, occupational) level is positively tied to non-economic liberalism almost regardless of general socio-economic position.<sup>29</sup> Hereafter, "liberalism" and "conservatism" will refer to politico-economic orientations unless otherwise specified.

Briefly, available data pertaining to the personal consequences of vertical social mobility upon politico-economic beliefs are neither impressive nor conclusive. Varying conceptions of mobility hinder the accumulation and comparison of findings. Confined mainly to inter-generational occupational mobility reports, there is some



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evidence that the upward mobile (in the United States, Great Britain, and Australia) to upper and upper-middle status positions are more conservative on economic matters than both (a) their initial class cohorts, and (b) those matched upper and upper-middle status individuals who have "merely" maintained the levels of their "family of orientation."<sup>30</sup> For example, they are less likely to register a Democratic or Labour Party preference than those in category (a) and, to a lesser degree, those in category (b) above.<sup>31</sup> Downward social mobility (intergenerational) is quite conclusively tied to increasing politico-economic Conservatism in all industrialized countries for which data are available.<sup>32</sup>

The dimension of politico-economic orientation treated in this work is termed "liberalism-conservatism"; the extreme poles respectively refer to two substantive, historically contingent clusters of opinions that reflect opposing positions of "preference-nonpreference" for certain public (federal) supports to assure widespread economic opportunity and protection. (The substantive rather than formal is focused upon here.) In particular, the socio-psychological connotations of "change-mindedness" extremes (progressive preference for change versus maintenance of existing conditions) often associated with these terms are not being "measured" in this work (as shall be shown in Chapter III). Gradations between persons are presumed to exist on a continuum in this conception, however,

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and a battery of questions designed to elicit an ordinal measurement of position in politico-economic orientation is constructed consistent with that premise. A list of issues for which discernably "liberal" or "conservative" value positions can be identified would include the following:

ISSUE AREA	LIBERAL ADHERENCE	CONSERVATIVE ADHERENCE
I Assurance of Minimum Suste- nance as a Public Respon- sibility	Support of Minimum Wage Laws  Consideration of Guaranteed Annual Wage Proposals  Support Principle of Tax-Subsidized Assistance to Poor  Governmentally Ad- ministered Health, Old-Age Insurance Programs	Oppose Minimum Wage Laws  Oppose Consideration of Annual Wage Minimums as Policy  Do not favor Principle of Public Obligation (especially of gradu- ated taxation)  Private Individual and Collective Preparation for Health and Old Age Needs
II Governmental Stimulation of Private Initi- ative	Federal Creation of Opportunities; Assurance of Equal- ity of Opportunity	Stress upon Private Initiative Sources; Deleterious Effects of "Welfare State" poli- cies upon initiative
III Maintenance of Indispensable Services (whether un- profitable or profitable)	"Nationalization" where deemed neces- sary; oppose pri- vate concentrations of Market Control if Free Competition Hindered	Free Competition by Private Enterprise; Support Private con- centrations if gained by this principle
IV Protection of Workers' Inter- ests (Market- place and Personal Interests)	Stress upon Bene- fits derived by Labor Unionization  Support of Profit- Sharing Plan Ex- tension to Workers	Stress upon Benefits derived from Recogni- tion of Owners' and Managers' Rights  Opposition to Profit- Sharing Plan Extension to Workers

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### Purposes of the Study

Placing in tandem theorems suggested from a base of substantive findings with reference to conceptualizations of Status Inconsistency and Social Mobility, a grounded theoretic framework of explanatory utility for the prediction of their relative and dual impact upon individual's orientation (direction of opinion) regarding centralized governmental involvement in major economic issues is developed. From an independent direction, a set of postulates, theorems, and hypotheses "covering" conditions wherein the additive or interactive effects of social mobility (ascending) and status inconsistency as formal status characterizations of individuals<sup>33</sup> can be deduced. These joint tasks will be reported in Chapter II. A four-fold taxonomy of status characterizations (created by dichotomizing these two "independent" variables) should yield high differentiating utility. Empirical confirmation of its heuristic utility is then sought.

A research is here designed (set forth in Chapter III) to focus on the comparative effects (upon politico-economic opinion) of one major profile of positional consistency (high on three achieved and one ascribed dimension of status) and one major profile of positional inconsistency (high on the identical three achievement and low on the identical ascribed dimension) when each profile is the "outcome" of (intergenerational and/or individual) mobility and immobility respectively.<sup>34</sup> Difference between the

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two crystallization profiles pivots upon the (collectively) ascribed criterion of ethnic group repute. Assumptions as to this criterion's importance in the consequences of status inconsistency will be specified. Viewing mobility intergenerationally for the moment, positionally inconsistent individuals of this type may have maintained a profile of inconsistency (i.e., been immobile) while others within this profile may have attained it (i.e., been upward mobile) from a positionally consistent background unequivocally low on these criteria. Obviously, achievement criteria are the only ones on which an individual qua individual can register change.<sup>35</sup> By the same token, persons recognized as belonging to a highly ranked ethnic group with correspondingly high rankings on achievement criteria (thus displaying positional consistency) may vary in their experience of objectively marked mobility. Some have maintained this consistency profile (i.e., immobile) and some were reared in families with significantly lower achievement ranks (i.e., upwardly mobile) than ethnic group rank. Once status inconsistency profiles and intergenerational mobility patterns are thus dichotomized,<sup>36</sup> the combination of possibilities just delineated for the members of an aggregate who are conceived to be profiled at uniformly high levels of achievement (relative to others rankable by the same criteria) is exhausted. Figures 1.1 and 1.2 illustrate this.



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Figure 1.

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Figure 1.

		ETHNIC GROUP STATUS	
		LOW	HIGH
FATHER'S ACHIEVEMENT STATUS-RANK	LOW	<u>1</u> Upward Mobile Inconsistent	<u>2</u> Upward Mobile Consistent
	HIGH	<u>3</u> Stable* Inconsistent	<u>4</u> Stable* Consistent

Figure 1.1. Current Status Consistency Profile and Inter-Generational Mobility Experience of High Achievement Individuals by Ethnic Group Status and Father's Achieved (Education, Occupation, Income) Status-Rank

\*Those few experiencing significant downward mobility will be analyzed separately from the Immobile (Stable) in the testing of hypotheses. First, it is not anticipated that many will fit criteria of downward mobility, i.e., not enough to significantly test a hypothesis of extreme politico-economic Conservatism for which there is strong research and theoretical justification (as opposed to the others in the Inter-generationally stable profiles).

FATHER'S ACHIEVED	CONSISTENCY (SET)	PROFILE ASCRIBED	SON'S MOBILITY -	CONSISTENCY
(Low	1	Low) →	Upward Mobile	- Inconsistent
(Low	2	High) →	Upward Mobile	- Consistent
(High	3	Low) →	Stable	- Inconsistent
(High	4	High) →	Stable	- Consistent

Figure 1.2. Inter-generational Mobility and Status Consistency Profile of an Aggregate Uniform in High Achievement

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When the Upward Mobile of High and Low Ethnic Group reputations are compared, it is revealed that the former's mobility entailed an inter-generational shift from an inconsistent (High ascribed; Low achieved) to a consistent profile whereas the latter's mobility entailed a shift (from consistent to inconsistent profile) quite the opposite. This reveals certain weaknesses in a "status equilibration" thesis that charges that structural inconsistencies generate "equilibrating" tendencies and that structural consistencies are always inherently preferred.<sup>37</sup>

Figure 1.2 may more clearly portray this relationship for a status relatively (and uniformly) high in socially recognized achievement (e.g., in occupational, educational, and income prestige).

It should become evident that Social Mobility (viewed individually as well as intergenerationally) and Status Inconsistency (as conceived)<sup>38</sup> are the independent variables in this study and that (direction of) politico-economic opinion is viewed as the main dependent variable.

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### The Format of Presentation

This thesis will take on this format. Chapter II lays the theoretical groundwork for the hypotheses only adumbrated at this point. The empirical support in social mobility and status crystallization research is reviewed and a "middle-range" theory of postulates, theorems, and hypotheses is developed in this chapter. In Chapter III, the methodology of research design is laid out: the linkage of operations to the conceptual variables is specified; the logic of proof is stated and accompanied by the statistical techniques; finally, the procedures of the field work are reported. The results of this field work, the data, are presented in Chapter IV. An analysis to verify the major hypotheses of the study is reported. Implications of the study's findings are drawn out in Chapter V and suggestions are offered for theoretical refinement through ongoing strategies of research.

#### FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. / G. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," American Sociological Review, 19 (August, 1954), pp. 405-413.
2. Ibid. Concurrent here are the findings of I. Goffman, "Status Consistency and Preference for Change in Power Distribution," American Sociological Review, 22 (June, 1957), pp. 275-281.
3. Lenski, op. cit., p. 411. Status Crystallization is viewed as the polar opposite of Status Inconsistency of ranks. A vital distinction must be made here between "positional inconsistency" of status ranks and "status incongruence." The former denotes a structural discrepancy between ranks held on different objective criteria upon which an individual may be profiled. No teleological grounds for expecting equivalence of rank (either by the profiler or the profiled) is built into this conception. "Status incongruence," on the other hand, is a subjective reaction resulting from expectations by others and/or oneself that one's status-ranks ought to be equivalent and that status inconsistency ipso facto results in the disruption of predictable inter-personal behavior. E. Sampson's terms, "status incongruence" and "expectation incongruence" match this distinction, but this writer prefers to highlight the distinction by the usage first mentioned. See E. Sampson, "Status Congruence and Cognitive Consistency," Sociometry (June, 1963), pp. 146-162. The usage adopted here in this study is that recommended by L. Broom, "Social Differentiation and Stratification," in R. Merton (Ed.), Sociology Today (New York: Basic Books, 1957), p. 430. For an entirely different usage of "status inconsistency," see Footnote 6.
4. Ibid., p. 413.
5. Of course, no discussion of this concept should neglect its intellectual precursors. Max Weber's recognition and emphasis upon a multi-dimensional conception-of economic class, social honor, and power hierarchies-of stratification implicitly recognizes the possibility of an individual holding imbalanced ranks in unbonded aggregates. M. Weber, "Class, Status, and Party," in R. Bendix and S. Lipset (eds.), Class, Status, and Power (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954), pp. 63-75. E. Benoit-Smullyan is often credited as the first

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contemporary to discuss the behavioral implications of the possession of disparately conceived ranks in the economic, social, and political "ladders," positing "conversion" processes as generating dynamics toward the equilibration of ranks. See Benoit-Smullyan, "Status, Status Types, and Status Inter-relations," American Sociological Review, 9 (1944), pp. 151-161. This argument is critically evaluated in this thesis.

6. Another conception of "status inconsistency" not adopted here views inconsistency of status as an attribute of inter-personal encounters wherein two or more actors' ranks in two or more hierarchies may clash situationally. See G. Homans, as quoted in A. Malewski, "The Degree of Status Incongruence and its Effects," in R. Bendix and S. Lipset (Eds.), Class Status, and Power (New York: Free Press, 1966 edition), pp. 303-309.
7. J. Gibbs and W. Martin, Status Integration and Suicide (Eugene, Ore.: University of Oregon Press, 1964).
8. E. Jackson, "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress," American Sociological Review, 27 (1962), pp. 469-480. Also Jackson and Burke, "Status and Symptoms of Stress: Additive and Interactive Effects," Pacific Sociological Review, 30 (1965), pp. 556-564.
9. G. Lenski, "Status Crystallization and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, 21 (August, 1956), pp. 458-464.
10. W. Landecker, "Class Crystallization and Class Consciousness," American Sociological Review, 25 (1960), pp. 219-230.
11. G. Rush, "Status Inconsistency and Right-Wing Extremism," American Sociological Review, 32 (February, 1967), pp. 86-92.
12. Rush acknowledges this himself, ibid. This possibility is noted as well by M. Gordon, Social Class in American Sociology (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1958), p. 192. Also see S. Lipset and R. Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley, Calif.: U. of California Press, 1963), pp. 64-71.
13. W. Kenkel, "The Relationship Between Status Inconsistency and Politico-Economic Attitudes," American Sociological Review, 21 (June, 1956), pp. 365-368.
14. K. Kelly and W. Chambliss, "Status Consistency and Political Attitudes," American Sociological Review, 31 (June, 1966), pp. 375-382.

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15. G. Lenski, "Comment on Kenkel's Communication," American Sociological Review, 21 (June, 1956), p. 368.
16. Ibid. These four dimensions of Liberal-Conservative attitude were factors of Civil Rights, Civil Liberties, Welfare and Internationalism.
17. Lenski has commented upon this in general in "Crystallization," p. 411, and in "Comment," p. 368. He has specifically noted this in "Status Inconsistency and the Vote: A Four Nations Test," American Sociological Review, 32 (April, 1967), p. 300. Those studies that have failed to corroborate Lenski's early findings employ a measure of status inconsistency that fails to include an ascriptive criterion such as Ethnic or Religious identification repute.
18. Lenski, "Crystallization," p. 411. A permutation of 30 or more points among any pair of status-ranks rendered it as a high-low pair. But, note that this was done for respondents already calculated as status inconsistent. Possible cases of 30 point gaps between ranks among the respondents labeled as status consistent were not included. However, it is suspected that such a gap between ethnic group rank and relatively uniform ranks of education, occupation and income (thus, not "mathematically" status inconsistent) would yield the same degree of politico-economic Liberalism as found amongst the status inconsistent with low ethnic group rank. This seems to be a reasonable assumption. If 3 of the 4 rank positions are the same, an inconsistency score as low as 53 (the break-point in Lenski's sample) is impossible unless there is a difference of 47 percentile points on a fourth scale.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid. Jackson (op. cit.) found significant differences in symptoms of stress utilizing the same major distinction--ascriptive and achievement rank juxtaposition.
21. R. E. Mitchell, "Methodological Notes on a Theory of Status Crystallization," Public Opinion Quarterly (April, 1964), pp. 315-325.
22. Ibid., pp. 380-382.
23. If the unequivocally consistently low ranked individual registers greater Liberalism in politico-economic matters than does the low achievement ranked individual of high ethnic group repute, this is a class-controlled study that would jeopardize Lenski's thesis. But

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if a comparison of the unequivocally low with the status inconsistent of low ethnic repute is conducted, this is not class-controlled, but it is an equally critical comparison for testing ("caste-controlled," as it were) the charge that ethnicity alone is responsible for politico-economic orientation independent of class.

24. Empirical validity of this distinction is offered by M. Gordon, op. cit., pp. 252-254, and in his Assimilation in American Society (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), that American Society is criss-crossed by two sets of stratification structure, the one based upon social status, political and economic power...all achievable qualities individually...and a different, largely ascribed criterion, viz., racial-ethnic, and to a lesser extent, religious hierarchy. In this latter work, Gordon introduces the concept of "ethclass" with which to dramatize the inter-penetration of these two parallel hierarchies. The functional utility of this concept, in a real sense, is on trial in this thesis.
  
25. I would not wish to convey the impression that responsibility for level of achievement is always the individual to whom the level of prestige attaches itself. There is a certain artificiality between the two. Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1945). Ascriptive status and achieved status are indeed ideal artificially distinct types. In actuality, familial benefits transmitted in socialization and legally for consolidating and accruing additional achievements are ascriptive. On the other hand, to a lesser extent, one can "pass" into or "achieve" a higher ranked ascriptive status. K. Svaalostoga terms rank on achieved criteria "positional" and rank on ascribed criteria "personal," but we will not adopt this usage as it appears more misleading than the achieved-ascribed distinction. See his "Social Differentiation" in R. Faris (Ed.), Handbook of Modern Sociology (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964), pp. 530-575.
  
26. S. M. Lipset, Political Man (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1960), especially Chapters 4 and 7.
  
27. Lipset and Bendix, op. cit.
  
28. Lipset, op. cit., pp. 101-102. Lipset is not the first to have concluded this. G. H. Smith found such a distinction fruitful in 1948 as quoted and tested in Wesley and Beverly Allinsmith, "Religious Affiliation and Politico-Economic Attitudes," in D. Katz et al. (eds.), Public Opinion and Propaganda, SPSSI (New York: Henry Holt, 1954). Kelly and Chambliss indirectly confirm this as well, op. cit., pp. 380-381.

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29. E. G. Lipset, op. cit., pp. 109-111. Elsewhere, Lipset contends that the "authoritarian personality" is concomitant with the low degree of non-economic Liberalism among the "lower classes." See his "Working-Class Authoritarianism" in Political Man, Chapter 4. The most excellent recent summary relevant to the relationship between social mobility and non-economic beliefs ("prejudice") remains Bettelheim and Janowitz, Prejudice and Social Change (Chicago: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963).
30. Lipset and Bendix, op. cit., pp. 64-70.
31. It should be acknowledged that in most continental European countries an opposite pattern is discerned. The upward mobile among "Blue-Collar" workers tend to become more "leftist" in voting patterns and in political affiliations. Lipset and Bendix, ibid., speculate that this is due to greater frustration and non-acceptance at higher class levels in a more rigid, sub-culturally separated hierarchy that new skilled tradesman experience.
32. Lipset and Bendix, p. 69. As an aside here, the relationship between upward mobility and downward mobility with non-economic Liberalism has been more inconclusive than for economic Liberalism. It can be safely argued in this regard that the balance of "evidence" is so closely matched between increasing, decreasing, and no difference in degrees of Conservatism, after upward mobility that no conclusion can be yet made. See Hodge and Treiman, "Occupational Mobility and Prejudice Toward Negroes," American Sociological Review, 31 (February, 1966), pp. 93-103, for a good coverage of the existing materials.
33. A debt is due to E. Laumann's Prestige and Association in an Urban Community (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966), Chapter 1, for a clarification of the microscopic level of analysis and to N. Glazer and A. Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory (Chicago: Aldine & Co., 1967), for a discussion of formal versus substantive theoretical concerns (mine are the former) and the stress upon grounding theoretical provisions in existing, synthesized research data.
34. To this author's knowledge, the only published theoretical discussions of this inter-dependent relationship are made in passing by Mitchell, op. cit., and more directly, in Milton Bloombaum, "The Mobility Dimension on Status Consistency Research," Sociology and Social Research, 48 (April, 1964), pp. 340-347. Bloombaum's two major instructions are that change in

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occupational prestige must not be the sole criterion of upward mobility and that upward and downward mobility may have radically dissimilar consequences, especially when involving dissimilar changes in status consistency profile. Also H. M. Blalock, "Status Inconsistency, Social Mobility, Status Integration, and Structural Effects," American Sociological Review, 32:5 (1967), pp. 790-801.

35. Again, it should be stressed that the registration of change on achievement hierarchies may have been achieved, but that the maintaining of achievement ranks doubtless includes a sizable ascriptive element. However, the hierarchies themselves regardless of how the ranks thereupon are attained, maintained, or "lost" (i.e., the mechanism mainly ascriptive or individual) are in reference to humanly possessed goods and the prestige (status-rank) attached to them. They may be gained or lost, quite unlike ascriptive "goods." See Leo Schnore, "Ascribed and Achieved Statuses" in M. Barron (Ed.), Contemporary Sociology (New York: Dodd-Mead, 1967), pp. 202-205.
36. The conversion of continuously ordered (ordinally) formal attributes to any discrete categorization inevitably entails decisions as to proper breaking points. Justification for creating but two categories (high and low nominally) will be provided in Chapter III. At this point, a bifurcation simplifies the illustration of a complex phenomena without undue complication or serious distortion of the principles being illustrated.
37. The term "equilibration" is a loaded word, and has been, since introduced in this context by E. Benoit-Smullyan, op. cit. The assumption that inconsistent ranks on prestige hierarchies ipso facto energizes its own dynamics for resolving and eliminating it has been debunked by a number of recent scholars. For example, Sampson, op. cit., argues convincingly that equilibration is a behavioral tendency only if inconsistent ranks are of a generally uninstitutionalized and unanticipated sort, i.e., subjectively incongruous and normatively jarring. See also Andrzej Malewski, op. cit. Equilibration of ranks (toward equality) as an independent tendency carries an overload of metaphysical weight. Optimum balance of ranks need not entail equivalence of ranks.
38. It is here plainly acknowledged that "ethnicity," and not status inconsistency, is actually tested in this study. See pp. 58, 105, and 112-113.

## CHAPTER II

### THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### Theoretical Hypothesis I: Research Support in Social Mobility

The (inter-generationally or individually) non-mobile at high achievement statuses register greater politico-economic liberalism than do the upward mobile to these high achievement statuses.

The tasks at this stage are two-fold. The theorems and postulates underlying this theoretical hypothesis must be made explicit. First, however, existing research findings bearing upon this expectation must be analyzed. Evidence touching upon this hypothesis is summarized in Lipset<sup>1</sup> and in Lipset and Zetterburg.<sup>2</sup> Although the number of American (U.S.A.) studies is scanty, there are no known results counter to the tendency proposed. The impact of inter-generational mobility upon politico-economic orientations has been mainly viewed as the impact of occupational prestige mobility as independent variable and political party preference as dependent variable, assuming that Democratic Party preference manifests liberal and Republican Party preference reflects conservative economic orientations. Our comments on this assumption will be reserved for a later section. Patterson found that upward mobile Wisconsin Congressmen were more conservative on issues

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than were inter-generationally immobile Congressmen.<sup>3</sup> Riesman and Glazer argued that the upward-mobile Irish in America have become more politically conservative concomitant to success in higher economic status.<sup>4</sup> E. Maccoby found that upward mobile youth in Cambridge, Massachusetts, were more likely Republican than the non-mobile in the class to which the upward mobile moved.<sup>5</sup> The MIT Center for International Studies showed that, among a sample of 1,000 Business executives, 5 per cent from manual occupational family backgrounds were Democratic whereas 10 per cent of those from executive families were Democratic voters.<sup>6</sup> P. S. West found that upward mobile college graduates from Democratic family backgrounds tended, with age, to adopt Republican affiliations.<sup>7</sup> Centers, too, has commented on an attitudinal drift toward political conservatism among the upward mobile.<sup>8</sup> Tangentially related is Lipset and Gordon's findings that non-union members, in an "Open Shop," tended to have been successfully mobile much more so than union members.<sup>9</sup> Thus, American data seem to indicate that, up to now at least, successfully mobile sons of manual workers become more conservative than their present occupational cohorts who did not experience occupational mobility.

What is embarrassingly lacking are systematic and stringently couched theorems from which the empirically supported hypothesis emanates deductively.<sup>10</sup> The ideas most frequently adduced to account for the greater politico-

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economic conservatism among the upward mobile (relative to their current class cohorts) are that the upward mobile (either before, during, or after movement) "over-identify" with their newfound position's presumed politico-economic orientation and/or "suppress" ideological vestiges of their socio-economic origin. The dynamic postulate underlying these "explanations" is that individuals strive to maximize their security in new, more desirable milieux, to the grounds for belonging in the new milieux. The politico-economic ideology often attributed to the "Nouveaux Riche" is a case in point.<sup>11</sup>

Extensive debate has surrounded the consequences of upward social mobility for primary relationships, interpersonal relations, and kinship solidarity.<sup>12</sup> Since that theoretical controversy here is relevant for our concerns, it will be briefly reviewed. In a recent summary of this debate, Ellis and Lane pose Sorokin's "dissociative hypothesis" that mobility structurally induces a sense of marginality, to different reference groups (longitudinally), weakens older inter-personal and primary group linkages and makes new linkages difficult to form.<sup>13</sup> Thus, frustration and insecurity ensue upon mobility. Ellis and Lane contrast this view with a "compensatory hypothesis" that stipulates that these same behavioral correlates have preceded the mobility, indeed often facilitate it.<sup>14</sup> Thus, Dynes et al. found that interactional difficulties with siblings and peers were related to high occupational

aspiration levels and indeed to higher occupational mobility.<sup>15</sup> This recasting of a "selectivity" versus a "drift" hypothesis is unimportant for our purposes. In either case, it is argued that whether as a compensation or as a structural precipitator, mobility impairs primary relations in the "class of arrival."

Broadly, this substantive view may be compared with an "ameliorative hypothesis" that submits that, through anticipatory socialization, the upward mobile become remarkably well acclimated to their new social milieu behaviorally and ideologically.<sup>16</sup> What is interesting to note here is that whichever consequence or concomitant of mobility (in the area of current primary relationships) one accedes to, it seems theoretically tenable to predict conservative politico-economic predilections (when ascribed status is held constant). If it is the most politically conservative at one level who are the most likely to ascend therefrom, then the mobility is likely to entrench these values, as shall be theorized. Note that since politico-economic conservatism is more prevalent at each ascending class level, then such an individual is less of a deviant at any higher level than in his original position. Higher aspiration would be a perfectly natural reaction toward ideological directions in line with his. On the other hand, increasing politico-economic conservatism may be a more unintentional consequence subsequent to mobility. If the individual is accepted, then his ascending positional rank

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along its valued achievement dimensions should foster and/or reinforce his faith in a system in which such a move was possible. The mobile, being in a more dramatic position to affirm these values than the inter-generationally stable, should champion the politico-economic values regarded as responsible and reject measures that would grant betterment for people who did not strive and work for them. If the person has come to rank higher on all achievement criteria, but his reference groups still hold him in probation, his allegiance to them might still not flag, but remain high, in fact ritualistically so. Whichever, with class comparisons and ascribed levels of status controlled, greater politico-economic conservatism seems most plausible.

In a society in which individual advancement is still actively encouraged (but in which the means for same have radically changed) as a cultural value, where the lack of legal bars to mobility opportunity is stressed, the upward mobile are defined as successful and are more able, in any case, to bring their consumption patterns in line with their economic success. This is in contrast with pre-WWII European countries, wherein traditional gaps between multi-bonded social classes were more distinct.<sup>17</sup> Thus, open encouragement of mobility on a contest basis favors attitudinal consequences in the mobile aligned with, and latently functional to, the continuation of these values.

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hypothesis": if results are as expected, no power is gained in predicting which mechanism of mobility is responsible. If results are the unexpected (i.e., liberalism) neither mechanism of mobility can be responsible and no explanation is suggested. One way to reduce this dilemma is to give more attention to the relative impacts of different types, amounts and "end-points" of social mobility (see Chapter III). For the moment, type of mobility will be stressed.<sup>18</sup>

Studies of individual (career or worklife mobility) mobility are sorely lacking, especially those that bring worklife and inter-generational data together. Thus, we do not know the relative impact of inter-generational and career mobility as distinct accountants for variance with specified correlates or dependent variables. Indeed, there is often theoretical vagueness as to which type is at issue in formulations of the impact of social mobility. Implicitly, then, the similarity of their effects is presumed without any basis in empirical data. In this work, varied conceptual and operational specifications of (achievement) mobility will be employed--in particular, separate measures of individual and inter-generational mobility--to explore the possibility of their differential impact upon politico-economic orientation. Granted, no entrenched or even suggestive lines of thought undergird or guide expectations save the suggestion by Wilensky that individual mobility may be a more telling reference than is inter-generational mobility both for those in the Labor Force and for the sociological investigator as well.<sup>19</sup>

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Theoretical Hypothesis II: Research Support  
in Status Inconsistency

The status-inconsistent at high achievement levels register greater politico-economic liberalism than do the status consistent at these same levels.

Evidence for this class-controlled theoretical hypothesis has solid empirical footing as well as direct anchorage to sound undergirding postulates. It should again be pointed out that no generalized concept of "status inconsistency" is theorized as associated with liberalism in this thesis.<sup>20</sup> In particular, the status inconsistent at low achievement levels are excluded from this hypothesis. It is granted that this design does not crucially test for a "status inconsistency" effect exclusive of the effects of "ethnic group prestige." What is needed is a typology of individual reactions to imbalanced status-ranks in which politico-economic liberalism reflects one major alternative reaction hypothesized as pronounced among the status inconsistent at high achievement-low ascriptive profiles.<sup>21</sup>

A desire to change operating systems of evaluation affecting one's "life-chances" (a re-evaluation) is one alternative reaction to imbalanced ranks that will be most pronounced among those whose lowest salient rank(s) cannot be raised (at least by dint of individual effort).<sup>22</sup> When their individual mobility on such a dimension of status is blocked, a number of alternative responses is conceivable among those with an inconsistent status profile. Many involve no intentional changes in a system of evaluations

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wherein one's lowest status is unraisable. Isolation<sup>23</sup> (withdrawal and apathy) from those who would stress this criterion in interaction or Insulation<sup>24</sup> (interacting with only those who do not stress this criterion or with those who share the same inconsistency profile) are reaction responses to status inconsistency of this sort but, like individual mobility itself, do not logically entail attitudes favoring societal change. On the other hand, collective efforts at stratum mobility (among an inconsistent stratum) or position mobility necessarily involve the re-definition of the values of a status system.<sup>25</sup> Thus, among Interactional preferences and actualities, efforts at collective mobility have more direct and "radical" political consequences than efforts at individual change.

The most notable individually unchangeable status-rank in industrialized societies composed of groups of various national origins is that of ethnic group prestige. Reputations varying in favorableness are collectively ascribed, albeit informally and usually extra-legally, to ethnic group "members" stereotypically--a description and an evaluation. Individual change to another ethnic group prestige level is virtually impossible and attempts to improve the ethnic group collective status by individual means is equally so. The status inconsistent of low ethnic group prestige find that their status ranks cannot be equilibrated because of blocked stratum mobility. No "conversion processes" are available. Thus, energy is directed in other

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channels. Let us examine:

The degree of status inconsistency is directly related to the extensiveness of preference for change in power distribution when experienced opportunities for upward mobility are low.<sup>26</sup>

and, more basically,

If an individual of incongruent (read "inconsistent") status cannot raise the lower factors of his status, he will tend to reject the system of evaluation which justifies his humiliation and will join those who are opposed to that system.<sup>27</sup>

Zelditch et al. argue that a form of protest for redefinition may take a "left-wing" or "right-wing" form.<sup>28</sup> Whereas the "right-wing" protest is one which attempts to increase the importance of older, established higher rank and decrease the importance of a new rank which it sees as displacing it--the left-wing protest does precisely the opposite.<sup>29</sup>

It is the disposition of opposing older prevailing criteria (viz., ascriptive) and of accenting newer societal criteria (e.g., educational achievement) which characterize, it is hypothesized, the status inconsistent of low ascribed (ethnic group repute) status.

Any inventory of possible reactions to imbalanced ranks indicates how naïve is any comprehensive generalization positing "equilibration at all costs," since it ignores blocked mobility situations. Available evidence only weakly confirms propositions of the sort "if imbalance--then equilibrium efforts."<sup>30</sup> Reactions are likely to vary with type of inconsistency profile, but also to vary (it is acknowledged) within each type of profile. At any rate, extreme

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politico-economic liberalism as the operationalization of a "left-wing protest redefinition response" appears most frequently likely not only at this particular configuration of status inconsistency, but is also a more likely orientation than found among status consistent profiled persons of equivalent achievement. Thus, Politico-economic liberalism is the outcome of imbalanced ranks only when the possibility of individual mobility is seen (phenomenologically) as blocked on the low status factor.<sup>31</sup> Attempts to have others evaluate them by viewing their higher statuses are often enough frustrated such that either a heightened evaluation of their achieved status criterion is sought or a raising of the stratum's by redefinition (structural upheaval) is.<sup>32</sup> Either entails liberal politico-economic orientations.

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Hypotheses of Additive and Interactive Effects

	STATUS INCONSISTENT	STATUS CONSISTENT
UPWARD MOBILE	1	2
NON-MOBILE (STABLE)	3	4

Figure 2.1. Discrete Bifurcation of Mobility and Status Consistency Profiles

Theoretical Hypothesis III: (additive)

The stable at high achievement statuses who remain status inconsistent (Set 3) register greater politico-economic liberalism than do the upward mobile to these statuses who attain status consistency (Set 2).<sup>33</sup>

If clear-cut linkages exist between interrelated postulates and theorems and Theoretical Hypotheses I and II, no separate premises need be provided for this hypothesis. Indeed, it would be deductively derived therefrom. However, it may be that theorems directly apropos to this hypothesis, but not as directly tied to Hypotheses I and II, may better explain the data that will support this hypothesis.

Indeed, the liberalism predicated among the status inconsistent may be largely due to those who have not experienced mobility and have mobility blocked the most. Individuals categorized in set 2 illustrate, it is inferred, that mobility toward status consistency is associated with the strongest acceptance of operating status evaluation systems and the least alienation thereto.<sup>34</sup> Conversely, failure to change status inconsistency by their achievement

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cohorts leads to their greater desire for change in these systems.

Indirect collaboration of this hypothesis emerges from a synthesis of a number of studies of student activists (extremely liberal on politico-economic issues) which indicated that they were preponderantly of relatively well-to-do families, the fathers of whom were disproportionately from groups of recent immigrant status compared to non-activists on campus. Their grandfathers and fathers were more highly educated and stably of high social status to a greater extent than those of non-activists. They were not drawn, therefore, from disadvantaged or uneducated groups.<sup>35</sup>

#### Theoretical Hypothesis IV: (interactive)

The upward-mobile to high achievement levels who in the process have become status inconsistent (set 1) will not significantly differ from the stable who remain status consistent (set 4) in the registering of politico-economic liberalism.

The inter-active effects of social mobility and status inconsistency thus far discussed engender conflicting expectations for persons categorized in sets 1 and 4. The additive effects of these two variables should produce limiting extremes of politico-economic orientation for those typologized in sets 2 and 3. While it is expected then that others (sets 1 and 4) will register orientations intermediate to these polar extremes, current empirical findings and theorems offer no basis for anticipating significant differences since the comparative influence of social

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mobility and status inconsistency upon such opinions is not known. Thus, one major purpose of this research will be to investigate the nature of differences manifested between these two types of individual. Otherwise, a middle-ground position (with perhaps great dispersion) is anticipated as a result of "cross-pressures." In any stratum, those typologized in set 4 would be far more numerous than those in set 1. Nevertheless, those in set 1 provide living proof that the desire for social mobility may be stronger than any desire to retain a status-consistent profile "at all costs" (not to mention "living" proof of societal opportunities for mobility).

Since no theoretically based difference in liberalism can be predicted between these two sets, the form of the hypothesis to be tested for significance ( $p \leq .05$ ) ought to be positive, i.e., in order to reject a hypothesis of difference, the size of the difference would have to be so small as to occur only 5% of the time if there actually were a difference. Since this reasoning has no known precedent, our findings here can only be evocative and not determinative.

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### Axiomatic Theory: Postulates, Theorems, and Hypotheses

All of the essential elements for a foundation of inter-related postulates and derived theorems whereby the four theoretical hypotheses could be deduced are available. This is not a general theory of the dispositional impact of Status Inconsistency or Social Mobility by any means. Hans Zetterburg has systematized an axiomatic theory pertinent to explaining the impact of relative status ranks (as uniform social evaluations) upon dispositions (cognitions, attitudes, and expectations; particularly attitudes or opinions) of individuals through the maintenance (and enhancement) of self-evaluations.<sup>36</sup> Derivable theorems apropos to situations wherein persons receive non-uniform evaluations (e.g., hold imbalanced status ranks) and, additionally, find mobility blocked in balancing status-ranks, have been introduced by Galtung.<sup>37</sup> The most pertinent of these postulates and theorems will be listed seriatim with only minimal commentary:

- POSTULATE 1. A person's dispositions are related to (in large part guided by) a desire to maximize favorable self-evaluations.<sup>38</sup>
- POSTULATE 2. A person has a tendency to develop self-evaluations synonymous (directly related to) with uniform evaluations of him that occur in his action system.<sup>39</sup>
- POSTULATE 3. A person has a tendency to develop dispositions that are synonymous with uniform evaluations (social values) in the action system.<sup>40</sup>
- POSTULATE 4. A person has a tendency to receive uniform favorable evaluations in direct relation to the status ranks that he holds on valued status criteria in his action system.<sup>41</sup>

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Theorem 1. A person's tendency to have dispositions synonymous with (favorable to) uniform beliefs, values, and norms in his action system increases to the extent that favored uniform evaluations of him occur in the system (i.e., in direct relation to his uniform status ranks).<sup>42</sup>

Theorem 2. Persons seek maximum total rank.<sup>43</sup>

Theorem 3. Persons seek to equilibrate their status-ranks upward.<sup>44</sup>

With Theorems 2 and 3, the possibility of problematic, multi-dimensional status profiles for individuals is introduced. At this juncture, if the structured inability of a person to raise his lowest status-rank (and thus equate them) is specified:

Theorem 4. Persons will try to define interaction so that their highest perceived status rank will be recognized, i.e., persons wish to be evaluated in terms of their highest status.<sup>45</sup>

Theorem 5. Persons will try to focus emphasis on the highest rank(s) held on the criteria that are most highly societally valued, i.e., weighted with prestige in the action system. Thus, in a society in which achieved statuses are culturally invested with more prestige than are ascribed statuses, a person will emphasize in a comparison his highest achieved status, at least where it is equal or superior to his highest ascribed status.<sup>46</sup>

Therefore, upward mobile (inter-generationally) persons will tend to stress their attained status ranks more than those persons who have "merely" maintained them (since greater energy investment was entailed in their accomplishment). Their tendency to espouse dispositions uniform to their (new) status ranks should also be expected

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to be higher, although this is tenuous, since Theorem I reminds us that this is dependent upon the receipt of favored uniform evaluations at the new level (i.e., "acceptance"). That this is the more likely if his achieved statuses are now more in line with his ascribed statuses is a suggested clue as to the relationship between upward mobility and status consistency and politico-economic conservatism. In any event, the level of Theoretical Hypothesis I has been reached:

The stable at high achievement statuses register greater politico-economic liberalism than do the upward mobile to these same high achievement statuses.<sup>47</sup>

From these theorems and postulates, certain dispositional correlates of status inconsistency (as delimited) are accountable. Those who hold relatively high (attained or maintained) achievement statuses, but low ascriptive status(es) have mobility toward equilibrated, maximum total rank blocked. Their status claims in terms of energy-invested culturally idealized (i.e., achievement) statuses are not always recognized instead of their irrevocably ascribed status(es). Malewski has in fact posited that persons (alter) tend to evaluate other persons (ego) in terms of ego's lowest perceived status-rank in order to enhance alter's own relative standing vis a vis ego.<sup>48</sup> While this cannot be accepted as a general postulate in our formulation, persons who do receive non-uniform status evaluations on different criteria would be less likely to have dispositions

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synonymous with uniform values, norms, and beliefs to the extent that others tend to evaluate them in terms of an unraisable (low) status factor. Certainly, those of high achievement status(es) would be expected to react more unfavorably to prevailing allocations of power, privilege and prestige if and when they were evaluated in terms of a low and unraisable status factor than any other category of status inconsistent (or consistent) persons. If the status-consistent at high levels of achievement and ascription register attitudes synonymous with (and favorable to) uniform (prevailing) evaluations more often than do the status inconsistent at equivalent achievement levels, then conversely, the latter are more likely to register attitudes less synonymous with (and less favorable to) prevailing uniform values in a system.

At this point, we have reached the level of the hypotheses of Goffman and Malewski (respectively) earlier quoted.<sup>49</sup> Such an individual, in the words of Zelditch et al., is disposed to a "left-wing" protest<sup>50</sup> for redefinition of a "system of evaluation which justifies his humiliation"<sup>51</sup> and will be opposed to prevailing norms, beliefs, and values more commonly espoused among others of equivalent achievement. This proposition of significant difference among status consistent and status inconsistent at high achievement levels is identical to Theoretical Hypothesis II at issue in this study:

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The status-inconsistent at high achievement levels register greater politico-economic liberalism than do the status consistent at those same levels of achievement.<sup>52</sup>

The clearest deductive inference from this theory is a Hypothesis of Additive (Theoretical Hypothesis III) effects. The compounding of status inconsistency (as delimited) with stable inter-generational or career levels of achievement renders dispositions significantly more liberal than the combination of a status consistent profile attained upon upward mobility from a high ascribed-low achieved profile when current achievement levels (high) are controlled:

The stable at high achievement statuses who remain status inconsistent will register greater politico-economic liberalism than will the upward mobile to these high achievement statuses who attain status consistency.<sup>53</sup>

Those others who fit intersecting categories (viz., the upward mobile status inconsistent and the stable status consistent) in terms of theoretical expectations would be anticipated to register intermediate degrees of liberalism and perhaps not significantly differ when compared. Theoretically, interactive effects are posited that would modify extreme expressions of favorableness-unfavorableness to class stratifying orders. Investigation of an actual aggregate that can be classified into the four categories should reveal dynamic clues as to this hypothesized relationship for which no theoretically determinative expectations of significant difference are provided:

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The upward mobile to high achievement levels who have become status inconsistent will not significantly differ from the stable who remain status consistent in their expression of politico-economic liberalism.<sup>54</sup>

### Summary

In this Chapter, a theoretical framework whereby the results of a segment of social mobility and status consistency studies may be subsumed is developed. Additionally, the intersection of upward social mobility with a particular profile of status inconsistency (high achieved-low ascribed) is articulated and undergirded theoretically. Of basic concern in this study is not vertical stratification processes, but a dispositional correlate of mobility toward, and ascribed-achieved inconsistency within, a "horizontal" class of achievers. From this framework, four major hypotheses are deduced, as follows:

1. The (inter-generationally or individually) non-mobile at high achievement statuses register greater politico-economic liberalism than do the upward-mobile to these high achievement statuses.
2. The status inconsistent at high achievement statuses register greater politico-economic liberalism than do the status consistent at these same levels.
3. The stable (non-mobile) at high achievement statuses who remain status inconsistent (Set 3) register greater politico-economic liberalism than do the upward-mobile to these same statuses who attain status consistency (Set 2).
4. The upward-mobile to high achievement levels who in the process have become status inconsistent (Set 1) will not significantly differ from the stable (non-mobile) who remain status consistent (Set 4) in the registering of politico-economic liberalism.

The methods for examining these hypotheses concretely will be designated in the following Chapter.

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## FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Lipset, op. cit. Most of this research has been with reference to occupational mobility and between simple inter-generational mobility from "Blue Collar" to "White Collar" occupation, at that. An increasing overlap in prestige between these two broad occupational categories distorts, no doubt, that interpretations of attitudinal consequences. For a critique of this tactic as well as the strategy of conceiving occupational mobility as a sole gauge of social mobility see S. M. Miller, "The Concept and Measurement of Mobility," in Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology, Volume III (1963), pp. 144-159.
2. S. M. Lipset and H. Zetterburg, in Lipset and Bendix, op. cit., Chapter 1.
3. W. Patterson, "Intergenerational Occupational Mobility and Legislative Voting Behavior," Social Forces, 43, pp. 85-90.
4. D. Riesman and N. Glazer, "The Intellectuals and the Discontented Classes," in D. Bell, The New American Right (New York: Criterion Books, 1955).
5. E. Maccoby, "Youth and Political Choice," Public Opinion Quarterly (Spring, 1954), pp. 30-40.
6. Quoted in Lipset and Zetterburg, op. cit., p. 67.
7. P. S. West, "Social Mobility Among College Graduates," in Bendix and Lipset (eds.), op. cit. (1961), pp. 465-480.
8. R. Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1944).
9. S. M. Lipset and J. Gordon, "Mobility and Trade Union Membership," in Bendix and Lipset, op. cit., pp. 491-500.
10. T. Lopreato has come the closest to a formulation keyed to accounting for British-American and Continental differences. See "Upward Social Mobility and Political Orientation," American Sociological Review, 32:4 (1967), pp. 586-593.



11. E.g., S. M. Lipset, "The Radical Right," British Journal of Sociology, 6, pp. 176-209. Tumin's idea of the "Cult of Gratitude" is apropos. See M. Tumin, "Some Unapplauded Consequences of Social Mobility in a Mass Society," Social Forces, 36 (1957), pp. 32-37. An assumption, usually implicit among students of this area, which reflects the lack of concern over the structural overview of mobility in a society in assessing its consequences for individuals, is that upward mobile individuals presume themselves to be a minority among those at the same achievement levels, at the new "class-level." For impressionistic illustrations of this "explanation" and this implicit assumption see P. Berger, Invitation to Sociology (New York: Ballantine Books, 1962), Chapter 3. Also W. Dobriner, Class in Suburbia (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963), Chapter 4. Whether mobile individuals actually feel this way should be a matter of empirical concern, not a priori judgment.
12. P. Blau, "Social Mobility and Inter-Personal Relations," American Sociological Review (June, 1956), pp. 290-295.
13. R. A. Ellis and C. Lane, "Social Mobility and Social Isolation; A Test of Sorokin's Dissociative Hypothesis," American Sociological Review (April, 1967), pp. 237-257.
14. Ibid., p. 238. See Footnote 4 for a partial bibliography of empirical support.
15. R. Dynes et al., "Levels of Occupational Aspiration: Some Aspects of Family Experience as a Variable," American Sociological Review, 21 (April, 1956), pp. 212-225.
16. R. K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Rev. Ed.) (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957), pp. 254-255, 262-265, and 384-385. Note that the ameliorative hypothesis in regard to favorable interaction in the new stratum implies nothing as to the dissolution of older ties although Merton would agree that the latter do weaken.
17. Quite instructive here is the report of "sponsored" mobility still prevalent as an operating mode of advancement in Great Britain as opposed to the mode of "contest" mobility still prevalent, especially ideologically, in the United States. See R. Turner, "Sponsored and Contest Mobility," in Bendix and Lipset (eds.), Class, Status, and Power (2nd Ed.). In the former mode, only one kind of "failure" is recognized in regard to social mobility: failing after having been "sponsored" (e.g., through educational or other

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channels). In the United States, on the other hand, value is placed upon "equality of opportunity" which downplays the realities of unequal "starting points" and produces two strains or sources of failure: (1) that of not trying, and (2) trying and not succeeding. In both cases, such occurrences are defined as individual failures and not so much as due to societal forces.

18. H. Wilensky, "Measures and Effects of Mobility," in N. Smelser and S. Lipset (eds.), Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development (Chicago: Aldine Press, 1966), p. 104, Footnote.
19. Ibid., pp. 103-104, 130.
20. To emphasize this point, the coining of a term to refer to this profile of status inconsistency and this profile only--e.g., status disparity--was considered, but was not felt to solve the problem. It will have to be remembered that "status inconsistency" in this thesis refers only to the "high-achieved-low ascribed" configuration.
21. First efforts at this task are made by James Kimberly, "A Theory of Status Equilibration" (Chapter 9), and by M. Zelditch, Jr., and B. Anderson, "On the Balance of a Set of Ranks," pp. 258-278, both in J. Berger et al., Sociological Theories in Progress (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1966). For a typology of related interest, see J. A. Geschwender, "Continuities in Theories of Status Consistency and Cognitive Dissonance," Social Forces, 46:2 (1967), pp. 160-172.
22. See Footnotes 23 and 24, this chapter.
23. For example, as phrased by Malewski, op. cit., p. 306: "If an individual has several incongruent (read inconsistent) status factors, some of which are evaluated as lower than others, he will show a tendency to avoid those people who react to them." This avoidance postulate is akin to one voiced by Lenski in "Status Crystallization and Social Participation," op. cit., p. 458: "Low crystallization respondents are more frequently non-participants in voluntary relationships than are high crystallization respondents." In a discussion of "role segregation," Goffman (op. cit., p. 380), discusses the plight of the person wound into networks of interpersonal relations wherein his discrepant ranks are simultaneously salient. Insofar as possible, persons will segregate these roles in performance. See also Zelditch and Anderson, op. cit., p. 259, for a catalogue of "withdrawal responses."

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24. Werner Landecker, op. cit., p. 327, so infers:  
". . . a person who combines within himself a set of disparate statuses has a basis for interaction with others whose status constellation shows a similar degree of similar disparity."
25. Zelditch, Jr., and Anderson, op. cit., pp. 261-265.
26. Goffman, op. cit., pp. 379-381.
27. Andrzej Malewski, op. cit., p. 305. If to "join those . . . systems" is viewed not only as associational membership, but possibly as sympathetic opinion agreement only, this hypothesis is akin to Goffman's. See also E. Jackson, op. cit., who makes a similar prediction.
28. Ibid., pp. 261-265.
29. Ibid.
30. Donald Trow, "Status Equilibration in the Laboratory," Pacific Sociological Review, 10:2 (1967), pp. 75-77, makes this clear and cites supporting literature.
31. Under different circumstances, viz., where mobility is perceived as possible as well as desirable, experimental evidence submitted by G. H. Fenchel et al., "Subjective Status and the Equilibration Hypothesis," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 46, pp. 476-479, supports an equilibration tendency toward consistency. Their findings indicate that, among ego's reference groups, his aspiration for mobility is highest in the group in which he feels he is evaluated the lowest. (Even so, there are exceptions.) Mobility here coincides with raising lower ranks to level of the highest. This would be in accord with Malewski's theorem (op. cit.): "If an individual shows several incongruent (read "inconsistent") status factors . . . if he perceives the possibility of changing the lower factors, he will tend to raise such factors as are rated lower."
32. J. Galtung, "Rank and Social Integration: A Multi-dimensional Approach," in Berger and Anderson, op. cit., pp. 168-171.
33. The impulse to construct the table such that cells 1 and 4 represent categories in which the extremes of politico-economic liberalism are expected and cells 2 and 3 represent profiles for whom intermediate levels of liberalism have been resisted. Whichever conception of social mobility is at issue, the form of the schema remains unchanged.

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34. Confirmation of this is provided by a recent work of high caliber, in R. Brymer's unpublished Doctoral Thesis, "Status Inconsistency, Social Mobility, and Alienation," Michigan State University, 1967. Brymer attempts to determine whether alienation and its factors are more significantly distributed among the upward mobile and status inconsistent and finds no evidence of a significant relationship.
35. R. Flacks, "The Liberated Generation: An Exploration of the Roots of Student Protest," Journal of Social Issues, 23:3 (1967), pp. 52-75. This entire issue of Social Issues is devoted to related findings.
36. H. Zetterburg, "Compliant Actions," Acta Sociologica, Vol. II (1957), pp. 179-201. For the full statement of this foundation, the reader is referred to this work as only the postulates and theorems essential to our formulation are presented here. For later modifications of this theory, see H. Zetterburg, "On Motivation," in Berger and Anderson, op. cit., pp. 124-142. Also see Lipset and Zetterburg, op. cit. For a thorough exposition of the nature of axiomatic theory, see Zetterburg's On Theory and Verification in Sociology (New York: Bedminster Press, 1963).
37. Op. cit., pp. 170-180.
38. Lipset and Zetterburg, op. cit., p. 163. Although Zetterburg has appeared to "temper" this postulate in his most recent writing cited ("On Motivation") to posit the "maintenance" rather than the "maximization" of self-evaluations, he finds it necessary to posit an additional motivation postulate--absolute increments in achievement are required in order to maintain relative status rank in an achievement criterion--a "treadmill" principle. Loc. cit., pp. 135-138.
39. "Compliant Actions," p. 187. Also, Lipset and Zetterburg, loc. cit. This dictum has many precursors, most notably C. H. Cooley's "Looking Glass" Hypothesis. See C. H. Cooley, Human Nature and Social Order (New York: Scribner & Sons, 1902), pp. 183-185. Zelditch and Anderson, op. cit., state the principle: a person tends to develop a self-evaluation at least as positive as that which others have of him. Pertinent to this and the other postulates is the scope of the relevant action system in which the person is involved. Of late, great stress has been placed upon concepts of "significant others" and "reference groups" as the salient systems of evaluation associated with self-attitudes and dispositions. In this study, however,

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action system will go undefined and the scope will be broader than the aggregate under study, but will comprehend the total stratification order as conceived at the societal level.

40. "Compliant Actions," p. 186.
41. This is to be a basic premise of this study and will require justification. See Chapter III, Part B.
42. Zetterburg, "Compliant Actions," pp. 188-190. This is a compression of his theorems 3 and 5. It is independently derivable from Postulates 3 and 4 above.
43. Galtung, loc. cit. It is derivable from our Postulates 1, 2, and 4.
44. Idem.
45. Idem.
46. Idem.
47. Supra, p. 20.
48. Malewski, op. cit., p. 304.
49. Supra, p. 28.
50. Supra, ibid.
51. Supra, ibid.
52. Supra, p. 26.
53. Supra, p. 30.
54. Supra, p. 31.

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## CHAPTER III

### THE DESIGN OF RESEARCH

#### The Research Population: Sampling Design

The members of an occupational aggregate conceived to fall at "high" percentile levels of educational attainment, income, and occupational prestige relative to the median levels of other occupations in the Labor Force serves as an ideal aggregate in which to investigate any differentiating effects that ascribed-achieved rank inconsistency and experience of social mobility may have upon politico-economic opinion. The members of a relatively prestigious occupation fairly uniform (i.e., not notably stratified internally) with respect to education, income (or prospects thereof), and additionally in type of organizational work context would qualify, especially and particularly if there is little discrepancy among the percentile ranks of its median levels of achievement (in the critical and scalable areas of education, income, and prestige) relative to other occupations in the Labor Force.<sup>1</sup>

To test the relationships at issue in this study, a sample from an occupation meeting these standards was sought. For our purposes, it was important that the occupation's members vary broadly in ethnic background and in

socio-economic origin. Both expectation of wide ethnic representation and frequency of social mobility were critical factors attending the choice of the aggregate. There had to be reason to expect sizeable numbers of both mobile and non-mobile as well as status consistent and inconsistent individuals in the occupational sample.

Public Junior College Instructors well satisfy each of these requirements. The uniformity of organizational setting of (public) Junior College teachers is apparent. Junior College Instructors, as interpolated on a revised NORC Occupational Prestige Scale,<sup>2</sup> are a comparatively high ranked occupation. All of their median achievement ranks are well above the median levels of the Labor Force in general.<sup>3</sup> Analysis of their median achievement levels of education, income, and occupational prestige reveals that their educational rank (percentile) exceeds by thirty points their median income rank in the Labor Force with their occupational prestige falling roughly midway between.<sup>4</sup> Occupations which manifest this profile (an underpaid occupation relative to individual educational investment) tend to be peopled by relatively high numbers of minority group members: "women," Negroes, more recently migrated ethnic stocks, etc.<sup>5</sup> Thus, in terms of likely ethnic group variability, too, Junior College instructors should offer a good testing unit. Also, occupations profiled in this manner, compared to other equally prestigious occupations, are ones that evidence suggests tend to lean toward politico-economic

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liberalism.<sup>6</sup> This fact, it should be remembered, should not affect intra-occupational comparisons of instructors differing on the ascribed axis.<sup>7</sup> As for sufficient range in mobility experiences, teaching (at all public educational levels) has long been noted by many as a major channel of upward mobility.<sup>8</sup> Thus, among junior college instructors (male), more upward mobility and status inconsistency might be anticipated than in other occupations of comparable achievement ranks. For these reasons, Junior College instructors were chosen.

A major principle of this study is that a strong functional relationship empirically exists between educational, occupational, and income attainment for individuals in this society.<sup>9</sup> Equilibration among achievement levels is increasingly dependent upon educational attainment as a "springboard" for mobility in our society and as a "lever" of power to bring about higher relative income and occupational prestige. Teaching as an occupational milieu manifests this trend. No long discursis on the marginal plight of the junior college instructor caught between "higher" and "lower" public educational pressures will be indulged in this thesis save to cite this peculiar status bind.<sup>10</sup> Traditionally, teachers at all levels in American Society have been expected to "earn less than they learn," a view prevalent even among teachers themselves up until recently. With the increased accent on educational attainment (as pivotal for status) that viewpoint becomes anachronistic,

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as much recent militance for salary increases among public school teachers attests. Junior College teachers have not stood in the background of this movement.

To this writer's knowledge, no one has investigated the relationship of status inconsistency (and certainly not along the ascribed-achieved axis) with politico-economic opinion among any occupational group. As for the consequences or concomitants of social mobility for politico-economic belief in the case of public school teachers, Ziegler has contributed an uneven set of data to support his pertinent charges.<sup>11</sup> He argues that both upward and downward mobile teachers (inter-generationally) tend to be more politically conservative than other teachers because of "over-identification with their class level."<sup>12</sup> He does point out that as the proportion of males increases in teaching, liberal political attitudes tend to increase although the mobile and non-mobile difference remains.

With this introduction, the following sampling frame was conceived. A stratified random sample of one hundred junior college instructors was selected from three large Public Junior Colleges in three highly urbanized and industrialized (yet middle-sized) Michigan cities. Two demographic and economic factors in particular were favorable to the choice of these areas. First, a wide variety of first and second generation ethnic stocks was known to be represented in these communities.<sup>13</sup> Secondly, each of these areas is economically dominated by automobile



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manufacturing which in fact ought to highlight and bring into sharper relief the spectrum of politico-economic opinions in such communities on issues which serve as the material to be explored in this study. These three junior colleges from whom respondents will be pooled will be labeled "D," "F," and "L" Junior Colleges, so named for the cities in which they are located.

The sample of one hundred instructors was drawn from lists of the male, full-time teaching personnel (in all fields) between the ages of 25 and 45 during the academic year 1967-68 for the three schools. These lists were obtained by permission of the Personnel Sections of the schools. Earlier, entry had been accorded by communication with the Assistant Dean in each school in question as well as independently by vote of the Faculty Senate in each School. From these lists of names and ages, every individual who (by inspection of last name) might be presumed Status Inconsistent was selected.<sup>14</sup> Then, a sample of Status Consistent matched by age to the (presumed) Inconsistent sub-sample was chosen randomly. Thus, the likelihood of equal numbers of Consistent and Inconsistent (as operationalized) was maximized both within each school and in the pooled sample. This sampling method was chosen in light of the assumption underlying the statistical methods appropriate to the study's purposes. In particular, it should be observed that no attempt is made to view this sample as representative of either "Junior College Teachers"

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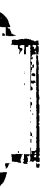
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in general or even of "Instructors in Colleges D, F, and L." Rather, it is opinions among individuals of particular status profiles that we are sampling. The size of the sample was limited, as anticipated, by the relatively few numbers of those to be coded as "Status Inconsistent" (see next section) even in these ethnically heterogeneous areas of the State. Given the non-parametric assumptions and limits of inference, this sampling strategy maximized the chance of equivalence of those that, for the purposes of this investigation are termed "status inconsistent" and "status consistent." As for social mobility, the other key independent variable is permitted "freedom to vary" in the sample. Only through structured questioning is the prevalence and the impact of social mobility (as variously conceived) discovered.

The Conceptualization and Operationalization  
of Variables

One main impediment stands in the way of quantifying (by an ordered metric if not interval scale) degrees of "status inconsistency," viz., the lack of any yardstick to measure level of "ethnic group repute" as an indicator of ascribed status-rank. The calculus developed by Lenski in calibrating an individual's ranks of education, income, and occupational prestige (socio-economic achievement ranks) and "ethnicity" presupposes that a general community-wide system of evaluation of ethnic group identity (a mixture of racial, nationality, and religious cultural identification) exists independently distinct from the stereotypical conception (and evaluation) of their achievement levels in American society.<sup>15</sup> Lenski's technique in assigning normalized status scores to ethnic groups relied upon transformations of panel-derived rankings to percentile ranks which in turn is based upon cumulative frequencies for groups at each ordinal position.<sup>16</sup> This technique cannot be accepted because of this faulty assumption alone. Even if his calibrated equal-appearing interval scale for ethnic groups could be justified, the nature of the overall instrument neglects the type of achievement-ascription disparity that is the focus of this inquiry.<sup>17</sup> The substantive tag of "status inconsistent" is equally meaningful for this type of profile having only one component askew despite its probable placement as "status consistent" via Lenski's



calculus. Other criticisms of the instrument are of course superfluous inasmuch as these alone unequivocally force its abandonment.

Yet, some procedure for ordering ethnic group prestige that meets reality tests is necessary. One possibility considered was the conversion of hierarchies of social distance to ethnic-Americans to a hierarchical order of prestige. After all, relatively reliable orderings of the social distance of American ethnic groups have been obtained (in 1926, 1946, and 1956) and it has been suggested that they are tantamount to prestige rankings.<sup>18</sup> Is this a valid transposition? Briefly, raters were asked to give a personal judgment of various ethnic groups on a seven-point (Thurstone-method constructed) scale of ascending degree of intimacy-preference ranging from "would debar from my nation" (7) to "would marry into group" (1). The stability of these resultant rankings over a period of thirty years attests to a value hierarchy of "preferred interaction" for ethnic groups in this country. Of course, it is essential that no rater be permitted to evaluate his own ethnic group if a prestige transposition is to be made.<sup>19</sup> But even more vitiating to that tack is the following caveat. Intuitively, it is felt that a person might quite faithfully (and accurately) acknowledge or even overestimate the "general community standing" of a stereotyped ethnic group at the same time that he shows a pathological distaste for association with the same group (even to the point of

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"excluding them from my [sic] nation") due perhaps to unfortunate encounters with persons stereotyped as "representative" of that group.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, while there is a rough correlation between the rank orders of Social Distance to Ethnic groups and that order derived from Lenski's panel technique of eliciting relative community prestige, they each at best give ordinal rank orders of non-equivalent dimensions.

It is at the ordinal level that our scaling of ethnic prestige must rest. Quite consistent with Lenski's and Bogardus' scales is the ordering of American ethnic groups schematized by Warner and Srole in their monumental work of the 1930's.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, their scale is grounded in a set of principles which serve to organize much data including, as shall be seen, Lenski's and Bogardus' hierarchies. Warner's formulation will be employed in this study.

Warner provides a theory of racial-cultural assimilation that orders (within "racial" groups) the relative degree of subordination of American ethnic groups closely correlated with their degree of (or time estimate for) assimilation into American society. Within the Caucasian racial type, language (English) and religion (Protestant) are idealized as key determinants of high prestige, supposedly due to the early settlement and cultural dominance (backed by politico-military dominance) of the Protestant British (Type I). In this Anglo-conformity model of ethnic

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prestige, "mixed" stocks (Protestant or English speaking but not both: Types II and III) of relatively early migration rank next to English speaking Protestant groupings in the time for assimilation and corresponding degree of subordination. Ranking next in prestige are ethnic groups neither basically English speaking nor Protestant be they Roman Catholic or non-Christian (Types IV, V, and VI).

An ordinal bifurcation between Caucasian ethnic stocks that does not greatly distort current ethnic prestige evaluations (when generation of individual descendants is held constant) will be the ordering principle for High and Low ethnic group prestige in this work as follows:

- High: English Speaking and/or (primarily)  
Protestant (Cultural Types I, II, III)
- Low: Non-English Speaking and (primarily)  
non-Protestant (Cultural Types IV, V, VI)

Assuredly, gradations within each nominal category exist but virtually no exceptions overlap the barrier when compared with Social Distance or, more importantly, with Lenski's summary statement of ethnic group standing.<sup>22</sup>

The attribution of "status inconsistency" is now straight-forward. Utilizing Lenski's components but not his operations, status inconsistency is viewed here as a discrepancy between (on the one hand) educational rank, income rank, and occupational prestige score (rank) and (on the other hand) ethnic group lineage as here demarcated. Instructors who trace their national origin to primarily English speaking and/or primarily Protestant notions are

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classified as "status consistent"; their achievement cohort who trace their national origin to primarily non-English speaking and primarily non-Protestant nations are classified as "status inconsistent."<sup>23</sup>

By direct query, instructors provided the name of their country of birth as well as the citizenship of their father and paternal grandfather. This enabled the actual determination of ethnic prestige placement for the instructors. The following table demonstrates the actual ethnic breakdown in the sample. What is especially noteworthy is the wide ethnic representation in the "Status Inconsistent" segment and the fact that no sharp differences emerge between the colleges.

Table 3.1. Number of status inconsistent by specific ethnic identification by college<sup>24</sup>

	<u>COLLEGE</u>		
	"D"	"F"	"L"
Polish	2	5	0
Italian	4	0	1
Austro-Hungarian	2	3	1
Russian	0	3	0
Turkish	1	0	2
Czech	1	1	0
Lebanese	2	0	0
French	2	0	0
Chinese	1	0	1
Negro	0	2	0
Roumanian	0	0	1
Columbian	1	0	0
Greek	1	0	0
Indian	0	1	0
Spanish	0	1	0
	<u>17</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>6</u>

Parsimony demands recognizing the danger of attributing to a construct of "status inconsistency" (as limited as it is in this context) that which "ethnic group prestige" alone could explain. It is conceded that no crucial test of this construct's heuristic value is conducted until samples of varying achievement but of identical ethnic group prestige (low) are compared in their expression of (in this case) politico-economic liberalism.

The indices of current educational and income status for junior college instructors (occupational prestige = 85) are the percentile scores of 96 and 63 respectively. In the balance, percentile ranks are vastly superior to other methods of assigning achievement scores particularly for longitudinal and comparative studies. One drawback in their use is the interpretation of prestige level as a linear function of the scalar score of a dimension (e.g., income, education) must be assumed valid. Evaluations of amounts of education and income are presumed to be directly transposable to prestige levels. The crucial advantage in comparative studies of this sort of using percentile ranks as a benchmark is that relative positions at time "X" and time "X + 1" are being compared. The effects of different structural distributions or change in absolute (median) figures is canceled out in comparisons of achievement position across generations. Thus, and this is vital in social mobility comparisons, the effects of structurally induced or demand mobility are desirably canceled out.

Obviously, percentile is not used in the comparison of occupational comparison in the same sense as for income or education.

Attention has been drawn to the importance of specifying the type of mobility in studies of movement or fluidity between social strata (its frequency or its structural or psychological correlates), but few studies have systematically checked these varying types within a single sample. Even less attention has been empirically given to scaling the amount of mobility (whether occupational, educational or income; whether in power, prestige, or economic privilege) as a significant variable linearly or curvilinearly related with other variable(s). Not enough attention has been given to the possibility that the "end point" of mobility might variably affect intraclass comparisons of the mobile and non-mobile. This study will attempt to cope with some of these shortcomings. Following Sagi, social mobility is conceived as a complex multi-dimensional concept consisting of an indeterminate but substantial number of components.<sup>25</sup> First, upward mobility in education, income, and occupational prestige will be separately focused upon and gauged as separate components of mobility. More importantly, both inter-generational and individual (career) measures of occupational mobility will be gauged and compared for this sample of junior college instructors, each of whom is conceived to have identical achievement status-profiles. Amount of mobility (in each achievement component)

is aptly ascertained by the use of inter-generational percentile comparisons. The terminus of mobility is controlled for the mobile in this study, but since no intra-class (achievement levels) comparisons are made here no crucial test of how the associational milieu of junior college teaching affects the mobility-experience (at least as a correlate of politico-economic opinion) can be made in this study.

At the inter-generational level, change in a son's relative position in educational level, income level, and occupational prestige (or type of work category) vis a vis his father may occur in any permutation of possibilities. The prevalence of single-dimensional mobility was to be ascertained and if enough such cases found, partial correlations could be tabulated. The percentile change in each and all three achievement areas for individual instructor was ascertained as follows: from frequency distributions of educational level and income for 1940, 1950, and 1960 (U.S. Census Bureau figures) and from NORC occupational Prestige ratings (1947), percentile rank scales for each were prepared.<sup>26</sup> The rank of each father on these scales was determined from his occupational, educational, and estimated income level information as provided by the son for whichever Census year <sup>most nearly</sup> corresponded to the son's high school years (13-18 years of age).<sup>27</sup> As a nominal judgment of composite achievement mobility, the son was considered mobile if registering 10 or more percentile point rises



upon each of the three indices; stability (non-mobility) was defined as less than a 10 point rise in any one of the three indices.<sup>28</sup> The composite requirements can be charted as follows in Table 3.2. These percentile points represent the highest relative positions that a father may hold in order that his son be considered upwardly mobile.

Table 3.2. Maximum limits of father's position defining inter-generational mobility in education, income, and occupational prestige

	1940	(Sons Aged 40-45)	1950	(Sons 30-40)	1960	(Sons 26-30)
Education	86	(11 yrs. H.S.)	86	(H.S. grad.)	86	(2 yrs. college)
Income	53	(\$2100 N.C. States) (\$2500 Mich.)	53	(\$3200 N.C.) (\$3700 Mich.)	53	(\$5900 N.C.) (\$6500 Mich.)
Occupational Prestige	75		75		75	

Source: See Chapter III, footnote 26.

While objective and uniform criteria are necessary for discrete judgments as to mobility/nonmobility, the objective number of percentile points should have a relevant bearing with subjective analogues, i.e., experienced feelings of upward mobility. Since no proven validity checks of subjectively felt mobility for differing levels of objectively measured mobility exist, the stipulation of a decile "jump" (inter-generationally) will be presumed as necessary minimum to trigger or to render likely such a psychological

concomitant as an intermediate step in inducing the hypothesized reactions.

A final inter-generational gauge of mobility, that from manual to non-manual, was coded from the occupation of the instructor's father. This occupational shift has been the most commonly employed gauge of inter-generational *mobility* despite its many erroneous assumptions.<sup>29</sup> It is worth gauging for any predictive force it may contain in our sample. Finally, these inter-generational gauges will be compared for their relative association with politico-economic opinion.

As mentioned earlier, the study of individual mobility has been relatively ignored.<sup>30</sup> Even when the focus, usually at the descriptive level, it has not been often linked to a theoretical frame but rather to descriptive Labor Force movement studies within a manpower area.<sup>31</sup> Individual mobility in this study is considered not as promotion within a given work place but as change in educational level within an institutional sector having generally recognized prestige increments. The teaching profession at various levels will illustrate this type of career mobility. Movement from junior or high school teaching to Junior College teaching (both within or without the same Public School System) is a fairly common phenomenon, much more frequent than the jump from high school to (4 year) college setting. Even so, it must be recognized on its face as a rise in occupational standing. The impact

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of this shift upon politico-economic opinion will be additionally assayed here. An instructor who has taught at a lower public school level (at least 2 years) will be classified as upward mobile; residually, those who have not taught at another (lower) level will be (in this context) considered as non-mobile.<sup>32</sup> Mobility (individual) is expected to correlate with politico-economic conservatism and will be compared with the inter-generational modes of mobility.

A battery of six items to tap direction of politico-economic opinion was incorporated as the final section of the Questionnaire. This set of items was chosen as the instrument to sample the instructors' evaluations regarding Federal involvement in various Economic matters affecting the well-being of all citizens. The content validity of these items should become apparent. In construction, two are "Likert-like"; five response alternatives ranging from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree" to exhaust the spectrum of reaction (direction) to each issue. The other four items have substantive fixed-choice responses of equal appearing intervals. The issues are tied to an orientation which has traditionally been dimensioned "liberal-conservative."<sup>33</sup> The items were chosen (a) on the basis of their past success in discriminating individuals on this dimension or (b) were constructed in Issue Areas where it was felt some improvement might be in order. For any item, the "liberal" extreme could be generalized as

registering support for federal (nationwide) programs designed to regulate (and enforce) "controls" upon "economic mechanism and institutions" in order to maximize opportunities and "life-chances" for all citizens regardless of their ascribed statuses, i.e., to downplay the significance and deleterious consequences for Economic achievement that ascribed status may have entailed.

Careful wording of these questions was especially necessary because of the verbal sophistication and relative depth of information of this sample (or any sample at this educational level). Insofar as possible, it is desirable that these respondents not know or suspect the underlying factor built into the questions. Realistically, it is suspected that many did define this as a test for "conservatism-liberalism" (if the remarks are any indication). The section of questions was headed:

#### Economic Orientations

Social Researchers are interested in comparing the orientations of different people regarding public issues of the day. One important area in which we often find widespread difference of opinions both between and within occupations is that of the "place" or responsibility of Federal involvement in large-scale Economic problems facing the United States and its people. The following questions are geared to sample your opinions on facets of this relationship. Because many of the items may seem to force you into an over-simplified or even misleading reply, space is provided for your optional remarks in order to give you an opportunity to qualify your opinion. However, we do request that you do answer each question with one check mark only. If you wish to make more lengthy remarks, place them on separate sheets and attach them to the questionnaire. Keep in mind that your opinions registered here are confidential.

The six items followed, with additional space for any open-ended comments:

- 1.<sup>34</sup> The limits of Federal responsibility in regard to the well-being (a minimum acceptable standard of living) of individuals and families in a society with our ideals should be:

\_\_\_ A. To insure that opportunities be kept open (and not illegally blocked) for all individuals to "get ahead" on their own, through governmentally regulated assurances of "Free Competition" within our national boundaries (e.g., maintain tariffs, prevent Monopolization, etc.).

\_\_\_ B. Don't know or undecided as to proper limits of Federal involvement.

\_\_\_ C. Guarantee every person the availability of a steady job paying a "living wage," thus providing a degree of economic security by whatever legislatively approved measures necessary.

- 2.<sup>35</sup> With which of the following statements do you come the closest to agreeing?

\_\_\_ A. By and large, labor unions have been beneficial in our country and are continuing to do a good job.

\_\_\_ B. While there have been some excesses, on the whole labor unions have done more good than harm in this country.

\_\_\_ C. No opinion or undecided.

\_\_\_ D. Although labor unions were and still may be needed in this country, the current practices of large unions are doing our country more harm than good overall.

\_\_\_ E. This country would be better off without labor unions at all.

- 3.<sup>36</sup> "Welfare State" policies of the Federal Government tend to seriously curtail individual initiative.

Strongly  
Agree

Agree

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sequences Vary

Disagree

Strongly  
Disagree

- 4.<sup>37</sup> In regard to Social Security (Old-Age and Survivors Insurance programs and Medicare) Programs, I believe that the benefits ought to be (assuming that individual and employer continue to share the same proportional costs as now):

- ☐ A. Cut back.
- ☐ B. Kept about the same as now except the basis changed to voluntary individual contribution and benefit.
- ☐ C. Kept about the same (with only cost of living adjustments).
- ☐ D. Kept about the same, but with an extension of the programs to all categories of employed worker not now covered.
- ☐ E. Expanded in both coverage and benefits.

- 5.<sup>38</sup> The rights of private ownership and operation of business property against public encroachment must be respected and enforced within the law at practically all costs in order for meaningful personal freedoms to be maintained.

<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u>
Agree				Disagree

- 6.<sup>39</sup> Many proposals aimed at "equalizing" financial opportunities for all citizens have been raised in recent years. Which of the following proposals would you "endorse"?

- ☐ A. Passage of a guaranteed annual wage program to eventually replace current Public Assistance Programs (for unemployed and "unemployable").
- ☐ B. Extension of profit-sharing plans to all levels of employees in private corporations.
- ☐ C. Removal of certain tax credits (which credits tend to harbor tax evasions) for private corporations.
- ☐ D. Continuation of (current) progressive income tax laws.
- ☐ E. None of the above.

Two other items used in pre-tests were excluded from the computation since their Guttman profile indicated that they were subject to inordinate error.

For purposes of coding, the responses to five-choice items were collapsed to a scale of 1 to 3 (Conservative = 1; Moderate = 2; Liberal = 3). It is felt that no real accuracy in gauging the intensity of an opinion is gained in maintaining original gradations of support strength especially when it has been shown that these "alleged" differences may reflect nothing more than linguistic habits in the Likert-type items. The total raw score for individuals then could range from 6 to 18 and for purposes of categorical placement be coded as follows:

6-11 Conservative  
12 Moderate  
13-18 Liberal

Obviously, these boundaries are somewhat arbitrary and, in particular, understress the prevalence of moderates in the sample. But the correlation of conservative or liberal tendencies with regard to politico-economic orientation is the focus here, not the exact grading of the phenomenon. For some statistical purposes, the raw score is employed; for some others, this discrete judgment is used.

Scalogram analysis (see Appendix C) yields a Co-efficient of Reproducibility of .85 and a Minimal Marginal



Reproducibility of .65 for this six-item battery (with three response possibilities per item). Considering that the battery was not intentionally constructed to form a scale sui generis, such a level of scalability<sup>is</sup> suitable for further statistical treatment of the scores.<sup>40</sup> Only two of 85 individuals scored the maximum possible of three errors in response pattern when the items are listed in order of inducing liberal responses. These two instructors were excluded from all further analyses: for the Runs tests in which matched-pairs were employed, they were replaced by two "stand-by" instructors of the same total score.

### The Logic of Proof and Statistical Measures

The basic problem in assuring that the four major hypotheses of this work have been properly checked for fit with the data collected for that purpose is to specify the most powerful statistical measures consistent with the study's assumptions and limits of inference. The scores which will be compared are ordinal and not interval in nature: this holds true for the discrete attribution of Consistency/Inconsistency and summated Social Mobility/Non-Mobility as well as for the percentile shifts and politico-economic opinion scores. Despite the equal appearing "intervals" in percentile assessment and in raw Politico-Economic score (in the items responses constituting the components), these are ordinal and not interval scalar scores. Non-Parametric statistics were employed.<sup>41</sup>

Additionally, the sample is non-parametric in that no "universe" of male, 25-45 year old junior college instructors is conceived of which this is a representative sample. The selection procedures precluded such a conception. At issue here is the investigation of phenomena whatever it refers to: viz., status inconsistency and social mobility (as each is conceived and operationalized). Comparison of their relative frequencies is unnecessary and not at issue, since no descriptive inferences are at issue save that the achievement levels of the sample do coincide with the medians (for income especially) used as benchmarks of achievement. Probability sampling is employed merely to

randomly and representatively tap politico-economic liberalism as it is distributed among the status inconsistent and the socially mobile.

With this in mind, the following statistical techniques were employed:

Hypothesis I. Nominal-Ordinal Measures of Mobility:  
 A. Kolgoroff-Smirnov Two Sample  
     (Independent groups) Runs Test:  
 B. Mann-Whitney U Test

Hypothesis II. Wilcoxin Matched-Pairs Signed-Ranks  
 Test (Dependent Groups)

Hypothesis III-IV. Two-Way Analysis of Variance  
     (four cells) between Status  
     Consistency and Social Mobility  
     Sets (the Wilson Test)

Thus, the total raw score in Politico-Economic Orientation is compared in Hypotheses I and II but the proportion of each sub-set classified as Liberal (i.e., above the median score of 12) is the object of the Analysis of Variance in Hypotheses III and IV. These measures of difference will be refined by controlling for certain face data acquired via the questionnaire. Alternatively, the face data variables may have potential predictive association with politico-economic orientation and this will be explored particularly if the hypotheses are not upheld by the imputed independent variables.

Procedures of the Inquiry

In the fall of 1967, a letter of introduction was left with the 100 instructors in the sample. This letter informed the potential respondents of a study "having both practical and scientific" bearing for which their cooperative participation was urged. It was billed as a study concerned with "the career paths and plans" of Junior College teachers. They were told that they would be personally contacted shortly in order to enlist their participation. Visits to the three colleges resulted in 94 contacts, 92 of whom agreed to complete and return the questionnaire left with them. Eighty-seven actually did return the form, although in a few instances this required follow-up communication.<sup>42</sup> This is a response return-rate of 92%, an extraordinarily high rate, indicating that this combination of personal contact and mail questionnaire technique may be quite effective in maximizing cooperation in studies of this type. Two of the 87 protocols had to be discarded, as the nationality or mobility of the instructor was not determinable from their questionnaire. As indicated earlier, two others were excluded from any testing of hypotheses for their exceedingly erratic response pattern, not only on the opinion section, but elsewhere on the form as well.

It was essential that the percentile position of the instructor's father in terms of education and income be known for the years closest to the son's high school

attendance. The absolute educational level was ascertained by direct query. An income estimate for fathers was obtained by asking if the son thought his father obtained more, about the same, or less than others in his same line of work in their part of the country during that period. If "a little more," "about the same" or "a little less," then the median income for that occupation in that census year closest to the son's high school years was checked and percentile rank determined. As for occupation, the NORC (1947) hierarchy of occupational prestige was serviceable in about two out of three cases; in the others, either intuitive judgment (if the occupation was known to be similar to one of the 90 occupations in the NORC scale) or an estimate based upon Duncan's Socio-Economic Status scale for all occupations was made.<sup>43</sup> If these alternative methods do not give as precise indications of inter-generational change in percentile rank, at least no problems arose in determining whether or not a 10 point change had been registered. Of the three separate mobility components, that for income is believed to be the least reliable and for education the most reliable and their chosen indicators the least and most valid, respectively.

The determination of national background (of citizenship) for the respondents was done in a relatively straightforward manner. Again, it is noted that the Low Ethnic Group Prestige Category is a residual category and may shield more differences than the likenesses it clusters.

Thus, a person of fourth generation American citizenship whose ancestors migrated from Great Britain but who is of Jewish "ethnic" origin will be termed Status Inconsistent. Only one case of this type of anomalous placement occurred in the sample in each consistency profile: a Protestant from Italy (therefore, Inconsistent) and a Roman Catholic from Sweden (therefore, Consistent). Nationality and predominant religion of that nation takes precedence over the individual's current religious affiliation as a determiner of his profile category. The coding of the various mobility indices and the consistency profiles was accomplished. Now we are in a position to report the findings and their theoretical significance.

# FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. R. Hodge, "The Status Consistency of Occupational Groups," American Sociological Review, 27 (June, 1962), pp. 336-343. Hodge argues that not enough attention has been directed toward the effects of status inconsistency within functioning groups and quasi-groups such as occupations. Occupations in fact serve as good comparative units wherein the differential effects of varying profiles of median income, occupational prestige, and education render consistency scores which vary directly with other occupational attributes. See Footnote 4 for comment on the relative frequency of such discrepancy in the Labor Force. Hodge's concept is closely related to that of "stratum attribute consistency" in regard to another quasi-group--social classes. See L. Broom, op. cit.
2. R. Hodge, P. Siegel, and P. Rossi, "Occupational Prestige in the United States," in Bendix and Lipset (eds.), Class, Status, and Power (2nd Edition), pp. 322-335. These distributions of prestige data updating 1947 NORC figures show the following scores:  
College Professor: 90  
Public School Teacher: 81  
Lacking more precise indices, our best assignment of Prestige for Junior College Instructors would be intermediate, i.e., 85. The "Public School Instructor" category explicitly was meant to refer to (and serve as a reliability check for) the "High School Teacher" and not to the Junior College teacher. See A. J. Reiss, Occupations and Social Status (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959), pp. 47-48.
3. Its occupational prestige assessment is well above the median assessment of "all" occupations. Census data comparisons for 1960 of the average educational attainments of junior college instructors (5 or more years of college) yield a percentile rank score of 98; 1966 figures would drop this level of education to the 96th percentile. Median income level for Public Junior College instructors in Michigan (all ages) is a maximum academic year salary of \$9130 ~~for all~~ School System Regions for holders of the M.A. in 1966. In Michigan, this income level falls at the sixty-third percentile for white families and unrelated individuals. Educational income data from Teachers Salary Schedule Study (Michigan Education Association, 1966). The 1966 distribution of Michigan income data is based

upon estimates in Sales Management: The Marketing Magazine, "Household Buying Power" (Philadelphia: A Bill Publication, June 10, 1967), pp. D-136 to D-138.

4. This discrepancy may not be so awesome (or accurate) if several facts are kept in mind. (1) All professional groups with rare exception evince a higher educational rank than income rank and some even evince a higher gap than do public school teachers. (2) The annual salary figure quoted for instructors does not take into account summer positions which most (male) instructors take to raise their income and, in effect, their income rank in the Labor Force. (3) Finally, and most noteworthy, status inconsistency figures on these three achievement criteria were calculated during the 1960 Census on the basis of a 5% national sample. Operationally defined (minimally) as a twenty-percentile gap between one achievement level and one (of the other two) other held by this national sample of family heads, the status inconsistent constitute the majority of this representative sample, ranging from 69% in the South to 75% in the North Central States. See Special Subjects Reports: Socio-Economic Status, U.S. Census Reports, 1960 PC (2)-5C, pp. 148 ff. These intriguing findings reveal that this gap between educational level and income may not be unusual relative to other occupations in the Labor Force. For other intriguing implications of these data, see Chapter V.
5. See Hodge, op. cit., p. 342. Also, A. J. Reiss, op. cit., p. 88.
6. Lenski, "Status Crystallization," p. 411. Also, Rush, op. cit. It is instructive to note that the lone inconsistency profile that Rush found did not evince a higher "right-wing" (read "conservative") response than that of the mean of the high-crystallized (read "consistent") was the white-collar, high education, and low income inconsistency profile. This characterizes the Junior College instructor. Unfortunately, Rush did not report in his article the items employed to tap these beliefs.
7. Regardless of occupation, the same internal ordering of politico-economic opinion by status characterization would be anticipated. The occupational milieu may narrow the gamut of and "determine" the distribution of such responses at particular levels but this in no wise affects the comparisons at stake here unless we assume that the associational ethos of an occupation "cancels out" any differentiating effects of mobility and consistency profile and homogenizes opinion. See Chapter V.



8. This is more true of men than women. See Burton R. Clark, "Sociology of Education," in R. Faris (ed.), op. cit., p. 755.
9. Hodge, op. cit., is only one among many who finds this to be patently true. See also, Leonard Reissman, Class in American Society (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959), pp. 386-389. Even more basic postulates for this assumption are afforded by K. Davis and W. Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification," American Sociological Review, 10 (1945), pp. 242-249. O. D. Duncan has been responsible for empirically supporting this contention. Among 88 occupations listed in the original North-Hatt Scale, the correlation (Kendall's Tau) of median income with occupational prestige is .85. For median rank of education with occupational prestige, it is .83. Jointly, the correlation is .91. At the individual (rather than aggregate) level, however, the connection is not as direct. See A. J. Reiss, op. cit., p. 84, and pp. 140-141.
10. The only significant sociological studies of the Junior College Instructor's plight in this regard have been made by N. Friedman, "Career Stages and Organizational Role-Decisions of Teachers in Two Public Junior Colleges," Sociology of Education (Summer, 1967), pp. 231-245; "The Subject-Matterist Orientation Toward Field of Academic Specialization," The American Sociologist, 2:1 (February, 1967), pp. 12-16. An organizational study of the Junior College that also surveys faculty attitudes at the junior college level has been made by L. Medsker, The Junior College: Progress and Prospect (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960).
11. H. Ziegler, The Political Life of American Teachers (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967), Ch. 2. He argues that downward mobility is more common than upward mobility among high school teachers and he focuses upon this plight. Cf. Footnote 8. His charge is all the more curious since he is referring to inter-generational occupational mobility only. If anything, we would submit that upward mobility is more frequent when inter-generational changes rather than individual mobility is focused upon. Also, Ziegler employs only occupational change (as gauged by the Revised Edwards Scale) to reflect social mobility.
12. Ibid., p. 36.
13. United States Bureau of the Census, 1960. General Social and Economic Characteristics: Michigan. Table 79, pp. 276-277. Also Table 70, pp. 214-215.

14. It should be apparent that "family name" does not serve as the indicator of status inconsistency but merely as the best means of selecting a sample which is most likely to contain equivalent numbers of status consistent and status inconsistent. The more rigorous devices for placement are specified in the next section.
15. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension," loc. cit., pp. 406-407.
16. Ibid. A sample of 195 Detroit-area undergraduate students (University of Michigan) rated all of the ethnic groups found in the Detroit area on the basis of "what they thought to be the general community evaluation, as distinguished from their own personal evaluation." Even so, no student was permitted to rank his own ethnic group. Two major objections here are: (1) Unlike education and income, amounts of ethnic prestige are not readily scaled by any interval measure. (2) The diminishing numbers of those at the higher reaches of ~~education~~<sup>income</sup> and education insure their high (percentile) status. Neither an interval scale nor the assumption of diminishing frequency among the highest (ordinal) prestige ethnic group is warranted.
17. Supra, Chapter I, Footnote 18.
- ✓ 18. The ethnic rank orders are well summarized in T. Lasswell, Class and Stratum (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1965), pp. 341-348. The allusion to conceptual equivalence is found on page 343.
- ✓ 19. This is a corollary of the "numbers game" in assigning percentile scores. Social Distance and Prestige level could then easily be ordered by size of ethnic group. People tend to prefer interaction with others of "their own kind" for a variety of reasons. If a Social Distance scale were applied in South Africa to a representative sample of the population, the Bantu would evince the least Social Distance if persons were permitted to rank their own ethnic group. If we convert this rank-order to a rank-order of prestige (or power or privilege) the asininity of the transposition becomes obvious. Also, note that the number of ethnic groups to be scaled in any system must be at least three in the ideal ranking situation.
20. The psycho-dynamics of this possibility cannot be systematized here but is a plausible turn of events.
- ✓ 21. L. Warner and L. Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), remains the most comprehensive source. A quite

satisfactory condensation may be found in Warner's Yankee City volume (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), Chapters 13 and 14. Further references here are from the latter source.

- ✓ 22. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension," pp. 406-407. Here Lenski states en passant that those ethnic groups from "North and Western European" nations (which are primarily Protestant) fall highest in prestige-rank. Those from "South and Eastern European extraction" generally fell lower. Lasswell, op. cit., p. 346, shows that Social Distance hierarchies are closely correlated as well.
23. Of course, those of low achievement indices would be "status consistent" or "inconsistent" in precisely the opposite ascribed status categories.
- ✓ 24. The ethnic breakdown of the status consistent is not presented here. It should be remarked that British lineages dominate that sub-sample. Also, at this point no breakdown by "Foreign Stock" and "Native" stock is presented for the Status Inconsistent except to point out that their proportion of Foreign Stock (first or second generation) is appreciably higher than among the Status Consistent. For this reason, the matching of consistency profile pairs for run-tests by generation was precluded.
25. C. Westoff et al, "The Concept of Social Mobility: An Empirical Inquiry," American Sociological Review, 25:3 (1960), pp. 375-385. They carefully delineate many usually neglected approaches to the investigation of mobility which are of great utility.
26. For both income and education distributions, two "independent" sources of U.S. Census data were employed in the computation of percentile distributions. This was done to heighten reliability. ~~For~~ Income distributions of annual income for white male family heads for the North Central States region and for Michigan were used (inasmuch as these areas were home base for 86% and 61% respectively of the sample). Income sources for 1940, 1950, and 1960 were: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1962, Tables 441-452, pp. 329-336; also, U.S. Census of the Population: 1960, Michigan, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 65, pp. 207-212. For education, the ranks were calculated for white males over 25 years of age in the same regions as for income (both urban and rural). Data for 1940 were from U.S. Census of the Population: 1940, Divisions and States, Table 35. Data for 1950 are from U.S.

Bureau of the Census: 1950, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part I, U.S. Summary, Chapter C. Data for 1960 were collected from U.S. Bureau of the Census: 1960, Vol. I, Chapter C, and the Final Report, PC (2)-5B. Corresponding Michigan data were corroborated in the cited Michigan source, Table 47, pp. 24-192.

27. There still is debate as to which period of father's and son's occupational (or income-making) lives should serve as the bench-marks of comparison. It has been decided here that the late high-school years are crucial for further educational and occupational decision-making and that the father's occupation at this point is the most crucial inter-generational influence upon the son's (sons') future achievements. See Lipset and Bendix, "Social Mobility in an Industrial Society," and also S. Sabuda, "A Methodological Inquiry into Social Mobility," American Sociological Review, 29:1 (1964), pp. 16-23, for an airing of various alternatives, their advantages and disadvantages.
28. One modification was made in practice. If the son registered 15 percentile point shifts upward on any two of the three, ~~the~~ need only have registered a rise in percentile position on the third (usually income percentile).
29. The studies of Lipset and Bendix cited are the most noted example of this type of mobility focus. Insofar as there is great overlap in income (and to a lesser extent, educational) medians between Non-manual (White-Collar) and Manual (Blue-Collar) occupations and even in the Occupational Prestige Hierarchy, it is not a fair assumption that Non-manual and Manual are clear-cut classes of differing prestige, power, and privilege even though there still is much evidence that "switch-over" is relatively uncommon (at individual level of mobility).
30. Wilensky, op. cit.
31. L. Reynolds, The Structure of Labor Markets (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951).
32. This latter is a residual category in that it would include any who might normally be considered (individually) downward mobile, viz., any who may have taught at the University level. Also, it should be noted that this mobility focus excludes other jobs (of lower or higher prestige level) held prior to entering teaching. Interestingly enough, very few instructors (even those aged 35-45) reported holding full-time positions (of at least a year's duration) prior to becoming teachers.

33. Obviously, the terms "conservative" and "liberal" as ideal-type constructs include many connotations beyond those denoted as the focus here. Each of these clusters of nuances could be the object of inquiry given other purposes. It is important therefore that a few of these be specified here in order to waylay any confusion in our usage. One major attitudinal reference of these bi-polar concepts is "change-minded" (or, open-minded) and "maintenance-minded" (or close-minded) marking the "liberal" and "conservative" viewpoint respectively. Note that regardless of content under consideration, the "liberal" is open to considering change whereas the "conservative" is antipathetic to considering changes from existing (established) patterns. This basically psychological reference is not at issue here. In fact, in the choice and construction of items, attempts were made to dilute the empirical contamination of this possible intrusion by including some items in which the substantively "liberal" response would involve change from existing (consensually validated) policies and some items that would not involve change from existing governmental policies. Likewise for the "conservative" responses.

A second nuance faces another substantive (and historically bound) meaning of the terms. This conception is not the focus of this inquiry but we cannot specify whether its actual extrusion has been achieved here. Those typed as "liberal" (politico-economically) thirty years ago would more certainly fit the orientation at issue here than any contemporary sample and particularly one currently in the 25-45 year range of instructors. Sympathies to Federal intervention and to organized strength of Labor Unions may have been reversed (or at least attenuated) in recent years among individuals now characterized as "New Left" as opposed to "Old Left," i.e., "Big Government" may now be becoming an object of alienation or disdain as much as "Big Business" was a generation ago. The over-extension and arbitrariness of power imputed to "Big Business" has in part been transferred to "Big Government" in the "New Left" ideology. In other words, unless precautions are taken, those scaled as "conservative" here may include both the "old-right" plus the "new left" joined by opposition to Governmental intervention in private affairs.

A third nuance of "conservative-liberal" alluded to earlier is that on orientation vis a vis Civil Rights substantive issues. This is not being gauged directly here although it is acknowledged that some of the items skirt dangerously close to this. The theoretical base of support for politico-economic liberalism could serve as well for non-economic conception. See Rush, op. cit., or Supra, page 16, footnote 16, for other sub-scales.

34. R. Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949). Reported in Laumann, op. cit., pp. 180-184. This item taps Issue Area II, Supra, p. 8 (A. Conservative; C. Liberal).
35. B. Berelson et al., Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954). Laumann, loc. cit. This item taps Issue Area IV, Supra, p. 8 (A-B. Liberal; D-E. Conservative).
36. R. Goldson et al., "Political Apathy, Economic Conservatism," in B. Stoodley (ed.), Society and Self (New York: Free Press, 1962), p. 267. This item taps Issue Area II, Supra, p. 8 (Agree. Conservative; Disagree. Liberal).
37. This item was especially constructed for this inquiry. Tapping Issue Area I, Supra, p. 8, preliminary content validity checks were made in a pilot check (A-B. Conservative; D-E. Liberal).
38. This item, slightly reworded, was drawn from A. W. Jones, Life, Liberty, and Property (Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co., 1941). It purportedly taps Issue Area III, Supra, p. 8 (Agree. Conservative; Disagree. Liberal).
39. This item, tapping Issue Areas I and IV, Supra, p. 8, was especially constructed for this inquiry (A-D. Liberal; E. Conservative).
40. P. Hatt, "Occupations and Social Stratification," in Reiss, op. cit., p. 251, footnote 29. Also, Q. McNemar, "Opinion-Attitude Methodology," Psychological Bulletin, 43 (July), pp. 289-374.
- ✓ 41. The most valuable statistical source in the selection of techniques has been S. Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956).
42. Throughout the field phase, the obligation of mutual feedback was stressed. Those who participated were told that they would each receive a resumé of the study's findings. This resumé summarized the relative frequencies of various face variables and gave partial coverage to the hypotheses and their outcome. Also, it should be noted that follow-up letters were necessary for about one instructor in four after three weeks had passed since they had received the questionnaire. All but five who accepted a questionnaire returned it.

43. O. D. Duncan, "A Socio-Economic Index for all Occupations," in A. J. Reiss, op. cit., Chapters 6 and 7, and pp. 263-275.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE RESULTS AND THEIR ANALYSIS

#### Introduction

Before reporting the findings relevant to tests of the major hypotheses of this study, attention must be drawn to certain characteristics of the sample. First, is its aggregate profile, if not representative in any universal sense, at least not suspected to be atypical of younger (under age 46) white male junior college instructors? No definitive answer can be given since no detailed picture of junior college instructors' median years of teaching, income, degree level, teaching field, etc., are available (at the state or nation-wide level) within these limitations of age and sex. However, it is believed that in these aforementioned respects the pooled sample approximates male instructors under age forty-six. The only known qualification to this belief is that the sample intentionally over-represents those of Southern and Eastern European (and Jewish) extraction in each of the respective colleges. Indeed, of 226 male full-time instructors (aged 25 to 45) in the three schools (who incidentally comprise approximately one-half of the total faculties) only 45 could be identified via inspection of family name as "status inconsistent." The stratified random sampling technique



insured their inclusion in the sample.

More importantly, it is believed that the subsamples did reflect the composition of each school in the respects delineated, within the limitations of age, sex, and ethnic representation mentioned. What can be confirmed is the only slight extent of salient difference between the sub-samples that makes pooling them a justifiable procedure.<sup>1</sup> Were the sub-samples radically different in these respects and in patterns of relationship between the critical variables of the inquiry, pooling this data might be indefensible since this would becloud patterns (negating or "canceling" them, as it were) unique to each faculty sub-sample. This possibility must be inspected even though this is not a comparative analysis of institutional frameworks or of teachers by teaching milieu.

The following tables render breakdowns by age, number of years taught, American Federation of Teachers membership, teaching field, and politico-economic Liberalism for the 83 instructors at Colleges "D," "F," and "L."

Table 4.1. Age distribution by college sub-sample

Age	College			Total
	D	F	L	
26-35	12	16	4	32
36-45	26	17	8	51
Total	38	33	12	

Table 4.2. Years taught by college sub-sample

Years Taught	College			Total
	D	F	L	
0-4	8	9	5	22
5-8	3	8	2	13
9+	<u>27</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>5</u>	48
Total	38	33	12	

Table 4.3. AFT membership by college sub-sample

AFT Membership	College			Total
	D	F	L	
Yes	27	12	-	39
No	<u>11</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>-</u>	32
Total	38	33	-	

Table 4.4. Teaching field by college sub-sample

Teaching Field	College			Total
	D	F	L	
Vocational Technologies	13	8	2	23
Natural Sciences	9	8	1	18
Humanities	10	7	5	22
Social Sciences; Counseling	4	9	3	16
Other	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	4
Total	38	33	12	

Table 4.5. Politico-economic orientation by college sub-sample

Politico-Economic Orientation	D	College F	L	Total
Liberal	21	10	6	37
Moderate	4	6	0	10
Conservative	13	17	6	36
Total	38	33	12	

Table 4.6. Status consistency profile by college sub-sample

	D	College F	L	Total
Status Consistent	21	17	6	44
Status Inconsistent	17	16	6	39
Total	38	33	12	

Independent tests of significance with Liberalism were conducted for each of the variables delineated in Tables 4.1 through 4.4 (as well as for others: see Appendix B). In other analyses beyond tests of the four major hypotheses, age was employed as a critical intervening variable between Mobility and Consistency Profiles respectively and politico-economic orientation. Further, an index of individual reactions to hypothetical negative role evaluation was checked for affiliation with type of politico-economic response. Figure 4.1 graphically shows the distribution of these orientations in the sample.

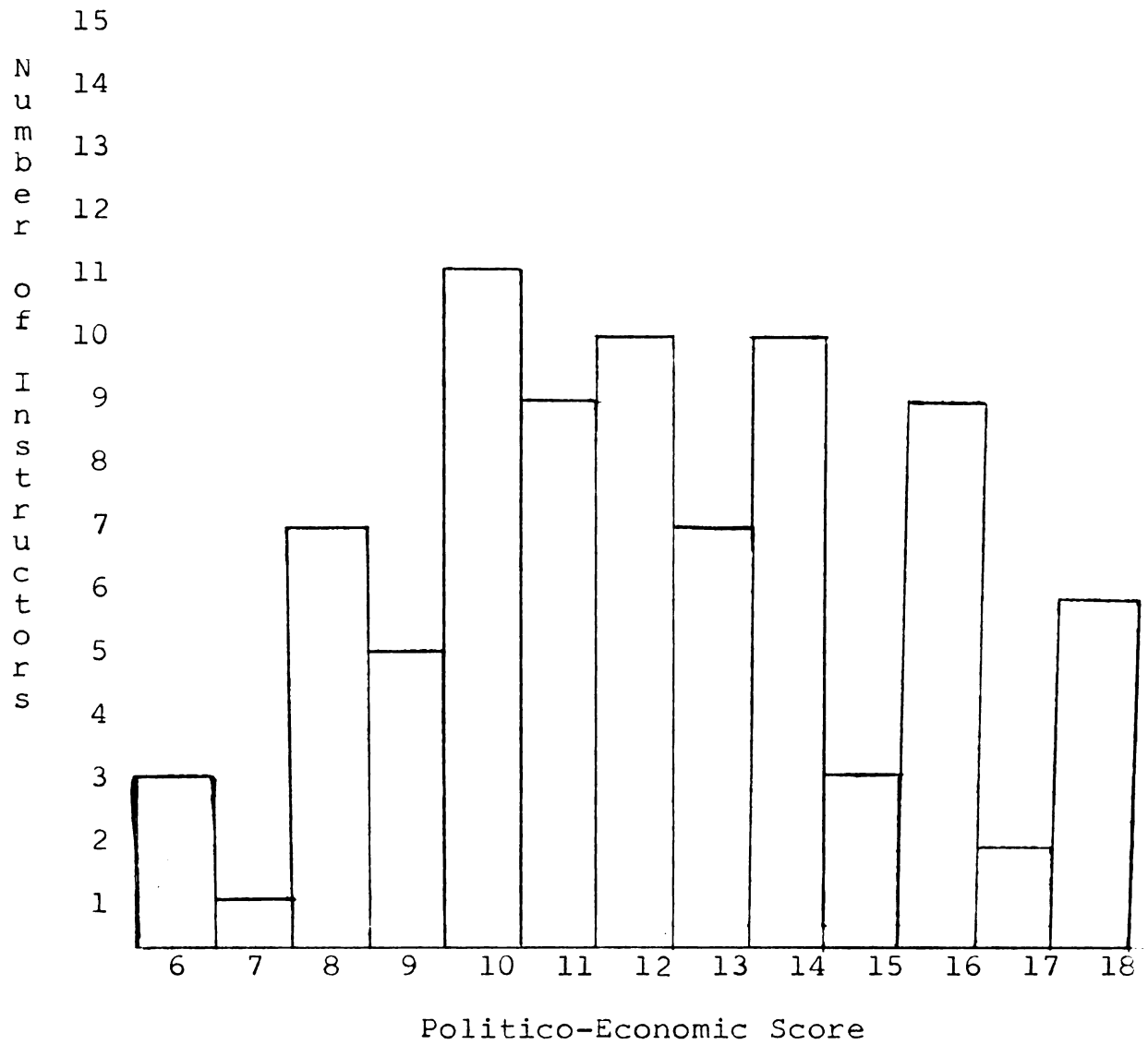


Figure 4.1. Distribution of Politico-Economic Scores

Hypothesis I. Social Mobility and  
Politico-Economic Liberalism

The following conceptions of social mobility were operationalized and gauged for their relation to (raw) politico-economic score:

1. Career Mobility (Individual)
2. Manual (Occupational) Mobility (Inter-generational)
3. Summated Mobility (Inter-generational)
  - a. Mobility (Education)
  - b. Mobility (Income)
  - c. Mobility (Occupational Prestige)

For each index, Liberalism was hypothesized as more prevalent among the Non-Mobile (Stable) than those discretely classified as Upward Mobile. Kolgoroff-Smirnoff Two-Sample Tests and Mann-Whitney Tests alike were employed to test these Independent groupings' significance of difference ( $p = .05$ , one-sided) in Politico-Economic Liberalism. The actual findings are shown in Tables 4.7 through 4.12.

Table 4.7. Career mobility and politico-economic liberalism

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Career Mobility:

$n_1$  = Stable (higher);  $n_2$  = Mobile

Kolgoroff-Smirnov D = .2453,  $p = .08$  (Approx.)

Mann-Whitney U = 749.50;  $n_1 = 39$ ,  $n_2 = 44$ ,

$p = .16$  (Approx.)

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Table 4.8. Manual mobility and politico-economic liberalism

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Manual (Occupational) Mobility: $n_1$  = Stable (higher);  $n_2$  = Mobile

Kolgoroff-Smirnov D = .1779, p = .27 (Approx.)

Mann-Whitney U = 748;  $n_1$  = 43,  $n_2$  = 40,  
p = .15 (Approx.)

---

The raw data for both of these Mobility groupings lie in the predicted direction but since the differences are statistically non-significant, chance factors alone could well be responsible. The prediction of greater Liberalism is not borne out among the other conceptual groupings either and their distribution is (non-significantly) in the opposite direction.

Table 4.9. Mobility (education) and politico-economic liberalism

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Mobility (Education): $n_1$  = Mobile (higher);  $n_2$  = Stable

Kolgoroff-Smirnov D = .2106, p = .24 (Approx.)

Mann-Whitney U = 575.50;  $n_1$  = 60,  $n_2$  = 22,  
p = .19 (Approx.)

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Table 4.10. Mobility (income) and politico-economic liberalism

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Mobility (Income):

$n_1$  = Mobile (higher);  $n_2$  = Stable

Kolgoroff-Smirnov D = .2267, p = .13 (Approx.)

Mann-Whitney U = 646.50;  $n_1$  = 48,  $n_2$  = 34,  
p = .05 (Approx.)

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Table 4.11. Mobility (occupational prestige) and politico-economic liberalism

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Mobility (Occupational Prestige):

$n_1$  = Mobile (>15 points);  $n_2$  = Mobile (10-15 points);  $n_3$  = Stable (<10 points)

Kolgoroff-Smirnov (K Sample Test) Bhapkar V =

2.5409,  $n_1$  = 36,  $n_2$  = 25,  $n_3$  = 22, p = .28 (Approx.)

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Table 4.12. Summated mobility and politico-economic liberalism

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Summated Mobility (Components: Education, Income, Occupational Prestige):

$n_1$  = Mobile (higher);  $n_2$  = Stable

Kolgoroff-Smirnov D = .1973, p = .21 (Approx.)

Mann-Whitney U = 670.50;  $n_1$  = 51,  $n_2$  = 32,  
p = .09 (Approx.)

---

If it be accepted that at least one of these operationalizations meaningfully taps vertical social mobility, then it appears that upward mobility is not affiliated with conservatism inasmuch as each comparison of the Stable and the Upward Mobile yields non-significant differences in politico-economic Liberalism. This lack of support for the Hypothesis (or failure to reject the null hypothesis)--could it be due to age differences of the mobile and stable? Apparently not. The younger are just as likely upward mobile as the older if individual (career) change or summated increments in educational, occupational prestige, and income are the focus. However, significant differences do arise between younger and older instructors' rates of mobility when manual mobility is the focus: the younger tend to be more likely of white collar background (i.e., stable) than the elder sector ( $p < .05$ ).<sup>2</sup>



Hypothesis II. Status Inconsistency and  
Politico-Economic Liberalism

Significantly higher politico-economic Liberalism is evinced by instructors profiled as Status Inconsistent than by those profiled as Status Consistent. Comparisons of the scores of thirty-nine such pairs (matched by age) of instructors yields the following:

Table 4.13. Status consistency profile and politico-economic liberalism

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Wilcoxin Signed-Ranks  $T = 230$ ,  $N = 39$ ,  $p < .03$

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So clear-cut is this difference that no control variable attenuates it to non-significant levels. Since those in a pair are age cohorts, equal proportions of both status inconsistent and consistent are younger (16 of 39) and older (23 of 39). However, does the difference in orientation hold only for the older (status inconsistent) as opposed to the younger? The evidence supports a "No" answer.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the null hypothesis must be rejected: Status Inconsistency and Politico-Economic Liberalism are positively related.

Hypotheses III-IV. Additive and  
Interactive Effects

The median politico-economic score is 12. This mid-point is likewise the boundary score between those classified as Liberal and Conservative. This fortuitous fact enables the comparing of number of instructors above and below this median for the four sets of instructors to be in effect a comparison of the proportion in each set Liberal (or Conservative, were that the major interest). The Analysis of Variance Test employed is Wilson's Two-Way Analysis of Variance. It will be recalled that additive polarizing effects upon politico-economic orientation were hypothesized (Hypothesis III) for the Stable Status Inconsistent (viz., Liberal) and the Upward Mobile Status Consistent (viz., Conservative) with the intersecting sets evincing intermediate politico-economic orientations (Hypothesis IV). Only the former of these expectations of difference was hypothesized as significant. The analysis was conducted utilizing the three conceptions of mobility in turn. Any compounded effects of upward mobility (or stability) with consistency profile may be revealed that may have been hidden by the earlier "one-way" analyses.

Table 4.14. Career mobility, status consistency profile, and politico-economic liberalism

	Total Above Median		Total Below Median	
	Inconsistent	Consistent	Inconsistent	Consistent
<u>Career Mobility:</u>				
Mobile	14	10	4	16
Stable	13	8	8	10
Column $\chi^2 = 6.71$ , $p = .01$				
Row $\chi^2 = .052$ , $p = .82$				
Total $\chi^2 = 7.84$ , $p = .05$				
$\chi^2$ for Interaction Effects = 1.08, $p = .30$				

Table 4.15. Summated mobility, status consistency profile and politico-economic liberalism

	Total Above Median		Total Below Median	
	Inconsistent	Consistent	Inconsistent	Consistent
<u>Summated Mobility:</u>				
Mobile	23	7	8	13
Stable	4	11	4	13
Column $\chi^2 = 6.71$ , $p = .01$				
Row $\chi^2 = 1.17$ , $p = .27$				
Total $\chi^2 = 8.71$ , $p = .03$				
$\chi^2$ for Interaction Effects = .83, $p = .36$				

Table 4.16. Manual mobility, status consistency profile, and politico-economic liberalism

	Total Above Median		Total Below Median	
	Inconsistent	Consistent	Inconsistent	Consistent
<u>Manual (Occupational) Mobility:</u>				
Mobile	11	7	6	16
Stable	16	11	6	10
Column $\chi^2 = 6.71$ , $p = .01$				
Row $\chi^2 = 2.68$ , $p = .10$				
Total $\chi^2 = 9.08$ , $p = .03$				
$\chi^2$ for Interaction Effects = .00, $p = 1.00$				

Table 4.17. Percentage liberal\* by consistency and mobility profile

	Status Inconsistent	Status Consistent
Mobile (Career)	80	25
Mobile (Summated)	74	35
Stable (Occupational)	70	44
Mobile (Occupational)	67	27
Stable (Career)	60	45
Stable (Summated)	50	33

Significant differences between the proportion Liberal exist in each comparison of the Status Consistent and Inconsistent regardless of Mobility profile. The Wilson Analyses of Variance revealed that Inconsistency alone accounts for the total chi-square produced. No interactive

effects between Consistency and Mobility profiles are revealed. However, additively, the Stable Status Inconsistent (on each type of Mobility) exhibit significantly higher Liberalism in the aggregate than do the Upward Mobile Status Consistent. This support for the Additive Hypothesis is tempered by the finding that this is true of the Upward Mobile Status Inconsistent vis a vis the Stable Status Consistent as well. Indeed, except for Occupational (Manual) Mobility, it is suggested that upward mobility may be more associated with politico-economic Liberalism than is non-mobility among the Status Inconsistent.

Further Analyses

Age is unrelated to politico-economic orientation in the sample:

Table 4.18a. Age and politico-economic orientation

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$n_1$ = Younger (higher); $n_2$ = Older
Kolgoroff-Smirnov $D = .09$ , $p = .73$ (Approx.)
Mann-Whitney $U = 799.50$ ; $n_1 = 32$ , $n_2 = 51$ , $p = .50$ (Approx.)

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The proportions discretely liberal, moderate, and conservative do not differ among the older and the younger segments of the sample either:

Table 4.18b. Age and politico-economic orientation

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	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative
Older	23	6	22
Younger	14	4	14

---

Thus, no connection is shown between age and Liberalism or between age and Status Inconsistency or Social Mobility (except for Manual Occupational) respectively.

When the demonstrated relationship between Inconsistency and Liberalism is inspected by age category, it holds for both the younger and older:

Table 4.19. Status consistency profile and politico-economic orientation\* by ratio of older: younger instructors

	Inconsistent	Consistent
Liberal	14:10	7:4
Conservative	9:4	15:10

The older Status Inconsistent is just as likely Liberal as the younger when each is compared to his Consistent age counterpart. Likewise, the lack of significant difference in Liberalism between the Stable and Mobile is maintained by both the younger and older segments.

Only membership in the American Federation of Teachers among variables investigated for their independent predictive power with liberal politico-economic orientation yields a significant difference:

Table 4.20. American Federation of Teachers membership and politico-economic orientation

$n_1$  = AFT member (higher);  $n_2$  = Non-AFT member

Kolgoroff-Smirnov D = .2678,  $p < .05$  (Approx.)

Mann-Whitney U = 602.50;  $n_1$  = 38,  $n_2$  = 45,  $p < .01$

(Approx.)

No significant differences are yielded upon analysis of the other face-data variables<sup>5</sup> (see Appendix B).

One interesting check for validity of the liberal politico-economic response pattern with an independent

response criterion was explored. The distribution of responses to a hypothesized situation was cross-tabulated with category of politico-economic placement and with consistency profile. This situation was one in which the instructor, imagining his colleagues to rate him low in performance on an educationally salient role, would be expected to respond in a fashion analogous to his response pattern (orientation) on politico-economic issues. Each instructor was asked to select the role to which he assigned the most importance and which he actually performed. The choices were:

1. Guide or confidant for youth
2. Creator of knowledge
3. Disseminator of knowledge
4. Subject-matter specialist
5. Master of techniques for motivating students and conducting learning sessions
6. Other \_\_\_\_\_

The instructor was then presented with the following:

#### 4. HYPOTHETICAL SITUATION

If you felt that you were not rated "High" (by the other instructors here whose evaluation is of some importance to you) in this role that you have indicated as most salient to you, which of the following statements would best reflect your feelings? Perhaps none of them captures your probable reactions exactly, but which one comes closest to how you would react? Check only one. (Again, only if none of the statements comes at all close to the feelings you think that you would have should you specify "Other").



1. \_\_\_\_\_ I would feel that those who rated me low must have been judging me in terms of roles or factors in which I am not particularly trying to excel and that I deserve a higher evaluation on the role most salient to me.

2. \_\_\_\_\_ It would bother me very little at all because their evaluations are not as important to me as those given me in this role by family and/or friends outside of the college.

3. \_\_\_\_\_ I would feel disheartened because one's colleagues have the best insight into how good a job I am doing in this role and it is often difficult to change the evaluations of one's peers.

4. \_\_\_\_\_ I would think this to be only a temporary situation: as their picture of my capabilities in this role is clarified through their acquaintance with me and through my improvement through experience in this role, I would soon be more highly thought of in my performance in this role.

5. \_\_\_\_\_ I would tend to change my "image" of my most important role in line with one which I feel I would be more highly evaluated by my colleagues and which I could be satisfied with as well.

It should be noted that no significant chi-square differences were anticipated in this exploratory venture.<sup>6</sup> Since the reactions were heavily concentrated among Numbers 1, 3, and 4 (accounting for 60 of 80 responses), only their distribution will be discussed. Reaction 1 was constructed and can be construed as an expression of an indignant belief that role-relevant criteria of evaluation were not being applied to his performance: this belief might be found more frequently among the Inconsistent (i.e., because of low ascribed status) than the Consistent and among the Liberal in general. This expectation similarly holds for Reaction 3, a feeling of hopelessness about changing the

situation. Reaction 4 is a more "optimistic," less affect-laden response, reflecting belief that role-relevant criteria alone will successfully change the "temporary" negative evaluation. It might be more prevalent among the Status Consistent (i.e., those of high ascribed prestige) and the Conservative. These constructions are admittedly quite preliminary and tentative. The intent is exploratory. Indeed, the Liberal "tend" to select Reactions 1 and 3 (16 of 28); the Conservative "tend" to select Reaction 4 (19 of 32). The Inconsistent "tend" likewise to select Reactions 1 and 3 (15 of 28) as opposed to the Consistents' choice of Reaction 4 (18 of 32). These "findings" are too fragmentary to be valuable; yet, they may stimulate others to entrench and substantiate them.

Table 4.21. Reactions to negative role evaluation by status consistency profile and politico-economic orientation\*

		Reaction			Total
		1	3	4	
Status Inconsistent	Liberal	5	6	7	18
	Conservative	2	2	6	10
Status Consistent	Liberal	4	1	5	10
	Conservative	2	7	13	22
Total		13	16	31	

#### FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. The minimum academic salaries (M.A.) for the three Regions vary by \$500 at most; the maximum academic salaries do vary between \$9,800 and \$11,000, however, at "F" and "D" Colleges. Michigan Education Association, op. cit., pp. 2, 3, 48.
2. This difference is probably due to changes in structural demand between even 1940 and 1960, i.e., to increasing proportions of the Labor Force in non-Manual occupations rather than to a changing pattern of social class recruitment of junior college instructors.
3. Just as for age in the Mobility Hypothesis, this check must be postponed to a later section of this Chapter. See p. 96.
4. K. V. Wilson, "A Distribution-Free Test of Analysis of Variance Hypotheses," Psychological Bulletin, 53:1 (1956), pp. 96-101. Unfortunately, this test does not fully take advantage of our sample's distribution of scores. Median scorers (12) are included as "above the median" in this Test. Elimination of these scores from computation did not revise the significance level of the column chi-square (nor, therefore, the interaction effects) for the Manual Mobility Analysis, the only analysis that might have rendered the row chi-square significant by such a change. The asterisk in subsequent Tables marks figures corrected by excluding Moderate (i.e., median) scorers.
5. The importance of religious identity in this study is difficult to assess because controlled comparisons are well-nigh impossible: the Roman Catholic (and Jewish) instructors are of low ascribed national origin; the Protestants are almost exclusively of high ascribed national origin.
6. However, a Bhapkar V was computed for the total distribution of response with raw PE Score, producing a value of 359,  $p = .61$ .

## CHAPTER V

### THE INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

#### Summary of Findings

" . . . it is plain that whenever social mobility occurs, rank discrepancies are likely to occur, since it is extremely rare that a person would rise or decline at the same rate along all dimensions of evaluation."<sup>1</sup>

This study attempted to discern the effects upon politico-economic orientation of two stratifying constructs that profile an occupational sample relatively uniform in education, income, occupational prestige and in work context. The distribution of liberal and conservative orientations was anticipated to be explicable by (1) experience of achievement mobility and by (2) existence of discrepancy between achieved and ascribed status ranks. The findings are mixed. After summarizing and interpreting them in light of theoretical specifications, research strategies toward conceptual refinement and, where possible, theoretical respecification or clarification will be suggested. The future of politico-economic opinion research will be briefly assessed. In conclusion, a continual viewing of the macro-scopic societal context in which micro-scopic events are enmeshed is urged (developing a third eye, as it were) during our theoretical formulations.

No evidence was found to support the linkage of greater politico-economic Conservatism with upward social mobility in a stratified-random sample of Junior College Instructors. The "failure" of this hypothesis must be examined. Status Inconsistency (as pivotally determined in this sampling frame by "low" ethnic group prestige) was linked with greater politico-economic Liberalism regardless of mobility profile. This variable alone accounted for the total chi-square difference in a two-way analysis of variance. Yet, our interpretation of this finding (and the hypothesis it supports) is guarded. It remains to be seen whether a more general conceptual perspective (viz., that of "ethclass") might subsume this intra-class or intra-associational difference or whether a more parsimonious index (viz., ethnic group prestige or, possibly, religious affiliation or generation) might account for the shape of this result. Research strategies will be suggested whereby researchers might unsnarl the respective influences of social class, ethnicity, and "eth-class" upon the phenomena of our concern, the direction of politico-economic value orientation.



Theoretical Reconsiderations of Social Mobility

How does the theoretical frame of this study withstand the Mobility results? Are only minor qualifications in order or more serious changes necessitated? The assumption that mobility strivings are related to the acquisition of more favorable evaluations (and subsequent self-evaluations) was axiomatic but implicitly presumes a monolithic set of prestige values uniformly applied over the entire system of social rank.<sup>2</sup> If this axiom of only quantitatively different evaluations at each successive achievement level is not valid, this theory loses its footing. However, only intra-class (indeed, intra-occupational) dispositional differences were at issue in this study: the greater likelihood of the upward mobile (as tapped by a variety of measures) to espouse values commonly characterizing those at this achievement level than do the non-mobile at that level. Whichever mobility focus was tested, the expectation was not borne out. Why?

At first glance, it appeared that the failure to produce findings similar to past surveys might be due to the intentional composition of our sample. Whereas the samples in other studies more faithfully reflected the predominance of high ethnic prestige workers throughout the Labor Force, this sample disproportionally included those of low ascribed prestige within our sampling frame. If the percentages Liberal among the Upward Mobile are compared by Consistency profile (Table 4.17), it is readily



apparent that the Status Consistent (i.e., of high ascribed prestige) overwhelmingly register a Conservative orientation consistent with expectations. It could be charged that the tendency toward Conservatism by the Upward Mobile vis a vis the Stable (class-controlled) in past parametric studies resulted from the greater incidence of Status Consistents. However, such a charge "will not wash." The differences in sampling technique are not accountable. As in our sample, the relative frequency of Status Consistents did not differ between the Upward Mobile and the Stable (or so we must presume). Thus, since the number of Status Consistents is approximately even in our and in past comparisons of Upward Mobile and Non-mobile, their aggregate Conservative tendencies would be reflected in each.

The Upward Mobile who became Status Inconsistent in the process registered greater Liberalism than those who became Status Consistent. That they may register even greater Liberalism than the Stable Status Inconsistent and do not as likely register this achievement level's typical value orientation (Table 4.17) is a fact to be reckoned with. The Postulates and Theorem I have specified the importance of "uniform" evaluations on "uniform" criteria in solidifying dispositions and self-evaluations in concord with the value-stresses in the status system. The individual of high achievement and low ascribed (ethnic) prestige is particularly vulnerable to non-uniform evaluations of merit. Being Inconsistent, he is not as likely accepted

upon mobility by the predominantly Status Consistent at an achievement level. Rather, upon occasion, he has received evaluations based upon his only low and individually unraisable status factor from his achievement cohorts, mobile and non-mobile. There is a greater likelihood of a dispositional turn-about from a system of favorable evaluation-criteria which, though in principle idealizes achievement, in operation often invokes ascriptive evaluations deleterious to him. His investment of energies in the only avenues of mobility available to him (or anyone) has not been uniformly recognized. Indeed, the vulnerability is exacerbated by achievement-irrelevant evaluations from those of precisely the opposite juxtaposition of ascription-achievement. The references to this phenomenon are numerous, e.g., the Negro Doctor in the South.<sup>3</sup> Politico-economic Liberalism is one manifestation of such a disillusionment. Now, whether or not this has actually occurred among the instructor sample is not known and not easily discovered.

A means of tapping the closeness of colleague affiliation among Status Consistents and Inconsistents might have checked this formulation but would have been a most delicate matter. Many Public School Districts expressly prohibit any type of "socio-metric test" among students and personnel within the system. It is considered a sensitive encroachment upon privacy. Needless to say, this investigator was not interested in jeopardizing the study

by including such a measure in the questionnaire. An item was included to explore the closeness of kinship ties among the instructors. Theoretically, the intensity and frequency of such ties would be expected to be greater in the Stable than the Mobile and <sup>possibly</sup> in the Mobile Liberal more than the Mobile Conservative.<sup>4</sup> No incisive results came from this check.

To conclude our interpretations of the Mobility results, frankly, further work is required to decide if the Mobility Hypothesis may rightfully be claimed rejected.<sup>5</sup>

Upward mobility does appear associated with Conservatism among those of high ascribed prestige. They are more conservative than their Stable Consistent cohorts. With theoretical respecifications now excluding the status inconsistent from this trend, further work is required to investigate and entrench the predictive power Status Inconsistency affords.<sup>6</sup> Other further research should endeavor to ultimately accommodate the effects of both upward and downward mobility with Conservatism in the same framework. Thus a complementary attack to distinguish the effects of downward mobility toward status inconsistency (high ethnic prestige) as opposed to stability among the unequivocally low in status would be in order. The former would be expected to be more conservative than the latter.<sup>7</sup>

### Theoretical Alternatives to Status Inconsistency

✓ Liberal orientations found among the Status Inconsistent corroborates the study's theoretical proposition to that effect and does not demand modification of its explanatory base. Nevertheless, research to test alternative interpretations of this result is in order. If a simpler scheme can account for the finding, a pruning of the Status Inconsistency framework may be necessary. The focus of attention has been delimited to those persons who cannot qua individuals attain maximum high status rank.<sup>8</sup> The dispositional consequences in politico-economic opinions of persons so profiled has been the aim. Have simpler foci been overlooked to explain the data?

First, however, what explanatory power did intra-occupational associational groupings have in this regard? The differentiating milieux of teaching field allegiance was not fruitful. Membership in the American Federation of Teachers was positively related to Liberalism. It may well be that the heterogeneity of politico-economic responses obtained in this junior college instructor sample is not typical of other occupational fields at equivalent achievement levels. Junior College teachers do pride themselves in their independent thinking, in fact, there are more structural safeguards within and cultural values approving their "agreement to disagree" therein than in most occupations. Airline Pilots or Civil Engineers might be more homogeneous in their politico-economic orientations.

However, this point merely solidifies the argument that intra-class (achievement) locus does not crystallize a definite orientation. Achievement levels may differ significantly in mean score but the deviations within levels are remarkable. Certainly, the significant difference in orientation revealed in this work would put the lie to the importance of the salience of the associational context in homogenizing opinion.<sup>9</sup> Other possible intra-associational tie-ins to Liberalism or Conservatism should be ferreted out in other occupational or achievement-controlled studies.

Ascribed ethnic group prestige level and/or religious identity are simpler candidates to check for the independent conceptual integrity of Status Inconsistency; an "Ethclass" formulation, on the other hand, might serve as a more general substitute of more comprehensive utility for Status Inconsistency. Let us inspect the latter first.

Gordon's discussion of "ethclasses" has been anticipated in this thesis by the stress laid upon parallel ascription and achievement hierarchies and the profiles created by their inter-section.<sup>10</sup> Sets of individuals in a specific ethnic group at a general class level constitute subsocieties (if viable entities) or "ethclasses." For the moment, let us restrict ourselves to Caucasian American ethnic groups, reserving comment for inter-racial differences until later. Gordon suspects "ethclass" to be the key to the interactional and participational proclivities

of persons. Cultural behavior of persons is more closely tied to achievement (class) level alone and basic historic identification more closely tied to ethnic identity alone, he alleges. The strength of the concept, in the area of this concern, is that it may surmount a major semantic difficulty of "Status Inconsistency." Generically, "Inconsistency" can refer to high:low or low:high ascription: achievement profiles but in this study denoted only the latter profile. By naming each ethclass, its two-dimensional position is plotted if prestige level of ethnic group be known. If not, "ethclass" has the same over-extended denotation.

Two major problems arise to prevent premature adoption of Gordon's schema, however. Each consistency profile in this study incorporates persons from a wide number of ethnic groups. They do not constitute viable "ethclasses" in Gordon's sense, at best sharing only ascribed prestige level, each having quite peculiar class hierarchical arrangements within the category. To predict interactional tendencies between Jewish and Arabic Americans because similarly profiled in this way grossly distorts Gordon's intentions. Even more important, the theoretical expectations of Gordon are not confirmed in this work. He would argue that political-economic orientation is a cultural value orientation and that class level per se would be the best predictor thereof. Yet, the differences in orientation here did vary by ethnic group prestige level and equivalent class level did not appear to homogenize them.

As a crucial test then of the Status Inconsistency formulation developed here and "ethnic group prestige level" as a simpler explanatory variable predicting politico-economic orientation, the following research strategy is envisaged: the intra-ethnic variation in politico-economic orientation by achievement level (perhaps indexed by occupation alone) should be investigated. Matched pairs from a low ascribed ethnic group who differ in achievement level and thus constitute two distinct profiles within an ethnic hierarchy would be compared for this dependent variable. Likewise, matched pairs of a high ascribed prestige ethnic group who differ similarly in achievement level would be compared. In the former comparison, those of high achievement would be hypothesized as more liberal (despite their high achievement) than their ethnic cohort. In the latter, the low achievement cohort would be the more liberal. If these expectations were upheld, then the status inconsistency interpretation would be strengthened since those two sets are Status Inconsistent. The latter comparison has the weight of more research support than the former which, indeed, goes against the grain of strictly achievement based expectations of liberalism, i.e., that the unequivocally low (in ascribed and achieved status) should be the most liberal of all possible permutations of status. Should the low in achievement be more liberal in both comparisons (as Gordon would predict for this particular dependent variable), then Class would appear to be the vital determinant.

If no significant differences arose in these two comparisons, but the two intra-ethnic mean scores differed significantly, then "ethnic group prestige level" would have to be designated as responsible. Obviously all potential discriminating factors would need to be controlled in these comparisons but the two comparisons might yield differing dynamics (e.g., Status Inconsistency supported in one comparison, ethnic group prestige in the other) even then. This would yield valuable information too.

To control for "generation" and religion would further refine a concept of Status Inconsistency, a necessary step prior to precise testing. Since the Caucasian ethnic groups of low ascribed prestige tend to be of more recent migration than those of high ascribed prestige, it is important to discover whether generation in this country has autonomous effects in explaining politico-economic orientation differences. The limitations of the study reported here did not permit this control. Also, it is imperative, albeit difficult, that the effects of religious identification be partialled from the variance in politico-economic orientation explained by ethnic group repute. It may well be that a key factor in ethnic group prestige level is the religious identification stereotypically associated with it. In this study, nationality of origin was the index of ethnic group: Protestantism tended to coincide with high ethnic group prestige and Roman-Catholicism and Judaism with low. All the more reason to sample such that



sufficient numbers of Protestants and Roman Catholics are represented in each consistency profile in class-controlled comparisons of Liberalism! Only then will any independent effect of religious affiliation be associated with this dependent variable. Survey methods to insure the "filling of cells" or stratified random sampling methods using selective sources could be employed.

A Note on  
The Future of Politico-Economic Opinion Research

Throughout these conceptual respecifications, tenability of the meaning of polar types of political orientation (conservative, liberal) toward economic issues has been unquestioned. In truth, the unidimensional validity of outlooks regarding federal involvement in large-scale economic processes cannot be that comfortably assumed.

Even more disquieting is this writer's feeling that the conventional terminology used by students in this field is outdated. Drawn as it has been from the rhetoric of common political discourse, research foci are maintained that may shield rather than reveal any change in the nature of political endorsements of economic policies and programs. As an earlier footnote pointed out,<sup>11</sup> those of the "New Left" make strange ideological "bedfellows" with those of the "Old Right," but their response patterns might converge as tapped by items customarily employed and the battery of items employed in this study is no exception.

In defense of the six-item battery used here, a "traditional" polarization of politico-economic sentiments might well have been anticipated among instructors at the time and in the locale of this study. Conducted during a period (late 1967) of mounting, vocal demands for improved salaries and occupational conditions by Public School instructors in these areas, the issues posed by the items may not be as insignificant or inapplicable as some might allege. The majority of the adult citizenry (and no less

true of public school teachers in their late-acquired militancy)<sup>12</sup> still operate in the intellectual terms forged by events of the Depression years and the 1940's when the general problems of public-private allocation of responsibility for material welfare were at flashpoint. Combined with the definite threat of strikes in late 1967 within the automobile industries which are the economic backbone of these communities of which the Public Schools are part (and as such are the single major internal source of tax revenues for school operations), conditions still seemed meaningfully subject to this operationalization of politico-economic orientation.

This decision, nevertheless, should not blind us to change in ideological reality. We are indebted to the pioneering research of Newcomb, Jones, Centers (who, in effect constructed a Marxian theory of interests and opinions, although by no means to everyone's satisfaction), Kornhauser and others. If their work is expected to reveal current realities, this is asking too much.<sup>13</sup> The validation of items at the expense of tapping contemporarily accurate opinions and their constellation will yield diminishingly valuable returns. In the future course of public opinion research (and research utilizing opinion-collecting techniques) sociologists must keep pace in their instruments. If we wish to preserve the terminology of Radical, Liberal, Moderate, Conservative, and Reactionary as substantively denotable orientations, then a general policy-orientation

for each must be depicted and renewed care taken to construct salient items applicable to present situations and use these as an index of the dependent variable, e.g., in the research strategies earlier recommended in this chapter.

We must beware of the confounding of change-orientation with substantive endorsement of historically bound positions. "Change-mindedness" will reveal vastly different espousals if two persons have vastly different conceptions of the present position of private versus public power sectors in assuring material welfare. To avoid that pitfall, it would be a good idea to determine among respondents their description of what economic policy or program is in effect and then ask their approval or disapproval of a policy. Besides separating the knowledgeable from those less knowledgeable, this tactic recognizes that a person's subjective definition of reality is his base line for evaluation. Thus, a person can be change-oriented and not substantively liberal or conceivably a person could be substantively liberal and not change-inclined. To complicate matters further, a person might advocate a policy (say, nationalization of railroads) that he believes is not in effect but is wary of the changes that would be required to effect it. If he is asked if he approves of such a proposal, he may disapprove for this reason rather than in reaction to the idea itself.

The Inter-penetration of Macro- and Micro-Cosmic  
Levels in Theoretic Specifications

One logically antecedent variable pertinent in this research context is the actual median achievement level of an ethnic group (and particularly those of low ascribed prestige).<sup>14</sup> Its potential utility to our understanding can only be sketched at this point; therefore, a totally exploratory approach is taken to evoke and ground theoretic expectations. Let us explain this variable within the frame of low prestige ethnic groups. If these ethnic groups are divided into those whose median income, education, and occupational representation are above national medians and those whose medians are below, then a factor that we may term "congruency" may be vitally important in predicting the socio-psychological consequences of status inconsistency. Inconsistent persons in this study, for example, could be divided into two sets: (1) those whose high achievement is inconsistent not only with their ascribed prestige but also with the "normal" attainments of their ethnic group and (2) those whose high achievement is in no sense "deviant" from achievement levels commonly attained by others in their ethnic group (but which have not been translated into heightened ascribed stratum prestige). A person of the former type could be termed an "incongruent status inconsistent," the latter, a "congruent status inconsistent."<sup>15</sup> No theoretically based expectations lead us to hypothesize politico-economic liberalism (or any other dependent

variable) as more likely in one sub-type of Status Inconsistency than the other. Indeed, a check of the differentiating power of the construct yielded no significant differences in liberalism among the "congruent" and "incongruent" Inconsistents in this study.

To call a person profiled as "Status Inconsistent" congruent (or a "Status Consistent" incongruent) seems to fly in the face of at least two assumptions usually implicit but which traditionally underlie the purported effects of Inconsistency. These assumptions must be countered.

1. Some would object that consideration of the median achievement level of an ethnic category is extraneous to a strictly structural theory of Status Inconsistency. Yet, it is submitted here that there is no such theory. Actually, median achievement levels (or, more precisely, the stereotyped consensual belief as to an ethnic group's relative achievement level) are unavoidably in the theoretic equation that relates "Status Inconsistency" to such dependent variables as primary relations, mental stress, and politico-economic orientation.<sup>16</sup> All of these formulations route through a subjective circuit--"perceived incongruence" of inconsistent ranks and the resultant disruption or impairment of inter-personal encounters--whereby structural characterizations of individuals have the hypothesized consequences. Thus, "expectation inconsistency" and not "status inconsistency" per se is the vital underminer of interaction.<sup>17</sup> If the equivalence of ascribed and achieved

status (i.e., their inter-changeability as in a caste system of status) is the most commonly assumed cultural expectation between non-intimates, it is the failure of the rare status inconsistencies to fulfill these expectations, and not the lack of equivalence per se, that renders confusion and mortification in their encounters. But individuals are just as capable of acknowledging or stereotyping expected achievement levels based upon experience with ethnic group "representatives" as they are of learning the ascribed reputations attributed to those ethnic groups.<sup>18</sup> In a society in which some mobility occurs, in fact, they had better. Thus, the fact that certain non-Protestant, non-English speaking, late-arriving ethnic aggregates have relatively high median achievements does not go unnoticed: e.g., Jewish-Americans of Eastern-European background, Austrians, Armenians, Japanese.<sup>19</sup> If anything, in such groups, the typical profile is Status Inconsistency; inconsistent status is "normal" and expected; consistent status (achievement level equivalent to ascribed level) is not. For other low ascribed ethnic groups in which the majority are Status Consistent, consistent status is the "normal" profile and expected; inconsistent status is "incongruent."

2. The fundamental assumption regarding the societal prevalence of status consistency and inconsistency in the overall status system is that status discrepant individuals are in the minority. But it has already been cited that, looking at achievement indices alone, achievement

inconsistency is the rule, not the exception.<sup>20</sup> But it may be that the prevalence of "Status Inconsistency" of ascribed with achievement rank is more common than customarily recognized as well.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, as the headnote to this Chapter suggests, if mobility is common, objective status inconsistency is as well. If mobility is fragmentary, then achievement levels are uni-bonded not multi-bonded and discrepancy on increasingly autonomous hierarchies is less and less surprising.

This leads us to the major contention of this concluding Chapter. As situations become more prevalent, they tend to mold common expectations. As Status Inconsistency (or Social Mobility) becomes more commonplace, its societal evaluation, cultural meaning, and ultimately its subjective consequences change as well. To be Status Inconsistent when that is a rare and unexpected phenomenon is quite a different state of affairs than to be Status Inconsistent when there are no strong expectations or evaluations as to its disruptive character. Whatever the consensual expectations, if they are upheld, interaction is facilitated<sup>22</sup> and the rigidity of the dispositional impacts imputed to Status Inconsistency lose their force. Consistency of ranks in a situation where inconsistency is anticipated will produce the same effects as Inconsistency of ranks where consistency is anticipated.

This contention is a substantive example of a broader principle: any micro-scopic theory of the impact



of Status Consistency profile, or of objectively scaled social mobility, upon politico-economic orientation (or any other consequence) cannot be fruitfully developed in a macro-scopic societal vacuum, shorn from the moorings of the structural prevalence of these formal attributes and their cultural meaning, i.e., their institutionalization. The subjective meaning attached to being mobile or being of inconsistent status is inextricably tied to the frequency with which each occurs (or is believed to occur).<sup>23</sup> For example, the relative number (e.g., whether a majority or minority) within a social stratum who have been mobile is not unrelated to their likely opinions, attitudes, and behavior. This, then, is a plea for "building-in" to future micro-scopic theories an awareness of the contextual backdrop within which individual experiences are enmeshed. This awareness is sorely lacking in studies of this genre.

One final note: anyone who would argue that contemporary events in our society indicate a heightening of inter-racial ascriptive salencies while blurring the significance of intra-racial (Caucasian or Negroid) ethnic reputational levels and divisions will find no evidence to substantiate this latter belief. It may well be that racial identity will increasingly dictate the meaning of ethnic identity (and there is no solace to be derived from that eventuality) but, from a sanguine, cultural-pluralistic point of view, it would not appear that intra-Caucasian ascriptive salencies have yet vanished. Ethnic identity

may tell us less and less about likely achievement level, and that is to be applauded, but, all the while, relationships between persons based upon common achievement should rise in associative salience for value-orientation. Hopefully, this will occur not only intra-racially but throughout the entire social status system. However, Status Inconsistency will persist as long as ethnic group assignment and differential evaluation occurs on both axes. Though the pace of social change quickens, the convergence of rank criteria and/or obliteration of rank criteria are not foreseeable outcomes. Status Inconsistency is contradictory to a "caste" ordering of achieved commensurate with ascribed status; our hopes of societal integration are based not upon fixed consistency of rank but upon positive aspects of the inconsistency of rank.

#### FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Lipset and Zetterburg, op. cit., p. 175.
2. In reality, this is of course problematic. Evidence is growing that quite different sets of prestige values toward occupational attainment, etc., mark those at different levels of the system. Kahl summarizes the thinking in this regard up to 1957 in his The American Class Structure (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1957), Chs. 3-7. More recently, C. Tausky has argued for a reference group approach to understanding the differing criteria of prestige normatively operating at gross occupational levels. "Occupational Mobility Interests," Paper delivered at the Annual Meetings of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, June, 1967, Ottawa, Canada.
- X 3. E. C. Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," American Journal of Sociology, 50 (1945), pp. 353-359. See also Kahl, op. cit., Ch. 8.
4. It will be recalled that the dependent variable of kinship affiliation and its possible politico-economic effects was discussed Supra, pp. 21-24. One shortcoming of this study was failure to collect data on politico-economic orientations in the instructors' "families of orientation." Perhaps the Mobile (to Consistency) tend to come from "deviantly" Conservative lower achievement backgrounds while the Mobile (to Inconsistency) tend to come from typically Liberal homes. This could, if true, explain the results. Lopreato's main premise (op. cit., p. 592) in his attempt to explain increased Conservatism among the upward mobile in this society is that the political behavior of upward mobile adults is largely determined by early socialization.
5. All along, the paucity of findings and the non-significant differences in favor of greater Conservatism among the Upward Mobile than the Stable put this investigator in a warily exploratory frame of mind. Indeed, some commentators have stressed the intermediate dispositional results in attitude of the mobile relative to their class of origin and their class of arrival. See Kahl, op. cit., p. 292.

6. A fusing of this stress with the schema adduced by Lopreato, op. cit., would aid in further delineating the circumstances under which Conservatism is tied to Upward Mobility.
- ✓ 7. Wilensky, op. cit., p. 125; Blau, op. cit., pp. 290-295; Lipset and Bendix, op. cit., p. 69.
8. The stratum mobility of aggregates, including ethnic groups, is not unknown in our history and must not be ignored. The factors responsible for such shifts in ascribed prestige level are not clear-cut or well understood but in any event such mobility does not negate the axiom that collectively and stereotypically ascribed prestige is not individually raisable.
- ✓ 9. In our society, "the more achieved the link, the more associative the relation" is idealized and, relative to other societies, perhaps accurate. Nevertheless, no matter how associative junior college instructors<sup>b.p</sup> may be, no opinion consensus in politico-economic matters ensues. "Class Consciousness" might better serve as an intervening variable between a status profile and politico-economic belief.
- ✓ 10. The discussion that follows here draws heavily from M. Gordon, Assimilation, pp. 51-59.
11. Chapter 3, footnote 33.
12. As reported, AFT membership was linked positively to Politico-Economic Liberalism.
13. Note the tendency of Lenski, Goffman, Goldson (all cited above) to employ items practically identical to those initiated by these pioneers twenty to thirty years ago (sources cited above).
- ✓ 14. Much of this concluding section is drawn from M. Leavy, "Notes on the Relative Status Inconsistency of American Ethnic Groups," Paper delivered at the Ohio Valley Sociological Society Meetings, May, 1968, Detroit, Michigan.
15. If we were to focus attention upon ethnic groups high in ascribed prestige but which vary on the median achievement axis, the same analytic possibilities can be noted. This means, then, that the indefinite denotation of "Status Consistency" or "Inconsistency" is not (nor is intended) solved by attribution of "congruency" or "incongruency."
16. Blau, op. cit.; Jackson, op. cit., Goffman, op. cit., Lenski (1954, 1956).

17. E. Sampson, op. cit. See Supra, Ch. I, Ftn. 37.
18. Just as for "Status Inconsistency," the effects of "Status Incongruence" (one's achievement rank differing from the median of one's ethnic group) are dependent more upon the stereotyped belief in operation than the objective median achievement level of income, education, occupation which, in fact, might not be accurately reflected in the stereotype. Tapping respondents' subjective orderings of average achievement (mean income, for example) levels for ethnic groups should produce important listings to compare with actual mean ethnic group achievement levels.
19. C. Nam, "Nationality Groupings and Social Status in America," Social Forces, 37 (1959), pp. 328-333. L. Blumberg, "The Relationships Among Rank Systems in American Society," in R. Freedman et al., Principles of Sociology (New York: Henry Holt, 1956), pp. 540-543; 1960 U.S. Report of the Census, Subject Report: Nativity, Parentage, and Race: PC(2)-1A, p. 36ff; C. F. Schmid and C. E. Nobbe, "Socio-Economic Differentials Among Non-White Races," American Sociological Review, 30:6 (1965), pp. 909-922.
20. Supra, Ch. III, Ftn. 4.
- ✓ 21. That prestige variances may exist between ethnic groups without corresponding differences in achievement levels (a point central to our thesis) is corroborated by recent census data: 1960 U.S. Census, Subject Report: Socio-Economic Status, PC(2)-5C, p. 67. If second generation Americans of Central and Eastern European (basically Roman Catholic and/or Jewish origin) are compared with second generation Northern and Western Europeans (basically Protestant) in terms of median educational, income, and occupational levels, no significant differences are found.
22. On this grand axiom, many diverse sociological schools share common ground. In a nudist camp, it is the lady who forgets to remove a ribbon from her hair who will be embarrassed when told of this and not her totally nude cohorts. The nature of social order based upon common inter-personal expectations is shown at this point to be fragile and problematic. If neither consistency nor inconsistency of ranks is reinforced as an operating assumption for inter-actors, and people "hold off" in their inferences from status cues (?), wherein lies society? Is this state of affairs disintegrative to the coordination of human action or is it transitional to a newer order based upon far more complex, situational expectations? Probably

both, but this crucial dilemma is beyond the scope of this inquiry. See I. Zielyk, "Ambiguity and Ambivalence," Pacific Sociological Review (Spring, 1966), pp. 57-64, for an examination of the results of inter-personal incongruencies.

23. Lipset and Bendix, op. cit., Chapters 2 and 3. The more widespread belief in the prevalence of mobility in American Society as opposed to Western European nations in the face of remarkably similar rates of objective occupational mobility is brilliantly discussed in this source. Excellent discussions of the impact of aggregate social mobility are found in articles by Mayer, Janowitz, and Chinoy in UNESCO, op. cit.

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CONFIDENTIAL

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

## STUDY OF OCCUPATIONS AND ORIENTATIONS

-Junior College Instructors-

This is a study directed at understanding career patterns and values found in various occupational sectors. We are interested in obtaining as accurate a picture as possible of the orientations held in these sectors regarding vital issues. Your participation is of great value to this undertaking. Please answer all questions to the best of your ability. All replies are confidential.

1. What is your age? \_\_\_\_\_ (answer to nearest birthdate)
2. Are you a citizen of the United States? YES \_\_\_\_\_; YES (Naturalized) \_\_\_\_\_;  
NO \_\_\_\_\_.
3. What is your current marital status? MARRIED \_\_\_\_\_; SINGLE \_\_\_\_\_;  
OTHER \_\_\_\_\_ (please specify)

(IF MARRIED, ANSWER QUESTION 4; IF SINGLE, PLEASE TURN TO QUESTION 5)

4. How many children in your family (or in your custody)? \_\_\_\_\_.
5. How many years have you engaged in full-time teaching? \_\_\_\_\_.
6. Of these years, how many have been at the Junior-College level? \_\_\_\_\_.
7. Of these years, how many have been at this Junior College? \_\_\_\_\_.

(IF YOU HAVE TAUGHT AT OTHER THAN THE JUNIOR COLLEGE LEVEL)

8. At what other level did you primarily teach? Elementary \_\_\_\_\_;  
Senior High \_\_\_\_\_; Junior High \_\_\_\_\_; College \_\_\_\_\_.
9. In what field do you now teach all (or most) of your courses? \_\_\_\_\_.
10. Please indicate the highest educational degree which you have attained:

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
B.A.	B.S.	M.A. or H.S.	"Master's +30 hrs."	Ed.D.	Ph.D.	Other (specify)

**NOTES**

[illegible]

10

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11. Are you currently enrolled in a Graduate Degree Program? YES\_\_\_\_; NO\_\_\_\_.

(IF THE ANSWER TO QUESTION 11 IS 'YES', PLEASE ANSWER QUESTION 12)

12. Toward which Degree are you working? \_\_\_\_\_.

13. Please list the teacher-related associations in which you hold membership:

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

14. Have you ever held local or state-wide office in any of these organizations? If 'Yes', please specify the offices held in each; if 'No', write 'NO' below.

_____
_____
_____

#### FAMILY BACKGROUND

1. In what country was your father born? \_\_\_\_\_.

2. In what country was your father's father born? \_\_\_\_\_.

3. In what country was your mother born? \_\_\_\_\_.

(IF THE ANSWER TO QUESTIONS 1 AND 2 ABOVE IS 'U.S.A.):

4. Indicate the country of citizenship that you trace your most recent 'foreign born' paternal ancestor: \_\_\_\_\_.

5. Did you reside with your parents (one or both) during most of your youth (i.e., before age 18)? YES \_\_\_\_\_; NO \_\_\_\_\_.

1. The first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

2. The second is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

3. The third is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

4. The fourth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

5. The fifth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

6. The sixth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

7. The seventh is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

8. The eighth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

9. The ninth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

10. The tenth is the fact that the system is not a simple one.

-3-

(IF "YES" TO QUESTION 5, PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS IN THIS SECTION AS STATED; IF "NO" TO QUESTION 5, SUBSTITUTE "RESPONSIBLE PARENTAL FIGURE(S)" FOR "PARENTS" IN QUESTIONS)

6. How many brothers and sisters (not including yourself) in your parents' family? Brothers \_\_\_\_\_; Sisters \_\_\_\_\_; None \_\_\_\_\_.
7. Please indicate whether you were the first, second, etc. (in order of birth) son in your parent(s)' family. \_\_\_\_\_.
8. If you were raised primarily (or totally) in the United States, in what state did you spend the majority of the ten year period between ages 8 and 18? IF TWO OR MORE STATES, SPECIFY: \_\_\_\_\_.
9. How would you characterize the surroundings in which you spent the majority of this age period?

\_\_\_\_\_  
Metropolitan  
Area

\_\_\_\_\_  
Urban Area

\_\_\_\_\_  
Suburban Develop-  
ment

\_\_\_\_\_  
Town

\_\_\_\_\_  
Semi-rural  
(non-farm)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Rural  
(Farm)

10. With which religious faith was your family affiliated during your youth? (IF "MIXED", PLEASE INDICATE; IF NONE, PLEASE WRITE "NONE").

\_\_\_\_\_  
(If "Protestant", please specify the Denomination)

11. What was your father's main occupation when you were between ages 8 and 18? (please identify the occupation as precisely as possible)

\_\_\_\_\_.

12. If your father held two occupations concurrently (or if he held two or more for about equally long periods) during those years, indicate both of them.

1. \_\_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_\_.

(1)  $\mathcal{L}(\mathcal{A}) = \mathcal{L}(\mathcal{A}')$  if and only if  $\mathcal{A} \equiv \mathcal{A}'$ ;  
 (2)  $\mathcal{L}(\mathcal{A}) \subseteq \mathcal{L}(\mathcal{A}')$  if and only if  $\mathcal{A} \leq \mathcal{A}'$ .

**Table 1.** Summary of the results of the regression analysis

	Dependent variable	Independent variables	Model F	R <sup>2</sup>	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	Significance level
Firm size	Sales revenue	Age	0.78	0.09	0.07	0.000
		Gender	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.953
		Education	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.999
		Marital status	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.999
		Income	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.999
		Constant	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.999
Employee satisfaction	Age	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.999	
		Gender	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.999
		Education	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.999
		Marital status	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.999
		Income	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.999
		Constant	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.999
Organizational commitment	Age	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.999	
		Gender	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.999
		Education	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.999
		Marital status	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.999
		Income	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.999
		Constant	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.999

1. [Introduction](#) 2. [Background](#) 3. [Methods](#) 4. [Results](#) 5. [Discussion](#) 6. [Conclusion](#) 7. [References](#) 8. [Appendix](#) 9. [Supplementary Materials](#) 10. [Acknowledgments](#) 11. [Conflicts of Interest](#) 12. [Funding](#) 13. [Data Availability Statement](#) 14. [References](#) 15. [Appendix](#) 16. [Supplementary Materials](#) 17. [Acknowledgments](#) 18. [Conflicts of Interest](#) 19. [Funding](#) 20. [Data Availability Statement](#)

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13. What was your father's major type of income during this period (check the most important source)?

Hourly wages \_\_\_\_\_

Profits (from own business) \_\_\_\_\_.

Salary \_\_\_\_\_

Rental properties \_\_\_\_\_.

Fees \_\_\_\_\_

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_.

Investments \_\_\_\_\_

14. Would you estimate, in retrospect, that your father's income was more, about the same, or less as others in his main occupation in your part of the country during this period (between your eighth and eighteenth years of age)?

\_\_\_\_\_ Much More

\_\_\_\_\_ A little more

\_\_\_\_\_ About the same

\_\_\_\_\_ A little less

\_\_\_\_\_ Much less

15. Please indicate the highest level of education that your father attained during his lifetime:

Eighth grade or less \_\_\_\_\_

Some college \_\_\_\_\_ (specify number of years)

Some high school \_\_\_\_\_

Undergraduate Degree (B.A., etc) \_\_\_\_\_

High school graduate  
(Or equivalent) \_\_\_\_\_

Some post-graduate study \_\_\_\_\_

Doctorate (specify title) \_\_\_\_\_



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EDUCATIONAL - OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE

1. What type of high school did you attend during most or all of your high school years?

Public \_\_\_\_\_; Parochial (R.C.) \_\_\_\_\_; Private (other) \_\_\_\_\_.

2. During these years, who was most encouraging of your college attendance?

Father \_\_\_\_\_; Mother \_\_\_\_\_; Both parents equally \_\_\_\_\_; Other Relative (specify) \_\_\_\_\_;

Age-mates \_\_\_\_\_; Teacher(s) \_\_\_\_\_; Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_;

No one in particular \_\_\_\_\_.

3. Upon entering college, what vocation did you expect to enter upon completion of your studies? (List more than one if applicable; if you were undecided, so indicate).

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

4. Upon entering college, what vocation did you aspire (realistically hope) to enter upon completion of your studies? List more than one if applicable. (If the answer to this question is the same as for the preceding one, write 'Same').

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

5. Did you enroll in college directly after high school graduation (i.e., within nine months afterward)? YES \_\_\_\_\_; NO \_\_\_\_\_.

6. Have you served in active duty in any Branch of the (U.S.A.) Armed Forces? YES \_\_\_\_\_; NO \_\_\_\_\_. If 'YES', indicate length of active service \_\_\_\_\_.

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entry to the world of business and the Internet, which is a new and exciting world.

Productivity ;      Investment ;      Money

Significance:  $p < 0.05$  was considered significant.  $\chi^2$  test was used for categorical data and Fisher's exact test was used for small cell counts.  $t$ -test was used for continuous data.

• *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 1990, 85, 1000-1010.

[illegible]

1. Die folgenden Aussagen sind wahr oder falsch? Begründen Sie Ihre Antwort! (10 Punkte)

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

1. Upon receiving this letter, please advise the Bureau of the results of your investigation. If you require any further information, please advise the Bureau. The Bureau will be glad to assist you in any way possible.

[illegible]

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On \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

[illegible]



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7. Please list any full-time occupations (or jobs) outside of teaching which you have held prior to becoming a junior college instructor (exclusive of military service, full-time summer jobs, and graduate assistantships). Please list them in chronological sequence. If none, please write "none" below.

---



---



---

8. Aside from your own inclinations and perseverance, who (or what) do you think was most responsible for your becoming an Instructor?

Parent(s) \_\_\_\_\_; High School Teachers, Counselors \_\_\_\_\_; GI Bill \_\_\_\_\_;  
 Contemporary friends \_\_\_\_\_; College Professor(s) \_\_\_\_\_; Other \_\_\_\_\_  
 (please specify)

(IF YOU HAVE NO BROTHERS, PLEASE OMIT QUESTIONS 9 AND 10; OTHERWISE, PLEASE CONTINUE)

9. If you have (or did have) brothers over eighteen years of age, how many graduated from (or are now attending) college? \_\_\_\_\_.
10. What type(s) of work are your brother(s) now engaged in? Briefly, but precisely list the major line of employment (including "student" if applicable) of each of your living brothers over eighteen years of age.

---



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---

11. What is your current religious identification? (If none, please so specify). \_\_\_\_\_.

( THE NEXT TWO QUESTIONS ARE OPTIONAL)

12. About how often do you "keep in touch" with your nearest kin (living outside your home) by means of visiting, telephone call, or correspondence? Approximate the total contacts (include contacts initiated both

1. Please provide a brief description of the project and its objectives. This should include a statement of the problem being addressed, the goals of the project, and the expected outcomes. Please also provide a brief description of the project's budget and funding sources.

2. Provide a detailed description of the project's methodology and research design. This should include a statement of the research questions, the methods used to collect and analyze data, and the expected results.

3. Provide a detailed description of the project's implementation and evaluation. This should include a statement of the project's timeline, the roles and responsibilities of the project team, and the methods used to evaluate the project's impact.

4. Provide a detailed description of the project's budget and funding sources. This should include a statement of the project's total budget, the sources of funding, and the expected costs of the project.

5. Provide a detailed description of the project's dissemination and outreach. This should include a statement of the project's goals for disseminating the results of the project, the methods used to reach the target audience, and the expected outcomes of the dissemination and outreach efforts.

6. Provide a detailed description of the project's sustainability and long-term impact. This should include a statement of the project's goals for ensuring the sustainability of the project's results, the methods used to ensure sustainability, and the expected long-term impact of the project.

7. Provide a detailed description of the project's ethical considerations. This should include a statement of the project's goals for ensuring the ethical integrity of the project, the methods used to ensure ethical integrity, and the expected outcomes of the ethical considerations.

8. Provide a detailed description of the project's dissemination and outreach. This should include a statement of the project's goals for disseminating the results of the project, the methods used to reach the target audience, and the expected outcomes of the dissemination and outreach efforts.

Once a week or more \_\_\_\_\_ ;      About two-four times a year \_\_\_\_\_ ;  
About twice a month \_\_\_\_\_ ;      Once a year \_\_\_\_\_ ;  
About once every month \_\_\_\_\_ ;      Almost never, except in grave  
emergencies \_\_\_\_\_ .

- Other** \_\_\_\_\_

1. The first of the two main parts of the book is the history of the  
theology of the church.

2. The second part of the book is the history of the church.

3. The third part of the book is the history of the church.

4. The fourth part of the book is the history of the church.

5. The fifth part of the book is the history of the church.

6. The sixth part of the book is the history of the church.

7. The seventh part of the book is the history of the church.

8. The eighth part of the book is the history of the church.

9. The ninth part of the book is the history of the church.

10. The tenth part of the book is the history of the church.

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PERSONAL CAREER PLANS

1. In terms of occupation, what do you hope to be doing ten (10) years from now? Check only one:

## WITHIN FIELD OF EDUCATION

Junior College Teaching \_\_\_\_\_

College Teaching-Research \_\_\_\_\_

High School Teaching \_\_\_\_\_

Administrative Position: \_\_\_\_\_

Junior College \_\_\_\_\_

Public School System \_\_\_\_\_

Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

## OUTSIDE FIELD OF EDUCATION

(Please Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## IF YOU CHECKED AN ENTRY IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION COLUMN:

2. Holding occupational opportunities outside of Education constant, under what conditions (if any) within your occupational environment would you consider leaving this Institutional field of Education? If "none," so stipulate.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

3. Although the next question, no doubt, over-simplifies the matter, social researchers find it valuable to compare how members of different occupations and professions conceive of their functions in an Institutional field and in society in general. In the following, please indicate how you visualize your major role as a Junior College Instructor. We are not asking for you necessarily to indicate what most ideally it ought to be, nor are we asking by implication for a value judgement as to which role(s) are most crucial in our society. We are asking for your judgement as to which role most closely identifies the most important role for you which you actually perform. If you cannot decide between



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the two most important for you, check both. Space is provided for your remarks in case you wish to clarify your choice. (Only if none of the below come close to your conception should you specify "Other"):

1. Guide and confidant for youth \_\_\_\_\_
2. Creator of knowledge \_\_\_\_\_
3. Disseminator of knowledge \_\_\_\_\_
4. Subject-matter specialist \_\_\_\_\_
5. Master of techniques for motivating students and  
conducting learning sessions \_\_\_\_\_
6. Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

REMARKS: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

#### 4. HYPOTHETICAL SITUATION

If you felt that you were not rated "High" (by the other instructors here whose evaluation is of some importance to you) in this role that you have indicated as most salient to you, which of the following statements would best reflect your feelings? Perhaps none of them captures your probable reactions exactly, but which one comes closest to how you would react? Check only one. (Again, only if none of the statements comes at all close to the feelings you think that you would have should you specify "Other").

1. \_\_\_\_\_ I would feel that those who rated me low must have been judging me in terms of roles or factors in which I am not particularly trying to excel and that I deserve a higher evaluation on the role most salient to me.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ It would bother me very little at all because their evaluations are not as important to me as those given me in this role by family and/or friends outside of the college.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ I would feel disheartened because one's colleagues have the best insight into how good a job I am doing in this role and it is often difficult to change the evaluations of one's peers.

1. The first step in the process of the scientific method is to make an observation or ask a question.

2. The second step is to do background research.

3. The third step is to form a hypothesis.

4. The fourth step is to test the hypothesis by doing an experiment.

5. The fifth step is to analyze the data and draw a conclusion.

6. The sixth step is to communicate the results of the experiment.

7. The seventh step is to repeat the experiment to verify the results.

8. The eighth step is to use the results to make a prediction.

9. The ninth step is to use the prediction to make a hypothesis.

10. The tenth step is to use the hypothesis to make a prediction.

## 9. HYPOTHETICAL SITUATION

If you find that you are not getting the results you want, you should first check to see if you are following the steps of the scientific method correctly. If you are, then you should consider the possibility that your hypothesis is incorrect. You should then form a new hypothesis and test it. If you find that you are still not getting the results you want, you should consider the possibility that your experiment is flawed. You should then try to improve your experiment and test it again. If you find that you are still not getting the results you want, you should consider the possibility that your hypothesis is still incorrect. You should then form a new hypothesis and test it. If you find that you are still not getting the results you want, you should consider the possibility that your experiment is still flawed. You should then try to improve your experiment and test it again.

1. The first step in the process of the scientific method is to make an observation or ask a question.

2. The second step is to do background research.

3. The third step is to form a hypothesis.



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4. \_\_\_\_\_ I would think this to be only a temporary situation: as their picture of my capabilities in this role is clarified through their acquaintance with me and through my improvement through experience in this role, I would soon be more highly thought of in my performance in this role.

5. \_\_\_\_\_ I would tend to change my "image" of my most important role in line with one which I feel I would be more highly evaluated by my colleagues and which I could be satisfied with as well.

REMARKS: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

#### ECONOMIC ORIENTATIONS

Social Researchers are interested in comparing the orientations of different people regarding public issues of the day. One important area in which we often find wide-spread difference of opinions both between and within occupations is that of the "place" or responsibility of Federal involvement in large-scale Economic problems facing the United States and its people. The following questions are geared to sample your opinions on facets of this relationship. Because many of the items may seem to force you into an over-simplified or even misleading reply, space is provided for your optional remarks in order to give you an opportunity to qualify your opinion. However, we do request that you do answer each question with one check mark only. If you wish to make more lengthy remarks, place them on separate sheets and attach them to the questionnaire. Keep in mind that your opinions registered here are confidential.

1. The limits of Federal responsibility in regard to the well-being (a minimum acceptable standard of living) of individuals and families in a society with our ideals should be:

\_\_\_\_\_ A. To insure that opportunities be kept open (and not illegally blocked) for all individuals to "get ahead" on their own, through governmentally regulated assurances of "Free Competition" within our national boundaries (e.g., maintain tariffs, . prevent Monopolization, etc.).

\_\_\_\_\_ B. Don't know or undecided as to proper limits of Federal involvement.

(OVER)



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- \_\_\_\_ C. Guarantee every person the availability of a steady job paying a living wage, thus providing a degree of economic security by whatever legislatively approved measures necessary.

REMARKS: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

2. With which of the following statements do you come the closest to agreeing?

\_\_\_\_ A. By and large, labor unions have been beneficial in our country and are continuing to do a good job.

\_\_\_\_ B. While there have been some excesses, on the whole labor unions have done more good than harm in this country.

\_\_\_\_ C. No opinion or undecided.

\_\_\_\_ D. Although labor unions were and still may be needed in this country, the current practices of large unions are doing our country more harm than good overall.

\_\_\_\_ E. This country would be better off without labor unions at all.

REMARKS: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

3. "Welfare State" policies of the Federal Government tend to seriously curtail individual initiative.

Strongly  
Agree

Agree

Undecided or  
Believe Conse-  
quences vary

Disagree

Strongly  
Disagree

REMARKS: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

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4. In regard to Social Security (Old-Age and Survivors Insurance programs and Medicare) Programs, I believe that the benefits ought to be (assuming that individual and employer continue to share the same proportional costs as now):

\_\_\_\_ A. Cut back.

\_\_\_\_ B. Kept about the same as now except the basis changed to voluntary individual contribution and benefit.

\_\_\_\_ C. Kept about the same (with only cost of living adjustments).

\_\_\_\_ D. Kept about the same, but with an extension of the programs to all categories of employed worker not now covered.

\_\_\_\_ E. Expanded in both coverage and benefits.

REMARKS: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

5. The rights of private ownership and operation of business property against public encroachment must be respected and enforced within the law at practically all costs in order for meaningful personal freedoms to be maintained.

<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u>
Agree				Disagree

REMARKS: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

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6. Many proposals aimed at "equalizing" financial opportunities for all citizens have been raised in recent years. Which of the following proposals would you "endorse"? (You may check any of the first four alternatives (A, B, C, D) or check the fifth):

- ☐ A. Passage of a guaranteed annual wage program to eventually replace current Public Assistance Programs (for unemployed and "unemployable").
- ☐ B. Extension of profit-sharing plans to all levels of employees in private corporations.
- ☐ C. Removal of certain tax credits (which credits tend to harbor tax evasions) for private corporations.
- ☐ D. Continuation of (current) progressive income tax laws.
- ☐ E. None of the above.

OTHER OR REMARKS: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

This section concludes the Questionnaire.

Should you feel that any of the questions are personally objectionable, we would appreciate your comments in this regard. Merely include them with the Questionnaire.

## APPENDIX B

### FURTHER TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE WITH POLITICO-ECONOMIC LIBERALISM (non-significant)

Table 1. Type of high school attended and politico-economic liberalism

---

$n_1$  = Private (higher);  $n_2$  = Public

Kolgoroff-Smirnov D = .2048,  $p$  = .42 (Approx.)

Mann-Whitney U = 352.50;  $n_1$  = 12,  $n_2$  = 70,  $p$  = .19  
(Approx.)

---

Table 2. Years taught and politico-economic liberalism

---

$n_1$  = 1-4 yrs.;  $n_2$  = 5-8 yrs.;  $n_3$  = 9 yrs.

Kolgoroff-Smirnov (K-sample test) Bhapkar V = .5317;  
 $p$  = .77

---

Table 3. Teaching field and politico-economic liberalism

---

$n_1$  = Vocational;  $n_2$  = Nat. Sci.;  $n_3$  = Humanities;

$n_4$  = Social Sciences;  $n_5$  = other

Kolgoroff-Smirnov Bhapkar V = 4.68,  $p$  = .46

---

Table 4. Residential background (youth) and politico-economic liberalism

---

$n_1$  = urban;  $n_2$  = rurban;  $n_3$  = rural

Kolgoroff-Smirnov Bhapkar V = 2.0199,  $p$  = .36

---

## APPENDIX C

### SCALOGRAM ANALYSIS COMMENTARY

The response patterns to the six (originally eight) politico-economic items were charted using both the Guttman Scalogram and Cornell Techniques. These techniques give a measure of Reproducibility of item response pattern with total score. The Coefficient of Reproducibility (C.R.) refers to the extent (expressed from 0-1.0) to which there are errors in pattern of Liberal response by persons when (a) the items are ordered horizontally in terms of their propensity to elicit Liberal reaction and when (b) respondents are ordered by total scale score and, within score, in terms of their following this scalar pattern. In ascending order of likelihood of inducing Liberal reply, the numbered items are: 5, 1, 3, 4, 6, and 2. The C.R. is obtained by this formula:

$$\text{C.R.} = 1 - \frac{\text{Sum of Errors (54)}}{\text{Sum of total responses (60 x 6)}} = .85$$

Errors occurred 15% of the time. Certain procedures were stipulated: persons with a uniform pattern of response (Conservative, Moderate, Liberal) or with but one divergence from unanimous reaction were excluded from the equation. 54 errors for the remaining 60 respondents were tallied. The Minimal Marginal Reproducibility (M.M.R.) refers to the relative frequency of a person's predominant response in his response profile (if 4 of 6 responses were Liberal, his M.M.R. = .667). These individual percentages were averaged for the 60 individuals who did vary in their response patterns. The greater the difference between C.R. and M.M.R., generally the better the scalar properties. The M.M.R. in this study was .65, an acceptable 20 point difference. The Scalogram itself will not be presented since in itself it would add little if any additional insight.

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