ABSTRACT

STATUS INCONSISTENCY, SOCIAL MOBILITY,
SELF, AND SOCIETY

by Miles E. Simpson

This study proposes a self-esteem theory to account for the effects of status inconsistencies in (1) self-perceived autonomy; (2) authoritarianism; (3) expectations for future life conditions; and (4) alienation, as manifested in a sense of powerlessness, normlessness and social isolation. Differential effects are hypothesized by cultural value orientation (achievement versus ascription).

Two assumptions were employed to account for the effects of status inconsistencies: (1) Person takes into account the weightings of significant others; and (2) person maximizes his self-esteem by giving greater weight to status dimensions on which he ranks high and lower weight to those dimensions on which he ranks low.

Assuming that ascriptive cultures give greater weight to ascribed statuses, and achievement-oriented cultures to achieved statuses, the self-evaluation of upwardly mobile persons in ascriptive cultures differs from

the evaluations of others more than in achievement-oriented societies; therefore, upwardly mobile individuals in ascriptive cultures experience more interpersonal stress as expressed in normlessness and social isolation. We hypothesized that powerlessness, autonomy, expectation for future life conditions, and authoritarianism would be affected only by downward mobility and that these effects would be found in both achievement and ascriptively oriented cultures.

The data were drawn from four of five nations used in the Five Nations Study (1963): United States, Japan, Costa Rica, and Mexico. The method of analysis was a two-way factorial analysis of variance (unweighted means analysis) with contrasts being made between mobile cells and static cells, with mobility expressed as a discrepancy between education and/or occupational status of subject and educational and/or occupational status of subject's socializer--commonly, subject's father. To accept an hypothesis that a particular cell shows a mobility effect, we used a criterion that the mobile cells show a significantly higher or lower mean, as the case may be, than either static cells.

Despite methodological problems, we found evidence for mobility effects in the case of upward mobility and normlessness. While downward mobility effects occurred, they were not uniform across all nations.

We predicted differences between the more achievement- and ascriptively-oriented societies for level of authoritarianism, religiosity, participation in voluntary instrumental and expressive organizations, and self versus collectivity orientation. We found that our ascriptive societies, Costa Rica and Mexico, differed markedly from our achievement-oriented societies, the United States and Japan. We take this as evidence for the power of Parson's classification scheme. We also found higher levels of alienation, powerlessness, and normlessness in ascriptive societies.

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INTRODUCTION

Recent research in social psychology has focused on the effects of cognitive consistency and inconsistency on individual behavior and personality. In general, inconsistencies, imbalance, or dissonance leads to behaviors designed to rectify the imbalance. On the societal level several researchers, Lenski[1], Jackson[2], Goffman[3], and Landecker[4], have found evidence that certain inconsistencies in status variables have powerful effects on the individual's behavior. Until now only a small number of correlates, "stress," liberalism, desire for change in the power structure, and social isolation, have come under scrutiny, and these studies have dealt only with populations within the confines of the continental United States. This means the range and power of status consistency has yet to be tested; in fact, this research has just begun.

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[1] G. E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," American Sociological Review, 19 (1954), pp. 405-418; and G. E. Lenski, "Social Participation and Status Crystallization," American Sociological Review, 21 (1956), pp. 458-464.

[2] E. F. Jackson, "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress," American Sociological Review, 27 (1962), pp. 469-480.

[3] I. W. Goffman, "Status Consistency and Preference for Change in Power Distribution," American Sociological Review, 22 (1957), pp. 275-281.

Status inconsistencies appear regularly in an industrial society. Poor scholars, rich garbage collectors, and politically powerful women represent types of inconsistency which are rather common. Yet, the frequency of such individuals vary from culture to culture, and the effects of various status inconsistencies may change with different cultures.

The most important object in an individual's life is his "self." He guards no other object more closely; he attends to changes in no other object's fortunes more intensely. Furthermore, the evaluation of the self provided the reference or anchor point to a vast number of other objects. In fact, the self is the single most important object in terms of evaluation. Summing up Freud's contribution to social science, Ernest Becker[5] states, "Freud's real discoveries all centered upon the idea of self-esteem maintenance by the growing organism. In other words, his discoveries all point to one crucial fact; the basic predicate for human action is a qualitative feeling of self-value (p. 163). Furthermore, Becker goes on to say:

> ...The individual learns to constitute himself symbolically, as an object of primary value in a meaningful world. There is a further crucial

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[4]W. S. Landecker, "Class Crystallization and Class Consciousness," American Sociological Review, 22 (1957), pp. 219-229.

[5]Ernest Becker, The Revolution in Psychiatry, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964.

> fact, attendant on this discovery, which it would be impossible to over stress; namely, that the vital sentiment of self-value is derived from symbols. The self-esteem is a locus composed of internalized social rules for behavior.[6]

A sense of self arises out of the context of interacting selves (Cooley,[7] Mead,[8] and French[9]), a context in which each person is aware of the other and himself, each evaluates the adequacies of the other and himself, and each exchanges demands and rewards. The self emerges out of the individual's awareness of his relationships to others. Through them he acquires the knowledge of what they expect from him and what performances led to what ends.

Often others' demands will not be most consistent; furthermore, the individual finds that to a certain extent he can meet some demands and not others. Through these experiences he learns what he "really" is, as opposed to what he is expected to be. In the process of assimilating the expectations of others and becoming aware of his strengths and weaknesses, the individual becomes aware of what he is

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[6] Ibid., p. 163.

[7] C. H. Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order, Rev. ed. (New York: C. Scribner and Sons, 1922).

[8] G. H. Mead, Mind, Self, and Society (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956).

[9] John R. French, Self-Actualization and Utilization of Talent (Ann Arbor, Michigan, Institute for Social Research, 1963).

not.

The formation of a self-concept depends on the nature of the social ethos in which it arises. High expectations for performance may provide the grounds for high performance. According to Thomas B. Macaulay:

> ...Genius is subject to the same laws which regulate the production of cotton and molasses. The supply adjusts itself to the demand. The quantity may be diminished by restrictions, and multiplied by bounties.[10]

This position is supported by John Gardner's[11] observation that the expectations for language learning in Low Lands children, compared to that of American children, is considerably greater with the result of the Low Lands children becoming predominantly multilingual.

In this study we examine status inconsistency, through social mobility and its influence on the individual's perception of autonomy, his sense of alienation, normlessness, powerlessness and social isolation, authoritarianism, and his perception of his future life conditions. The status inconsistency effect depends on the definition given the particular inconsistency by the culture. For instance, in our achievement-oriented culture, upward

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[10]Thomas B. Macaulay, "On the Athenian Orators," in Poems and Miscellaneous Writings (London, Longman, Green and Co., 1898), p. 340.

[11]John Gardner, Excellence (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1961).

mobility is expected; in an ascriptive culture, upward mobility is discouraged. Consequently, the use of cross-cultural data allows a look at the effects of status inconsistency in different cultural settings.

CHAPTER I

THE SELF IN SOCIETY

Self Theory

The self has been the focus of much theoretical and an emerging line of empirical research (Kuhn,[1] McPhail,[2] Tucker[3]). As such the concept of self provides a powerful construct to social psychology. Speculation concerning the nature and importance of the self came to the American scene through William James and the psychology of Freud as the "ego." Nevertheless, the main impetus for "self theory" came through the efforts of symbolic interactionalists. The founders, Cooley[4] and Mead[5], emphasized the examination of social behavior and motivation through the context of interacting selves. Here each individual in part has awareness of

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[1]Manford Kuhn, "Major Trends in Symbolic Interaction Theory in the Post Twenty-Five Years," Sociological Quarterly, 5 (Winter, 1964), pp. 61-81.

[2]S. Clark McPhail, Self Identification Within a Specific Context of Experience and Behavior, Thesis for the Degree of Ph.D., Michigan State University, 1965.

[3]Charles W. Tucker, Occupational Evaluation and Self Identification, Thesis for the Degree of Ph.D., Michigan State University, 1966.

[4]Cooley, passim.

[5]Mead, passim.

himself and others, and each evaluates the behavior of himself and others and maximizes the level of his own "self-esteem." Furthermore, the primary source of knowledge about the self comes from "other's" reaction to the self.

In any social situation, the individual has two tasks before him: the meeting of the other's expectations for him and the maximization of his own self-esteem. In order to do both he must have a notion of what is expected of him by the particular type of person he is dealing with. Also, he must know his performance limits. In essence, the individual has a set of attributes which are expected of him and a set of attributes which he possesses. To function in a human setting an individual needs a self-concept--or subjective self-concept which French and Miller define as "...that organization of qualities that the individual attributes to himself." [6]

The self has appeared in many settings with many meanings--Sullivan's good-bad self, Goffman's presented self, Roger's actualized self, James' true self and Jung's persona. All of these uses, while representing important aspects of the self, do not describe the "self." Since each culture has

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[6] J. R. P. French, Jr. and Danial R. Miller, "Identity and Motivation," in John R. French, Jr., Self Actualization and Utilization of Talent. (Ann Arbor, Michigan, Institute of Social Research, 1963).

its own set of evaluative dimensions, a given constellation of personal attributes will yield a different "self." The attributes include objects owned, personal characteristics, and even desired characteristics and objects.

To varying degrees, these attributes contribute to the person's self esteem. By altering his subjective evaluation of the attribute dimension so that his best status attributes are given more weight, the individual can maximize his self esteem. Consequently, the more flattering the attribute, the more important it is to the individual's self concept. Using the Twenty Statements Test, Tucker[7] finds that men identify with their occupations (give occupational responses) in direct proportion to its prestige. In essence, the more important their occupation is to others, the more they define themselves in terms of it.

In describing the self, French[8] delineates several types of identity. The first is self-identity (S.I.) which is synonymous with self-concept and results from the person's conception of himself as formed through the judgments of others. In essence, this is the subjective view of the self. Yet, the observer may not be the individual, and therefore there is at least one objective public identity (O.P.I.). French treats the objective public identity as the perception of the individuals primary reference group. In this research, I refer to the

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[7]Tucker, passim.

[8]French, passim.

objective public identity (O.P.I.) as an identity projected by any outside observer or group coming into contact with the individual. Furthermore, the other person may communicate only a portion of the objective public identity (O.P.I.). This French[9] calls the communicated public identity (C.P.I.). Not included in French's analysis, but also important, is the communicated public identity. Here the individual systematically screens personal information for public consumption--this amounts to Goffman's presented self.

French goes further; he subdivides subjective identity into the actual, potential, aspired, and ideal selves. The actual self is the total pattern which is possible through the development of his latent capacities, and the aspired self and ideal self are really indistinguishable. The aspired self represents the pattern of attributes the individual sees himself as attempting to attain, while the ideal self consists of the attributes "...he would impute to himself were he to realize his ideals."[10]

Moving now to the key assumption, the individual constantly confronts the dilemma of maximizing "self-esteem" by bringing the ideal self and the subjective self into line, while in the process maintaining a good relationship with those around him. Working toward certain personal goals may

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[9]French, Ibid., p. 18.

[10]Ibid., p. 22.

not conflict with the expectations of others for him, but, if it does, the person must either break off relations with the dissonant source, change the critical expectations of the dissonant source, or alter the "ideal self" such that striving for it will not conflict with the expectations of others. Thus, the content of the "ideal self" and the self expectations of others have a profound effect on a person's performance.

The origin of an individual's ideals becomes important for the understanding of the self. They arise through the internalization of norms and goals communicated to the individual as either appropriate or desirable by groups sufficiently powerful to reinforce them. According to French, "...once an attribute, dimension, or object has been internalized, the person reacts to it as he does to the rest of himself."[11] The ideal self then consists of those attributes which the person would possess that maximize "self-esteem" and at the same time allows him to maintain a stable relationship with his group.

The power of the group in the formation and the maintenance of the self is, of course, fundamental: "The individual possesses a self only in relationship to the other members of his social group; and the structure of his self expresses or reflects the general behavior pattern of

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[1] Ibid., p. 23.

the social group to which he belongs, just as does the structure of the self of every other individual belonging to this social group."[12] Here, Mead places the self in a matrix of human interaction which determines what objects and attributes are to be valued and to be avoided.

The group valued and norms form a standard of reference for the individual. French states that this is a quasiformal function. "Self evaluation is a function of P's subjective public evaluation weighted by the degree of reference power of each reference group or reference other."[13] This places a heavy emphasis on the reference group and represents a position taken by Kuhn and McPartland,[14] who suggest that the concept of self as a member of a group takes precedence over other self-concepts.

Status Consistency

The work that has been done on status consistency has at least two settings. Some studies have focused on the effects of inconsistencies in standard socio-economic rankings on personality, political behavior, social behavior, and psychosomatic illness, e.g., Jackson,[1] Lenski,[2]

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[12] Ibid., p. 24.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Manford Kuhn and Thomas McPortland, "An Empirical Investigation of Self Attitudes," American Sociological Review, Vol. 196 (Feb., 1954), pp. 68-76.

[1] E. F. Jackson, passim.

[2] Lenski (1954), passim., Lenski (1956), passim.

Landecker,[3] Goffman,[4] Miller,[5] and Jackson and Burke;[6] others have concentrated on more or less situational bound status variables and their inconsistencies on small group performance: J. N. Adams and Exline and Ziller.[8] Excepting the work of Homans[9] and Sampson,[10] little in the way of a systematic consideration of status inconsistencies has emerged. Future research in this area will require more careful consideration of the status variables, the nature of their associated exceptions, and the specification of their consequences for a particular kind of status inconsistency.

Prior to a detailed discussion of the literature, I will give a definition of some central concepts and outline some basic issues.

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[3]Landecker, passim.

[4]Goffman, passim.

[5]I. W. Miller, Modular Models: A Technique for Articulating Stratification and Personality Systems. Dissertation, Michigan State University, Unpublished, 1964.

[6]E. F. Jackson and P. J. Burke, "Status and Symtoms of Stress: Additive and Interactive Effects," American Sociological Review, 30 (1966), pp. 556-564.

[7]S. N. Adams, "Status Congruence as a Variable in Small Group Performance," Social Forces, Vol. 32 (1953), pp. 16-22.

[8]R. V. Exline and R. O. Ziller, "Status Congruence and Interpersonal Conflict in Decision-Making Groups," Human Relations, 12 (1959), pp. 147-161.

[9]G. C. Homans, Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms (New York: Harcourt, 1961).

[10]E. E. Sampson, "Status Congruence and Cognitive Consistency," Sociometry, 26 (1963), pp. 142-162.

Goffman defines status consistency:

> ...as the extent to which an individual occupies ranks on relevant status dimensions that are defined as compatible with shared expectations. The status dimensions that are relevant may vary from group to group or situation to situation. They may be safety, affection, sex, sophistication, rectitude, knowledge, power and the like. The attributes that define the dimensions and the indicators used to communicate an individual's rank or position on the dimension may likewise vary.[11]

In defining status consistency, Goffman emphasizes the importance of compatible shared expectations. This may appear to make status inconsistency akin to role conflict. But, there is a crucial difference. Status characteristics such as age, sex, and income are not necessarily roles; they can be attributes that may be determining factors in the range of roles a person may be expected to play. Basically status inconsistency involves a conflict of "evaluations" of the individual, whereas role conflict involves conflicting attributes of roles which in themselves are independent of the individual.

Goffman, as does Homans,[12] emphasizes the situational nature of status variables. Status dimensions may be local to one small sub-group or they may be applied to a whole culture. The degree to which the status inconsistency creates a conflict in expectations may vary. No unified set of theorems exists to account for the observed phenomena.

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[11] I. W. Goffman, "Status Consistency and Preference for Change in Power Distributions," American Sociological Review, 22 (1957), p. 281.

[12] Homans, passim.

"Status Congruence" and Social Certitude

G. Homans[1] sees status congruence as a "reward" and status incongruence as a cost. Being congruent in terms of one's status provides "social certitude" in terms of how others will respond to one. On the other hand, "... if a person presents two incongruent stimuli to his companions, one of the stimuli suggests that he will reward (or punish) a different kind of behavior from what the other one does, and accordingly the companions may be in doubt over which kind to emit: they are getting two conflicting signals.[2] According to Homans[3] the individual incurs two types of cost in this situation: (1) the ambiguity of his position, and (2) being responded to on the basis of his lower status. Homans is not clear in describing the effects of "Ambiguity" but it seems to come about through others' avoiding interaction with the status inconsistent individual. Furthermore, there may be a tendency for a status inconsistent individual whose achieved status outranks his ascribed status to be a target for aggression. Homans deals with this only indirectly, noting that far more joking was noted in situations involving status inconsistent individuals (e.g., the women mechanic) and often the joking was

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[1] Homans, passim.

[2] Ibid., p. 250.

[3] Homans, passim.

quite pointed. Of course, if the person is responded to on the basis of his lowest status rank and "rewarded" as such, he has incurred a loss. A factory worker from "a good family" who is responded to as a factory worker has lost a great deal of the "esteem" that would be afforded "good family."

A "cost" overlooked by Homans and others is aggression directed toward the status inconsistent individual for violating the expectations others have for him. In the South, Negroes who attempt to break out of a lower class pattern of life find themselves under attack. This aggression brings punishment often far worse than the cost of being a status consistent "Negro." We see this too when children of lower class families dare to compete academically and find themselves the target of aggression from their "betters" and the teachers. In other words, certain ascribed status variables, when incongruent with achieved status variables, may result in pressure to bring the achievements of the individual in line with his ascribed position. I argue that within a culture the prepotency of ascribed and achieved variables are an important variable in studying the means by which individuals attempt to reduce status inconsistency. If the sanctions for getting one's achieved status too far out of line with one's ascribed status are intense, status inconsistency may be changed by adjusting the achieved status to the ascribed status. On the other hand, if almost no serious costs exist for status inconsistency, then there will be a tendency to optimize one's status by raising one's lowest status.

Homans[4] reports that in supermarkets, productivity in terms of cost of labor per $100 of sales was related to status inconsistency. Age, sex, social-economic status, and full or part-time employment were the status variables. Work "checking out," requiring joint effort between superior position ("cashier") and subordinate position ("bundler") was an important source of friction. During peak hours, persons of varying rank would have to be brought "up front" to fill in resulting in a hodge-podge of relationships. Subsequently, it was found that employees preferred congruent status positions.

Status Consistency and the Individual

Lenski[5] began with the hypothesis: "Individuals characterized by a low degree of status crystallization (consistency) differ significantly in their political attitudes and behavior from individuals characterized by a high degree of status crystallization when status differences in the vertical dimension are controlled." The samples consisted of 749 respondents--all members of the labor force. The subjects were broken into a high crystallization group and low crystallization group, the line of division being a "natural break." Liberal attitudes were determined by political affiliation based on voting record, stated party choice, and indicated position on a set of issues.

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[4]Homans, p. 253.

[5]Lenski (1954) passim.

The four status dimensions were education, ethnic origin, income, and occupation. The findings confirmed the major hypothesis. Equally as important, certain types of status inconsistency related stronger to liberalism than others. The high group income or occupation and low ethnic status or a group with a high occupational status and low educational status showed a high percentage of democrats and more liberal tendencies; on the other hand, the high ethnic status and low income group had no more democrats than the status consistent group. Status inconsistency has a differential effect depending on the status variables.

In this case a tentative explanation might be that high achieved status (by occupation or income), as opposed to low ethnic status, has the person viewing his problems as being outside himself in the "system." High ethnic status (ascribed) and low achievement may be more readily perceived as personal failure.

Lenski[6] postulated that low status crystallization results in disturbing experiences in the interaction process which blocks the establishment of rewarding patterns of social interactions. These experiences will lead to a tendency to withdraw from social interaction. Low status crystallized individuals were found (1) to participate less in voluntary relationships than high crystallized persons, (2) to have more long-standing voluntary ties which have become inactive, and (3) to be less motivated to join an organization for reasons of sociability.

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[6]Lenski, (1956), op. cit., p. 459.

Landecker distinguished three types of status consciousness: class status consciousness; class structure consciousness; and class interest consciousness.[7] Class status consciousness refers to behaviors which are oriented toward what is best for the person's class. All three were found more frequently in status inconsistent groups.

In an attempt to assay the stress produced by status inconsistency, Jackson[8] compared groups of status consistent and status inconsistent subjects in terms of psychophysiological "stress" symptoms. The measure of "stress" consisted of a self report questionnaire covering a range of psychosomatic ailments. Jackson hypothesized psychosomatic stress to be a reaction to intrapunitive bodily-expressed reaction to interpersonal "stress." More interpersonal stress, hence psychosomatic stress was expected for the status inconsistent groups. The status variables used were occupation, education, and racial-ethnic backgrounds. The hypothesis held. More important, Jackson found that the type of status inconsistency differed in the amount of stress associated with them. For example, high ethnic status combined with either low occupational or educational status was related to a high symptom level, but low ethnic status and high occupational or educational status persons did not differ significantly from the status consistent in rate of symptoms reported. Jackson advances

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[7]Landecker, op. cit., p. 219.

[8]Jackson, op. cit., p. 469.

a hypothesis similar to Lenski's[9] for the different reactions to the different types of status inconsistency. The high ethnic (ascribed status) low achievement individual most likely views his problems as personal failure and is more intra-punitive whereas the low ascribed, high achievement individual sees himself as a success and any "stress" in the outside world is due to the "system."

Goffman employs the hypothesis that an inverse relationship exists between the degree of status consistency and preference for change in the distributions of power. To test this hypothesis, Goffman has people rank major institutions (i.e., federal government, universities, church, business, labor) in terms of power; he then had them ranked according to the way the individual thought they should be.[10] The hypothesis held. There was an important incidental finding. The lowest status was more satisfied than the upper status with the way they saw the power structure. Goffman sees status inconsistent individuals "...subjected to inconsistent pressures by those with whom they interact: others cannot appropriately 'define' the inconsistent individual and anticipate his responses."[11] This subjects the individual to conflicting demands and in the process he may incorporate conflicting view of himself. To relieve the situation, the individual has

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[9]Lenski, (1954), passim.

[10]Goffman, op. cit., p. 275.

[11]Ibid., p. 275.

the alternatives of changing himself, changing the environment, or withdrawing.

Landecker found (1) the community (Detroit) seems to constitute a class system to a limited degree, and (2) the highest stage seems to be most crystallized.[12] This bears on the Homans'[13] notion that individuals attempt to "raise" their lower status (keeping up with or ahead of the Jones).

Such a tendency would terminate in crystallized high status (prestigeful occupation, high income, good housing, good education for the children, high status religious affiliation, etc.). In other words, over several generations, outside of those with low ascribed status of race and ethnic origin (which is difficult for the individual to change), it is possible for families to maximize and crystallize their status.

Miller[14] presents a perplexing study. Advancing a "nodular theory," he attempts to show the non-linear effects created by status inconsistency or social class and its relationship to other variables. The first problem is the relationship between status consistency and social class. Miller[15] presents a chart showing an increasing nonlinear function but nowhere was there an indication of its significance. The correlation coefficient Eta would be appropriate.

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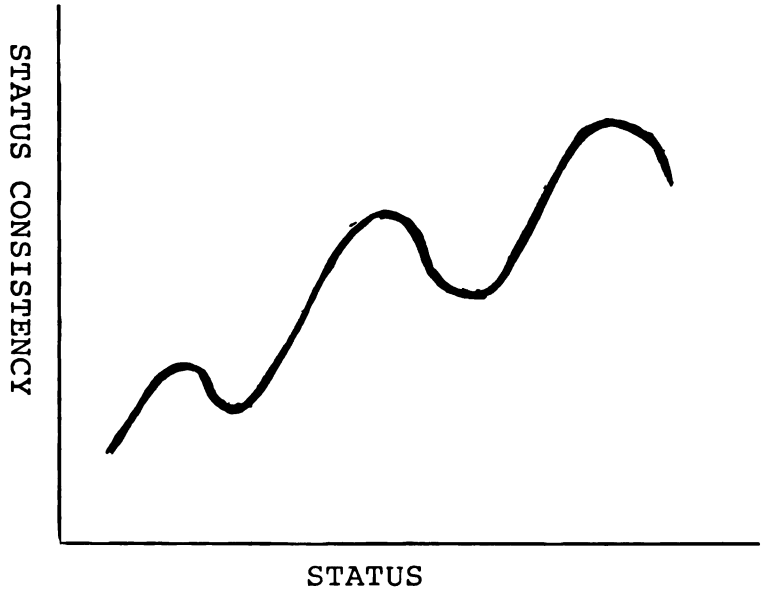
[12] Landecker, op. cit., p. 219.

[13] Homans, passim.

[14] Miller, passim.

[15] Ibid., p. 187.



By superimposing the functions formed by other variables, it seems that the low points are different from the more consistent modes. The variables compared with integration vs. anxiety, lack of nervous symptoms, perceived evaluation by others, (5) occupational aspirations, and (6) educational aspirations. The sample consisted of 340 high school boys, in Lenawee County. The status variables used were (1) religion, (2) father's occupation, (3) parental education, and (4) home quality. Here we have a different kind of effect. The children, not the parents, are influenced by their parents' status inconsistency. While not surprising, it does point to the complex ramifications status consistency can have.

The preceeding studies focused on the effects of broad nearly universal status dimensions on individual personality and preferences; other uses of status consistency are possible. Within a small group, more segmented status dimensions may become

important, having an effect not on the individual but on group performance. Subtle differences in pay between individuals doing essentially the same work, special privileges or sanctions, age, experience at a job, specialized skill or ability all of which may permit little differentiation in the total culture (a machanist making $2.50 per hour is roughly equivalent to a machinist making $2.60 per hour), but these differences can make for important differences in small groups.

Stuart Adams compared status consistency with performance and social compatibility of bomber crews. According to Adams "perfect group congruency is the condition in which individuals within the group stand in exactly the same rank order in all effective status hierarchies in the group.[16] Status consistency here is defined in terms of the interrelationship between members of a particular group. In the larger society, each individual could be status consistent; yet within the group, they could be completely inconsistent. Both ratings of proficiency or performance and self reports of social compatibility (morale, friendship, confidence) were used. Social compatibility directly correlated with status consistency. The more consistent the status relations the greater the morale, friendship and confidence of the group.

This relationship did not hold for productivity; instead, a nonlinear one emerged. Here, moderate status consistency related

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[16]Adams, op. cit., p. 1711.

to high production while low status consistency was accompanied by poorer performance but high status consistency showed the poorest performance. It is as if the high status consistent bomber crews were, by reason of their consistency, so much at ease socially that they spent most of their time enjoying each other's company rather than tending to business. Using Stogdill's[17] terminology, status inconsistent groups over-focus on "integration," neglecting production.

Experimental manipulation of status variables to produce status consistency in a small group setting has been reported only once. Exline and Ziller[18] manipulated status variables by assigning votes (power) and test scores (ability) publicly to a discussion group creating groups of varying status consistency. Using Bales' categories, the status consistent group showed (a) significantly more congeniality in the social situation, (b) more agreement in discussion, and (c) were characterized by less overlap in the proportions of activity coded as giving suggestions and opinion.

In a study of the means by which small groups reduce status inconsistency (incongruence) and the effects of group success and failure, Burstein and Zajonc[19] manipulated status

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[17]Stogdill, Ralph M., Individual Behavior and Group Achievement (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959).

[18]Exline, Ralph V., and Robert O. Ziller, op. cit.

[19]Eugene Burnstein and Robert B. Zajonc, "The Effect of Group Success on the Reduction of Status Incongruence in Task Oriented Groups," Sociometry, Vol. 28 (Dec., 1965), pp. 349-362.

variables of small groups in a cooperative game. In the research of Ziller et al. groups with a history of continuously successful output and those with a history of intermittent success restructured their hierarchies in order to reduce an incongruence in status ranks. Members experiencing large incongruencies, especially when they possess the greatest control, tended to respond more rapidly to the need for optimal restructuring, except when this entailed their being severely downgraded.

Sampson attempts to bridge status consistency and psychological balance theory. To arrive at such a position Sampson makes four assumptions:

1. One of the basic requirements of individual and collective survival is a degree of coordination among the actions of two or more persons involved in any particular interaction situation.

2. Coordination requires anticipatory knowledge.

3. Anticipatory knowledge is acquired over time and develops into a model of their physical and social world.

4. The internal consistency or reliability of the model is important.[20]

Sampson[21] as opposed to Lenski[22] sees status consistency as having consequences only when expectations clash. When there is

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[20]Sampson, op. cit., p. 147.

[21]Sampson, passim.

[22]Lenski, (1956) passim.

a confusion of expectancies, the individual attempts to straighten them out. This is a balancing process. Branden[23] in a small group study found evidence for Sampson's position.

The empirical studies on status consistency are few, the theory incomplete, yet the promise is great. The studies to date show complex relationships between different types of status variables and other sociological variables. Yet only a skeleton structure of hypotheses cover the differential relationships. To proceed with status consistency, a thorough examination of the assumptions and definition is required.

Dynamics of Status Consistency

When a person is status inconsistent, he suffers a loss. According to Sampson[1] and Goffman[2], the person loses social certainty. In other words, for status inconsistent variables to have behavioral or even cognitive consequences the expectations associated with these variables must conflict. But one cannot conclude that if two status variables have no conflicting expectations associated with them, there will be no consequences. Status involves "esteem" Homans' definition of "esteem" is clear in the following assertion: "...the greater the total reward in expressed social approval a man receives

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[23]Arlene C. Branden, "Status Congruence and Expectations," Sociometry, Vol. 23 (Sept., 1965), pp. 272-288.

[1]Sampson, passim.

[2]Goffman, passim.

from other members of his group, the higher is the esteem in which they hold him. . .Social approval is the reward. . ."[3] Given a certain status level, a given amount of esteem is expected regardless of other behavioral consequences. Esteem is expressed in many ways relative to the culture but is generally accorded in the same manner regardless of the "status variables" involved. In essence, if two status variables are inconsistent, then the level of esteem accorded them also conflicts.

For an attribute of an individual to be a status variable, it must elicit social approval or disapproval; if it does not, it is not a status variable. Now, we can apply a balance model. The basic proposition is that status inconsistency creates a basic ambiguity in regard to the amount of esteem to be accorded. This state of affairs goes against a very basic and primitive principle in congnitive organization. In reference to this type of phenomenon, Homans says: "...perhaps what the psychologists call the 'halo-effect' was also at work here: a tendency for a favorable, or unfavorable judgment that a man makes of another on one count to spill over and color the judgments he makes of him on other counts. Perhaps the phenomenon resulted from what we shall call in a later chapter 'status congruence.'"[4] Deviations from the expected "congruence" of status variables go against "natural" groupings of qualities. Princes are

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[3]Homans, op. cit., p. 147.

[4]Ibid., p. 160.

expected to be bright, informed and powerful, paupers slow, ignorant, and weak. Equally important, princes expect to remain princes while paupers can hope to become princes but expect to remain paupers. Hence, the person's frame of reference determines his satisfaction with the new state of affairs. Through studying the job satisfaction of manual laborers, Form and Geschwender[5] compared the effects of inter-generational mobility on job satisfaction. According to the authors, if the father's or brother's occupation was higher than the subject's, they showed less job satisfaction. In other words, the accomplishments of "significant others" shape the performance and social expectations of the "self."

The functionalistic assumptions of Sampson have value at this point. First, "...the basic requirements of individual and collective survival...is a degree of co-ordination among the actions of two or more persons involved in any particular interaction situation. This assumption implied each individual necessarily depending on other individuals for his own survival."[6] Second, to facilitate this coordination, the individual requires "anticipatory knowledge" of what others will do and how they will react in any given interaction situation; third, social

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[5]William H. Form, and James A. Geschwender, "Social Reference Basis of Job Satisfaction: The Case of Manual Workers," American Sociological Review, Vol. 27 (1962), pp. 228-237.

[6]Sampson, op. cit., p. 160.

experiences is the source of this knowledge; and fourth, a reliable model of behavior will be employed rather than an unreliable model. In other words, a model for a person to pattern his behavior after or from which he accepts information as valid about the self must be seen as competent and reliable. But, the main criterion for competence and reliability must, in part, be the amount of esteem the individual receives from the community at large.

To obtain the coordination of actives necessary for survival, an organization must have a hierarchy of duties and privileges. Positions within this hierarchy of necessity differ in desirability and therefore can be ranked from high to low. "Esteem" according to Homans represents the expressed total reward the individual receives from others, while status refers to the stimuli a man presents to others (and to himself). Due to the cognitive consistency principle, any loss of "esteem" due to another's response to a low status variable threatens in varying degrees the man's conception of his status in the hierarchy.[7] In essence, for a status inconsistency to have consequences for the individual, the "other" (including a person's reaction to himself) has only to respond in terms of the individual's lowest status.

In its present state, the inconsistency hypothesis

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[7]Homans, op. cit., p. 153.

fits a balance theory framework well. From Festinger's[8] "dissonance theory" we will use the following modified hypotheses:

1. The amount of status consistency that can exist between any two elements is equal to the total resistance to change of the less resistant element.

2. The resistance to change is a function of the importance of the element to the person's subjective self-concept and the amount of control the person has over the elements.

3. The presence of status inconsistency gives rise to pressures to reduce or eliminate it.

The characteristics of the status variables now take on new importance. Ascribed variables are by definition resistant to change at the subjective level. But they can be varied in terms of their relevance for evaluation. Nevertheless, where the ascribed attribute is obvious, the characteristic consistantly enters the situation. In American culture a Negro is inflexibly a Negro, whereas, a white with a low socio-economic background may change his name, put on a good suit, and change his language and life style. Furthermore, he may move to a new location, where an old definition of him is not known. The foremost characteristic of a society's status variables is the amount of control the individual has over his position on them.

Within the social structure, the upper levels have the

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[8] L. Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1957).

power to differentially reinforce (give social approval to) the status attributes of those beneath them. This may be said of peers as well. Advancement may be blacked or aided by the efforts of those of high ascribed status to the point of not allowing any new members. Ellis and Clayton[9] found that, while impetus for college for "lower class" Stanford students came at first from their parents, in particular the mother, it was strongly supported by an upper or upper middle class person, often bankers, ministers, and school principals, who took special interest in the child. These structural supports, as Ellis and Clayton call them, show the effects of the high evaluation of achievement on the encouragement of status inconsistents.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Since Tönnies'[1] Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft, social scientists have searched for a basic continuum or conceptual system with which to meaningfully classify societies. Two such systems will be explored here: Parsons[2] and Hsu.[3] Parsons attempts to delineate "value orientations" and group societies

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[9]Robert A. Ellis and W. Clayton Lane, "Structural Supports for Upward Mobility," American Sociological Review, 28 (1963), pp. 748-756.

[1]F. Tönnies, Fundamental Concepts of Sociology, C. P. Loomis (Trans. and Suppl.), New York: American Book Co., 1940.

[2]Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951).

[3]F. L. K. Hsu, Clan, Caste and Club (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1961).

on this basis while Hsu classifies cultures in terms of the basic unit (dyads, e.g., husband-wife, father-son) on which societies' kinship structure is formed. Despite their radically different approaches, the two theorists concur on three out of four categories in terms of which societies "hang together." It appears that the difference between the major advanced societies can be classified by several means indicating that they are organized as coherent systems.

In viewing a culture, Parsons[4] focuses on what he describes as the value orientation which amounts to the "cognitive," "appreciative" and "moral" standards of a people. A value orientation, in essence, refers to the culturally defined standards of situations and actions. How a situation is defined, what elements are relevant, what is to be reinforcing, and what actions are appropriate, according to their point of view, all are governed by social convention.

Parsons finds two value orientation dimensions on which societies can be classified: first, ascription-achievement and, secondly, universalism-particularism. Achievement refers to the valuing of the instrumental attainment of "goals" while ascription refers to the evaluation of others and self in terms of object qualities such as color, height, and other social qualities beyond the control of the individual. Ascription ties into an adjustive orientation emphasizing expressiveness and more immediate

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[4]Parsons, passim.

gratification of needs. The universalistic-particularistic dimension refers to the generality of standards and role expectations. Parsons uses the term cognitive orientation as opposed to a cathetic orientation which "...is inherently particularized to particular objects (mother, Uncle John) and ordered combinations of them."[5]

Examining the results of the combinations of these variables we find four cultural types: achievement-universal, achievement-particular, ascription-universal, and ascription-particular. Each orientation represents an ideal type and any extant society is relatively, i.e., universalistic or relatively achievement oriented. Ascription in one form or another occurs in any society. On the other hand, societies emphasizing ascription have awarded esteem to lower status individuals (in India this has taken the form of the elevation of a whole caste) for the performances of services vital to the society (e.g., victory in war).

The universalistic-achievement pattern orders people more on the basis of generalized rules relating to quality and performance in terms of one universal goal than with regard to the social characterisitics of the person. The prime focus of such a society is on goal-achievement and instrumental actions directed toward goal achievements. This orientation leads to or is associated with a pluralism of goals united in direction.

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[5] Ibid., p. 62.

In essence, an open system results in having no absolute view of the world. "The combination of achievement, interests, and cognitive primacies will mean that it is a dynamically developing system, with an encouragement for initiative in defining new goals, within the acceptability range, and an interest in improving instrumental efficiency."[6] This type of social structure is best represented by the major industrial societies of the world.

The particular-universal value orientation differs from the universal-ascription in that the former emphasizes achieving "secondary values." In describing Chinese culture, a prototype of this concept, Parsons states "...the relative weakness of universalism in the general value-orientation was associated with the fact that it has a diffuse rather than a specific achievement pattern, attaining 'superiority' rather than competence."[7]

Solidarity and the maintenance and integration of the social system, in particular the family, becomes the main focus of this society. In the same manner, in the particularistic-ascriptive societies, lack of concern for larger social interest allows authority to be established with little opposition.

The universalistic-ascription pattern can be found in

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[6]Parsons, Ibid., p. 184.

[7]Ibid., p. 197.

societies marked by a strong emphasis on status without focusing on kinship or a narrowly defined community. Two examples of such a society are pre-war Germany and Soviet Russia; both, according to Parsons, ascribe positions through the unequal distribution of political power. In general, this type emphasizes a collectivistic orientation and has a strong tendency toward authoritarianism.

The typologies of Parsons leave much to be desired. Achievement through technical competence is possible in Soviet Russia today as it was in pre-war Germany yesterday. In all, Parsons' typologies represent approximations, and no society appears to be in entirely perfect fit with the model.

In contrast to Parsons' approach, Hsu has devised a conceptual scheme based on the way of life as expressed through kinship structure. The kinship system has importance for a society's thought and activities in two ways: one type of system enables "...the individuals reared in them to achieve their appropriate places in terms of sociability, security, and status with greater ease than do other kinship systems."[8] On the other hand, a person may be encouraged to strive when people encourage him to do so. If those around him give him little reason to expect success, he will be less adventurous. Both reasons point to ascription versus achievement as a basic dimension.

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[8]Hsu, op. cit., p. 401.

To find a meaningful classification system of kinship structure, Hsu examined the eight basic relationships found in every kinship system: husband-wife, father-son, mother-son, mother-daughter, father-daughter, sister-sister, brother-brother, sister-brother. No matter how extensive the kinship system and remote the relation (e.g., nephew-uncle) each relation is merely an extension of one of the basic eight. In examining a structure, some relationships dominate others; in fact, in almost all societies one basic relationship dominates. By altering the importance of these relationships a society also alters the expectation and responsibilities associated with them yielding an entirely different social system. The basic types are as follows:

A. Mutual dependence among members of kin and community rooted in the father-son axis at the expense of all other relationships.

B. Self-reliance on the part of the individual rooted in the supremacy of the husband-wife axis at the expense of all other relationships.

C. Supernatural reliance which is found where the mother-son axis tends to have more primary importance over all other relationships.

D. A degree of mutual dependence together with the emphasis on brother-brother axis and practically no worship of the ancestors.[9]

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[9] Ibid.

Hsu works out the consequences for each system in terms of religion, politics, arts, and industry. The relevance of this system to the main hypothesis of study would require much more exposition than time or space allows here but will be worked out in detail later.

Hsu's system has at least one consequence for status consistency. Hsu sees the type C pattern as particularly detrimental to an achievement orientation. In part, this collaborates Parson's contention that achievement orientation is not stressed in Latin America and India. The father-son type (A) seems to be, in fact, also slightly disfavorable to mobility.

Mobility

To be status inconsistent in terms of ascription and achievement implies vertical mobility. High achievement in comparison to low mobility implies upward mobility while the converse implies downward mobility. In describing mobility as the product movement correlation between generations, Svalastoga[1] defines minimum (caste) as +1, and maximum (equilitarian) as 0. In this framework, -1 represents an inversion every generation. Actual mobility in industrial societies falls into a range between +.4 to +.45. While no figures are available, it would be assumed that most non-industrial societies have a much lower

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[1]Kaare Svalastoga, "Social Differentiation," Handbook of Modern Sociology, ed. by Robert E. L. Faris, (Chicago: Rand Mc-Mally and Co., 1964).

mobility rate; in fact, the intergeneration correlation for a caste system such as India should approach +1.

To determine a mobility rate (or the rate of change of the mobility rate) is easy, but to determine optimum mobility presents problems. "Optimum mobility" to Svalastoga "...presupposes a criterion variable, which when correlated with mobility, is maximized for a given mobility level."[2] The level of maximum correlation then is by definition "optimal mobility." Anderson, Brown and Bowman[3] calculated the amount of mobility necessary to secure a perfect correspondence between social status and test intelligence. The resultant rate fell somewhere between the rate of any extant society and the rate characterizing a society of equal chances.

Unfortunately, the model of optimum mobility rests on two shakey assumptions: first, that intelligence as presently conceptualized is the natural continuum to underlie the "perfect" social structure; and secondly, present tests actually measure intelligence. Within the field of cognitive processes a strong emphasis on differential aptitudes has arisen. Controversy over the concept of intelligence and its many components analytical, verbal, quantitative, and spatial abilities continues. Some evidence exists for the hypothesis

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[2] Ibid., p. 550.

[3] C. A. Anderson, J. C. Brown, and J. J. Bowman, "Intelligence and Occupational Mobility," Journal of Political Economics, 60 (1952), pp. 218-239.

that differential abilities represent manifestations of a central factor modified by experience. Much evidence has been accumulated showing the powerful influence of environmental chance on I.Q. scores.[4] To get at a more fundamental definition of optimum mobility, we must develop a more sophisticated concept of I.Q. than exists today and more important, we must examine more carefully the qualities needed to fulfill roles at all levels of society.

Employing the term "permeability," Svalastoga describes societies in terms of the rate with which individuals change rank. Permeability or "vertical mobility" "...may range from a minimum, as when birth and death are the only legitimate modes of entrance and exit, to a maximum as when entrance and exit are completely independent of birth and death."[5]

Svalastoga divides societal permeability as follows:

1. Caste model: permeability zero.
2. Estate model: permeability very low, but not absent.
3. Class model: permeability about 40 percent.
4. Continuous model: permeability about 80 percent.
5. Eqalitarian model: permeability perfect (maximum).

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[4]O. Klineberg, Negro Intelligence, and Selected Migrations (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935).

[5]Svalastoga, op. cit., p. 545.

A caste system operates best under conditions of "...(1) very slow technological change, (2) an economic surplus permitting fairly sizable differences among members in respect to power and wealth, and (3) rather small differences in terms of life chances (in particular as measured by net reproduction)."[6] This state of affairs leads to a nearly perfect correlation of the four stratification variables. In essence, the most respected are the most powerful, the wealthiest, and the best educated.

A caste system has extremely skewed power, income, and education distributions with most of the masses dominated by a powerful elite, with few in between. The estate models are today virtually extinct but were best represented by the European medieval society. The countries of Latin America best fit the class model and are also characterized by a high level of economic inequality. Thus, in Chile, 14 percent of the land holdings account for 68.2 percent of the farm area, and in Brazil, 1.5 percent account for 48.4 percent of the farm area.[7]

The caste, estate, and class models all have the characteristic of discrete status variables. This means that in all cases there tends to be an extreme degree of status

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[6] Ibid., p. 540.

[7] R. A. Schumerhorn, Society and Power (New York: Random House, Inc., 1961), p. 47.

consistency and that "...any plural of persons is either equally placed or is obviously and sharply separated in status."[8]

It is not difficult to determine whether caste, estate, class, or continuous models relate to either achievement or ascriptive value orientation. Caste societies definitely are ascriptive; so, are estate societies, but the class and continuous society are problems. Most likely class societies will have an ascriptive value orientation but if the technology is primitive, as in Towogawa, Japan, where pluralities competed, then a class society may be achievement oriented; and similarly an ascriptive society, such as Nazi Germany, may have a continuous distribution given a modern technology. Hence, we shall not classify our societies in terms of mobility rates but instead use value orientations as a criterion.

Alienation

Many concepts mark the history of alienation: alienation, anomie, anomia, powerlessness, normlessness, social isolation, meaninglessness, and self-estrangement. This welter of terms makes for ambiguity; boundaries of each concept flow into another; different theorists use the same concept for different definitions while others use the same

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[8]Svalastoga, op. cit., p. 541.

definition for different terms.

Still, the concepts are basic. Marx, the first theorist using alienation, saw mens' loss of the means and ends of production as leading to a "negative state of mind," alienation. Unfortunately, as Feuer[1] points out, the concept arose as part of a protest against romantic individualism or against neo-capitalism.

The term comes into play again during the thirties, among depression intellectuals and later among the "mass society" group. "...A polemical concept," as Feuer sees it, "...alienation is a dramatic metaphor which for reasons peculiar to intellectuals' experience has become their favorite root-metaphor for perceiving the social universe...and a projection of the psychology of intellectuals disenchanted with themselves."[2] Still the concept has coinage, in that when an individual loses control over his productive efforts and the products of production, his social perception and social behavior becomes distorted.

From Durkheim's[3] work on suicide comes the concept anomie, a term indicating a stressful social situation which

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[1]Lewis Feuer, "What is Alienation? The Career of a Concept," Sociology on Trial, eds. Maurice Stein and Arthor Vidich (Engle-wood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963).

[2]Ibid., p. 127.

[3]Emile Durkheim, Suicide, trans. John A. Spaulding and George Simpson (New York: The Free Press, 1951).

may lead to suicide. While alienation stemmed from the individual's lack of power and control over things central to his well being, i.e., the means and ends of production, anomie arises from: (1) a social state in which the society's norms and goals are no longer capable of exerting control over its members, (2) a situation when the individual, rather than the group, must determine his goals and how much effort he must expend, or (3) a situation where the individual cannot provide meaningful limits to his own desires and is thus doomed to a life of constant seeking without goal attainment.

Operating from a hedonistic principle, Durkheim began with the assumption that..."Human activity naturally aspired beyond assignable limits and sets itself unattainable goals."[4] Hence, control must come from without, that is, from society. In essence Durkheim focuses on the normative structure. Events precipitating an "anomic state" include loss in individual status, sudden wealth, and extreme upward or downward mobility. Each situation, according to this point of view, leads to a disrupting of normative order or the individual's own controlling mechanism. While Durkheim's anomie describes society with conditions of chaos, the concept anomie refers to a subjective state experienced by the individual which leads to personal consequences.

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[4] Ibid., p. 241.

Lack of meaning, lack of a clear, predictable means-ends scheme, also provides grounds for anomie. According to MacIver:

> ...Anomy signifies the state of mind of one who has been pulled up by his moral roots, who has no longer any standards, but only disconnected urges, who has no longer any sense of continuity, of folk, or obligation.[5]

In particular, MacIver sees anomy as a malady most likely found in a democratic society,

> Let us look next at anomy, the other malady of democratic men that becomes most virulent in times of crises and turbulant change, the breakdown of the individual's sense of attachment to society, to all society. Anomy is not simply lawlessness. A gangster or a pirate or a mere law-evading rogue is not as such, indeed is not likely to be, anomic. He has his own code of law against law and is under strong sanctions to obey it.[6]

Lasswell presents, not necessarily a deviant position, but a different view. Anomie is a lack of identification on the part of the primary ego of the individual with a "self" that includes others. In a word, modern man suffers from psychic isolation. He feels alone, cut off, unwanted, not loved, invalid.[7] This definition shifts to the notion of social isolation or psychic isolation not mentioning normlessness

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[5]Robert M. MacIver, The Ramparts We Guard (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1950), p. 86.

[6]Ibid., p. 180.

[7]Harold D. Lasswell, "The Threat to Privacy," in Conflict of Loyalties, Robert M. MacIver, ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 32.

although if such a psychically isolated person existed he probably would experience normlessness.

From the beginnings established by Durkheim, Merton generalizes the conditions under which anomie occurs. According to Merton, anomie results from a discrepancy between socially approved norms and goals (the cultural system) and the socially structured capacities of members to act in accord with them, the social system.[8] Adaptations to the resulting "anomie" when expectation and means are out of line usually take the form of deviance; hence, the adaptation takes the form of taking up new goals and/or means and if a sufficient number of people are in contact with each other, then they form a sub-group with a sub-culture. Applying his scheme to the American scene, Merton notes a discrepancy between the Horatio Alger ethic, "strive and succeed," and the capacity and resources of the lower class person, diminished by the class system and in the Negro's case the caste system. He then points to the high rate of deviance in the lower group as evidence for the large number of lower class persons in deviant groups. We could extend this to include the high rate of deviance in the U.S. Of course as Brymer points out, the individual must be exposed to cultural goals and hold them to be legitimate, hence, in part, internalize them, before he will seek these goals. This brings us to the

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[8]Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Revised, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957).

point that within any society different goals may be set for different segments of the population avoiding a discrepancy.

Going beyond Merton's portrayal of the American conflict, Mizruchi points to an ends-means conflict not poverty results in anomie:

> We Americans have always assumed that unfettered social mobility is necessarily a desirable condition for all. During times of prosperity, mobility is not only merely attainable, but, also, forces itself upon the multitude. Few recognize the high cost that is paid in the form of striving toward unrealizable goals and its consequences in personal demoralization and despair. Increased opportunity for success has its counterpart in increased opportunity for failure.[9]

While Merton focuses on the class structure as blocking the opportunities of the lower class individual, Mizruchi finds difficulty in the socialization processes in the lower class and in its values. Socialization breaks down, or better:

> Perhaps this very desperation, enhanced by early exposure to impulse and aggression, leads working class parents to pursue new goals with old techniques of discipline. While accepting middleclass levels of aspiration, he has not yet internalized sufficiently the modes of response which makes standards readily available for himself or his children. He has still to learn to wait, to explain, and to give and withhold his affection as the reward and price of performance.[10]

In terms of values Mizruchi finds the middle class

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[9]Ephraim H. Mizruchi, Success and Opportunity: A Study of Anomie (New York: The Free Press, 1964).

[10]Ibid., p. 423.

perceiving the non-materialist economic sysbols as most important.

Class					
I	II	III	IV	V	
69	57	51	37	29	42% non-material economic symbols
31	43	52	63	71	58% material economic symbols
N (13)	(19)	(47)	(81)	(63)	

And this value orientation is reflected in their perception of the values of education in terms of instrumental values that is as a means to economic and material success versus being valued for social ends.

Class						
I	II	III	IV	V	T	
91	72	55	51	44	52%	Non-instrumental
9	28	45	54	56	48%	Instrumental
N (13)	(19)	(47)	(81)	(63)		

Hence the lower class symbols are success symbols contrasted with middle-class achievement symbols. Occupational pursuits in the lower-class, for example, "...are much more less likely to lead to achievement. Even the skilled technician has difficulty thinking of his work in such terms, as does the clerk in the smae class (Class IV). In contrast, the engineer, the

scientist, or the small business owner who constantly speaks of "building" his business demonstrates a broader dimension of aspiration.[11] (Mizruchi's position on the differential value of education for the lower versus upper and middle class person)

Briones and Waisanen find a similar pattern in Chile, when they examine the effects of education on the perception of education in materialistic and non-materialistic terms.[12]

H. Hyman agrees with Mizruchi that "...Part of the ideology of American life is that important positions are not simply inherited by virtue of the wealth of one's parents, but can be achieved. Such achievement, however, requires for most important positions considerable formal education."[13] But Hyman sees that the lower class places less value on education which constitutes an aspect of a larger value system which would be detrimental to their advancement. In summary, American society has created a discrepancy "between a material success and failure to emphasize the means of attaining this goal."[14]

Mizruchi presents evidence to show that disparity

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[11] Ibid., p. 423.

[12] Guillermo Briones and F. B. Waisanen, Educational Aspirations, Modernization and Urban Integration, a paper read at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, Miami, 1966.

[13] Herbert Hyman (1953), p. 429.

[14] Mizruchi, op. cit., p. 50.

between education and income increases anomie. This would support the idea that, when expectations set by education conflict with attainment, income (assuming individuals with high education have high economic goals) results in anomie. Unfortunately his data do not support his contention.[15] Also, Meir and Bell (1959)[16] link anomie not only with alienation but also with downward mobility. In general, the concept anomia appears to relate negatively to social position in the United States: whether this holds up cross-nationally

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[15]Mizruchi, op. cit., p. 102.

Table I.--Income and Anomie by Education

Anomie Score	Grade School		High School		College	
	Over 5000	Under	Over 5000	Under	Over 5000	Under
0	11	8	27	24	51	34
1-2	42	31	54	44	41	34
3S	47	61	19	32	8	32
	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Chi Square: 3.21		Chi Square: 7.62		Chi Square: 16.99	
	$p < .20$		$p < .03$		$p < .001$	

I will digress here to make a methodological point. Mizruchi hypothesized an interaction, claiming that the effects of income and anomie are controlled by education. Unfortunately, Mizruchi neither took a chi square for the complete table nor subtracted out the main effects. If Table I includes equal n's, then we could construct Tables X_1 and X_2 as follows:

or cross culturally has yet to be tested.

Some theorists define alienation as an uneasy feeling of not belonging; others define it as a series of

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TABLE X_1

Education x_1 Anomie

Anomie	Education		
	Grade School	High School	College
0	19.5	25.5	42.5
1-2	36.5	49.0	37.5
3-5	54.0	25.5	20.0
	100	100	100

TABLE X_2

Income x_2 Anomie

Anomie	Income	
	Over $5000	Under $5000
0	26.67	66 22
1-2	45.67	109 36.33
3-5	24.67	125 41.67

Both income and education relate directly to anomie in these tables; but without the frequencies, the significance cannot be stated. Most probably, when the chi square for these main effects are extracted, the interaction would not be significant. Hence, Mizruchi only has evidence for the negative relationship between socio-economic variables and anomie.

[16]Dorothy L. Meier and Wendell Bell, "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," American Sociological Review 24 (April, 1959), pp. 189-207.

affective states. For instance Hajda states that ". . . it (alienation) is an expression of non-belonging or non-sharing, an uneasy awareness or perception of an unwelcome contrast with others."[17] This parallels Srole's conception of anomie as the polar extreme on a continuum of belonging: "The two terms (Eunomia and Anomia) can be adopted with some license to refer to the continuum of variation in the 'integratedness' of the different social systems or subsystems, viewed as molar wholes. They can also be applied to the parallel continuum of variations seen from the 'microscopic' or molecular view of individuals as they are integrated in the total action fields of their inter-personal relationships and reference groups."[18] Nettler using a psychological inside approach, defines alienation in terms of estrangement from society. Unfortunately, Nettles leaves us up in the air concerning whether the individual rejects his culture's norms or he simply walks around with unfriendly feelings. Seeman outlines five uses for alienation:

> (1) Powerlessness--The expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurance of the outcomes, or reinforcement he seeks.
>
> (2) Normlessness--A high expectancy that socially

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[17]Jan Hajda, "Alienation and Integration of Student Intellectuals," American Sociological Review, 26 (October, 1961), pp. 758-759.

[18]Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: Eunomia and Anomia," American Sociological Review, 21 (December, 1956), pp. 709-712.

> unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals.
>
> (3) Meaninglessness--The low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about the future outcome of behavior can be made.
>
> (4) Isolation--The condition in which the person assigns low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society.
>
> (5) Self-estrangement-- . . . the degree of dependence of the given behavior upon anticipated future rewards.[19]

How these interrelate and what conditions lead to their manifestation? Seeman does not take this up. Browning, et al.,[20] discuss a developmental model of alienation where three elements, powerlessness, normlessness, and meaninglessness with the other two elements emerging in later stages. In turn Seeman[21] doubts the universality of their "stages." This exchange raises a key question: How do these elements interrelate and do they relate to a central concept of alienation? Must an individual evidence all or a certain number of the above characteristics to be classified as alienated or does just one "high score" put him in the category? We could be dealing with five isolated phenomena that should best be treated separately. The discussion needs empirical

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[19]Melvin Seeman and John W. Evans, "Alienation and Learning A Hospital Setting," American Sociological Review, 27 (December, 1962), pp. 772-782.

[20]Charles J. Browning, M. F. Farmer, H. D. Kirk, G. D. Mitchell, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 26 (October, 1961), pp. 780-78.

[21]Seeman and Evans, passim.

evidence.

Dwight Dean[22] provides evidence on three of Seeman's terms: powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation. But, his definitions do not match Seeman's. While they agree on the definition of powerlessness, Dean and Seeman's normlessness and social isolation take on entirely different meanings. Dean's normlessness refers to that aspect of Durkheim's anomie reflecting a lack of a strong normative structure. Here, the author recognizes two forms: purposelessness, or MacIver's absence of values, and a conflict in values. Social isolation entails that aspect of Durkheim's anomie which refers to "...a feeling of separation from the group."[23] The scale resulting from the above definition shows an intercorrelation between all three scales which should be contrasted with the Neal and Rettig study. Using the Srole scale for anomie and two special scales for Seeman's powerlessness and normlessness, Neal and Rettig also find these scales loading on different factors indicating independence.[24]

We turn now to the issue, how does alienation arise? Seeman formulates a social learning theory which he

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[22]Dwight Dean, "Meaning and Measurement of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 26 (October, 1961), pp. 753-758.

[23]Ibid., p. 755.

[24]Arthur G. Neal and Salomon Rettig, "Dimensions of Alienation Among Manual and Non-Manual Workers," American Sociological Review, 28 (August, 1965), pp. 599-608.

applies to various settings. In general, Seeman's main assumptions are that all behavior hinges on:

> (1)...the degree to which a person expects that the behavior will have a successful outcome and
>
> (2) the value of that success to the person to achieve it. If these factors are powerful, separately or together, the bahavior is not likely to occur.[25]

Here payoff depends on the probabilities of obtaining various outcomes weighted with their respective rewards. On the other hand, Atkinson and Feather, point to the other determinates, the probability of failure and the cost of different types of negative outcomes. Also, Seeman points to the degree to which the individual perceives success or failure being under his control as important.

> A person will definitely learn less from experiences he conceives to be determined by outsiders, or by chance, which he feels he cannot influence.[26]

At this point, Seeman turns on bureaucracy, charging it with fomenting the problems discussed here. Since the individual lacks a control over rewards plus the fact he encounters inconsistencies in expections, bureaucracy does not provide the learning necessary for social skills and opportunities path to reach individual goals. Again, bureaucracy becomes the

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[25]Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 24 (December, 1959), pp. 783-791.

[26]Ibid., p. 784.

fall guy for social problems which could exist anywhere given Seeman's basic paradigm.

Other formulations include Clark, who defines alienation in relative deprivation terms, and Waisanen, who poses alienation as a result of perceived discrepancy between social system and the individual. According to Clark, alienation "...must be a measure of the discrepancy between the power man believes he has, and what he believes he should have--his estrangement from his rightful role."[27] This represents a considerable shift from the original Marxian formulation. Here, no matter how powerful the individual, if he perceives his 'legitimate power as less than his actual' he experiences alienation. Waisanen postulates separate but overlapping sets of goals and norms for both the individual and the society. Utilizing Festinger's cognitive dissonance theory, Waisanen postulates (1) for the individuals three "general goals," elements which accrue to the person participating in the systems becoming a part of his self system; that is, familiarity representing a knowledge of the system's rules, norms, and goals which allows for personal stability; (2) operating social systems produce sentiments or affective ties with others, and (3) power or productivity for exchange within the system.[28]

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[27]John P. Clark, "Measuring Alienation Within a Social System," American Sociological Review, 24, (Dec., 1959), pp. 849-852.

[28]Fredrick B. Waisanen, "Stability, Alienation, and Change," Sociological Quarterly, 4 (Winter, 1963), pp. 18-32.

In turn, if familiarity does not develop, normlessness ensues; if a sense of power does not arise, powerlessness ensues, and if no affective ties result then social isolation ensues. Consequently, Waisanen contributes a tighter formulation of alienation articulating the individuals condition with that of the social system.

After grappling with definitions, we will briefly look at some other correlates of anomia and alienation by their various measures. Again, since different operational instruments have been used to measure alienation, comparison between studies is difficult. While Srole[29] finds 'anomie' related to authoritarianism and prejudice, and contends that anomie accounts for prejudice; Roberts and Rokeach, and McDill[30] show that anomia and authoritarianism account for prejudice about equally. Also, Dean[31] finds alienation related to authoritarianism. Other behavioral and attitudinal correlates include Simmons[32] (Anomie-Srole Scales, and

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[29]Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, 30 (December, 1956), p. 710.

[30]A. H. Roberts and M. Rokeach, "Anomie, Authoritarianism, Prejudice: A Replication," American Journal of Sociology, 61 (January, 1956), pp. 355-358. Edward L. McDill, "Anomie, Authoritarianism, Prejudice and Socio-Economic Status: An Attempt at Clariffication," Social Forces, 39 (March, 1961), pp. 239-245.

[31]Dean, op. cit.

[32]J. L. Simmons, "Some Inter-Correlations Among 'Aheration' Measures," Social Forces, 44 (March, 1966), pp. 370-372.

alienation-Dean scale), misanthropy, low self-esteem, dissatisfaction, and attitude uncertainty, Angell[33] (anomia) willingness to invade the privacy of others, and prejudice, McPhail[34] (alienation-Dean Scales) and dogmatism, Rhode's[35] (anomia) level of aspiration controlling for social-economic level--high anomia relating to high aspiration. In a massive study, McClosky and Schaar relates anomie alienation and a list of psychological variables, all indicating impairment of cognitive functioning: bewilderment, pessimism, satisfaction with life conditions, political cynicism, feeling of political impotence, intolerence of ambiguity, rigidity, obsessiveness, inflexibility, manifest anxiety, stability disorganization, bewilderment (Ego Strength), guilt, self-confidence, need inviolacy, status frustration, pessimism, political futility, dominance, social responsibility (Aggression): hostility, intolerance of human frailty, contempt for weakness, paranoia (extreme beliefs): totalitarianism, Fascist, Left Wing-Right Wing, and (Misanthropy): tolerance, faith in people,

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[33]Robert C. Angell, "Preference for Moral Norms in Three Areas," American Journal of Sociology, 67 (May, 1962), pp. 650-660.

[34]Clark McPhail, "Dogmatism, Relegiosity and Alienation," Unpublished research report, Department of Sociology, Michigan State University, 1962.

[35]Albert L. Rhodes, "Anomia, Aspiration and Status," Social Forces, 42 (May, 1964), pp. 434-440.

Calvinism, elitism, and ethnocentricism.[36] Anomia as measured by McClosky and Schaar's instrument relates to a host of scales measuring negative characteristics, but we must raise the question of causal direction. Does instructural variables lead to anomia and in turn anomia to the psychological variable or the psychological variables feed in to anomia? In terms of alienation and Dean's Scale components, all three scales showed weak correlation with structure variables: occupation, education, income, age, and community size. Still alienation and anomia need not be components of the same concepts; but, two different states having negative consequences for the individual.

Addressing himself to the roots of American anomie, Mizruchi sees for the lower classes a conflict between expectations set by the American dream and the realities of their limited knowledge, consequently

> We Americans have always assumed that unfettered social mobility is necessarily a desirable condition for all. During times of prosperity, mobility is not only more attainable, but forces herself upon the multitude. Few recognize the high price that is paid in the form of striving toward unrecognizable goals and its consequences in personal demoralization and despair. Increased opportunity for success has its counterpart in increased opportunity for failure.[37]

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[36] Hubert McClusky and John H. Schaar, "Psychological Dimensions of Anomy," American Sociological Review, 301 (Feb., 1965), pp. 141-19.

[37] Mizruchi, op. cit., p. 98.

This contrasts with Brymer, who sees alienation as part of the world view of the lower class individual.

All the above work has been done in the U.S. Now we must ask: Do no other cultures than the U.S. provide contexts in which the three components of alienation covary? I contend that the dimensions are nearly independent. One can be powerless yet not be normless or isolated socially. In an ascriptive system without an emphasis on success, a poor man has his family, his traditional way of life shared by his fathers, and their fathers before them--and, he has a community. Normlessness need not imply social isolation, or vice versa; housebound females may lack companionship but not experience normlessness or powerlessness. One can have power (hence not experience powerlessness) but experience normlessness, as in La Dolce Vita or the "Jet Set" syndrome. Hence powerlessness (traditional alienation) and normlessness (anomia) relate in the U.S. due to its value system. When examined in systems far removed from the U.S. culturally, the relationships between socio-economic variables and the components of alienation need not correlate.

In terms of individual components, powerlessness, as one example, should relate not only to control over work activities, but, in general, to the control of means. That is, anything which reflects power, (e.g., occupation, income, or education,) should correlate with a sense of power. Cross culturally, powerlessness and socio-economic variables should

correlate. On the other hand, normlessness (anomia) and social isolation need not be related to socio-economic variables. In particularistic (as against universalistic) societies, be they achievement or ascription oriented, individuals will be bound into a system of interpersonal relations regardless of the socio-economic level. In ascriptive (as against achievement) systems, movement from one walk of life to another places the individual in conflict with the social milieu.

Turning now to other consequences of mobility, we assume that the more ascriptive a system, the more interpersonal power and authority will motivate its members. That is, where assignment determines position, the individual focuses on role relations and hence, interpersonal influence. Implied here is a notion that authoritarianism stems from the individual's value system and the extent to which the individual emphasizes ascription.

Using the F scale, MacKennar and Anters found working class, lower education groups to be exceptionally authoritarian.[38] Also, Kornhauser, Sheppard, and Mayer found among auto workers that those with an eighth grade education or less were more authoritarian than those with eight or more years of education.[39]

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[38]W. J. MacKennor and Anters, "Authoritarianism and Urban Stratification," American Journal of Sociology 1956, 61, pp. 610-620.

[39]A. Kornhauser, H. L. Sheppard, and A. J. Mayer, When Labor Votes, New York, University Books, 1956.

Cohn and Carsch report similar findings for a German sample.[40] Authoritarianism relates directly to socio-economic variables; it may be the world view of the uneducated in western industrial countries. Everett Hagen suggests the authoritarian ethic or world view as characteristic of all uneducated people and represents a major stumbling block for development.[41]

Parsons discusses the authoritarian personality as evaluating social objects in terms of absolute standards; such standards provide a clean, uncomplicated system where princes are princes, paupers are paupers, fathers are fathers, and women are women. Changing one's role challenges the tenets of the systems. Authoritarians emphasize more than achieved statuses; further, they emphasize their highest ascribed status. Status threat (that is, devaluation) should intensify authoritarianism. The downwardly mobile person, over-valuing his ascribed status, will tend to value ascriptive variables such as family, race, sex, etc., more than others in his culture. Hence, the downwardly mobile should reflect more authoritarianism than occupationally stable individuals in the same culture.

Since other reviews cover the topic well (Brown,

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[40] T. S. Cohn and H. Carsch, "Administration of the F Scale to a Sample of Germans," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, 49 (1954), p. 47.

[41] Everett Hagen, On the Theory of Social Change: How Economic Growth Begins (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1962).

1964,) this paper only briefly reviewed the question of authoritarianism.[42] From E. R. Jaensch, "Der Gegentypus,"[43] and Adorno et al., The Authoritarian Personality,[44] a vast network of studies has arisen and, as Roger Brown phrases it, created a "widening circle of covariation."[45] From their nuclear concern with anti-Semitism, the authors of the Authoritarian Personality found a cluster of covariates which seems to describe a rigid, intolerent, conventional, and power-oriented individual. The authoritarian factor covaries both with education and I.Q. Christie estimates values between -.50 and -.60 for the several studies reporting correlations between I.Q. and F Scale scores.[46]

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[42]Roger Brown, Social Psychology (New York: The Free Press, 1964).

[43]E. R. Jaensch, Der Gegentypus, Leipzig: Barth, 1938.

[44]T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswick, D. J. Levinson, and R. N. Sanford, The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper, 1950).

[45]Brown, op. cit.

[46]R. Christie, "Authoritarianism Re-Examined," in R. Christie and Marie Jahoda (eds.), Studies in The Scope and Method of the Authoritarian Personality (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1954).

Future Life Conditions

Social mobility for better or worse brings about changes in life conditions with ~~both~~ speed, extent, and direction having a bearing on its outcome. Since such changes in life conditions are grounds for optimism or pessimism, social mobility should influence a person's perception of his future life conditions. Cantril introduces the concept 'rising expectations' and uses it to predict revolutions. Basic by Cantrils sees objective life conditions rising linearly while expectations responding to changes in objective life conditions rise geometrically.[47] Consequently, we expect upwardly mobile persons to have higher expectations for the future than status individuals and that downwardly mobile persons to have lower expectations than status individuals.

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[47]Hadley Cantril, Patterns of Human Concern, (New Brunswik, N. J., Rutgers University Press, 1965).

CHAPTER II

Theory and Hypotheses

In the preceding chapter, we discussed literature pertinent to our main thesis, viz, that people find discontinuities in status unrewarding and consistencies in status rewarding, and that the consequences for an inconsistency depend on the nature of the status variables involved. In the United States, where most status inconsistency studies have been done, the only type of status inconsistency that has had predictive value for the dependent variables used (e.g., social participation, psychosomatic illness), are inconsistencies between ascribed and achieved status.

In the attempt to identify and interpret additional consequences of status inconsistencies, we considered three classic dimensions of alienation: powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation. Although each of these dimensions represents a lack of concordance between the individual and the society, we concluded that alienation can best be defined only in terms of powerlessness. We equate normlessness with anomia, and social isolation is treated independently. We now will attempt to link status inconsistency with alienation (powerlessness), social isolation, normlessness, sense of autonomy, authoritarianism, and perceived future life conditions. Moreover, this set of dependent

variables will be examined in four societies, two achievement oriented (The United States and Japan), and two ascriptively oriented (Costa Rica and Mexico).

Status Inconsistency

There are several assumptions that aid in formulating a theory of status inconsistency. Approaching status inconsistency from the system developed by Zelditch and Anderson,[1] a social system S can be conceptualized as consisting of units, u_1, individuals or groups, each with some general standing or overall evaluation, R_1, which is determined by some set of criteria dimensions, ranks (r_1, r_2, $r_3 \ldots r_k$). Since the ranks vary in importance, each has an associated weight: hence a set of weights (w_1, w_2, $w_3 \ldots w_k$) contributes to (R_i). Consequently, R_i is a linear function of $w_k r_{ki}$, that rests on the Assumption (1):

$$w_1 r_{1i} + w_1 r_{1i} + w_2 r_{2i} + \ldots + w_k r_{ki} = R_i.$$

Within system S there are i members and k criteria dimensions. Hence, a person's overall standing is determined by adding the weighted standings on S's ranks. Therefore, we have the Definition (1): A "rank" is any criterion with non-zero weight in S or any function of a combination of such values.

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[1] Morris Zelditch, Jr., and Bo Anderson, "On the Balance of a Set of Ranks," in J. Berger, M. Zelditch and B. Cohen, Sociological Theories in Progress (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1966).

To simplify their analysis, Zelditch and Anderson[2] give two boundary assumptions:

(1) Members of (S) agree on the weights to be given criteria by which they evaluate themselves and others.

(2) A member of (S) has an overall evaluation of himself that is not less positive than the evaluations significant others have of him.

While these boundary assumptions aid Zelditch and Anderson's model, the first boundary assumption presents problems for our theory and may represent an unnecessary oversimplification of social reality. A naive individual, who has some extremely valuable asset of which he is unaware, may not value himself as highly as others value him. But, given the knowledge of the standards others measure him by and what he can demand from them because of his talent, his standards change quickly.

The second boundary condition presents no problem.

The first boundary assumption is a major problem. Ministers, uneducated industrialists, feminists, Negroes, and other minorities do not all see the ranking system in the same way; but all may be members of the same social system. We agree that, when a disparity in evaluative standards becomes obvious, or when it leads to contradictory expectations, a stress point is created in the social system; yet disparities

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[2] Ibid., p. 249.

do exist and the members of social systems either accept the direct consequences or devise mechanisms for handling them, just as persons can devise means of reducing and avoiding the consequences of status inconsistencies.

If we leave out the first assumption, we must describe the forces influencing an individual and his evaluative system. To do so, we note that there is a force operating on Person to adapt the evaluative standards of Other, and the more contact with Others holding a particular evaluative standard and the greater the relative difference in social power between Person and Other, favoring Other, the greater the force operating on Person. Both the ranks used and their weighting are subject to this force.

ASSUMPTION (2): PERSON TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE WEIGHTINGS OF SIGNIFICANT OTHERS

Another force operates on Persons evaluative framework, his self esteem. Within a social encounter an individual maximizes his self esteem, and the selection and weighting of rank is no exception. When ambiguity surrounds a particular rank or different significant others hold differing standards, the individual has the choice to accentuate a particular rank or to play it down. He will place the rank in question according to his standing on it relative to his other ranks. So a contractor with a sixth-grade education and a high income will tend to evaluate himself and the social world more in terms of income, while a college professor making seven thousand a year would see the social

world more in terms of education. We now come to our key assumption.

ASSUMPTION (3): PERSON MAXIMIZES HIS SELF ESTEEM BY GIVING GREATER WEIGHT TO STATUS DIMENSIONS ON WHICH HE RANKS HIGH AND LOWER WEIGHT TO THOSE DIMENSIONS ON WHICH HE RANKS LOW.

French and Miller (1963) give a similar set of assumptions for determining self esteem:

> Assumption (1), the level of total self esteem is a direct function of the person's evaluation of his self and his attributes, weighted by their generality. (Generality refers to the number of settings in which the self-attributes are relevant.)
>
> Assumption (2), the level of total self esteem is a direct function of the level of subjective public esteem for the various referent publics, with each of these publics weighted in accordance with its referent power.
>
> Assumption (3), the level of total self esteem is a direct function of the strength of the motive to maximize self esteem.

These assumptions differ from our assumptions in that (1) the present study has no measures of "motive to maximize self esteem," and (2) the present study assumes a relationship between an individual's position on a status dimension and his evaluation of the dimensions; that is, a person gives more weight to those status attributes on which he is high than to those on which he is low.

Thus, an individual's weightings represent a complex

product of these two forces. When there is a great disparity between the ranks of Person and Other, Person will attribute a higher status to himself than to Other unless Other has a similar configuration. Among status-consistant individuals there will be a higher agreement on the rankings assigned to themselves and each other. This involves an inference that the status equilibrium of a society will be related to the degree of agreement on evaluative criteria and their weights. The general assertion that a person's status inconsistency determines the amount of stress he encounters is only partially correct; we can now see that the relative importance of the dimensions must be taken into account, particularly those dimensions on which Person is high. Depending on the extent to which Person has contact with others and on the extent to which he is dependent on them, he will be swayed by one or the other principle. If Person has a relatively isolated existence and can minimize contact with others who do not see him as he sees himself, or who are not in a position to heavily sanction him for his views, then Person will weigh his status variables such that they maximize his self-esteem. For example, a wealthy individual may not be productive or educated, but, being independent, he may isolate himself from educated and productive persons, and maintain his self-esteem through limiting his social contact to persons lower than he in income, education, and productivity. In addition to closing his eyes to the outside world or

limiting himself to friends as inconsistent as himself, Person can adapt by involvement in a deviant subsystem, in other words, a subsystem that has a locus and value system different from the main system's.

We shall now turn the paradigm around and look at how Person ranks Other rather than how Other ranks Person. First, when Person ranks Other he will not publicly lower his own status without receiving a commensurate reward; consequently he will employ the weighting system which he uses to evaluate himself and thus put stress on their encounter. Hence, Person will assay the value of Other's good will and then relate his manifest assessment of Other to the value of his good will. In Homans' terms, if he feels that he does not receive rewards in proportion to his investments he will react negatively to Other, i.e., show anger. In sum, status inconsistency produces conflicts between how Person evaluates himself and others and how others evaluate him and themselves; hence, conflicts arise in interpersonal expectations.

French provides two sub-hypotheses:

> (a) Self-evaluation is a function of P's subjective public evaluation weighted by the degree of referent power of each reference group or reference other.
>
> (b) There is a tendency for personal attributes which are the most important to members of a group in the perception and evaluation of other members to be high in generality for the group members.

French also presents two sub-hypotheses linking roles and self-evaluation but our concern is with statuses, not roles.

(c) the higher the actual or anticipated success in fulfilling a role, the more the role's performance subsets, i.e., will be "self-relevant" and will be associated with self-attributes (e.g., role internalization).

(d) if role behavior apply across situations, for example the medical doctor role, the generalization and strengths of the corresponding self-attributes will be high, and therefore, self-evaluation will in large part be a function of those self-attributes.

French does not address (and within the content of his theory need not address) the question of how referent groups acquire importance for the individual.

As the value orientation of an individual's group or society determines the dimensions used and their weightings, cultural context plays a major role in the effects of status inconsistency by regulating the conflict between variables. When significant reference groups impute little importance to a status variable, the inconsistent status variables will have little consequence for the individual, but if society or a significant reference group gives each of the two dimensions a heavy weighting, then the inconsistency has consequences. Similarly, if the system gives a high weight to one dimension and a low one to the other, then for people low on the highly rated dimension and high on the low dimension, a similar crisis arises, given our status-maximizing hypothesis: the individual values a status variable not valued by significant others. Our theory goes one step beyond this simplified system: we take into consideration the perceived desirability of status inconsistency, in particular that produced by

mobility.

Our research concern now relates to Parson's pattern variables. As we noted earlier, Parsons asserts that societies can be ordered according to the degree to which they value a person either for what he "does" (i.e., his performance), or for what he "is" (i.e., certain qualities mainly beyond his control). While societies fall along this achievement-ascription dimension and none is entirely achievement or ascriptively oriented, they tend to differentially stress ascriptive statuses, i.e., sex, age, family, over achieved statuses, education, income, and occupation, or vice versa. In other words, there is a consistent tendency to rate individuals more in terms of either achieved statuses or ascribed statuses. If a society tends toward "ascription," the upwardly mobile individual faces a "serious" devaluation of his prized achieved statuses; if the society tends toward an achievement orientation, the downward mobile person faces devaluation of his highest statuses. In general, the status maximization hypothesis states that the status inconsistent individual tends to disregard the cultural evaluation of his "statuses" and he gives instead greater weight to his high statuses.

Ascriptive and Achievement Orientation

Before testing the hypotheses related to the theoretical systems, we will test the assumptions of system properties, in particular, the assumptions concerning Parsons'

cultural value orientation.

According to Parsons' value orientations dimensions, the United States is classified as universalistic, achievement oriented, Japan as particularistic (traditional) achievement oriented, and all Spanish-American countries as particularistic ascriptive cultures. While Parsons is clear on the four previous countries, he does not type Finland. Unfortunately, Parsons gives us no empirical evidence for his classifications nor criteria by which the classifications can be made; consequently, we must deduce propositions from the constructs given and devise tests of the systems.[4]

To begin with, one salient feature of an ascriptive system is a monolithic (authoritarian) evaluation system. By monolithic we mean the opposite of Parson's plurality of goals possessed by actors in an achievement oriented society; in ascriptive societies, goals are predetermined and assigned with roles and are not subject to change. As Zetterberg (1966) points out, an ascriptive system weakens motivation and makes opportunity for change (by self-initiated action) impossible or undesirable or both.[5] This aspect of ascription leads to the hypothesis:

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[4]Talcott Parsons, op. cit., pp. 182-191.

[5]Hans L. Zetterberg, "On Motivation," Sociological Theories in Progress, Vol. 1, ed. by Berger, Zelditch and Anderson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1966), pp. 124-142.

(1) In an ascriptive society the self system is less important to the individual than the social institutions to which he belongs.[6]

We may directly operationalize this hypothesis by asking the individual to compare the importance of social institutions, political parties, community, family, country, and work, to the self. In the relative importance of the institution to the self, the means for the ascriptively oriented cultures should be higher than for the achievement oriented ones.

According to Parsons, an ascriptive society, particularly the universalistic ascriptive variety, fosters authoritarianism in that the nature of the value system is absolute and the duty of the members is to "see its truth." Furthermore, this authoritarianism takes the form of regarding individuals as members of a group, imputing the quality of the group to the individual, that is, "stereotyping" the individual.[7]

We agree with Parsons that the roots of the authoritarian tendency come from a heavy emphasis on status as the means of evaluation, with the provision

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[6]This hypothesis, and the next seven, are not hypotheses stemming from the theoretical model. They have a preliminary function, viz, testing the tenability of the ascription-achievement dichotomy of the five national samples.

[7]Parsons (1951), op. cit.

in the universalistic ascriptive society it is possible to alter one's status by altering symbols. Parsons does not find authoritarianism in particularistic ascriptive societies, however; instead he sees the predominant mode as anti-authoritarian because the value orientation is expressive. But authoritarianism almost by definition should result from an ascriptive system. Whether particularistically or universally ascriptive, cultures must inculcate a value system emphasizing the legitimacy of the social order and must impute particular motivations to each status. Consequently we hypothesize:

(2) The more ascriptive the society, the more its actors will emphasize adherence to rules and authority, as opposed to self-initiated action. Operationally: (2) response to (c) "Children should be taught that there is only one correct way to do things."

(3) The more ascriptive the society, the more its actors will emphasize stability in general. Operationally: (3) response to (d) "I like the kind of work that lets me do things about the same way from one week to the next."

(4) The more ascriptive a culture, the more its actors will evidence authoritarian submission. Operationally: (4) response to (e) "Whatever we do, it is necessary that our leaders outline carefully what is to be done and exactly how to go about it."

Another indicator of the ascription-achievement

dimension might be the degree of participation in voluntary associations. Because of "turn-over" of occupants of social positions and a plurality of goals, achievement oriented societies must devise ways of organizing actors having similar goals; the voluntary association is such a device. Given pluralism of goals, association along traditional lines will weaken; if the actor is to maximize his goals, he must integrate his efforts with others holding similar views. Doing so requires an organizational framework, where the actors' energies can be channeled and coordinated. Similarly, social contact should be more voluntary in an achievement-oriented culture and should follow a homogeneity paradigm laid down by more common interest than common ancestry. Hence the hypotheses:

(5) The actors in an achievement-oriented society will have more instrumental voluntary associations than would those in an ascriptive society. Hence this society will have more instrumental voluntary organizations.

(6) The more achievement oriented the culture, the more voluntary social and fraternal associations the members will have.

(7) The more achievement-oriented the society, the more important the social and fraternal aspects of voluntary association to the actor. We operationalize these concepts by showing the relative frequency of membership and by the present preferring voluntary social associations over all

other forms of voluntary organizations.

Lastly, we assume (with Parsons) that ascriptively-oriented cultures have a strong religious base for their value system; hence, it is important that the religion be monolithic and centrally important. We hypothesize:

(8) The more ascriptive the culture the more important religion is in the life of its actors.

Two items test this proposition: (1) Cantril ladder item indicating the degree of importance of religion in the person's life and (2) the person's response to the item, "I believe the world would be a better place if more people had the religious beliefs which I have."

To test the assumption that Mexico and Costa Rica are best classified as ascriptive cultures and the United States and Japan as achievement oriented cultures, we will do a simple analysis of variance on each set of means after finding the combined means for the two ascriptive cultures.

The Consequences of Status Inconsistency On The Individual in Achievement and Ascriptive Settings

Earlier, we discussed present notions of alienation and the general conception of alienation as "multi-dimensional." We concluded that Seeman's dimensions, while supposedly representing manifestations of a central

dimension, alienation, actually represented conceptually independent,[8] disaffective states which co-vary in the U. S. because of their relationships with socioeconomic variables; in other cultures these associations need not appear. Hence, a different set of hypotheses will be made for each of the dependent variables at issue, viz, powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation,

Social Isolation

The mechanism linking status inconsistency and social isolation does not differ from that linking status inconsistency and normlessness.

WITHIN A MORE ASCRIPTIVELY-ORIENTED SOCIETY, UPWARD MOBILE INDIVIDUALS WILL EXPERIENCE MORE SOCIAL ISOLATION THAN STABLE INDIVIDUALS. WE DO NOT EXPECT TO FIND THIS RELATIONSHIP IN AN ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTED SOCIETY.

WITHIN BOTH ASCRIPTIVELY- AND ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTED CULTURES, DOWNWARDLY MOBILE INDIVIDUALS WILL EXPERIENCE MORE SOCIAL ISOLATION THAN STABLE INDIVIDUALS AT BOTH THEIR PRESENT LEVEL AND THEIR SOCIALIZER'S LEVEL.

Powerlessness

In regard to powerlessness, which we assume to be directly related to the relative social power the individual

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[8] Seeman (1956), op. cit.

perceives he has, there should be a direct relationship between actual power, income, education, or occupation and perceived power or its negative--a sense of powerlessness.

WITHIN BOTH ACHIEVEMENT AND ASCRIPTIVELY ORIENTED CULTURES, THE HIGHER PERSON'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS THE MORE THE PERSON EXPERIENCES PERSONAL EFFICACY.

WITHIN THE ASCRIPTIVE ORIENTED CULTURES, DOWNWARDLY MOBILE PERSONS WILL EXPERIENCE MORE POWERLESSNESS THAN NON-MOBILE PERSONS.

The loss of power through downward social mobility produces a displacement effect exaggerating the sense of powerlessness.

Normlessness

Status inconsistency can also bring about a sense of normlessness. If we assume certain status inconsistencies bring about conflicts in expectations and obligations, then we can hypothesize that, given a severe conflict, Person experiences normlessness. Consequently:

WITHIN MORE ASCRIPTIVELY ORIENTED CULTURES, UPWARDLY MOBILE INDIVIDUALS WILL EXPERIENCE MORE NORMLESSNESS THAN WILL STABLE INDIVIDUALS.

Because the system will respond less to achieved and more to ascribed statuses, the person finds that he confronts conflicting standards and expectations. Socially, he desires, and sees as just, social acceptance by those whose attainments equal his, but instead they respond to him according to past definitions that he cannot control.

WE DO NOT EXPECT DOWNWARD MOBILITY TO AFFECT NORMLESSNESS

WITHIN AN ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTED SOCIETY.

WITHIN BOTH MORE ASCRIPTIVE AND MORE ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTED CULTURES, THE DOWNWARDLY MOBILE PERSON WILL EXPERIENCE MORE NORMLESSNESS THAN WILL STABLE INDIVIDUALS.

Smelser's hypothesis that transitional societies will have higher levels of normlessness than modern societies due to the necessary upheaval through industrialization and urbanization will be tested here. Unfortunately, we cannot differentiate between the effects of transition and the effects of value orientation. That is, the differences between our two transitional societies, both ascriptive (Costa Rica and Mexico), and our two modern societies both achievement oriented (the U. S. and Japan), cannot be adequately examined for this purpose.

Autonomy

If Person moves socially he experiences changes in the constraints society places on him. These constraints may be heavier, lighter, or of the same weight, but nevertheless they change. Mobility should influence Person's perceived autonomy through relative deprivation or abundance. Hence:

IN ASCRIPTIVELY AND ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTED CULTURES, AN UPWARDLY MOBILE PERSON WILL EXPERIENCE MORE AUTONOMY THAN STABLE INDIVIDUALS AT THEIR PRESENT LEVEL AND THOSE AT THE LEVEL FROM WHICH THE UPWARDLY MOBILE PERSON CAME.

IN ASCRIPTIVELY- AND ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTED CULTURES DOWNWARDLY MOBILE PERSONS WILL EXPERIENCE LESS AUTOMONY THAN

STABLE PERSONS AT THE PRESENT LEVEL AND AT THE LEVEL FROM WHICH THE MOBILE PERSON CAME.

Expectations for Future Life Conditions (EFLC)

Persons' expectations for the future will parallel those of his sense of autonomy.

IN ASCRIPTIVELY AND ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTED CULTURES, AN UPWARDLY MOBILE PERSON WILL EXPERIENCE HIGHER EFLC THAN STATIC INDIVIDUALS AT HIS PRESENT LEVEL AND THOSE AT THE LEVEL FROM WHICH THE UPWARDLY MOBILE PERSON CAME.

IN ASCRIPTIVELY AND ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTED CULTURES, A DOWNWARDLY MOBILE PERSON WILL EXPERIENCE LESS EFLC THAN STABLE PERSONS AT HIS PRESENT LEVEL AND AT THE LEVEL FROM WHICH THE MOBILE PERSON CAME.

Authoritarianism

We view authoritarianism as a commitment to an ascriptive value orientation; hence, the greater the value of ascription to the individual, the greater the authoritarianism will be.

WITHIN BOTH ASCRIPTIVELY ORIENTED AND ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTED CULTURES DOWNWARDLY MOBILE PERSONS WILL EXPRESS MORE AUTHORITARIAN ATTITUDES THAN EITHER STABLE OR UPWARDLY MOBILE PERSONS.

In order to maximize his self-esteem, the downwardly mobile person accentuates his ascribed statuses. In doing so,

he commits himself to the notion that one's position in life should not be changed by successes or failures. Competition between levels is denied and the rationality of authority accepted.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

Issues in Comparative Research Design and Analysis

An important feature of this study is the direct comparison between four nations made possible by parallel measurements in each nation. Although this design allows for variations in cultural context, the small number of nations precludes using "society" or nation as a unit of analysis. Instead, we will use the individual as a unit of analysis and employ the nation as a treatment or control variable. Individuals living in the United States, while having diverse experiences, will have a reasonable chance of being exposed to common values, relatively common modes of socialization, and common beliefs. Thus, for this study, being a member of a society is analagous to an experimental treatment.

Of course, membership in subgroups, strata, and classes will provide variations in the national or societal pictrue. Still, if the society has a common culture and its members share this culture to varying degrees, then differences among the values and attitudes of these societies can be studied by a direct comparison of aggregate data on these values and attitudes. In discussing the

uniformity of values and beliefs within societies, we are confronted by a question similar to the one of modal personality raised in national character studies. Almond and Verba raise such a question: To what extent are political attitudes uniform?[1] In both instances we must ask: how consistent does a population have to be to demonstrate a modal personality or uniform political attitude? We avoid this dilemma by looking at differences between the nation's means. This means that we treat a society as a pool of characteristics, values, attitudes, or beliefs, marked by the predominance of one or more particular types.

In using cross-national data we confront the problem of comparability. With attitude and opinion scales and questionnaires, comparability has taken a stimulus form, and there are problems of comparable items and comparable interviewer behavior; but, with socio-economic variables, the problem becomes even more complex. Almond and Verba point out that, even after equating incomes based on their exchange value, the "values" of two identical incomes can differ depending on their social context.[2] Education creates similar if not more complex problems in that the quality and

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[1]Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963).

[2]Ibid.

character of education vary from country to country. Even with problems of this magnitude, and accepted that our measures are rough, we can gain considerable information by attempting to approach comparability. We will attempt to reach toward perfect comparability despite our inability to obtain it.

Samples

The sample was drawn for the Five Nation Study, a coordinated research project conducted in the United States, Mexico, Costa Rica, Finland, and Japan. Due to technical difficulties, we dropped the Finnish sample.

United States General Public: This is an area probability sample of the U.S. General Public, age 21 or older. The findings are based on 1528 personal interviews. The sample was selected in such a manner that, as a group, it constitutes a close approximation (within sampling tolerance) of the adult civilian population.

The probability sampling went to the block level in the urban areas and to segments of townships in rural areas. After stratifying the nation geographically by size of community in order to insure conformity to the distribution to the adult population, 143 different sampling

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[1]The Finnish occupational data was coded through a classification scheme devised for Finland; hence, the Finnish data is not comparable with the other nations.

points were selected at random, with a probability of selection proportional to population size. An additional 58 sampling points were drawn at random in the same manner from Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, and Colorado, doubling the sampling points drawn for these five states.

Approximately 10 interviews were conducted at each sampling point with the exception of the sampling points in the five southwestern states in each of which five interviews were conducted. The interviewer had no choice whatsoever concerning the part of the city or country in which the interviews were to be conducted. Interviewers, by means of maps, started at an assigned point and were required to follow a specified set of directions. At each occupied dwelling unit, interviewers were instructed to select respondents by a prescribed method and by a male-female assignment. Also, since this sampling procedure is designed to approximate the adult civilian population (age 21 and older) living in private homes, those living on military reservations and in institutions are excluded.

Mexico: Unlike the United States sample, this sample is a stratified rather than a national probability sample emphasizing areas with a small unrepresentative rural sample: consequently the sample has an overwhelmingly urban bias.

Urban Mexico: This is a stratified random sample of the people in the urban areas of Mexico, age 21 years or older.

The findings are based on 1126 personal interviews selected such that they constitute a close approximation to the adult population of Mexico living in urban areas of 2500 or more. The strata were as follows:

1. Cities of 2500 to 10,000 population.
2. Cities of 10,001 to 50,000 population.
3. Cities of 50,001 to 300,000 population.
4. Cities of more than 300,000 population.

The number of interviews assigned to each stratum was in proportion to the actual population, and each stratum was sampled separately. The cities were arranged geographically into six regions, reflecting broadly the country's major ethnic and cultural groupings. A minimum of one city per stratum was selected for each of the six zones in which cities of these different populations existed. After one city had been selected per area the remaining selections were at random.

Within each city, block samples were drawn and a number of interviews (average 8) were assigned to each block.

Rural: This was a modified probability sample of 288 rural people, age 21 years or older. They were selected in such a manner that, as a group, they are "quite indicative of all the rural areas (in Mexico) in general."

Because of access problems in more remote areas, a modified probability sample, one using substitutes for

refusals or continued absences, was felt sufficient to give indicative results. Here, the universe consisted of all adults residing in towns with populations between 100 and 2500 inhabitants, located within 15 miles of any of the urban cities in the sample. At this point, the sampling proceeded as in the urban sample except that, when repeated absence or refusals occurred, substitutes of the same sex and approximate age as the initially designated respondent were chosen.

Costa Rican Sample: This national probability sample consisted of 1,180,803 persons distributed among 261 districts. Following stratification of the universe into (1) metropolitan, (2) urban, and (3) rural strata, sampling proceeded on a multi-stage basis for each stratum. For the metropolitan and urban strata, districts were considered primary sampling units, city blocks secondary, and dwelling units tertiary.

In the event of refusal or unavailability of the subject after one call-back (in sample A), the interviewer moved to a substitute sample (B), designed by the same criteria. Sample B was to be employed after the interviewers made the required one call-back. In the event of unavailability of the randomly-selected subject during the call-back, interviewers proceeded to the nearest dwelling unit in sample B. Within sample B, interviewers were required to make at least two call-backs.

The sample compares fairly well with data from the Costa Rican national census, although the sample indicated some bias in education by place of residence (i.e., remote rural segments of the sample have a somewhat higher educational level than can be reasonably expected).

Japan: The universe for Japan is all persons 20 years or older, residing in two strata, metropolitan and rural. Selection of sample was made from the voter's list[1] by the stratified three-stage random sampling method.

The total population can be classified into metropolitan, urban and rural. The survey group, Yoran Kagabe Kyokai (Japan Social Research Institute), judged that only the metropolitan and rural strata to be appropriate for this study. They reasoned: metropolitans are "progressive" and ruralists are conservative with the urban stratum being a transient state between these two strata. The metropolitan samples came from loci with over 1,000,000 population while the rural samples were selected from the cities, towns, and villages having at least 60% farm households.[2]

The three-step sampling process is as follows: eighty spots were scattered over Japan, forty in metropolises,

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[1] In Japan, voter registration is both compulsory and universal.

[2] This peculiar line of reasoning reflects possible complexities in the structure of Japanese society.

forty in rural districts. The forty spots in metropolises are distributed into seven metropolises proportional to their populations. In forty rural spots are distributed into geographical blocks. From each sampling spot, twenty sample units were drawn; consequently, we have 1600 sample units in total. The expected refusal rate for Japan is approximately 35%; hence starting with 1600 sample points, 1,000 interviews could be completed. As it was 990 were completed. See Appendix I for tables of sampling blocks.

Instrumentation of Independent Variables

This study employs five independent variables: nations and their value orientations, education, head of household, occupation of head of household, education of socializer, and occupation of socializer. Of course, education of head of household and education of socializer will be scored using the same community while occupation of head of household and occupation of socializer also will employ the same classification system.

Occupation Prestige

Fortunately, in terms of occupational prestige, the correlation between nations is high regardless of the economic development of the country. According to Coleman the observed correlations ". . . show striking uniformity of occupational prestige from country to country" and in

themselves ". . . constitute a regularity to be explained."[1] But, as Hodge, Treiman, and Rossi point out, ". . . by and large prestige studies overrepresent the extremes of the occupational ladder. Hence, comparison among countries may produce high correlations simply because the extremes of the acceptance hierarchy are overrepresented and the middle, where disagreement seems most likely to occur, is poorly represented."[2]

A. Inkeles and P. Rossi found no major differences between six industrial nations which support the "structuralist position" that ". . . there is a relatively invariable hierarchy of prestige associated with the industrial system, even when it is placed in the context of larger social systems which are otherwise differentiated in important respects."[3]

For our study, we wish to go beyond the frequently used manual-non-manual dichotomy. While this distinction has

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[1]James S. Coleman, Introduction to Mathematical Sociology (New York: The Free Press, 1964), p. 27.

[2]Robert W. Hodge, Donald J. Trieman, and Peter H. Rossi, "A Comparative Study of Occupational Prestige," in Class, Status, and Power, edited by Reinhard Bendix and Seymore Martin Lipset (New York: The Free Press, 1966), sec. edition.

[3]A. Inkeles and P. Rossi, "National Comparison of Occupational Prestige," American Journal of Sociology, 16 (January, 1956), p. 339.

been widely used for mobility studies, G. Germani states that

> . . .manual-non-manual categorization, though very useful for international comparisons, may grossly underestimate the extent of psychologically meaningful mobility. The rate of mobility certainly depends on the number and kind of categories employed, separating the skilled from the unskilled workers, the rate of movement out of the unskilled includes, in many industrialized countries, a majority of the people. Moreover, there are indications that upward (or downward) short distance mobility may be perceived and experienced as deeply important by the modal subjects.[4]

All told, the coarser the categorization of occupational prestige, the less effects of mobility can be observed; consequently, the ideal situation for us would be a complete occupational ranking system for each country.

But no such classification system exists for Mexico and Costa Rica, and we can only guess the spread of occupational ranks, the relative distance between the prestige of each category, and the amount of overlap between adjacent categories in these countries. Hodge, Treiman, and Rossi present evidence that, while there is overlap between white and blue collar occupations in the U.S., there is almost none in Brazil. Consequently, while the correlation between countries (in terms of the ranking of occupational prestige) may be high, systematic differences may

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[4]Geno Germani, "Social And Political Consequences of Mobility," in Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development, ed. by Smelser and Lipert: (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1966), pp. 364-394.

exist in the ranking of certain categories of occupations (i.e., white-blue collar).

For this study, we will use a three-point level classification scheme: white collar, blue collar, skilled, and blue collar, unskilled.

Again, when we confront cell size, intergenerational mobility is quite high in all countries and long-range downward mobility is very low. This means that a relatively fine division creates a problem for intergenerational mobility studies. In fact, Duncan suggests a population of 8,000 for a detailed study of mobility, although for our purposes a sample of 1,000 should be adequate.[5] See Appendix II for a detailed discussion of the mobility rates between the nations.

At best we can have a breakdown of three levels and to do so we will first take into consideration the white collar-blue collar dichotomy, knowing that in terms of income and responsibility the distributions overlap. Still, as Hodge, Treiman, and Rossi show and others point out, regardless of skill or contribution, the Latin American, Brazilian, blue collar worker rates lower in occupational prestige than white collar workers.[6]

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[5]Otis Dudley Duncan, "Methodological Issues in the Analysis of Social Mobility," in Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development, ed. by Smelser and Lipset (Chigago: Aldine), 1966.

[6]Robert W. Hodge, Donald J. Treiman, and Peter H. Rossi, op. cit.

In addition to the white collar-blue collar split, we will include a blue collar skilled and a blue collar unskilled distinction. We have the following classes:

I. White Collar

1. Professionals and Technicians
2. Managers, officials, administrators, public officials, small proprietors and dealers
3. Office workers
4. Salesmen

II. Blue Collar Skilled

1. Farmers (Big) and Farm Managers
2. Craftsmen and factory workers
3. Special workers as chauffers, technical assistants, etc.
4. Service workers and similar

III. Blue Collar Unskilled

1. Small farmer or renter, fisherman, hunters, lumbermen and similar
2. Miners, stone cutters and similar, manual and day laborers
3. Persons that haven't worked before, housewives, students and others that have not worked (excluding without work or pensions)

This breakdown allows both a meaningful division and sufficiently large n's in each cell including extreme downward mobility (I to III).

Education

Considering education cross culturally also creates problems. Vast differences exist between societies not only in mean differences but also in the nature of their distributions. For instance, the Finland sample has (not included in this study) no cases below seven years of education and

two-thirds of the sample have exactly seven years of education; yet only 9.9% of this sample went beyond the 9th grade. The U.S. population, by contrast, runs the gamut from illiterate, two years of education (4.4%) to college graduates (9.4%). Costa Rica has only 4.3% high school graduates and Mexico 7.2%, while Japan more resembles the United States with 38.5% of the Japanese sample having twelve years' education or more. Disparities of this nature make comparisons for differences of the absolute number of years between countries difficult.

Due to this wide variation between our four nations both in terms of present distribution of education and the rate of change, education cannot be divided into four or more groupings without having small cell size problems. Besides the cell size problems, we must question the strict-additive effects of each additional unit (year) of education. Does the difference between 5-6 years equal the difference between 6-7 years? This becomes a particularly critical problem when considering the termination points for different kinds of schooling, i.e. grade school, high school, technical school. The simple completing of graduation may have profound effect on the individual--giving credence to perform a role; consequently, grouping of educational levels should take into consideration the natural breaks in the educational heirarchy. We chose 0 to 5 years as our first grouping since in all four nations grade school ends at the sixth

grade. The next group begins at the sixth grade and extends to the eighth grade with the last group beginning at the ninth year. While crude in conception, the design allows for both direct comparison across nations and for sufficiently large cell sizes when education head of household is compared with education of socializer.

Instrumentation of Dependent Variables

In all, this study will examine seven dependent variables, the Dean Alienation scale, powerlessness, normlessness, social isolation, authoritarianism, perceived autonomy, perceived future life conditions, and perceived social success.

Alienation, Anomia, and Social Isolation

Several measures of alienation were looked at before the Dean Scale was chosen as the basis for measurement. Due to the length of the Dean Scale, 23 items, and the cost of large scale administration, a series of preliminary Guttman analyses[1] were performed to assess the subscales' unidimensionality on special samples, and as an aid in selecting two items from each subscale which best discriminate between the thirds of the sample. In essence, six items, two from each subscale, were included in the final

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[1]The Dean's Scale (up until this point) had not been subjected to a Guttman Scale Analysis. Consequently, the unidimensionality of the items was to be questioned.

protocol.

The preliminary analysis consisted of three separate samples, an M.S.U. student sample (N=100), a sample of the Lansing, Michigan, adult population, and an analysis using subsamples from all the countries in the original Five Nations Study. The student sample, drawn from M.S.U. social psychology classes, consisted of sophomores, juniors, and seniors. The students answered the full Dean scales (See Appendix III), with five possible response categories: strongly agree, slightly agree, don't know, slightly disagree, strongly disagree, after which these results were subjected to a Guttman scale analysis using the modified Waisanen technique. The total scale (i.e., with the three subscales combined) did not scale, but when the subscales were subjected to Guttman analysis, each showed satisfactory coefficients of reproducibility: powerlessness, C.R.=.928, dropping items 1 and 3 (See Appendix III), normlessness, C.R.=.94, dropping items 5, 6, and 7 (See Appendix III); social isolation, C.R.=93, dropping items 5, 6, 7, and 8 (See Appendix II). The "scaleable items" were then administered to a sample of adults: these subjects were heads of households, in Lansing and East Lansing, Michigan; (2) persons in a technical training school in San Antonio, Texas, from South America and Central America, and mainly from Mexico; and (3) heads of households in Japan. Guttman scaling was carried out in an attempt to find items meeting the

scale criteria in all three samples. From the United states samples two items were selected which divided the sample into roughly thirds considering also item error.

The items which meet this criteria were:

Powerlessness

(1) Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me.
(2) There is little chance to get ahead in this life unless a man knows the right people.

Normlessness

(1) I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.
(2) People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on.

Social Isolation

(1) Real friends are as easy as ever to find.
(2) Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.

Authoritarianism

Authoritarianism was measured through five items described earlier in Chapter II, page 79.

Sense of Autonomy

This variable consists of two items using Cantril's Self-Anchoring Scale. I intend the variable to measure the control an individual has over his life and as such represents a reversal of the powerlessness construct. It involves the extent to which the individual sees the opportunity to do and more in the direction he chooses, which, in turn, involves the individual's present position and secondly, the direction

in which he wishes to go.[2]

The two items are:

> Here is a ladder. At the top of the ladder stands someone who has all the opportunity and chances he wants to do anything he wants. Down at the bottom stands someone who can't do anything he wants to do. Where do you stand now?
>
> Here is a ladder. At the top stands someone who can do very much to make his life happier. At the bottom stands someone who can do very little to make his life happier. Where do you stand right now?

Future Life Conditions

This variable stems from a combination of Cantril Ladder Scale Items asking the Individual to assess his future. The first it asks for is an evaluation of total life conditions:

> Here is a picture of a ladder. Suppose at the top of the ladder stands a person who is living the best possible life and at the bottom stands a person who is living the worst possible life. What step do you think you will be on five years from now?

The next asks about personal worries:

> ". . . Suppose at the top stands a person who is completely free from worries about the future. At the bottom stands a person with many worries about the future. Where do you think you will stand five years from now?

Next, the individual considers his interpersonal influence:

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[2]This construct is relative and predicated on the notion that the individual wants to change which involves his perception of what there is to want.

> ". . . At the top stands a person who has little or no influence over others. At the bottom of the ladder is a person who has little or no influence over others. What step would you say you stood on five years ago?

Finally, he indicates the degree to which he is liked:

> ". . . At the top stands a person who likes other people very much and other people like him. At the bottom of the ladder is a person who doesn't like other people and other people don't like him. What step would you say you stood on five years ago?

In all, these items express the individual's expected well being.[3]

Methodological Issue in the Measurement of Status Inconsistency and Social Mobility

Our hypotheses concern status inconsistency produced through social mobility. While this approach is a natural one, given our theoretical focus on disparities in achieved and ascribed statuses, it is also a reflection of the trends of status inconsistency research. These trends are, in part, responses to the methodological issues surrounding "statistical interactions." This section presents and evaluates the methodological issues surrounding status inconsistency and social mobility.

When status inconsistency first became an object of research, investigators such as Lenski, Landecker, Miller,

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[3]Unfortunately no absolute average exists, only the individual cognative expression based on his references, his perceptions of his legitimate position, and his perceived position.

and Geswender,[1] conceived of it as an aggregate measure, the sum of deviations from an individual's mean status, in other words, a measure of dispersion. Critics quickly pointed out that such a measure does not allow the investigator to pin point the source of the effect of the status inconsistency: it could be that only one form of consistency results in an effect. Consequently, Jackson and Burke, Lenski, and Blalock suggested examining status variables two at a time to explore the interactions between variables.[2] Thus, the statistical interaction and its prediction became the focus of theoretical concern.

As mentioned earlier, the most powerful status inconsistencies appeared between ascribed and achieved statuses, the typical measure of ascription being race and ethnicity and achievement, socio-economic status, income, occupation, and education. But, Jackson and Burke, and Bloombaum, suggest that "family status" as expressed through the socio-economic statuses of Person's socializer are important ascriptive variables, and they conclude that social

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[1]Lenski, (1954), op. cit.; Landecker, op. cit., Miller, op. cit.; and Geswender, op. cit.

[2]Jackson and Burke, op. cit.; Gerhard E. Lenski, "Comment," Public Opinion Quarterly, 28 (Summer, 1964), pp. 326-330; H. M. Blalock, Jr., "Status Inconsistency, Social Mobility, and Structural Effects," American Sociological Review, 32 (October, 1967), pp. 750-801.

mobility leads to status inconsistency.[3]

Duncan points to two major problems in mobility studies: the first results from data collected at two different points in time. This analysis leads to the problem of intergenerational overlaps; that is, if a twenty-year or even a thirty-year gap between generations is used, the same men can appear in both generations.[4] This study does not encounter this problem, as our data are taken at one point in time and our problem concerns the consequences of mobility.

The second problem results from misinterpreting the effects of mobility by treating it as a mean effort rather than as an interaction.[5]

The classic example of the "mobility fallacy" occurs in the study of fertility and mobility by Jerzy Barent, who compares "upward," "downward," and "static" individuals in terms of fertility.[6]

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[3]Jackson and Burke, op. cit.; Bloombaum, Milton, "The Mobility Dimension in Status Consistency," Sociology and Social Research, XLVIII (April, 1964), pp. 340-347.

[4]Otis Dudley Duncan, "Methodological Issues in the Analysis of Social Mobility," op. cit., p. 82.

[5]Ibid., p. 90.

[6]Jerzy Barent, "Fertility and Social Mobility," Population Studies, 5 (March, 1952), p. 250.

He found:

Mobility	Fertility (Barent)	(Duncan) Calculated
Upward	2.57	2.60
Static	2.73	2.76
Downward	3.01	2.94

Duncan points out that Barent does not take specific failure into consideration, the main effects of his status variables and that he is predicting an interaction. When the same data are used to predict these means by combining the marginals, the results do not exceed 0.07, a very small difference and Duncan concludes that mobility produces...no differences in fertility that cannot be fully accounted for by the additive mechanism.[7] Lumping "stables" or "statics" together and comparing them to the marginals confounds the levels of the main effects; consequently in order to make the statement that mobile persons differ from static individuals, one must show that the mobile individuals differ from those at their former level, and from those at their present level.[8]

Now that we see status inconsistency and the effects of social mobility as statistical interactions, we

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[7]Duncan, op. cit., p. 90.

[8]Even with this warning, Lenski, for example, compares consistents and inconsistents in four nations comparing occupation and religion. Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Inconsistency and the Vote: A Four Nation Test," American Sociological Review, 32 (April, 1967), pp. 298-301.

first method proposed by Lenski,[9] simply compares diagonals and off-diagonal cells.

ADDITIVITY MODEL (from Lenski)[10]

		Variable X_1		
Variable X_c		h	m	l
	H	a	b	c
	M	a+d	b+d	c+d
	L	a+e	b+e	c+e

Additivity Hypothesis

Mn + Ll = Ml + Lm

Hh + Ll = Hl + Lh

Interactive Hypothesis

Hh + Mm ≠ Hm + Mh

Mm + Ll ≠ Ml + Lm

Unfortunately, this is a simplistic variation, As Blalock[11] makes clear. If downward mobility and position on an independent variable have consequences for X and upward mobility had no effect, then, for instance:

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[9] Lenski, (1964), op. cit.

[10] Ibid.

[11] H. M. Blalock, "Status Inconsistency, Social Mobility, Status Integration, and Structural Effects," American Sociological Review, Vol. 32, No. 5 (1967), pp. 790-800.

Example[12]

		WC	BC
Variable B	WC	35	20 Hh + Ll = 75
	BC	60	40 Hl + Lh = 80

This situation is indeterminant. Unless we have some theoretical reason to suspect that either the main effects or the interaction hypotheses are the cause of these results this relationship has too many unknowns. If the researcher does not specify the nature of the interaction, a significant main effect will confound it.

This particular problem is a more-or-less specific case of a more general one, the "Identification Problem." As Blalock describes it:

> Whenever one uses a set of simultaneous equations to provide theoretical models of causal processes, he can generally expect to encounter identification problems because there may be more unknowns than pieces of empirical information for estimating the parameters.[13]

Furthermore, status inconsistency (1) makes "a priori" assumptions regarding the signs or magnitudes of some of the coefficients, (2) finds and measures additional exogenous variables and appear in some but not all of the equations, (3) postulates certain kinds of non-linear relationships.[14]

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[12] Blalock (1967), op. cit., p. 793.

[13] Ibid., p. 791.

[14] Blalock (1966), op. cit., p. 789.

As a solution to the identification problem, Blalock makes several of which only one aids our study. Here the theorist constructs a non-linear model. Nonlinearity is implied by theories that specify the directions of the inconsistency effect. But this approach requires a theory to determine the form of non-linearity. Hyman makes a similar point when he questions specifying the signs of these coefficients without specifying the magnitudes of the relationships. Blalock agrees that such procedures will not yield definitive results. This lack of results remains to be seen.

If the researcher does not specify the nature of the interaction, a significant main effect will confound it. To avoid this confounding problem, we make specific generally non-linear hypotheses predicting that only one type of mobility, either upward or downward, has an effect.

As our theory specifies the directions, not the magnitudes to be expected from the interaction, we have chosen an analysis of variance design that allows for both an all over test of the interactions and individual comparisons. Also, we confront unequal cell size that raises problems for any form of analysis.

Two strategies are available for unequal n's: a least squares solution and the unweighted means analysis.[15]

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[15]The least squares approach tends to give more weight to the larger cells, and if there is a correlation between the main effects then the method underestimates the interaction effect, the focus of hypotheses but it is more

We chose the unweighted means analysis because the focus of our hypotheses is on the interaction and our basic question is:

Given A_1B_1 A_1B_2 is $A_1B_2 > A_2B_2$

A_2B_1 A_2B_2 $A_1B_2 > A_1B_1$

regardless of the numbers contained within A_1B_2, A_2B_2, and A_1B_2.

THE UNWEIGHTED MEAN ANALYSIS[16]

Since this analysis must compensate for the relative instability of the small cells, the method revolves around the "harmonic mean," analogous to the number of replications in factorial analysis of variance:

P = levels of Factor A

Q = levels of Factor B

$$\frac{}{n_h} = \frac{pq}{\left(\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n_2} + \cdots \frac{1}{n_{pq}}\right)}$$

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powerful (more apt to produce significant results) than the unweighted means analysis. On the other hand, the unweighted means analysis gives equal weight to each cell, although if extreme variation occurs between cells, it seriously underestimates the main effects in particular. Also, in the past most experiments were concerned with main effects and their estimation; consequently, if there is extreme variation in cell size and this variation is due to sampling, the method was considered inappropriate for estimating main effects. But in our case, we are interested in the interaction.

[16]B. J. Winer, Statistical Principles in Experimental Design (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), pp. 241-244.

As can be readily noted, any number of small n's, less than five, will severely decrease $\overline{n_h}$ and the presence of very large cells does little to compensate for several small cells. The estimate of a level mean Mi and Mj is:

$$A_i = \sum_j \frac{\overline{AB_{ij}}}{q}$$

Here $\overline{A}_i$ is the mean of means in row i, not the mean of all observations at level i. These two means will differ when each cell does not have the same number of observations. The estimate of M.1:

$$\overline{B_j} = \sum_i \frac{\overline{AB_{ij}}}{p}$$

And the following estimates, the grand mean:

$$\overline{G} = \sum_i \frac{\overline{A_i}}{p} = \sum_j \frac{\overline{B_j}}{q} = \sum_{ij} \frac{\overline{ABij}}{pq}$$

Variance due to main effects and interactions are estimated by the following sum of squares:

$$SS_a = \overline{n_h}\ q \sum_i (\overline{Ai} - \overline{G})^2$$

$$SS_b = \overline{n_h}\ p \sum_j (\overline{Bj} - \overline{G})^2$$

$$SS_{ab} = \overline{n}_h \sum_{ij} \overline{ABij} - \overline{Ai} - \overline{Bj} + \overline{G})^2$$

The cell variance is calculated by a pooled within-variance procedure.

$$SSij = {}_{m} X_{ijm} - \frac{({}_{m}xijm)^2}{nij}$$

And the error variance or within cell variances is a pool of SSij.:

$$SS_{w.cell} = SSij.$$

$$df_{w.\ cell} = (\ n_{ij}) - pq.$$

Contrasts are calculated:

$$t = \frac{\overline{AB_{ij}} - \overline{AB_{12}}}{\overline{MS}_{w.\ cell}\ (\frac{1}{n_{ij}} + \frac{1}{n_{12}})}$$

ANALYSIS

Our analysis falls into four main areas: (1) a test of the assumption that individuals living in Costa Rica and Mexico have a more ascriptive value oreintation than those living in the United States or Japan; (2) a direct test of the relationship between the socio-economic variables, occupation and education, and the dependent variables, powerlessness, normlessness, social isolation, sense of autonomy, perceived future life conditions, and authoritarianism, across countries; (3) a presentation of background information, inter-item correlation, inter-sum of item totals, etc.; and (4) a test of the status consistency hypotheses.

Preliminary Analysis

Before proceeding to the main analysis, inter-item intercorrelations will be made (as well as correlations between item and remaining items).

Testing Basic Assumptions

The basic assumptions will be tested through a one-way analysis of variance, parametric with the scale items and non-parametric (Chi Square) where dichotomous items are used. Background information on the rate of occupational and educational mobility will be looked at and presented in Appendix V. The intercorrelations between the scales and the independent variables will be presented in Appendix II.

We hypothesized that (1) powerlessness would negatively correlate with socio-economic power cross-culturally and (2) normlessness would correlate with socio-economic status in a universalistic achievement-oriented society, but not in an ascriptive or particularistic achievement-oriented society. Consequently, we will examine the independent variables separately using a two-factor design with (1) nations and (2) socio-economic variables (education and occupation). This permits us to examine differences between nations as well as the effect of the socio-economic variables within a nation.

In response to Blalock's warning[17] not to attempt interpretation of interactions without explicit hypotheses which predict the direction of the differences, and given that we begin with such a large N, I will simply display the means and give no summary statistics.

Background Information

The main questions this study presents require at least some look at background information. First, the reliability of the scales and the structure of intercorrelations are both important for interpretation of the results. Unreliability may alone account for lack of findings. The measures used will be simple means, standard deviations. Kertosis, show-run intercorrelations and intercorrelations item to sum of remaining items (to check each items relationship to the total scale).

Rates of mobility will be examined in Appendix V, although these rates do not enter into the analysis directly as do distributions of the independent variables.

Status Inconsistency

This section examines each dependent variable, alienation (Dean Scale), powerlessness, normlessness, social isolation, autonomy, future life conditions, and authoritarianism, by a two-way analysis of variance using

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[17]Blalock (1966), op. cit., p. 784.

an ascribed and achieved status as independent variables. Three analyses will be made for each dependent variable: educational mobility; occupational mobility; and achievement and ascription.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This section presents three sets of findings, those relating to background information, basic assumptions, and the main hypothesis. Each section will be treated separately, except when the findings in one has relevance for another.

Basic Assumption--Achievement Versus Ascriptive Oriented Societies

The assumption that Costa Rica and Mexico are more ascriptive in value orientation than the United States and Japan is central to our research concern. To test this assumption, we derived a set of hypotheses about the relationship between certain dependent variables and their occurrence in ascriptive and achievement oriented societies. These hypotheses were tested one at a time.

In an achievement oriented society, the individual has more goals different from the collectives (social systems), to which he belongs. Hence, he does not share as strong a sense of "common fate" with these systems as those persons in more ascriptive societies and can move into and out of a social system with more ease. Consequently, the self, the individuals' goals, beliefs, and expectations are more important in more achievement-oriented societies. Hence:

IN AN ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTED SOCIETY, THE SELF SYSTEM IS MORE IMPORTANT TO THE INDIVIDUAL THAN THE SOCIAL SYSTEM TO WHICH HE BELONGS

Our operationalization involves having persons indicate the important of self on a ten-point self-social system scale with the self at the 5 point. We dichotomized this scale scoring only those who ranked the social system as less important than the self. The social systems employed are: political party, community, family, nation, and work.

Political party reflects a strong difference between the two Latin American countries and the U.S. and Japan (Table 1).

TABLE 1

SELF MORE IMPORTANT THAN POLITICAL PARTY

	Per Cent
United States	41.7
Japan	49.8
Costa Rica	36.3
Mexico	18.4

Despite differences in political structure, few people in Mexico see their political party as less important than themselves. While Cost Rica has slightly more people indicating this position, it has far fewer than

either the United States or Japan. When asked to rate "community" both Costa Rica and Mexico show fewer people willing to rate community higher or equal to the self. While the United States shows a rate higher than either Costa Rica or Mexico (See Table 2).

TABLE 2.--Self is More Important Than The Community

Country	Per Cent	Frequency
United States	19.9	304
Japan	39.7	393
Costa Rica	11.6	121
Mexico	7.1	101

the major difference is between Japan and the other countries.

Looking next at "work," we find that here, also, the United States and Japan are more "self" oriented (Table 3). In regard to importance of country relative to self, Japan has the strongest, self-oriented pattern (26.1%), with the United States having a low 6.4%--which is still higher than Mexico (0.9%) and Costa Rica (3.1%). Both achievement-oriented cultures have more self responses supporting (Table 4).

TABLE 3

SELF IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN WORK

	Per Cent	Frequency	
U.S.	23.2	355	1173
Japan	30.9	207	783
Costa Rica	7.6	79	1040
Mexico	14.4	204	1210

TABLE 4

SELF IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE COUNTRY

	Per Cent
U.S.	6.4
Japan	26.1
Costa Rica	3.1
Mexico	0.9

our hypotheses, although there is a major difference between Japan and United States.

The examination of importance of self relative to family presents two problems. First, the referent is

not clear. Does the respondent interpret family to mean his extended family or his nuclear family? Differing interpretations of this question confound our findings. The second problem stems from Parsons. According to Parsons, the achievement universalistic value orientation concentrates all the individual's needs in one collective, the nuclear family; hence the nuclear family takes on gigantic importance.

> . . . the intensity of sentiment about the 'American home' may well be another compensatory mechanism. One reason for this is that the conjugal family is the unit both of kinship and of community as the local unit of residence. If, rather than the individual, conjugal and the family must in certain respects be the unit of mobility. If solidarity is less of a threat to universalism and achievement values than would be that of a larger unit of community as well as kinship.[1]

With these two problems in mind we examine self versus "family," finding all countries to give a predominance of family greater or equal to self responses, but the United States is highest (2.7% judging self more important than "family"), with Mexico and Costa Rica next (5.2% each) and lastly Japan at 7.8%. Consequently out of the five social systemic references, viz: work, political party, community, nation, and family, only family fails to support

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[1]Parsons, op. cit., p. 188.

TABLE 5.--Self is More Important Than Family

Country	Per Cent
United States	2.7%
Japan	7.8%
Costa Rica	5.2%
Mexico	5.2%

the classification.

We also point to the authoritarian nature of an ascriptive value orientation whether particularistically or universalistically oriented. Our position differs from Parsons', who sees the ascriptive particularistic society as antiauthoritarian, but agrees with Eisanstadt, who sees the family structure of ascriptive society as authoritarian. This position is also echoed in Hagen's work. Se we hypothesize:

THE MORE ASCRIPTIVE A SOCIAL SYSTEM THE MORE AUTHORITARIAN ITS MEMBERS.

The more ascriptive a society, the more singular the goal structure and the less tolerance for social deviation. Our five-item scale produced the following set of means.

TABLE 6.--Authoritarianism

Country	Sample $\bar{x}$
United States	19.32
Japan	21.18
Costa Rica	24.63
Mexico	25.52

Definitely the two achievement oriented cultures are less authoritarian than the two ascriptive oriented cultures (See Table 6). Although Parsons did not view the Latin American particularistic ascriptive value orientation as authoritarian, this evidence and other observations of family life in Latin America support our hypothesis that ascriptive values and authoritarianism are related.

Next, we turn to participation in voluntary organizations. We first consider instrumental organizations, which include labor unions, farm organization, business organizations, and professional organizations. We hypothesized that, in achievement oriented societies, the pluralism of goals fosters voluntary organizations and associations for the articulation of potentially divisive elements, providing them with an outlet for expression. In the universalistic-achievement oriented society, individuals, vary in goals, while in particularistic achievement-oriented societies

TABLE 7.--Participation in Voluntary Organizations

Country	Per Cent
United States	27.0%
Japan	35.3%
Costa Rica	8.9%
Mexico	13.8%

goal variation is predominantly across social systems.[1]

Nevertheless, in the particularistic ascriptive cultures there is little need for such instrumental organizations. As we see in Table 7, the two Latin American societies show a lower rate of participation in instrumental voluntary organizations.[2] Expressive organizations like fraternal organizations or recreational groups not only articulate the specific interest of deviant groups, but also provide intimate contact among peers. Such organizations provide anchor points for individuals by which they can make comparisons with others. Warner points to the

[1]Universalistic ascriptive cultures can, however, employ "voluntary organizations" to articulate and express their ideologies and goals.

[2]The key questions concerning ascriptive-universal societies are how voluntary is participation, what it costs the individual to belong, and how interrelated these organizations are in the larger societal network.

functions of subvoluntary organizations, observing that they provide a means for finding, maintaining, or advancing one's status. In an ascriptive society there would be little need for such a (see Table 6) defining institution; one's position is given either through his ascribed status. While achievement may indeed lead to higher status in an ascriptive society, there is no need to display or express one's position through expressive organizations.

Warner emphasizes the expressive nature of associations.

> . . .Associations perform special and important functions for the social classes in excluding the many and including the few; they are excellent institutions to maintain social distance between the higher- and lower- class levels.[3]

Now if such organizations do appear in ascriptive societies, they should perform a similar function, i.e., rank individuals and at the same time give them an outlet for expressing their position. Within an ideal typical ascriptive system a person "knows his place," and his status need not be reinforced through belonging.

Vogel presents evidence that Japanese women involve themselves heavily in clubs that have a quilting bee aspect, e.g., flower arranging. It seems that the Japanese housewife puts much energy into perfecting the housewife's

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[3]W. Lloyd Warner, American Life: Dream and Reality (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 228.

role with tasks involving an elaborate set of performances.[4] These must be learned throughout life. As these performances involve "mastery" or achievement, some means of comparison and of sharing common experiences is needed. The expressive organization fulfills this function. The Japanese males have their own private recreational clubs (of which relatively little is known). Whiteford[5] notes that, while Mexican and other Latin American cities have clubs like the Rotary, Kiwanis, etc., they are mainly populated by upper- and upper-middle class members. One could argue that such groups were more a reflection of urban value oreintations. In any case, our data provide strong support for our notion that achievement oriented, as opposed to ascriptive societies, foster membership in expressive organizations. Both Costa Rica and Mexico have low rates of participation--11.7 and 8.8 per cent, respectively, while in the United States and Japan approximately one-third of the population participates.

Similarly, the relative importance of social organizations should be greater in achievement oriented societies. While our data show a relatively small number of people indicating a "social" organization as the most important, Japan and the United States have markedly more persons

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[4]Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1963).

[5]Andrew H. Whiteford, Two Cities of Latin America: A Comparative Description of Social Classes (Beloit, Wis.: Beloit College Press, 1960).

TABLE 8.--Per Cent Membership in Expressive Organizations

Country	Per Cent
United States	35.3%
Japan	30.2%
Costa Rica	11.7%
Mexico	8.8%

doing so.

The last test, the importance of religion, stems from the assumption that the more ascriptive system requires a strong ideological underpinning to its value system and

TABLE 9.--Social Organization More Important than all Other Organizations

Country	Per Cent
United States	10.3%
Japan	8.1%
Costa Rica	1.1%
Mexico	1.6%

that one of these ideologies can be religion; hence the society's religion is monolithic and of central importance. As such, individuals in ascriptive cultures should

experience their religions as more important than in achievement oriented cultures. However, the belief system, while monolithic, can focus either on a religious or secular underpinning. For example, the Soviet system has sacred tenets, deep emotional commitments to a supposed social force, dialectical materialism; but this is not recognized as a religion. Thus it is possible that absolutism of political and social beliefs can substitute for absolutism of a religious nature. We find that both Latin American countries consider religion to have higher importance than do the two achievement oriented countries. Unfortunately, we have no information concerning social-political beliefs on an ascriptive universal country other than on Finland[6] which shows a mean lower than the U.S. for the importance of religion in everyday life. Still, the pluralistic character of religion points to other difficulties with this hypothesis.

TABLE 10.--Importance of Religion

Country	Sample $\bar{x}$
United States	6.79
Japan	3.95
Costa Rica	8.28
Mexico	7.41

In summary, this classification finds support through three of the five self-collectivity hypotheses, viz, level of authoritarianism, participation in instrumental and expressive organizations, and the importance of these social organizations.

We now examine the scales to be used to estimate their reliability and general metric characteristics.

Alienation

The intercorrelation between the six Dean alienation items can be found in Appendix III. In Table 11 we find item-sums of remaining item correlations for all Dean alienation items, the first employing all six items. One social isolation item (i.e., item E, "Real friends are as easy as ever to find") has virtually no relationship to the scale and we will therefore discard it in the final analysis.

TABLE 11.--Dean Alienation (Six Items)

Country	Social Isolation		Anomia Normlessness		Powerlessness	
	A	B	C	D	E	F
United States	.3494	.1334	.3115	.3539	.3578	.3326
Japan	.3368	.0679	.3727	.3356	.1956	.2028
Costa Rica	.2826	.0719	.2456	.2483	.1821	.3925
Mexico	.1638	.0288	.2790	.2790	.2871	.2755

The remaining five items intercorrelate as follows. (See Table 12)

TABLE 12.--Dean Alienation (Five Items)

Country	Social Isolation	Normlessness (Anomia)		Powerlessness	
	A	C	D	E	F
United States	.343	.388	.361	.391	.343
Japan	.355	.379	.361	.206	.210
Costa Rica	.318	.268	.232	.203	.390
Mexico	.188	.314	.278	.313	.278

In general the items hold up cross-nationally, although the strength of the relationship is rather low. Consequently, the amount of "true" variance in alienation cannot be very great.

Table 13 shows that the social isolation items have little in common in all countries while the normlessness and powerlessness items show slight agreement. While the social isolation items do not intercorrelate, the two-item scale does intercorrelate with the other scales. In all, we cannot expect our subsequent analysis to show massive differences, as the present collection of items has altogether too little intercorrelation. We cannot say whether this problem is due to instrumentation or to the

TABLE 13.--Alienation Subscale Intercorrelations

Country	S.I. Rel.	Norm Rel.	Power Rel.	S.I. Norm.	S.E. Power	Norm Power
United States	.119	.272	.245	.254	.250	.386
Japan	.044	.328	.130	.305	.152	.223
Costa Rica	.002	.186	.186	.187	.269	.252
Mexico	.009	.299	.217	.091	.162	.293

multifacetedness of the alienation dimension.

Authoritarianism

The complete inter-item correlation matrix for each notion will be found in Appendix III. Below we find item-sum of remaining item correlation for authoritarianism (See Table 14).

TABLE 14.--Authoritarianism - Item-Sum of Remaining Items Correlation

Country	A	B	C	D	E	F
United States	.512	.313	.416	.447	.298	.449
Japan	.471	.353	.296	.350	.114	.167
Costa Rica	.360	.385	.409	.274	.252	.336
Mexico	.352	.343	.350	.310	.239	.433

From this Table we find all items except E to have high item-to-sum of other items agreement; but even in the case of E it varies from .298 to .114.

Autonomy

The autonomy scale consisted of two highly intercorrelated items (See Table 15).

TABLE 15.--Sense of Autonomy

Country	Reliability	Aut. x Auth.	Aut. x S.L.	Aut. Norm.	Aut. Power	Aut. S-SS
United States	.458	-.092	-.174	-.126	-.185	326
Japan	.739	.055	-.141	-.062	-.031	.394
Costa Rica	.565	-.110	-.123	+.000	-.183	.277
Mexico	.569	.001	-.105	-.061	-.089	.345

For individual items, the autonomy items have a high intercorrelation and also the autonomy scale intercorrelates reasonably with the self-collective items as a scale. (For item-sum over other items for self-collective scale, see Appendix IV.) Except for occasional and minor intercorrelation, autonomy seems independent of authoritarianism, social isolation, normlessness, and powerlessness.

Expectations for Future Life Conditions

This set of four items has the following item-sum of remaining item intercorrelations (See Table 16).

TABLE 16.--Future Life Conditions: r of Item to Sum of Other Items

Country	A	B	C	D
United States	.427	.467	.463	.521
Japan	.533	.485	.398	.515
Costa Rica	.496	.565	.621	.507
Mexico	----	.520	.534	.556

Unfortunately, one item is missing in Mexico, making cross-national comparisons difficult. In terms of reliability, the scale is reasonably internally consistent, showing no weak item.

Socio-Economic Variables

We turn now to the independent variables, occupation, head of household, occupation of socializer, education, head of household, and education of socializer. We will also examine these variables for their degree of intercorrelation. As mentioned earlier, we use C^2 for the measure of association. Each set of figures will be presented by sex (See Table 17).

TABLE 17.--Independent Variables Intercorrelations*

Country	Head of Household x Socializer			
	Education		Occupation	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
United States	.511	.482	.242	.286
Japan	.498	.447	.555	.481
Costa Rica	.540	.449	.410	.376
Mexico	.548	.490	.496	.524

Country	Independent Variables x Income							
	Income x Educa. H-H		Income Educa. Socializer		Income x Occupatn. H of H		Income x Occupatn. Socializer	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
United States	.406	.401	.265	.253	.248	.265	.218	.127
Japan	.326	.337	.341	.346	.423	.377	.402	.397
Costa Rica	.322	.423	.303	.312	.421	.490	.248	.296
Mexico	.443	.490	.385	.411	.406	.302	.362	.290

*C is a rough approximation of common variance regardless of the linear hypothesis. Consequently as does Eta^2, the correlation ratio, there is no sign, only the ratio. C^2 is defined as follows:

$$\frac{X^2}{X^2 + N}.$$

Comparing the C figures to produce moment correlation, we find a slightly different picture.

TABLE 18.--Independent Variables Intercorrelation (Product Movement Correlations)

Country	Occu. H-H Occu. Soc.	Ed. H-H Ed. Soc.	Ed. H-H Income	Ed. Soc. Income	Occ. H-H Income	Occ. Soc. Income
United States	.141	.491	.404	.247	.211	.012
Japan	.364	.400	.220	.228	.315	.248
Costa Rica	.099*	.443	.487	.339	.314	.127*
Mexico	.272	.496	.514	.439	.160	.130

*30.9% of Socializers in Have not worked category!

Occupational mobility in the U.S. appears high; this is shown through a weak association between the generations' occupations. For a further discussion of intergenerational mobility, see Appendix V.

Table 19 presents C between our independent variables given three levels. In both cases the association between the head of household's status and the socializer's status is lower when the three-level category system is employed. Still in all countries a sizable relationship between the two generations exists, with the exception of occupation in the United States. Also, in all countries, there is a higher intergenerational correlation for education than for occupation.

TABLE 19.--Association between Independent Variables, Given Three Levels*

Country	Occ. H-H and Soc.	Ed. H-H and Soc.
United States	.413	.269
Japan	.470	.367
Costa Rica	.326	.440
Mexico	.394	.433

*Occupation - white collar, blue collar-skilled, blue collar-unskilled.
Education: +9; 8-7; 6-0

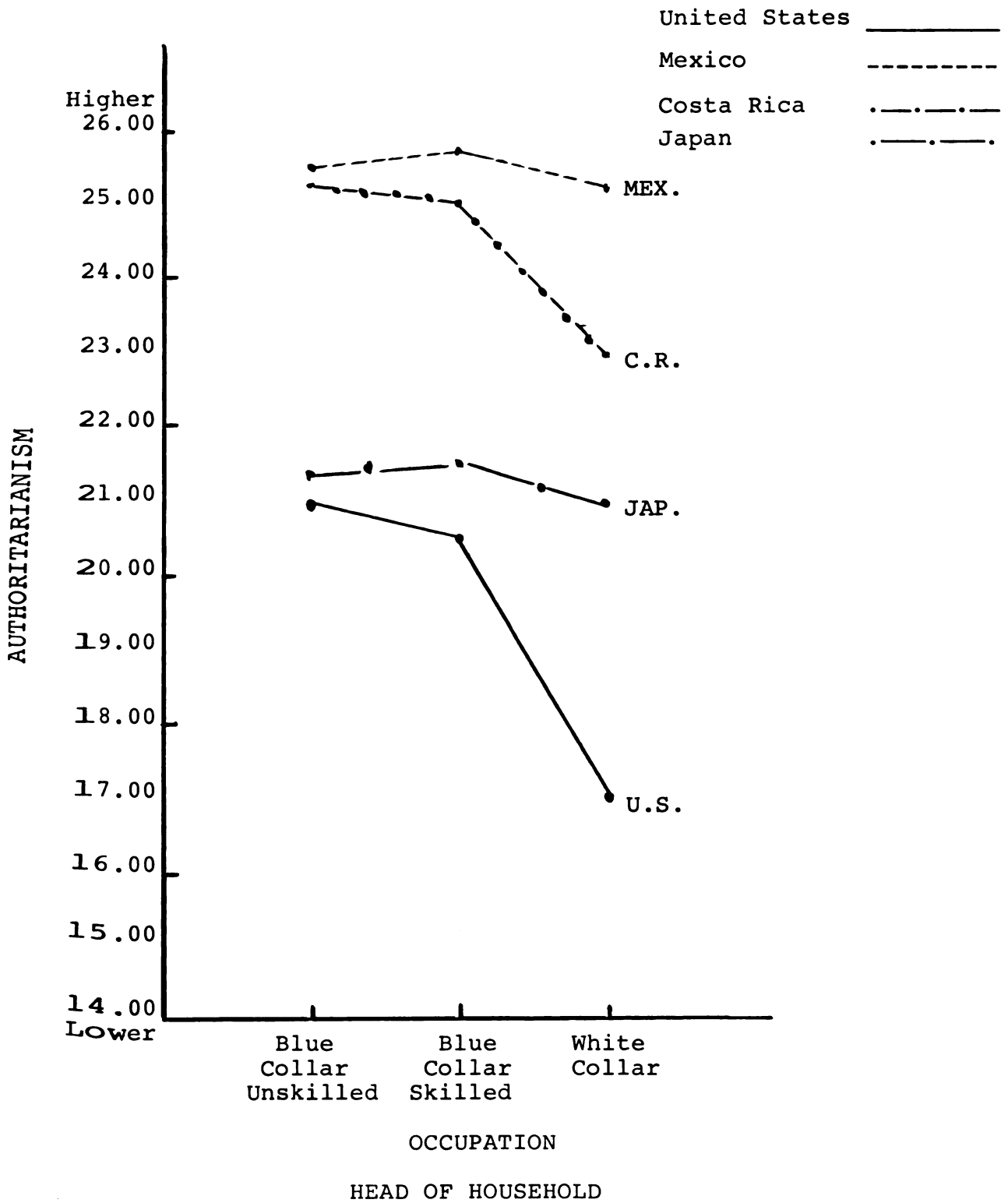
Cross National Differences

We noted earlier a set of cross national differences, the differences between ascriptive and achievement oriented culture. We now explore the impact of the national context on our dependent variables, controlling for our independent variables, occupation and education of head of household, occupation and education of socializer, and total ascribed and achieved status.

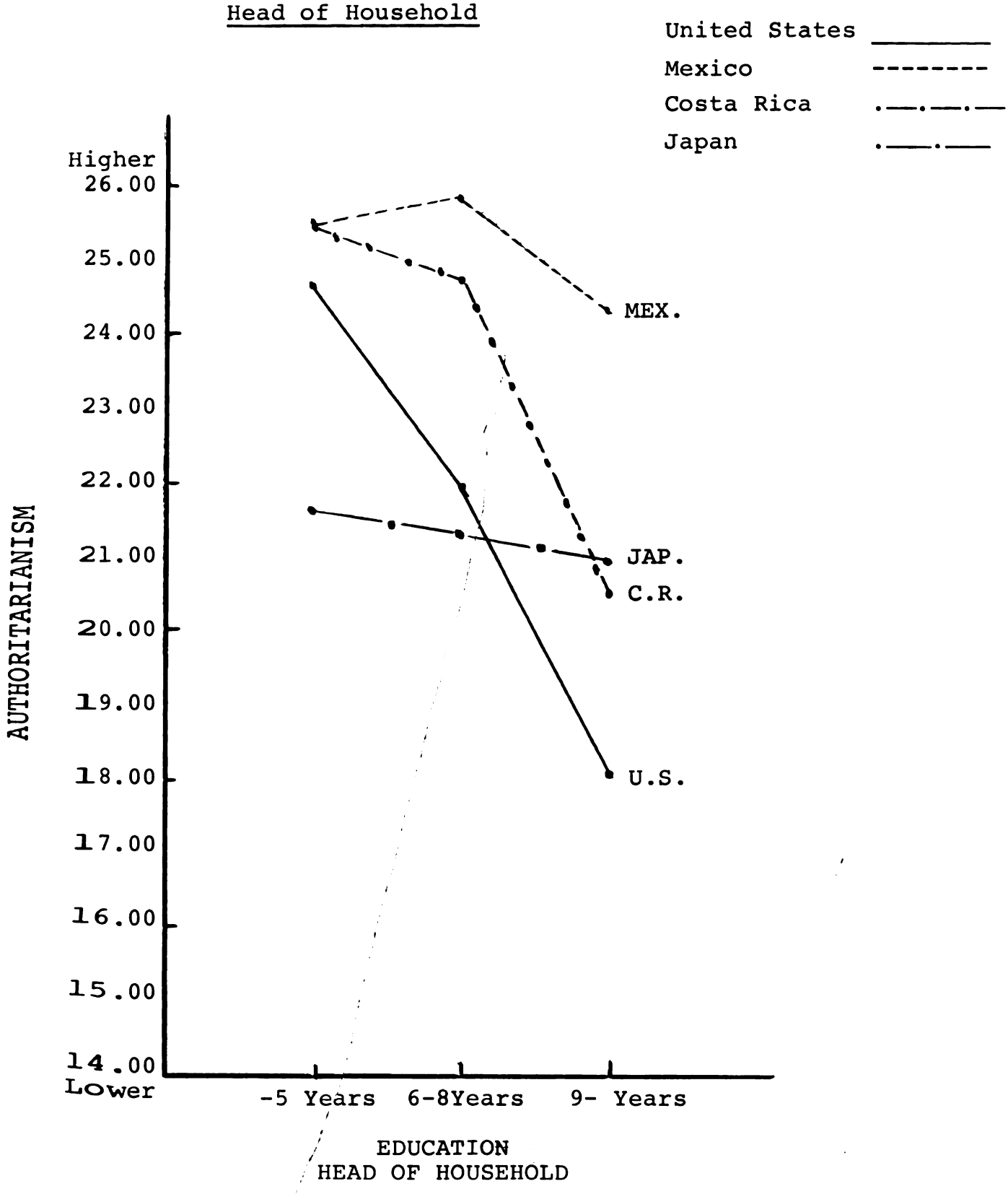
Authoritarianism

Earlier we found mean differences in authoritarianism between nations. We now examine authoritarianism cross-nationally, controlling for socio-economic level. Our hypothesis asserted that ascriptive oriented societies

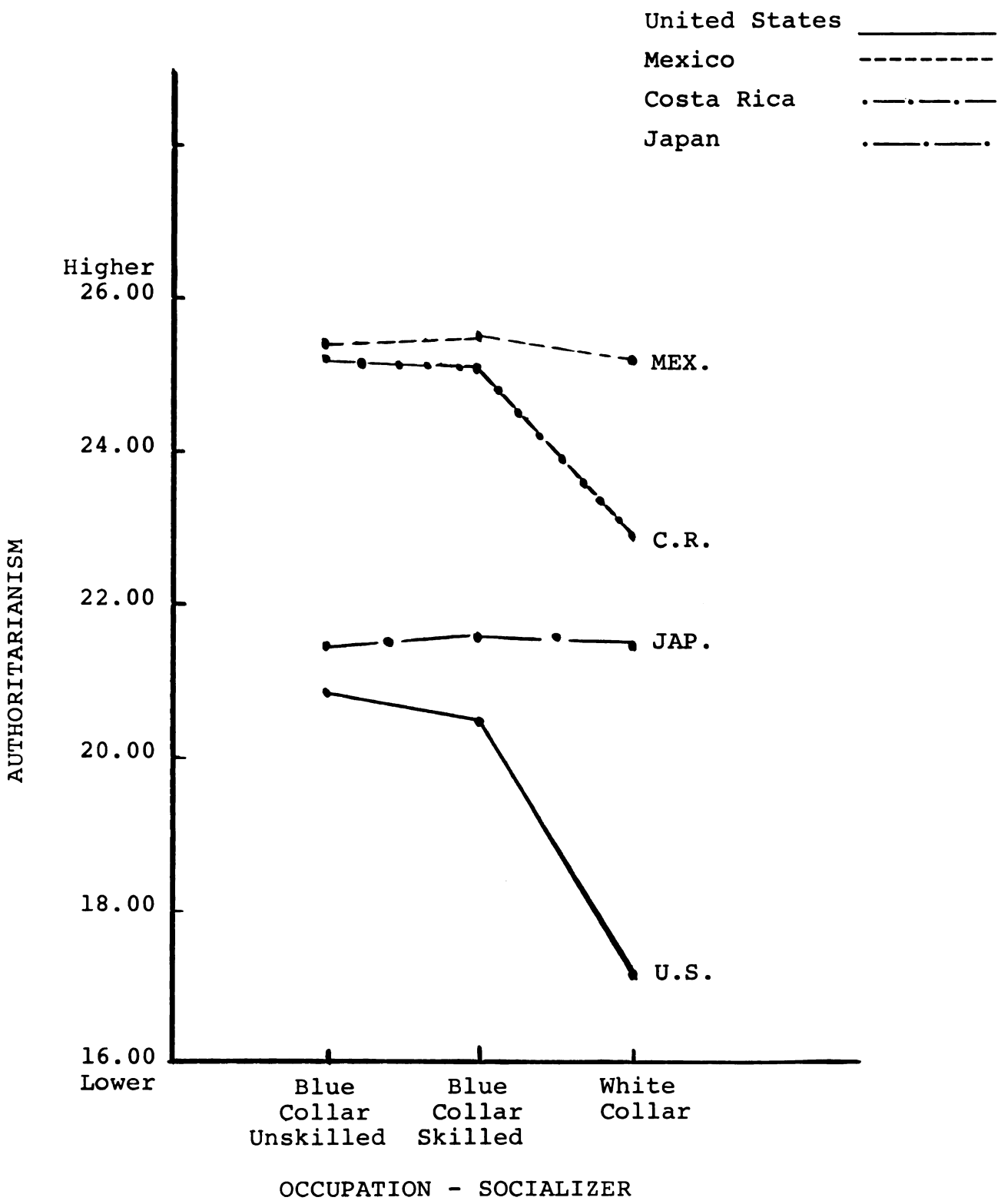
Graph 1.--Authoritarianism: Occupation-Head of Household



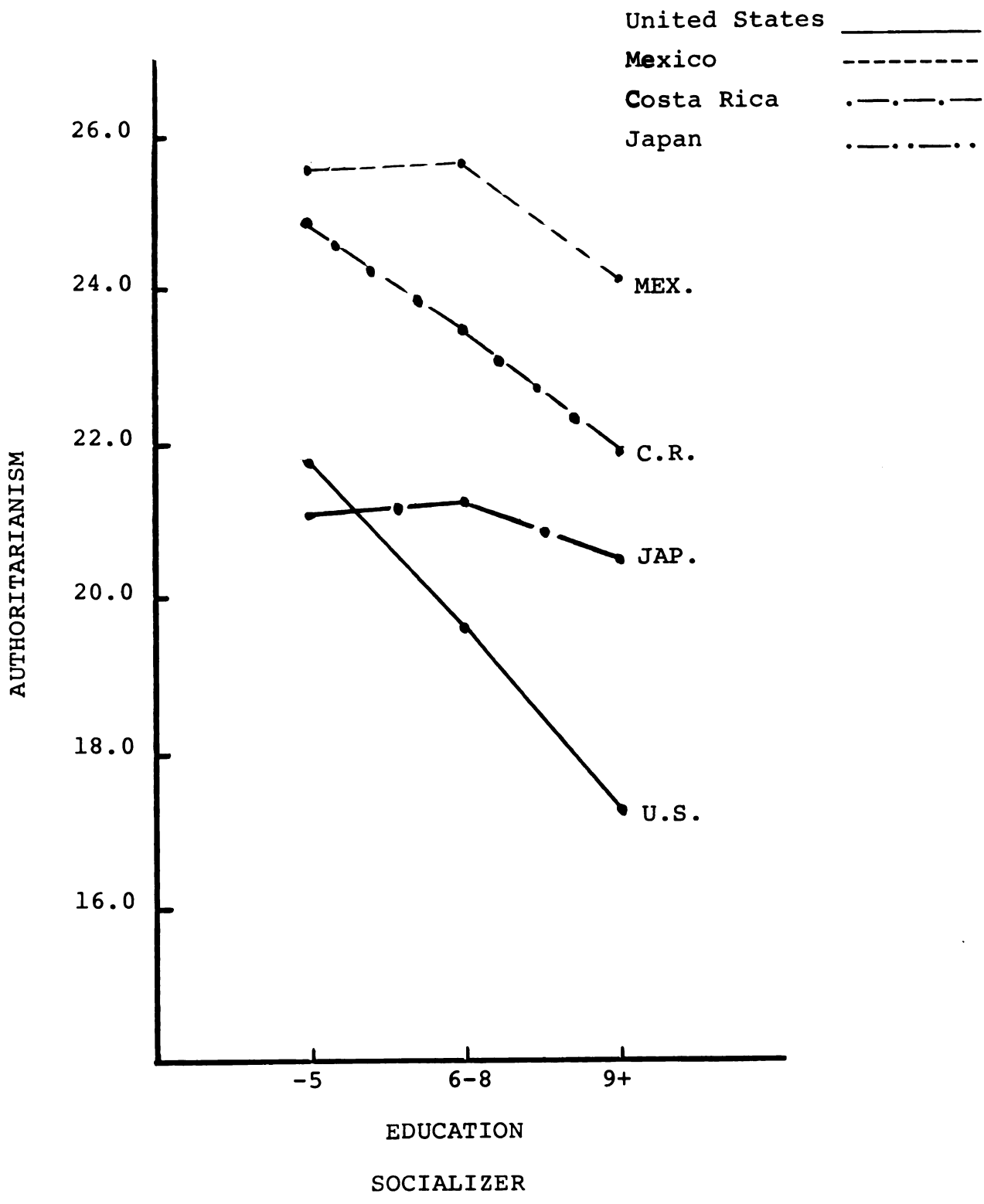
Graph 2.--Authoritarianism: Education-Head of Household



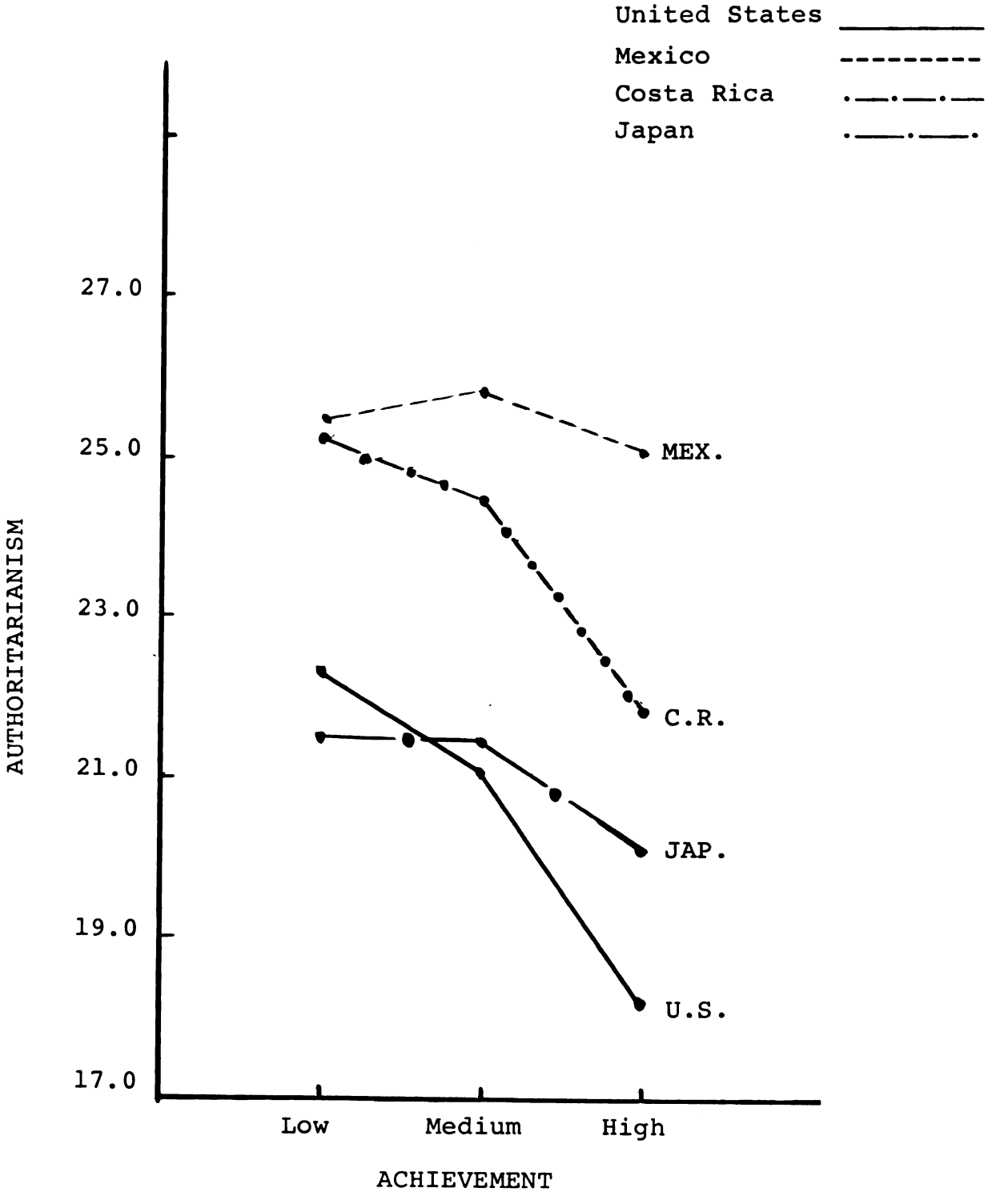
Graph 3.--Authoritarianism: Occupation-Socializer



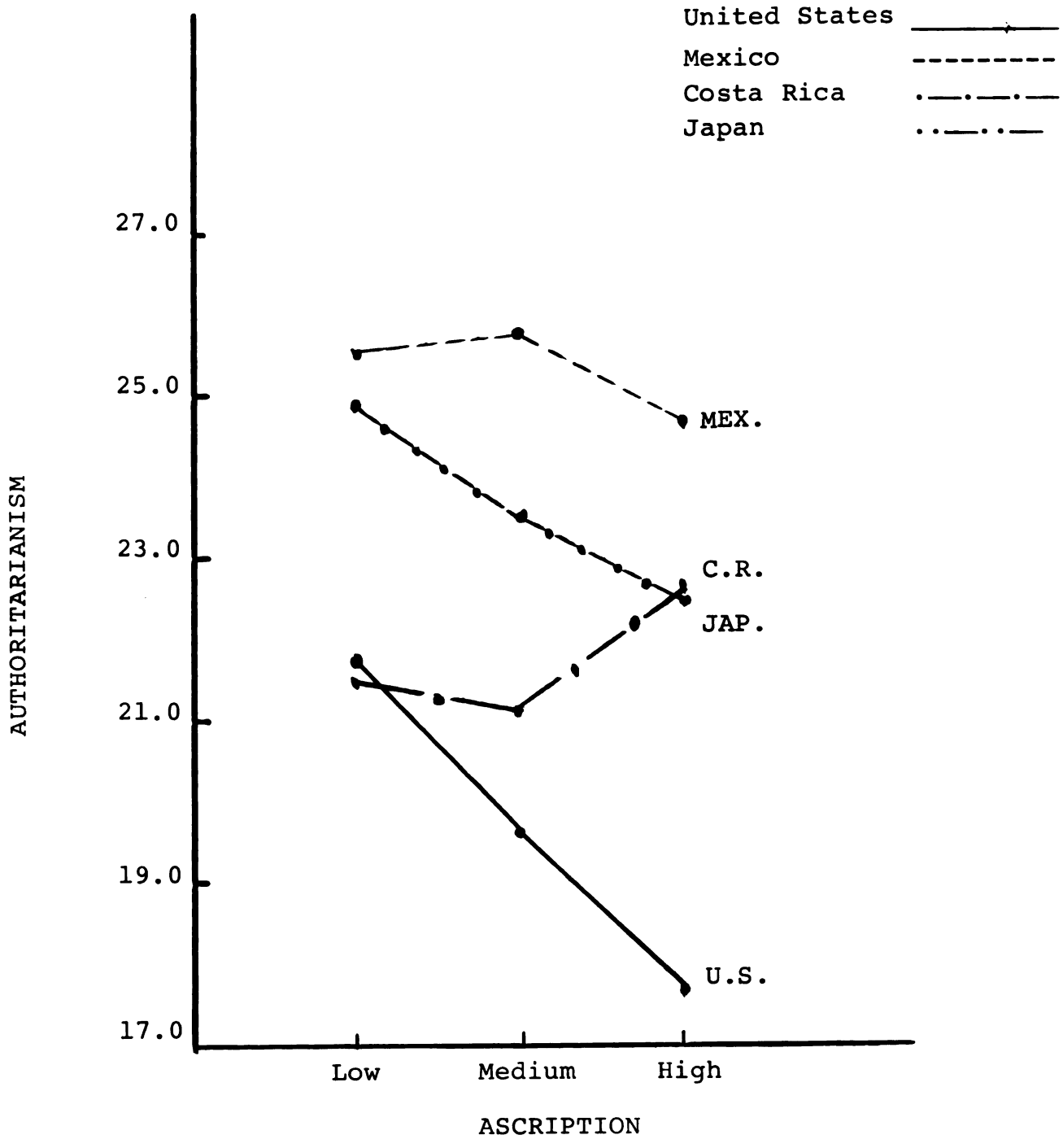
Graph 4.--Authoritarianism: Education-Socializer



Graph 5.--Authoritarianism: Achievement



Graph 6.--Authoritarianism: Ascription



have more authoritarian individuals than did achievement oriented societies. Also, as past literature indicates, the lower the socio-economic level, the higher the authoritarianism. Our first graph, Graph 1, shows that when we look at occupation alone, we find a massive difference between the achievement-oriented cultures and ascriptive oriented cultures for all occupational levels. But, when we examine Graph 2, we find a different picture; Mexico remains high, as it did for occupational level across all levels; Japan remains relatively low across all levels, and the United States and Costa Rica show a strong relationship between educational level and authoritarianism, with the United States being only slightly lower. On examining the n's, we notice that Costa Rica has a preponderance of persons at the lowest educational level, while the United States has a preponderance at the upper levels. This indicates a possibility that the differences noted in the occupations are artifacts of the differential distribution of educational levels; that is, in Costa Rica, many blue collar skilled workers have less than six years of schooling while in the United States many of the blue collar unskilled workers have more than nine years of education. Similarly socializer's occupation and socializer's education stand in the same relationship. (See Graphs 3, 4, 5, 6) In summary, a key determinant of authoritarianism in the United States and Costa Rica may be education, while in Japan and Mexico no such determinant is suggested by the data.

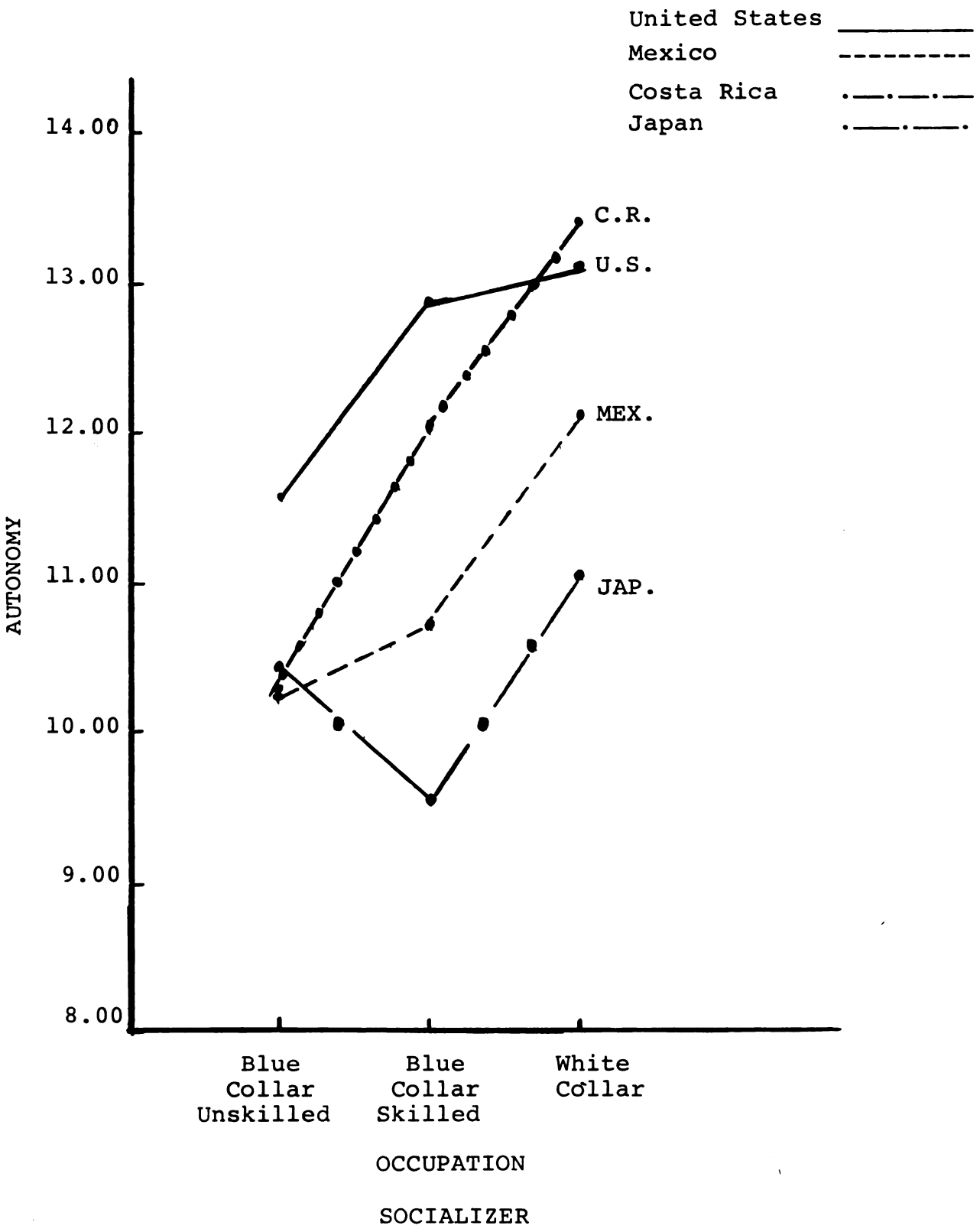
Autonomy

Again, when autonomy is compared with occupation of head of household, and with education of head of household, all three show a positive relationship. The higher the socio-economic status, the higher the sense of autonomy (See Graphs 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12). For Costa Rica education appears to have a stronger effect than occupation. Generally, individuals in Mexico and the United States with nine or more years of education have approximately the same level of autonomy, while those persons with eight or less years of education in Mexico showed significantly less autonomy than the same level in the United States.

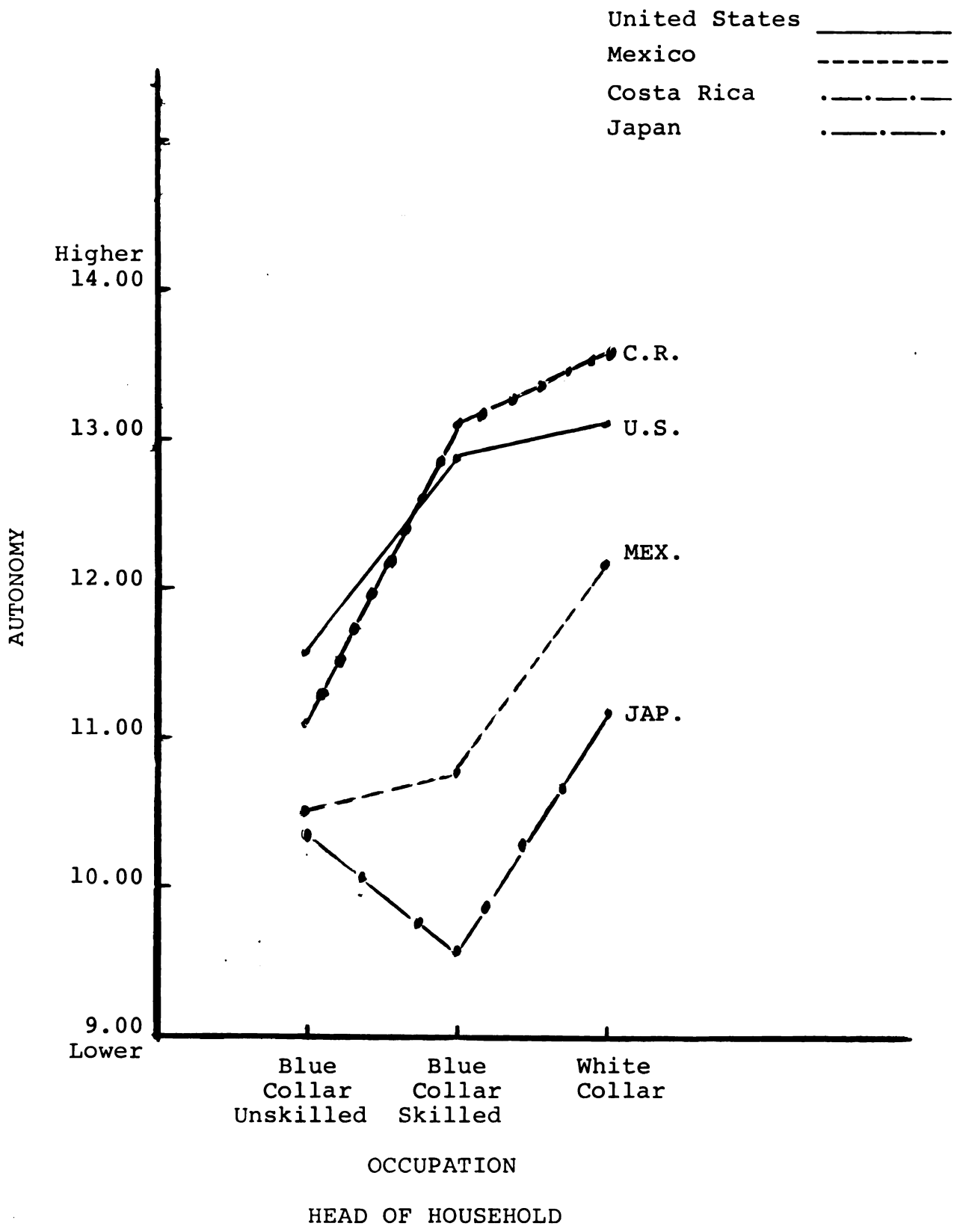
While Costa Ricans with five or less years of education have a mean sense of autonomy between the means of Mexico and the United States, Costa Ricans with six or more years' education showed considerably more autonomy than similar persons in either Mexico or the United States. While Japan shows a slight positive relationship between education and autonomy for each level of education or occupation, the Japanese have a lower mean than any of the other countries'. The Japanese skilled blue collar workers also have the lowest sense of autonomy; because this also appears for occupation of socializer, and the two variables have a significant interaction (See Table 38), the direction of causal inference cannot be made.

Socio-economic position does not affect autonomy

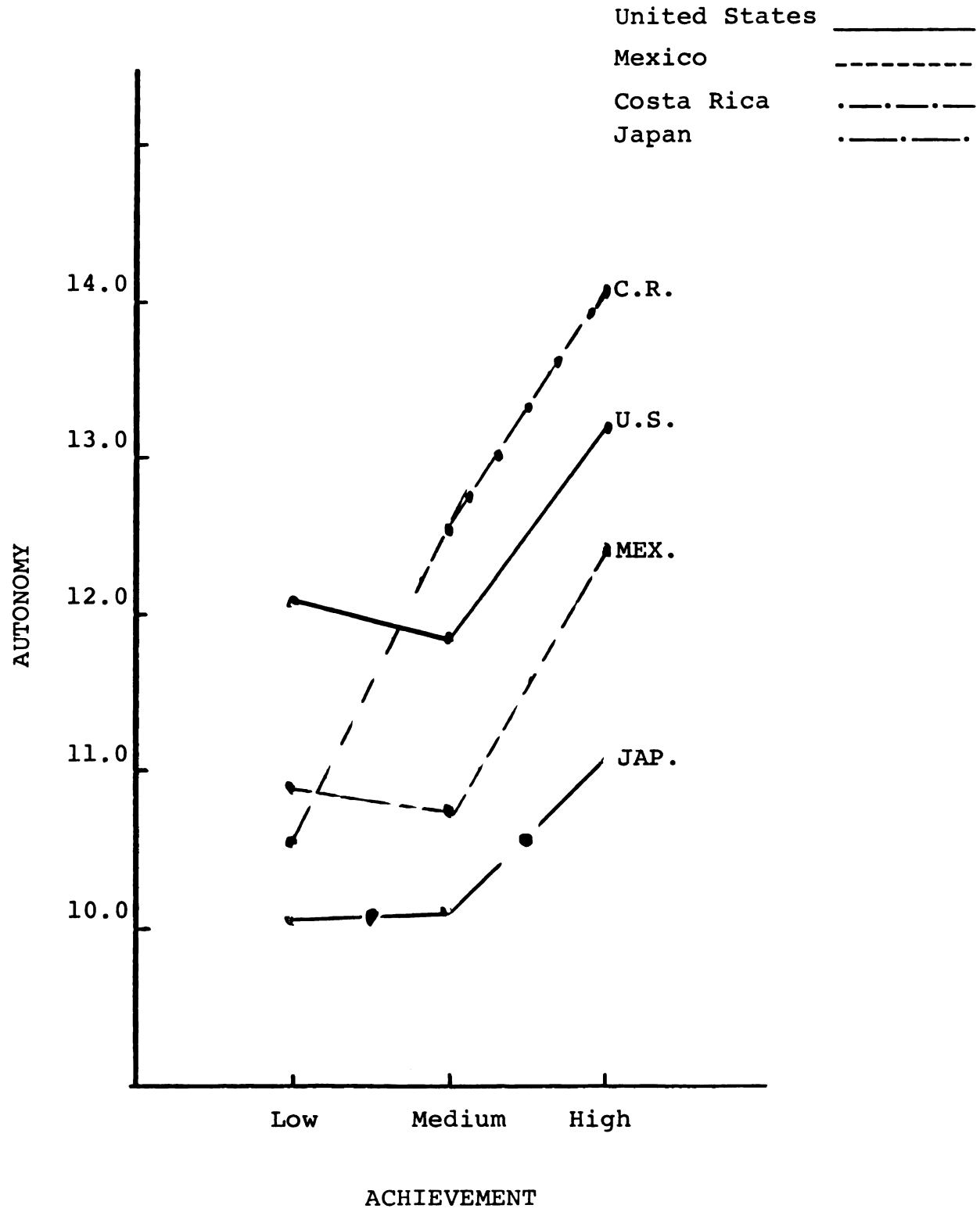
Graph 7.--Autonomy: Occupation-Socializer



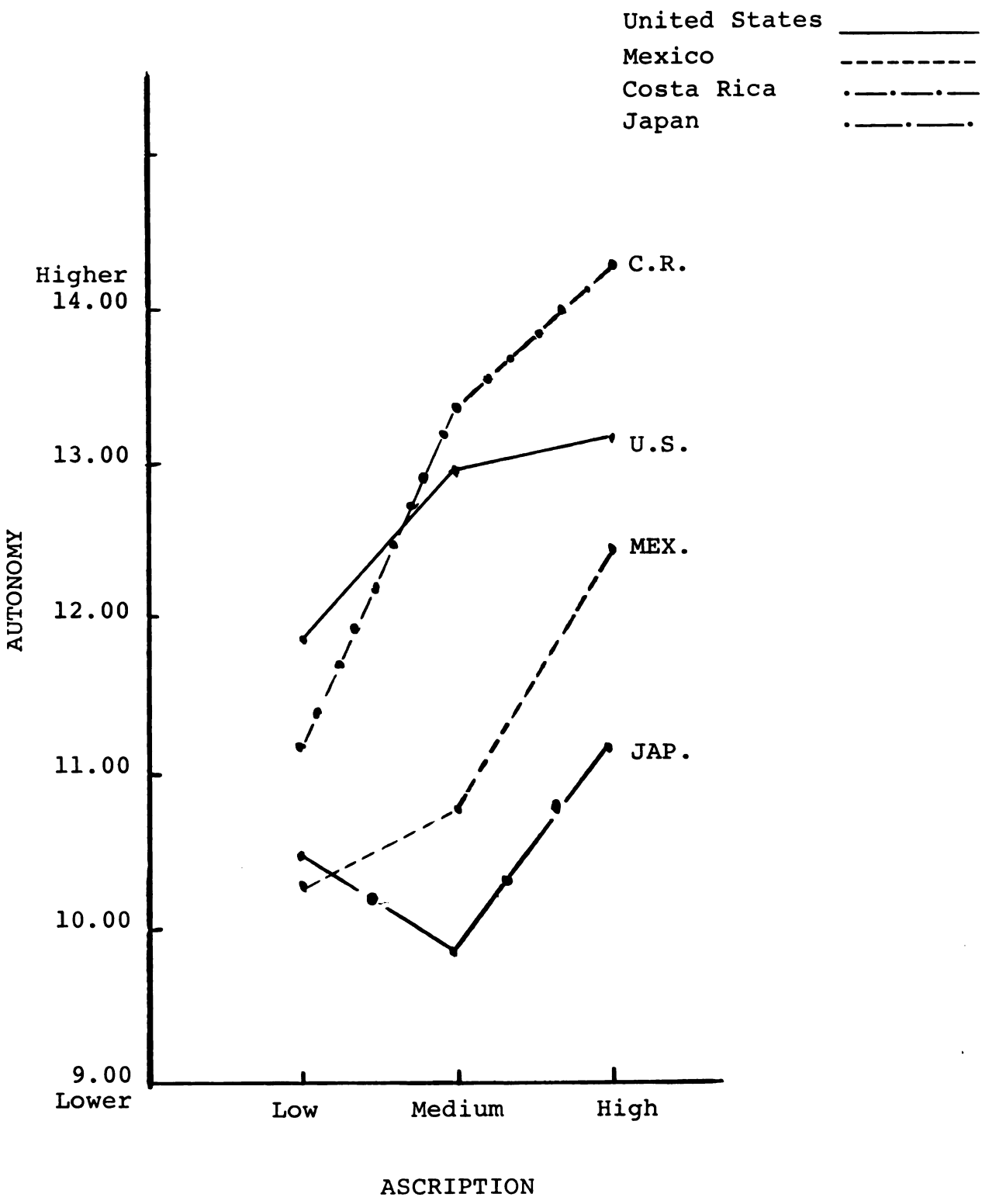
Graph 8.--Autonomy: Occupation-Head of Household



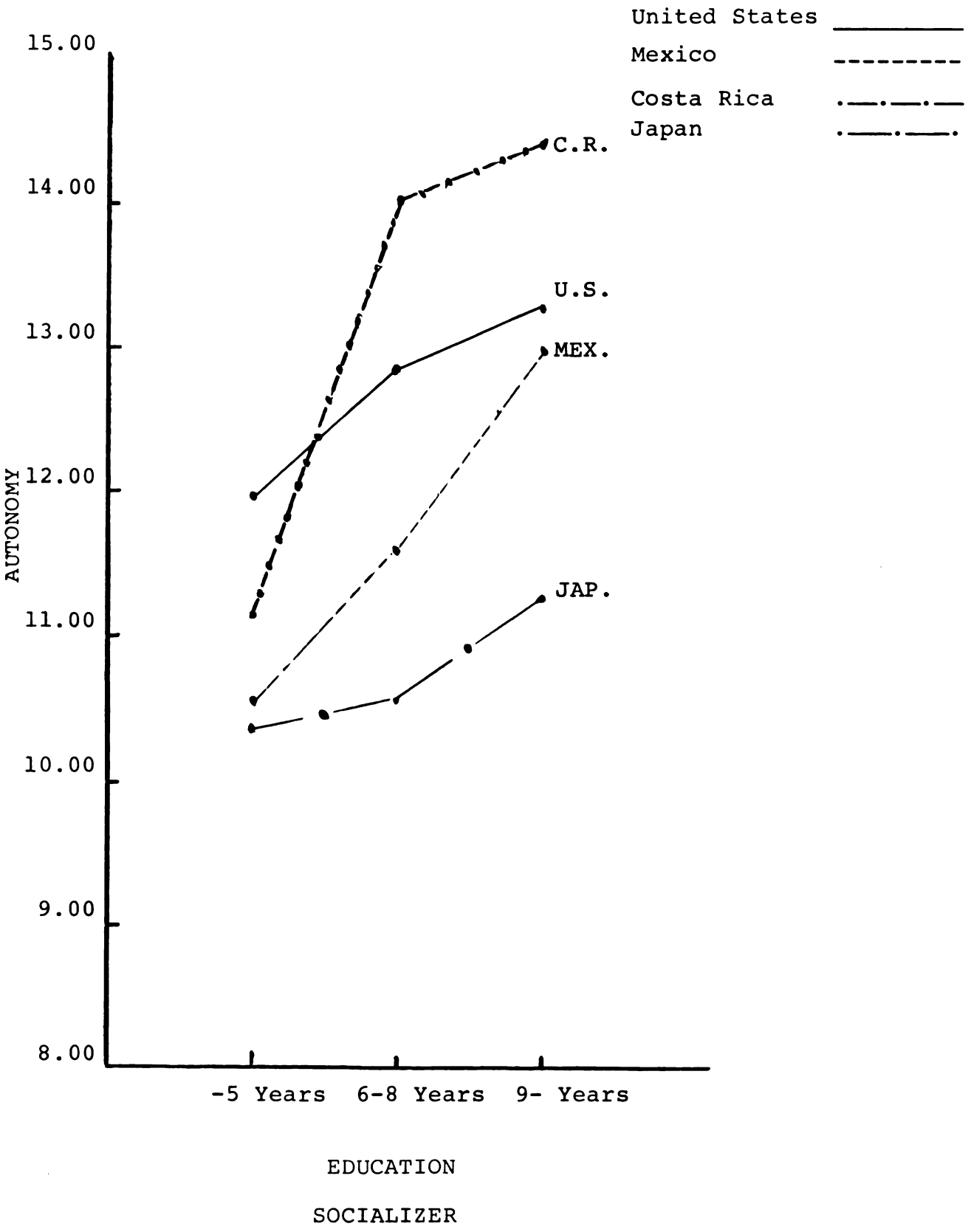
Graph 9.--Autonomy: Achievement



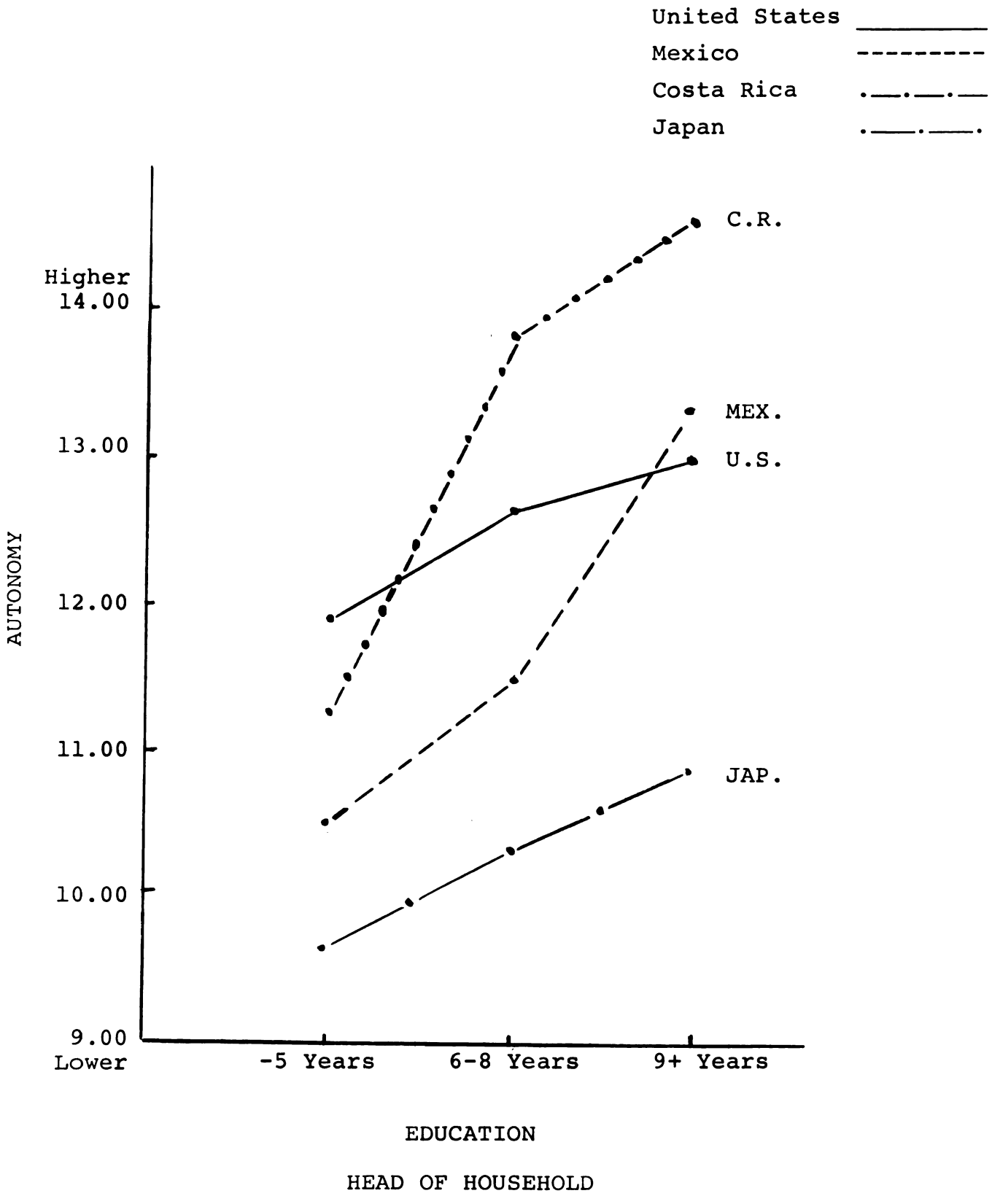
Graph 10.--Autonomy: Ascription



Graph 11.--Autonomy: Education-Socializer



Graph 12.--Autonomy: Education-Head of Household



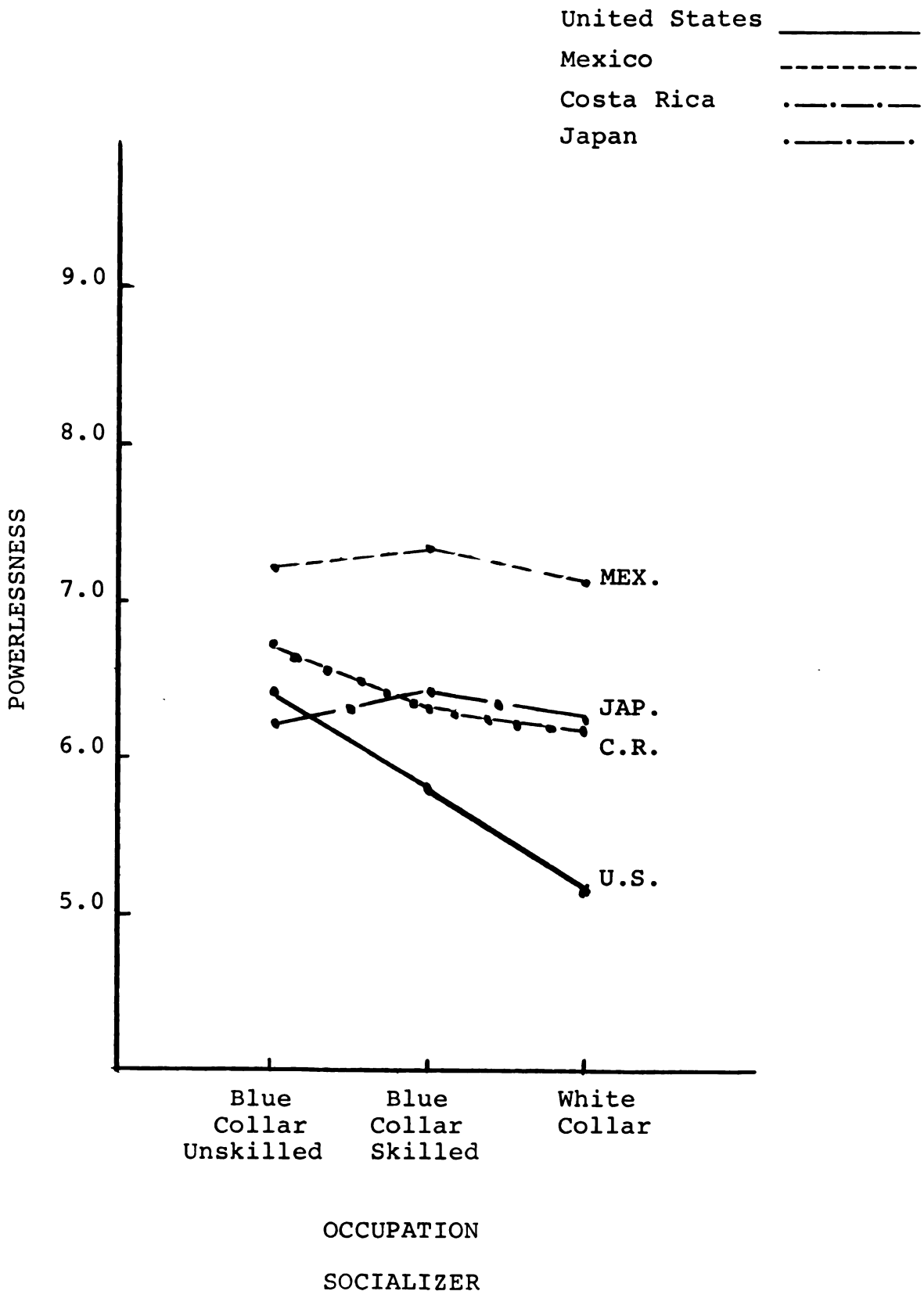
in the same way cross-nationally. The forces operating here are difficult to identify, and fall outside our theoretical framework.

A man's occupation and education provide limits to the amount of control he and/or his wife possess, and the range of activities they can participate in. But does the education and occupation of the socializer have an effect independent of the limits that one's family background sets on occupation and education? In three countries the socializer's education and occupation (Costa Rica, Mexico, and the United States using unweighted means analysis) had an effect on autonomy, independent of present position. (See Tables 35, 36, 37). Family position, expressed through socializer's education and occupation influences an individual's sense of autonomy in the three "western" countries.

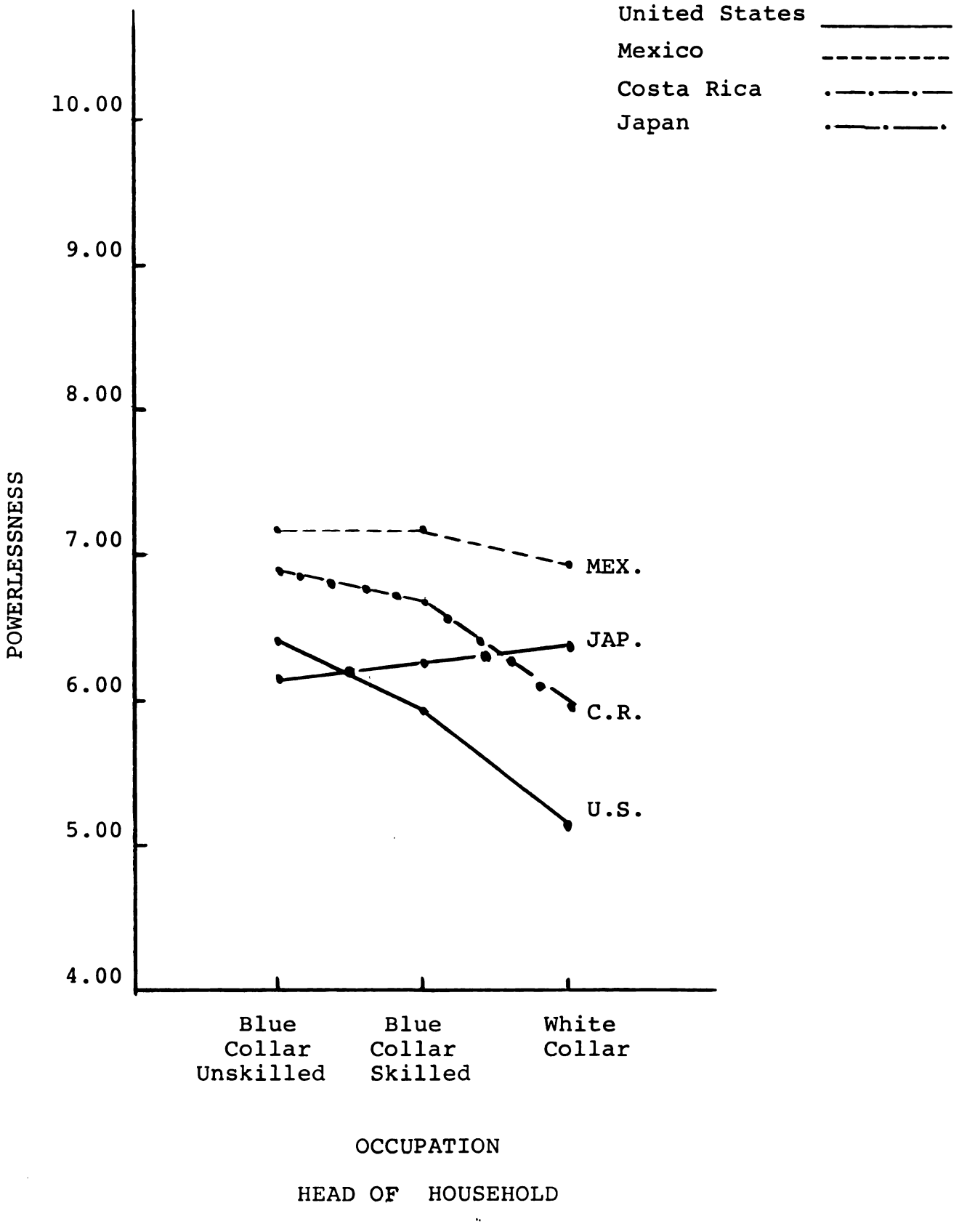
Powerlessness

We hypothesized a negative relationship between the amount of power an individual has and the amount of powerlessness he senses. (See Graphs 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18) For, the two countries, the United States and Costa Rica, this appears to hold, but Mexico and Japan show no relationship between powerlessness and either the education or occupation of the head of household (Graphs 13, 14). Mexicans have a high powerlessness despite occupational or educational level, and the Japanese have a relative low rate.

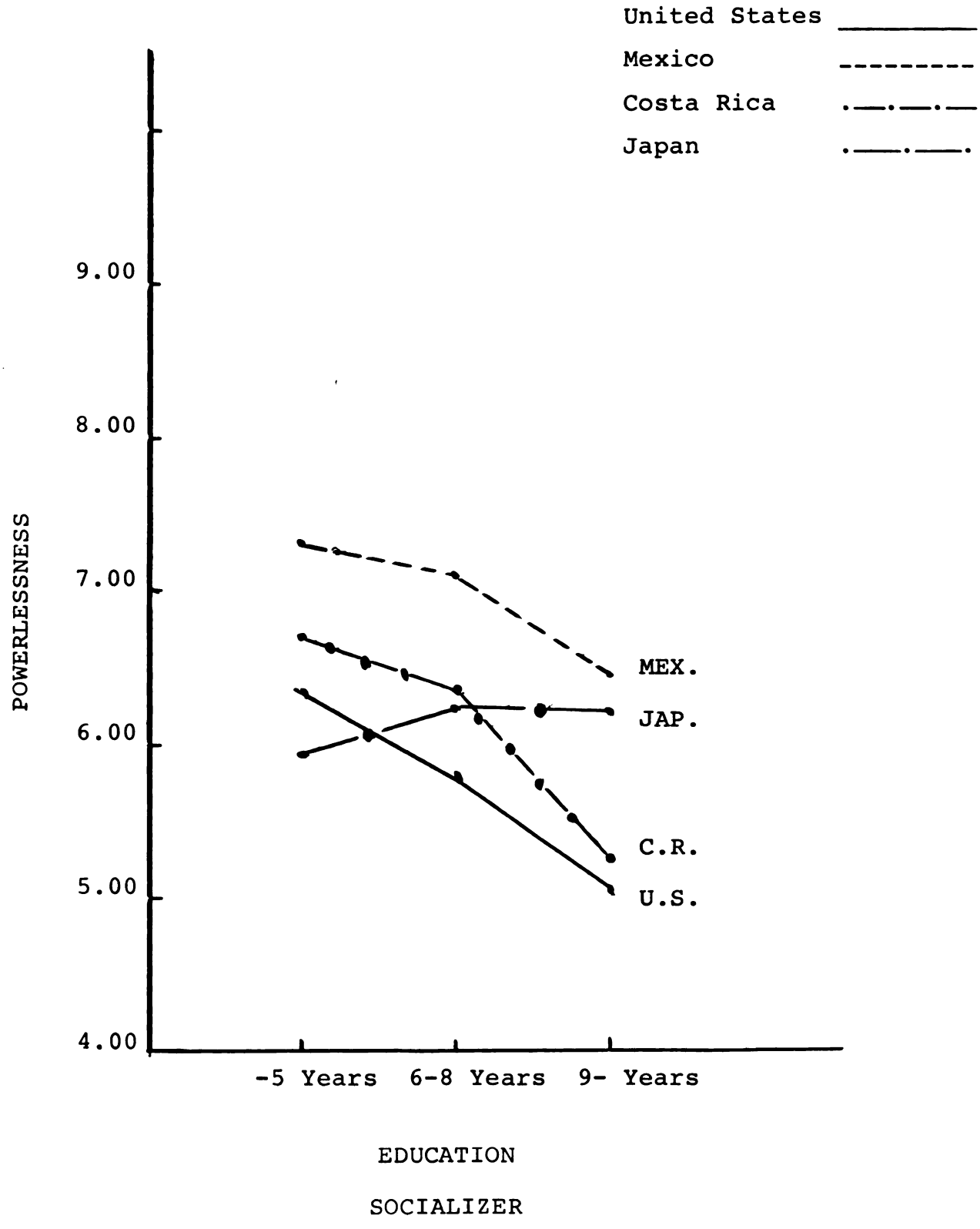
Graph 13.--Powerlessness: Occupation-Socializer



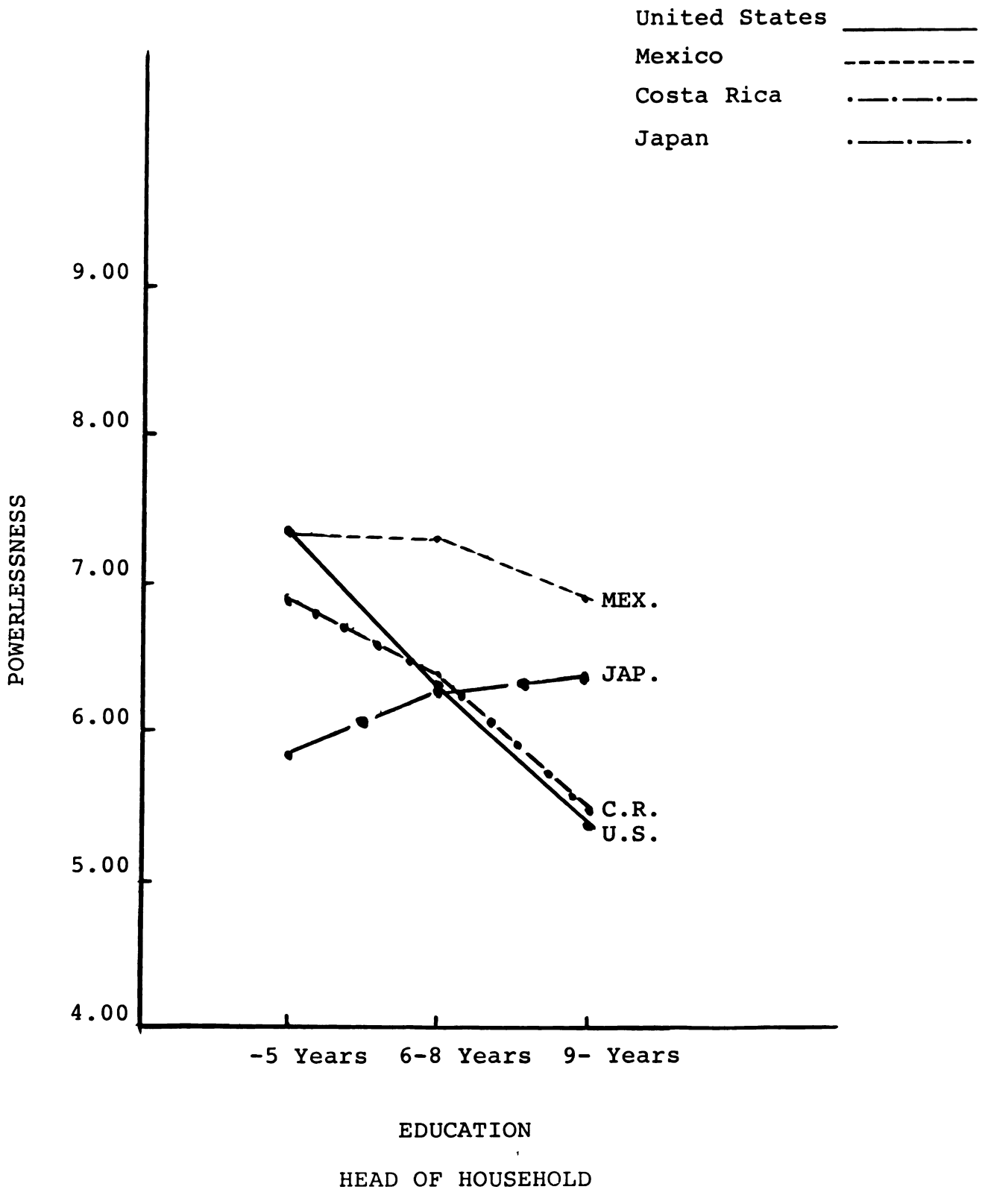
Graph 14.--Powerlessness: Occupation-Head of Household



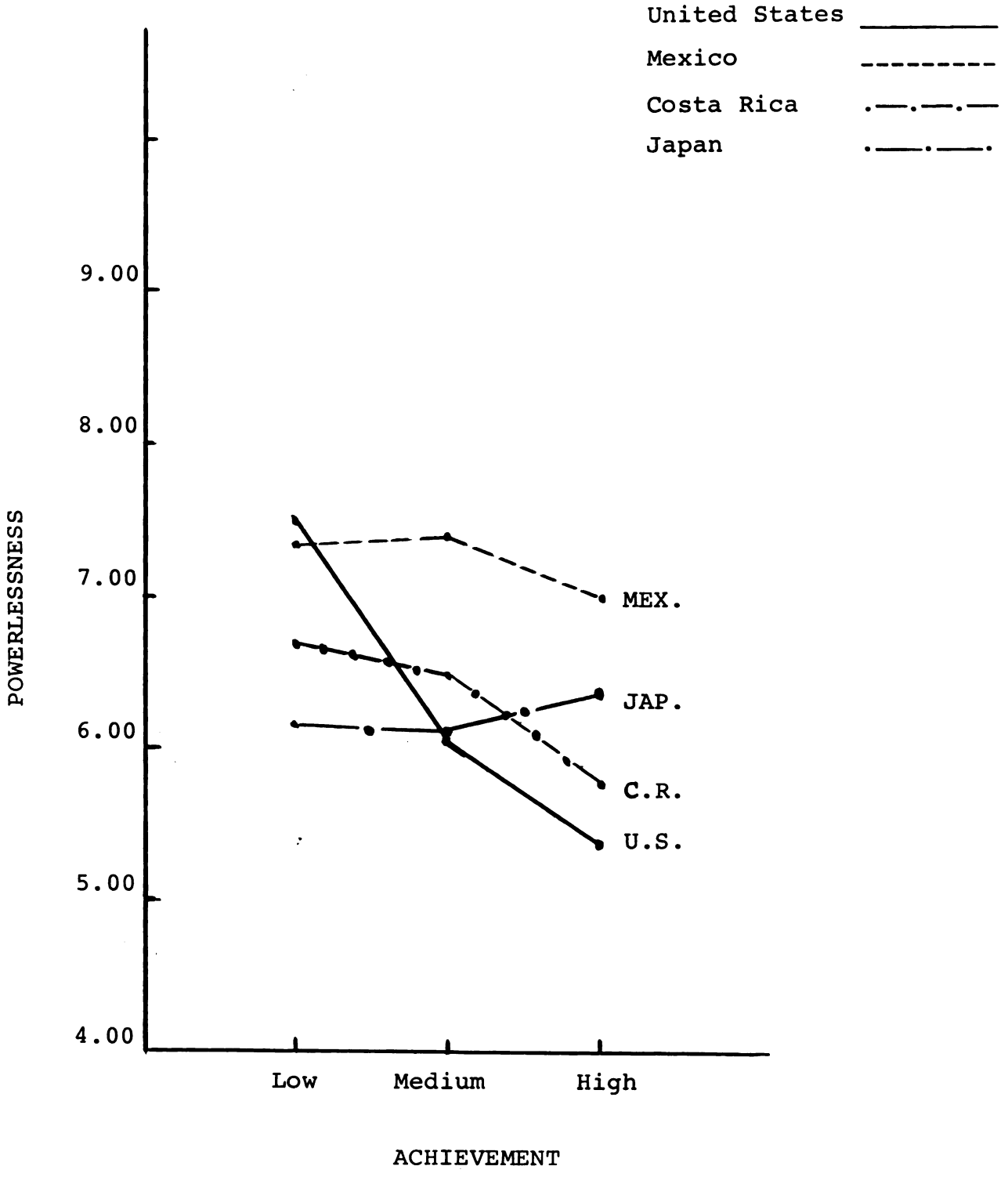
Graph 15.--Powerlessness: Education-Socializer



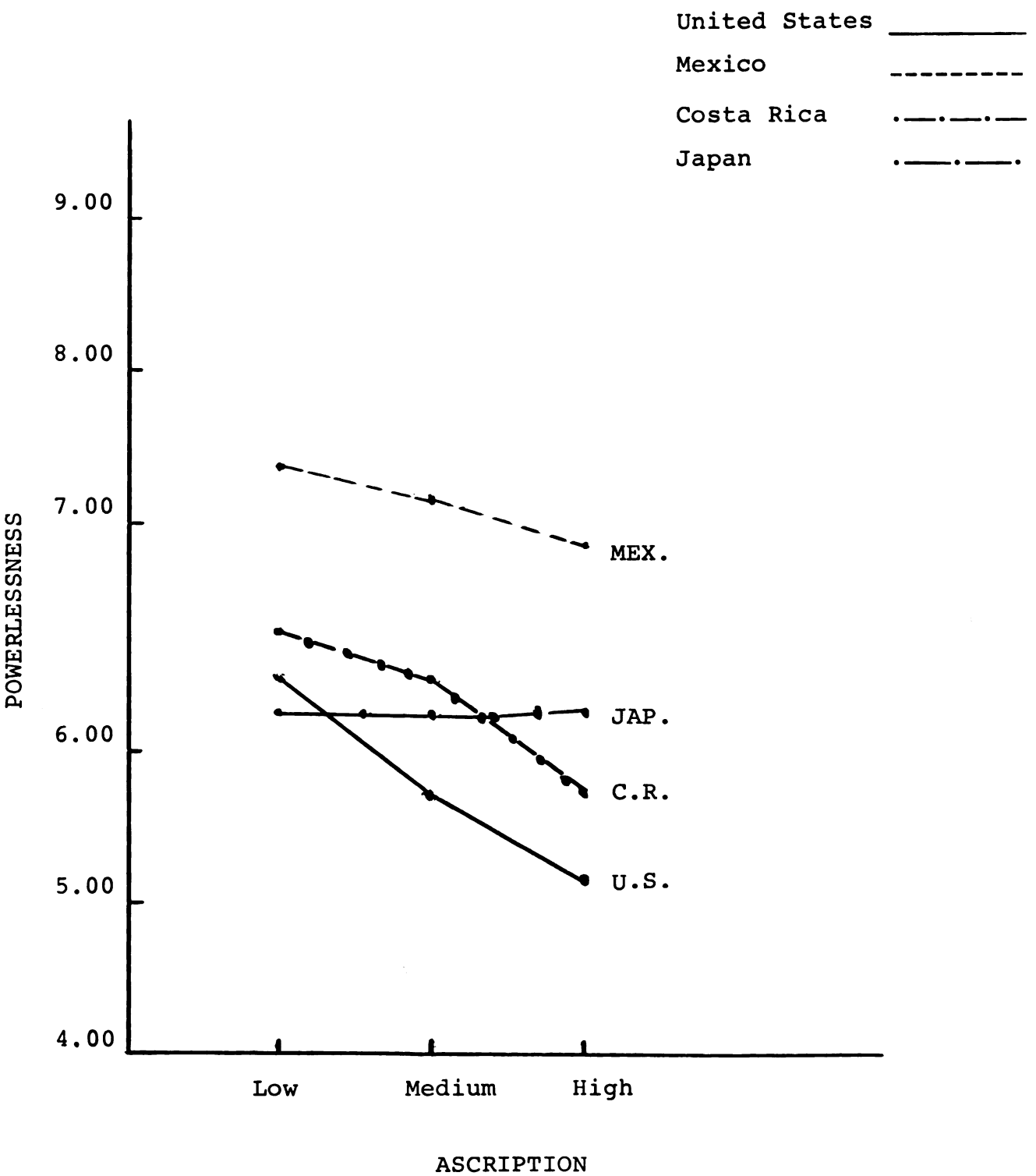
Graph 16.--Powerlessness: Education-Head of Household



Graph 17.--Powerlessness: Achievement



Graph 18.--Powerlessness: Ascription



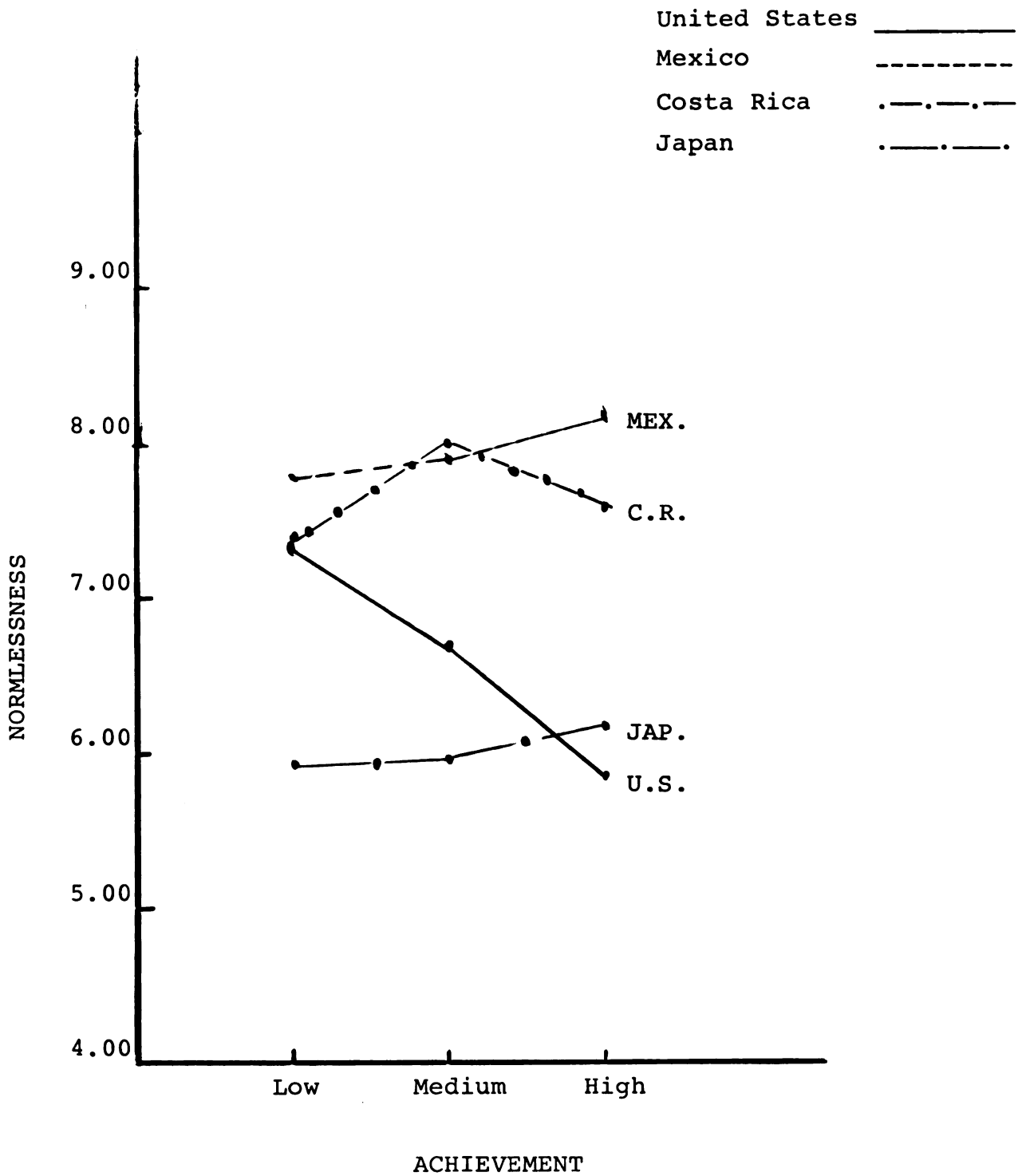
In fact, the Japanese of higher achievement tend to have a greater sense of powerlessness. We are at a loss to explain these deviant cases.

Normlessness

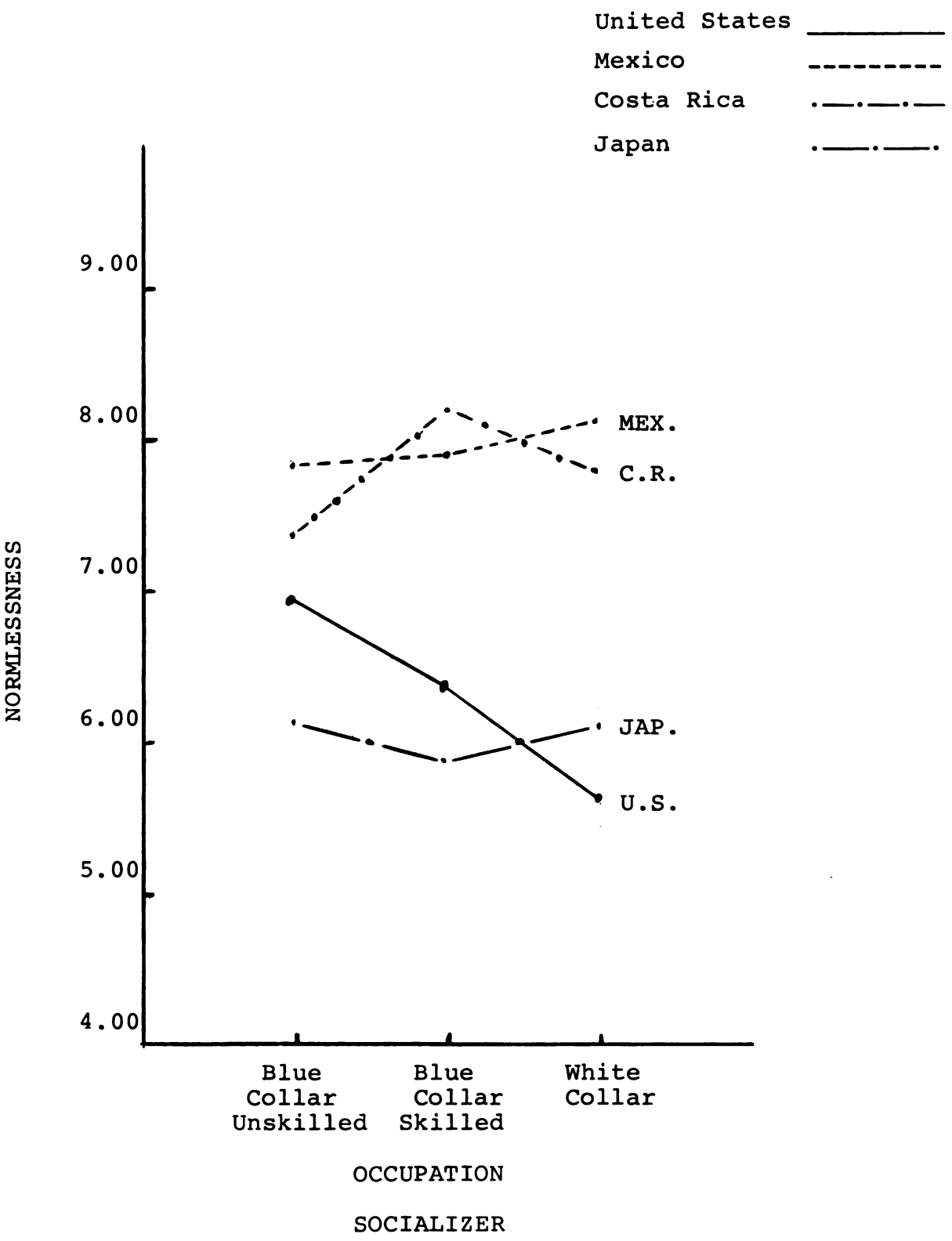
We made these hypotheses concerning normlessness: (1) in societies other than the United States, the two subscales, normlessness and powerlessness do not necessarily correlate; (2) the two Latin American countries, as transitional societies, will show higher normlessness (Smelser), and (3) the correlation between socio-economic status and anomia is local to achievement oriented societies. Although we did find weak intercorrelations between the subscales, lending discredit to the first hypothesis, we find that at least for the upper ends of the socio-economic distribution, the Latin Americans express more normlessness than the Japanese and the North Americans (See Graphs 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24). Whether this stems from the transitional nature of Costa Rica and Mexico remains to be seen; we have no data to examine the question.

Japan and the United States do not differ statistically. A similar pattern appears for occupation. Our main hypothesis is therefore supported; the relationship between anomia and social standing is culturally bound and does not necessarily hold outside the United States. To experience anomia, one must experience a conflict in norms or an inappropriateness of norms. In Costa Rica and Mexico

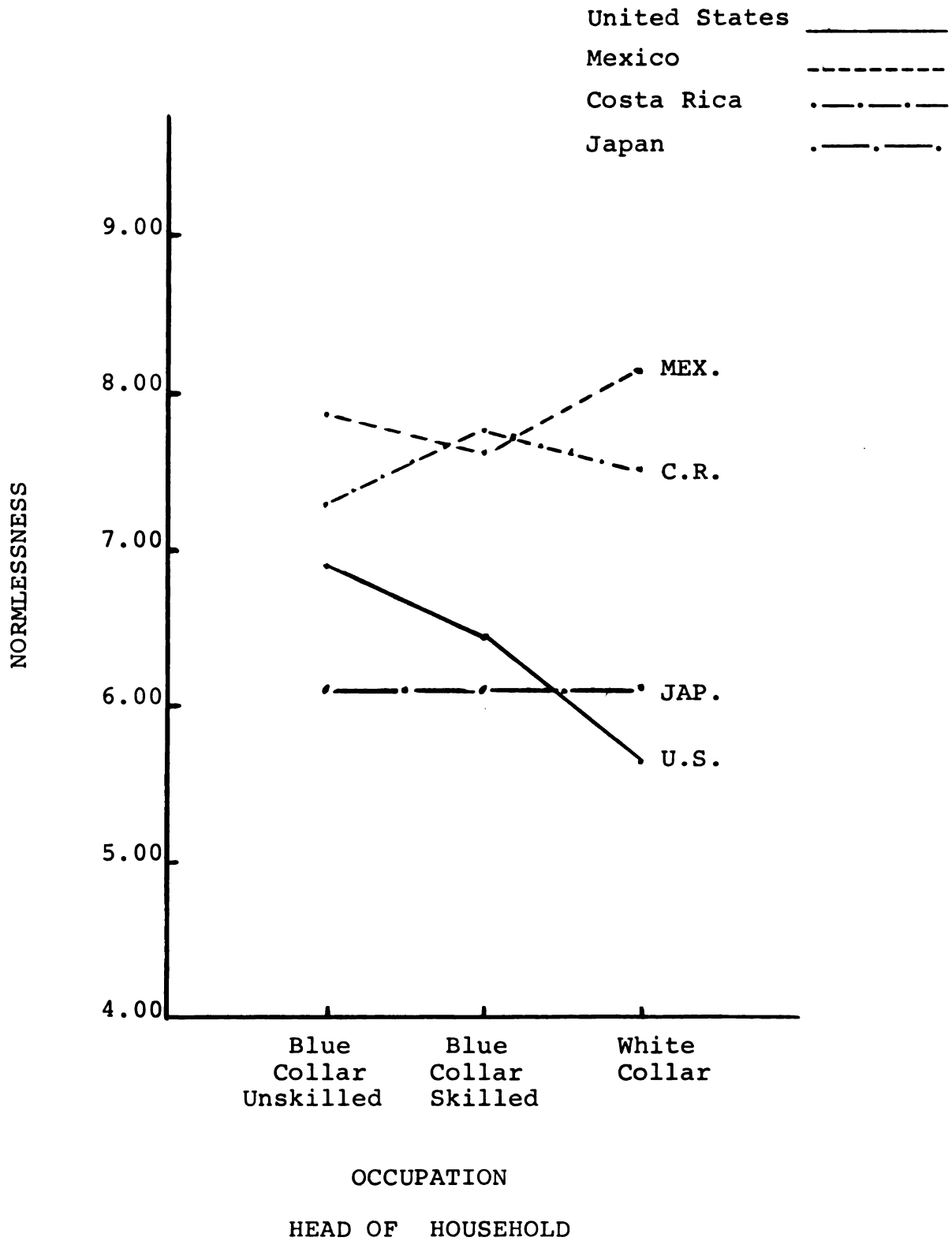
Graph 19.--Normlessness: Achievement



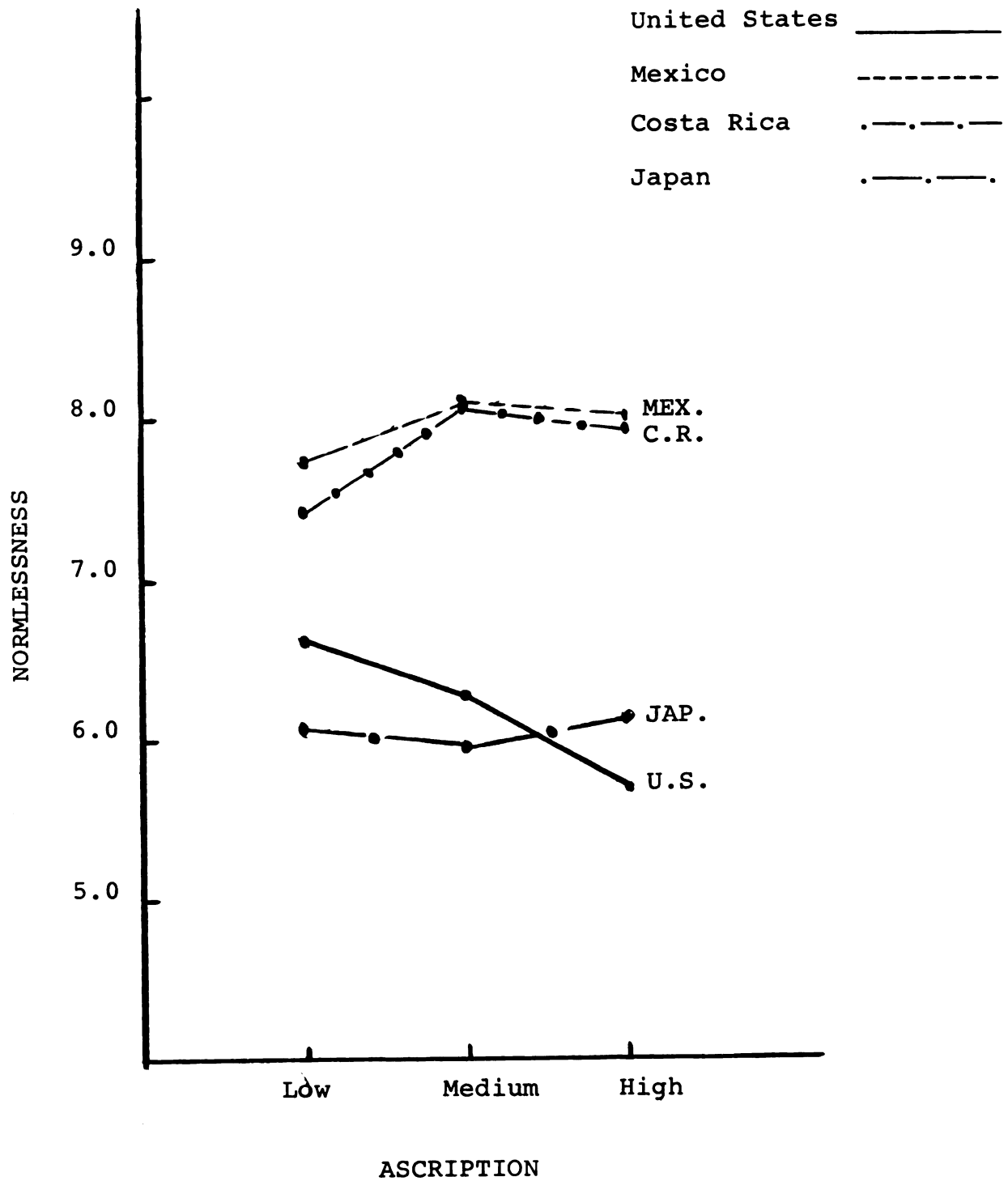
Graph 20.--Normlessness: Occupation-Socializer



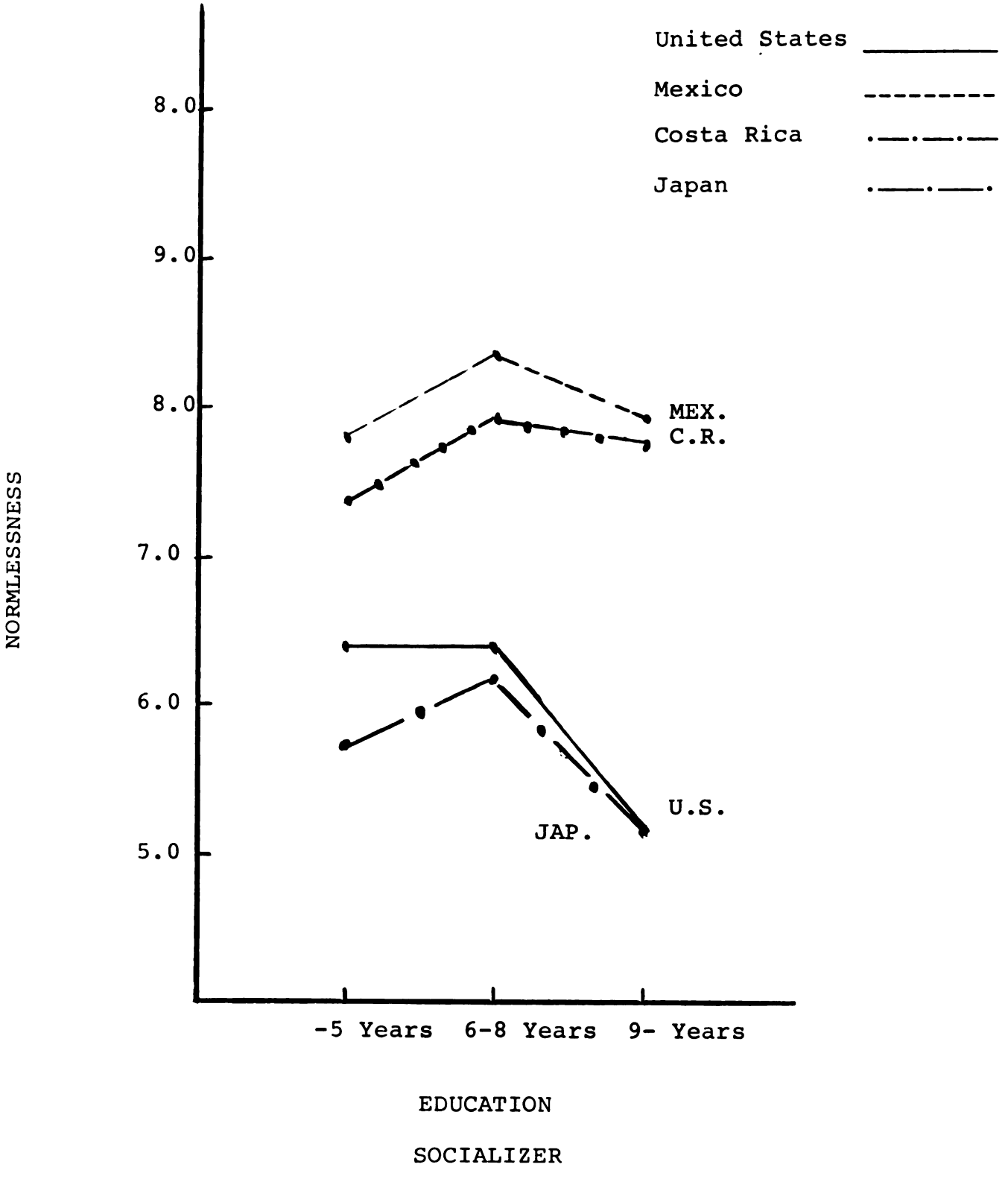
Graph 21.--Normlessness: Occupation-Head of Household



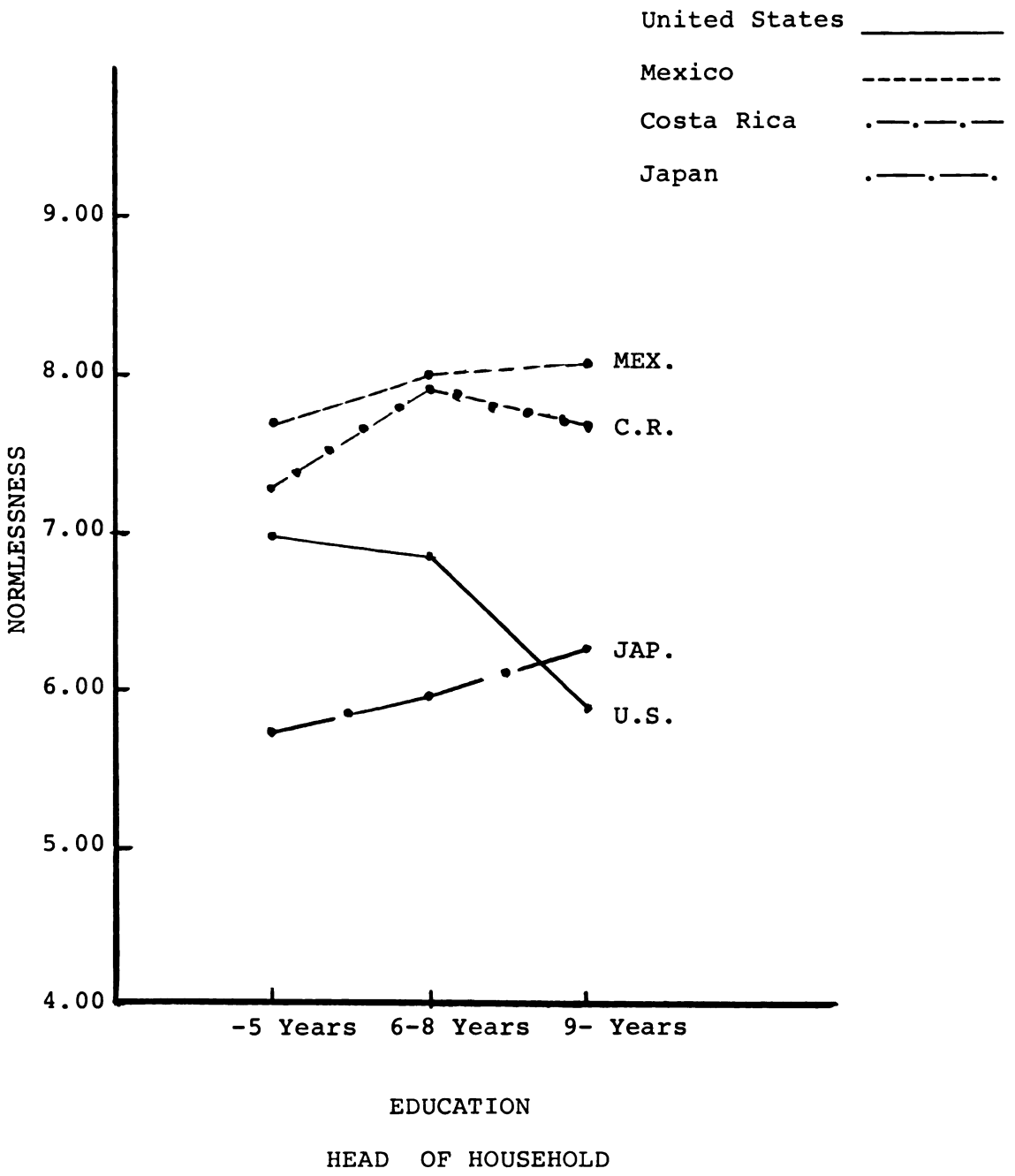
Graph 22.--Normlessness: Ascription



Graph 23.--Normlessness: Education-Socializer



Graph 24.--Normlessness: Education-Head of Household



what sort of normative conflict do so many people experience and why are the white collar and high school education population as affected as the lower groups? We can only pose these questions and not answer them given our present data.

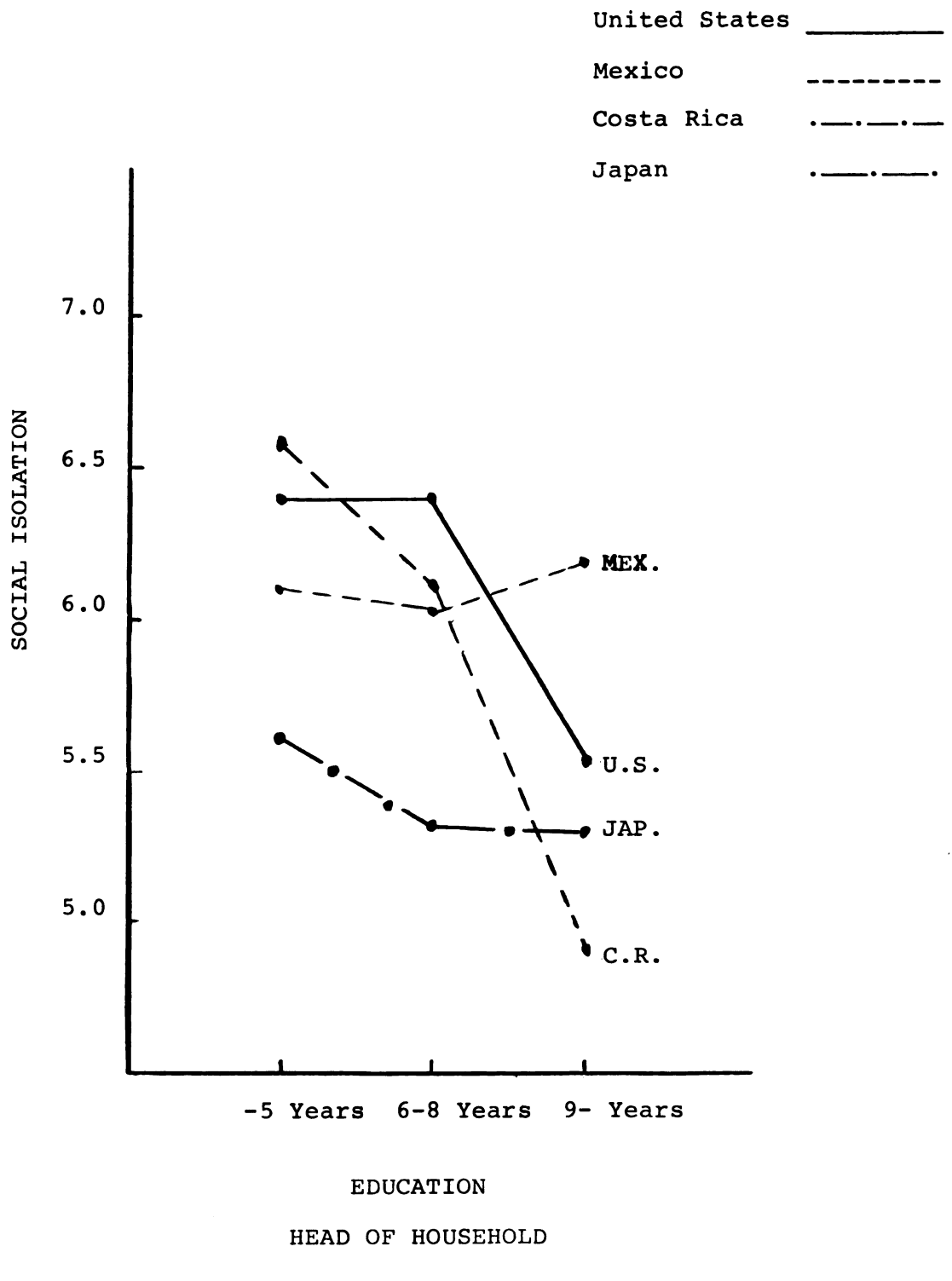
Social Isolation

As we noted before, the two-item social isolation scale does not intercorrelate, making any analysis questionable. When plotted against education and occupation, this variable differentiates countrys' socio-economic variables, Japan from the others but does not provide much information (Graphs 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30). Given this information, we cannot expect much from subsequent analyses.

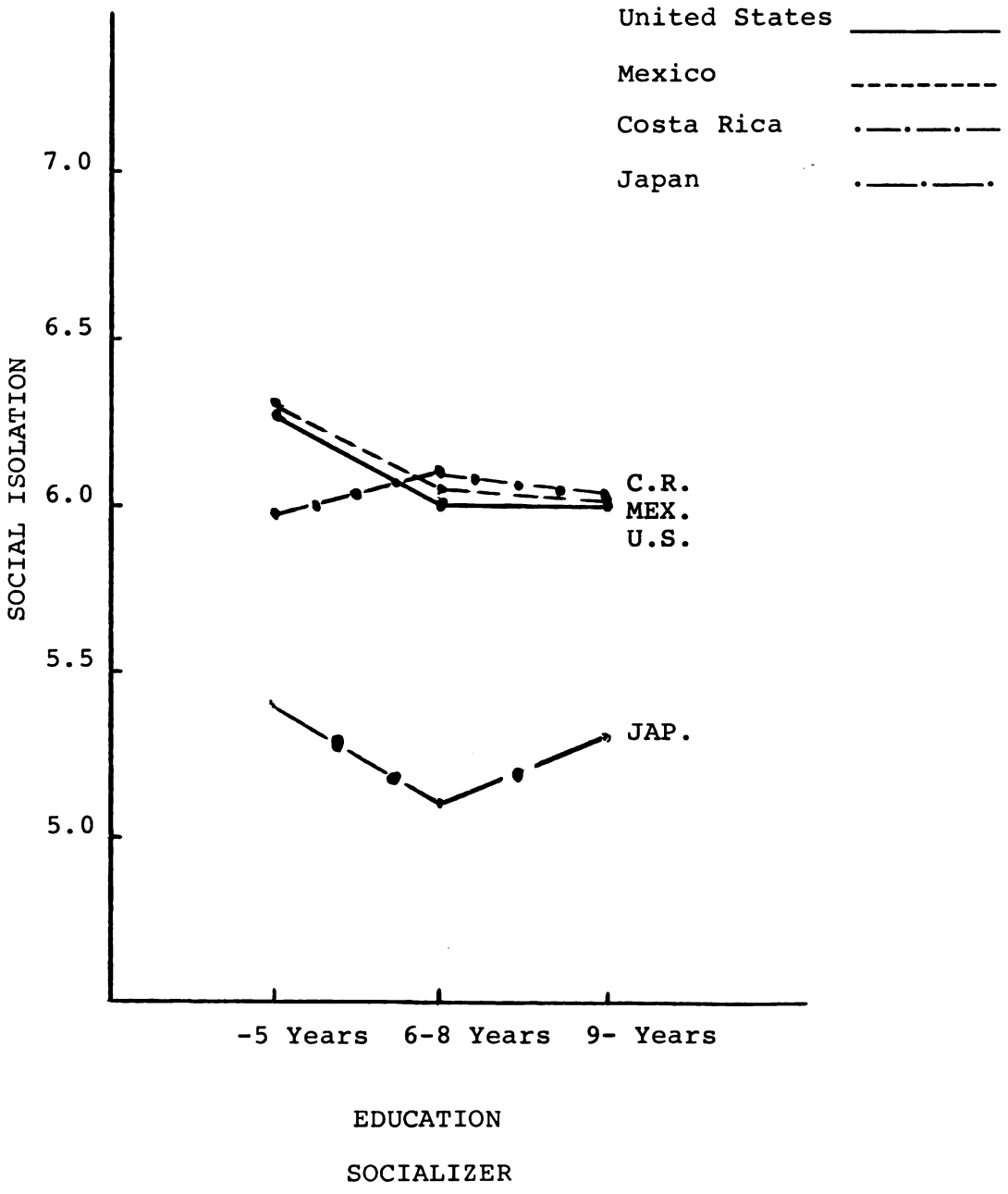
Alienation Scale

The Alienation Scale, a composite of the two normlessness items, two powerlessness items, and the social isolation item which showed a relationship to the remainder of the scale, was not included in our original hypotheses concerning national differences but we will display the results and discuss them. (See Graphs 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36.) First, we find that the alienation scores are higher in the two ascriptive countries than in the two achievement oriented societies. Also, only Costa Rica reflects the strong negative relationship between socio-economic position and alienation. Japan, on the other hand, has a

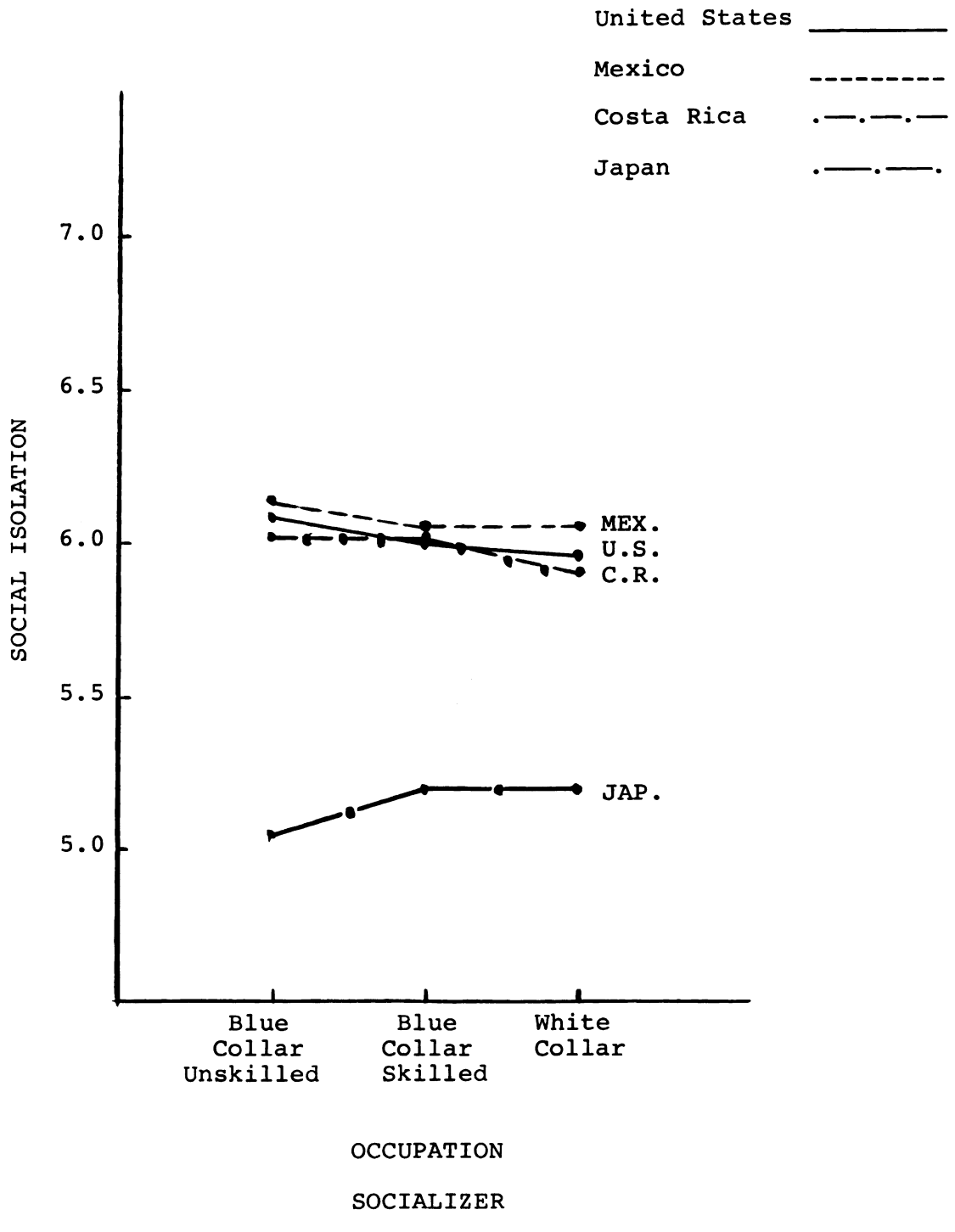
Graph 25.--Social Isolation: Education-Head of Household



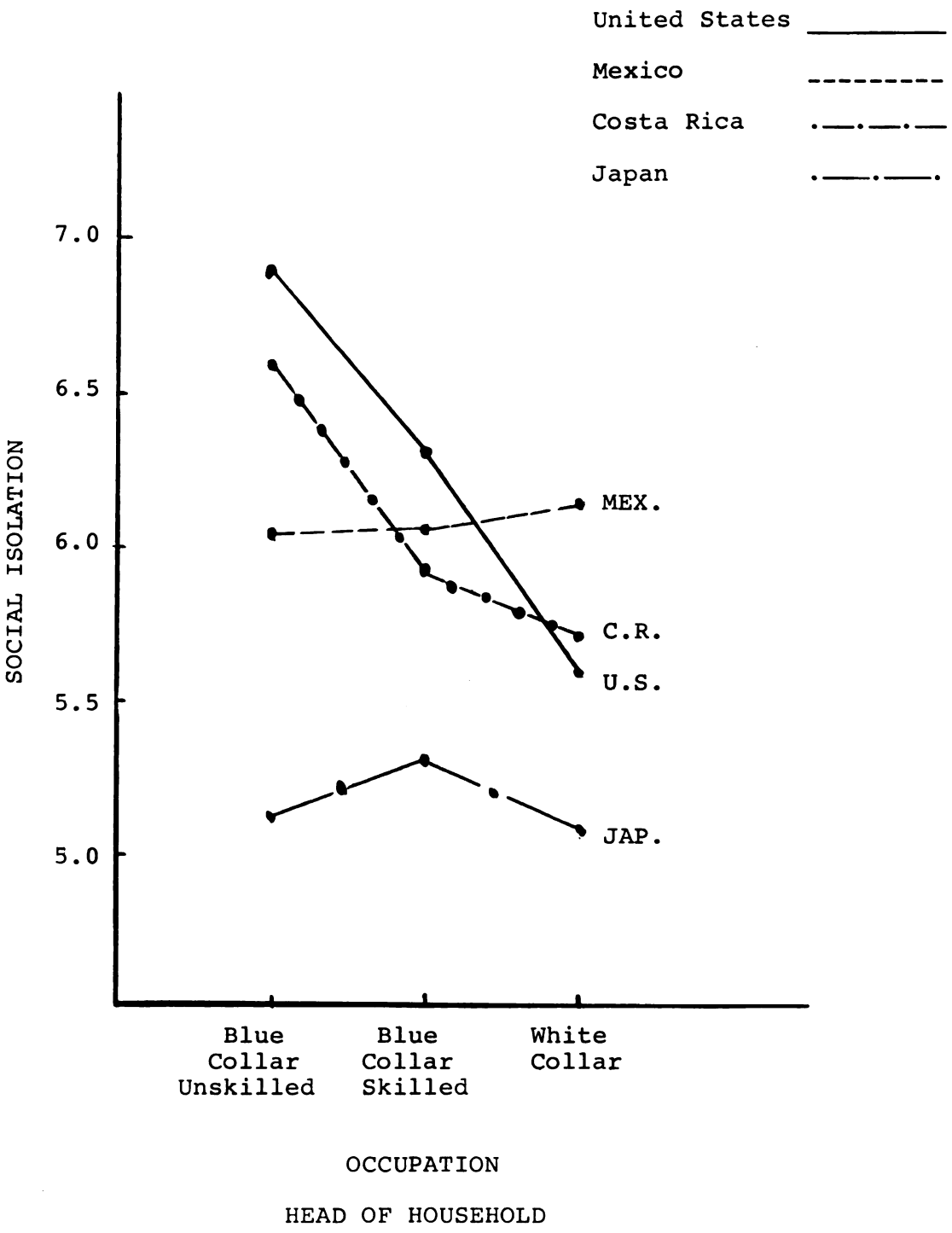
Graph 26.--Social Isolation: Education-Socializer



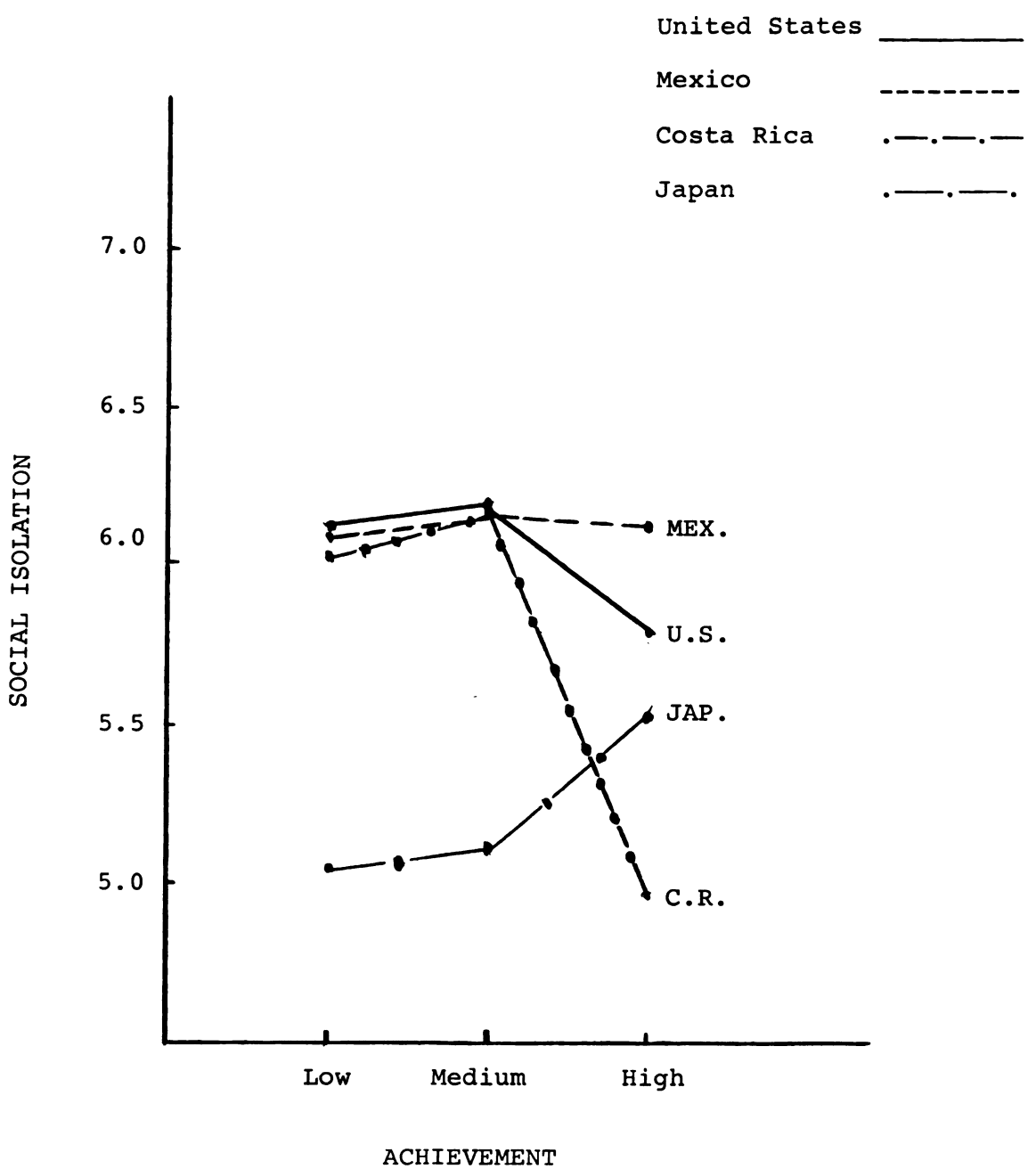
Graph 27.--Social Isolation: Occupation-Socializer



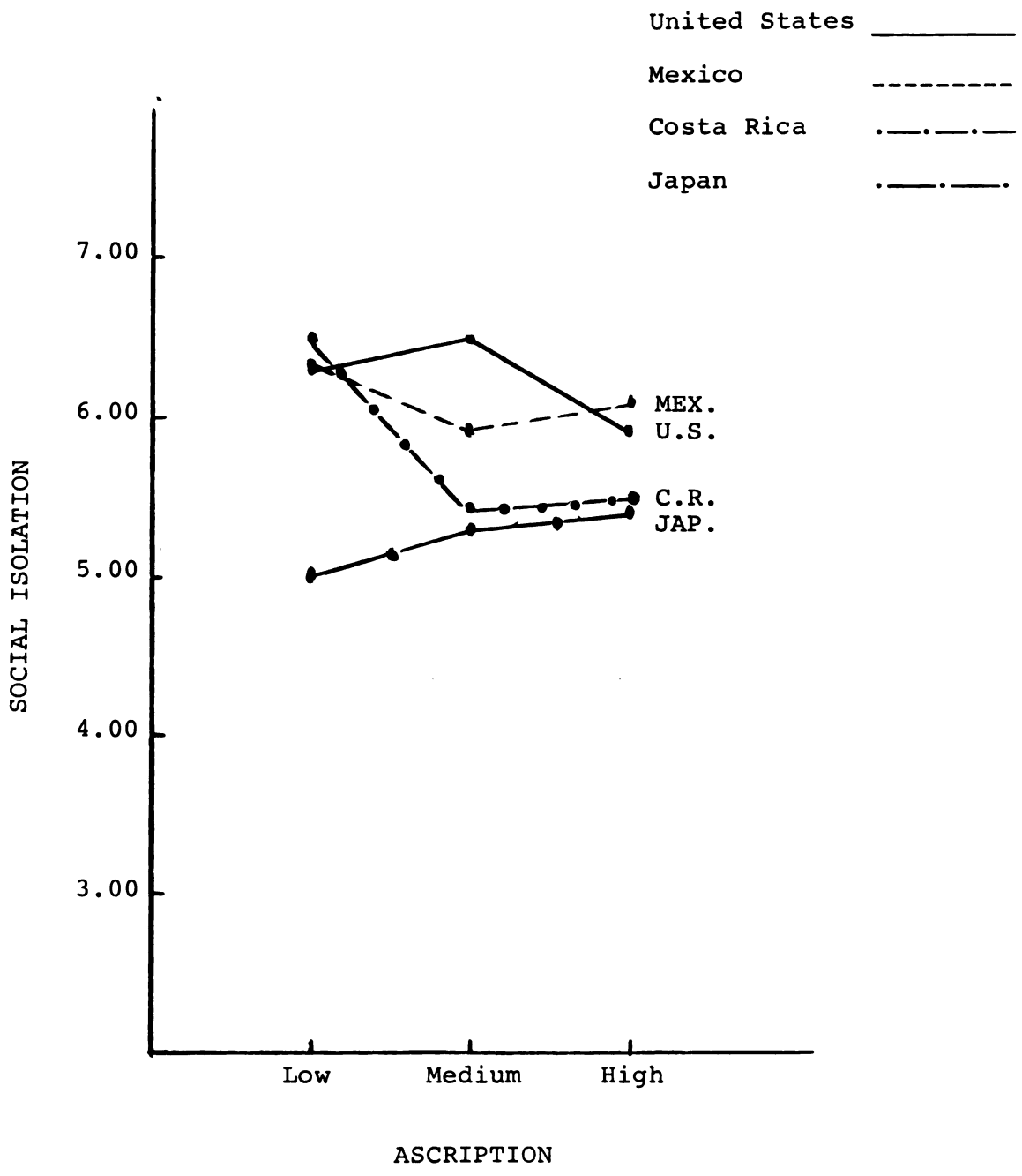
Graph 28.--Social Isolation: Occupation-Head of Household



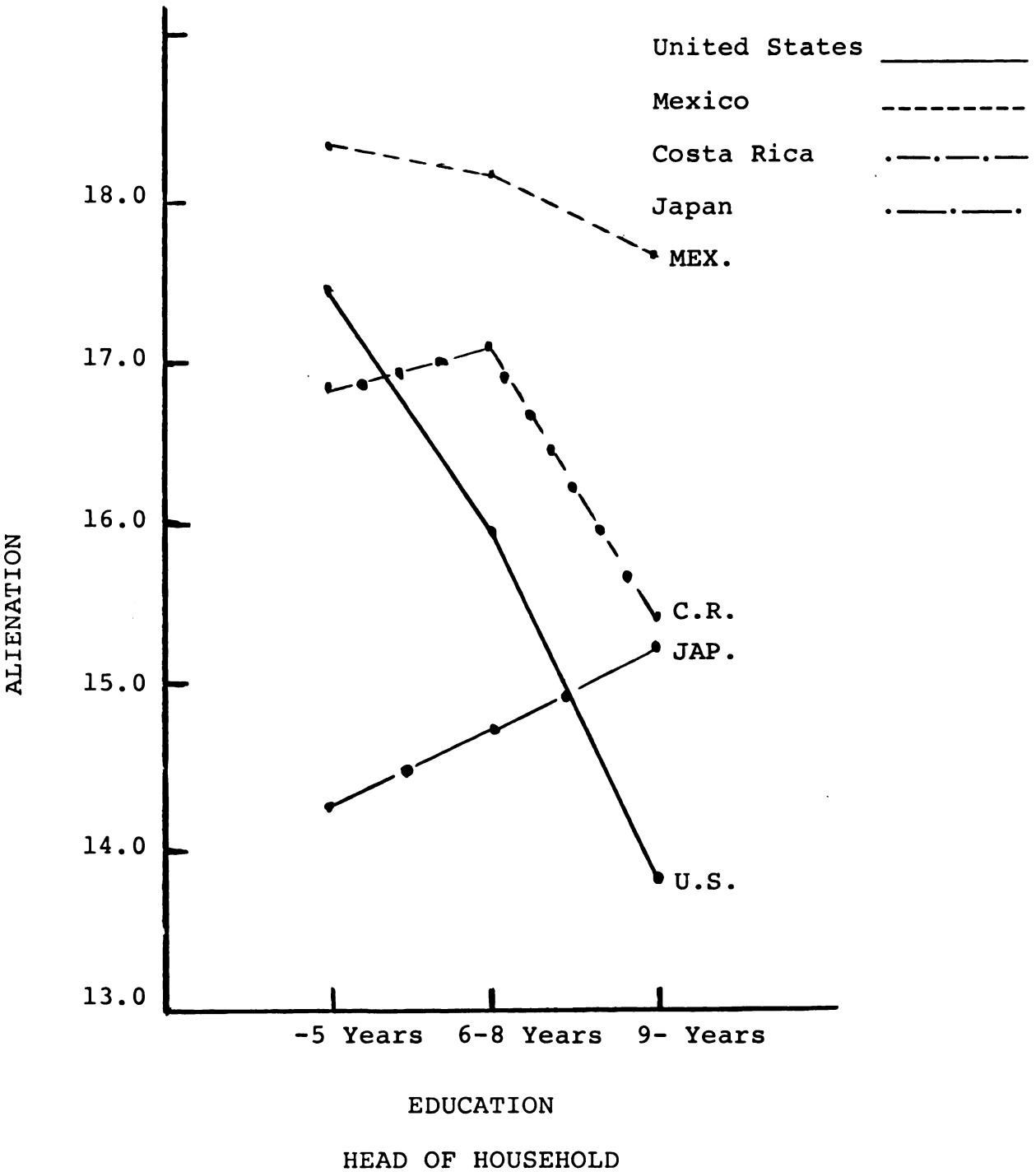
Graph 29.--Social Isolation: Achievement



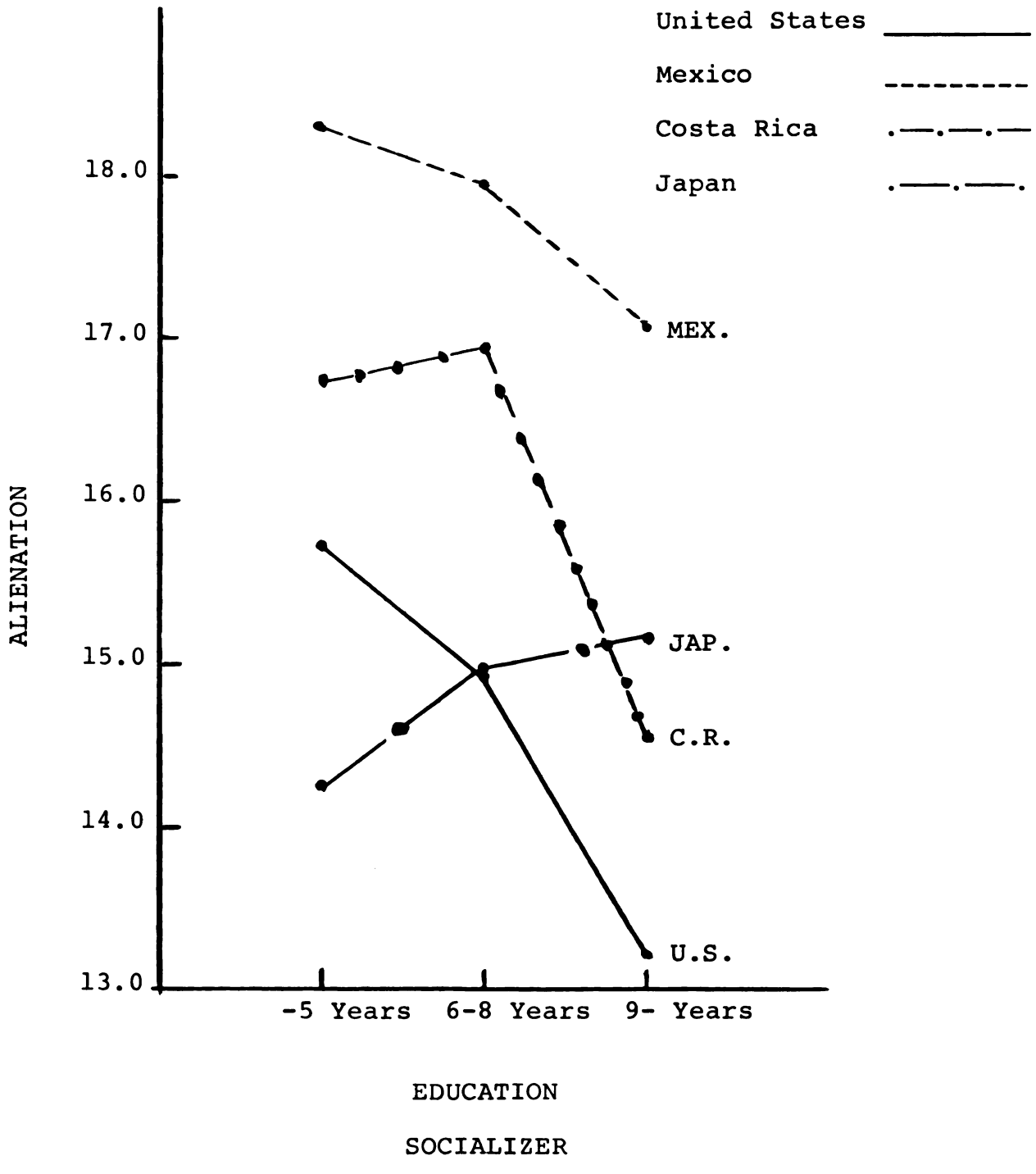
Graph 30.--Social Isolation: Ascription



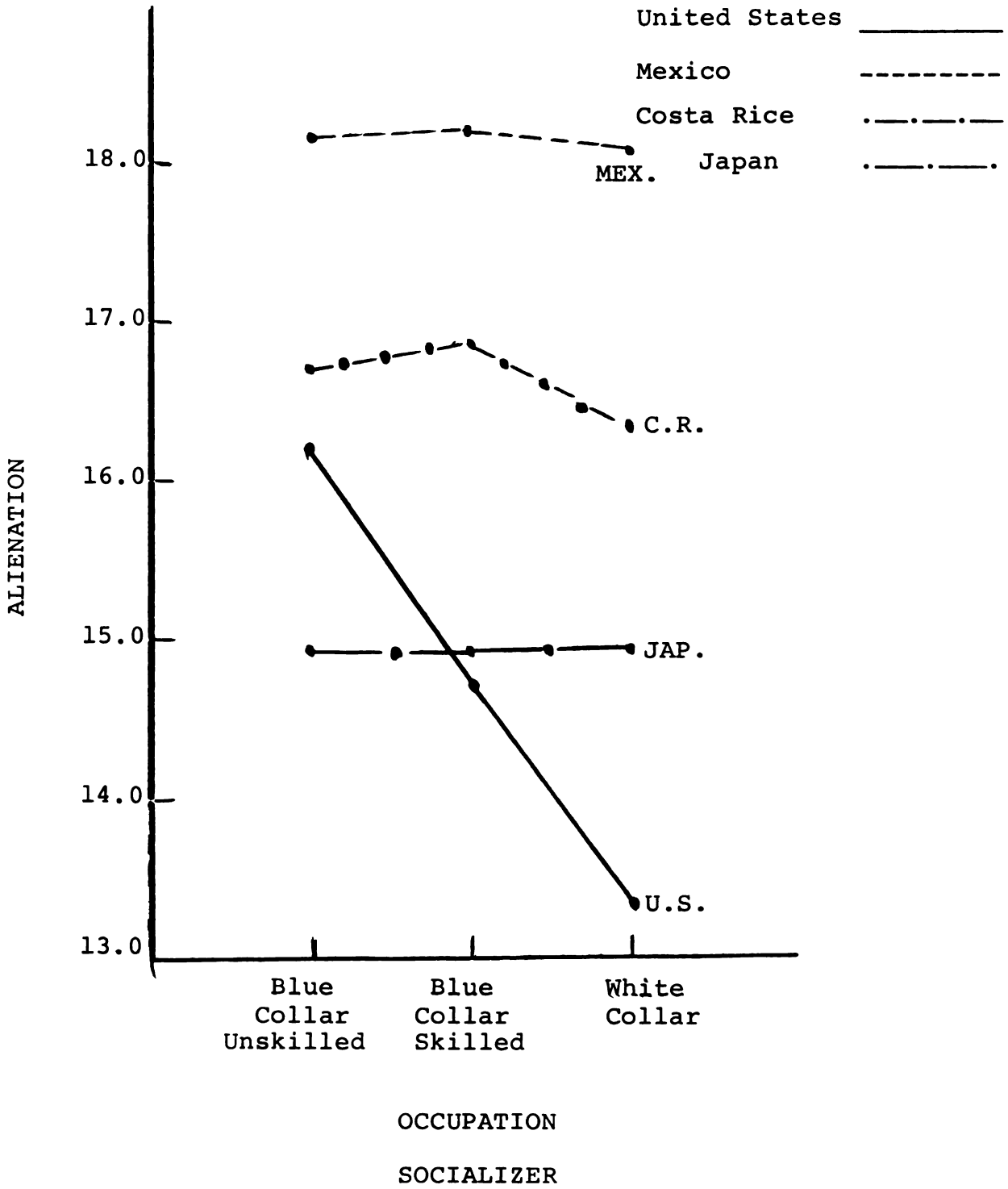
Graph 31.--Alienation: Education-Head of Household



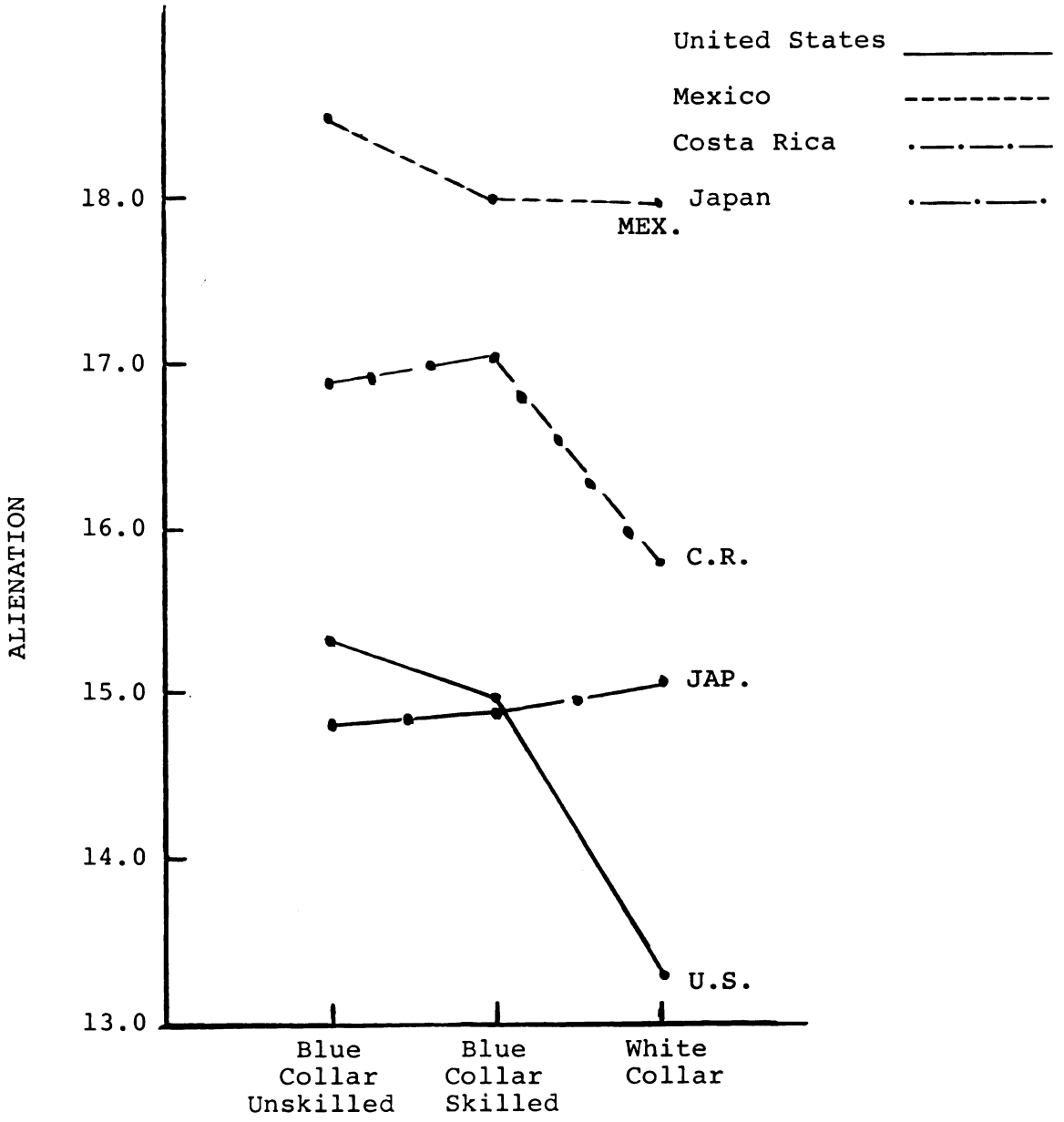
Graph 32.--Alienation: Education-Socializer



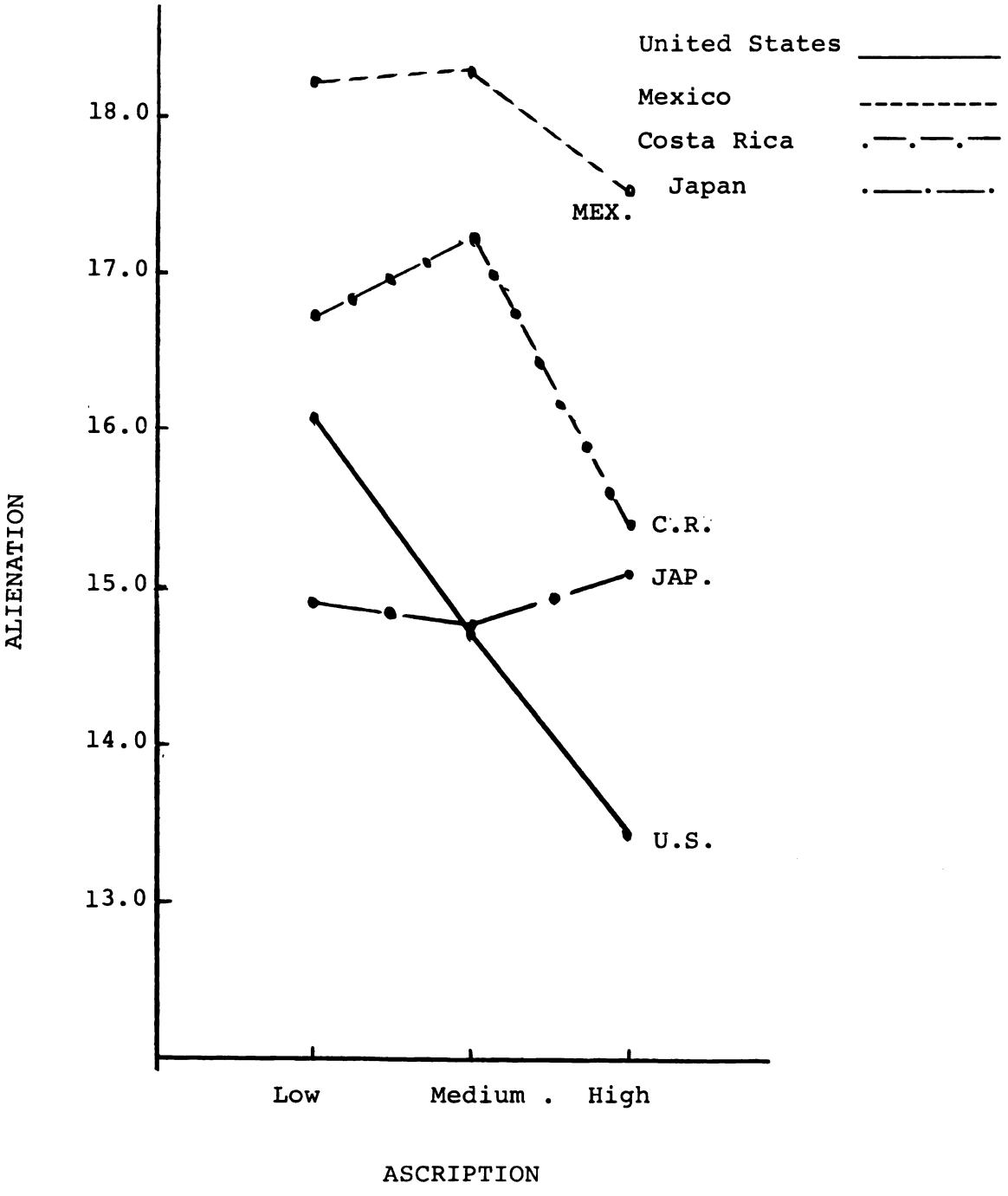
Graph 33.--Alienation: Occupation-Socializer



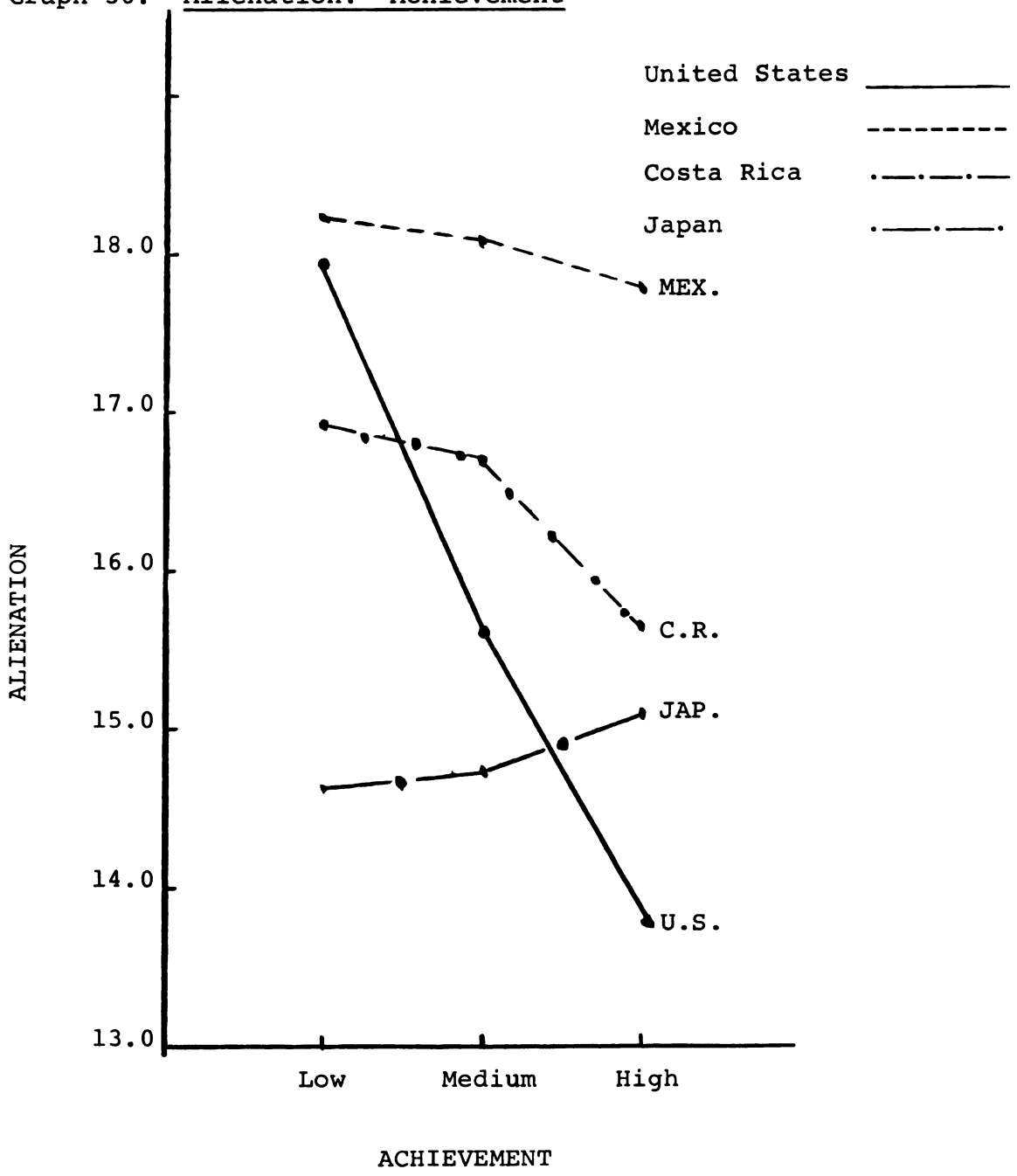
Graph 34.--Alienation: Occupation-Head of Household



Graph 35.--Alienation: Ascription



Graph 36.--Alienation: Achievement



non-significant positive correlation between socio-economic status and alienation.

Again, Mexico appears to have a very high rate for all socio-economic groups which is not surprising given the results from the powerlessness and normlessness subscales. On the other hand, despite high normlessness in all classes for Costa Rica, Costa Rica alienation shows a slight relationship with socio-economic status, although not a linear one.

Summary

With the exception of social isolation, each of our dependent variables differentiated between at least two countries. At least in one nation, all potential dependent variables correlated with our socio-economic variables. While the differences between nations provides us with one set of variables, the portrait of each nation also can help us grasp the nature of the variables and what they measure. First, the Japanese are low in authoritarianism, normlessness, powerlessness, sense of autonomy, and alienation, while only autonomy is related to the occupation and education. The United States is low in authoritarianism, normlessness, powerlessness, and alienation while being high in autonomy. Also, all the

variables are related to socio-economic position (authoritarianism being negative). Mexico is high on authoritarianism, powerlessness, normlessness, alienation while low on sense of autonomy; hence Mexico appears the most "disturbed" of the four populations, if we consider authoritarianism, alienation and a lack of felt autonomy to be undesirable. The most complex pattern, Costa Rica, is high in authoritarianism, high in powerlessness at the low end of the socio-economic ladder, but much lower at the upper end of this distribution, high on normlessness, moderate on alienation, and high on a sense of autonomy. While our general analysis gives a muddy picture of these variables, alienation and its supposed component behave differently depending on the societal setting, in the United States correlating with education and occupation, and in Mexico and Japan showing no such relationship.

The Consequences of Status Inconsistency Through Mobility

We will develop this issue one dependent variable at a time, beginning with Dean's "alienation scale" and its components. Each country will be treated to three analyses: educational mobility, occupational mobility and achievement-ascription.

Alienation (Dean Scale)

Although we made no hypotheses about the total alienation scale, we will describe the data. Our ascriptive

societies, Mexico and Costa Rica, appear in Tables 20 and 21.

TABLE 20.-- Alienation: Costa Rica (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

ACHIEVEMENT

Socializers (B)

		Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	15.74	16.48	14.76	$F_A = 0.43$
	Medium	16.52	17.14	<u>19.00</u>	$F_B = 2.63$
	Low	16.92	18.06	14.67!	$F_{AB} = 4.69^{**}$

HH_MS_H $t = 7.74$ HH_MS_HX $t = 2.09$

$^{x}HH_HS_H$ $p < .001$ HH_MS_M $p < .05$

OCCUPATION

Socializer (B)

		BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WC	15.76	17.63	15.25	$F_A = 2.85$
	BCS	17.18	16.58	<u>17.54</u>	$F_B = 0.44$
	BCU	16.85	16.86	<u>18.28</u>	$F_{AB} = 4.13^{**}$

HH_MS_HX HH_MS_M $t = 2.16$ p .05

HH_MS_HX HH_HS_H $t = 2.41$ $p < .01$

HH_LS_HX HH_HS_H $t = 1.43$ NS

HH_LS_HX H_LS_L $t = 2.63$ $p < .005$

TABLE 20 Continued

		EDUCATION Socializers (B)			
		0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	+9	16.02	15.52	13.67	$F_A = 2.53$
	6-8	16.81	17.53	17.67	$F_B = 6.28^{**}$
	0-5	16.84	17.24	13.57!	$F_{AB} = 5.43^{**}$

! small n ** $p < .01$

* $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$

Unfortunately, the rapid increase in education presents problems in analyzing educational mobility. The low means found in the extreme downward educational cells could reflect an "idiocy effect"; that is, individuals in this cell may be intellectually defective to the point of being unaware of their social predicament. Outside of this complication, both Mexico and Costa Rica show a downward occupational mobility effect, and if one discounts the extreme category, there is also a downward educational mobility effect. No upward mobility effect was detected.

The achievement-oriented societies show a different pattern. The United States shows strong intergenerational effects while Japan has no intergenerational effects

TABLE 21.--Alienation: Mexico (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

ACHIEVEMENT

		Socializer (B) Low	Medium	High	Unweighted Means Analysis
Head of Household (A)	High	18.30	18.22	17.20	$F_A = 0.82$
	Medium	18.29	17.97	17.59	$F_B = 2.80$
	Low	18.22	18.93	19.94	$F_{AB} = 5.69^{**}$

HH_LS_M x HH_LS_L t = 4.17, $p < .001$ HH_LS_H - HH_LS_L, t = 1.81, $p<.05$

HH_LS_M x HH_MS_M t = 1.40, $p<.05$ HH_LS_M - HH_HS_H t = 2.74, $p.<.005$

OCCUPATION

		Socializer (B) Blue-Collar Unskilled	Blue-Collar Skilled	White Collar	
Head of Household (A)	White Collar	18.61	18.14	17.88	
	Blue Collar Skilled	18.13	17.98	17.80	$F_A = 2.78$
	Blue Collar Unskilled	18.29	18.94	19.22	$F_B = 2.80$
					$F_{AB} = 3.91^{**}$

HH_LS_M - HH_MS_M t = 2.43, $p<.01$ HH_LS_H - HH_HS_H t = 2.74, $p<.005$

HH_LS_M - HH_LS_L t = 1.59, $p<.1$ HH_LS_H - HH_LS_L t = 1.63, $p<.1$

TABLE 21 Continued

		EDUCATION Socializer (B)			
		0-5 (3)	6-8 (2)	9+ (1)	
Head of Household (A)	9+ (1)	18.68	17.63	16.32	$F_A = 0.85$
	6-8 (2)	18.36	17,80	19.50	$F_B = 1.58$
	0-5 (3)	18.26	19.00	12.80!	$F_{AB} = 9.67^{**}$

$HH_LS_M - HH_LS_L$ t = 1.66, p. < .05 $HH_MS_H - HH_MS_M$ t = 1.87, p.< .05

$HH_LS_M - HH_MS_M$ t = 5.12, p. <.001 $HH_MS_H - HH_HS_H$ t = 5.89, p.< .001

! Very small n ** p < .01

* p < .05 *** p < .001

(See Tables 22 and 23). We noted the relationship of occupation and education to alienation, but we could not determine the independent effects of head of household's and socializer's positions on the presence of mobility interaction. Both head of household's and socializer's education and occupation contribute to alienation, while the head of house position provides the major effect. While the interaction is significant for all three analyses, the interaction is not the one hypothesized (i.e., a mobility effect), but is instead a difference in the slopes.

TABLE 22. --Alienation: United States: (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		ACHIEVEMENT Socializer (B) Low	Medium	High	Unweighted Means Analysis
Head of Household (A)	High	14.36	14.17	13.33	F_A = 38.54***
	Medium	16.91	15.44	13.75	F_B = 10.95***
	Low	18.08	18.04	17.02	F_{AB} = 19.49***

		OCCUPATION Socializer (B) Blue Collar Unskilled	Blue Collar Skilled	White Collar	
Head of Household (A)	White Collar	13.97	13.51	12.92	
	Blue Collar Skilled	16.53	15.02	13.90	F_A = 20.35***
	Blue Collar Unskilled	17.63	16.53	14.36	F_B = 17.73*** F_{AB} =14.98***

		EDUCATION Socializer (B) 0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	14.24	14.41	13.01	F_A = 5.85**
	6-8	16.29	15.93	15.27	F_B = 18.81***
	0-5	17.60	17.06	17.40	F_{AB} = 8.95***

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Hence, the effect of socializer's position is determined in part by the position of the head of household.

When we look at contrasts, we find that only one downward mobility contrast in the three analyses is statistically significant. In the educational mobility analysis, two unpredicted upward mobility effects are significant.

This means that within the ascriptive societies the hypothesis that downward individuals will be more alienated finds modest support; but this effect does not arise in the two achievement oriented societies.

Now we turn to the enigma, Japan. Here, the socio-economic variables show no effect on alienation. Although in the case of education, the extreme downwardly mobile category has an n of one, making the analysis questionable. (Using unweighted-means analysis, we can make contrasts--the cell n's have no bearing on the calculation of the error variance--we only have to be concerned with homogeneity or of variance.)

Powerlessness

We hypothesized powerlessness to be directly related to personal socio-economic status, anticipating neither an effect for socializer (independent of the contribution of the socializer-relation with head of household) nor an interaction between the generations. Our unweighted means analysis allows a clear look at the relative contribution of independent variables. When compared

TABLE 23.--Alienation: Japan (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		ACHIEVEMENT Socializer (B) L	M	H	
Head of Household (A)	H	15.20	14.84	15.14	$F_A = 0.74$
	M	14.80	14.70	14.75	$F_B = 0.45$
	L	14.63	14.55	15.11	$F_{AB} = 0.21$

		OCCUPATION Socializer (B) BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WC	15.04	15.29	15.01	$F_A = 0.21$
	BCU	15.23	14.68	14.41	$F_B = 0.03$
	BCS	14.71	14.94	15.90	$F_{AB} = 1.93$

		EDUCATION Socializer (B) 0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	15.17	15.26	14.76	$F_A = 0.51$
	6-8	14.64	14.86	13.97	$F_B = 0.48$
	0-5	14.38	14.13	18.00!	$F_{AB} = 2.27$

! n = 1

cross-nationally one independent variable at a time, only in the United States and Costa Rica is this hypothesis supported. In both Mexico and Japan there is no consistant relationship.

TABLE 24.--Powerlessness: Costa Rica !! (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

ACHIEVEMENT

		Socializer (B) Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	5.83	6.06	5.18	$F_A = 3.74^*$
	Medium	6.24	6.14	<u>7.50</u>	$F_B = 2.56$
	Low	6.67	<u>7.21</u>	6.91!	$F_{AB} = 3.86^{**}$

$HH_MS_H - HH_HS_H$ t = 7.58, $p < .001$ $HH_LS_M - HH_MS_M$ t = 1.76, $p < .05$

$HH_MS_H - HH_MS_M$ t = 2.81, $p < .005$ $HH_LS_M - HH_LS_L$ t = 1.75, $p < .05$

OCCUPATION

		Socializer (B) Blue Collar Unskilled	Blue Collar Skilled	White Collar	
Head of Household (A)	White Collar	5.96	6.44	5.71	
	Blue Collar Skilled	6.85	6.14	<u>6.65</u>	$F_A = 5.21^{**}$ $F_B = 1.67$
	Blue Collar Unskilled	6.91	6.57	7.28	$F_{AB} = 3.50^{**}$

$HH_MS_H - HH_MS_H$ t = 1.81, $p < .05$ $HH_MS_H - HH_MS_M$ t = 1.92, $p < .05$

EDUCATION

		Socializer (B) 0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	5.86	5.39	4.46	$F_A = 5.43^{**}$
	6-8	6.36	6.41	6.56	$F_B = 7.29^{***}$
	0-5	6.85	7.24	5.89!	$F_{AB} = 5.07^{***}$

! small n, $^*p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$ $^{***}p < .001$

Despite this complication, we will examine the data in terms of achievement and ascription.

Taking the ascriptive societies, Mexico and Costa Rica, first, we find that in Costa Rica occupation of socializer contributes very little to powerlessness while education of socializer contributes significantly. For both education and occupation there are complicated intergenerational interactions. See Table 24.

Several problems are apparent in Table 24; first, a deviant mean again appears in the extreme downward educational mobility cell, a cell with n = 7. Secondly, for the total achievement analysis, there is a downward mobility effect, but none in the other two analyses unless total, and education appears to have the strongest effect. As we pointed out earlier, for mobility to have an demonstrable effect, the mobile individuals must be significantly different not only from the non-mobile group from which they came, but also from the non-mobile group at their present level. Only one contrast out of three meets this criterion for downward educational mobility, two out of three for downward occupational mobility, but all three contrasts are significant for the combined achievement head of household-socializer measures.

Mexico presents special problems. While the main effects presented earlier are not significant, a visual inspection of the more highly mobile individuals reveals the

TABLE 25.--Powerlessness: Mexico!! (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		ACHIEVEMENT Socializer (B)			
		Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	7.34	6.92	6.68	$F_A = 1.93$
	Medium	7.54	7.20	7.00	$F_B = 3.43*$
	Low	7.29	7.33	7.94	$F_{AB} = 3.83**$

		OCCUPATION Socializer (B)			
		Blue Collar Unskilled	Blue Collar Skilled	White Collar	
Head of Household (A)	White Collar	7.17	7.13	6.97	$F_A = 2.68$
	Blue Collar Skilled	7.28	7.25	7.04	$F_B = 1.23$
	Blue Collar Unskilled	7.29	7.71	7.53	$F_{AB} = 2.84*$

		EDUCATION Socializer (B)			
		0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	7.42	6.87	6.00	$F_A = 0.68$
	6-8	7.44	7.02	<u>7.83</u>	$F_B = 2.72$
	0-5	7.29	<u>7.70</u>	4.00!	$F_{AB} = 10.24***$

$HH_LS_M - HH_LS_L$ t = 1.55, p .1 $HH_MS_H - HH_MS_M$ t = 1.61, p .1

$HH_LS_M - HH_MS_M$ t = 2.45, p .01 $HH_MS_H - HH_HS_H$ t = 3.26, p .001

! n = 2 *p $<$.05 **p $<$.01 ***p $<$.001 !! for cell n's, see Appendix V.

predicted trend: Achievement Low = 7.34, Medium = 7.20, and High = 6.68; Occupation, Blue Collar Unskilled = 7.29, Blue Collar Skilled = 7.25, and White Collar = 6.00; and Education, 0-5 years = 7.29, 6-8 years = 7.02, and 9+ years = 6.00. This lack of main effects is due to mobile individuals. The higher rate for the downwardly mobile only occurs for one achievement cell, two occupation cells, and two education cells. So we cannot conclude that downward mobility per se tends to increase powerlessness in an ascriptive society.

Now we will look at powerlessness in achievement-oriented socieites. In the United States, powerlessness has a relatively strong relationship with all socio-economic variables and, unexpectedly, socializer's education and occupation have independent effects (See Table 26). Interactions appear but they do not support our mobility hypotheses; as was the case with Dean's alienation in the United States, the interactions are changes in slope. One exception must be noted: those persons downwardly mobile into the lowest educational group evidence more powerlessness than those persons from the levels from which they came or the levels they moved into. In Japan, socio-economic variables have no effect on the dependent variable. Of course, the interaction found in the Education table may stem from the n of 1 and must be discounted. In all, downward mobility in the ascriptive, not the achievement oriented, countries has an effect on powerlessness.

TABLE 26.--Powerlessness: United States!! (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		ACHIEVEMENT Socializer (B) Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	5.69	5.52	5.14	F_A = 35.69***
	Medium	6.88	5.90	5.00	F_B = 10.56***
	Low	7.47	7.43	7.50	F_{AB} = 21.08***

		OCCUPATION Socializer (B) B.C.U.	B.C.S.	W.C.	
Head of Household (A)	W.C.	6.06	5.68	5.46	F_A = 15.64***
	B.C.S.	7.14	6.34	5.90	F_B = 14.52***
	B.C.U.	7.25	6.99	6.36	F_{AB} = 10.22***

		EDUCATION Socializer (B) 0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	5.70	5.60	4.94	F_A = 19.75***
	6-8	6.63	6.13	6.23	F_B = 5.65***
	0-5	7.19	7.59	8.00	F_{AB} = 13.57***

$HH_LS_H - HH_LS_L$ $t = 3.17$, $p < .001$ $HH_LS_H - HH_HS_H$ $t = 8.45$, $p < .001$

!! for cell n's, see Appendix V, ***$p < .001$

TABLE 27.--Powerlessness: Japan (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		ACHIEVEMENT			
		Socializer (B)			
		Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	6.38	6.36	6.29	$F_A = 0.67$
	Medium	6.11	6.13	6.03	$F_B = 0.17$
	Low	6.00	6.05	6.17	$F_{AB} = 0.35$

		OCCUPATION			
		Socializer (B)			
		BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WC	6.35	6.76	6.23	$F_A = 0.56$
	BCS	6.37	6.18	6.02	$F_B = 0.89$
	BCU	6.25	6.29	6.10	$F_{AB} = 0.95$

		EDUCATION			
		Socializer (B)			
		0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	0-5	8.00!	5.92	5.62	$F_A = 0.44$
	6-8	5.91	6.25	5.95	$F_B = 0.22$
	9+	6.24	6.36	6.24!	$F_{AB} = 3.12^*$

! n = 1 *p <.05

TABLE 28.--Normlessness: Costa Rica (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		ACHIEVEMENT Socializer (B) Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	7.51	7.76	7.65	$F_A = 1.13$
	Medium	7.75	8.24	9.88	$F_B = 2.12$
	Low	7.32	8.12	6.83	$F_{AB} = 7.66^{***}$

$HH_MS_H - HH_MS_M$ t = 2.96, $p < 1.005$ $HH_MS_H - HH_HS_H$ t = 8.45, $p < 0.001$

		OCCUPATION Socializer (B) BCU	BCS	WU	
Head of Household (A)	WC	7.51	8.52	7.30	$F_A = 2.74$
	BCS	7.69	8.02	8.81	$F_B = 5.81^{**}$
	BCU	7.17	7.93	7.89	$F_{AB} = 7.71^{***}$

$HH_{BCS}S_{WC} - HH_{WC}S_{HWC}$ t = 3.00, $p < .005$
$HH_{BCS}S_{WC} - H_{BCS}S_{BCS}$ t = 1.69, $p < .05$

		EDUCATION Socializer (B) 0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	7.63	7.96	7.58	$F_A = 1.06$
	6-8	7.71	8.14	9.44	$F_B = 1.11$
	0-5	7.37	7.57	6.14	$F_{AB} = 7.02^{***}$

$HH_{6-8}S_{9+}-HH_{9+}S_{9+}$ t = 2.12, $p < .05$ $HH_{6-8}S_{9+}-HH_{6-8}S_{6-8}$ t = 1.72, p .05 $^{**}p < .01$ $^{***}p < .001$

Normlessness (Anomia)

We hypothesized more normlessness for upwardly mobile individuals than non-mobile individuals in ascriptive cultures, and more anomia for downwardly-mobile individuals than for non-mobile persons in all cultures. Looking at Costa Rica, an ascriptive culture, we find little evidence for the upward mobility hypothesis (See Table 28). While the means are in the right direction for both education and occupation, none of these upward-mobility means significantly differs from both marginal means. This means that upwardly-mobile individuals do not show significantly more normlessness than non-mobile individuals on the level from which they came and on the level at which they are now.

The normative data from Mexico gives our hypothesis even less support (See Table 29). Simply, we find that the cells denoting the upwardly mobile do not meet our criteria nor do most of those denoting the downwardly mobile cells; however, two out of the three cells denoting upward mobility in each analysis are in the right direction, i.e., larger than the relevant marginal cells in both columns and rows. In both ascriptive societies we lack clear-cut support for our normlessness hypotheses; but both sets of data are suggestive. This result should not surprise us, as our two-item measure of normlessness has weak reliability. This unreliability, coupled with high normlessness scores for all socio-economic groups (compared with the achievement-oriented societies), may result in a "ceiling effect." The ceiling of 10 leaves little room for variation.

TABLE 29.--Normlessness: Mexico (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		ACHIEVEMENT Socializer (B) Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	8.13	<u>8.37</u>	7.92	$F_A = 1.77$
	Medium	7.82	8.05	7.69	$F_B = 2.32$
	Low	7.66	8.14	<u>8.75</u>	$F_{AB} = 5.11^{***}$

HH_LS_H-HH_HS_H $t = 2.54$, $p < 0.01$ HH_LS_H-HH_LS_L $t = 3.80$, $p < 0.001$

		OCCUPATION Socializer (B) BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WC	7.99	8.09	8.07	$F_A = 1.89$
	BCS	7.89	7.70	8.02	$F_B = 2.63$
	BCU	7.69	7.93	8.33	$F_{AB} = 2.92^{*}$

		EDUCATION Socializer (B) 0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	8.27	8.14	7.55	$F_A = 0.45$
	6-8	7.93	8.00	<u>9.00</u>	$F_B = 0.16$
	0-5	7.63	8.05	6.00	$F_{AB} = 5.39^{***}$

HH_MS_H-HH_MS_M $t = 2.22$, $p < .05$ HH_MS_H-HH_HS_H $t = 2.79$, $p < .005$
$^{*}p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$ $^{***}p < .001$

In all, the hypothesis remains shrouded in ambiguity.

We now look at normlessness in achievement-oriented cultures. Within the United States, both socializer's status and head of household's status contribute to normlessness; in terms of education the socializer's status seems to contribute more. While interactions do appear, they are not of the form suggested by our hypotheses. As we predicted, neither upward nor downward mobility has an effect on normlessness in an achievement-oriented society. On the other hand, in the United States, both ascribed and achieved statuses relate to normlessness and their relationships are not additive (See Table 30). We will discuss this finding later. For Japan, the analysis reveals no relationship between socio-economic status and normlessness (See Table 31). This relative lack of social psychological impact of social status presents an enigma which we will discuss in the following section.

In regard to normlessness, the mobility hypothesis does not hold. Unfortunately, the data from all three countries have low reliability and the data from the two ascriptive societies seem to be suffering from a ceiling effect.

Social Isolation

If we have reason to question the reliability of the normlessness subscale, we certainly must question the reliability of the Social Isolation subscale, where the

TABLE 30.--Normlessness: United States (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		ACHIEVEMENT Socializer (B)			
		Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	6.20	6.03	5.66	$F_A = 5.49^{***}$
	Medium	7.36	6.76	6.01	$F_B = 20.44^{***}$
	Low	7.43	7.03	5.89	$F_{AB} = 9.26^{***}$
		OCCUPATION Socializer (B)			
		BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WC	6.36	5.90	5.46	$F_A = 14.52^{***}$
	BCU	6.99	6.34	5.68	$F_B = 15.64^{***}$
	BCS	7.25	7.14	6.06	$F_{AB} = 10.22^{***}$
		EDUCATION Socializer (B)			
		0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	6.00	6.47	5.51	$F_A = 3.35^{*}$
	6-8	6.41	6.45	6.18	$F_B = 9.14^{***}$
	0-5	7.23	6.68	5.71	$F_{AB} = 3.62^{**}$

$^{*}p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$ $^{***}p < .001$

TABLE 31.--Normlessness: Japan (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		ACHIEVEMENT			
		Socializer (B)			
		Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	6.22	5.98	6.12	$F_A = 0.54$
	Medium	6.02	5.93	5.92	$F_B = 0.25$
	Low	5.91	5.91	6.00	$F_{AB} = 0.13$
		OCCUPATION			
		Socializer (B)			
		BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WC	6.13	5.90	6.05	$F_A = 0.01$
	BCS	6.25	5.88	5.82	$F_B = 0.69$
	BCU	6.01	5.94	6.45	$F_{AB} = 1.10$
		EDUCATION			
		Socializer (B)			
		0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	5.52	6.26	6.25	$F_A = 0.49$
	6-8	5.64	5.98	5.91	$F_B = 0.76$
	0-5	5.69	5.72	6.00!	$F_{AB} = 0.25$

highest inter-item correlation, in the United States, was .113. Nevertheless, we will analyze the data assuming that one of the scale's two items is a relatively pure measure of social isolation.

Our hypotheses concerning social isolation were the same as those for normlessness. Beginning with the ascriptive societies, Social Isolation in Costa Rica is related to "Ascription," and there is an interaction between Achievement and "Ascription," but only one cell meets our criterion (See Table 32). Also, the effects found in the Achievement-Ascription tables are reflected in the educational mobility table but not in the occupational mobility table. Mexico has a different pattern but equally as puzzling (See Table 33). In the Achievement-Ascription analysis two cells for downwardly mobile individuals meet our criterion. Outside of this finding, Social Isolation in Mexico appears unrelated to anything else.[7]

As we anticipated, the Social Isolation subscale does not give consistent evidence for mobility effects.

Autonomy

Now we will look at the impact of mobility on a person's sense of autonomy. We hypothesized that:

IN ASCRIPTIVELY AND ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTED CULTURES, AN UPWARDLY MOBILE PERSON WILL EXPERIENCE MORE AUTONOMY THAN STABLE INDIVIDUALS AT THEIR PRESENT LEVEL AND THOSE AT THE LEVEL FROM WHICH THE UPWARDLY MOBILE PERSON CAME.

IN ASCRIPTIVELY AND ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTED CULTURES DOWNWARDLY MOBILE PERSONS WILL EXPERIENCE LESS AUTONOMY THAN STABLE PERSONS AT THE PRESENT LEVEL AND AT THE LEVEL FROM WHICH THE MOBILE PERSON CAME.

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[7] In the two achievement oriented cultures, United States and Japan, there are no significant main effects or interactions. (Data are not presented.)

TABLE 32.--Social Isolation: Costa Rica (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		ACHIEVEMENT			
		Socializer (B)			
		Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	6.11	6.52	5.12	$F_A = 0.03$
	Medium	5.97	6.21	4.50	$F_B = 6.31^{***}$
	Low	4.83	6.09	4.83	$F_{AB} = 4.44^{***}$
HH_HS_L-HH_HS_H	$t = 2.22$, $p < .05$		HH_HS_L-HH_LS_L	$t = 3.81$, $p < .001$	

		OCCUPATION			
		Socializer (B)			
		BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WC	5.88	6.11	5.57	$F_A = 0.46$
	BCS	6.22	5.80	5.62	$F_B = 0.75$
	BCU	6.05	6.29	6.05	$F_{AB} = 1.50$

		EDUCATION			
		Socializer (B)			
		0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	6.24	6.39	5.00	$F_A = 0.09$
	6-8	6.17	6.45	4.11	$F_B = 6.95^{***}$
	0-5	6.02	5.05	5.86	$F_{AB} = 5.95^{***}$

$^{*}p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$ $^{***}p < .001$

TABLE 33.--Social Isolation: Mexico (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

ACHIEVEMENT

		Socializer (B) Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	5.78	6.33	6.02	$F_A = 1.62$
	Medium	5.94	5.97	6.19	$F_B = 0.71$
	Low	6.25	<u>6.63</u>	<u>7.13</u>	$F_{AB} = 5.14^{***}$

HH_LS_H-HH_LS_L $t = 1.69$, $p < .05$ HH_LS_M-HH_MS_M $t = 2.27$, $p < .05$

HH_LS_H-HH_HS_H $t = 2.02$, $p < .05$ HH_LS_M-HH_LS_L $t = 1.72$, $p < .05$

OCCUPATION

		Socializer (B) BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WC	5.89	6.10	6.33	$F_A = 1.43$
	BCS	6.13	6.00	6.00	$F_B = 0.62$
	BCU	6.15	<u>6.52</u>	6.55	$F_{AB} = 2.77^{*}$

EDUCATION

		Socializer (B) 0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	6.27	5.76	6.14	$F_A = 0.25$
	6-8	6.03	6.03	6.50	$F_B = 0.10$
	0-5	6.31	6.41	6.00	$F_{AB} = 0.35$

*$p < .05$ **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

Beginning with the ascriptively oriented cultures, in Costa Rica we find significant main effects and interactions for all our socio-economic variables but the interactions are not as we hypothesized. (See Table 34.) Only one cell in each analysis meets our criteria. In Mexico, the data resemble the Costa Rican data (See Table 35). Both significant main effects and interactions appear in each analysis, but only in the occupational mobility category do we find evidence for our hypotheses and then it's only for the downward mobility hypotheses. When we examine autonomy in the achievement oriented cultures, we find even less evidence for our hypotheses. Again, we have both significant main effects and interactions but here we do have an effect for downward educational mobility and high ascription--low achievement when we look at the long range downward mobility cell (See Table 36). Also other cells are in this direction. Japan also has interaction with the appropriate cells in the correct direction for the downward mobility hypotheses, but instead of educational mobility being the key, the interaction appears for occupational mobility (See Table 37). In all, these results indicate only meager support for one of the status inconsistency hypotheses and this effect varied considerably from nation to nation.

TABLE 34.--Autonomy: Costa Rica (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		ACHIEVEMENT Socializer (B)			
		Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	14.19	15.00	15.35	$F_A = 10.21^{***}$
	Medium	12.36	13.79	12.13	$F_B = 9.20^{***}$
	Low	10.54	11.36	11.17	$F_{AB} = 6.37^{***}$
HH_MS_H-HH_MS_M	$t = 1.86$, $p < .05$		HH_MS_H-HH_HS_H	$t = 5.76$, $p < .001$	

		OCCUPATION Socializer (B)			
		BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WU	13.01	13.30	14.82	$F_A = 16.53$
	BCS	11.41	13.97	12.58	$F_B = 15.87$
	BCU	10.18	11.00	11.17	$F_{AB} = 11.09$
HH_MS_H-HH_MS_M	$t = 2.86$, $p < .01$		HH_MS_H-HH_HS_H	$t = 2.35$, $p < .01$	

		EDUCATION Socializer (B)			
		0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	13.30	15.70	16.29	$F_A = 10.58$
	6-8	12.20	13.76	13.67	$F_B = 11.31$
	0-5	10.74	12.71	8.86	$F_{AB} = 11.35$
HH_LS_H-HH_LS_L	$t = 1.77$, $p < .05$		HH_LS_H-HH_HS_H	$t = 3.89$, $p < .001$	

$^{*}p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$ $^{***}p < .001$

TABLE 35.--Autonomy: Mexico (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		ACHIEVEMENT Socializer (B) Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	11.34	12.51	13.59	$F_A = 10.08^{***}$
	Medium	10.46	11.39	10.59	$F_B = 12.25^{***}$
	Low	10.29	10.22	11.13	$F_{AB} = 6.60^{***}$
		OCCUPATION Socializer (B) BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WC	10.61	11.56	13.30	$F_A = 12.59^{***}$
	BCS	10.42	10.72	11.73	$F_B = 12.38^{***}$
	BCU	10.50	10.02	9.75	$F_{AB} = 11.21^{***}$
		EDUCATION Socializer (B) 0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	12.23	13.21	14.23	$F_A = 3.70^{*}$
	6-8	10.60	11.11	11.72	$F_B = 4.43^{**}$
	0-5	10.24	11.67	13.00!	$F_{AB} = 2.40^{*}$

! small n $^{*}p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$ $^{***}p < .001$

TABLE 36.--Autonomy: United States (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		ACHIEVEMENT			
		Socializer (B)			
		Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	12.30	13.29	13.38	$F_A = 4.23^*$
	Medium	12.18	12.39	12.01	$F_B = 5.35^{**}$
	Low	12.29	<u>11.03</u>	<u>10.10</u>	$F_{AB} = 7.98^{***}$

HH_LS_M-HH_LS_L $t = 2.44$, $p < .01$ HH_LS_H-HH_LS_L $t = 2.51$, $p < .01$

HH_LS_M-HH_MS_M $t = 2.72$, $p < .01$ HH_LS_H-HH_HS_H $t = 3.02$, $p < .01$

		OCCUPATION			
		Socializer (B)			
		BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WC	11.87	13.46	13.84	$F_A = 8.01^{***}$
	BCS	11.58	12.51	12.05	$F_B = 6.39^{***}$
	BCU	11.28	13.31	12.36	$F_{AB} = 6.20^{***}$

		EDUCATION			
		Socializer (B)			
		0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	0-5	12.92	13.17	13.43	$F_A = 2.04$
	6-8	12.24	12.06	11.67	$F_B = 4.77^{**}$
	9+	12.29	10.97	<u>6.80</u>	$F_{AB} = 16.23^{***}$

HH_LS_H-HH_LS_L $t = 2.80$, $p < .01$ HH_LS_H-HH_HS_H $t = 3.38$, $p < .001$

$^*p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$ $^{***}p < .001$

TABLE 37.--Autonomy: Japan (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		ACHIEVEMENT Socializer (B)			
		Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	10.73	10.45	11.35	$F_A = 2.12$
	Medium	10.31	9.72	10.28	$F_B = 3.53^*$
	Low	10.24	8.32	9.33	$F_{AB} = 2.73^*$

		OCCUPATION Socializer (B)			
		BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WC	11.06	11.07	11.27	$F_A = 6.11^{**}$
	BCS	9.22	9.53	10.92	$F_B = 3.72^*$
	BCU	10.56	8.12	9.95	$F_{AB} = 4.37^{***}$

		EDUCATION Socializer (B)			
		0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	10.86	10.99	11.43	$F_A = 0.84$
	6-8	10.85	10.29	9.64	$F_B = 0.65$
	0-5	8.08	10.02	10.00!	$F_{AB} = 0.72$

! n of 1.

*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Future Life Conditions

We hypothesized that:

IN BOTH ASCRIPTIVELY AND ACHEIVMENT-ORIENTED CULTURES, AN UPWARDLY MOBILE PERSON WILL EXPERIENCE HIGHER EFLC THAN STATIC INDIVIDUALS AT HIS PRESENT LEVEL AND THOSE AT THE LEVEL FROM WHICH THE UPWARDLY MOBILE PERSON CAME.

IN ASCRIPTIVELY AND ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTED CULTURES A DOWNWARDLY MOBILE PERSON WILL EXPERIENCE LESS EFLC THAN STABLE PERSONS AT HIS PRESENT LEVEL AND AT THE LEVEL FROM WHICH THE MOBILE PERSON CAME.

When we look at our two ascriptive societies, Costa Rica, and Mexico, we find both significant interactions or main effects but no contrasts supporting our hypotheses. (See Tables 38, 39) Also, when we look at the two achievement oriented societies, we find interactions but only mobility cells per country meeting our criteria. For the United States, significant interaction occurs only in the Achievement-Ascription analysis and in only one cell, the long-range downwardly mobile persons (See Table 40). For Japan, interactions occur for the Achievement-Ascription and the Occupational Analysis but in terms of our criteria significance obtains only in the Achievement-Ascription analysis (See Table 41.) Main effects also appear in the Japan data but not in the United States data.

Of the two hypotheses at issue here, we can only partially confirm the latter, and that must be restricted to achievement-oriented societies and to the total Achievement-Ascriptive dimension. Downward mobility appears to have a weak impact on an individual's perception of his future life circumstances in achievement-oriented societies.

TABLE 38.--Future Life Conditions: Costa Rica (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		ACHIEVEMENT Socializer (B)			
		Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	29.94	31.94	31.24	$F_A = 7.00^{***}$
	Medium	27.31	29.93	26.13	$F_B = 3.60^{*}$
	Low	25.84	25.45	25.50	$F_{AB} = 5.46^{***}$
		OCCUPATION Socializer (B)			
		BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WC	28.49	28.96	30.96	$F_A = 7.95^{***}$
	BCS	26.61	30.55	27.04	$F_B = 8.47^{***}$
	BCU	25.45	26.71	24.94	$F_{AB} = 7.58^{***}$
		EDUCATION Socializer (B)			
		0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	29.94	31.30	33.17	$F_A = 7.80^{***}$
	6-8	28.64	29.16	27.22	$F_B = 5.42^{***}$
	0-5	25.79	27.95	25.71	$F_{AB} = 4.94^{**}$

*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

TABLE 39.--Future Life Conditions[1]; Mexico (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		ACHIEVEMENT Socializer (B)			
		Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	19.23	19.16	21.07	$F_A = 10.74^{***}$
	Medium	16.19	18.97	18.63	$F_B = 14.72^{***}$
	Low	16.79	18.02	18.69	$F_{AB} = 5.91^{***}$

		OCCUPATION Socializer (B)			
		BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WC	18.08	18.50	20.68	$F_A = 12.19^{***}$
	BCS	17.33	17.60	18.75	$F_B = 15.43^{***}$
	BCU	16.42	17.94	17.75	$F_{AB} = 7.99^{***}$

		EDUCATION Socializer (B)			
		0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	19.98	20.97	20.95	$F_A = 4.17^{*}$
	6-8	17.55	18.83	20.67	$F_B = 4.18^{*}$
	0-5	16.54	18.25	20.50	$F_{AB} = 2.56^{*}$

*p $<$ .05 **p $<$ .01 ***p $<$ .001

[1]Based on Three Items.

TABLE 40.--Future Life Conditions: United States (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		Achievement - Ascription			
		Socializer (B)			
		Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	29.02	29.55	30.06	$F_A = 1.18$
	Medium	27.54	28.87	29.59	$F_B = 2.49$
	Low	30.26	31.60	25.90	$F_{AB} = 6.58^{***}$
		Occupation			
		Socializer (B)			
		BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WC	29.26	30.12	29.98	$F_A = 0.08$
	BCS	29.39	28.93	28.67	$F_B = 3.94^{*}$
	BCU	29.00	31.21	29.46	$F_{AB} = 2.02$
		Education			
		Socializer (B)			
		0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	28.20	29.47	30.89	$F_A = 1.45$
	6-8	30.90	29.09	26.80	$F_B = 1.69$
	0-5	30.25	29.44	29.48	$F_{AB} = 2.16$

*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

TABLE 41.--Future Life Conditions: Japan (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

Achievement - Ascription

		Socializer (B) Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	17.28	16.55	18.03	$F_A = 3.88^*$
	Medium	15.61	16.87	17.97	$F_B = 4.78^{**}$
	Low	16.23	14.73	<u>13.67</u>	$F_{AB} = 7.74^{***}$

HH_LS_H-HH_LS_L $t = 2.05$, $p < .05$ HH_LS_H-HH_HS_H $t = 3.63$, $p < .001$

Occupation

		Socializer (B) BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WC	17.45	16.40	18.06	$F_A = 5.00^{**}$
	BCS	16.05	16.25	17.50	$F_B = 5.20^{**}$
	BCU	16.22	15.47	15.20	$F_{AB} = 3.09^*$

Education

		Socializer (B) 0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	16.05	17.25	18.31	$F_A = 0.59$
	6-8	16.08	16.71	17.27	$F_B = 1.51$
	0-5	15.23	16.20	15.00	$F_{AB} = 0.68$

$^*p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$ $^{***}p < .001$

Authoritarianism

Beginning with a notion that authoritarianism results from a commitment to an ascriptive value system and that the more important a person's ascribed status the more authoritarianism, our hypothesis was:

WITHIN BOTH ASCRIPTIVELY ORIENTED AND ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTED CULTURES, DOWNWARDLY MOBILE PERSONS WILL EXPRESS MORE AUTHORITARIAN ATTITUDES THAN EITHER STABLE OR UPWARDLY MOBILE PERSONS.

We find interactions for the two ascriptive cultures: Costa Rica and Mexico, but the order of the means are not as predicted (See Tables 42 and 43). While all socio-economic variables in the United States sample contribute to Authoritarianism, and although each analysis shows an interaction effect, the order of the means is as predicted (See Table 44.) Japan does not have significant interactions or main effects (See Table 45.) Consequently, we conclude that there is no relationship between authoritarianism and mobility.

TABLE 42.--Authoritarianism: Costa Rica (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		Achievement - Ascription			
		Socializer (B)			
		Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	22.30	21.42	21.35	$F_A = 9.70^{***}$
	Medium	24.55	24.00	25.13	$F_B = 5.16^{**}$
	Low	25.33	25.12	24.83	$F_{AB} = 5.58^{***}$
		Occupation			
		Socializer (B)			
		BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WC	23.12	23.41	22.11	$F_A = 10.00^{***}$
	BCS	25.18	24.77	24.35	$F_B = 4.35^{*}$
	BCU	25.25	24.57	25.39	$F_{AB} = 5.29^{***}$
		Education			
		Socializer (B)			
		0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	20.75	20.00	20.17	$F_A = 22.35^{***}$
	6-8	24.74	24.92	24.67	$F_B = 7.06^{***}$
	0-5	25.26	23.67	24.43	$F_{AB} = 10.74^{***}$

$^{*}p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$ $^{***}p < .001$

TABLE 43.--Authoritarianism: Mexico (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		Achievement - Ascription			
		Socializer (B)			
		Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	25.40	25.38	24.39	$F_A = 3.37^*$
	Medium	26.02	25.92	25.59	$F_B = 5.58^{**}$
	Low	25.33	26.26	25.81	$F_{AB} = 3.10^*$
		Occupation			
		Socializer (B)			
		BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WC	25.44	25.64	24.69	$F_A = 2.23$
	BCS	25.70	25.72	26.06	$F_B = 1.22$
	BCU	25.29	25.69	25.78	$F_{AB} = 3.01^*$
		Education			
		Socializer (B)			
		0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	24.64	24.57	23.30	$F_A = 2.47$
	6-8	25.94	25.71	25.67	$F_B = 3.10^*$
	0-5	25.39	26.50	25.50	$F_{AB} = 2.16$

$^*p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$ $^{***}p < .001$

TABLE 44.--Authoritarianism: United States (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		Achievement Socializer (B)			
		Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	22.50	19.12	17.26	$F_A = 20.55^{***}$
	Medium	23.46	20.93	18.75	$F_B = 61.67^{***}$
	Low	24.97	22.51	19.56	$F_{AB} = 26.35^{***}$

		Occupation Socializer (B)			
		BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WC	18.64	19.43	15.95	$F_A = 27.47^{***}$
	BCS	21.04	20.42	17.92	$F_B = 25.81^{***}$
	BCU	22.63	22.02	19.10	$F_{AB} = 18.32^{***}$

		Education Socializer (B)			
		0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	22.00	21.97	16.97	$F_A = 13.37^{***}$
	6-8	25.24	21.69	18.59	$F_B = 44.69^{***}$
	0-5	24.69	22.34	19.85	$F_{AB} = 20.01^{***}$

$^{*}p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$ $^{***}p < .001$

TABLE 45.--Authoritarianism: Japan (Social Mobility--Analysis of Variance)

		Achievement - Ascription			
		Socializer (B)			
		Low	Medium	High	
Head of Household (A)	High	21.52	20.64	20.65	$F_A = 0.75$
	Medium	21.48	21.80	20.75	$F_B = 2.46$
	Low	21.50	21.36	20.78	$F_{AB} = 0.50$
		Occupation			
		Socializer (B)			
		BCU	BCS	WC	
Head of Household (A)	WC	21.41	21.19	20.60	$F_A = 1.03$
	BCS	21.60	21.56	21.02	$F_B = 2.63^*$
	BCU	21.43	21.00	21.10	$F_{AB} = 0.57$
		Education			
		Socializer (B)			
		0-5	6-8	9+	
Head of Household (A)	9+	19.95	21.21	20.42	$F_A = 0.22$
	6-8	22.33	21.24	24.18	$F_B = 0.68$
	0-5	21.23	21.70	23.00!	$F_{AB} = 1.34$

*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Summary of Results

Now we will review the basic findings of this study. First, we found that the two "ascriptive countries" differed markedly from the two "achievement-oriented" cultures in three out of the five comparisons of self-social institutions. The family-self comparison provides an exception to our general hypothesis, but an exception predicted by Parsons: The universalistic-achievement oriented society, (the United States,) had the highest family versus self score. Also, using the ascriptive versus achievement dimension, we find differences among our nations in authoritarianism as measured by: (1) adherence to rules and authority as opposed to self-initiated action, (2) an emphasis on stability versus change, and (3) authoritarian submission. Similarly, the ascriptive nations differed from the achievement nations in (1) participation in voluntary instrumental organizations,[1] (2) participation in voluntary expressive organizations, (3) preference for expressive organizations over instrumental organizations, and (4) the importance of religion for the individual. These findings, we submit, provide strong supportive evidence for our classification scheme. Some of the negative

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[1]We recognized a possible interaction with the particularistic-universalistic dimensions such that a universalistic-ascriptive culture may have a high rate of participation in instrumental organizations in order to impose a monolithic value system.

TABLE 46.--Summary of the Results

Basic Assumption--Achievement Versus Ascriptive Oriented Societies	HYPOTHESIS	ACTION
Self-Political Party	Ach. Asc. Society	Confirmed
Self-Community	Ach. Asc. Society	Confirmed
Self-Work	Ach. Asc. Society	Confirmed
Self-Country	Ach. Asc. Society	Confirmed
Self-Family	Ach. Asc. Society	Not-Confirmed
Authoritarianism	Ach. Asc. Society	Confirmed
Participation in Instrumental Voluntary Org.	Ach. Asc. Society	Confirmed
Importance of Religion	Ach. Asc. Society	Confirmed
Participation in Express Organization	Ach. Asc. Society	Confirmed
Social Organization More Important Than all Other Organization	Ach. Asc. Society	Confirmed
Cross National Differences--Controlling for Socio-economic Level		
Authoritarianism	Descriptive	No Action
Autonomy	Descriptive	No Action
Powerlessness	Correlates with Socio-economic Status Cross Nationally	Not Confirmed
Normlessness	(A) Corralates with Socio-economic Status in Achievement Oriented Societie's	Not Confirmed in Japan Confirmed in United States
	(B) Does not correlate with Socio-economic status in Ascriptive Societies	Confirmed
Social Isolation	Dropped	Dropped
Alienation	Descriptive	No Action

Table 46, continued

The Consequences of Status Inconsistency Through Mobility	HYPOTHESIS	ACTION
Powerlessness		
Ascriptive Societies		
(A) Downwardly Mobile	High Powerlessness	Confirmed (Partially)
Nromlessness		
Ascriptive Societies		
Downwardly Mobile	High Normlessness	Confirmed (Partially)
Upwardly Mobile	High Normlessness	Confirmed (Partially)
Social Isolation	Dropped	Dropped
Autonomy		
Upwardly Mobile	More Autonomy	Not Confirmed
Downwardly Mobile	Less Autonomy	Confirmed only in Costa Rica and United States
Future Life Condition (FLC)		
Upwardly Mobile	More (FLC)	Not Confirmed
Downwardly Mobile	Less (FLC)	Not Confirmed
Authoritarianism		
Downwardly Mobile	Higher (Authoritarianism)	Not Confirmed

findings that did obtain may have been due to low reliability in the alienation scale. (The Social Isolation subscale was a major disappointment in this regard.) The reliability issue creates ambiguity regarding the negative findings--is a negative outcome caused by an inadequate theory or the instability of measures?

Still certain patterns appeared. We now will review our main hypotheses for each dependent variable.

Alienation (Dean Scale)

For Alienation, we hypothesized:

(1) WITHIN BOTH THE ACHIEVEMENT AND ASCRIPTIVELY ORIENTED CULTURES, THE HIGHER THE PERSON"S SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, THE LESS ALIENATION THE PERSON EXPERIENCES.

(2) WITHIN THE ASCRIPTIVE ORIENTED CULTURES, DOWNWARDLY MOBILE PERSONS WILL EXPERIENCE MORE ALIENATION THAN NON-MOBILE PERSONS.

On testing our first hypothesis, we find a correlation between socio-economic status and alienation (total scale) in the United States and a weak one in Costa Rica, but we find no relationship between alienation and socio-economic status in Japan and Mexico. Hence, alienation and socio-economic status are not necessarily linked. But, we cannot ascertain what factors bring about the relationship in the United States and Costa Rica. Looking at the two exceptions, Japan and Mexico, we find Mexico to be relatively high while Japan is low in total alienation (as measured by our instruments). Also, the United States is low and

Costa Rica is between the United States and Mexico. In all, we can say only that two nations, one tending toward the ascriptive end of the continuum and the other toward the achievement end, show the effect; but two nations, one more ascriptive, the other more achievement-oriented, do not.

In line with the first hypothesis, we implied that the inter-correlation between alientation subscales would not hold up cross nationally. The results are ambiguous; the low reliability of the subscales makes it difficult to assess relative strength between scales. Still, on inspection, the subscales have higher intercorrelation in the United States than in any other nations.

For the second hypothesis, we find support in Costa Rica, limited support in Mexico, but no support in Japan and the United States. Within the United States, both the ascribed status variables, (socializer's education and occupation,) and the achieved status variables, (head of household's education and occupation,) contribute to alienation and interact--but not in the manner predicted by our downward mobility hypotheses. In Japan, socio-economic status has no effect on alienation. Our two ascriptive-oriented societies show the downward mobility effect. Consequently, we see that downward mobility tends to increase alienation in ascriptive societies but has no effect on alienation in achievement-oriented societies.

We now examine the subscales of the Alienation Scale.

Powerlessness: For powerlessness we hypothesized:

(1) WITHIN BOTH ACHIEVEMENT AND ASCRIPTIVELY ORIENTED CULTURES, THE HIGHER THE PERSON'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS THE MORE THE PERSON EXPERIENCES PERSONAL EFFICACY.

(2) WITHIN BOTH ACHIEVEMENT AND ASCRIPTIVELY ORIENTED CULTURES, DOWNWARDLY MOBILE PERSONS WILL EXPERIENCE MORE POWERLESSNESS THAN NON-MOBILE PERSONS.

The Powerlessness Sub-scale reflects the total Alienation Scale. Powerlessness is related to the socio-economic variables in the United States and to a certain extent in Costa Rica but not in Japan and Mexico. Therefore we must reject hypothesis (1).

The second hypothesis receives strong support in Costa Rica, weak support in Mexico, and no evidence for it can be found in Japan or the United States. Downward mobility has an effect in Costa Rica only, and a possible effect in Mexico. Again, the downward mobility effect appears in the ascriptive cultures.

Normlessness: We have three basic findings: (1) the difference between means for the nations; (2) association with socio-economic variables; and (3) an upward mobility effect. We made no hypothesis concerning the level of normlessness by nation, but a major difference appeared; the two achievement-oriented societies, Japan and the United States, were lower than the two ascriptive societies, Costa Rica and Mexico. Furthermore, only in the United

States did socio-economic standing correlate with normlessness. In both Mexico and Costa Rica, the high socio-economic status group had as high a mean on normlessness as did the low socio-economic status group. Despite the supposed integration within an ascriptive society, a high level of normlessness marks all groups.

More germane to our main hypothesis, mobility has less of an effect on normlessness than was predicted. Our hypotheses were as follows:

(1) WITHIN MORE ASCRIPTIVELY ORIENTED CULTURES, UPWARDLY MOBILE INDIVIDUALS WILL EXPERIENCE MORE NORMLESSNESS THAN WILL STABLE INDIVIDUALS.

(2) THE DOWNWARDLY MOBILE PERSON WILL EXPERIENCE MORE NORMLESSNESS THAN WILL STABLE INDIVIDUALS.

Both in Costa Rica and Mexico significant interactions were found between (1) education of head of household and education of socializer, (2) between occupation of head of household and socializer's occupation, and (3) between total achievement (i.e., combined education and occupation of head of household) and ascription (i.e., combined education and occupation of socializer). Most cells indicating upward mobility showed higher alienation than the stable or non-mobile persons at former and present levels, but few of the tests for differences between cells met our .05 level criterion. Because the means for the groups were close to the ceiling and reliability was low, the hypothesis remains untested. Downward mobility in

Mexico had an effect: two out of three cells were higher than both stable cells in their respective rows and columns. But downward mobility in Costa Rica shows little effect, and in the United States and Japan it has no effect. While the mobility analysis suffers from ambiguity introduced by unreliability, the results are suggestive and the concept is worth further comparative research.

Social Isolation: We found no consistent relations in the social isolation data.

Autonomy: Autonomy was taken to be a second measure of efficacy and subject to a relative deprivation effect as well as a relative enhancement effect. Our hypotheses are as follows:

(1) IN ASCRIPTIVELY AND ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTED CULTURES, AN UPWARDLY MOBILE PERSON WILL EXPERIENCE MORE AUTONOMY THAN STABLE INDIVIDUALS AT THEIR PRESENT LEVEL AND AT THE LEVEL FROM WHICH THE UPWARDLY MOBILE PERSON CAME.

(2) IN ASCRIPTIVELY AND ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTED CULTURES DOWNWARDLY MOBILE PERSONS WILL EXPERIENCE LESS AUTONOMY THAN STABLE PERSONS AT THEIR PRESENT LEVEL AND AT THE LEVEL FROM WHICH THE MOBILE PERSON CAME.

In none of the countries do we find any evidence for the first hypothesis. Upward mobility has no effect independent of present status and past status. On the other hand, the effects of downward mobility can be detected in three countries: Costa Rica, Mexico, and the United States. In Japan, a downward occupational mobility effect (but not a downward educational mobility effect) was detected. So

for each nation, we find evidence that downward mobility affects autonomy. Our "relative deprivation" hypothesis holds up, while the enhancement hypothesis does not.

Expectations for Future Life Conditions (EFLC)

For this variable the hypotheses paralleled those for autonomy. Hence:

(1) IN ASCRIPTIVELY AND ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTED CULTURES, AN UPWARDLY MOBILE PERSON WILL EXPERIENCE HIGHER EFLC THAN STABLE INDIVIDUALS AT HIS PRESENT LEVEL AND AT THE LEVEL FROM WHICH THE UPWARDLY MOBILE PERSON CAME.

(2) IN ASCRIPTIVELY AND ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTED CULTURES A DOWNWARDLY MOBILE PERSON WILL EXPERIENCE LESS EFLC THAN STABLE PERSONS AT HIS PRESENT LEVEL AND AT THE LEVEL FROM WHICH THE MOBILE PERSON CAME.

We find that upward mobility had no effect on EFLC in any of the four countries and that downward mobility depressed EFLC in the United States, Japan, and Costa Rica. Also while socio-economic status does not relate to EFLC in either the United States or Japan, both achieved and ascribed status have an effect on EFLC in the ascriptive cultures, Costa Rica and Mexico.

Authoritarianism: Here we hypothesized that downward mobility would increase authoritarianism. Hence:

WITHIN BOTH ASCRIPTIVELY ORIENTED AND ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTED CULTURES DOWNWARDLY MOBILE PERSONS WILL EXPRESS MORE AUTHORITARIAN ATTITUDES THAN EITHER STABLE OR UPWARDLY MOBILE PERSONS.

Our mobility hypothesis for authoritarianism did not hold. There is a strong relationship between

Authoritarianism and socio-economic status, both achieved and ascribed, in the United States and Costa Rica and little or no relationship in Mexico or Japan. Again large interactions indicating nonadditivity appear.

In all, our data contain large societal differences among our dependent variables and interactions appear regularly among our variables.

Discussion

We have discussed four aspects of this study, viz., its history, its rationale, its design and its findings; in this section we look at some ramifications and implications for theory, methodology, and future research. Our main theoretical contribution is to extend alienation research to a new cultural context and in this process to point to the possibility that some of the literature may be culture bound. Before discussing the theoretical implications, we will look at the methodological questions raised by our findings.

Methodological Implications

On inspection of our graphs and tables, we find few linear relationships. Even with combinations of the independent variables into three, crude categories, the non-linear relationships are too numerous and varied to be the result of chance. Similarly, when socio-economic

variables were used together, their combined effect frequently resulted in a statistical interaction. Although our analysis allowed us to inspect these kinds of relationships, the meaning of these findings for multi-variate analysis is clear: we would not have adequately described the underlying relationships with such methods. Granted that the methods used in this study are crude and do not allow for ready summary, but we can see much more of what goes on between the variables in these data than we could by using conventional means. Future research, to meet the problems posed by data such as these, will require new, non-linear, multi-variate techniques that can assay and include the effects of interactions. These methods would be based on a model similar to a factorial analysis of variance or a partitioning Chi Square model and would involve a complex set of simultaneous equations.

Achievement-Ascriptive Societies

According to K. Davis, a theory based on the ascription-achievement dichotomy represents such "...a high degree of abstraction...it is impossible to move directly from the kind of proposition we make to descriptive propositions about, say, American society."[2] But, as this study has demonstrated, propositions can be formed and

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[2]Kingsley Davis, "Reply (to M. M. Tumin)," American Sociological Review, 18 (August, 1953), p. 394.

tested on the societal level by employing the achievement-ascription dimension. Furthermore, these propositions led to testable hypotheses that, in the main, were supported by our data. The pattern variables may have much to offer, given that they are conceptually analyzed and then forged into propositions.

An important aspect of our test of the value orientation hypothesis is that we tested consequences derived from the concepts, and these consequences ranged over a wide area including membership in organizations, attitudes, and value preferences between self and social systems. While our data lend credence to the theory, this study did not use or construct an instrument to tap the achievement-ascriptive value dimension. Here we need research directed to forming reliable scales to identify particular value orientations.

If we combined the findings for authoritarianism in the achievement-ascriptive section with the socio-economic value section, we have something interesting. For example, Authoritarianism correlates with socio-economic status in each nation. Now we must ask the following question: does the condition of (say) authoritarianism, (in dimension) co-varying with a socio-economic variable mean that different value orientations are more-or-less frequent in different sectors of the social structure, or does socio-economic status contribute something

independent of cultural value orientation? If we assume the former, we have a picture of society as a pool of types of which one type predominates in number or power. Moreover, the social structure has an impact on the individual's values either through contact with individual carriers or, alternatively, through unique social experiences.

Alienation, Anomia and Cultural Context

Our three alienation dimensions, powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation, intercorrelate strongly only in the United States. This points to a major consideration. Powerlessness does not necessarily reflect low education and occupation; its relationship with socio-economic status varies from country to country. The two deviant nations, Japan and Mexico, differ in level of powerlessness, but show no relationship between the variable and socio-economic class. The Mexican white collar workers express as much powerlessness as do the Costa Rican, North American, and Mexican blue collar unskilled workers. On the other hand, the sample from Japan has relatively low powerlessness. Of course, we did not examine income or integration into the social life of the community, and it could be that powerlessness is related to different socio-economic variables in different cultural settings. We have already allowed for the possibility that different

status variables will be given different weights in different settings. So this finding is not surprising, but it creates problems for interpretation.

In our first section we discussed several related concepts, alienation, anomie, anomia, normlessness, powerlessness, and social isolation; now we re-examine these concepts in the light of our findings. Anomie, after Durkheim, refers to a condition of a social system where the normative complexity leads to normative conflict. By contrast, anomia can be taken as the lack of binding power of any normative system on an individual either through a lack of internalized standards or through normative conflict. Srole[3] describes anomie in terms of alienation: the alienation of self from other.

Despite high levels of normlessness and powerlessness, we can make no inferences about anomie in any of our four countries, if only for the lack of research linking anomie and anomia.[4] Smelser would lead us to believe that rapid social changes through urbanization and industrialization results in anomia. But when we look at the rate of social dislocation as expressed in occupational and educational mobility, Costa Rica and Mexico show no

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[3]Srole, op. cit.

[4]Milton J. Yinger, Toward a Field Theory of Behavior (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1965), p. 205.

more movement than Japan and the United States. And social mobility, as measured by intergenerational change in occupation and education, has an impact on normlessness and powerlessness only in the ascriptive societies. We argue that the ascriptive society with its low degree of social integration beyond the primary friendship group and the kinship group produces a high rate of anomia or normlessness.[5] Here individuals experience a mistrust of others, diffuse anxiety, externalize authority, and in general maintain greater social distance between self and others.

Maintenance of self esteem in ascriptive societies depends more on "power over others" and less on power through others. That is, a man's worth or position is determined through the control he exerts, and consequently status becomes more important than accomplishments--as long as accomplishment is not directly related to status. Andrews found Mexican executives to have greater n-power and lower n-achievement than their North American counterparts who worked in Mexico.[6] This would be consistent with our contention that individuals within more ascriptive societies will show greater social distance than individuals

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[5]It could be argued that the two items used in this study do not necessarily measure normlessness, but mistrust in one case and goallessness in the other. While both may be components of anomia or normlessness, they do not in themselves provide an adequate measure of all the manifestations of the concept.

[6]John D. W. Andrews, "The Achievement Motive and Advancement in Two Types of Organizations," Psychological Bulletin, Vol. 67, (1967), pp. 163-168.

in achievement-oriented societies.

Viewing "anomia" in North America, Mizruchi sees two sources:

> "...middle class anomia is likely to result primarily from strain associated with disparity between aspiration and achievement.
>
> Lower class anomia, on the other hand, is more likely to represent strain associated with both limits on occupational attainments and limits on opportunities for integration with the organized life of the community..."[7]

We may debate the merits of Mizruchi's two sources, but we must admit the possibility of being more than one source and that the sources may differ from setting to setting. As we indicated earlier, the question of middle-class anomia is open. Neither our data nor Mizruchi's data show mobility interactions. However, neither we nor Mizruchi have data on expectations or aspirations, so we cannot test the aspiration-achievement hypothesis. Future research should be directed at this hypothesis. Even with these two sources of anomia, we have difficulty explaining the high level of anomia (normlessness) in Latin America.

Gullahorn and Loomis found that regardless of group being considered, Mexico showed greater social distance than the United States.[8] Fayerweather observed that

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[7]Mizruchi, op. cit., p. 117.

[8]Jeanne E. Gullahorn and Charles P. Loomis. "A Comparison of Social Distance Attitudes in the United States and Mexico," Studies in Comparative International Development, Vol. II, 1966, pp. 89-102.

Mexican executives had a great deal of difficulty working on a peer basis and that the peer relationship is marked by mistrust and intrigue.[9] We hypothesize that this suspicion, social distance and hostility are at the base of Latin American normlessness. Person does not know what to expect from Other, for Other is out to "one up" Person. Hence, we view normlessness as Srole views anomia: that is, as "alienation from the other."[10]

We hypothesized that mobility in ascriptive societies leads to severe negative consequences. As Blau pointed out, social mobility creates special dilemmas for interpersonal relations:

(1) If the mobile person is neither well-integrated among those whose similar economic position is of long standing, nor among those whose socio-economic status he once shared, his behavior can be expected to deviate from that prevalent in both groups.

(2) The lower social integration of the mobile individual is expected to be manifest in feelings of insecurity. While we have no direct evidence on the individuals' integration into particular social groups, we do assume that ascriptive societies would create more difficulty for the

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[9]John Fayerweather, The Executive Overseas, (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1960).

[10]Srole, op. cit.

individual's integration into either group. Despite methodological complications, this expectation seems to be borne out for normlessness, in both upward and downward mobility.[11]

One loose end remains. This study in no way makes a direct test of our fundamental assumption that person maximizes his self esteem by giving greater weight to status dimensions on which he ranks high and lower weight to those dimensions on which he ranks low. By employing this assumption and the achievement-ascriptive culture typology, we did predict that upward as well as downward mobility leads to greater normlessness through disruption in interpersonal relations. But other assumptions are possible: perhaps mobile individuals are not well-integrated into any group simply because they do not have the necessary credentials for membership. This status maximization hypothesis is readily testable by more rigorous means, either through paired comparison methods or laboratory experimentation. Future research on status maximizations will certainly be required.

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[11] Peter Blau, "Social Mobility and Interpersonal Relations," American Sociological Review, 21 (June, 1956), pp. 290-295.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

TABLE I

COMPOSITION OF THE JAPANESE POPULATION (1960)

Population 93,418, 501

Metropolis (1,000,000		
6 Metropolis	17.9%	
Kite Kyusha City	1.1%	19%
Urban (100,000 - 999,000)	21.5%	
Rural (-99,000)	59.5%	

TABLE II

ASSIGNMENT OF SPOTS AND SAMPLES

Metropolitan Cities	Population (1960)	Spots	Sample Drawn
1. Tokyo	8,310,027	19	380
2. Osaka	3,011,563	7	140
3. Nagaoya	1,591,935	4	80
4. Yokohama	1,375,710	3	60
5. Kyoto	1,284,818	3	60
6. Kobe	1,113,970	3	60
7. Kita Kyushu	986,401	2	40
	17,668,000	40	800

Rural Districts	Population (1960)	Spots	Sample Drawn
1. Hokkaido	405,262	1	20
2. Tohoku	2,667,848	5	100
3. Kanto	3,066,729	7	140
4. Cherbu-1	2,143,658	5	100
5. Cherbu-2	1,283,883	3	60
6. Kinki	1,875,474	4	80
7. Shugoka-Shokou	3,297,286	7	140
8. Kyushu	3,932,889	8	160
			800

APPENDIX II

ALIENATION

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

	D		E		F		G		H		I	
	$\bar{x}$	s	$\bar{x}$	s	$\bar{x}$	s	$\bar{x}$	s	$\bar{x}$	s	$\bar{x}$	s
United States	2.17	1.62	3.31	1.66	2.90	1.47	3.25	1.53	2.91	1.65	2.76	1.58
Japan	2.64	1.12	2.67	1.07	2.94	1.03	3.12	.99	3.35	1.07	2.90	1.03
Costa Rica	2.59	1.70	3.43	1.62	4.16	1.25	3.36	1.49	3.84	1.50	2.78	1.69
Mexico	3.05	1.49	3.10	1.52	4.03	1.19	3.85	1.14	4.00	1.21	3.25	1.40

ALIENATION

INTER ITEM CORRELATIONS

	DE	DF	DG	DH	DI	EF	EG	EH	EI	FG	FH	FI	GH	GI	HI
United States	.119	.216	.231	.196	.264	.074	.089	.037	.099	.272	.329	.191	.253	.195	.245
Japan	.044	.302	.302	.101	.163	.077	.025	.023	.032	.328	.161	.131	.136	.116	.130
Costa Rica	.002	.118	.174	.125	.331	.092	.021	-.002	.104	.186	.112	.169	.087	.218	.186
Mexico	-.009	.086	.077	.107	.192	.067	-.024	.016	.035	.299	.216	.121	.239	.181	.217

APPENDIX III

DEAN ALIENATION SCALE

Powerlessness:

1. There is little or nothing I can do towards preventing a major 'shooting war'.
2. We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life.
3. The future looks very dismal.
4. There is little chance for promotion on the job unless a man gets a break.
5. There are so many decisions that have to be made today that sometimes I could just blow up.
6. It is frightening to be responsible for the development of a little child.
7. Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me.
8. We're so regimented today that there's not much room for choice even in personal matters.

Normlessness:

1. I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.
2. Peoples' ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on.
3. Everything is relative and there just aren't any definite rules to this life.
4. With so many religious beliefs today one doesn't really know which to believe.
5. I worry about the future facing today's children.
6. The end often justifies the means.
7. The only thing one can be sure of today is that he can be sure of nothing.

Social Isolation:

1. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.
2. Real friends are as easy as ever to find.
3. People are just naturally friendly and helpful.
4. There are few dependable ties between people anymore.
5. I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like.
6. Most people today seldom feel lonely.
7. One can always find friends if he shows himself friendly.
8. The world in which we live is basically a friendly place.

APPENDIX IV

SELF-SOCIAL SYSTEM (S-SS)
ITEM-SUM OF REMAINING ITEMS

Country	Political Party	Community	Family	Country	Work
United States	.503	.514	.368	.577	.447
Japan	.608	.642	.486	.645	.533
Costa Rica	.330	.611	.528	.474	.443
Mexico	.313	.438	.491	.437	.484

SELF-SOCIAL SYSTEM (S-SS)
INTERCORRELATIONS

Country	Opportunity* And Chances xS.-S.S.	Make Life* Happier xS.-S.S.	S-SS Income	S-SS Education Self	Perceived Social XS-SSS Class
United States	.225	.202	-0.008	-.019	.020
Japan	.276	.274	- .004	-.045	----
Costa Rica	.180	.241	.112	.123	.128
Mexico	.220	.303	.166	.181	.161

*Autonomy Item

APPENDIX V

SOCIAL MOBILITY

Here, our original purpose was to present the number of persons in each cell but we found several interesting cross-national differences in mobility. In Costa Rica, 61% of the head of households with white collar occupations came from unskilled blue collar backgrounds. Of course, 79% of the total sample came from unskilled backgrounds; hence, this finding does not necessarily reflect equalitarianism per se but, instead, a massive change in the occupational structure. Furthermore, in all the nations except Japan the combined group of white collar workers with blue collar skilled and blue collar unskilled background exceeds 50% of the white collar workers.

On the other hand, In Costa Rica, only 9.2% of the blue collared unskilled workers came from white collar and blue collared backgrounds.

In the United States data 80% of the blue collar skilled workers were from white collar and blue collar skilled backgrounds.

All countries show changes in their opportunity structure with Costa Rica being most dramatic in percentage increase in white collar workers. This could be considered

an artifact of the fact that the smaller the strata, the greater the possibility for growth.

JAPAN

OCCUPATION

Socializer

		BCU	BCS	WC	Total
Head of Household	WC	190	42	270	502
	BCS	104	57	44	205
	BCU	246	17	20	283
	Total	540	116	334	990

$X^2 = 271.35$ C = .470

EDUCATION

Socializer

		0-5	6-8	9+	Total
Head of Household	9+	21	315	101	437
	6-8	39	449	11	499
	0-5	13	40	1	54
	Total	73	804	113	990

$X^2 = 153.34$ C = .367

UNITED STATES

OCCUPATION

Socializer

		BCU	BCS	WC	Total
Head of Household	WC	31	303	226	560
	BCS	90	583	138	811
	BCU	32	97	28	157
	Total	153	983	392	1,528

$X^2 = 311.722$ C = 0.413

EDUCATION

Socializer

		0-5	6-8	9+	Total
Head of Household	9+	112	531	445	1,088
	6-8	120	216	30	366
	0-5	52	17	5	74
	Total	284	764	480	1,528

$X^2 = 119.159$ C = 0.269

MEXICO

OCCUPATION

Socializer

		BCU	BCS	WC	Total
Head of Household	WC	75	132	152	359
	BCS	179	356	83	618
	BCU	256	130	51	437
	Total	510	618	286	1,414

$X^2 = 260.471$ C = 0.394

EDUCATION

Socializer

		0-5	6-8	9+	Total
Head of Household	9+	66	70	44	180
	6-8	422	249	18	689
	0-5	479	64	2	545
	Total	967	383	64	1,414

$X^2 = 324.689$ C = 0.433

COSTA RICA

OCCUPATION

Socializer

		BCU	BCS	WC	Total
Head of Household	WC	156	27	56	239
	BCS	211	64	26	301
	BCU	454	28	18	500
	Total	821	119	100	1,040

$X^2 = 124.251$ C = 0.326

EDUCATION

Socializer

		0-5	6-8	9+	Total
Head of Household	9+	63	23	24	110
	6-8	129	51	9	189
	0-5	713	21	7	741
	Total	905	95	40	1.040

$X^2 = 249.90$ C = 0.440

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