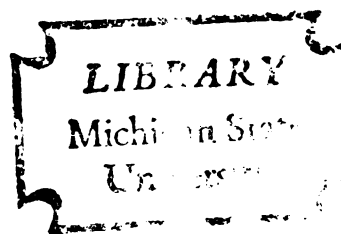


SOCIAL STRATIFICATION, SOME ASPECTS  
OF SOCIAL MOBILITY AND FAMILY  
PLANNING IN THE CONTEXT  
OF MODERNIZATION

Thesis for the Degree of Ph.D.  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
EUGENIO FONSECA-TORTOS  
1970



This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION, SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL  
MOBILITY AND FAMILY PLANNING IN THE CONTEXT  
OF MODERNIZATION

presented by

EUGENIO FONSECA-TORTÓS

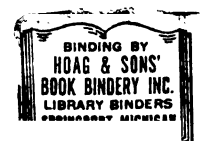
has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

PH.D. degree in SOCIOLOGY

J. B. Waisanen

Major professor

Date January 4, 1971





FEB 22 1978

MAR 10 1978

APR 1 1978

MAY 1 1978

N OCT 10 1978 288

OCT 20 1978

83700

Q31

Q32

Q87



Sociology, during the 1960s and 1970s, turned its attention to the study of how the social system affects individual behavior. This has been a major theme of sociology. Nevertheless, of equal importance, the social system is also involved in the development of such a system. The social system is a complex of factors that includes the impact of the social system on individual behavior, the global social system, and the social and moral processes.

Taking that into account, this dissertation has as general objectives: 1) to see whether experience within a socio-economic system breeds in individuals certain cognitive styles toward social mobility as well as certain behavioral styles towards for

SOCIAL S  
SOCIAL N  
THE

Sociology

tion to the study

tests itself. Th

tance. Nonethele

factors involved

development of s

understand the in

human behavior,

ical and social

Taking t

as general objec

experience withi

individuals cert

bility as well a

not) to such a process. In this way, the study intends to bring forth knowledge about the self-perpetuation of

social strata; 2) to see some factors prompt

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION, SOME ASPECTS OF  
SOCIAL MOBILITY AND FAMILY PLANNING IN  
THE CONTEXT OF MODERNIZATION

By  
Eugenio Fonseca-Tortós

lines: 1) The concept of social stratum was defined and

Sociology, during decades, has given enough attention to the study of how the stratification system manifests itself. This has been a task of paramount importance. Nonetheless, of equal importance is to study the factors involved in the emergence, self-maintenance, and development of such a system. Only in this way one can understand the impact of the stratification system upon human behavior, the global social system, and the political and social processes.

Taking that into account, this dissertation has as general objectives: 1) to see whether existential experience within a socio-economic stratum breeds in individuals certain cognitive styles toward social mobility as well as certain behavioral styles amenable (or

not) to such a pr  
to bring forth kn  
social strata; 2)  
actors, whichever  
mobility-oriented

To propos  
frame of referenc  
lines: 1) The co  
postulated as one  
way to different  
ualization norms  
Conceptualization  
with means to st  
those that provi  
reality. The di  
served to suppor  
along the normat  
modernity."

A case v  
ceived as "socia  
grative element  
(c) boundary ci



not) to such a process. In this way, the study intends to bring forth knowledge about the self-perpetuation of social strata; 2) to see whether some factors prompted actors, whichever the social stratum may be, to be mobility-oriented and to invest in mobility. To propose a system of hypotheses, a theoretical frame of reference was presented along the following lines: 1) The concept of social stratum was defined and postulated as one of central concern in Sociology. 2) A way to differentiate social systems in terms of conceptualization norms and interaction norms was proposed. Conceptualization norms being those that provide actors with means to structure reality. Interaction norms being those that provide actors with means to deal with that reality. The difference between strata in such terms served to support the point that social strata differ along the normative dimensions of "traditionalism-modernity." 3) The attitudinal configuration of the mobility. A case was made that "social strata" can be conceived as "social systems," because they show (a) integrative elements, (b) interrelatedness of parts, and (c) boundary circumscription.

It was sta  
tems which differ  
into account the  
that self-perceive  
of reference group  
prevail in modern  
to prevail as one  
stratum. Taking  
proposition was  
tends to emphasiz  
over flexibilit  
validation over  
modern interact

Differ  
proposition th  
process of mod  
transfer of a  
social system  
mobility-orie  
c) The way in  
actions-mean  
mode of rela



~~parallel~~ It was stated that social strata are social systems which differ in degree of modernization. Taking into account the conceptualization norms, it was argued that self-perceived autonomy, secularism, multiplicity of reference groups and the calculi of planning and risk prevail in modern systems. In the same way they do tend to prevail as one moves from a lower stratum to a higher stratum. Taking into account interaction norms, the ~~after~~ proposition was stated that the traditional social system tends to emphasize collectivity over person, inflexibility over flexibility, adscription over achievement, past validation over future validation. It was sustained that modern interaction norms tend to prevail in higher strata.

~~mobility~~ Different lines of argument served to support the proposition that upward social mobility can be seen as a process of modernization because: a) It constitutes the transfer of actors from a traditional to a more modern social system. b) The attitudinal configuration of the mobility-oriented actor parallels that of modern man. c) The way in which mobility-oriented actor manipulates actions-means, the way he sets his goals, and the actor's mode of relationship between the elements of the unit-act,

parallels that of  
underlayment of m  
entails changes in  
cial systems to th  
behavior. e) Cha  
traditionalism, wh  
variables play a

Within th  
ence was stated a  
analysis of the  
theoretical fram  
served to highl  
bility: 1) Awa  
sibilities of r  
4) Investment

A syst  
hypotheses as  
stratum and (  
possibilities  
and (d) inve  
between soci  
terpreted in

parallels that of the modern man. d) The processual underlayment of modernity as well as of social mobility, entails changes in the number and in the meaning of social systems to the actor and concomitant changes in his behavior. e) Change can be seen as movement away from traditionalism, where inter-systemic or dissociative variables play a role.

Within this context, a theoretical frame of reference was stated and a parsimonious perspective for the analysis of the modernization process was selected. That theoretical frame of reference and such a perspective served to highlight the several dimensions of social mobility: 1) Awareness of mobility, 2) Perception of possibilities of mobility, 3) Desirability of mobility, 4) Investment in mobility.

A system of hypotheses was elaborated. These hypotheses asserted: 1) A relationship between social stratum and (a) awareness of mobility, (b) perception of possibilities of mobility, (c) desirability of mobility, and (d) investment in mobility. 2) That the relationship between social stratum and family planning could be interpreted in terms of those dimensions of social mobility.

A relationship  
marriage and sex a  
the variable, and  
relative variable.

The ration  
stratum and the fo  
fundamentally, on  
test of the hypot  
actors vs. social

The hypo  
sions of mobilit  
The hypotheses r  
dimensions of m  
potheses relati  
supported, the  
possibilities  
lating sex and  
and the hypoth  
in mobility wa  
bilities of m  
eses relating  
ment in mobi

3) A relationship between social stratum and length of marriage and sex as participatory variables, and age as time variable, and education as inter-systemic or dissociative variable.

The rationale of the hypotheses relating social stratum and the four dimensions of mobility was based, fundamentally, on the conditions of social action. The rest of the hypotheses on the input-output dynamics of actors vs. social systems.

The hypotheses relating stratum with the dimensions of mobility were supported or received some support. The hypotheses relating stratum, family planning, and the dimensions of mobility received some support. The hypotheses relating sex and awareness of mobility were not supported, the hypotheses relating sex and perception of possibilities of mobility received some support, that relating sex and desirability of mobility was not supported, and the hypothesized relation between sex and investment in mobility was supported. Age and perception of possibilities of mobility received some support. The hypotheses relating age, desirability of mobility, and investment in mobility were supported. The hypotheses relating

education and the

period. The hypo

the dimensions of

cause of methodolo

A survey of

carried on with a

to collect the da

clients, and produ

tics used to tes

The rese

surements, (2) t

ables, (3) to c

and cross-cultu

In gen

ence proved to

education and the four dimensions of mobility were supported. The hypotheses relating length of marriage and the dimensions of mobility proved to be not testable because of methodological problems.

A survey of a random sample of respondents, carried on with a respondent schedule, was the mean used to collect the data. Chi squares, contingency coefficients, and product moment correlations were the statistics used to test the hypotheses.

The research showed the need (1) to improve measurements, (2) to take into account some control variables, (3) to carry on intra-societal, cross-societal, and cross-cultural research.

In general terms, the theoretical frame of reference proved to be useful.

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology  
College of Social Sciences

SOCIAL

SOCIAL

TH

in p



SOCIAL STRATIFICATION, SOME ASPECTS OF  
SOCIAL MOBILITY AND FAMILY PLANNING IN  
THE CONTEXT OF MODERNIZATION

Copyright by

Eugenio Fonseca-Tortós

By

1970

Eugenio Fonseca-Tortós

A THESIS

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology  
College of Social Science

1970

Copyright by

Eugenio Fonseca-T

1970

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to express my eternal gratitude to

Dr. Frederick E. Waisanen, chairman of my doctoral committee, whose talent, knowledge, help, human understanding, and patience made possible the completion of this  
1970

dissertation. He opened for me the broad and intriguing horizons of Social Psychology. His intellectual influence has been and will be for me of paramount importance and will be everlasting, his friendship most precious.

I leave here testimony of special gratitude to the rest of the members of the committee. I mention them in alphabetical order. Dr. Ed Anderson, who through occasional informal interaction transmitted to me a significant amount of knowledge. Dr. William A. Faunce, whose commentaries on the dissertation proposal enlightened me so much and who, in his capacity of Chairman of the Department of Sociology, helped me personally so much during academic year 1970. Dr. William M. Jones from whom I acquired a clear idea of the true meaning of the sociological perspective, and whose friendship and

I want to

Dr. Frederick B.

nttee, whose tal

ing, and patience

dissertation. He

horizons of Socia

has been and wil

will be everlast

I leave

the rest of the

in alphabetical

occasional info

nificant amount

whose commenta

lightened me s

of the Departm

much during ac

from whom I ac

the sociologic

human understanding were so helpful in difficult moments.

Dr. Charles P. Loomis, from whom I have learned significantly through his classes and many books. Dr. Verling C.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Troidahl I want to express my eternal gratitude to Dr. Frederick B. Waisanen, chairman of my doctoral committee, whose talent, knowledge, help, human understanding, and patience made possible the completion of this dissertation. He opened for me the broad and intriguing horizons of Social Psychology. His intellectual influence has been and will be for me of paramount importance and will be everlasting, his friendship most precious.

I leave here testimony of special gratitude to the rest of the members of the committee. I mention them in alphabetical order. Dr. Bo Anderson, who through occasional informal interaction transmitted to me a significant amount of knowledge. Dr. William A. Faunce, whose commentaries on the dissertation proposal enlightened me so much and who, in his capacity of Chairman of the Department of Sociology, helped me personally so much during academic year 1970. Dr. William H. Form, from whom I acquired a clear idea of the true meaning of the sociological perspective, and whose friendship and

human understanding

Dr. Charles P. Loh

ently through his

Goldahl, who inv

intellectual, more

year of 1970 were

I want to

order: Dr. Jose

Their intellectu

I want a

intellectual st

in my life, his

Thanks

Spiegelberg and

them.

I mus

Mrs. Anita In

who helped me

Spec

members of t

study: Dr.

human understanding were so helpful in difficult moments. Dr. Charles P. Loomis, from whom I have learned significantly through his classes and many books. Dr. Verling C. Troidahl, who invested so much effort to teaching me; his intellectual, moral, and even material help during this year of 1970 were crucial for the completion of this task. I want to thank here two scholars of the highest order: Dr. Jose Medina-Echavarria and Dr. David K. Berlo. Their intellectual influence on me will last forever.

I want also to thank Dr. Robert L. Stewart. His intellectual strength and honesty have been paradigmatic in my life, his friendship most precious.

Thanks are due to my very dear friends Dr. Joseph Spielberg and Maria Spielberg. They know how much I owe them.

I must also express special appreciation to Mrs. Anita Immele, an outstanding computer specialist who helped me so much in this study.

Special acknowledgement must be extended to the members of the research team with whom I work in this study: Dr. Gonzalo Adis, Lic. Francisco Amador, Lic.

Rafael Hernandez,

Rozali de Wille,

I thank the  
Foundation, which  
thesis is a part.

Bates, and Dr. J.

visitors, gave me s

of the Center of

of the University

Thanks ar

Association's Pro

ular and its Dire

whom I received s

of my doctoral st

I want to

itude toward my

and through many

early childhood

All my l

help, and stoic

My love

joy to my life.



Rafael Hernandez, Lic. Pierre Thomas, Lic. Maria Eugenia Bozzoli de Wille, and Dr. Cesar Hernandez.

I thank the University of Costa Rica and the Ford Foundation, which funded the major study of which this thesis is a part. I thank also Dr. Arthur Rubel, Dr. John Santos, and Dr. Julian Samora, who as Ford Foundation advisors, gave me so much help. I thank also the personnel of the Center of Social and Population Studies (C.E.S.P.O.) of the University of Costa Rica.

Thanks are also due to the American International Association's Programa Interamericano de Informacion Popular and its Director, Mr. H. Schuyler Bradt, Jr., from whom I received significant support during the early phases of my doctoral study.

I want to leave here testimony of my eternal gratitude toward my parents who, with a constant encouragement and through many personal sacrifices, induced in me since my early childhood my permanent interest in intellectual life.

All my love and gratitude to my wife, whose talent, help, and stoicism made my work possible.

My love to my daughter, who has brought so much joy to my life.

LIST OF TABLES.

Chapter

I. THE PROB

II. THE THEO

A. Sc

B. O

C. S

# TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont.)

| Chapter | Page |
|---------|------|
|---------|------|

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|                          |     |
|--------------------------|-----|
| LIST OF TABLES . . . . . | xiv |
|--------------------------|-----|

### Chapter

|  |    |
|--|----|
| I. THE PROBLEM . . . . .                                   | 1  |
| II. THE THEORETICAL FRAME OF REFERENCE . . . . .           | 9  |
| A. Science and Systems . . . . .                           | 9  |
| B. One Way of Differentiating Social Systems . . . . .     | 12 |
| C. Social Strata as Social Systems . . . . .               | 14 |
| 1. Definition and delineation of a Social System . . . . . | 14 |
| 2. The Integrative elements of a Social Strata . . . . .   | 16 |
| a. Associational basis . . . . .                           | 16 |
| b. Value system . . . . .                                  | 17 |
| c. Intergenerational correspondence . . . . .              | 18 |
| d. Class consciousness . . . . .                           | 19 |
| (1) Divisiveness . . . . .                                 | 22 |
| (2) Self-placement . . . . .                               | 23 |
| (3) Regional Uniformity . . . . .                          | 23 |
| (4) Characterization of Perceived Class . . . . .          | 24 |

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter

D. So

# TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont.)

| Chapter  | Page |
|--|------|
| 1. The Process of Upward Social Mobility                               | 24   |
| (5) Separation . . . . .   | 24   |
| (6) Isolation . . . . .  | 24   |
| (7) Connectedness . . . . .  | 25   |
| (8) Solidarity . . . . .   | 25   |
| (9) Identification of Class Interests . . . . .                        | 25   |
| 2. Attitudes toward Modernity  | 26   |
| (10) Hostility . . . . .   | 26   |
| (11) Predisposition to Action . . . . .                                | 26   |
| 3. Interrelatedness of parts of Social Strata . . . . .                | 26   |
| a. Intrasystemic Interaction   | 26   |
| b. Social Participation . . . . .                                      | 28   |
| 4. Boundary Circumscription of Social Strata . . . . .                 | 28   |
| D. Social Strata in the "Traditionalism-Modernity" Continuum . . . . . | 29   |
| 1. Conceptualization Norms . . . . .                                   | 30   |
| a. Self-Perceived Autonomy . . . . .                                   | 31   |
| b. Secularism . . . . .  | 31   |
| c. Multiplicity of Reference Groups . . . . .                          | 32   |
| d. Calculi of Planning and Risk . . . . .                              | 33   |
| 2. Interaction Norms . . . . .   | 33   |
| a. Collectivity vs. Persons . . . . .                                  | 34   |
| b. Flexibility vs. Inflexibility . . . . .                             | 37   |
| c. Achievement vs. Ascription . . . . .                                | 39   |
| d. Instrumental Norms vs. Norms Validated by the Past . . . . .        | 41   |

TABLE OF CONTENT

Chapter

E. Up

F. S

G. S

# TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont.)

| Chapter  | Page |
|--|------|
| III. E. Upward Social Mobility as a Process of Modernization. . . . .  | 41   |
| A. A Short Summary of Previous Chapters. . . . .   | 41   |
| 1. The Process of Social Mobility as Transference of Actor to more Modern Social System . . . . .                          | 41   |
| 2. Attitude Configuration of Mobility-Oriented Actor and of Modern Man . . . . .   | 44   |
| 3. Mobility-Oriented Actor's <u>Means</u> . . . . .  | 48   |
| 4. Mobility-Oriented Actor's <u>Goals</u> . . . . .  | 48   |
| 5. Mobility-Oriented Actor's <u>Mode of Relationship</u> between the elements of the unit-act. . . . .                     | 48   |
| 6. Social Mobility and Changes in the Number and the Meaning of Social Systems . . . . .                                   | 49   |
| 7. Change and Mobility as a Persistent Movement away from Traditionalism. . . . .  | 50   |
| 8. A Parsimonious Approach toward Modernity . . . . .  | 52   |
| 9. Conditions for an Attitudinal "take off" toward Modernity . . . . .   | 53   |
| 10. Dimensions of Mobility. . . . .  | 55   |
| F. Social Stratum, Awareness, Perception, Desirability of Mobility and Investment in Mobility and Family Planning. . . . . | 56   |
| G. Some Factors Involved in Mobility Orientations. . . . .   | 76   |
| 1. Participation as a Variable . . . . .   | 78   |
| 2. Time as a Variable. . . . .   | 78   |
| 3. Inter-Systemic or Dissociative Variables . . . . .  | 78   |



# TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont.)

| Chapter  | Page |
|--|------|
| III. THE STATEMENT OF THE HYPOTHESES . . . . .   | 81   |
| 16. Sex--Perception of Possi-                    |      |
| A. A Short Summary of Previous Chapters. . . . . | 81   |
| 17. Sex--Desirability of Mobility                |      |
| B. Hypotheses and their Rationale. . . . .       | 82   |
| 19. Age--Perception of Possi-                    |      |
| 1. Stratum--Awareness of Mobility. . . . .       | 82   |
| 2. Stratum--Perception of Possi-                 |      |
| bilities of Mobility. . . . .                    | 83   |
| 23. Stratum--Desirability of                     |      |
| Mobility. . . . .                                | 85   |
| 24. Stratum--Investment in                       |      |
| Mobility. . . . .                                | 86   |
| 25. Stratum--Awareness of Mobility               |      |
| --Family Planning . . . . .                      | 87   |
| 26. Stratum--Perception of Possi-                |      |
| bilities of Mobility--Family                     |      |
| Planning. . . . .                                | 88   |
| IV. METHODOLOGY                                  |      |
| 7. Stratum--Desirability of                      |      |
| Mobility--Family Planning . . . . .              | 88   |
| A. 18. Stratum--Investment in                    |      |
| Mobility--Family Planning . . . . .              | 88   |
| B. 9. Lower Strata--Length of Mar-               |      |
| riage--Perception of Possi-                      |      |
| bilities of Mobility. . . . .                    | 90   |
| 10. Lower Strata--Length of Mar-                 |      |
| riage--Desirability of                           |      |
| Mobility. . . . .                                | 90   |
| 11. Lower Strata--Length of Mar-                 |      |
| riage--Investment in                             |      |
| Mobility. . . . .                                | 90   |
| 12. Higher Strata--Length of Mar-                |      |
| riage--Perception of Possi-                      |      |
| bilities of Mobility. . . . .                    | 92   |
| 13. Higher Strata--Length of Mar-                |      |
| riage--Desirability of                           |      |
| Mobility. . . . .                                | 92   |
| 14. Higher Strata--Length of Mar-                |      |
| riage--Investment in                             |      |
| Mobility. . . . .                                | 93   |
| C. Sample  |      |



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## Chapter

1  
1  
1  
1  
1  
1  
2  
2  
2  
2  
2  
2

## IV. METHODOLOGY

A. Introduction

B. Variables

C. Statistical Analysis

# TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont.)

| Chapter   | Page |
|---|------|
| 15. Sex--Awareness of Mobility . . .                                  | 95   |
| 16. Sex--Perception of Possi-<br>bilities of Mobility . . . . .       | 95   |
| 17. Sex--Desirability of Mobility . . .                               | 95   |
| 18. Sex--Investment in Mobility . . .                                 | 95   |
| 19. Age--Perception of Possi-<br>bilities of Mobility . . . . .       | 97   |
| 20. Age--Desirability of Mobility . . .                               | 97   |
| 21. Age--Investment in Mobility . . .                                 | 97   |
| 22. Education--Awareness of<br>Mobility . . . . .                     | 98   |
| 23. Education--Perception of Possi-<br>bilities of Mobility . . . . . | 98   |
| 24. Education--Desirability of<br>Mobility . . . . .                  | 98   |
| 25. Education--Investment in<br>Mobility . . . . .                    | 99   |
| IV. METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS DESIGN . . . . .                         | 100  |
| A. Introductory Note . . . . .  | 100  |
| B. Variables, Specification and Opera-<br>tionalization . . . . .     | 100  |
| 1. Social Stratum . . . . .   | 100  |
| 2. Awareness of Mobility . . . . .                                    | 101  |
| 3. Perception of Possibilities of<br>Mobility . . . . .               | 104  |
| 4. Desirability of Mobility . . . . .                                 | 106  |
| 5. Investment in Mobility . . . . .                                   | 107  |
| 6. Family Planning . . . . .  | 109  |
| 7. A Word About "Variables" and<br>"Indicators" . . . . .             | 111  |
| 8. Length of Marriage . . . . .                                       | 114  |
| 9. Sex . . . . .  | 115  |
| 10. Age . . . . .   | 115  |
| 11. Education . . . . .   | 115  |
| C. Sample Design . . . . .  | 116  |

TABLE OF CONTENT

Chapter

# TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont.)

| Chapter  | Page |
|--|------|
| 1. Cartographic Delimitation of the "Barrios" . . . . .  | 117  |
| 2. Ranking of the "Barrios". . . . .   | 122  |
| 3. Selection of the "Barrios" typically Representative of Different Socio-Economic Levels. . . . . | 126  |
| a. Principles in Which the Selection of the "Barrios" was Based . . . . .                          | 126  |
| b. Preliminary Selection of the Barrios . . . . .  | 128  |
| c. Final Selection of the "Barrios" . . . . .  | 131  |
| V. THE RESEARCH SITE   |      |
| A. Costa Rica and of San Jose  |      |
| (1) Elimination . . . . .  | 132  |
| (2) Substitution. . . . .  | 133  |
| (3) Transference. . . . .  | 133  |
| B. Characteristic  |      |
| (4) Inclusion . . . . .  | 133  |
| (5) Division. . . . .  | 134  |
| (6) Sectorization . . . . .  | 134  |
| (7) Cartographic "Up Dating" of the Selected "Barrios" . . . . .                                   | 136  |
| (8) Listing of Persons in Each Household for the Final Selection of the Sample. . . . .            | 136  |
| A. Hypothesis 1. . . . .   |      |
| B. Hypothesis 2. . . . .   |      |
| C. Hypothesis 3. . . . .   |      |
| D. Hypothesis 4. . . . .   |      |
| E. Hypothesis 5. . . . .   |      |
| d. Final Selection of the Respondents . . . . .  | 137  |
| F. Hypothesis 6. . . . .   |      |
| D. The Collection of the Data. . . . .   | 143  |
| 1. Pre-Test Questionnaire. . . . .   | 143  |
| 2. The Pre-Test Interviewers . . . . .   | 143  |
| 3. Locations for the Pre-Test Interviews. . . . .  | 144  |

TABLE OF CONTENT

Chapter

E. A

V. THE RESE

A. Co

B. CH

VI. FINDINGS

A. H

B. H

C. H

D. H

E. H

F. H

G. H

H. H

I. H

# TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont.)

| Chapter  | Page |
|--|------|
| J. Hypothesis 15   | 167  |
| 4. Pre-Test Interview . . . . .                                  | 145  |
| K. Hypothesis 16   | 145  |
| 5. Pre-Test Evaluation . . . . .                                 | 145  |
| 6. Fieldwork . . . . .   | 148  |
| L. Hypothesis 17   | 190  |
| a. General Preparation . . . . .                                 | 148  |
| M. Hypothesis 18   | 149  |
| b. Field Personnel . . . . .                                     | 149  |
| c. The Interviews . . . . .                                      | 150  |
| N. Hypothesis 19   | 153  |
| E. Analysis Design . . . . .                                     | 153  |
| O. Hypothesis 20   | 196  |
| 1. Reliability and Validity . . . . .                            | 152  |
| P. Hypothesis 21   | 152  |
| 2. Test of the Hypotheses . . . . .                              | 152  |
| V. THE RESEARCH SITE . . . . .                                   | 154  |
| A. Costa Rica and the Metropolitan Area<br>of San Jose . . . . . | 154  |
| B. Characteristics of the Population . . . . .                   | 156  |
| VI. FINDINGS . . . . .   | 162  |
| VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS . . . . .                           | 162  |
| A. Hypothesis 1 . . . . .  | 162  |
| B. Hypothesis 2 . . . . .  | 165  |
| C. Hypothesis 3 . . . . .  | 169  |
| D. Hypothesis 4 . . . . .  | 172  |
| E. Hypothesis 5 . . . . .  | 175  |
| APPENDIX F. Hypothesis 6 . . . . .                               | 180  |
| APPENDIX G. Hypothesis 7 . . . . .                               | 181  |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY H. Hypothesis 8 . . . . .                           | 183  |
| I. Hypotheses 9-14 . . . . .                                     | 185  |

TABLE OF CONTENT

Chapter

J. Hy

K. Hy

L. Hy

M. Hy

N. Hy

O. H

P. H

Q.

R.

S.

T.

VII. SUMM

A.

B

C

D

APPENDIX I

APPENDIX I

BIBLIOGRAPH

# TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont.)

| Chapter                                      | Page |
|--|------|
| J. Hypothesis 15 . . . . .                   | 187  |
| K. Hypothesis 16 . . . . .                   | 187  |
| L. Hypothesis 17 . . . . .                   | 190  |
| M. Hypothesis 18 . . . . .                   | 191  |
| N. Hypothesis 19 . . . . .                   | 193  |
| O. Hypothesis 20 . . . . .                   | 196  |
| P. Hypothesis 21 . . . . .                   | 199  |
| Q. Hypothesis 22 . . . . .                   | 202  |
| R. Hypothesis 23 . . . . .                   | 204  |
| S. Hypothesis 24 . . . . .                   | 209  |
| T. Hypothesis 25 . . . . .                   | 214  |
| VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS . . . . .       | 220  |
| A. Summary . . . . .                         | 220  |
| B. Discussion of Findings . . . . .          | 239  |
| C. Limitations of the Study . . . . .        | 245  |
| D. Suggestions for Future Research . . . . . | 247  |
| APPENDIX I . . . . .                         | 251  |
| APPENDIX II . . . . .                        | 255  |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .                       | 259  |



# LIST OF TABLES (Cont.)

| Table  | Page |
|--|------|
| 10. STRATUM BY AWARENESS OF MOBILITY (Item 2)<br>[Do you believe that persons born in a family that is fated to continue living in the same way?] . . . . .                            | 164  |
| LIST OF TABLES   |      |
| Table  | Page |
| 1. TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS IN EACH BARRIO AND SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS BY BARRIO, ACCORDING TO STRATA . . . . .  | 139  |
| 2. TOTAL NUMBER OF COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRES, BY SEX; ACCORDING TO STRATA AND BARRIOS (Sectors) . . . . .   | 140  |
| 3. TOTAL NUMBER OF COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRES RELATED TO THE ORIGINAL SAMPLE; ACCORDING TO STRATA . . . . .  | 141  |
| 4. ORIGINAL SAMPLE, SUBSTITUTIONS AND COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRES; ACCORDING TO STRATA . . . . .  | 141  |
| 5. CASES OF NON-CONTACTS AND REFUSALS IN THE ORIGINAL SAMPLE, BY TYPE OF RESPONDANTS; ACCORDING TO STRATA . . . . .  | 142  |
| 6. DENSITY OF POPULATION PER SQUARE KILOMETER AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY SEX IN 1968 . . . . .  | 159  |
| 7. POPULATION STRUCTURE BY AGE, METROPOLITAN AREA AND REST OF THE COUNTRY. . . . .   | 160  |
| 8. TOTAL POPULATION BY PROVINCES AND METROPOLITAN AREA, 1968. . . . .  | 161  |
| 9. STRATUM BY AWARENESS OF MOBILITY (Item 1)<br>[Do you know whether persons who live in certain economic conditions ever move out of those conditions into different ones?] . . . . . | 163  |
| [Are you doing something to improve your socio-economic conditions?] . . . . .   | 173  |

LIST OF TABLES (Cont)

Table

10. STRATUM BY AGE  
[Do you belong to a  
family that  
continue 1
11. STRATUM BY AGE  
Items 1 & 2
12. STRATUM BY PERSONAL  
MOBILITY (Do you  
some person  
as yours c
13. STRATUM BY PERSONAL  
MOBILITY (Do you  
come to go  
have?]. .
14. STRATUM BY PERSONAL  
MOBILITY (Do you  
families  
such as  
they wis
15. STRATUM BY PERSONAL  
MOBILITY (Do you  
families  
such as  
they wis
16. STRATUM BY PERSONAL  
[Will you  
their s
17. STRATUM BY PERSONAL  
[Given  
tions,  
better
18. STRATUM BY PERSONAL  
Items 1 & 2
19. STRATUM BY PERSONAL  
[Are  
soci

# LIST OF TABLES (Cont.)

| Table   | Page |
|---|------|
| 10. STRATUM BY AWARENESS OF MOBILITY (Item 2)   |      |
| 20. SEX [Do you believe that any person born in a family that lives like yours is fated to continue living in the same way?] . . . . .  | 164  |
| condition better than yours?]   | 174  |
| 11. STRATUM BY AWARENESS OF MOBILITY (Index: Items 1 & 2) . . . . .   | 165  |
| 21. SEX [Do you believe that some persons who live in conditions such as yours can come to get a better job?] . .   | 166  |
| 23. STRATUM BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF MOBILITY (Item 1) [Will your children come to get better jobs than the one you have?] . . . . .   | 167  |
| 24. SEX [Will your children come to get better jobs than the one you have?] . . . . .   | 167  |
| 14. STRATUM BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF MOBILITY (Item 3) [Could the children of families living in economic conditions such as yours go to the University if they wish?] . . . . . | 168  |
| 25. SEX [Could the children of families living in economic conditions such as yours go to the University if they wish?] . . . . .   | 168  |
| 15. STRATUM BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF MOBILITY (Index: Items 1 & 2 & 3) . . . . .   | 169  |
| 27. SEX [Will you or your family come to improve their socio-economic conditions?] . . . . .  | 170  |
| 28. SEX [Will you or your family come to improve their socio-economic conditions?] . . . . .  | 170  |
| 17. STRATUM BY DESIRABILITY OF MOBILITY (Item 2) [Given your present socio-economic conditions, will your children come to enjoy a better socio-economic conditions?] . . . . .           | 171  |
| 30. SEX [Given your present socio-economic conditions, will your children come to enjoy a better socio-economic conditions?] . . . . .  | 171  |
| 18. STRATUM BY DESIRABILITY OF MOBILITY (Index: Items 1 & 2) . . . . .  | 172  |
| 32. SEX [Are you doing something to improve your socio-economic conditions?] . . . . .  | 173  |
| 19. STRATUM BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Item 1) [Are you doing something to improve your socio-economic conditions?] . . . . .   | 173  |

# LIST OF TABLES (Contd.)

Table

20. STRATUM BY IN  
[Are you de  
children ca  
condition be

21. STRATUM BY IN  
Items 1 & 2

22. STRATUM BY FA  
of Birth Co

23. STRATUM BY FA  
of Years of

24. STRATUM BY FA  
of Children  
Control (%)

25. SEX BY PERCE  
MOBILITY (

26. SEX BY PERCE  
MOBILITY (

27. SEX BY PERCE  
MOBILITY

28. SEX BY PERC  
MOBILITY

29. SEX BY INVE

30. SEX BY INV

31. SEX BY INV

32. AGE BY PER  
MOBILITY

# LIST OF TABLES (Cont.)

| Table   | Page |
|---|------|
| 20. STRATUM BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Item 2)<br>[Are you doing something so that your<br>children can come to a socio-economic<br>condition better than yours?] . . . . . | 194  |
| 21. STRATUM BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Index:<br>Items 1 & 2) . . . . .   | 174  |
| 22. STRATUM BY FAMILY PLANNING (Item 1) Practice<br>of Birth Control . . . . .  | 175  |
| 23. STRATUM BY FAMILY PLANNING (Item 2) Number<br>of Years of Practice of Birth Control (%) . . . . .   | 176  |
| 24. STRATUM BY FAMILY PLANNING (Item 3) Number<br>of Children at First Practice of Birth<br>Control (%) . . . . .   | 177  |
| 25. SEX BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF<br>MOBILITY (Item 1) . . . . .  | 187  |
| 26. SEX BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF<br>MOBILITY (Item 2) . . . . .  | 188  |
| 27. SEX BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF<br>MOBILITY (Item 3) . . . . .  | 189  |
| 28. SEX BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF<br>MOBILITY (Index) . . . . .   | 189  |
| 29. SEX BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Item 1) . . . . .  | 191  |
| 30. SEX BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Item 2) . . . . .  | 191  |
| 31. SEX BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Index) . . . . .   | 192  |
| 32. AGE BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF<br>MOBILITY (Item 1) . . . . .  | 193  |
| 49. EDUCATION BY DESIRABILITY OF MOBILITY<br>(Item 1) . . . . .   | 241  |

# LIST OF TABLES (CONTINUED)

## Table

33. AGE BY PERCENTAGE  
MOBILITY
34. AGE BY PERCENTAGE  
MOBILITY
35. AGE BY PERCENTAGE  
MOBILITY
36. AGE BY DESIRE
37. AGE BY DESIRE
38. AGE BY DESIRE
39. AGE BY INVE
40. AGE BY INVE
41. AGE BY INVE
42. EDUCATION
43. EDUCATION
44. EDUCATION
45. EDUCATION  
MOBILITY
46. EDUCATION  
MOBILITY
47. EDUCATION  
MOBILITY
48. EDUCATION  
MOBILITY
49. EDUCATION  
(Item



# LIST OF TABLES (Cont.)

| Table  | Page |
|--|------|
| 33. AGE BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF<br>MOBILITY (Item 2) . . . . .       | 194  |
| 34. AGE BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF<br>MOBILITY (Item 3) . . . . .       | 195  |
| 35. AGE BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF<br>MOBILITY (Index). . . . .         | 196  |
| 36. AGE BY DESIRABILITY OF MOBILITY (Item 1). . .                              | 197  |
| 37. AGE BY DESIRABILITY OF MOBILITY (Item 2). . .                              | 198  |
| 38. AGE BY DESIRABILITY OF MOBILITY (Index) . . .                              | 198  |
| 39. AGE BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Item 1). . . .                              | 200  |
| 40. AGE BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Item 2). . . .                              | 200  |
| 41. AGE BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Index) . . . .                              | 201  |
| 42. EDUCATION BY AWARENESS OF MOBILITY (Item 1) .                              | 202  |
| 43. EDUCATION BY AWARENESS OF MOBILITY (Item 2) .                              | 203  |
| 44. EDUCATION BY AWARENESS OF MOBILITY (Index). .                              | 205  |
| 45. EDUCATION BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF<br>MOBILITY (Item 1) . . . . . | 206  |
| 46. EDUCATION BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF<br>MOBILITY (Item 2) . . . . . | 207  |
| 47. EDUCATION BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF<br>MOBILITY (Item 3) . . . . . | 208  |
| 48. EDUCATION BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF<br>MOBILITY (Index). . . . .   | 210  |
| 49. EDUCATION BY DESIRABILITY OF MOBILITY<br>(Item 1). . . . .                 | 211  |



LIST OF TABLES (CONT.)

Title

50. EDUCATION BY  
(Item 2).

51. EDUCATION BY

52. EDUCATION BY

53. EDUCATION BY

54. EDUCATION BY

55. SUMMARY OF F

# LIST OF TABLES (Cont.)

| Table   | Page |
|---|------|
| 50. EDUCATION BY DESIRABILITY OF MOBILITY<br>(Item 2) . . . . . | 212  |
| 51. EDUCATION BY DESIRABILITY OF MOBILITY (Index)               | 213  |
| 52. EDUCATION BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Item 1).               | 215  |
| 53. EDUCATION BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Item 2).               | 215  |
| 54. EDUCATION BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Index) .               | 217  |
| 55. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS . . . . .                               | 234  |

mobility. "The great international interest in mobility research reflects not only its theoretical significance, but also its saliency as a practical political question."<sup>1</sup> But it happens that "... some sociologists have held that social scientists should (for the most fruitful theoretical and research results) consider stratification systems as 'givens' or as 'assumed' for most sociological analyses."<sup>2</sup> Although it is important to study how the stratification system manifests itself, it is no less

<sup>1</sup> S. M. Lipset and E. Bendix; Social Mobility in Industrial Society, University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959, p. IX.

<sup>2</sup> L. E. Sheden II; Factors Involved in Upward Mobility from the Culture of Poverty, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation: Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1968.

32

22.

323

22

25

1

11

6

 $\frac{1}{2}$ 

*m*

33

## CHAPTER I

### THE PROBLEM

By the criteria of judgment based upon sociological theory or social policy, it is almost a platitude to say that social strata are deserving of sociological research. So it is with the concomitant process of social mobility. "The great international interest in mobility research reflects not only its theoretical significance, but also its saliency as a practical political question."<sup>1</sup> But it happens that ". . . some sociologists have held that social scientists should (for the most fruitful theoretical and research results) consider stratification systems as 'givens' or as 'assumed' for most sociological analyses."<sup>2</sup> Although it is important to study how the stratification system manifests itself, it is no less

---

<sup>1</sup>S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix; Social Mobility in Industrial Society, University of California Press; Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959, p. IX.

<sup>2</sup>L. E. Sneden II; Factors Involved in Upward Mobility from the Culture of Poverty, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation; Michigan State University; East Lansing, 1968.

important to study the factors involved in its emergence, in its self-maintenance, and in its development. Only in this way one can understand the impact of the stratification system upon human behavior, the global social system, and the political and social processes. <sup>connected with the</sup> <sup>Self-ps.</sup> Social strata can be conceived as social systems; as such, they serve as structural anchorages for actors, provide, in certain respects, functional value, and have self-perpetuating dimensions.

Even more, only because of this self-perpetuating dimension of strata it is meaningful to conceive society as a "stratified entity." Only if a significant majority of actors maintain themselves in their strata of origin through the whole of his life and their positions are transmitted from generation to generation can the strata exercise such an impact on actors' behaviors and fate and on the social order and its processes. <sup>variable magnitude</sup>

<sup>and Beh.</sup> Unequal distribution of economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income among the different strata account, to a larger extent, for the self-perpetuation of the strata; i.e., the transmission of a similar socio-economic position from generation to generation. <sup>M. Weber: "Class and Status. In M. Weber: Sociology, Oxford University Press: New York, 1965, p. 23.</sup>

generation. Max W

clear in this regard

But beside

income there must

styles" and some

self-perpetuation

It is there is "ad

analytical scheme

the analysis of s

By defini

its absence or it

for the degree of

to study actor's

such a process i

vestments amenable

on the problem

The assumption

and behavioral

behavioral inv

3 M. We  
C. W. Mills (e  
Sociology, Ox  
181-182. K.  
York, 1965, p

generation. Max Weber as well as Kurt Meyer were quite clear in this regard.<sup>3</sup>

But besides, or along with, the "crude fact" of income there must be some "cognitive and behavioral styles" and some "actor's behavior" connected with the self-perpetuation of the stratum, for, after all, what it is there is "actors" behaving toward "objects" if the analytical scheme "actors-means-objects" is accepted in the analysis of social action.

By definition, the process of social mobility--its absence or its existence in a social system--accounts for the degree of self-perpetuation of the strata. Then, to study actor's cognitive and behavioral styles toward such a process itself, and to study some behavioral investments amenable to such a process, might give some cues on the problem of the self-perpetuation of the strata. The assumption is made that actor's favorable cognitive and behavioral style toward social mobility, as well as behavioral investments amenable with social mobility or

---

<sup>3</sup>M. Weber; "Class and Status," in H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills (eds. and trans.), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, Oxford University Press; New York, 1968, pp. 181-182. K. Meyer; Class and Society, Random House; New York, 1965, p. 23.



1102

1103

1104

1105

1106

1107

1108

1109

1110

1111

1112

1113

1114

1115

vice-versa, impinge actually on the actor's social mobility or social stability. But it is crucial of course, to bear in mind that there are structural variables which hold actors in their social strata, no matter how "mobility-oriented" they might be. It is also of paramount importance to recognize that those cognitive and behavioral styles--if they exist--cannot be regarded as the causes of an individual's presence in a certain stratum. On the contrary, a central question on this study is to inquire whether the "existential experience" which entails for the individual belonging to a certain economic stratum breeds those cognitive and behavioral styles. Of course, if they exist, they contribute to reinforce the impact of the unequal distribution of economic opportunity on the self-perpetuation of the strata.

On the other hand one could say that the differential experience of upward mobility are part of the "existential experience" ingrained in the social strata; an existential experience which might be one of the circumstances which breed those cognitive and behavioral styles toward social mobility.

B. Rosen; *The Achievement Syndrome*, A.S.S., Vol. XXI, April: 1956, No. 2, p. 383. G. Grim and R. Fore; *On the other hand one could say that the differential experience of upward mobility are part of the "existential experience" ingrained in the social strata; an existential experience which might be one of the circumstances which breed those cognitive and behavioral styles toward social mobility.*

A. D. Haller and J. A. Miller; *The American Class Structure*, East Lansing, Michigan State University, 1959. L. E. Sneden; op. cit.

For sure,  
some "subjective c  
conceptualized as  
which are related  
individuals posses  
able mobile, or mo  
down the social la  
focus upon subject  
following: "defe  
"feeling of power  
motivation," "in

4  
G. Knud  
dix and S. M. L  
cial Stratifica  
Press; New York  
of Different C  
cit., p. 426.  
Gratification  
No. 2, p. 142.  
A.S.R., Vol. 2  
R. Forer; "A  
Structure to  
1956, No. 1,  
Comparative A  
and World; Ne  
American Cla  
New York, 19  
op. cit., pp  
Occupational  
ates, Mich  
Lansing, 19  
Levels of A  
Ph.D. Disse  
1961. L. E

For sure, some studies have been done which deal with some "subjective orientations toward mobility." They are conceptualized as socially determined subjective qualities which are related with the process to the extent that those individuals possessing them in a certain degree are presumable mobile, or more susceptible to climbing up or slipping down the social ladder. Among the concepts at issue in this focus upon subjective orientation toward mobility are the following: "deferred gratification pattern," "values," "feeling of powerlessness," "life planning," "achievement motivation," "intelligence," "aspirations," etc.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup>G. Knupfer; "Portrait of the Underdog," in R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds.); Class, Status and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective, The Free Press; New York, 1953, p. 255. H. Hyman; "The Value System of Different Classes," in R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset, op. cit., p. 426. L. Schneider and S. Lysgaard; "The Deferred Gratification Pattern," A.S.R., Vol. XVIII, April: 1953, No. 2, p. 142. B. Rosen; "The Achievement Syndrome," A.S.R., Vol. XXI, April: 1956, No. 2, p. 283. O. Brim and R. Forer; "A Note on the Relation of Values and Social Structure to Life Planning," Sociometry, Vol. XIX, March: 1956, No. 1, p. 54. B. Barber; Social Stratification: A Comparative Analysis of Structure and Process, Harcourt, Brace and World; New York, 1957, pp. 390 ff. J. A. Kahl; The American Class Structure, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.; New York, 1962, pp. 276 ff. S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix; op. cit., pp. 227 ff. A. D. Haller and I. W. Miller; The Occupational Aspiration Scale: Theory Structure and Correlates, Michigan State University, Ag. Exp. Station; East Lansing, 1961. A. De Hoyos; Occupational and Educational Levels of Aspiration of Mexican-American Youth, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University; East Lansing, 1961. L. E. Sneden; op. cit.

500

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

Of all of them, closest to the theme of present study are those dealing with "aspirations," especially with educational and occupational aspirations. But the research here proposed differs in several respects:

- 1) At least partial evidence shows that not all individuals aspire to a certain kind of occupation and to a certain level and kind of education for reasons of prestige. For example, Burnstein, Moulton, and Liberty found that some individuals prefer occupational roles which demand high excellence (that is, "expertise") relative to the prestige they confer, while others prefer those which confer high prestige relative to the excellence demanded. Much depends on the psychological properties of members of a given role system.<sup>5</sup>

- 2) The categories of cognitive styles toward mobility with which this study deals with (a point to be developed later in this proposal) differ from categories

(1) To see whether existential...  
previously used. These categories refer directly, a socio-economic stratum breeds in individuals certain in terms of their operationalization, with the pro-cognitive styles toward social mobility as well as certain cess of social mobility. 3) This study includes, behavioral styles amenable (or not) to such

---

<sup>5</sup> E. Burnstein, R. Moulton, and P. Liberty; "Prestige vs. Excellence as Determinants of Role Attractiveness," A.S.R., Vol. XXIII, April: 1963, No. 2, p. 212.





besides those cognitive styles, a category referred to as "behavioral investments toward mobility." 4) This study tries to establish the relationship between socio-economic strata, some aspects of social mobility and family planning. 5) The conceptual frame of reference used has not been previously used to examine the stratum--mobility--family planning dynamic.

So far, the self perpetuating dimension of the strata has been emphasized, but the fact is that the movement of actors from one stratum to another can and does occur, no matter how great or small it may be. That is to say that the process of social mobility exists. This means that, structural variables and individual accidents aside, in each social stratum there are mobility-oriented actors who invest in behavior favorable to social mobility.

The General Objectives of this study then are:

- (1) To see whether existential experience within a socio-economic stratum breeds in individuals certain cognitive styles toward social mobility as well as certain behavioral styles amenable (or not) to such a process.
- In this way, the study intends to bring forth some more knowledge about the self-perpetuation of social strata.



(2) To see whether some factors prompt actors, whichever their social stratum may be, to be mobility-oriented and to invest in mobility.

### THE THEORETICAL FRAME OF REFERENCE

Before presenting the theoretical frame of reference, it should be noted that under certain conditions such a frame of reference might need to be modified. This will be the case, for example, in "authoritarian regimes" with repressive types of political structures, where "change oriented" individuals might be distributed between strata in a different way than is assumed in the theoretical frame of reference at issue in this study. This being not the case in Costa Rica, this study was guided by the assumption that such a theoretical frame of reference--as stated in the following sections of this chapter--fits the case under study.

### A. SCIENCE AND SYSTEMS

That science, in general, deals with "systems" is an old notion. Similarly, that social science, in



particular, deals with "social systems" is in no way a new notion. As early as 1934, Florian Znaniecki, borrowing--

## CHAPTER II

### THE THEORETICAL FRAME OF REFERENCE

Before presenting the theoretical frame of reference, it should be noted that under certain conditions such a frame of reference might need to be modified. This systematic levels of abstraction: the social system; the will be the case, for example, in "aristocratic regimes" with repressive types of political structures, where interpenetration, with all other social systems constituting subsystems or parts of larger systems, might be distributed between strata in a different way than is assumed in the theoretical frame of reference at issue in this study. This being not the case in Costa Rica, this study was guided by the assumption that such a theoretical frame of reference--as stated in the following sections of this chapter--fits the case under study.

T. Parsons: The Social System, The Free Press, London, 1951, pp. 36 and 45. It is not proposed here that the distinction between the "social system" and the "cultural system" is crucial. In that regard, there is some argument. The emphasis is placed in the "systemic" aspect of the Parsonian formulation. See also C. P. Loeb, The Social System, Oxford, 1963, pp. 128 and 130. Van Nostrand, 1963.

That science, in general, deals with "systems" is an old notion. Similarly, that social science, in

particular, dea

action. As ear

by his own admi

were grouped ar

Morale" twenty

a notion to Ame

fruitful to loc

systemic levels

cultural system

interpenetratio

ing subsystems

Simila

are the core o

ences, is conc

<sup>1</sup>F. Z  
and Rinehart,

<sup>2</sup>T. P.  
London, 1951,  
that the dist  
'cultural sys  
room for argu  
temic" aspect  
C. P. Loomis  
Van-Strand  
1965, pp. 328



particular, deals with "social systems" is in no way a new notion. As early as 1934, Florian Znaniecki, borrowing-- by his own admission--from the French methodologists who were grouped around the "Revue de Metaphysique et de Morale" twenty years before he wrote,<sup>1</sup> brought forth such a notion to American Sociology. Parsons has found it fruitful to look at the "social world" in three different systemic levels of abstraction: the social system; the cultural system, and the personality system, in reciprocal interpenetration, with all other social systems constituting subsystems or parts of subsystems.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, Loomis points out that "social systems" are the core of sociology. "Sociology, like other sciences, is concerned with the orderliness or uniformities

---

<sup>1</sup>F. Znaniecki; The Method of Sociology, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc.; New York, 1934, p. 12, footnote #1.

<sup>2</sup>T. Parsons; The Social System, The Free Press; London, 1951, pp. 36 and 45. It is not proposed here that the distinction between the "social system" and the "cultural system" is crucial. In that regard, there is room for argument. The emphasis is placed in the "systemic" aspect of the Parsonian formulation. See also C. P. Loomis and Z. Loomis, Modern Social Theories; The Van-Nostrand Series in Sociology; Princeton, New Jersey, 1965, pp. 328 and 330.

Loomis; op. cit., p. XXII.



involved in its particular class of phenomena, and it finds this order in the social system."<sup>3</sup>

The heuristic function of the concept in both Parsons and Loomis is obvious. "System" implies the idea of "interrelatedness." So, knowing sectors of a "system," one should be able to "predict" how, at least partially, other sectors should be. Or, as Wilbert Moore has put it

... sociological analysis must deal with systems if it is to yield predictive propositions of any consequence, if that is, the study of social phenomena is to go beyond endless and tiresome descriptions of events and entities.<sup>4</sup>

This study, then, takes point of departure from the notion of "social system" and attempts to characterize it, to see how "social systems" differ among themselves, to conceive strata as social systems and as social systems which differ among themselves regarding the dimension of modernization and to see the process of social mobility as a process which implies "changes in the number and in the meaning of social systems to the actor and concomitant

---

<sup>3</sup> C. P. Loomis; Social Systems, The Van-Nostrand Series in Sociology; Princeton, New Jersey, 1960, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Editorial Introduction to C. P. Loomis and Z. Loomis; op. cit., p. XXII.

Indiana University, Bloomington, 1960. Department, Michigan State University; East Lansing, Winter, 1970.

changes in his behavior."<sup>5</sup> The process at issue implies a process of modernization, and I attempt to use a "theoretical frame of reference" about such a process. With such a theoretical frame of reference, a set of propositions that presumably accounts for the phenomenon under study was developed.

To do such a thing would constitute an "explanation," for "... explanation presupposes (1) the formulation of a domain to which the system of propositions refers and (2) the formulation of strategy rules or guiding premises which constitute simplifying assumptions about the domain and guide the development of propositions. The specification of the domain and strategy rules constitute a theoretical frame of reference."<sup>6</sup>

#### B. ONE WAY OF DIFFERENTIATING SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Given that the concept of social system is central of the theoretical frame of reference here used, and given

<sup>5</sup> F. B. Waisanen; Actors, Social Systems and the Modernization Process, The Carnegie Seminar on Political and Administrative Development, Department of Government, Indiana University; Bloomington, 1969, p. 2.

F. B. Waisanen op. cit., page 1.

<sup>6</sup> H. Karp; Class notes in Sociology 494, Sociology Department, Michigan State University; East Lansing, Winter, 1970.

further the

parison of

of which a

must deal

problem of

systems in

most vex

terpret

trism, of

the iss

poses w

which h

proces

releval

relati

pretat

effect

spect

meanin

---

further that a main theme of this study implies the comparison of several social systems and the process by means of which actors pass from one system to the other, one must deal with some elements to differentiate them. "The problem of specification and differentiation of social systems is certainly one of the most important and yet most vexing problems of social science. Efforts to interpret behavior in terms of reference groups, ethnocentrism, 'cross pressures,' and the like are forced to face the issue squarely."<sup>7</sup> For that purpose, Waisanen<sup>8</sup> proposes what he calls "normative structural variables," which he subdivides as follows:

Conceptualization norms refer to such symbolic processes as (1) conceptual mapping (i.e., providing a relevant system of social objects), (2) specification of relationships among these social objects, and (3) interpretation of events, including the assumption of cause-effect sequences. These norms guide the actor's retroclarify this proposition, one must start with acceptable definitions of system and social system, and by stating meaning.

---

<sup>7</sup>F. B. Waisanen; op. cit., page 3.

<sup>8</sup>Ibidem, pp. 2-5.

Int

action. Th

quette, de

vance of t

ture reali

Wa

rectly up

be mentio

explained

below, to

along th

modernit

C. SOC  
SOCIAL

can be

clari

defin

how

Car

212



Interaction norms provide the framework for overt action. The class subsumes, by example, patterns of etiquette, deference, and reciprocity. The normative relevance of this class is less a matter of how actors structure reality and more of how they deal with it. Waisanen suggests other variables which bear directly upon the modernization process, some of which will be mentioned later on. The ones mentioned above were explained at this point, because they will serve, in lines below, to support the point that social strata differ along the normative dimensions of "traditionalism-modernity." "Among the dimensions that may determine the

#### C. SOCIAL STRATA AS SOCIAL SYSTEMS

The proposition is here made that social strata can be conceived as "social systems." To support and clarify this proposition, one must start with acceptable definitions of system and social system, and by stating how a social system may be delineated. "A system--say Carrol and Farace--is any set of objects which can influence one another, and which have boundary that enables





an observer to tell where the system begins and where it ends."<sup>9</sup> "A social system," says Sorokin, "is composed of the patterned interaction of members. It is constituted of the interaction of a plurality of individual actors whose relations to each other are mutually oriented through the definition and mediation of a pattern of structured and shared symbols and expectations."<sup>10</sup> And "a means of delineating a social system is furnished by the more intense and frequent occurrence of specific types of interaction among members than among non-members, within a situation having both physical and symbolic aspects."<sup>11</sup> "Among the dimensions that may determine the type of interaction are extensity, intensity, duration, direction (i.e., whether solidary or antagonistic), and nature and extent of integration."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> T. W. Carrol and R. V. Farace; Systems Analysis, Computer Simulation, and Survey Research: Applications to Social Research in Developing Countries, Computer Institute for Social Science Research, Michigan State University; East Lansing, Revised Edition, March, 1970, p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> P. A. Sorokin; Social and Cultural Dynamics, Porter Sargent Publisher; Boston, 1957, p. 444.

<sup>11</sup> P. A. Sorokin, *ibidem*.

<sup>12</sup> P. A. Sorokin, *ibidem*.  
T. S. Laswell; Cities and Stratus: An Introduction, H. Roughton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1965, p. 299.

Follow:

such a criterion

a social system

expressed by:

b) direction of

and expectation

pressed by: a

intensity of i

non: a social

tively--can be

All th

lines, when a

to support th

social system

Thus,

stratum, which

tion, is the

tional basis l

fact, when La

this aspect o

13 T.

duction to C.  
Boston, 1965

One Following that definition of social system and that they are interacting communities, one can assert that such a criterion for delineating it, one can assert that other. Warner's KP method of classification of social system must have: 1) Integrative elements, as expressed by: a) nature and extent of the integration; b) direction of the interaction; and c) shared symbols and expectations. 2) Interrelatedness of parts, as expressed by: a) mutual orientation and b) extensity and intensity of interaction. And, 3) Boundary Circumscription: a social system's boundaries--physically or normatively--can be delineated. All this will become clearer in the following as exceptions to the general principles of social lines, when applying those criteria to the social strata, whole is concerned. Cleavages are effective to support the assertion that they can be conceived as from almost anything that serves as a basis for social systems. physical, religious, economic, racial, intellectual or social.

Thus, the first integrative element of a social stratum, which is expressed by the nature of the integration, is the fact that the social strata have associational basis<sup>13</sup> as an element for their definition. In fact, when Lasswell summarizes the findings related with from, integrate, and symbolize the class, in this aspect of social strata, he states the following:

---

<sup>13</sup> T. E. Lasswell; Class and Stratum: An Introduction to Concepts and Research, Houghton Mifflin Co.; Boston, 1965, p. 299.

3

One understanding of social classes . . . was that they are interacting communities in which the members have personal access to one another. Warner's EP method of classifying community members is based on such assumption. Several studies deny the possibility of an associational base for social classes: but there may be a factor of community size involved. The associational assumption is almost necessarily confined to the local scene for most situations, since few persons can maintain steady association with distant friends on any kind of intimate basis. Frequently observed in social classes are cliques and various types of clubs. The clique is a special case of the small group. Clubs and local associations seem to be closely related to the social class structures in communities. The "great clans" in the United States, although conspicuous, are actually an extremely small fraction of the population, and probably should be considered as exceptions to the general principles of social stratification as far as the country as a whole is concerned. Cleavages are effective barriers to free association. They may arise from almost anything that makes communication difficult--physical, religious, economic, racial, intellectual, or sentimental barriers.<sup>14</sup>

The second integrative element of the social strata is the fact that they show their own value system, prestige, and power. as an expression of shared symbols and expectations. With this, one means that ". . . value orientations emerge from, integrate, and symbolize the class way of life."<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> W. Buckley: "Social Stratification and Functional", T. E. Lasswell; ibidem, pp. 327-328. A., Vol. XXIII, August, 1958, No. 4, p. 369.

<sup>15</sup> J. A. Kahl; op. cit., p. 215.

1



And, on the other hand, "... most of [our]<sup>16</sup> families are content to adjust. Either they spin a web of values that integrates their current lives, or they strive to change aspects of their lives that do not match their values. Although there are people who are always a little out of phase, and standards are always shifting, the observer can better understand both conformity and deviation by recognizing the typical patterns."<sup>17</sup>

The third integrative element, which expresses the extent of the integration, is the intergenerational correspondence. "It is (or was)--asserts Buckley--rather firmly embedded in usage that stratification involves the existence of strata, generally agreed to refer to specifiable collectivities or subgroups that continue-through several generations to occupy the same relative positions and to receive the same relative amounts of material ends, prestige, and power."<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> J. A. Kahl; *ibidem*, p. 217, brackets provided.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*. See also Class and Class Conflict in American Society, Stanford University Press, 1968.

<sup>18</sup> W. Buckley; "Social Stratification and Functional Theory of Social Differentiation," A.S.R., Vol. XXIII, August: 1958, No. 4, p. 369.



This new Lipset and Bendix, in summarizing research on of inter-generational mobility, state the following: social

cha Occupational and social status are to an im-  
portant extent self-perpetuating. They are  
associated with many factors which make it concept  
difficult for individuals to modify their  
of status. Position in the social structure is  
usually associated with a certain level of  
to income, education, family structure, community  
reputation, and so forth. These become a part  
of a vicious circle in which each factor acts  
on the other in such a way as to preserve the  
social structure in its present form, as well  
as the individual family's position in that  
structure.<sup>19</sup>

The fourth integrative element, as an expression  
of the direction of the interaction (i.e., whether soli-  
dary or antagonistic) is class consciousness. In this  
study one is not dealing with the concept of social class  
as used by Karl Marx. As is well-known, for Marx the  
concept of "social stratum," which is a concept coined  
many years after Marx wrote, has a static character.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> M. Weber, op. cit., p. 191.

<sup>19</sup> S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix, op. cit., p. 198.

<sup>20</sup> To see the difference between "stratum" as a static concept and "class" as a dynamic concept, see R. Dahrendorf; Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, Stanford University Press; Stanford California, 1968.

with a doctoral dissertation which is also a part of the mentioned major study. The operationalization was done by both authors. A very significant part of the review of the literature in this respect was done mainly by Mr. Hernandez-Celis.

This means t

'social clas

change.

In t

of "stratum

to the conc

We may  
people  
ponent  
this co  
economy  
and opp  
resente  
of lab

No

they merel

communal a

Weber, "s

basis of

2

2

2

a part,  
connecti  
tained h  
with a d  
mentione  
both aut  
the lite  
Bernande

This means that, in the Marxist tradition, the concept of "social class" was an analytical tool to explain social change. *Those aspects of class consciousness are:*

In this study, we are attaching to the concept of "stratum" a meaning similar to that given by Max Weber to the concept of "social class."

We may speak of a "class" when (1) a number of people have in common a specific causal component of their life chances, in so far as (2) this component is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income, and (3) is represented under the conditions of the commodity of labor markets.<sup>21</sup>

Now, for Max Weber, "classes" are not communities; they merely represent possible, and frequent, bases for communal action.<sup>22</sup> This means that a "stratum" (to Max Weber, "social class,") represents possible, and frequent, basis of class consciousness.<sup>23</sup> In reviewing the

---

<sup>21</sup>M. Weber, op. cit., p. 181.

<sup>22</sup>Ibidem.

<sup>23</sup>In the major study of which this dissertation is a part, the author of this doctoral thesis worked in close connection with Mr. Cesar Hernandez-Cela, who recently obtained his Ph.D. degree in the University of Notre Dame, with a doctoral dissertation which is also a part of the mentioned major study. The operationalization was done by both authors. A very significant part of the review of the literature in this respect was done mainly by Mr. Hernandez-Cela.

relevant liter

class consciou

Those

24

B. F.

Jr.; "Status C  
Soc. Forces, V  
243-248. R. C  
Princeton Univ  
ters; "Social  
A.J.S., Vol. I  
Eisenstadt; "T  
cation," sele  
ciety, Basic I  
in C. S. Helle  
A reader in Co  
Milan Co.; Ne  
"An Empirical  
Forces, Decem  
Cossowski; "Nor  
in Interpreti  
Heller; op. c  
A. W. Kornhau  
Contemporary  
of Class Divi  
(eds.); Indus  
York, 1939, P  
Crystallizati  
Vol. XXVIII,  
well; "The Pe  
Res., Vol. XI  
T. E. Lasswel  
to Concepts a  
Leggett; "Upr  
ness," A.J.S.  
662-692. J.  
Working-Class  
1964, No. 2,

relevant literature, one can find different aspects of class consciousness.<sup>24</sup>

Those aspects of class consciousness are:

groups as collectives with distinctive life

<sup>24</sup> B. Barber; op. cit., Ch. IX. H. M. Blalock, Jr.; "Status Consciousness: A Dimensional Analysis," Soc. Forces, Vol. XXXVIII, March: 1959, No. 3, pp. 243-248. R. Centers; The Psychology of Social Classes, Princeton University Press; Princeton, 1949. R. Centers; "Social Class, Occupation and Imputed Belief," A.J.S., Vol. LVIII, May: 1953, pp. 543-555. S. N. Eisenstadt; "The Emerging Pattern of Israeli Stratification," selected from S. N. Eisenstadt; Israeli Society, Basic Books Inc., Publishers; New York, 1967; IX, in C. S. Heller (ed.); Structured Social Inequality: A reader in Comparative Social Stratification, The McMillan Co.; New York, 1969, pp. 438-452. J. L. Haer; "An Empirical Study of Social Class Awareness," Soc. Forces, December: 1957, No. 36, pp. 117-121. S. Ossowski; "Non-Egalitarian Classlessness--Similarities in Interpreting Mutually Opposed Systems," in C. S. Heller; op. cit., pp. 206-216. J. A. Kahl; op. cit. A. W. Kornhauser; "Analysis of 'Class' Structure of Contemporary American Society--Psychological Bases of Class Divisions," in G. W. Hartman and T. Newcomb (eds.); Industrial Conflict, The Gordon Company; New York, 1939, pp. 199-264. W. S. Landecker; "Class Crystallization and Class Consciousness," A.S.R., Vol. XXVIII, 1963, No. 2, pp. 219-229. T. E. Lasswell; "The Perception of Social Status," Sociol. Soc. Res., Vol. XLV, July: 1961b, No. 4, pp. 407-414. T. E. Lasswell; Class and Stratum: An Introduction to Concepts and Research, op. cit., Ch. X. J. C. Leggett; "Uprootedness and Working-Class Consciousness," A.J.S., Vol. LXVIII, May: 1963, No. 6, pp. 682-692. J. C. Leggett; "Economic Insecurity and Working-Class Consciousness," A.S.R., Vol. XXIX, April: 1964, No. 2, p. 226. L. S. Lewis; "Class and Perception

1. Division

This a

a soc

group

of Class," So  
pp. 336-340.  
Salience of C  
January: 196  
Class Consci  
Quarterly, V.  
J. G. Manis a  
Consciousness  
September:  
Some Subject  
III, in D. V  
Routledge and  
Marx: The Ei  
ternational  
Marx's Theor  
S. M. Lipset  
White Collar  
p. 325. R.  
the Study of  
Vol. L, Apri  
Changes in  
a revised ve  
Journal, Vol  
cit., pp. 2  
the Social C  
London, 196  
to Class Cor  
A.S.R., Vol  
383.



1. Divisiveness. It furthermore includes the number of

This aspect refers to the degree which people in  
a society are aware of the existence of various  
groups as collectives with distinctive life

---

of Class," Soc. Forces, Vol. XLII, March: 1964, No. 3, pp. 336-340. L. S. Lewis; "Class Consciousness and Saliency of Class," Sociol. Soc. Res., Vol. XLIX, January: 1965, No. 2, pp. 173-182. L. S. Lewis; "Class Consciousness and Interclass Sentiment," Sociol. Quarterly, V. G., Autumn: 1963, No. 4, pp. 325-338. J. G. Manis and B. N. Meltzer; "Some Correlates of Class Consciousness Among Textile Workers," A.J.S., Vol. LXIX, September: 1963, No. 2, pp. 177-184. F. M. Martin; "Some Subjective Aspects of Social Stratification," Ch. III, in D. V. Glass (ed.); Social Mobility in Britain, Routledge and Kegan Paul; London, 1954, pp. 58-64. K. Marx; The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, International Publishers; New York, n.d. K. Marx; "Karl Marx's Theory of Social Classes," in R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds.), op. cit., pp. 8-10. C. W. Mills; White Collar, Oxford University Press; New York, 1951, p. 325. R. T. Morris and R. J. Murphy; "A Paradigm of the Study of Class Consciousness," Sociol. Soc. Res., Vol. L, April: 1966, No. 3, pp. 298-313. S. Nowak; "Changes in Social Structure in Social Consciousness," a revised version of an article in the Polish Sociol. Journal, Vol. II, 1964, in C. S. Heller (ed.), op. cit., pp. 235-247. S. Ossowski; Class Structure in the Social Consciousness, Routledge and Kegan Paul; London, 1963. M. Rosenberg; "Perceptual Obstacles to Class Consciousness and Political Solidarity," A.S.R., Vol. XXIII, August: 1958, No. 4, pp. 375-383.

in a different location "s."



condi

disti

as th

into

2. Self

This

of o

quir

them

whic

and

to t

3. Reg

Thi

bel

ica

the

ica

in

conditions. It furthermore includes the number of distinct collectives which are perceived as well as the believed distribution of the population into these collectives of "social classes."

2. Self-placement.

This dimension refers to the degree of awareness of one's position in a class-hierarchy. It requires not only that people be able to identify themselves with one of the several classes into which they divide society, but also that they have and state reasons for why they assign themselves to that particular class.

3. Regional Uniformity.

This component refers to the degree that people believe classes are uniform across the geographical boundaries of their country, i.e., whether they believe that people in class "x" in geographical location "y" would belong to the same class in a different location "z."

4. Chara

This

socie

of fo

sonal

c) At

d) No

5. Separ

Separ

socia

disce

terna

cultu

gree

ferer

uneas

membe

are s

6. Isola

This

class

#### 4. Characterization of Perceived Classes.

This aspect refers to the degree that people in a society characterize the various classes in terms of four main types of attributes, mainly: a) Personal Attributes, b) Socio-Structural Attributes, c) Attributes making allusion to life chances, and d) Nominal terms.

#### 5. Separation.

Separation refers to the degree of visibility of social classes in society, i.e., the ability to discern to which class a person belongs by external signs like modes of speech and behavior, culture, manners, etc. It also includes the degree to which friends belong to the same or different classes, and especially the sensation of uneasiness, inhibition, and the feeling that members of classes above or below one's class are strangers to each other.

#### 6. Isolation.

This dimension refers to the degree that social classes are perceived as isolated from each other

i.e.,

any con

their

7. Conne

This a

classe

are mo

It in

exist

sibil

pecta

readi

8. Solid

This

to th

refer

which

one's

with

9. Ident

This

i.e., members of different classes do not have any concern for each other and live a life of their own.

7. Connectedness.

This aspect refers to the degree to which social classes are perceived as having boundaries which are more or less rigid or more or less penetrable. It includes different degrees of awareness of the existence of barriers, the perception of the possibility of penetrating these barriers, the expectation of penetrating them, as well as the readiness and the means for penetrating them.

8. Solidarity.

This concept refers to manifestations of allegiance to those in one's class. More specifically, it refers to allegiance and support of movements which are perceived to be on the side of those in one's class, even when there may be disagreement with reasons that others in the same class give.

9. Identification of Class Interests.

This aspect refers to the degree to which classes

are per

are mor

10. Hostil

This d

exist

one's

classe

belief

as wel

classe

11. Predis

This a

exist

to or

teres

ingne

It wa

defining elem

social system

of intrasyste

expression of



are perceived to have different interests which are more or less incompatible.

10. Hostility.

This dimension refers to the degree to which there exist feelings of antipathy towards classes above one's own class and feelings of deprecation toward classes below one's class. It also includes the beliefs that upper classes fear the lower classes as well as the belief in the exploitation between classes.

11. Predisposition to Action.

This aspect refers to the degree to which there exists a disposition for members of one's class to organize to fight in behalf of their own interests. It also includes the readiness or willingness to join such movements.

It was stated that interrelatedness of parts is a defining element of social system. This aspect of the social system is shown by social strata in the prevalence of intrasystemic interaction within strata, and it is an expression of extensity and mutually oriented interaction.

In this sense,

grata is impl

In content  
pressed by  
specific s  
all those  
Linked with  
tions on '  
tercourse  
nomic or a  
tional" p  
confine no  
status cir  
dogamous c  
a mere inc  
imitation  
agreed-up  
character  
way. 25

More recently

Feelings  
acted out  
and play.  
teraction  
prestige  
studying

The e  
ilar pres  
one anoth  
where fre  
ential co  
different  
education  
ize peopl  
make peop  
with thei

In this sense, the systemic characteristic of social strata is implied very clearly in Max Weber's statement:

In content, status honor is normally expressed by the fact that above all else a specific style of life can be expected from all those who wish to belong to the circle. Linked with this expectation are restrictions on "social" intercourse (that is, intercourse which is not subservient to economic or any other of business's "functional" purposes). These restrictions may confine normal marriages to within the status circle and may lead to complete endogamous closure. As soon as there is not a mere individual and socially irrelevant imitation of another style of life, but an agreed-upon communal action of this closing character, the status development is underway.<sup>25</sup>

More recently, Kahl has expressed a similar idea:

Feelings of superiority and inferiority are acted out when men and women meet to work and play. Thus direct observations of interaction and interpretations of verbal prestige rankings are different means of studying the same basic phenomena.

The evidence is clear: persons of similar prestige are likely to associate with one another in those recreational situations where free choice is available. The differential costs of the activities engaged in at different status levels, and the different educations, habits, and values that characterize people at the separate prestige levels make people more comfortable when interacting with their own kind. Furthermore, the

---

<sup>25</sup>M. Weber, op. cit., pp. 187-188.

ecologi  
similar

The

parts of so

pression of

assertion

In the  
duce f  
at wor  
differ  
various  
organ  
cial o

The last

social sy

cial stra

29  
sanen

maintenance

strata.

history of

Aspirat  
paper p  
Sociolo

ecological patterning of cities puts people of similar buying power together as neighbors.<sup>26</sup>

The other aspect which shows interrelatedness of parts of social strata is social participation, as an expression of intensity of interaction. Support of this assertion come from Kahl:

In those more structured situations that produce formal organizations, the same forces are at work, but in even greater strength. The different economic and social interests of the various strata lead them to organize separate organizations that seek to advance their special goals.<sup>27</sup>

The last element which serves to define and circumscribe a social system is boundary circumscription. So far as social strata are concerned, Lewis<sup>28</sup> and Briones and Waisanen<sup>29</sup> have suggested that this concern for boundary maintenance may be found even among social (socioeconomic) strata. The boundaries by means of which the social

<sup>26</sup>J. A. Kahl; op. cit., p. 153.

<sup>27</sup>Ibidem; p. 154.

<sup>28</sup>D. Lewis; The Children of Sanchez: Autobiography of a Mexican Family, Random House, New York, 1961.

<sup>29</sup>G. Briones and F. B. Waisanen; "Educational Aspirations, Modernization and Urban Integration," a paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association; Miami, Florida, 1966.

strata can

In fact, I

have shared

as pattern

be deline

circumscri

who call

fication

The

tors

ious

vari

as e

inte

sub

of g

sta

wif

D. SOC

"TRADIT

CONT IN

comes

strata

Indexe  
1955,



strata can be delineated might be normative or physical. In fact, if one accepts the assertion that social strata have shared values and interactional expectations, as well as patterned interaction, then it follows that they can be delineated normatively. Similarly, the ecological circumscription of strata is pointed out by Kahl and Davis (who calculated a factor analysis of scores on 19 stratification indexes) and concluded:

The battery of indexes showed two common factors: (a) the first was composed of the various measures of occupation, plus certain variables closely related to occupation, such as education, self identification, and the interviewer's impressionistic rating of the subject; (b) the second factor was composed of ecological measures plus those of the status of the parents of the subject and his wife.<sup>30</sup>

D. SOCIAL STRATA IN THE  
"TRADITIONALISM-MODERNITY"  
CONTINUUM

From a socio-psychological point of view, it becomes meaningful--or at least interesting--to talk of the strata of a society if one can differentiate them by some

---

<sup>30</sup> J. A. Kahl and J. A. Davis; "A Comparison of Indexes of Socio-Economic Status," A.S.R., Vol. XX, June: 1955, No. 3, p. 317.

systemic

to the ex

or more

approach

strata i

Such a v

ample,

the cha

ideolog

econom

invest

gaged

duce

was m

of no

realiz

issue

mode

vari

norm

high

systemic characteristics; for strata become significant to the extent that they represent "variations" along one or more dimensions. For the problem at hand, one can approach this differentiation task by thinking of social strata in terms of a "traditionalism-modernity" continuum. Such a view is not tied to political ideologies. For example, an aristocratic upper stratum may be opposed to the change of the prevailing form of social order and its ideological bases; yet be committed to the process of economic change, which necessarily implies behavioral investment in mobility as a result of being actively engaged in the entrepreneurial activities necessary to produce or speed up to process of economic change.

In a previous section of this proposal the point was made that social systems vary from the point of view of normative structural variables, subdivided in "conceptualization norms" and "interaction norms." The point at issue here is that the higher the social strata, the more modern they are from the point of view of some of these variables.

If one keeps in mind how the conceptualization norms were defined, and under the assumption that there might be a correspondence between the system's normative

structure

one could

relevant v

multiplic

and risk,

be rooted

systems r

W

found the

psycholo

"habits

forms of

self-co

low sta

predomi

ality o

than t

that

that

that

that

that

that

that

that

structure and the actor's attitudes, values and beliefs, one could propose, as Waisanen does, that such actor-relevant variables as self-perceived autonomy, secularism, multiplicity of reference groups, and the calculi of plan-and risk, as examples from among others, are assumed to be rooted in the conceptualization norms of the social systems relevant to the actor.

With regard to self perceived autonomy, Knupfer found that closely linked with economic underprivilege is psychological underprivilege, one aspect of which is "habits of submission." This, in conjunction with other forms of underprivilege, appears to produce a lack of self-confidence which increases the unwillingness of the low status person to participate in many phases of our predominantly middle-class culture.<sup>31</sup> The modal personality of the lower class is more limited and restricted than that of the middle or upper class.<sup>32</sup>

With regard to secularism, Lipset and Bendix state that

<sup>31</sup>G. Knupfer; op. cit., p. 255.

<sup>32</sup>B. Berelson and I. Steiner; Human Behavior: an inventory of scientific findings, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc.; New York, 1964, p. 490.

. . . i  
depress  
hope of  
either  
religio  
lower c  
and inc

They are m

things of

of the hig

tional,"

is 'of th

exploitin

strata "i

W

studies s

society a

the peop

tional m

sity of  
op. cit  
and H. P  
Tubinger



. . . in general, it seems to be true that the depressed and the failures who have little hope of individual success have a strong faith either in radical politics or in an emotional religiosity, so that almost nowhere are the lower classes both moderate in their politics and indifferent to religion.<sup>33</sup>

They are more fundamentalistic and tend to devalue the things of this world. On the other hand, the religiosity of the higher stratum is more "innerwordly" and "rational," in that sense more "secular." "Their kingdom is 'of this world.' They live for the present and by exploiting their great past."<sup>34</sup> For those in the lower strata "in the beyond 'the last will be the first.'"<sup>35</sup>

With regard to multiplicity of reference groups, studies show the people of the higher strata perceive society as subdivided in a greater number of groups than the people of the lower strata.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, "organizational memberships" are more frequent among the higher

<sup>33</sup> S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix; op. cit., p. 263.

<sup>34</sup> M. Weber; op. cit., p. 190.

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>36</sup> A. Davis and B. B. Gardner; Deep South, University of Chicago Press; Illinois, 1948, p. 65. J. Kahl; op. cit. H. Popits, H. P. Bahrdt, J. Kestling, and H. Kestling; Das Gesellschaftsbild des Arbeiters; Tubingen, 1957.

classes, 37

ards, value

level to w

propose th

groups" to

groups."

W

is clear

istic of

patterns

release

and self

commonly

of their

that

Behavior

sity at

op. cit

Class

York,

classes,<sup>37</sup> and "mobile persons" identify in norms, standards, values, appearance, and behavior with the upper level to which they aspire.<sup>38</sup> It would be plausible to propose that in the lower strata individuals' "membership groups" tend to coincide more with individual's "reference groups."

With regard to calculi of planning and risk, it is clear that life planning is not precisely a characteristic of the lower strata.<sup>39</sup> In those strata, behavioral patterns tend to be closely associated with impulse-release and immediate gratification rather than planning and self-discipline or self-regulation.<sup>40</sup> Tough luck is commonly given by individuals of lower strata as reasons of their misfortunes.<sup>41</sup>

In referring to interaction norms, Waisanen states that

---

<sup>37</sup> B. Berelson and I. Steiner; op. cit., p. 484.

<sup>38</sup> B. Berelson and I. Steiner; ibidem, p. 487.

<sup>39</sup> O. Brim and R. Forer; op. cit., p. 54.

<sup>40</sup> J. L. Roach; Economic Deprivation and Lower-Class Behavior, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University at Buffalo; New York, 1964, quoted by L. E. Sneden II, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

<sup>41</sup> A. B. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlich; Social Class and Mental Illness, John Wiley and Sons, Inc.; New York, 1958, p. 175.

...  
soci  
impl  
chan  
trad  
coll  
norm  
It t  
ascr  
is t  
qua  
for  
is  
res  
its  
tio  
a m  
his

With th  
ative c  
port t  
contin

tends  
fact t  
of ref  
less i  
tradit  
is pre  
mentio

. . . differences in normative qualities of social systems have important and immediate implications for the interpretation of social change and the modernization process. The traditional social system tends to emphasize collectivity over person. The traditional normative system tends toward inflexibility. It tends to allocate power and privilege by ascription rather than by achievement, which is to say that the emphasis is on inherited qualities rather than competition and performance. Moreover, the traditional system is essentially validated by the past and rests on an assumption that it has reached its ultimate form. Finally, the more traditional system tends to admit to membership on a more restricted basis of birth and familiar histories (Waisanen, 1969).

With the exception of the last type of norms, such a normative distinction may be applied to social strata to support the assertion that strata can be placed along a continuum of "traditionalism-modernity."

The assertion that the traditional social system tends to emphasize collectivity over person points to the fact that in the traditional social system the first point of reference is the system. Each individual is relatively less important than the whole. In an "ideal type"<sup>42</sup> of traditional system, every act of every person at all times is predictable by the normative structure. Piaget has mentioned this aspect of the traditional systems. He uses

---

<sup>42</sup>In the Weberian sense of "Ideal Type."

3

the expression "segmented," which can be understood as "traditional" in that he talks of "segmented or mechanical solidarity." Following Durkheim, we accept that mechanical solidarity is characteristic of traditional societies.

Says Piaget:

There is certainly a resemblance between segmented or mechanical solidarity and the societies formed by children of 5 to 8. As in the organized clan so in these groups, temporarily formed and isolated in relation with each other, the individual does not count. Social life and individual life are one.<sup>43</sup>

Now, it is a well-known fact that the world is undergoing a process of urbanization. In this process most of those who migrate to the cities are peasants, who, once in the cities, become members of the lower strata. "The process of urbanization is typically said to involve the movement of people out of agricultural communities into other and generally larger non-agricultural communities."<sup>44</sup> A lower stratum, specially in a developing country, is to a large

---

<sup>43</sup>J. Piaget; "Social Factors in Moral Development," in T. Newcomb et al. (eds.); Readings in Social Psychology, Henry Holt and Company; New York, 1947, p. 158.

<sup>44</sup>E. E. Lampard; "Historical Aspects of Urbanization," in P. M. Hauser and L. F. Schnore; The Study of Urbanization, John Wiley and Sons, Inc.; New York, 1967, pp. 519-520.

extent, a

And the s

tradition

for exampl

subcultur

of indivi

another

"Each of

thinks o

falls wi

observed

familism

ance din

lower st

"Cooper

for wit

and iso

tation,

Impact

New Yor

Wiser a

Califor

Rinehar



extent, a collectivity of peasants in an urban setting. And the submission of self to the system--a trait of traditionalism--is expressed in several ways. "Familism," for example, is known to be an important aspect of the subculture of peasantry. Says Rogers: "The subordination of individual goals to those of the family, familism, is another related element in the subculture of peasantry."<sup>45</sup> "Each of us is not thinking of his own self. No villager thinks of himself apart from his family. He rises or falls with it . . . . Our families are our insurance,"<sup>46</sup> observed an Indian peasant, expressing the notions of familism as submission of self to a system. This "insurance dimension" of familism may perform a function in the lower strata, as it does for the peasants of Tepoztlan. "Cooperation within the immediate family is essential, for without a family, the individual stands unprotected and isolated, a prey to every form of aggression, exploitation, and humiliation."<sup>47</sup> The extended family, also an

---

<sup>45</sup>E. M. Rogers; Modernization among Peasants: The Impact of Communication, Holt Rinehart and Winston, Inc.; New York, 1969, p. 30.

<sup>46</sup>E. M. Rogers, *ibidem.*, pp. 30-31, quoting W. H. Wiser and C. V. Wiser; Behind Mud Walls, University of California Press; Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963, p. 122.

<sup>47</sup>D. Lewis; Tepoztlan; Village in Mexico, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.; New York, 1960, p. 54.

express

be more

Similar

come t

tion a

earlie

or pe

group

banit

whose

life

ibil

give

One

beca

New

trial

Ha as

expression of submission of self to the system, seems to be more predominant in lower than in higher strata.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, ". . . sociologists and anthropologists have come to recognize that newcomers to the city do not function as isolated individuals, rather they identify with earlier immigrants from their own village or region, and/or persons of the same class, ethnic, or occupational groupings."<sup>49</sup> So too, ". . . sometimes, the lifelong urbanite may be firmly attached to traditional groupings whose structural links are with the preindustrial way of life,"<sup>50</sup> which is to say to a traditional social system.

The traditional social system tends toward inflexibility. Norms are seen by actors as absolute, as God given, beyond question, not amenable to modifications. One reads in Piaget, ". . . A rule is a sacred reality because it is traditional."<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup>O. Lewis; Five Families, Science Editions, Inc.; New York, 1962, pp. 14-15.

<sup>49</sup>G. Sjoberg; "Cities in Developing and in Industrial Societies: A Cross-Cultural Analysis," in P. M. Hauser and C. F. Schnore (eds.), op. cit., p. 226.

<sup>50</sup>G. Sjoberg, ibidem, p. 227.

<sup>51</sup>J. Piaget, op. cit., p. 159.

The case was made that the lower strata are more traditional on the basis that collectivity prevails over person. If that is so it follows that they are inflexible too. But this inflexibility in the lower strata can be sustained on the basis of empirical findings.

Being almost completely isolated from the rest of the activities of the rest of the society<sup>52</sup> actors of those strata are not confronted with alternative behavioral modes. Inflexibility follows from that. "As societies increase in size (which means that multiple reference-systems emerge), the barriers between systems are lowered, and the possibility of escape from the pervasive supervision of the clan is open."<sup>53</sup> It was already mentioned that multiplicity of reference groups does not prevail in lower strata. The greater social isolation and lower participation--relative to other social classes--of the lower strata<sup>54</sup> contribute to that normative

---

<sup>52</sup>E. H. Koos; Families in Trouble, Kings Crown Press; New York, 1946.

<sup>53</sup>J. Piaget; op. cit., p. 159 (brackets provided).

<sup>54</sup>E. H. Koos; op. cit. R. S. Lynd and H. M. Lynd; Middletown, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc.; New York, 1929, pp. 29-30, 272-273, and 309. R. S. Lynd and H. M. Lynd; Middletown in Transition; Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc.; New York, 1937, pp. 234-235 and 442-443. A. Davis and B. B. Gardner; op. cit., pp. 10 and 146.

1

inflexibility of the system, to the extent that such an existential circumstance does not confront them with alternative modes of behavior, which makes for the belief that those norms are the only ones in existence, ends in themselves, not simply instrumental. The inflexibility is also expressed in the "fatalism" that pervades the lower strata, to the extent that this concept means ". . . the degree to which an individual perceives a lack of ability to control his future. Fatalistic individuals believe that the events of their lives are preordained and determined by fate or supernatural forces."<sup>55</sup> It was already said that lower strata tends to see "chance factors" as playing the most important role in the determination of their life style. ". . . They are down and out, and there is no point in trying to improve, for the odds are all against them."<sup>56</sup>

The traditional normative system tends to allocate power and privileges by ascription rather than by achievement. The point was made before that individuals of lower strata tend to fall into occupational roles of the same

---

<sup>55</sup> E. M. Rogers; op. cit., p. 273.

<sup>56</sup> J. Kahl; op. cit., p. 211.

3

level of prestige of their fathers<sup>57</sup> without consideration to achievement norms. "Those in the lower socio-economic groups tend to take 'the only job they know about' at the time they enter the labor market"<sup>58</sup> and it is well-known that "early jobs . . . (are) prophetic of the subsequent careers of respondents."<sup>59</sup> Now it is true that occupational roles of similar prestige level are also inherited in the upper strata, but first, ". . . the choice of the first job is made with more deliberation by individuals with more education and a family higher up the occupational ladder."<sup>60</sup> Second, they demand more achievement requirements; and third, the individuals of upper strata are more achievement-oriented: ". . . in the bringing-up period, he consciously or unconsciously takes over what goes most appropriately with the status he is being prepared to live in: aspirations and ambitions, attitudes

---

<sup>57</sup> S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix; op. cit., p. 198.

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>59</sup> P. E. Davidson and H. D. Anderson; Occupational Mobility in an American Community, Stanford University Press; Stanford, California, 1937, p. 94. D. C. Miller and W. H. Form; Industrial Sociology, Harper and Brothers; New York, 1951, pp. 675-676. L. G. Reynolds; The Structure of Labor Market, Harper and Row; New York, 1967, pp. 136-137.

<sup>60</sup> S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix, op. cit., p. 468.



10

and beliefs, appearance, etiquette and manners, tastes, skills."<sup>61</sup>

It follows from what has been said that the lower strata are traditional systems to the extent that they are essentially validated by the past and rest on the assumption that they have reached their ultimate form. On the contrary, in higher strata norms are instrumental for their members; they invest behavior in anticipating stages of mobility, they defer gratifications, they plan life, etc. The norm is validated to the extent that they orient the actors to future state of affairs.

E. "UPWARD SOCIAL MOBILITY AS  
A PROCESS OF MODERNIZATION"

The process of social mobility can be seen as a process of modernization. ". . . Educational and social aspirations, including aspirations for social mobility,"<sup>62</sup> have been mentioned as behavioral orientations of modern man.

---

<sup>61</sup>B. Berelson and I. Steiner; op. cit., p. 468.

<sup>62</sup>A. Inkeles; "The Modernization of Man," The Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, Reprinted from M. Weiner (ed.); Modernization, Basic Books, Inc., Pub.; New York, 1966, p. 145.

The assertion is implied in McNelly's statement that the degree of modernization of individuals is reflected in their socio-economic status.<sup>63</sup> This puts in other words the point made in the previous section; i.e., that social strata are systems which differ among themselves in degree of modernization. Then, by definition the process of social mobility is a process of modernization. But if one divides these "action systems" called "social strata," which so far have been conceived as "totalities," into units or parts, some other lines of arguments can be stated to support the assertion that the process of social mobility implies a modernization process. "In the process of scientific conceptualization concrete phenomena come to be divided into units or parts. The first salient feature of the conceptual scheme to be dealt with lies in the character of the units which it employs in making these divisions. The basic unit may be called the "unit act."<sup>64</sup> ". . . The units of action

---

<sup>63</sup>J. McNelly and A. Torres; El Uso de los Medios de Comunicacion en una Capital Latinoamericana, Programa Interamericano de Informacion Popular; San Jose, Costa Rica, 1963, p. 67. J. McNelly and A. Torres borrowed this idea from D. Lerner; The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East, The Free Press; New York, 1958.

<sup>64</sup>T. Parsons; The Structure of Social Action, The Free Press of Glencoe; Illinois, 1949, p. 43.

systems have certain basic properties without which it is not possible to conceive of the unit as 'existing.'"<sup>65</sup>

And ". . . there must be a minimum number of descriptive terms apply to it, a minimum number of facts ascertainable about it, before it can be spoken of at all as a unit in a system."<sup>66</sup> "In this sense then, an 'act' involves logically the following:

(1) It implies an agent, an 'actor.'

(2) For purposes of definition the act must have an 'end,' a future state of affairs toward which the process of action is oriented.

(3) It must be initiated in a situation of which the trends of development differ in one or more important respects from the state of affairs to which the action is oriented, the end.

This situation is in turn analyzable into two elements: those over which the actor has no control, that is what he cannot alter, or prevent from being altered,

---

<sup>65</sup>T. Parsons, *ibidem*, p. 43.

<sup>66</sup>T. Parsons, *ibidem*, pp. 42-43.

in conformity with his end, and those over which he has such control. The former may be termed the 'conditions' of action, the latter the 'means.' Finally, there is inherent in the conception of this unit, in its analytical uses, a certain mode of relationship between these elements. That is, in the choice of alternative means to a given end, in so far as the situation allows alternatives, there is a 'normative orientation' of action,"<sup>67</sup> whatever the particular type of normative orientation may be.<sup>68</sup>

Using this theoretical frame of reference, one can look first at the "actor." In effect, a "mobility-oriented" actor must show some of the elements conforming to Inkeles' definition of modern man. "The first element . . . of modern man is his readiness for new experience and his openness to innovation and change."<sup>69</sup> This element is a basic part of the attitude configuration of modern man, and ". . . we are speaking, therefore, of

---

<sup>67</sup>T. Parsons, *ibidem*, p. 44.

<sup>68</sup>Normative here means a teleological element only from the point of view of the actor. It has no ethical connotation for the observer. See T. Parsons; *ibidem*, p. 44, footnote #1 and p. 75, Note A.

<sup>69</sup>A. Inkeles; *op. cit.*, p. 141.

something that is itself a state of mind, a psychological disposition, an inner readiness, rather than of the specific techniques or skills a man or a group may possess because of the level of technology they have attained.<sup>70</sup>

If social mobility means an actor's transference from one social system to a different one, a "mobility-oriented" actor must show readiness for new experience, for the system toward which he orients himself conforms a new existential experience. Actor must be also open to innovation and change, for he must be ready to organize his behavior in new ways, if he wants to move from one system to the other or to cope with the demands of the new systemic existential experience. Modern man must have also ". . . a disposition to form or hold opinions over a large number of the problems and issues that arise not only in his immediate environment, but also, outside of it."<sup>71</sup>

A "mobility-oriented" actor must have opinions about the "mediate environment" of the social system toward which he orients himself. Modern man is ". . . oriented to the present or the future, rather than the past."<sup>72</sup> A

---

<sup>70</sup>A. Inkeles, *ibidem*, p. 141.

<sup>71</sup>A. Inkeles, *ibidem*, p. 142.

<sup>72</sup>A. Inkeles, *ibidem*, p. 142.

trabil

in ter

conse

presc

advan

not h

aspir

ward

in i

note

auto

man

orie

effe

Ink

man

can

men

iza

cie

Mic

"mobility-oriented" actor does not organize his behavior in terms of past prescriptions just because they have been consecrated by sanctity of tradition. He follows present prescriptions to the extent that they are efficient to advance himself. He is future oriented, for his goal is not his present social system, but the system to which he aspires to belong. "The more modern man is oriented toward and involved in planning and organizing and believes in it as a way of handling life."<sup>73</sup> Or, as Waisanen notes, ". . . In a significant sense, modern man is an autonomous being. He perceives a relative freedom in the manipulation of his life trajectory."<sup>74</sup> A "mobility-oriented" actor must believe that it is possible and effective to plan one's life for social advancement. Inkeles mentions efficacy as a theme related with modern man. "The modern man is the one who believes that man can learn, in substantial degree, to dominate his environment in order to advance his own purposes."<sup>75</sup> A

---

<sup>73</sup>A. Inkeles, *ibidem*, p. 143.

<sup>74</sup>F. B. Waisanen; "Family Planning and the Modernization Process," a paper prepared for the Family and Society Conference of the Merrill-Palmer Institute; Detroit, Michigan, November, 1967, pp. 16-17.

<sup>75</sup>A. Inkeles; *op. cit.*, p. 143.



3

"mobility-oriented" actor believes that he can manipulate things so to "advance his own purposes," in this case to climb up in the social ladder.

Calculability is another theme of modernity.

". . . A modern man is one who has more confidence that his world is calculable, that other people and institutions around him can be relied on to fulfill or meet their obligations and responsibilities. He does not agree that everything is determined either by fate or by the whims of particular qualities and characters of men. In other words, he believes in a reasonably lawful world under human control."<sup>76</sup> A "mobility-oriented" actor must believe in the "lawfulness of life" so as to consider that a certain behavioral investment adequate to move up should produce the desired outcome. "The modern man has more faith in science and technology."<sup>77</sup> Such a man must believe in the calculability of one's behavioral outcomes and in the efficiency of one's action. Such a man is also a "mobility-oriented" individual.

This listing of actor's characteristics is presented here to support the assertion that, given the

---

<sup>76</sup>A. Inkeles, *ibidem*, p. 144.

<sup>77</sup>A. Inkeles, *ibidem*, p. 144.

1

common definition of "modern man" and taken into account only the actor's attitude configuration, the process of social mobility is a modernization process to the extent that a "mobility-oriented" actor fits the definition of the modern individual.

If one turns attention to "means" (vis-a-vis goals), the essential argument can be repeated. A mobility-oriented actor does not organize his behavior in terms of past prescriptions just because they have been consecrated by sanctity of tradition. He follows present prescriptions to the extent that they are efficient to enable desired changes of state.

One can also look at the "goal" element of the scheme. The goal of a "mobility-oriented" individual is to climb up to a higher social stratum, and if a higher social stratum is a more modern social system in comparison with lower social strata, it follows that the process of social mobility implies a process of modernization.

On the other hand, if one looks at the "mode of relationship" between the elements of the "unit act," one has to assert that the actor's normative orientation is a "rational" mode of orientation, having in mind one of the

meanings given by Max Weber to such a notion. It is that mode of orientation of social action which implies ". . . a rational orientation to a system of discrete individual ends (Zweck-Rational), that is, thorough expectations as to the behavior of objects in the external situation and of other human individuals, making use of these expectations as 'conditions' or 'means' for the successful attainment of the actor's own rationally chosen ends."<sup>78</sup>

As one refers to the traits of modern man mentioned above, the image of a "rational man" emerges. It is reasonable to suppose that such a man will make an adaptation between "conditions" and "means" toward the successful attainment of social mobility.

Following another vein of reasoning, to sustain the assertion that the process of social mobility implies a process of modernization, one can assert that the processual underlyament of modernity entails ". . . changes in the number and in the meaning of social systems to the actor and concomitant changes in his behavior."<sup>79</sup> By

---

<sup>78</sup>M. Weber; The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, edited with an introduction by T. Parsons, The Free Press; New York, 1964, p. 115.

<sup>79</sup>F. B. Waisanen; Actors, Social Systems and the Modernization Process, op. cit., p. 2.

definition, then, a "socially-mobile" actor must perceive a broader spectrum of social systems and must go through a broader set of social systems than the "non-mobile" actor. In this sense, the process of social mobility entails changes in the number of social systems for the actors. The process of social mobility also entails changes in the meaning of social systems for the actor--as it does in the modernization process--for an evaluative dimension must exist in terms of direction of the attitude toward the systems from which actor leaves and the systems into which the actor moves. The centrality or relevance of the system to which the actor wants to get in or actually does get into plays a role, for such a system must be "taken into account" by the actor if he wants to achieve mobility. Finally, the actor must perceive the possibility that the "potency" of the new system will reward him, with greater pay-off than that perceived in the present state.

There is still another way to trace the parallelism between the process of modernization and the process of social mobility. It can be done when "change" is not seen as a clash between traditionalism and modernity; but

rat

tic

dy:

var

var

is

int

cha

fe

mol

gi

aw

the

at

be

On

to

Mo

the

rather as a ". . . persistent movement away from traditionalism."<sup>80</sup> And this is so, for "concern with the dynamics of change forces recognition of yet another variable class, namely, inter-systemic or dissociative variables."<sup>81</sup> And, ". . . at the heart of this matter is mobility, be it physical or psychic. Obviously, inter-systemic contact has a bearing upon the issue of change only if there is a theoretically relevant difference in the . . . (social systems) at issue in the mobility experience."<sup>82</sup> Waisanen contends that ". . . given this difference, mobility functions to (1) bring awareness of alternative behavioral modes, (2) facilitate the attributions of meaning to these modes; i.e., their attractiveness, centrality, and potency, and (3) provide behavioral trials within the new normative frameworks." On our part, we contend that mobility occurs if, (1) actor's conditions bring awareness of alternative behavioral modes, (2) facilitates the attributions of meaning to these modes; i.e., their attractiveness, centrality, and

---

<sup>80</sup>F. B. Waisanen, ibidem, p. 1.

<sup>81</sup>F. B. Waisanen, ibidem, p. 8.

<sup>82</sup>F. B. Waisanen, ibidem, p. 8.



pote

norm

ret.

pret

min

help

and

proc

abo

whi

lack

of c

It i

trac

sura

educ

syst

divi

izat

potency, (3) provides behavioral trials within the new normative framework.

To see the problem here proposed under the theoretical orientations which have been laid down to interpret the modernization process can guide the researchers' mind toward specific variables or indicators which may help to understand the states and processes under study and to propose some hypothesis about these states and processes.

One of the theoretical orientations, alluded to above, while calling attention to the many perspectives which exist to analyze the modernization process and the lack of consensus about them, points out the existence of commonalities, explicit or implicit in the literature.<sup>83</sup> It is assumed, in fact, "that societies vary by traditionalism-modernity, and that this position is measurable by such indicators as urbanity, industry, and education. It is assumed further that attitudes, belief systems and values can be similarly measured and that individuals can be ordered along a dimension of modernity."<sup>84</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup>F. B. Waisanen; "Family Planning and the Modernization Process," op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>84</sup>Ibidem.

The crucial problem, at either societal or individual level, is then "one of establishing valid and theoretically relevant indicators."<sup>85</sup> And, in the multifaceted realm of human behavior, "how can categories of behavior be formulated so that they can, in some qualitative sense, give credence to the concept of modernity?"<sup>86</sup> "And since the literature propose a long list of indicators, and as they grow, their value of the understanding of modernity lessens, the search for more general indicators must, therefore, continue."<sup>87</sup>

Proposing this parsimonious approach, Waisanen considers appropriate to ask about the hard-core conditions which, at an individual level can spark the individual change process and produce something like an attitudinal "take off" toward modernity. And he proposes the following prerequisites: (1) knowledge, (2) interest, and (3) activity.<sup>88</sup> These categories are explained by Waisanen in the following manner:<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup>Ibidem.

<sup>86</sup>Ibidem.

<sup>87</sup>F. B. Waisanen, ibidem, pp. 1-2.

<sup>88</sup>F. B. Waisanen, ibidem, p. 2.

<sup>89</sup>Ibidem.

(1) Knowledge. Assuming that there are many social systems to which one can be anchored, awareness of other systems must precede aspiration to involve oneself in them.

(2) Interest. Given knowledge of alternative life modes (i.e., in modern social systems), evaluation of them is possible. To the degree that he finds these alternative life modes attractive, he has acquired a generalized change orientation, a willingness to innovate, and a readiness to move toward modernity.

(3) Activity. If one is aware of alternative life modes, and sees them as attractive, behavior which is instrumental to change in social environments should follow. These instrumental behaviors occur if the means for change in personal life conditions are perceived. In short, when one judges personal change to be desirable and the possibility (which is to say, the means) of change to be real and manageable, the attitudinal climate for a change to modernity are at an optimum.

If, (1) the previous behavioral categories are valid components of the conditions which, at an individual

level, can spark the individual change process and produce something like an attitudinal "take off" toward modernity, and (2) one of the problems one has in hand refers to certain attitudinal and behavioral aspects of the process of upward social mobility as self-perpetuating elements of strata, and if (3) the process of social mobility can be seen as a process of change toward modernity, then it is theoretically sound to see a process in terms of:

Awareness of Mobility: responding to the "knowledge" dimension of Mobility.

Perception of Possibilities of Mobility: responding to the "understanding" dimension.

Desirability of Mobility: responding to the "evaluational" dimension.

Investment in Mobility: responding to the "behavioral input" dimension.

F. SOCIAL STRATUM, AWARENESS,  
PERCEPTION, DESIRABILITY OF  
MOBILITY AND INVESTMENT IN  
MOBILITY AND FAMILY PLANNING

The relationship between social stratum, the above-mentioned aspects of mobility and family planning can be seen under the theoretical frame of reference developed above. In fact, both "mobility orientation" and "family planning" have been mentioned as indicators of modernity.<sup>90</sup> Similarly, the dimensions of mobility discussed above are applicable to family planning.

Waisanen has formulated the theoretical basis of such a relationship in the following terms:

In a significant sense, modern man is an autonomous being. He perceives a relative freedom in the manipulation of his life trajectory. When the anticipated trajectory is predicated upon social ascent and the maximization of self-esteem (as it commonly is in modern society), chance of ascent is maximized as social systemic investments are minimized.

Intra-familial investments are particularly relevant here. Consider both family of orientation and family of pro-creation in traditional and modern settings in the context of dependency dynamics.

In the traditional setting, intra-family dependency is extensive and provides for the individual a framework of security, productivity, belonging and trust. Parents and

---

<sup>90</sup> A. Inkeles, op. cit., p. 145.

1

siblings, as referents in the traditional family of orientation, meet these functions more fully as their number increases. This security calculus is equally relevant in the traditional family of pro-creation. Children are valued as productive units, both economically and psychically, and the continuity of the social system is perceived to be better assured with larger number of children. In a more general sense, the traditional family system reveals, at both orientational and precreative levels, a subordination of self to social systems. In this context, aged and unproductive parents are personal (or perhaps better said "within family") responsibilities, and the task of discharging obligations is lessened per family member by increasing the total number of family members. It behooves the parent in the family of procreation to also have as many children as possible, for he thus maximizes the base for his own care in the inevitable period of dependency. The predominant value emphasis in these traditional cases may be on duties and obligations rather than rights and privileges. Parents in this social cultural context will have little interest in family planning, for the value judgments involved are inimical to their own.

Along these lines, the contrasts with the dynamics of modern family life are many, interesting and (quite possibly), theoretically relevant.

First, we can observe that there is in modern society a typical disjunction between families of orientation and procreation, and that the transition from one to the other tends to be abrupt. Up to the time of transition, parents and siblings are perceived to be resources, and there is perhaps greater emphasis upon an individual's rights and privileges than upon duties and obligations. When the procreative family is established, it is more often based upon egalitarian values. The spouse is a partner; children are expensive



joy  
and  
gr  
an  
pi  
mo  
en  
ma  
la  
af

as an  
centra  
eratur  
ificat  
the pr  
fertil  
view a  
unnece

or soc  
and fe  
here b  
vremen  
ceptua

izatio

joys and compete sharply with the instrumental and consummatory dimensions of parental progress. In this zero-sum game, each child puts an added question to the attainability of aspirations. Interest in family planning in modern society testifies, then, to the saliency of aspirations which put maintenance and maximization of self-esteem into impersonal, larger societal judgement rather than into the affective context of family and friends.<sup>91</sup>

Even though this study deals with family planning as an indicator of "modernity," and not as a variable of central concern, there is reason to refer to the vast literature on the relationship of several dimensions of stratification and family planning and/or fertility, as well as the process of social mobility and family planning and/or fertility. It is not the intention of this study to review all the literature on the subject; such a task seems unnecessary, given the nature of the present study.

Some studies here reported deal with stratification or social mobility and fertility, even when family planning and fertility mean different things. They are reported here because fertility has sometimes been used as a measurement of family planning and because, although not conceptually equivalent, they are related.

It may also be appropriate to refer to some studies

---

<sup>91</sup>F. B. Waisanen; "Family Planning and the Modernization Process," op. cit., pp. 4-6.

which involve "modernization" as a process related with family planning.

Of the studies relating economic strata with family planning, some show a positive relation,<sup>92</sup> and

---

<sup>92</sup>S. N. Agarwala; Attitude Toward Family Planning in India; Asia Publishing House, Occasional Papers No. 5, Institute of Economic Growth; Delhi, 1962; the extent of practice was higher in the urban areas, particularly for couples of higher education and comparatively high socio-economic status. F. Hall; "Birth Control in Lima, Peru: Attitudes and Practices," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XLIII, October: 1965, pp. 409-438; contraception was found to be widely used, especially by the upper and middle socio-economic groups. J. Diez-Nicolas; "Status Socio-Economico, Religion y Tamano de la Familia Urbana," Revista Espanola de la Opinion Publica, n.p., December: 1965; from this study J. M. Stycos cites "a positive relation between ideal size of the urban family, socio-economic status and religiosity." J. W. Riley and M. White; "The Use of Various Methods of Contraception," A.S.R., Vol. V, 1940, pp. 890-903; the practice of conception control tended to increase with the size of the city and with improving economic status. J. M. Stycos; "Social Class and Preferred Family Size in Peru," A.J.S., Vol. LII, May: 1966, No. 6, pp. 651-658; this paper reports a positive correlation between social class and number of children desired in Peru. R. Freedman and H. Sharp; "Correlates of Values about Ideal Family Size in the Detroit Metropolitan Area," Popul. Studies, Vol. VIII, July: 1954, pp. 35-45; the differences between social strata in "mean ideal size" are very small but consistent in direction with historic fertility differentials. E. Higgins; "Some Fertility Attitudes Among White Women in Johannesburg," Popul. Stud., Vol. XVI, July: 1962, pp. 70-78; in general, the higher the respondent's annual family income was, the lower her ideal family size tended to be. M. Requena; "Social and Economic Correlates of Induced Abortion in Santiago, Chile," Demography, Vol. II, 1965, pp. 33-49; abortion was higher in the higher socio-economic levels represented in the

some show no relation at all.<sup>93</sup>

Studies relating education with family planning show a persistent positive relation between

---

sample. L. Tabah and R. Samuel; "Preliminary Findings of a Survey on Fertility and Attitudes Toward Family Planning in Santiago, Chile," in C. V. Kiser (ed.); Research in Family Planning, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1962, pp. 263-304. The average ideal number of children per ever-married women, 35 to 50 years of age, diminishes as the economic circumstances of the family improve. J. M. Yang, et al.; "Fertility and Family Planning in Rural Korea," Popul. Stud., Vol. XLVII, March: 1965, No. 3, p. 237. 11.7% in Kimpo were practicing or had ever practiced family planning. These couples were concentrated in the younger, educated, and relatively well-to-do groups. B. M. Gomez; Informe de la Encuesta de Fecundidad en el Area Metropolitana, Instituto Centroamericano de Estadística, Universidad de Costa Rica; San Pedro, Costa Rica, 1968, pp. 26-27. J. Acosta-Monzon; Encuesta de Fecundidad en el Area Metropolitana de Caracas, Ministerio de Fomento, Dirección General de Estadística y Censos Nacionales; Venezuela, n.d., pp. 43-48.

<sup>93</sup> R. Bachi and J. Matras; "Family Size Preferences of Jewish Maternity Cases in Israel," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XLII, April: 1964, pp. 38-56; the modal number of children desired was "3," regardless of ethnic and socio-economic groups. W. A. Morrison; "Attitudes of Females Toward Family Planning in a Maharashtra Village," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XXXV, 1957, pp. 67-81; the number of living offspring, age, number of living males, occupation and caste were not significantly related to willingness to accept contraceptives. W. A. Morrison; "Attitudes of Males Toward Family Planning in a Western Indian Village," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XXXIV, 1956, p. 263; age at marriage, occupation and caste were not found to be significantly related to desire for more children.

these two variables.<sup>94</sup>

In this case of studies relating occupation with family planning, some show a positive

---

<sup>94</sup>S. N. Argawala; op. cit.; the extent of practice was higher in the urban areas, particularly for couples of higher education and comparatively higher socio-economic status. B. Berelson and R. Freedman; "A Study in Fertility Control"; Scient. American, Vol. CCX, May: 1965, No. 5; experience with family limitation was highest among the best educated, most literate. J. Blake; Family Structure in Jamaica: The Social Context of Reproduction, in collaboration with J. M. Stycos and K. Davis, The Free Press; New York, 1961; the desire for smaller families is even more widespread among the younger and more highly educated. R. Freedman et al.; "Fertility and Family Planning in Taiwan: A Case Study of the Demographic Transition," A.J.S., Vol. LXX, July: 1964, pp. 16-27; the better educated and those who read the mass media were most likely to want fewer children and to do something about family limitation. E. Higgins; op. cit.; education was positively correlated with attitudes toward the use of contraceptives. S. Hong and J. Yoon; "Male Attitudes Toward Family Planning on the Island of Kangwah-Gun, Korea," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XLIX, October: 1962, pp. 343-352; education was the most important factor in the determination of attitudes toward family planning. The great majority of the men who were negative in their attitude toward birth control had a limited education or none at all. W. A. Morrison; "Attitudes of Females Toward Family Planning in a Maharashtra Village," op. cit.; education was highly significant and positively related to favorability toward contraception. W. A. Morrison; "Attitudes of Males Toward Family Planning in a Western Indian Village," op. cit.; the factor most significantly associated statistically with a positive attitude toward the use of contraceptives was education. J. M. Yang, et al.; op. cit.; the

relation<sup>95</sup> and some show no relation at all.<sup>96</sup>

---

couples who were practicing or had ever practiced family planning were concentrated in the younger, educated, and relatively well-to-do groups.

<sup>95</sup>M. Requena; op. cit., pp. 33-49. Abortion was higher in the higher socio-economic levels represented in the sample. G. Rowntree and R. Pierce; "Birth Control in Great Britain," Popul. Stud., Vol. XV, July: 1961, pp. 3-31. Although the extent of approval increased from cohort for each sex, the non-manual class consistently approved more rather than the manual. J. M. Stycos; "Female Employment and Fertility in Lima, Peru," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XLIII, January: 1965, No. 1, pp. 42-54; analysis of 1959 with registration data showed that women employed outside the home are more sensitive to the economic effects of additional children and that working women with four or more children are less likely to desire additional children.

<sup>96</sup>E. Higgins; op. cit., pp. 70-78. Occupation was not significantly related with attitudes toward the use of contraceptives. W. A. Morrison; "Attitudes of Females Toward Family Planning in a Maharashtra Village," op. cit., pp. 67-81; education, age at marriage, and occupation were not significantly related to "desire for more children" nor to willingness to accept contraceptives. W. A. Morrison; "Attitudes of Males Toward Family Planning in a Western Indian Village," op. cit., p. 263; age at marriage, occupation, and caste were not found to be significantly related to "desire for more children" nor to attitudes toward contraception. L. Tabah and R. Samuel; op. cit., pp. 263-304; differences between different occupational groups on opinions regarding ideal family size were not substantial.

1

Some of the studies which relate economic strata with fertility show a positive relation<sup>97</sup> and some have

---

<sup>97</sup> D. M. Heer; "Fertility Differences Between Indian and Spanish-speaking Parts of Andean Countries," Popul. Stud., Vol. XXXVIII, July: 1964, pp. 71-84. J. M. Stycos has shown that fertility is lower in the economically underdeveloped Indian-speaking parts of Peru than in the more prosperous Spanish-speaking parts. The relationship is of theoretical significance because it has usually been assumed that there is an inverse relation between fertility and economic development. In the present paper it is shown that this relation holds not only for Peru, but for Ecuador and Bolivia as well. D. M. Heer and E. S. Turner; "Areal Differences in Latin American Fertility," Popul. Stud., Vol. XVIII, March: 1965, pp. 279-292; this analysis revealed that higher than expected fertility was positively associated with a rapid increase in economic level. The data lend themselves to the conclusion that a rapid rate of economic development leads to an increase in fertility in the short run which is counteracted in the long run by fertility-depressing forces associated with a high level of economic development. G. S. Becker; An Economic Analysis of Fertility, a conference of the Universities National Bureau Committee for Economic Research, Demographic and Economic Change in Developed Countries, Princeton University Press; Princeton, New Jersey, 1960, pp. xi and 536; argues that "quality" as well as quantity of children is relevant in analysis of possible positive relation of fertility and income in mature industrial society. R. B. Hughes; "Human Fertility Differentials: the influence of industrial urban development on birth rates," Popul. Review, Vol. III, July: 1959, No. 2, pp. 58-69; finds a positive correlation of income and fertility in a sample of Tennessee farm families when parental education and economic status are controlled in multiple regression analysis. W. Stys; "The Influence of Economic Conditions on the Fertility of Peasant Women," Popul. Stud., Vol. II, November: 1957, No. 2, pp. 136-148; shows a positive relation between economic status and fertility in a peasant population as a result of marriage postponement for poorer economic groups.



found a negative or inverse relation.<sup>98</sup>

Of the studies relating education and fertility, some show a positive relation<sup>99</sup> and some show a negative or inverse relation.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>98</sup>R. Freedman and H. Sharp; op. cit., pp. 35-45; the difference between social strata in "mean ideal size" are very small but consistent in direction with historic fertility differentials. D. M. Heer and E. S. Turner; op. cit., pp. 279-292; taken together, the six variables measuring the level of economic development were found to be inversely related to fertility. C. A. Miro; "Some Misconceptions Disproved: A Program of Comparative Fertility Surveys in Latin America," in B. Berelson et al. (eds.), Family Planning and Population Programs: A Review of World Development, The University of Chicago Press; Chicago, 1965, p. 633. B. M. Gomez; op. cit., pp. 26-27. J. Acosta-Monzon; op. cit., pp. 43-48. A. Sauvy; La Poblacion, Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires; Buenos Aires, 1961, p. 38. J. N. Sinha; "Differential Fertility and Family Limitation in an Urban Community of Uttar Pradesh," Popul. Stud., Vol. II, November: 1957, No. 2, pp. 157-169; in this study there is a distinctively negative correlation between income or caste level and fertility resulting in part from differential use of contraception.

<sup>99</sup>J. Hubback; "The Fertility of Graduate Women," Eugenics Rev., Vol. XLVII, July: 1955, No. 2, pp. 107-113; finds university educated women have higher than average fertility in Britain.

<sup>100</sup>B. M. Gomez, op. cit., pp. 26-27. A. Sauvy; op. cit., p. 38. C. A. Miro and F. Rath; "Preliminary

Some studies found occupation to be positively related to fertility;<sup>101</sup> and some found these two variables to be negatively related.<sup>102</sup>

---

Findings of Comparative Fertility Surveys in Three Latin American Cities," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XLII, October: 1965, pp. 36-38; a clear inverse relationship was found between educational level and the average number of births. J. M. Stycos; Contraception and Catholicism in Latin America, International Population Program, Cornell University; New York, December: 1965; the expected positive association between religiosity and fertility was not found to be the case. "Indeed, in several instances there is a slight negative association, and in the case of Lima and the better educated women of San Salvador, the negative relation is substantial."

<sup>101</sup>M. Febvay; "Niveau et evolution de lafecondite par categorie socio-profesionelle en France," Population, Vol. XIV, October-December: 1959, No. 4, pp. 729-739; evidence that relatively high status groups with lowest pre-war fertility had largest rises after war. Advances the theory that family allowance program produced this effect by providing resources for those most interested in the future of their children.

<sup>102</sup>R. M. Dinkel; "Occupation and Fertility in the United States," A.S.R., Vol. XVII, April: 1952, No. 2, pp. 178-183; based on U.S. census data for 1910 and 1940. Finds an inverse relation of occupational status and fertility, but only when occupations are grouped into four very broad categories. B. M. Gomez; Op. cit., pp. 26-27. A. Sauvy; op. cit., p. 38.

With regard to the process of social mobility and family planning or fertility, two studies have found a positive relation between family planning and social mobility;<sup>103</sup> some report a negative relation between fertility and social mobility;<sup>104</sup> and some show no relation

---

pp. 26-27. A. Sauvy, La Poblacion, Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires, 1961, p. 38.

<sup>103</sup>J. G. C. Blacker, "Social Ambitions of the Bourgeoisie in the Eighteenth Century; France and their Relation to Family Limitation, Population Studies, II (1), July 1957, pp. 46-63. Relates the family limitation practices of the French bourgeoisie to their desire for social mobility for the family. H. Y. Tien, "The Social Mobility/Fertility Hypothesis Reconsidered: An Empirical Study," ASR 26 (2), April 1961, pp. 247-257. Evidence that the spacing but not the number of children varies with status-origin among Australian professors.

<sup>104</sup>E. D. Baltzell, "Social Mobility and Fertility within an Elite Group," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, 31 (4), October 1953, pp. 411-420. In the social elite of Philadelphia the newcomers to eminence have smaller families. J. Berent, "Fertility and Social Mobility," Population Studies, 5 (3), March 1952, pp. 244-260. Finds a negative relation between upward social mobility and fertility in Postwar British data. M. Bresard, "Mobilite sociale et dimension de la famille," Population, 5 (3), July-September, 1950, pp. 533-566. The probability of social mobility is enhanced among those from small families, with education as a crucial intervening variable. B. Hutchinson, "Fertility, Social Mobility, and Urban Migration in Brazil," Population Studies, 14 (3), March 1961, pp. 182-189. Fertility is negatively related both to status and upward mobility, and these relations are not affected by rural urban background. P. Minon, "Choix d'une profession et mobilite sociale," in Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology, Vol. II, pp. 209-213. Upward mobility from working class linked to

With regard to the process of social mobility and family planning or fertility, two studies have found a positive relation between family planning and social mobility;<sup>103</sup> some report a negative relation between fertility and social mobility;<sup>104</sup> and some show no

---

<sup>103</sup>J. G. C. Blacker; "Social Ambitions of the Bourgeoisie in the Eighteenth Century France and Their Relation to Family Limitation," Popul. Stud., Vol. II, July: 1957, No. 1, pp. 46-63; relates the family limitation practices of the French bourgeoisie to their desire for social mobility for the family. H. Y. Tien; "The Social Mobility/Fertility Hypothesis Reconsidered: An Empirical Study," A.S.R., Vol. XXVI, April: 1961, No. 2, pp. 247-257; evidence that the spacing but not the number of children varies with status-origin among Australian professors.

<sup>104</sup>E. D. Baltzell; "Social Mobility and Fertility within an Elite Group," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XXXI, October: 1953, No. 4, pp. 411-420; in the social elite of Philadelphia the newcomers to eminence have smaller families. J. Bevent; "Fertility and Social Mobility," Popul. Stud., Vol. V, March: 1952, No. 3, pp. 244-260; finds a negative relation between upward social mobility and fertility in Postwar British data. M. Bresard; "Mobilite sociale et dimension de la famille," Population, Vol. V, July-September: 1950, No. 3, pp. 533-566; the probability of social mobility is enhanced among those from small families, with education as a crucial intervening variable. B. Hutchinson; "Fertility, Social Mobility, and Urban Migration in Brazil," Popul. Stud., Vol. XIV, March: 1961, No. 3, pp. 182-189; fertility is negatively related both to status and upward mobility, and these relations are not affected by rural urban background. P. Minon; "Choix d'une profession et mobilite sociale," in Transactions of the Second World Congress

1

relation at all between social mobility and fertility.<sup>105</sup>

Since the findings cast some doubts about the relationship between mobility and family planning and/or fertility, and this study has introduced some aspects of mobility as indicators of "modernity" and as interpretive variables of the relationship between social strata and family planning, special consideration seems here relevant about such a phenomena. This study deals neither with the relationship between objective social mobility and family planning, nor with fertility. The study deals with three cognitive styles toward social mobility (i.e., awareness,

---

of Sociology, Vol. II, n.d., pp. 209-213; upward mobility from working class linked to smaller family size in Belgium. K. Svalastoha; "An Empirical Analysis of Intrasocietary Mobility Determinants," Working Paper Nine submitted to the Fourth Working Conference on Social Stratification and Social Mobility, International Sociological Association, December: 1957; links upward mobility from working class in Denmark to small family size.

<sup>105</sup>S. T. Boggs; "Family Size and Social Mobility in a California Suburb," Eugenics Quarterly, Vol. IV, December: 1957, No. 4, pp. 208-213; finds no evidence that small family size goes with upward social mobility. H. F. Brooks and F. J. Henry; "An Empirical Study of the Relationship of Catholic Practice and Occupational Mobility to Fertility," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XXXVI, July: 1958, No. 3, pp. 22-281; finds no relation between mobility and fertility but a definite relation to measures of adherence to Catholic practices. S. Yellin; "Social Mobility and Familism," Ph.D. dissertation in Sociology, Northwestern University, abstracted in Dissertation Abstracts, Vol. XVI, No. 1, 1955, p. 151.

actualize to a maximum all the potential fertility of both man and woman. A couple, not willing to plan at all may have no children, no matter how hard they try.

However, even when the results of the studies relating social mobility with family planning are not consistent among themselves, it is interesting to pay attention to the results of two of those studies. One is J. G. C. Blacker's, "Social Ambitions of the Bourgeoisie in the Eighteenth Century France and their Relation to Family Limitation" (Population Studies, II (1), July 1957, pp. 46-63). In this study Blacker relates the family limitation practices of the french bourgeoisie to their desire for social mobility for the family. The first thing which is important to notice is that Blacker claims to have found a relationship between family planning (family limitation practices) and desire for social mobility (i.e., that aspect of social mobility which in this study is called desirability of mobility). It is encouraging to see that Blacker found such a relationship. The other study which calls the attention is H. Y. Tien's, "The Social Mobility/Fertility Hypothesis Reconsidered: An Empirical Study" (ASR 26 (2), April 1961, pp. 247-257).

Tien shows evidence that the spacing but not the number of children varies with status-origin among Australian professors. This study calls the attention because it may be assumed that spacing of children is a better measurement of family planning than number of children ever born. It could be that the contradictory findings of the studies relating social strata and social mobility with family planning are due to the fact that these studies have been conducted, most of the time, without guidance from any interpretative frame of reference; after all, family planning is not a constitutional element of social stratum. It may occur or not, depending on particular circumstances of the stratum of a certain society in a particular moment of the historical process of that society.

To take all this into account, some sort of theoretical frame of reference must be used to state the hypotheses under the submission of an interpretative framework. With regard to the studies of social mobility and family planning, a careful distinction must be made, when comparing results and doing research, between objective mobility and some of those aspects of social mobility with which this study deals. Objective social mobility



1

might occur by chance or as a consequence of changes in global social systems. If so, why should one necessarily expect a relationship between objective social mobility and family planning? This is not to deny that sometimes fertility could be related with mobility. A family may be small, without having planned the number of births, and the smallness of its size may be one of the factors which might account for the social mobility of that family, even if this process occurred without consciously intending to climb up in the social ladder. But, when somebody perceives that a small family may facilitate the process of upward social mobility and wants and does something to ascend socially, then, there is a rationale to expect a relationship between social stratum, the aspects of mobility taken into account by this study and family planning. In this context, Blacker's and Tien's findings have a particular relevance to the present study.

Lastly, reference is made to those studies which have focused upon modernity and family planning. For example, S. N. Agarwala's Attitude Toward Family Planning in India reports that the extent of family planning practice was higher in the urban areas, particularly for

couples of higher education and comparatively high socioeconomic status.<sup>106</sup>

The study by Roberto Bachi and Judah Matras, "Contraception and Induced Abortion among Jewish Maternity cases in Israel," points out interesting variations in fertility behavior in Israel according to continent of birth, place of residence, and type of settlement, socioeconomic characteristics and religious observance.<sup>107</sup>

Bernard Berelson in his study "On Family Planning and Communication" suggests three clusters of factors that are involved in the effective spread of family planning: (1) the nature of society from traditional to modern; (2) the nature of the contraceptive method; and (3) the nature of the communication approach.<sup>108</sup> Findings reported in "A Study in Fertility Control," by Bernard Berelson, and Roland Freedman, show that Experience with

<sup>106</sup> S. N. Agarwala; op. cit.

<sup>107</sup> R. Bachi and J. Matras; "Contraception and Induced Abortion among Jewish Maternity Cases in Israel," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XLIX, April: 1962, pp. 207-229.

<sup>108</sup> B. Berelson; "On Family Planning and Communication," Demography, Vol. I, 1964, p. 94.

3

family limitation was highest among the best educated, most literate, and those with urban background.<sup>109</sup>

Robert Q. Carleton's, "Fertility Trends and Differentials in Latin America," presents data on differential fertility in Latin America with respect to education, rural-urban settings, child-woman ratio, birth registration, census data on children ever born and the effect of urban rural differentials on total fertility trends.<sup>110</sup> Lincoln H. Day, "Fertility Differentials Among Catholics in Australia," found that rural wives have higher fertility than urban wives while the fertility of both has undergone a substantial decline over the past several decades.<sup>111</sup>

The study by R. Freedman and others, "Fertility and Family Planning in Taiwan: A Case Study of the Demographic Transition," reports that people with the following characteristics were most likely to want fewer

<sup>109</sup>B. Berelson and R. Freedman; op. cit.

<sup>110</sup>R. D. Carleton; "Fertility Trends and Differentials in Latin America," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XLIII, October: 1965, pp. 15-35.

<sup>111</sup>L. H. Day; "Fertility Differentials Among Catholics in Australia," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XLII, April: 1964, pp. 57-83.

1

chi

(1)

ned

mig

own

fav

the

6)

plo

cei

sou

in

psy

in

wer

nes

Are

sec

fer

2a

children and to do something about family limitation:

(1) the better-educated and those who read the mass media, (2) those with no farm experience, especially migrants from large cities to Taichung, (3) those who own more modern objects of consumption, (4) those who favor less traditional Chinese family values, (5) those living in nuclear rather than joint families, (6) those who work in an impersonal setting as employees of non-relatives, and (7) those who have received information about family planning from multiple sources.<sup>112</sup> One of the subjects of a study covered in And the Poor Get Children, by Lee Rainwater, was the psycho-social context of motives, morals, and attitudes in other aspects of family living that conditioned working class contraceptive behavior.<sup>113</sup> Charles Westoff and others, in "Family Growth in Metropolitan America," studied fertility variables which contained fecundity, contraception, birth intervals, preferred birth intervals, and desired family size. The

---

<sup>112</sup>R. Freedman, et al.; op. cit., pp. 16-27.

<sup>113</sup>L. Rainwater; And the Poor Get Children, Quadrangle Books; Chicago, 1960.

val

rel

ber

sh

es

er

tr

of

cl

ch

s

co

ro

ef

ta

co

ef

it  
e

it

it



variables examined included religion, class and fertility, religiosity, socio-economic status, social mobility, residence and migration, age-sex composition, social relationships within the family, and personality characteristics.<sup>114</sup>

The first part of Julian L. Simon's paper, "The Effect of Income on Fertility," shows how specification errors could account for the apparent contradiction between time-series and cross-section evidence about the direction of the effect of income on fertility. A model which specifies the lagged effects of income, as well as systematic changes in taste for children caused by income changes (summed up for convenience as a modernization effect), is compatible with all the observed data. However, this model provides no a priori predictions about the total effect of income on fertility. That must depend on the taste (modernization variable) caused indirectly by income, as well as the direct effects, and those taste effects may be in either direction.<sup>115</sup>

---

<sup>114</sup>C. Westoff, et al.; Family Growth in Metropolitan America, Princeton University Press; Princeton, New Jersey, 1956.

<sup>115</sup>J. L. Simon; "The Effect of Income on Fertility," Popul. Stud., Vol. XXIII, November: 1969, No. 3, pp. 327-342.

62  
NO

ac

ta

le

a

co

po

po

of

so

ti

NO

G. SOME FACTORS INVOLVED IN  
MOBILITY ORIENTATION

The second theme of our problem is to see how actors of lower strata come to have the mobility orientations of higher strata, so that they will invest in behavior consistent with that mobility orientation. In a way, this is to ask, "... at an individual level (what conditions) can spark the individual change process and produce something like attitudinal 'take-off' toward modernity"?<sup>116</sup>

The basic concern here is "... the relationship of actor to a particular (i.e., normatively-definable) social system."<sup>117</sup> With regard to this relational question, Waisanen states:

The relational question asks (at a cognitive level), "What meaning does the actor perceive in the social system?" and (at a behavioral or consequential level), "Will the actor stay within the system or move out of it?"

As regards social systemic meaning, the literature (Newcomb, 1965; Osgood, 1961) provides reason to attend the following dimensions:

(1) Direction of the attitude toward the system. This evaluative dimension puts the

---

<sup>116</sup>F. B. Waisanen; Actors, Social Systems, and the Modernization Process, op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>117</sup>F. B. Waisanen; *ibidem*, p. 7.

system on a point along a scale on which the poles could diversely read, "good-bad," "like-dislike," "for-against," etc.

(2) Centrality or relevance of the system in the actor's behavioral network. This dimension deals with the degree to which a particular social system intrudes upon the actor's life-ways--the degree to which a particular system has to be "taken into account" in day-to-day events.

(3) Perceived pay-off value. What will membership in the system gain the actor? Does affiliation provide important survival value or advantage in competition for rare goods? The critical referent here is the perceive potency of the social system.<sup>118</sup>

To answer this one must look for certain variables which point to the question: What do actors put into a social system; and what existential experiences function to

. . . bring awareness of alternative behavioral modes, (2) facilitate the attributions of meaning to these modes, i.e., their attractiveness, centrality and potency, (3) provide behavioral trials within the new normative frameworks."<sup>119</sup>

To answer these questions one can use some of the variables proposed by Waisanen.<sup>120</sup> They are: 1) Participation, 2) Time, and 3) Intersystemic or dissociative variables.

<sup>118</sup>F. B. Waisanen, ibidem, p. 7.

<sup>119</sup>F. B. Waisanen, ibidem, p. 8.

<sup>120</sup>F. B. Waisanen, ibidem, pp. 5-9.

Participation. System maintenance requires actor participation in a normative context--the norms providing bounds to the system, enabling its identifiability and thus providing a systemic reference to the actor. The core of the concept refers to behavior oriented to the social system, that is, role behavior. ". . . The actor becomes increasingly bounded by the system, increasingly circumscribed in his role behavior, and, as a consequent state, normatively entrapped."<sup>121</sup>

Time. If the participation--identification relationships hold for any specific quantum of time, then (holding participation constant) identification should increase as time-in-system increases. "Assuming distributive justice, the rewards to actor in the actor system relationship should be proportional to time and energy inputs."<sup>122</sup>

Inter-systemic or Dissociative Variables. "At the heart of this matter is mobility, be it physical or psychic."<sup>123</sup> It is a matter of intersystemic contact

---

<sup>121</sup>F. B. Waisanen, ibidem, p. 5.

<sup>122</sup>F. B. Waisanen, ibidem, p. 6.

<sup>123</sup>F. B. Waisanen, ibidem, p. 8.

between theoretically different social systems. And other things being equal, "the greater the possibility of physical and psychic mobility, the greater the likelihood of awareness and positive evaluation of alternatives behavioral modes; therefore, the greater the likelihood of change in the actor." A change which may be preferable view as ". . . one of re-ordering social systems by such meaning-criteria as evaluation, centrality, and potency."<sup>124</sup>

Special attention must be given here to "formal education as a dissociative experience."

Modernity, in social structural or individual expression, is essentially the consequence of idea-diffusion. Ideas and their material representations flow from one system to another via physical mobility (i.e., inter-systemic contact by actors in  $SS_1$  and  $SS_2$ ) or by the media of communication (i.e., psychic mobility). The school is, of course, itself a social system, rooted to the core of modernity. By its structure and functions it facilitates both physical and psychic mobility. Its impact is intensified as it: (1) reaches  $SS_1$  actors in a minimum degree of role circumscription, (2) provides contact with urban agents (the teachers) who serve as visible models of change possibility, and

---

<sup>124</sup>F. B. Waisanen, *ibidem*, p. 8.

(3) enables acquisition of conceptual and motor skills vital to coping with modernity.<sup>125</sup>

---

<sup>125</sup>F. B. Waisanen, *ibidem*, p. 10.

11



### CHAPTER III

#### THE STATEMENT OF THE HYPOTHESES

So far the following points have been made:

1) The research problem proposes to study some aspects which contribute to the self-perpetuation of social strata and to some factors which prompt actors to be "mobility-oriented." 2) The conceptual framework was formulated along the following lines: A) The concept of social system was defined and postulated as of one of central concern of sociology. B) A way to differentiate social systems in terms of "conceptualization norms and interaction norms" was proposed. C) The argument was developed that "social strata" can be conceived as "social systems." D) The case was made that social strata are social systems in different stages of modernization. E) Following different lines of argument, it was argued that the process of social mobility can be seen as a process of modernization and several dimensions of the process of social mobility were high-lighted. F) A

theoretical frame of reference was proposed which gives some orientation as to what prompts actors to become "mobility-oriented."

These theoretical bases generate the following hypotheses:

#### HYPOTHESIS NUMBER 1

"The higher the social stratum, the greater the awareness of mobility."

As a supportive rationale, it would be legitimate to state that since social strata are social systems in different stages of modernization, and since "awareness of mobility" is an indicator of modernity, the hypothesis should hold.

But one must go deeper than that and propose that "awareness of mobility is a function of previous dissociative experiences" and ask what are the "conditions" which make for actors of the different social strata to be exposed to different degrees of dissociative experiences. On the basis of previous empirical findings, it appears that the lower strata provide actors with an existential

circumstance which is poorer in dissociative experience. Those conditions are: 1) a disadvantageous placement in the process of mass media--exposure,<sup>1</sup> 2) lack of mastery of their social environment,<sup>2</sup> 3) a greater degree of social isolation,<sup>3</sup> 4) unemployment, 5) a more circumscribed geographical marginality,<sup>4</sup> and 6) a lower level of education.

#### HYPOTHESIS NUMBER 2

"The higher the social stratum, the greater the perception of possibilities of mobility."

The rationale stated to sustain the previous hypothesis supports this second hypothesis. But there is

---

<sup>1</sup>J. McNelly and A. Torres; op. cit., pp. 67-68.

<sup>2</sup>G. M. Foster; Traditional Cultures and the Impact of Technological Change, Harper and Row Publishers; New York, 1962, p. 274.

<sup>3</sup>J. L. Roach; op. cit., p. 133, as quoted by L. E. Sneden II; op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>4</sup>G. Briones and F. B. Waisanen; op. cit.

something more. The assertion can be made that the perception of the possibilities of mobility is a function of self-evaluation. It is well established that ". . . the person's self-concept is based on his perception of the way others are responding to him."<sup>5</sup> This explains the disadvantageous position in which the lower strata are placed for ". . . a person's self-evaluation is strongly influenced by the ranking of his class (that is, by the society's evaluation of the groups to which he belongs). In simplest terms, this means that upper-class people feel individually superior, and lower-class people inferior."<sup>6</sup> Hollingshead, talking of the lower class of Elmtown says: "It is looked upon as the scum of the city by the higher classes."<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, the perception of the possibilities of mobility implies a "judgment." And, as Sherif has stated all judgmental activities take place within a frame of reference.<sup>8</sup> McGregor,

---

<sup>5</sup>J. Kinch; "A Formalized Theory of the Self-Concept," A.J.S., Vol. LXVII, January: 1963, No. 4, p. 481.

<sup>6</sup>B. Berelson and I. Steiner; op. cit., p. 489.

<sup>7</sup>A. B. Hollingshead; Elmtown's Youth: The Impact of Social Classes on Adolescents, John Wiley and Sons, Inc.; New York, 1959, pp. 110-111.

<sup>8</sup>M. Sherif; The Psychology of Social Norms, Harper and Brothers; New York, 1936, Ch. 3.

3

6

8

0

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

0

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

as well as Waisanen, has shown that predictive judgments similarly are influenced by the definiteness of structure of the system of knowledge relative to which they are made.<sup>9</sup> By some of what has been said before, one can state that the frame of reference of the lower strata has to be less adequate (because of less definiteness of structure) than that of the higher strata.

### HYPOTHESIS NUMBER 3

"The higher the social stratum, the  
greater the desirability of mobility."

Desirability of mobility is a function of general evaluation by actor of the systems--in this case of the strata--of origins and the system of destination, which is a function of perceived relevance and potency of the systems. It was argued above, when stating the theoretical frame of reference, that mobility (physical or psychic) functions, among other ways to facilitate the

---

<sup>9</sup>D. M. McGregor; "The Major Determinants of the Prediction of Social Events," J. Abnorm. Soc. Psychol., Vol. XXXIII, 1938, pp. 179-204. F. B. Waisanen; "Self-Attitudes and Performance Expectations," The Sociol. Quarterly, Vol. III, July: 1962, No. 3, pp. 208-219.

attributions of meaning to alternative behavioral modes, i.e., their attractiveness, centrality, and potency. That is to say that the attribution of meaning is a function, among other things, of "dissociative experiences" and the case was already made that the conditions of actors in lower strata adverse to exposure of dissociative experience.

#### HYPOTHESIS NUMBER 4

"The higher the social stratum, the greater the investment in mobility."

The rationale of this hypothesis can be stated simply: If an actor is aware of the process of social mobility; if he perceives the possibility of social ascent; and if he evaluates social ascent positively; it follows that he will be more prone to invest in behaviors directed toward upward social mobility. The rationale for the previous hypothesis applies here as well.





HYPOTHESIS NUMBER 5

"The higher the social stratum, the  
greater the awareness of mobility,  
which will lead to increased family  
planning."

The rationale can be stated as follows: 1) the same reasons which were given for lower awareness of mobility in the lower strata can be given here for lower family planning in those strata, 2) Modernity implies, on the part of the actor, a proper adaptation between means toward a successful attainment of a goal and the manipulability of life trajectory in a rational sense. Therefore, the greater the awareness of mobility the higher the family planning.

HYPOTHESIS NUMBERS 6, 7, AND 8

These three hypotheses are stated together, for the rationale for the three of them implies a set of interconnected propositions.

- (6) "The higher the social stratum, the greater the perception of possibilities of mobility, which will lead to increased family planning."
- (7) "The higher the social stratum, the greater the desirability of mobility, which will lead to increased family planning."
- (8) "The higher the social stratum, the greater the investment in mobility, which will lead to increased family planning."

Rationale: If modernity involves, among whatever else:

- (1) perception of manipulability of events;
- (2) perception that events can be manipulated to the end of self enhancement;
- (3) future time orientations, including the deferral of gratifications.

And Assuming:

- (1) that self-enhancement is related to possession or control of economic goods;
- (2) that economic goods are scarce;
- (3) and that family as a system impinges on actors' participation in all other systems.

And Considering:

- (1) that family costs are in zero-sum relationship to costs referred to participation in other systems;
- (2) that children represent determinable economic costs;
- (3) that reduction in number of children will enable more input into the mobility process.

Therefore:

- (1) the higher the social stratum, the more favorable with reference to family planning;

- (2) holding stratum constant, the higher the perception of possibilities of social mobility, the higher the desirability of social mobility and the higher investment, which will lead to increased family planning.

HYPOTHESIS NUMBERS 9,  
10, AND 11

- (9) "For lower strata, the longer the length of marriage, the lower the perception of possibilities of mobility."
- (10) "For lower strata, the longer the length of marriage, the lower the desirability of social mobility."
- (11) "For lower strata, the longer the length of marriage, the lower the investment in mobility."

"Length of marriage" is considered here an indicator of the variable "participation," which was mentioned

in the theoretical frame of reference.<sup>10</sup> It was said in that point that the core of the concept refers to behavior oriented to the social system, i.e., role behavior. The actor becomes increasingly bounded by the system, increasingly circumscribed in his role behavior, and, as a consequent state, normatively entrapped. In other words, actor becomes entrapped in the intrasystemic interaction network in which his behavior is immersed. As this interaction network becomes more complex, the entrappment increases. Now, when a person marries his interaction network becomes more complex, in quantity and quality. His "in-laws and friends" become new members of the network and new "friend-relationships" and "affection-relationships" emerge. As the length of marriage increases the probability increases that the number of children will increase. With this the interaction network becomes also more complex; in quantity and quality: more children, children's friends, and--if you want--children's spouses and in-laws. More persons have been added to the network, new types of relationships and obligations have been created. Actor becomes more entrapped in the system; his

---

<sup>10</sup> To see the difference between "variables" and "indicators," see F. B. Waisanen; Actors, Social Systems, and the Modernization Process, op. cit., pp. 12-14.

mobility-orientation fails to emerge, or if it had at some earlier point in time begun to emerge, it now lessens or disappears.

HYPOTHESIS NUMBERS 12,  
13, AND 14

(12) "For higher strata, the negative association between length of marriage and perception of the possibility of mobility (as hypothesized for the lower strata) will be lessened, eliminated, or will change to a positive association."

(13) "For higher strata, the negative association between length of marriage and the desirability of mobility (as hypothesized for the lower strata) will be lessened, eliminated, or will change to a positive association."

- (14) "For higher strata, the negative association between length of marriage and investment in mobility (as hypothesized for lower strata) will be lessened, eliminated, or will change to a positive association."

It might seem paradoxical--if not inconsistent--to assert as in the previous hypotheses, that in the lower strata, the longer the length of marriage the lower the mobility, and to assert now that in the higher strata that negative relationship should weaken or disappear. But no paradox, much less an inconsistency exists, for length of marriage, as here argued, is an indicator of "participation," and any "participating experience" in any kind of social system is an "integrative experience." Participation is here understood as "intersystemic participation"--as such not directed to the system--it is a dissociative experience and becomes equivalent to an "intersystemic contact process."

Participation in the present theoretical context has been labeled an "actor-in-system" variable. The

apparent paradox then disappears, for an integrative experience is an entrapment experience; as such, in lower strata, increases in participation should contribute to decrease in "mobility orientation," and diminish the actor's possibility of leaving the system. Actor is entrapped! But in the higher strata, for an actor to be "trapped," he must maintain, if not increase, the "mobility-orientation" that is normative to the stratum as a social system. Therefore, as marriage time and family-related networks increase, mobility-oriented behavior should increase, or at least, depart from the negative association hypothesized for the lower strata.

The paradox then disappears, for length of marriage, while producing different effects in the highest stratum as to compare with the other strata, it performs the same social function: to entrap actor in the system.

One assertion must be stated at this point. In the highest stratum, the aspects of mobility we are considering must be present, be it because they are necessary to maintain position or because some of those at the crest would like to see society's ceiling raised; and in fact, sometimes they do raise it.



3

HYPOTHESIS NUMBERS 15, 16,  
17, AND 18

- (15) "Regardless of strata, males will be  
more likely than females, other  
things being equal, to have more  
awareness of mobility."
- (16) "Regardless of strata, males will be  
more likely than females, other  
things being equal, to perceive more  
possibilities of mobility."
- (17) "Regardless of strata, males will be  
more likely than females, other  
things being equal, to have more de-  
sirability of mobility."
- (18) "Regardless of strata, males will be  
more likely than females, other  
things being equal, to invest more  
in mobility."

Sex can be seen as an indicator of "participation"  
 --in the sense given above--or it may propitiate disso-  
 ciative experiences--the rationale of the hypotheses is

based on the assertion that "females" have more intra-systemic participation as compared with dissociative experiences, whereas the contrary is true for males. In fact men are more concerned with action in the market place and with the search for gainful employment.<sup>11</sup> They tend to look for more contact with educational systems. These provide more opportunities for intersystemic contact. "Women, on the other hand, generally see themselves as 'family-anchored' and tend to evaluate themselves in terms of their competence as wives and mothers." "They find themselves tied to their family or orientation initially (waiting for marriage) and family of procreation finally (after marriage)."<sup>12</sup> And since most marriages are stratum-endogamous, they tend to be exposed to a greater intra-systemic participation than to intersystemic contacts; i.e., dissociative experiences.

---

<sup>11</sup>L. E. Sneden II; op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>12</sup>Ibidem.

HYPOTHESIS NUMBERS 19,  
20, AND 21

- (19) "For all strata, the younger the individual is, other things equal, the higher the probability to perceive more possibilities of mobility."
- (20) "For all strata, the younger the individual is, other things equal, the higher the probability to have more desirability of mobility."
- (21) "For all strata, the younger the individual is, other things equal, the higher the probability to invest more in mobility."

Age is an indicator of the "time" variable. More time invested in the system implies: 1) more efforts put into maintaining behavioral patterns within the system, 2) more participation with concomitant increased self-involvement in the system, 3) increased probability of contributing to the system and less probability of being

rejected by the system, and 4) greater acquisition of skills required by the system.<sup>13</sup>

All this makes for the younger to be more mobility oriented.

HYPOTHESIS NUMBERS 22,  
23, 24, AND 25

- (22) "Regardless of strata, the higher the level of education, the higher the probability to have more awareness of mobility."
- (23) "Regardless of strata, the higher the level of education, the higher the probability to perceive more possibilities of mobility."
- (24) "Regardless of strata, the higher the level of education, the higher the probability to have more desirability of mobility."

---

<sup>13</sup>L. E. Sneden II; ibidem, pp. 24-25.

11

- (25) "Regardless of strata, the higher the level of education, the higher the probability to invest more in mobility."

The importance of "formal education" as dissociative experience was stated in the theoretical frame of reference. The importance of dissociative experiences to provide mobility-orientation has been emphasized in the rationale of some of the hypotheses. To say more here about the same point would be repetitious. But it should be noted that importance of dissociative experiences--as they affect mobility--increases as stratum lowers. Thus, education tends to be dissociative from the lower strata and integrative regarding the higher strata for, ". . . in the more modern system, educational achievement might be considered a participation input, and increase in education should produce increased commitment to modern norms and values."<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup>F. B. Waisanen; Actors, Social Systems, and the Modernization Process, op. cit., p. 6, footnote #2.

## CHAPTER IV

### METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS DESIGN

#### A. INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Since the study to which this proposal refers is part of a larger study carried on in the Metropolitan Area of San Jose, Costa Rica, which was directed by the author of this thesis, parts of this section will describe the research operations as they were performed in that larger study.

#### B. VARIABLES, SPECIFICATION, AND OPERATIONALIZATION

##### 1. Social Stratum

A social stratum may be conceptualized as a ". . . category of persons who occupy a similar position on a hierarchical scale of certain situational



characteristics such as income, prestige, style of life."<sup>1</sup>

In this study, in selecting the different strata, emphasis was placed on the economic dimension of stratification. The operationalization of stratum will be described in the sample design section.

Four strata were selected and labeled in the following form: 1) High Stratum; 2) Middle Stratum; 3) Poor Stratum; and 4) Slum. They were coded in the following manner: High Stratum: 1; Middle Stratum: 3; Poor Stratum: 5; and Slum: 7.

For the statistical analysis they were recoded as follows: High Stratum: 3; Middle Stratum: 2; Poor Stratum: 1; and Slum: 0.

## 2. Awareness of Mobility

The conceptual focus here is upon whether or not people know that the process of social mobility exists.

Two closed-form questions served to operationalize the concept: The English translation of those questions reads as follows:

---

<sup>1</sup>R. Dahrendorf; op. cit., p. ix.

1

- (a) Do you know whether persons who live in certain economic conditions, ever move out of those conditions into different conditions?

With regard to this question the interviewers were instructed as follows: "do not suggest any answer to the respondent, or give any explanation about the question, unless the respondent doesn't understand the expression: 'ever move out of those conditions into different conditions.'" In that event, the interviewer was allowed to explain that it meant to move out of or into superior or inferior conditions or out of or into better or worse conditions.

The possible responses were: Yes: 1; No: 5; Undecided: 3; Doesn't Answer: 9.

For the statistical analysis they were recoded as follows: Yes: 1; No: 0; Undecided: 0; Doesn't Answer: 0.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>The "undecided" are given a "0" because in matters of "mobility orientations" an undecided response is equivalent to a "No." At any rate only 14 persons (N = 874), i.e., 1.60% responded undecidedly. The "doesn't answer" was given a "0" because they present a frequency of only 9 (.69%). By giving "0" to these two categories the recording procedure is facilitated and the possibilities of obtaining a spurious correlation are diminished. These few frequencies are expected to be equally

1

- (b) Do you believe that any person born in a family that lives like yours, is fated to continue living in the same way?

Interviewers were instructed as follows: "If the respondent expresses or conveys the impression that he has not understood, you can explain to him that the question refers to the fact of "living in the same socio-economic conditions, with the same facilities, in better or worse conditions."

The possible responses were "yes," "no," "undecided," and "doesn't answer," which were field-coded as follows: Yes: 1; No: 5; Undecided: 3; Doesn't Answer: 9.

Responses were later recoded as follows: No: 1 (Because of the phrasing of the question, a "no" response indicated "awareness"); Yes: 0; Undecided: 0; Doesn't Answer: 0.<sup>3</sup>

---

distributed across strata. This reasoning will be applied to other categories of similar nature of those to which this footnote refers and which will appear in some of the next questions. Such categories will be recoded with "0."

<sup>3</sup>See footnote #2. In this case the percentage of undecided is 5.26%, and doesn't answer .34%.

### 3. Perception of Possibilities of Mobility

Here we intended to measure the degree to which people "perceive" or "believe" that they or their children have possibilities of climbing up to higher social strata.

Three questions were used:

- (a) Do you believe that some persons who live in conditions such as yours can come to get a better job?

Interviewer instructions were as follows: "If the respondent doesn't answer spontaneously and has doubts about the meaning of "better job," explain that it means a job of "higher prestige" or a job which provides a "better pay."

The response possibilities were "yes," "no," "undecided," and "doesn't answer," which were field-coded as follows: Yes: 1; No: 5; Undecided: 3; Doesn't Answer: 9.

Responses were later recoded to: Yes: 1; No: 0; Undecided: 0; and Doesn't Answer: 0.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup>See footnote #2. Here the percentages are: undecided 1.83%, doesn't answer .80%.

- (b) Will your children come to get better jobs than the one you have?

Possible responses were "yes," "no," "undecided," "doesn't answer," and "without children," and were field-coded as follows: Yes: 1; No: 5; Undecided: 3; Doesn't Answer: 9; Without Children: 0.

Responses were later recoded to: Yes: 1; No: 0; Undecided: 0; Doesn't Answer: 0; Without Children: 0.<sup>5</sup>

- (c) Could the children of families living in economic conditions such as yours go to the University if they wish?

The interviewer was instructed to take care that the respondent understood that it was the "economic conditions" and not the "intellectual capacity" which would or would not enable University attendance. The response possibilities were: "yes," "no," "undecided," and "doesn't answer," which were field-coded as follows:  
Yes: 1; No: 5; Undecided: 3; Doesn't Answer: 9.

---

<sup>5</sup>See footnote #2. Percentages here: undecided 1.72%, doesn't answer .34%, without children 3.66%.

The responses were subsequently recoded as follows: Yes: 1; No: 0; Undecided: 0; Doesn't Answer: 0.<sup>6</sup>

#### 4. Desirability of Mobility

This part of the instrumentation was constructed to tap the "evaluative" dimension of the process of social mobility. The questions are, in a way, indirect questions. The respondents were asked whether they expected that they, their families, or their children will change their present socio-economic conditions. In the questions the verb "to improve" and "to enjoy" were used. The assumption was that if the expectations (affirmative or negative) of changing the socio-economic conditions were seen in the context of "improvement" or "enjoyment," the assertion implied an evaluative dimension to the process of social mobility.

(a) Will you or your family come to improve their socio-economic conditions?

---

<sup>6</sup>See footnote #2. The percentages here: undecided 2.06%, doesn't answer .23%. Illegal coding (in this question .23%) was eliminated.



Possible answers: "yes," "no," "undecided," and "doesn't answer," which were field-coded as follows:

Yes: 1; No: 5; Undecided: 3; Doesn't Answer: 9.

Later, responses were recoded to: Yes: 1;  
No: 0; Undecided: 0; Doesn't Answer: 0.<sup>7</sup>

(b) Given your present socio-economic condition, will your children come to enjoy a better socio-economic condition?

The response possibilities were "yes," "no," "undecided," and "without children," field-coded as follows:  
Yes: 1; No: 5; Undecided: 3; Doesn't Answer: 9; Without Children: 0.

These were recoded as follows: Yes: 1; No: 0; Undecided: 0; Doesn't Answer: 0; Without Children: 0.<sup>8</sup>

## 5. Investment in Mobility

The instrumentation in this instance attempted to measure consciously invested effort on the part of the

---

<sup>7</sup>See footnote #2. The percentages here: undecided 5.95%, doesn't answer .46%.

<sup>8</sup>See footnote #2. Undecided 3.55%, doesn't answer .34%, without children 3.55%.

individual to improve his own socio-economic condition and/or the economic condition of his children.

Two questions were asked:

- (a) Are you doing something to improve your socio-economic condition?

The response alternatives were: "yes," "no," "undecided," and "doesn't answer," which were field-coded as follows: Yes: 1; No: 5; Undecided: 3; Doesn't Answer: 9.

The responses were later recoded to: Yes: 1; No: 0; Undecided: 0; Doesn't Answer: 0.<sup>9</sup>

- (b) Are you doing something so that your children can come to a socio-economic condition better than yours?

The response alternatives were: "yes," "no," "undecided," "doesn't answer," "without children," and "adult children," which were field-coded as follows:  
Yes: 1; No: 5; Undecided: 3; Doesn't Answer: 9;  
Without Children: 0; Adult Children: 8.

---

<sup>9</sup> See footnote #2. The percentages here: undecided .57%, doesn't answer .00%, and illegal coding .34%.

The responses were later recoded to: Yes: 1;  
 No: 0; Undecided: 0; Doesn't Answer: 0; Without Children: 0; Adult Children: 0.<sup>10</sup>

## 6. Family Planning

Questions regarding the measurement of this variable, here defined as any consciously invested effort to control birth, were posed only to women, and for purposes of analysis, the four questions were to be treated individually. The questions are:

(a) Have you done anything to limit births?

The response alternatives were: "yes," "no," and "doesn't answer," field-coded as follows: Yes: 1; No: 5; Doesn't Answer: 9.

They were later recoded as follows: Yes: 1;  
 No: 0; Doesn't Answer: 0.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See footnote #2. Percentages here: undecided .23%, doesn't answer .23%, without children 4.12%, adult children .69%.

<sup>11</sup> See footnote #2. The percentage here: doesn't answer .40%.

(b) Since when have you done anything to limit your births?

Response possibilities included: "Number of years indicated," "Not applicable because of having responded 'no' to the previous question," and "didn't answer to previous question." The responses were field-coded as follows: Number of years indicated: No. of years if less than 7 or not less than 1; 7 or more: 7; Less than 1: 8; Negative Response to previous question: 0;<sup>12</sup> Doesn't answer to previous question: 0.

These responses were later recoded to: Doesn't answer: 0;<sup>13</sup> Less than 1: 0; One year: 1; Two years: 2; Three years: 3; Four years: 4; Five years: 5; Six years: 6; Seven years or more: 7.

(c) After what child have you done anything to limit your births?

Response alternatives included: "child number," "doesn't apply," and "answered no to question 2 of this

---

<sup>12</sup>This group of respondents will be partialled out in the analysis.

<sup>13</sup>See footnote #2. The percentage here: 3.09%.

subsection. The field-coding was as follows: Child No.: the respondent's indicated No.; Doesn't apply: 00; Answered "No" to question 2 of this subsection: 99.<sup>14</sup>

These were recoded as follows: Child No. 1: 1; Child No. 2: 2; Child No. 3: 3; Child No. 4: 4; 5 Children or more: 5.

## 7. A Word About "Variables" and "Indicators"

(a) In the section devoted to the conceptual frame of reference, where attention was directed to the factors that prompt an individual to be mobility-oriented, it was proposed that the variables (1) participation, (2) time, and (3) intersystemic or dissociative variables could be used.

The hypotheses concerning this question used length of marriage and sex as indicators of the participation variable, age as an indicator of time variable, and education as an indicator of a dissociative variable.

---

<sup>14</sup>This group of respondents will be partialled out in the analysis.

Since those indicators are frequently used as "control variables," the following quotation is relevant.

In recent years I have felt an increasing discontent whenever research findings in behavioral science are reported as a consequence of "controlled analysis." The variables which are usually controlled include one or more of the following: age, sex, marital status, place of residence (i.e., a rural-urban continuum), family size, race, income, and one more commonly applied than others, education.

These controls sometimes have a significant effect. The effect may be positive; that is, the value of the relationship is increased and strengthened by the application of controls. More frequently, the correlation value, or the value which represents the association, is decreased by application of controls. Whatever happens, we are content. If controls decrease the value, then we contend that the correlation value is now more pure, because we have washed away the effects of contaminating variables. If controls increase the correlation value, an effect is apparent, one wonders about the theoretical relevance of the variables that produced the "control effect." It seems appropriate to ask if variables are indeed variables or, as an alternative, indicators of more elemental and therefore more theoretically relevant dimensions of the relationship of actor to social system.

To put the issue another way, I am concerned that the impact of the so-called controlled variables is more often than not a fortuitous rather than theoretically-grounded event. Analysis by variables that may by fortune but not by design subsume dimensions of social behavior can give us predictive power, but such predictive power is essentially statistical. This does not give us understanding or explanatory power, which is necessarily theoretical. We need, therefore, not only

variables that are honored by usage; we must also identify the phenomenal referents of our observations.

The problem is something more than one of providing definitions of variables; the more general need is to provide a specification of meaning based upon conceptual inter-relationship (Kaplan, 1955; Stinchcombe, 1968). Each concept is hypothetical in that one must be able to place it in some point of a cause-effect sequence. In brief, we must consider the degree to which variables have conceptual value, or the degree to which they are grounded in substantive theory.

Consider age as an indicator of something relevant to social theory. By the criterion of usage (if not by the criterion of theoretical relevance) age may be considered a natural variable, appropriately includable as an analytical control. There is no problem of definition ("calendar years lived"); its continuous (as against discrete) characteristic is clear; the literature gives the concept relational value ("age is directly related to political-ideological conservatism"). But what is gained by recognizing that conservatism increases with calendar years lived? In order to specify meaning that is theoretically grounded, there is warrant in seeking the more general variable that age indicates. Perhaps it is not unfair to assert that we have a plethora of indicators and a paucity of concepts. We might consider age as an example of time-in-system indicators. Recency of migration, years in present employment, and years married might be others. Similarly, marital status and neighbor contacts, as examples, could serve as within-system participation indicators. Rank-in-system may be indicated by age, sex, race, property holding, office holding, and the like. Finally, number of friends, godfatherships, and self-perceived sociability may be examples of indicators of esteem.

1



Indicators of dissociative experiences, or inter-systemic linkage behavior, are also several and apparent. Mass media use, with further specification by particular medium, can indicate psychic mobility. Similarly, trips to urban centers might constitute one indicator of physical mobility. The vital indicator value of formal education in inter-systemic linkage has already been discussed.

There is neither purpose nor possibility in proposing an exhaustive inventory of behaviors that might have indicator-value re the variables of the model. Indicators can change over time and differ by social systems; concepts, on the other hand, should have an invariant relevance.<sup>15</sup>

In this context, then, length of marriage and sex are used as indicators of participation, age as an indicator of time, and education as a "dissociative variable."

#### Length of Marriage

A filter-question was used to know whether the respondent was married or single, and if married, how long a time he has been married. In the case of multiple marriages, subjects were asked: how long a time did each marriage last?

The question was coded in accordance with the number of years indicated by the respondent for each

---

<sup>15</sup> F. B. Waisanen; op. cit., pp. 12-14.

marriage. The married respondent receives a score equal to the number of years married in the first union, if married only once, or equal to the sum of years married for every union, if married more than once. Total years married was then recoded into the following categories: Actual years married: less than 19; 20-39; and 40 or more.

Sex was field-coded as follows: Male: 1; Female: 5. For analysis, sex was recoded to: Male: 1; Female: 0.

Age--Subjects were asked: how old are you? The answer was to be given in "years completed." Every respondent will have a score equal to the number of years indicated. Recoded as follows: less than 39, 40-59, and 60 or more.

Education--Until what grade or year did you study? The answer stated the level of education and the number of years at each level. Of course, a possible response alternative was "without school."

For those with university education, the maximum number of years allowed in code was "7."

Responses were coded both by level and by years completed: The code for level is as follows: Without

school: 0; Primary: 1 (6 years if completed); Secondary: 3 (11 years if completed); University: 5 (18 years maximum).

The code for years completed was by actual years, with a seven-year maximum at the university level.

Since primary school in Costa Rica has 6 years, high school 5, and university varies in accordance with career or profession, each respondent has a score equal to the number of years completed. For example, the respondent says: high school 2 years. This equals 6 (primary school) + 2 (the two years in high school) = 8.

### C. SAMPLE DESIGN<sup>16</sup>

The procedure employed to select a random sample of 1,083 respondents, within barrios (quarters, as in "Latin Quarter,") representative of different social strata of the Metropolitan Area of San Jose, Costa Rica, is described here.

---

<sup>16</sup>As it was said before, the procedure followed to select the "Barrios" (quarters) implies the operationalization of the strata.

The Metropolitan Area was defined on the basis of the criterion used by the Bureau of Statistics and Census.

The definition is the following:

It includes the central canton<sup>17</sup> of the province of San Jose and the nearby eight cantones of the immediate zone of influence, with the exception or excessive distance from the central nucleus, do not offer possibilities for expansion in the previsible period of 25 years.<sup>18</sup>

The universe was constituted by 380,000 inhabitants (at the end of 1968) distributed in 285 barrios.

The sample design included the following stages.

#### 1. Cartographic Delimitation of the "Barrios" (quarters)<sup>19</sup>

It was necessary to delimit the barrios of the Metropolitan Area in order to mosaic that area in "geographic unities," every one of them inhabited by a

<sup>17</sup>There is not an equivalent expression in English. The meaning is close to "county," but not equal.

<sup>18</sup>R. Sanchez-Bolanos; El Area Metropolitana de San José segun los censos de 1963-1964, Direccion General de Estadistica y Censos; San Jose, Costa Rica, 1967.

<sup>19</sup>E. Fonseca, et al.; Algunos Aspectos Sociograficos del Area Metropolitana de San Jose, Costa Rica, CESPO, Universidad de Costa Rica; San Pedro, Costa Rica, 1969. This was the first publication of the major study of which this dissertation is a part.

population of homogeneous socio-economic characteristics. The delimitation was done mainly with unpublished and unelaborated material and information from the 1963 National Population Housing Census. Material and information were provided by the Bureau of Statistics and Census of Costa Rica.

The delimitation of the universe into units with highest possible degree of socio-economic homogeneity was imposed by the need to select, for the purpose of the study, units what were typically representative of different socio-economic levels--a task not easy in an area like the Metropolitan Area of San Jose, where many "barrios" are not very homogeneous.

The basic material for the delimitation of the barrios is the following:

- a. A complete set of maps of the Metropolitan Area with the delimited census tracts. A census tract is a geographical area which shows to the census interviewer the territorial circumscription where the interviews are to be conducted.
- b. Unpublished tabulations with data about the household occupants and household characteristics and

conditions for every one of the "census-barrios" of the Metropolitan Area. The census-barrios was the name of the place where the interviewee said his house was located. Through this procedure the area of study appeared to have 546 census-barrios. A delimitation of barrios done in such a way was practically useless for the purpose of this study, and perhaps for any study. For example, it was found that sometimes people gave the same name for two or more places or the same place with several names, or they gave the name of a barrio to a place with only one household. This is the reason why such an incredible number of barrios appeared.

- c. Original census schedules with data about the interviewed families.
- d. A tabulation specially prepared for the study by the "Machine-selection" division of the Bureau of Statistics and Census. It provided information about the number of persons of every household perceiving some income as remuneration for

work and the amount of the wages and salaries for each one of the 546 census-barrios.

- e. A special map of the Metropolitan Area (presented as requirement to obtain the degree of Licenciante in History and Geography in the University of Costa Rica by Lic. Elena Teran de Beck and Cecilia Rodriguez Monge). This map was prepared after visiting all the barrios of the Area and coloring every house in accordance of the life conditions of the household inhabitants judging by the appearance and other external characteristics of the house.

With precise instructions, the work operations to delimit barrios useful for the study was done by two specialists in this kind of activity, who had done similar tasks in taking national censuses.

Such a delimitation was done using a clean set of maps. We took into consideration (1) the maps with the census tracts, (2) the location in them of the census-barrios, i.e., the reference of places with repeated names and other anomalies mentioned above, (3) the tabulations about household characteristics and income, and

(4) the maps of Lics. De Beck and Rodriguez. The personal knowledge of the specialists played a very important role in this task. The delimitation consisted in re-grouping the census-barrios into utilizable and bigger geographical units.

The procedure was initiated by examining one by one the maps with the delimited census tracts. The identification of each tract allowed a direct consultation of the corresponding original census schedules to enable detection of anomalies.

At the same time we proceeded to study adjacent tracts which appeared to form a whole barrio, taking into account the above-mentioned tabulations, the name of the places, the De Beck-Rodriguez Map and the personal knowledge the specialists had of the different areas.

Once the delimitation was established for all the barrios of the Area, the delimitation ended up with 285 barrios in the Metropolitan Area of San Jose. Heliographic copies of maps with the delimited barrios were prepared.



## 2. Ranking of the "Barrios"

In order to select some barrios as representative as possible of some different socio-economic levels, it was necessary to place the 285 barrios in a rank order in accordance with the corresponding socio-economic level of each of them. To do this, information about wage per person and household characteristics was available. With such information it was possible to calculate average wage for every barrio and to construct an index of household characteristics for every barrio. With these elements the barrios were ranked and classified in ten groups: 9 on them with 28 barrios and 1 with 33. These groups of barrios were called "deciles" for purposes of this study, even though the group of barrios of the lowest socio-economic level is a little bit bigger than the tenth part of the 285 "barrios."

The index of household characteristics is a weighted index of the following elements: electric appliances, sanitary facilities, and house condition. After several consultations with a group of behavioral scientists who had a long and personal knowledge of the life conditions of the country, it was decided to weight the elements in the following manner:

| <u>Item</u>                             | <u>Points</u> |
|---|---------------|
| Electric Appliances in the House        |               |
| Washing Machine                         | 11            |
| Water Heater                            | 10            |
| Refrigerator                            | 9             |
| Sanitary Facilities <sup>20</sup>       |               |
| a. Type                                 |               |
| Sewer <sup>21</sup>                     | 8             |
| Septic Tank or Container                | 7             |
| b. Use                                  |               |
| Private                                 | 6             |
| Commonly shared by more than one family | 5             |
| Do not have <sup>23</sup>               | 4             |
| Housing Conditions                      |               |
| Good                                    | 3             |
| Regular                                 | 2             |
| Bad or Poor                             | 1             |

---

<sup>20</sup> Lacking an expression in the English language to translate what has been described in the study as "servicio sanitario," I have chosen to use "sanitary facilities," a classification which includes whether the families have or do not have a system utilized for the purposes for which a water-closet or a flushing-toilet are used in the United States, and whether this system was based in a sewer or a septic container. This classification also includes whether this "sanitary facility," if they have one, is commonly shared by more than one family. These items have been considered as good indicators of the socio-economic level of the Costa Rican families.

<sup>21</sup> An artificial, usually subterranean, conduit to carry off dirty water and certain waste matter.

<sup>22</sup> A tank containing a certain substance which produces putrefaction or morbid germs, which at the same time destroy the dirty waters and waste materials coming from the "servicios sanitarios" used by the people.

<sup>23</sup> In Costa Rica, this is specially the case in the slum areas, where there are no sanitary facilities as

Analyzing the above weighing procedure, it is evident that the possession of "Washing Machine" and "Water Heater" was considered as a greater discriminatory element, and, therefore, eleven and ten points were assigned respectively to these items. Because it implied a certain subjective appreciation, the "Housing Conditions" category was considered as an element of lesser weight, and, therefore, three points were assigned for the time described as "Good" housing condition, two points for the "Regular" housing conditions, and one point for the "Bad" or "Poor" housing conditions. The definitions of "Good," "Regular," and "Bad" or "Poor" were, according to the National Housing Census of 1963, the following:

- |            |   |
|------------|---|
| "Good":    | House in condition of being inhabited.  |
| "Regular": | House which requires repairs of some consideration due to damages or lack of flooring, ceilings or wrecked walls or roofs; but, which is placed in an acceptable sized land-piece and is economically susceptible of being repaired. Its wrecked conditions do not constitute |

---

described above and the places used for these purposes can be classified as anti-sanitary or anti-hygenic.

an eminent danger for its inhabitants.

"Bad or Poor": House of originally inadequate construction (although recently constructed) because of lack of sufficient land area, utilization of residual or wrecked materials in its foundation, walls or roofs; because of lack of materials in a large portion of its foundation or because of a dangerous slope in the ground. Deteriorated or impaired house due to sinking or ruined bases, cracked or decaying walls, with holes or decayed, impaired, or insecure roofs, evidence crooked or bent foundations, walls or roofs.

According to the above specifications, this index varies between forty-seven as a maximum and five as a minimum. The maximum limit is obtained considering the elements included under the category of "Electric Appliances in the House," the existence of a sewer system for "type of sanitary facilities," of private use and "good" housing conditions. The minimum limit is obtained in those cases when there are no "electric artifacts in the house," there are no "sanitary facilities" and the housing conditions are "bad" or "poor."

13

3. Selection of the "Barrios"  
Typically Representative of  
Different Socio-Economic  
Levels

Once the barrios had been ranked by deciles, according to the Index of Household Characteristics and to the Average Income, we proceeded next to the selection of the barrios from which the sample of respondents for the final interview was to be drawn. For that purpose, some principles were kept in mind and some steps were taken, as specified in the following description:

a. Principles in Which the Selection of the "Barrios"  
Was Based. The two main principles in which the selection of the barrios was based were:

- (1) the barrios should be typically representative, and
- (2) the typicality should be an expression of the economic dimension of stratification, although it was acknowledged that this would also imply the expression of other stratificational dimensions. Considering the deciles from which the barrios were to be selected, we thought

it defensible to select as representative barrios from the Higher Stratum those from the first decile; in order to avoid the compounding elements of the barrios tending toward the middle levels, which supposedly would be located in the second and third deciles. For the same reason, the selection of the representative barrios from the Middle Stratum was intentionally made only among those from the fourth, fifth, and sixth deciles. In this way it was possible to avoid the compounding elements of barrios tending toward the higher levels and those tending toward the lower levels. For the selection of the representative barrios from the lower stratum, only the ninth and tenth deciles were considered, trying thusly to avoid the compounding elements of the barrios tending toward the middle levels.

The principle by which the strata should be an expression of the economic dimension was achieved by the way in which the barrios were ranked by deciles: first by the Average

Income--that is, an economic dimension--and then by Household Characteristics, assuming this to be an expression of economic power.

At the end of this step, we decided to divide the barrios considered as representative of the lower stratum. They were divided in barrios representative of the "poor stratum" as such and barrios which could be classified as "Slums." We felt this to be necessary because of the peculiar characteristics that these slums present. The slums are formed mainly by rural migrants underemployed or unemployed people, and the condition is of extreme poverty.

b. Preliminary Selection of the "Barrios."

In the process of examining the barrios, with the corresponding deciles, some important observations were made. In the first place, it was not always the case that the decile in which the barrios was located according to the average income, had a perfect correspondence with the decile in which it was located according to the



Index of Household Characteristics. In the second place, other judgments backed up strongly the conviction that just the ranking of the barrios by deciles was not sufficient for the selection of the representative barrios, if that selection was to be made according to the already stated principles. One of the judging elements used was the personal knowledge that the team of researchers had about the Metropolitan Area of San Jose, and the other was the information given by a detailed Map of the Metropolitan Area of San Jose, which shows in different colors the division of the Metropolitan Area by economic levels of the barrios within it.<sup>24</sup> With the help of these elements, the next step was the preliminary selection of the barrios.

---

<sup>14</sup>The mentioned map is part of a Thesis Dissertation by Licenciata E. Teran de Beck and Licenciata C. Rodriguez Monge; Planeamiento Urbano del Area Metropolitana (Urban Planning of the Metropolitan Area), Department of History and Geography, University of Costa Rica; San Pedro, Costa Rica. The authors visited personally all the "Barrios" of the Metropolitan Area in order to complete their study.

PRELIMINARY LIST OF "BARRIOS"<sup>25</sup>

| Name of the Barrio                                 | Decile According To<br>Index of Household<br>Characteristics | Decile According<br>to Average Income |
|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| <b>I HIGHER STRATUM</b>                            |  |                                       |
| Dent   | I  | II                                    |
| Yoses Alto   | I  | I                                     |
| Rohrmoser <sup>26</sup> (Today Sabana<br>Oeste)    |  |                                       |
| La Guaria  | I  | I                                     |
| Escalante  | II   | I                                     |
| <b>II MIDDLE STRATUM</b>                           |  |                                       |
| Aranjuez   | I  | I                                     |
| Los Yoses Sur                                      | VIII   | V                                     |
| San Fco. de Mata Redonda<br>(Sur Plaza)            | II   | II                                    |
| Jardines de Cascajal                               | IV   | VI                                    |
| Santa Eduvigis                                     | I  | I                                     |
| Quesada Duran                                      | VII  | VII                                   |
| Juarez or Rincon de Cubillos                       | II   | II                                    |
| <b>III LOWER STRATUM</b>                           |  |                                       |
| Santa Cecilia                                      | VI   | VI                                    |
| Colonia Kennedy                                    | VI   | VII                                   |
| Lotes Pinto  | VII  | VIII                                  |
| Pitahaya (Hacia Claret)                            | II   | III                                   |
| San Fco. Guadalupe                                 | V  | V                                     |
| San Sebastian                                      | VI   | VI                                    |
| Betania (Detras de la Paulina,<br>hacia Guadalupe) | IV   | IV                                    |
| <b>IV SLUM</b>                                     |  |                                       |
| Corazon de Jesus                                   | X  | IX                                    |
| Sagrada Familia                                    | X - X  | VIII - X                              |
| Quebrador Colima                                   | X  | X                                     |
| San Pedro Pavas                                    | X  | X                                     |
| Lomas de Ocloro                                    | IX   | IX                                    |
| Copey Cinco Esquinas                               | VIII   | VIII                                  |

<sup>25</sup> In the list the deciles are included to show to what extent the initial criteria for the selection could be achieved and the level of congruence between corresponding deciles of each "Barrio."

<sup>26</sup> The corresponding deciles of this "Barrio" were not assigned because the information available for the other "Barrios" was gathered at a time when this urbanization was only starting. At the time the investigation was carried out, it was already known that this "Barrio" was a well developed urbanization of the Higher Stratum.

c. Final Selection of the "Barrios."

Once the preliminary selection was finished, personal visits were made to the provisionally selected barrios and to the barrios which, once the necessary modifications were introduced in the provisional list, were included later in the final list. This personal visit to the barrios had several objectives:

- (1) The inspection of the exterior appearance of the barrio could serve as a partial judging element for the verification of the level of success achieved in the process assigning the barrios to the corresponding strata.
- (2) The visits provided opportunity to observe the level of homogeneity of the selected barrios. This was particularly important, for it was necessary to have barrios from which one could be able to select for the sample persons representing typical strata from the different socio-economic levels.

- (3) The visits enabled informational discussions with the people in the barrios about occupation and income, with stratum assignment objectives in mind.

Based on the results of these personal visits the following steps were taken in order to obtain the final list of the representative barrios:

(1) Elimination

From the preliminary list some of the barrios were eliminated. For example, barrio "Los Yoses Sur" was eliminated because it was considered to be more representative of the Higher Stratum than that of the Middle Stratum. "Quesada Duran" was eliminated because it showed a high level of heterogeneity. "San Pedro de Pavas" was eliminated because it was considered a rural area. "Lomas de Ocloro" was eliminated because it did not appear to be typical slum area.

(2) Substitution

Barrio "Santa Eduviges" was replaced by Barrio "Cordoba." Barrio "Pitahaya" was replaced by Barrio "Claret," "San Sebastian" by "Paso Ancho," "Santa Cecilia" by "Sagrada Familia," and "Quebrador de Colima" by "Salubridad." The barrios that were replaced appeared to be very heterogeneous within their characteristics of "poor" or lower stratum barrios.

(3) Transference

Barrio "Colonia Kennedy" was transferred from the Lower Stratum to the Middle Stratum. After the personal visit to this barrio, there was no doubt that this was a typically Middle Stratum barrio.

(4) Inclusion

"Pueblo Nuevo" was included. This barrio was found accidentally. There was no information about its existence in any of the documents used by the researchers. Its appearance is that of a typical slum.

(5) Division

Barrio "Sagrada Familia" was divided in two, assigning one sector to the Lower Stratum and the other to the Slums. The division was based upon eyewitness inspection of the barrio.

(6) Sectorization

From some of the barrios certain sectors were selected and other sections eliminated. This was done for the purpose of achieving homogeneity and typicality, to which reference has been made above. The barrios which underwent this process were: "Yoses," "Escalante," "Aranjuez," "San Francisco de Mata Redonda," "San Francisco de Goicoechea," and "Betania."

The following is the final list of the selected barrios.

FINAL LIST OF "BARRIOS"

| Name of the Barrio                | Decile According To<br>Index of Household<br>Characteristics | Decile According<br>to Average Income |
|-----------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| <b>I HIGHER STRATUM</b>           |  |                                       |
| Yoses-Dent                        | I  | II                                    |
| Sabana Oeste                      | I  | II                                    |
| La Guaria                         | I  | I                                     |
| Escalante                         | II   | I                                     |
| <b>II MIDDLE STRATUM</b>          |  |                                       |
| Aranjuez                          | I  | I                                     |
| San Fco. Mata Redonda             | II   | II                                    |
| Jardines de Cascajal              | II   | II                                    |
| Juarez                            | II   | II                                    |
| Colonia Kennedy                   | VI   | VII                                   |
| Cordoba                           | II   | II                                    |
| <b>III LOWER STRATUM</b>          |  |                                       |
| San Fco. Goicoeches               | V  | V                                     |
| Lotes Pinto                       | VII  | VIII                                  |
| Claret                            | II   | III                                   |
| Paso Ancho                        | VII  | VI                                    |
| Betana                            | IV   | IV                                    |
| Sagrada Familia                   | X  | VIII                                  |
| <b>LOWER STRATUM</b>              |  |                                       |
| <b>IV SLUM</b>                    |  |                                       |
| Salubridad                        | VIII   | IX                                    |
| Corazon de Jesus                  | X  | IX                                    |
| Sagrada Familia                   | X  | X                                     |
| Pueblo Nuevo, Pavas <sup>27</sup> | X  | X                                     |
| Copey                             | VIII   | VIII                                  |

---

<sup>27</sup> This "Barrio" was found in the process of visiting the barrios. It did not have a code number, but without a doubt is located in the tenth (X) decile of both indexes.

(7) Cartographic "Up Dating" of the Selected  
"Barrios."

When the selection of the barrios from which the sample was to be drawn was completed, two experienced cartographers were hired for the purpose of bringing up to date the maps corresponding to all the barrios and sectors of the barrios included in this final selection. This work consisted in the inclusion of new houses and the elimination of those which were no longer in existence. These were the maps which were used later for the color coding of the sample households which each interviewer was supposed to visit.

(8) Listing of Persons in Each Household for the  
Final Selection of the Sample.

In the process of "up-dating" the barrios a list of the population from which the sample was to be drawn was prepared. From the completed list, and once the sample was selected, it was possible to elaborate a "Sample Directory" which included the following information:



Area Number and Name of the barrio, followed by the list of the sample respondents from that particular barrio, their address, sex, their corresponding questionnaire code and the Sector Number in which they were located.

d. Final Selection of the Respondents.

The final selection of the sample households for the final interviews of both husbands and wives\* were made following random procedure, once the final maps were established and the list of the corresponding sectors completed. Based upon the same procedure, the substitute sample units were selected. This group of substitute households was utilized in the case of non-contact after several visits to the respondents selected in the original samples and in cases of refusal.

In order to determine the total number of households in the sample that were to be visited, the complete list of households mentioned at the

---

\*Husbands and wives were interviewed whenever both were accessible. Whenever the husband-wife condition was not present, the head of the household was interviewed.

100



beginning of this description was used for the purpose of a proportional distribution of the number of households per "Barrio." The next step was to select randomly the ones that were to be included in the sample. The same procedure was followed in the selection of the substitute households. Every effort was made to exhaust all the possible means to complete the interview with the families which were originally selected for the sample.

According to the above considerations, the final selection of the households to be included in the sample was made. The final size of the sample was determined according to the statistical expression:

$$n = \frac{s^2 t^2}{d^2},$$

where s equals standard deviation, t equals confidence limit, and d equals  $\bar{X} - m$ , that is the degree of inaccuracy to be accepted.

Tables 1-5 provide relevant data on sample characteristics. Note that the sample design (based upon our survey of all households in the barrios at issue) included 613 households and 1083 individuals. Problems with non-contacts and refusals were partially met with the

TABLE 1

TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS IN EACH BARRIO AND SAMPLE  
HOUSEHOLDS BY BARRIO, ACCORDING TO STRATA

| Strata                        | Households<br>in Barrio | Households<br>in Sample |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| <b>I HIGHER STRATUM</b>       |                         |                         |
| Yoses-Dent                    | 210                     | 27                      |
| Sabana Oeste                  | 98                      | 13                      |
| La Guaria                     | 77                      | 10                      |
| Escalante                     | 343                     | 46                      |
| TOTAL                         | 728                     | 96                      |
| <b>II MIDDLE STRATUM</b>      |                         |                         |
| Aranjuez                      | 330                     | 44                      |
| San Francisco de Mata Redonda | 122                     | 25                      |
| Jardines de Cascajal          | 69                      | 9                       |
| Juarez                        | 352                     | 50                      |
| Colonia Kennedy               | 491                     | 63                      |
| Cordoba                       | 47                      | 6                       |
| TOTAL                         | 1,411                   | 197                     |
| <b>III LOWER STRATUM</b>      |                         |                         |
| San Francisco de Goicoechea   | 135                     | 19                      |
| Lotes Pinto                   | 511                     | 67                      |
| Claret                        | 178                     | 25                      |
| Paso Ancho                    | 236                     | 30                      |
| Betania                       | 270                     | 36                      |
| Sagrada Familia               | 345                     | 51                      |
| TOTAL                         | 1,675                   | 228                     |
| <b>IV SLUM</b>                |                         |                         |
| Salubridad                    | 215                     | 29                      |
| Corazon de Jesus              | 19                      | 3                       |
| Sagrada Familia               | 279                     | 37                      |
| Pueblo Nuevo, Pavas           | 83                      | 12                      |
| Copey                         | 83                      | 11                      |
| TOTAL                         | 679                     | 92                      |
| GREAT TOTAL                   | 4,493                   | 613                     |

TABLE 2

TOTAL NUMBER OF COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRES, BY SEX;  
ACCORDING TO STRATA AND BARRIOS (Sectors)

| Stratum and Barrio (Sector) | Both<br>Sexes | Males      | Females    |
|-----------------------------|---------------|------------|------------|
| <b>TOTAL</b>                | <b>893</b>    | <b>389</b> | <b>504</b> |
| <hr/>                       |               |            |            |
| <u>Higher</u>               | 146           | 68         | 78         |
| 1. Yoses-Dent               | 37            | 17         | 20         |
| 2. Sabana Oeste             | 28            | 13         | 15         |
| 3. La Guaria                | 16            | 8          | 8          |
| 4. Escalante                | 65            | 30         | 35         |
| <u>Middle</u>               | 284           | 123        | 161        |
| 5. Aranjuez                 | 68            | 28         | 40         |
| 6. San Fco. de Mata Redonda | 24            | 11         | 13         |
| 7. Jardines de Cascajal     | 11            | 4          | 7          |
| 8. Juarez                   | 70            | 30         | 40         |
| 9. Colonia Kennedy          | 101           | 45         | 56         |
| 10. Cordoba                 | 10            | 5          | 5          |
| <u>Lower</u>                | 329           | 141        | 188        |
| 11. San Fco. de Goicoechea  | 26            | 10         | 16         |
| 12. Lotes Pinto             | 101           | 48         | 53         |
| 13. Claret                  | 32            | 12         | 20         |
| 14. Paso Ancho              | 47            | 22         | 25         |
| 15. Betania                 | 48            | 18         | 30         |
| 16. Sagrada Familia Sur     | 75            | 31         | 44         |
| <u>Slum</u>                 | 134           | 57         | 77         |
| 17. Salubridad              | 51            | 22         | 29         |
| 18. Corazon de Jesus        | 5             | 2          | 3          |
| 19. Sagrada Familia Norte   | 52            | 21         | 31         |
| 20. Pueblo Nuevo de Pavas   | 16            | 8          | 8          |
| 21. Copey                   | 10            | 4          | 6          |

TABLE 3

TOTAL NUMBER OF COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRES  
RELATED TO THE ORIGINAL SAMPLE;  
ACCORDING TO STRATA

| Strata | Original<br>Sample | Completed<br>Questionnaires |      |
|--------|--------------------|-----------------------------|------|
|        |                    | Total                       | %    |
| Total  | 1.083              | 893                         | 82.5 |
| Higher | 184                | 146                         | 79.3 |
| Middle | 343                | 284                         | 82.8 |
| Lower  | 394                | 329                         | 83.5 |
| Slum   | 162                | 134                         | 82.7 |

TABLE 4

ORIGINAL SAMPLE, SUBSTITUTIONS AND COMPLETED  
QUESTIONNAIRES; ACCORDING TO STRATA

| Strata | Original<br>Sample | Substitutions | Completed<br>Questionnaires |
|--------|--------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| Urban  | 1.083              | 121           | 893                         |
| Higher | 184                | 51            | 146                         |
| Middle | 343                | 21            | 284                         |
| Lower  | 394                | 32            | 329                         |
| Slum   | 162                | 17            | 134                         |

3

TABLE 5

CASES OF NON-CONTACTS AND REFUSALS IN THE ORIGINAL  
SAMPLE, BY TYPE OF RESPONDENT; ACCORDING TO STRATA

| Strata       | Non-Contacts (Households) |        |    |    |                |    | Refusals |        |    |    |                |    |
|--------------|---------------------------|--------|----|----|----------------|----|----------|--------|----|----|----------------|----|
|              | Total                     | Couple |    |    | Without Spouse |    | Total    | Couple |    |    | Without Spouse |    |
|              |                           | Both   | M  | F  | M              | F  |          | Both   | M  | F  | M              | F  |
| <u>Urban</u> | 200                       | 118    | 49 | 16 | 6              | 11 | 74       | 40     | 13 | 12 | 1              | 8  |
| Higher       | 39                        | 28     | 8  | 2  | 1              | -- | 27       | 20     | -- | 3  | --             | 4  |
| Middle       | 62                        | 38     | 14 | 5  | 2              | 3  | 13       | 6      | 5  | 1  | --             | 1  |
| Lower        | 64                        | 30     | 20 | 6  | 3              | 5  | 26       | 10     | 6  | 7  | --             | 3  |
| Slum         | 35                        | 22     | 7  | 3  | --             | 3  | 8        | 4      | 2  | 1  | 1              | -- |

## PROPORTIONS

%

| Strata       | Non-Contacts (Households) |        |      |     |                |     | Refusals |        |      |      |                |      |
|--------------|---------------------------|--------|------|-----|----------------|-----|----------|--------|------|------|----------------|------|
|              | Total                     | Couple |      |     | Without Spouse |     | Total    | Couple |      |      | Without Spouse |      |
|              |                           | Both   | M    | F   | M              | F   |          | Both   | M    | F    | M              | F    |
| <u>Urban</u> | 100.0<br>(    )           | 59.0   | 24.5 | 8.0 | 3.0            | 5.5 | 100.0    | 54.0   | 17.6 | 16.2 | 1.4            | 10.8 |
| Higher       | 100.0<br>(    )           | 71.7   | 20.5 | 5.1 | 2.6            | --- | 100.0    | 74.1   | ---- | 11.1 | ----           | 14.8 |
| Middle       | 100.0<br>(    )           | 61.3   | 22.6 | 8.1 | 3.2            | 4.8 | 100.0    | 46.2   | 38.5 | 7.7  | ----           | 7.7  |
| Lower        | 100.0<br>(    )           | 46.9   | 31.2 | 9.4 | 4.7            | 7.8 | 100.0    | 38.5   | 23.1 | 26.9 | ----           | 11.5 |
| Slum         | 100.0                     | 62.9   | 20.0 | 8.6 | ---            | 8.6 | 100.0    | 50.0   | 25.0 | 12.5 | 12.5           | ---- |



utilization of 121 substitutes, providing a total of 893 completed interviews.

#### D. THE COLLECTION OF THE DATA

##### 1. Pre-Test Questionnaire

After some months devoted to the elaboration and selection of questions, a questionnaire of 317 questions was finally designed. This was the questionnaire used for men and women of the five<sup>28</sup> groups of respondents chosen for its evaluation: a sample from the four urban strata and the rural community. The principal aspects evaluated in the Pre-Test were:

- (a) Interviewing time
- (b) Wording of questions
- (c) Operationalization of the variables
- (d) Instructions for interviewers

##### 2. The Pre-Test Interviewers

In order to carry on the Pre-Test interviews, four persons were selected: two males and two females.

---

<sup>28</sup>A reference is here made to five groups because the major study included a rural area.

One of the couples had interviewing experience, the other did not. This configuration of the interviewers team for the Pre-Test was deliberately selected, considering sex as well as experience. This was done with the intention of verifying how these two elements were to affect the data collection, enabling later the selection of the most adequate type of interviewer needed for the final field-work.

A training course was given to the four interviewers in order to familiarize them with the questionnaire and also to ask for their collaboration in the critical appraisal of it for its further reformulation.

### 3. Locations for the Pre-Test Interviews

Considering sectors with similar characteristics of the areas already selected for the sample, some locations which satisfied the conditions were identified. Once these locations were identified, detailed maps were drawn in order to facilitate for the interviewers the finding of the household which they were supposed to visit.

#### 4. Pre-Test Interview

The Pre-Test interviews were carried out in households located in the Higher, Middle, Lower Strata, the Slum, and in a rural community. Sixty interviews were completed. Each interviewer completed his work daily in one barrio of a certain socio-economic level. The same day he reported any problems encountered, and these problems were recorded systematically, enabling us, later, to pin-point the items or sections of the interview schedule where revisions were necessary. In general, the interview proved to be time-consuming, its duration averaging 90 minutes. Refusals were concentrated in those sectors of higher economic level. This situation was expected and, far from introducing a negative influence in the field work, it brought to view aspects of the problem which permitted us to utilize means of minimizing errors in the final collection of the data.

#### 5. Pre-Test Evaluation

Once the Pre-Test interviews were concluded, a discussion group was organized in order to obtain from the four interviewers their observations about the work

that they had completed. In this way it was possible to know with some detail important aspects about:

(a) The interview in general terms:

- respondents' reaction when asked to be interviewed (relating to socio-economic level)
- causes for refusals
- best hours for interviewing, according to socio-economic level
- fatigue and other attention-maintenance detected in the respondent

(b) Functioning of the questions:

- difficulty in interpretation by the interviewer and/or the respondent
- false answers
- inadequate wording
- inadequate question formulation

(c) The explanation required to overcome the uneasiness of the respondent.

More than 45% of the questions in the Questionnaire were manually tabulated, including classifications by sex and socio-economic level of the respondents. The examination of the results was very important, among other things, to the effect of not considering certain inoperative questions in the final version of the questionnaire.

As a consequence of Pre-Testing, we decided to:

- (1) Make use of a different questionnaire for males and females. This made the interview easier, since most of the inapplicable questions for either one of the sexes were omitted.
- (2) Reduce the number of questions in order to obtain data of better quality and to decrease the interviewing time.
- (3) Improve the formulation of questions and avoid words which had shown to be difficult to understand, especially in certain socio-economic levels.
- (4) Change the question order, aiming to facilitate the "flow" of the interview, thus reducing interviewee fatigue and increasing comprehension.
- (5) Make some preliminary decisions for coding. Some of the open-ended questions required a previously formulated classification to enable the final coding of their answers. With reference to the closed-ended question it was possible to make

code categories which were directly used by the interviewer. This resulted in saving of time and minimization of coding errors.

## 6. Fieldwork

### a. General Preparation

It was necessary to furnish a special office to carry on the final fieldwork. The field supervisors made use of this office for efficient direction of the interviewing. A telephone was installed and was used for supervisor-interviewer contact and to make appointments with respondents for the interviews. This helped to avoid call-backs and non-responses. For transportation, a vehicle, furnished by CESPO (Center of Social and Population Studies),<sup>29</sup> was available. Other provisions were made for efficient coverage of expenses, especially for the paying of interviewers' wages.

---

<sup>29</sup> CESPO is a center for research, training, and diffusion in social matters and functions under the direct authority of the University Council of the University of Costa Rica.

b. Field Personnel

For the supervision of interviewers, two well-qualified persons were employed, both were occupying chief positions in the Bureau of Statistics and Census, a division of the Costa Rican Government, and had had many years of experience in all kinds of interviewing.

The team of interviewers was selected with special care.

The first step in selection consisted in the distribution of an application form in the University and many Public offices with the intention of gathering those persons interested in collaborating with the Project. Once the applications were received from the potential candidates for interviewers, we interviewed each one of the hundred persons who showed some interest and met the requisites. From these interviews, individuals who seemed more adequate for the task, according to experience, education, personal appearance, and communication skills were selected. All the persons in the list received copies of the questionnaire, instruction manuals, and some administrative materials. They were also submitted to fifteen hours of training on the

questionnaire and on tactics which would qualify them as good interviewers for the study. After the training course, they were given an examination about all the material covered by the instructors and they were also asked to go through the procedure of carrying on interviews among themselves. For this purpose, the group was divided in couples. Every one carried on an interview at one time, and played the role of respondent at another. Based on the evaluation of such examination and other aspects of the previous personal interview, final selections were made. The final team of interviewers consisted of fifteen persons.

### c. The Interviews

Expecting a high proportion of refusals from respondents in the Higher and Middle strata, it was necessary to use a letter signed by the Rector (President) of the University of Costa Rica and addressed to the potential respondents of those strata, asking for their collaboration and stating the objectives and importance of the study.

The questionnaires which were given to each interviewer were provided with a special label with the



name and address of the person who had to be interviewed; this information was taken from the Directory mentioned above. Another useful instrument used was a color-coded map showing the area which had to be covered by each interviewer.

The response rate was 83%. This proportion includes substitutions which were necessary due to the refusals, non-contacts, and other special cases.

It is interesting to note that the causes for non-contact, in the Higher stratum were usually travels abroad and schedule conflicts due primarily to professional obligations. In the Lower stratum the non-contacts were usually due to work far from home, non-married persons who were not in the house regularly, alcoholics, and, in some cases, criminals who at the time were in prison.

In the final fieldwork, the ratio of "refusals" to "non-contacts" was one to three. This ratio, however, is probably not an accurate representation of the case. There was, for example, clear evidence that some of the "non-contacts" were cases of deliberate avoidance of the interviewee by the subject; these cases should, of course, be properly considered "refusals."

## E. ANALYSIS DESIGN

### 1. Reliability and Validity

The validity of the stratum assignment will be tested by comparing the stratum assigned to every respondent with his income, as declared in the interview.

For the variables measured by several items, inter-item correlations will test reliability by internal consistency. Wherever possible, additive indexes will be constructed to measure variables.

The validity of those variables which need test of validity will be tested by correlating them with an index of people's problem solving orientation. Secularism, activism, and individualism will be considered as behavioral orientations of modernity.

### 2. Test of the Hypotheses

The two-variable hypotheses will be tested by Chi-squared, contingency coefficient and product-moment correlation, if data allow.

The three-variable hypotheses will be tested by means of Product-Moment correlations (zero-point and

partial) and implies the type of elaboration Hyman calls interpretation in which the test factor is an intervening variable and the independent variable is previous in time. Interpretation is one of the subdivisions of what Hyman calls the M type of elaboration in which one is interested in noting whether the partial relationships become smaller than the original relationship.<sup>30</sup> If they are, then one says that the intervening variable, interprets the original correlation.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup>H. Hyman, Survey Design and Analysis, The Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois, 1963, p. 287.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 285.

## CHAPTER V

### THE RESEARCH SITE

Costa Rica is located in the Central American land-strip. Its geographical extension is 50.9000 Km<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> and has a total population of 1.666.229 inhabitants, of which 65% are less than 16 years old. The population is divided into 834.115 males and 832.114 females. The rate of population growth is 3.4%.

The Metropolitan Area of San Jose, according to publications from Direccion General de Estadistica y Censos<sup>2</sup> (General Bureau of Statistics and Censuses), has been described as follows: "For the objectives of socio-economic research and urban planning, the Metropolitan Area includes the 'Cantón Central de la Provincia de San

---

<sup>1</sup>Square Kilometers: Km<sup>2</sup> is one of the measures in the "land metric system," which is a decimal system of measures. 1 Km<sup>2</sup> = 1.000,000 sq. meters = .3861 sq. mi.

<sup>2</sup>R. Sanchez-Bolanos; op. cit.

Jose' (Central 'Cantón'<sup>3</sup> of the San Jose Province), and the eight neighboring 'cantones' which are located in the immediate zone of influence. Some 'distritos' (districts) are excluded from this delimitation of the Metropolitan Area of San Jose because, due to certain topographic characteristics or to their excessive far distance from the central nucleus, they do not show any possibility of expansion within a period of 25 years. This area is bordered predominantly by natural landmarks: in the North by the Virilla River and 'Cantón de Coronado,' part of which is an arbitrary border; in the South and the West by the 'Cordillera del Sur' (South Mountain Ridge.).

According to the same source the shaping of population centers in the Meseta Central de Costa Rica (Central Plateau of Costa Rica), since the last decades of the 18th Century, was caused primarily by the concentration of rural population in small villages and, afterwards, by the affluence of the inhabitants of those villages toward San Jose. It was then that San Jose was designated as the capital city of Costa Rica.

---

<sup>3</sup>The meaning of the geographical area called "Cantón" is similar to "County," but not exactly. A "Cantón" is divided into several "distritos" (districts).

That the Metropolitan Area has been a center of attraction for the inhabitants of all the rest of the country is shown by the heterogeneity of its inhabitants and by the internal migration figures, which indicate that this area has received large numbers of immigrants from all the other parts of the nation.

Of 190.322 persons living in the Metropolitan Area in 1950, 105.096 were born there and continued living there; 60.294 came from other places, representing an immigration percentage of 17.69. In 1963, 171.003 of its 320.431 inhabitants had been born there and stayed there; 149.428 (or 46.63 per cent), were immigrants.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION

The population centers are arranged according to their importance as shown in the following table by "cantones" and "distritos."

## POPULATION OF THE METROPOLITAN AREA

BY "CANTONES" AND "DISTRITOS" 1968

METROPOLITAN AREA.....387.137

|                      |         |                    |        |
|----------------------|---------|--------------------|--------|
| CANTON CENTRAL       | 201.791 | ALAJUELITA         | 6.973  |
| Carmen               | 11.179  | Alajuelita         | 5.387  |
| Merced               | 25.181  | San Felipe         | 1.586  |
| Hospital             | 44.678  |                    |        |
| Catedral             | 36.841  |                    |        |
| Zapote               | 15.323  | TIBAS              | 29.489 |
| San Fco. de Dos Rios | 8.212   |                    |        |
| La Uruca             | 4.658   | San Juan           | 12.777 |
| Mata Redonda         | 4.098   | Cinco Esquinas     | 13.547 |
| Pavas                | 6.896   | Llorente           | 3.165  |
| Hatillo              | 16.635  |                    |        |
| San Sebastian        | 28.090  |                    |        |
|                      |         | MORAVIA            | 11.242 |
| ESCAZU               | 17.762  | San Vicente        | 11.242 |
| Escazu               | 7.980   |                    |        |
| San Antonio          | 5.672   | MONTES DE OCA      | 28.941 |
| San Rafael           | 4.110   |                    |        |
|                      |         | San Pedro          | 20.933 |
| DESAMPARADOS         | 26.728  | Sabanilla          | 3.102  |
|                      |         | Betania (Mercedes) | 3.120  |
|                      |         | San Rafael         | 1.786  |
| Desamparados         | 14.274  |                    |        |
| San Juan de Dios     | 3.600   | CURRIDABAT         | 11.362 |
| San Rafael           | 5.550   |                    |        |
| San Antonio          | 3.304   | Curridabat         | 7.045  |
|                      |         | Granadilla         | 2.708  |
| GOICOECHEA           | 52.849  | Sanchez            | 933    |
|                      |         | Tirrases           | 676    |
| Guadalupe            | 27.329  |                    |        |
| San Francisco        | 4.500   |                    |        |
| Calle Blancos        | 12.308  |                    |        |
| El Carmen            | 2.054   |                    |        |
| Ipis                 | 6.658   |                    |        |

1



In 1963, the Metropolitan Area contained 24% of the national population. In 1965, the percentage was 21. In 1955 there were 1.211 inhabitants per Km<sup>2</sup>, increasing in 1963 to 1.896, and to 2.291 in 1968. In 1955 there were approximately 202 families per Km<sup>2</sup>, which increased to 316 in 1963 and to 421 in 1968.

The population in the city of San José (including the following "distritos": Carmen, La Merced, Hospital, y Catedral) represented 57% of the total population of the Metropolitan Area in 1927; in 1955, 47%; in 1968, 30%. This percentage decrease was possibly due to the displacement of residences by commercial and public buildings. This resulted in out migration to neighboring "cantones." In 1955, the rest of the "distritos" in the "Cantón Central de San José" together represented 14% of the total population of the Metropolitan Area; by 1968, this had increased to 22%.

The percentual distribution by "cantones" is as follows: Cantón Central 52.12%; Goicoechea 13.65%; Montes de Oca 7.48%; Tibás 7.62%; Desamparados 6.90%; Escazú 4.59%; Curridabat 2.94%; Moravia 2.90%; Alajuelita 1.80%.

According to the 1950 Census, 80% of the population in the Metropolitan Area was urban; in 1963 the percentage was the same.

Table 6 presents data on population density and population distribution by sex. The sex ratio in 1968 was 113 women per 100 men.

TABLE 6

DENSITY OF POPULATION PER SQUARE KILOMETER AND  
DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY SEX IN 1968

| Region              | Population |         |         | Density<br>per Km <sup>2</sup> |
|---------------------|------------|---------|---------|--------------------------------|
|                     | Both Sexes | Males   | Females |                                |
| Costa Rica          | 1.666.229  | 834.115 | 832.114 | 33                             |
| -----               | -----      | -----   | -----   | -----                          |
| Metropolitan Area   | 387.137    | 181.645 | 205.492 | 2.291                          |
| Rest of the Country | 1.279.092  | 652.470 | 626.622 | 25                             |

The age data in Table 7 provide indirect evidence of migration toward the Metropolitan Area. That is, for groups of age 15 or older, the percentages in the Metropolitan Area increase relative to the rest of the country.

Less than 20% of population in the Metropolitan Area is rural. In the rest of the country 80% of the

1

TABLE 7

POPULATION STRUCTURE BY AGE METROPOLITAN  
AREA AND REST OF THE COUNTRY

| Age Groups            | Costa<br>Rica | Metro-<br>politan<br>Area | Rest of<br>the Country |
|-----------------------|---------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| All Ages              | 100.00%       | 100.00%                   | 100.00%                |
| Less than 5 years old | 18.7          | 15.9                      | 19.5                   |
| 5 to 14               | 29.1          | 26.3                      | 30.0                   |
| 15 to 24              | 17.5          | 18.3                      | 17.2                   |
| 25 to 34              | 12.2          | 13.4                      | 11.7                   |
| 35 to 44              | 9.1           | 10.2                      | 8.7                    |
| 45 to 54              | 6.5           | 7.5                       | 6.2                    |
| 55 to 64              | 3.9           | 4.6                       | 3.7                    |
| 65 to 74              | 2.0           | 2.5                       | 1.9                    |
| 75 and more           | 1.1           | 1.4                       | 1.1                    |

population is rural. Table 8 represents data on the percentage of urban population in the main provinces of Costa Rica.

TABLE 8

TOTAL POPULATION BY PROVINCES AND  
METROPOLITAN AREA, 1968

| Metropolitan Area<br>and Provinces | Total<br>Population | Percentage <sup>4</sup><br>Urban<br>Population |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|--|
| Costa Rica                         | 1.666.229           | 34.5   |
| -----                              |                     |  |
| Metropolitan Area                  | 387.137             | 80.3   |
| Rest of the Country                | 1.279.092           | 20.0   |
| San José                           | 596.558             | 55.3   |
| Alajuela                           | 300.744             | 18.3   |
| Cartago                            | 193.507             | 25.4   |
| Heredia                            | 103.140             | 34.3   |
| Guanacaste                         | 184.427             | 15.0   |
| Puntarenas                         | 203.275             | 21.7   |
| Limón                              | 84.578              | 33.0   |

<sup>4</sup>According to 1963 Population Census.

## CHAPTER VI

### FINDINGS

The data relative to each of the hypotheses are presented in the order of the presentation of hypotheses in Chapter III. In several instances, more than one item is relevant for the test of a specific hypothesis. In such cases of multiple indicators, the tables will be identified by "item 1," "item 2," etc.

Hypothesis 1: "The higher the social stratum, the greater the awareness of mobility."

Tables 9-11 present data relative to this hypothesis.

Table 9 is based upon the first indicator of awareness of mobility: "Do you know whether persons who live in certain economic conditions ever move out of these conditions into different conditions?"

The Chi-squared which obtains is 12.88, which, with three degrees of freedom, is significant at the

TABLE 9

## STRATUM BY AWARENESS OF MOBILITY (Item 1)

| Stratum | Per Cent Yes | N   |
|---------|--------------|-----|
| Lowest  | 89.4         | 132 |
|         | 90.0         | 320 |
|         | 95.3         | 279 |
| Highest | 97.2         | 143 |
|         |              | 874 |

$$\chi^2 = 12.88 \quad \text{d.f.} = 3 \quad p < .01$$

Contingency Coefficient = .12

.01 level. The contingency coefficient is .12, and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

Table 10 is based upon the second indicator of awareness of mobility: "Do you believe that any person born in a family that lives like yours is fated to continue living in the same way?"

With Item 2, the Chi-squared is 4.71, which, with three degrees of freedom, is not significant at customary levels for rejections of the null hypothesis.

1



TABLE 10

## STRATUM BY AWARENESS OF MOBILITY (Item 2)

| Stratum                            | Per Cent Yes | N   |
|------------------------------------|--------------|-----|
| Lowest                             | 75.0         | 132 |
|                                    | 77.5         | 320 |
|                                    | 81.4         | 279 |
| Highest                            | 83.9         | 143 |
|                                    |              | 874 |
| $\chi^2 = 4.71$ d.f. = 3      n.s. |              |     |

Table 11 presents data based upon an index (combining items 1 and 2).

The Chi-squared in this case is 13.56, which, with six degrees of freedom, is significant at the .05 level. The contingency coefficient is .14. The direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

In summary, the data on item 1 and the index provide confirmation of Hypothesis 1.

TABLE 11

## STRATUM BY AWARENESS OF MOBILITY (Index)

| Stratum                       |   | Awareness |           |           |
|-------------------------------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|                               |   | Lower     |           | Higher    |
|                               |   | 0         | 1         | 2         |
| Lowest                        | f | 7         | 33        | 92        |
|                               | % | 5.3       | 25.0      | 69.7      |
|                               | f | 13        | 78        | 229       |
|                               | % | 4.1       | 24.4      | 71.6      |
|                               | f | 6         | 53        | 220       |
|                               | % | 2.2       | 19.0      | 78.9      |
| Highest                       | f | 4         | 19        | 120       |
|                               | % | 2.8       | 13.3      | 83.9      |
|                               | f | 30        | 183       | 661 = 874 |
| $\chi^2 = 13.56$              |   | d.f. = 6  | $p < .05$ |           |
| Contingency Coefficient = .14 |   |           |           |           |

Hypothesis 2: "The higher the social stratum, the greater the perception of possibilities of mobility."

Tables 12-15 present data relative to this hypothesis.

Table 12 is based upon the first indicator of perception of possibilities of mobility: "Do you believe

that some persons who live in conditions such as yours  
can come to get a better job?"

TABLE 12

STRATUM BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES  
OF MOBILITY (Item 1)

| Stratum                            | Per Cent Yes | N   |
|------------------------------------|--------------|-----|
| Lowest                             | 91.7         | 132 |
|                                    | 92.2         | 320 |
|                                    | 94.6         | 279 |
| Highest                            | 93.7         | 143 |
|                                    |              | 874 |
| $\chi^2 = 1.93$ d.f. = 3      n.s. |              |     |

The Chi-squared which obtains is 1.93, which, with three degrees of freedom, is not significant at customary levels for rejection of the null hypothesis.

Table 13 is based upon the second indicator of perception of possibilities of mobility: "Will your children come to get better jobs than the one you have?"

TABLE 13

STRATUM BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES  
OF MOBILITY (Item 2)

| Stratum                            | Per Cent Yes | N   |
|------------------------------------|--------------|-----|
| Lowest                             | 92.4         | 132 |
|                                    | 93.4         | 320 |
|                                    | 95.0         | 279 |
| Highest                            | 91.6         | 143 |
|                                    |              | 874 |
| $\chi^2 = 2.10$ d.f. = 3      n.s. |              |     |

With Item 2, the Chi-squared is 2.10, which, with three degrees of freedom, is not significant at customary levels of rejection of the null hypothesis.

Table 14 presents data based upon the third indicator of perception of possibilities of mobility:

"Could the children of families living in economic conditions such as yours go to the University if they wish?"

With Item 3, the Chi-squared is 49.06, which, with three degrees of freedom, is significant at the .001 level,



TABLE 14

STRATUM BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES  
OF MOBILITY (Item 3)

| Stratum | Per Cent Yes | N   |
|---------|--------------|-----|
| Lowest  | 75.8         | 132 |
|         | 85.3         | 320 |
|         | 94.3         | 279 |
| Highest | 98.3         | 143 |
|         |              | 874 |

$$x^2 = 49.06 \quad \text{d.f.} = 3 \quad p < .001$$

$$\text{Contingency Coefficient} = .23$$

with a contingency coefficient of .23 and the direction of the relationship as hypothesized.

Table 15 presents data based upon an index (combining items 1 through 3).

The Chi-squared in this case is 35.60, which, with six degrees of freedom, is significant at the .001 level, with a contingency coefficient of .20 and the direction of the relationship as hypothesized.

In summary, the data on Item 3 and the Index provide confirmation of Hypothesis 2.



TABLE 15

STRATUM BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES  
OF MOBILITY (Index)

| Stratum                       |   | Awareness |            |           |
|-------------------------------|---|-----------|------------|-----------|
|                               |   | Lower     |            | Higher    |
|                               |   | 0         | 1          | 2         |
| Lowest                        | f | 7         | 29         | 96        |
|                               | % | 5.3       | 22.0       | 72.7      |
|                               | f | 10        | 52         | 258       |
|                               | % | 3.1       | 16.3       | 80.6      |
|                               | f | 6         | 19         | 254       |
|                               | % | 2.2       | 6.8        | 91.0      |
| Highest                       | f | 0         | 11         | 132       |
|                               | % | 0.0       | 7.7        | 92.3      |
|                               | f | 23        | 111        | 740 = 874 |
| $\chi^2 = 35.60$              |   | d.f. = 6  | $p < .001$ |           |
| Contingency Coefficient = .20 |   |           |            |           |

Hypothesis 3: "The higher the social stratum, the greater the desirability of mobility."

Tables 16-18 present data relative to this hypothesis.



Table 16 is based upon the first indicator of desirability of mobility: "Will you or your family come to improve\* their socio-economic conditions?"

TABLE 16

## STRATUM BY DESIRABILITY OF MOBILITY (Item 1)

| Stratum                            | Per Cent Yes | N   |
|------------------------------------|--------------|-----|
| Lowest                             | 82.6         | 132 |
|                                    | 85.9         | 320 |
|                                    | 89.6         | 279 |
| Highest                            | 83.2         | 143 |
|                                    |              | 874 |
| $\chi^2 = 5.25$ d.f. = 3      n.s. |              |     |

The Chi-squared which obtains is 5.25, which, with three degrees of freedom, is not significant at customary levels for rejection of the null hypothesis.

\*The appropriateness of this item to tap "desirability" is discussed in Chapter 4, above. We are aware that use of the verb "want" would have been in apparently closer fit with desirability. Firstly, we assume that without desirability, the question will be answered negatively. Secondly, use of the verb "want" may have produced a stereotypically positive response.



Table 17 is based upon the second indicator of desirability of mobility: "Given your present socio-economic condition, will your children come to enjoy a better socio-economic condition?"

TABLE 17

## STRATUM BY DESIRABILITY OF MOBILITY (Item 2)

| Stratum                            | Per Cent Yes | N   |
|------------------------------------|--------------|-----|
| Lowest                             | 87.1         | 115 |
|                                    | 88.4         | 283 |
|                                    | 90.3         | 252 |
| Highest                            | 86.7         | 124 |
|                                    |              | 874 |
| $\chi^2 = 1.61$ d.f. = 3      n.s. |              |     |

With Item 2 the Chi-squared is 1.61, which, with three degrees of freedom, is not significant at customary levels of rejection of the null hypothesis.

Table 18 presents data based upon an index (combining Items 1 and 2).

The Chi-squared is 9.74, which, with six degrees of freedom is not significant at the customary levels for rejection of the null hypothesis.

TABLE 18  
STRATUM BY DESIRABILITY OF MOBILITY (Index)

|                 |   | Desirability |       |        |           |
|-----------------|---|--------------|-------|--------|-----------|
|                 |   | Lower        |       | Higher |           |
|                 |   | 0            | 1     | 2      |           |
| Lowest          | f | 12           | 16    | 104    |           |
|                 | % | 9.1          | 12.1  | 78.8   |           |
|                 | f | 15           | 52    | 253    |           |
|                 | % | 4.7          | 16.3  | 79.1   |           |
|                 | f | 13           | 30    | 236    |           |
|                 | % | 4.7          | 10.8  | 84.6   |           |
| Highest         | f | 9            | 25    | 109    |           |
|                 | % | 6.3          | 17.5  | 76.2   |           |
|                 |   | <hr/>        | <hr/> | <hr/>  |           |
|                 |   | f            | 49    | 123    | 702 = 874 |
| $\chi^2 = 9.74$ |   | d.f. = 6     | n.s.  |        |           |

In summary, the data do not provide support to the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4: "The higher the social stratum, the greater the investment in mobility."

Tables 19 through 21 present data relative to this hypothesis.

Table 19 is based on the first indicator of investment in mobility: "Are you doing something to improve your socio-economic condition?"

TABLE 19

## STRATUM BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Item 1)

| Stratum | Per Cent Yes | N   |
|---------|--------------|-----|
| Lowest  | 76.5         | 132 |
|         | 88.1         | 320 |
|         | 88.2         | 279 |
| Highest | 84.6         | 143 |
|         |              | 874 |

$$\chi^2 = 12.22 \quad \text{d.f.} = 3 \quad p < .01$$

$$\text{Contingency Coefficient} = .12$$

The Chi-squared is 12.22, which, with 3 degrees of freedom, is significant at the .01 level. The contingency coefficient is .12. The direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

Table 20 is based on the second indicator of investment in mobility: "Are you doing something so that

your children can come to a socio-economic condition better than yours?"

TABLE 20  
STRATUM BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Item 2)

| Stratum                            | Per Cent Yes | N          |
|------------------------------------|--------------|------------|
| Lowest                             | 81.8         | 132        |
|                                    | 87.2         | 320        |
|                                    | 88.9         | 279        |
| Highest                            | 87.4         | 143        |
|                                    |              | <u>874</u> |
| $\chi^2 = 4.03$ d.f. = 3      n.s. |              |            |

The Chi-squared of 4.03, with three degrees of freedom, is not significant at the customary level of rejection of the null hypothesis.

Table 21 is based on an index of data from Items 1 and 2.

The Chi-squared of 11.19, six degrees of freedom, is not significant at the customary levels of rejection of the null hypothesis.

1

TABLE 21

## STRATUM BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Index)

| Stratum          |   | Awareness |         |           |
|------------------|---|-----------|---------|-----------|
|                  |   | Lower     |         | Higher    |
|                  |   | 0         | 1       | 2         |
| Lowest           | f | 17        | 21      | 94        |
|                  | % | 12.9      | 15.9    | 71.2      |
|                  | f | 19        | 41      | 260       |
|                  | % | 5.9       | 12.8    | 81.3      |
|                  | f | 18        | 28      | 233       |
|                  | % | 6.5       | 10.0    | 83.5      |
| Highest          | f | 12        | 16      | 115       |
|                  | % | 8.4       | 11.2    | 80.4      |
|                  | f | 66        | 106     | 702 = 874 |
| $\chi^2 = 11.19$ |   | d.f. = 6  | p < .05 |           |

In summary, only data from Item 1 support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 5: "The higher the social stratum, the greater the awareness of mobility, which will lead to increased family planning."



1

Tables 22 to 24 present data relative to the relationship between social stratum and family planning.

Table 22 is based on the first indicator of family planning: "Have you ever practiced birth control?"

TABLE 22

STRATUM BY FAMILY PLANNING (Item 1)  
Practice of Birth Control

| Stratum   | Per Cent Yes | N   |
|---|--------------|-----|
| Lowest  | 31.8         | 132 |
|   | 41.9         | 320 |
|   | 60.2         | 279 |
| Highest   | 79.0         | 143 |
|   |              | 874 |
| $\chi^2 = 84.07$ d.f. = 3 $p < .001$<br>Contingency Coefficient = .30 $r = .31$ |              |     |

The Chi-squared which obtains here is 84.07.

With three degrees of freedom it is significant at  $p < .001$ . The contingency coefficient is .30 and the direction of the relationship is as expected.

Table 23 is based on the second indicator of family planning: "How many years have you practiced birth control?"

TABLE 23

STRATUM BY FAMILY PLANNING (Item 2) Number  
of Years of Practice of Birth Control (%)

| Stratum  | 1    | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5    | 6   | 7   | 8    | N   |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|-----|-----|------|-----|
| Lowest   | 12.8 | 25.6 | 7.7  | 15.4 | 7.7  | 5.1 | 5.1 | 20.5 | 39  |
|  | 13.3 | 12.5 | 15.0 | 18.3 | 9.2  | 3.3 | 5.0 | 23.3 | 120 |
|  | 3.3  | 12.5 | 13.2 | 13.2 | 10.5 | 7.9 | 7.9 | 31.6 | 152 |
| Highest  | 0.9  | 8.3  | 5.6  | 6.5  | 8.3  | 5.6 | 6.5 | 58.3 | 108 |
|  |      |      |      |      |      |     |     |      | 419 |
| $\chi^2 = 65.56$ d.f. = 12                  p < .001<br>Contingency Coefficient = .37                  r = .37 |      |      |      |      |      |     |     |      |     |

With Item 2, the Chi-squared is 65.56, which, with 12 degrees of freedom, is significant at  $p < .001$ . The contingency coefficient is .37 and the direction of the relationship is as expected.

Table 24 is based on the third indicator of family planning: "How many children did you have when you first practiced birth control?"

TABLE 24

## STRATUM BY FAMILY PLANNING (Item 3)

Number of Children at First  
Practice of Birth Control (%)

| Stratum  | 5 or<br>more | 4    | 3    | 2    | 1    | N          |
|--|--------------|------|------|------|------|------------|
| Lowest   | 47.4         | 13.2 | 7.9  | 13.2 | 18.4 | 38         |
|  | 32.5         | 18.3 | 12.5 | 18.3 | 18.3 | 120        |
|  | 19.0         | 8.5  | 23.5 | 26.8 | 22.2 | 153        |
| Highest  | 6.3          | 8.0  | 26.8 | 15.2 | 43.8 | 112        |
|  |              |      |      |      |      | <u>423</u> |
| $\chi^2 = 70.92$ d.f. = 12      p < .001<br>Contingency Coefficient = .38      r = .38 |              |      |      |      |      |            |

The Chi-squared in this case is 70.92, which, with 12 degrees of freedom, is significant at  $p < .001$ . The contingency coefficient is .38 and the direction of the relation is as expected.

In this section of the statistical analysis, only the first indicator of awareness of mobility was used, because it showed to be the indicator having stronger correlation with social stratum.

The point-biserial correlation between social stratum and the first indicator of family planning is .31 ( $n = 874$ ). The partial correlation between these two variables, controlling for awareness of mobility, as measured by the first item ("Do you know whether persons who live in certain economic conditions ever move out of these conditions into different conditions?") is .30. Even when the partial correlation shows the hypothesized tendency, the difference between the zero-order correlation and the partial correlation is so minute that it doesn't deserve any special test of significance between both correlations.

The product moment correlation between social stratum and the second indicator of family planning is .37 ( $n = 457$ ). The partial correlation between these two variables, controlling for awareness of mobility, as measured by the first item, is .30. Even when the difference between the zero-order correlation and the partial correlation is not very substantial, it shows the hypothesized tendency.

The product moment correlation between social stratum and the third indicator of family planning is .38 ( $n = 457$ ). The partial correlation between these two

variables, controlling for awareness of mobility, as measured by the first item, is .30. Even when the difference between the zero-order correlation and the partial correlation is not very substantial, it shows the hypothesized tendency.

Hypothesis 6: "The higher the social stratum, the greater the perception of possibilities of mobility, which will lead to increased family planning."

Tables 22 to 24, presenting data relative to the relationship between social stratum and family planning, were inserted after Hypothesis 5.

In this section of the statistical analysis, only the third indicator of perception of possibilities of mobility was used, because it showed to be the indicator having strongest correlation with social stratum.

The product moment correlation between social stratum and the first indicator of family planning is .31 ( $n = 874$ ). The partial correlation between these two variables, controlling for perception of possibilities of mobility, as measured by the third item ("Could the children of families living in economic conditions such as yours go to the University if they wish?") is .29. Even when the difference between the zero-order

3

correlation and the partial correlation is not very substantial, it shows the hypothesized tendency.

The product moment correlation between social stratum and the second indicator of family planning is .37 ( $n = 457$ ). The partial correlation between these two variables, controlling for perception of possibilities of mobility, as measured by the third item, is .28. Even when the difference between the zero-order correlation and the partial correlation is not very substantial, it shows the hypothesized tendency.

The product moment correlation between social stratum and the third indicator of family planning is .38 ( $n = 457$ ). The partial correlation between these two variables, as measured by the third item, is .31. Even when the difference between the zero-order correlation and the partial correlation is not very substantial, it shows the hypothesized tendency.

Hypothesis 7: "The higher the social stratum, the greater the desirability of mobility, which will lead to increased family planning."

Tables 22 to 24, presenting data relative to the relationship between social stratum and family planning, were inserted after Hypothesis 5.

In this section of the statistical analysis, the two indicators of desirability of mobility are used,



because they both show a very low correlation with social stratum.

The product moment correlation between social stratum and the first indicator of family planning is .31 ( $n = 874$ ). The partial correlation between these two variables, controlling for desirability of mobility, as measured by the first indicator ("Will you or your family come to improve their socio-economic conditions?") is .31. There is no difference between the zero-order correlation and the partial correlation. The partial correlation between these two variables, controlling for desirability of mobility, as measured by the second indicator ("Given your present socio-economic condition, will your children come to enjoy a better socio-economic condition?") is .31. There is no difference between the zero-order correlation and the partial correlation.

The product moment correlation between social stratum and the second indicator of family planning is .37 ( $n = 457$ ). The partial correlation between these two variables, controlling for desirability of mobility, as measured by the first indicator, is .29. Even when the difference between the zero-order correlation and the partial correlation is not very substantial, it shows the hypothesized tendency. The partial correlation between these two variables, controlling

for desirability of mobility, as measured by the second indicator, is .29. Even when the difference between the zero-order correlation and the partial correlation is not very substantial, it shows the hypothesized tendency.

The product moment correlation between social stratum and the third indicator of family planning is .38 ( $n = 457$ ). The partial correlation between these two variables, controlling for desirability of mobility, as measured by the first indicator, is .33. Even when the difference between the 0 order correlation and the partial correlation is not very substantial, it shows the hypothesized tendency. The partial correlation between these two variables, controlling for desirability of mobility, as measured by the second indicator, is .33. Even when the difference between the 0 order correlation and the partial correlation is not very substantial, it shows the hypothesized tendency.

Hypothesis 8: "The higher the social stratum, the greater the investment in mobility, which will lead to increased family planning."

Tables 22 to 24, presenting data relative to the relationship between social stratum and family planning, were inserted after Hypothesis 5.

In this section of the statistical analysis the two items of the index of investment in mobility were used. These items are: 1) "Are you doing something to improve your socio-economic condition?" and 2) "Are you doing something so that your children can come to a socio-economic condition better than yours?" The index was also used because it showed the highest correlation with social stratum, as against both items individually considered.

The product moment correlation between social stratum and the first indicator of family planning is .31 ( $n = 874$ ). The partial correlation between these two variables, controlling for investment in mobility, as measured by the index of data from Items 1 and 2, is .30. Even when the difference between the 0 order correlation and the partial correlation is minute, it shows the hypothesized tendency.

The product moment correlation between social stratum and the second indicator of family planning is .37 ( $n = 457$ ). The partial correlation between these two variables, controlling for investment in mobility, as measured by the index of data from Items 1 and 2, is .30. Even when the difference between the 0 order correlation and the partial correlation is not very substantial, it shows the hypothesized tendency.

3

The product moment correlation between social stratum and the third indicator of family planning is .38 ( $n = 457$ ). The partial correlation between these two variables, controlling for investment in mobility, as measured by the index combining data from Items 1 and 2, is .33. Even when the difference between the 0 order correlation and the partial correlation is not very substantial, it shows the hypothesized tendency.

Hypothesis 9-14 asserted:

Ninth: "For lower strata, the longer the length of marriage, the lower the perception of possibilities of mobility."

Tenth: "For lower strata, the longer the length of marriage, the lower the desirability of social mobility."

Eleventh: "For lower strata, the longer the length of marriage, the lower the investment in mobility."

Twelfth: "For higher strata, the negative association between length of marriage and perception of the possibility of mobility (as hypothesized for the lower strata) will be lessened, eliminated, or will change to a positive association."

Thirteenth: "For higher strata, the negative association between length of marriage and desirability of

mobility (as hypothesized for the lower strata) will be lessened, eliminated, or will change to a positive association."

Fourteenth: "For higher strata, the negative association between length of marriage and investment in mobility (as hypothesized for lower strata) will be lessened, eliminated, or will change to a positive association."

For methodological reasons, these hypotheses did not receive a defensible test. Two complications are crucial in this regard.

(1) The pattern of response re perceptions of mobility were overwhelmingly positive, with the consequence that small cell frequencies (in the low perception category) did not permit defensible application of tests of association.

(2) There are several problems related to the "Length of Marriage" variable. In data collection, subjects were asked, "How long have you been married?" The response was field-coded in number of years. Follow-up questions were then asked on length of second (third, etc.) marriage for those who had been married more than once. There is reason to believe that years reported for marriages after the first were added to the years reported to the basic question, thus biasing the distribution toward longer marriages than was the case. This problem could not be clarified without access to

the original schedules. Secondly, the recollections of length of marriage of some older subjects were imprecise; perhaps, at best, estimates.

Hypothesis 15: "Regardless of strata, males will be more likely than females, other things being equal, to have more awareness of mobility."

The data do not support this hypothesis.

Hypothesis 16: "Regardless of strata, males will be more likely than females, other things being equal, to perceive more possibilities of mobility."

Tables 25-28 present data relative to this hypothesis.

Table 25 is based upon the first indicator of perception of possibilities of mobility: "Do you believe that some persons who live in conditions such as yours can come to get a better job?"

TABLE 25

SEX BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF MOBILITY (Item 1)

| Sex  | Per Cent Yes | N   |
|--|--------------|-----|
| Males  | 95.6         | 385 |
| Females  | 91.2         | 489 |
|  |              | 874 |
| $\chi^2 = 6.46$ d.f. = 1      p < .02<br>Contingency Coefficient = .09 |              |     |

The Chi-squared which obtains is 6.46, which, with one degree of freedom, is significant at  $p < .02$ . The contingency coefficient is .09, and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

Table 26 is based upon the second indicator of perception of possibilities of mobility: "Will your children come to get better jobs than the one you have?"

TABLE 26

## SEX BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF MOBILITY (Item 2)

| Sex                                | Per Cent Yes | N         |
|------------------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| Males                              | 94.0         | 385       |
| Females                            | 93.0         | 489       |
|                                    |              | <hr/> 874 |
| $\chi^2 = 0.34$ d.f. = 1      n.s. |              |           |

With Item 2, the Chi-squared is .34, which, with one degree of freedom, is not significant at customary levels of rejection of the null hypothesis.

Table 27 presents data based upon the third indicator of perception of possibilities of mobility: "Could the children of families living in economic conditions such as yours go to the University if they wish?"



4-11-1941

TABLE 27

## SEX BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF MOBILITY (Item 3)

| Sex                                | Per Cent Yes | N         |
|------------------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| Males                              | 88.8         | 385       |
| Females                            | 89.0         | 489       |
|                                    |              | <hr/> 874 |
| $\chi^2 = 0.00$ d.f. = 1      n.s. |              |           |

With Item 3, the Chi-squared doesn't show any association.

Table 28 presents data based upon an Index combining Items 1 through 3.

TABLE 28

## SEX BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF MOBILITY (Index)

| Sex                                |   | Lowest |       | Highest | N     |
|------------------------------------|---|--------|-------|---------|-------|
|                                    |   | 0      | 1     | 2       |       |
| Males                              | f | 5      | 50    | 330     | 385   |
|                                    | % | 1.3    | 13.0  | 85.7    |       |
| Females                            | f | 18     | 61    | 410     | 489   |
|                                    | % | 3.7    | 12.5  | 83.8    |       |
|                                    |   | <hr/>  | <hr/> | <hr/>   | <hr/> |
|                                    | f | 23     | 111   | 740     | 874   |
| $\chi^2 = 4.78$ d.f. = 2 $p < .01$ |   |        |       |         |       |
| Contingency Coefficient = .07      |   |        |       |         |       |

The Chi-squared in this case is 4.78, which, with two degrees of freedom, is not significant at customary levels of rejection of the null hypothesis.

In summary: On the basis of data from the first indicator, the hypothesis is supported.

Hypothesis 17: "Regardless of strata, males will be more likely than females, other things being equal, to have more desirability of mobility."

The data do not support this hypothesis.

Hypothesis 18: "Regardless of strata, males will be more likely than females, other things being equal, to invest more in mobility."

Tables 29-31 present data relative to this hypothesis.

Table 29 is based on the first indicator of investment in mobility: "Are you doing something to improve your socio-economic condition?"

The Chi-squared which obtains is 16.22, which, with one degree of freedom, is significant at  $p < .001$ . The contingency coefficient is .14, and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

TABLE 29

## SEX BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Item 1)

| Sex  | Per Cent Yes | N         |
|--|--------------|-----------|
| Males  | 91.2         | 385       |
| Females  | 81.6         | 489       |
|  |              | <hr/> 874 |
| $\chi^2 = 16.22$ d.f. = 1      p < .001<br>Contingency Coefficient = .14 |              |           |

Table 30 is based upon the second indicator of investment in mobility: "Are you doing something so that your children can come to a socio-economic condition better than yours?"

TABLE 30

## SEX BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Item 2)

| Sex  | Per Cent Yes | N         |
|--|--------------|-----------|
| Males  | 89.9         | 385       |
| Females  | 84.7         | 489       |
|  |              | <hr/> 874 |
| $\chi^2 = 5.15$ d.f. = 1      p < .05<br>Contingency Coefficient = .08 |              |           |

With Item 2, the Chi-squared is 5.15, which, with one degree of freedom, is significant at  $p < .05$ . The contingency coefficient is .08, and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

Table 31 presents data based upon the Index of data from Items 1 and 2.

TABLE 31  
SEX BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Index)

| Sex                           |   | Lowest   |       | Highest   | N     |
|-------------------------------|---|----------|-------|-----------|-------|
|                               |   | 0        | 1     | 2         |       |
| Males                         | f | 16       | 41    | 328       | 385   |
|                               | % | 4.2      | 10.6  | 85.2      |       |
| Females                       | f | 50       | 65    | 374       | 489   |
|                               | % | 10.2     | 13.3  | 76.5      |       |
|                               |   | <hr/>    | <hr/> | <hr/>     | <hr/> |
| f                             |   | 66       | 106   | 702       | 874   |
| $\chi^2 = 13.78$              |   | d.f. = 2 |       | $p < .01$ |       |
| Contingency Coefficient = .13 |   |          |       |           |       |

The Chi-squared is here 13.78, which, with two degrees of freedom, is significant at  $p < .01$ . The contingency coefficient is .13, and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

In summary: The data from individual items and the index support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 19: "For all strata, the younger the individual is, other things equal, the higher the probability to perceive more possibilities of mobility."

Tables 32-35 present data relative to this hypothesis.

Table 32 is based upon the first indicator of perception of possibilities of mobility: "Do you believe that some persons who live in conditions such as yours can come to get a better job?"

TABLE 32

## AGE BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF MOBILITY (Item 1)

| Age                                | Lowest | Highest | N   |
|------------------------------------|--------|---------|-----|
|                                    | 0      | 1       |     |
| Less than 39                       | 25     | 406     | 431 |
| 40-59                              | 26     | 322     | 348 |
| 60 or more                         | 7      | 86      | 93  |
|                                    |        |         | 872 |
| $\chi^2 = 1.01$ d.f. = 2      n.s. |        |         |     |

The Chi-squared which obtains is 1.01, which, with two degrees of freedom, is not significant at the customary

1

levels of rejection of the null hypothesis.

Table 33 is based upon the second indicator of perception of possibilities of mobility: "Will your children come to get better jobs than the one you have?"

TABLE 33

## AGE BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF MOBILITY (Item 2)

| Age   | Lowest | Highest | N          |
|---|--------|---------|------------|
|   | 0      | 1       |            |
| Less than 39  | 15     | 416     | 431        |
| 40-59   | 26     | 322     | 348        |
| 60 or more  | 14     | 79      | 93         |
|   |        |         | <u>874</u> |
| $\chi^2 = 8.53$ d.f. = 2 $p < .02$<br>Contingency Coefficient = .09 |        |         |            |

With Item 2, the Chi-squared is 8.53, which, with two degrees of freedom, is significant at  $p < .02$ . The contingency coefficient is .09. The data provide basis for rejection of the null hypothesis, and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.



Table 34 presents data based upon the third indicator of perception of possibilities of mobility:

"Could the children of families living in economic conditions such as yours go to the University if they wish?"

TABLE 34

## AGE BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF MOBILITY (Item 3)

| Age                                | Per Cent Yes | N         |
|------------------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| Less than 39                       | 87.9         | 431       |
| 40-59                              | 90.8         | 348       |
| 60 or more                         | 88.2         | 93        |
|                                    |              | <hr/> 872 |
| $\chi^2 = 1.72$ d.f. = 2      n.s. |              |           |

With Item 3, the Chi-squared is 1.72, which, with two degrees of freedom, is not significant at customary levels of rejection of the null hypothesis.

Table 35 presents data based upon an index combining Items 1 through 3.

The Chi-squared in this case is 1.29, which, with four degrees of freedom, is not significant at customary levels of rejection of the null hypothesis.

TABLE 35

## AGE BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES OF MOBILITY (Index)

| Age                                | Lowest |    | Highest | N   |
|------------------------------------|--------|----|---------|-----|
|                                    | 0      | 1  | 2       |     |
| Less than 39                       | 12     | 53 | 366     | 431 |
| 40-59                              | 6      | 46 | 296     | 348 |
| 60 or more                         | 3      | 12 | 78      | 93  |
|                                    |        |    |         | 872 |
| $\chi^2 = 1.29$ d.f. = 4      n.s. |        |    |         |     |

In summary: Only the data from Item 2 support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 20: "For all strata, the younger the individual is, other things equal, the higher the probability to have more desirability of mobility."

Tables 36-38 present data relative to this hypothesis.

Table 36 is based upon the first indicator of desirability of mobility: "Will you or your family come to improve their socio-economic condition?"

TABLE 36

## AGE BY DESIRABILITY OF MOBILITY (Item 1)

| Age   | Per Cent Yes | N   |
|---|--------------|-----|
| Less than 39  | .90          | 431 |
| 40-59   | .84          | 348 |
| 60 or more  | .76          | 93  |
|   |              | 872 |
| $\chi^2 = 13.83$ d.f. = 2 $p < .001$<br>Contingency Coefficient = .11 |              |     |

The Chi-squared which obtains is 13.83, which, with two degrees of freedom, is significant at  $p < .001$ . The contingency coefficient is .11. The hypothesis is supported and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

Table 37 is based upon the second indicator of desirability of mobility: "Given your present socio-economic condition, will your children come to enjoy a better socio-economic condition?"

With Item 2, the Chi-squared is 14.30, which, with two degrees of freedom, is significant at  $p < .001$ . The contingency coefficient is .12. The

TABLE 37

## AGE BY DESIRABILITY OF MOBILITY (Item 2)

| Age   | Per Cent Yes | N         |
|---|--------------|-----------|
| Less than 39  | 90.9         | 431       |
| 40-59   | 88.7         | 348       |
| 60 or more  | 78.5         | 93        |
|   |              | <hr/> 872 |
| $\chi^2 = 14.30 \quad \text{d.f.} = 2 \quad p < .001$ |              |           |
| Contingency Coefficient = .12                         |              |           |

hypothesis is supported by the data and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

Table 38 presents data based upon an index combining Items 1 and 2.

TABLE 38

## AGE BY DESIRABILITY OF MOBILITY (Index)

| Age   | Lowest |    | Highest | N         |
|---|--------|----|---------|-----------|
|   | 0      | 1  | 2       |           |
| Less than 39  | 18     | 46 | 367     | 431       |
| 40-59   | 21     | 51 | 276     | 348       |
| 60 or more  | 8      | 26 | 59      | 93        |
|   |        |    |         | <hr/> 872 |
| $\chi^2 = 23.74 \quad \text{d.f.} = 4 \quad p < .001$ |        |    |         |           |
| Contingency Coefficient = .15                         |        |    |         |           |

The Chi-squared is here 23.74, which, with four degrees of freedom, is significant at  $p < .001$ . The contingency coefficient is .15. The data support the hypothesis, and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

In summary: The data from the items and the index support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 21: "For all strata, the younger the individual is, other things equal, the higher the probability to invest more in mobility."

Tables 39-41 present data relative to this hypothesis.

Table 39 is based on the first indicator of investment in mobility: "Are you doing something to improve your socio-economic condition?"

The Chi-squared which obtains is 17.95, which, with two degrees of freedom, is significant at  $p < .001$ . The contingency coefficient is .14. The hypothesis is supported, and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.



TABLE 39

## AGE BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Item 1)

| Age   | Lowest | Highest | N   |
|---|--------|---------|-----|
|   | 0      | 1       |     |
| Less than 39  | 58     | 373     | 431 |
| 40-59   | 38     | 310     | 348 |
| 60 or more  | 26     | 67      | 93  |
|   |        |         | 872 |
| $\chi^2 = 17.95$ d.f. = 2 $p < .001$<br>Contingency Coefficient = .14 |        |         |     |

Table 40 is based upon the second indicator of investment in mobility: "Are you doing something so that your children can come to a socio-economic condition better than yours?"

TABLE 40

## AGE BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Item 2)

| Age   | Lowest | Highest | N   |
|---|--------|---------|-----|
|   | 0      | 1       |     |
| Less than 39  | 45     | 386     | 431 |
| 40-59   | 36     | 312     | 348 |
| 60 or more  | 31     | 62      | 93  |
|   |        |         | 872 |
| $\chi^2 = 39.34$ d.f. = 2 $p < .001$<br>Contingency Coefficient = .21 |        |         |     |

With Item 2, the Chi-squared is 39.34, which, with two degrees of freedom, is significant at  $p < .001$ . The contingency coefficient is .21. The direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

Table 41 presents data based upon the index of data from Items 1 and 2.

TABLE 41

## AGE BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Index)

| Age   | Lowest | Highest |     | N   |
|---|--------|---------|-----|-----|
|   | 0      | 1       | 2   |     |
| Less than 39  | 29     | 45      | 357 | 431 |
| 40-59   | 17     | 40      | 291 | 348 |
| 60 or more  | 18     | 21      | 54  | 93  |
|   |        |         |     | 872 |
| $\chi^2 = 36.08$ d.f. = 4 $p < .001$<br>Contingency Coefficient = .20 |        |         |     |     |

The Chi-squared is here 36.08, which, with four degrees of freedom, is significant at  $p < .001$ . The contingency coefficient is .20. The hypothesis is supported and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.



In summary: The data from the Items and the Index support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 22: "Regardless of strata, the higher the level of education, the higher the probability to have more awareness of mobility."

Tables 42-44 present data relative to this hypothesis.

Table 42 is based upon the first indicator of awareness of mobility: "Do you know whether persons who live in certain economic conditions ever move out of these conditions into different conditions?"

TABLE 42

## EDUCATION BY AWARENESS OF MOBILITY (Item 1)

| Years of Education | Per Cent Yes | N   |
|--------------------|--------------|-----|
| 0                  | 77.1         | 35  |
| 1-2                | 93.6         | 78  |
| 3-4                | 89.2         | 186 |
| 5-6                | 94.0         | 234 |
| 7-8                | 93.6         | 78  |
| 9-10               | 94.2         | 86  |
| 11-12              | 95.8         | 72  |
| 13-14              | 100.0        | 35  |
| 15-16              | 97.1         | 35  |
| 17-18              | 94.3         | 35  |
|                    |              | 874 |

$$x^2 = 22.05 \quad d.f. = 9 \quad p < .01$$

$$\text{Contingency Coefficient} = .16$$



The Chi-squared which obtains is 22.05, which, with nine degrees of freedom, is significant at  $p < .01$ . The contingency coefficient is .16, and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

Table 43 is based upon the second indicator of awareness of mobility: "Do you believe that any person born in a family that lives like yours is fated to continue living in the same way?"

TABLE 43

## EDUCATION BY AWARENESS OF MOBILITY (Item 2)

| Years of Education | Per Cent Yes | N         |
|--------------------|--------------|-----------|
| 0                  | 54.3         | 35        |
| 1-2                | 80.8         | 78        |
| 3-4                | 73.1         | 186       |
| 5-6                | 82.1         | 234       |
| 7-8                | 84.6         | 78        |
| 9-10               | 82.6         | 86        |
| 11-12              | 75.0         | 72        |
| 13-14              | 82.9         | 35        |
| 15-16              | 94.3         | 35        |
| 17-18              | 88.6         | 35        |
|                    |              | <hr/> 874 |

$$x^2 = 28.56 \quad d.f. = 9 \quad p < .001$$

$$\text{Contingency Coefficient} = .18$$

With Item 2, the Chi-squared is 28.56, which, with nine degrees of freedom, is significant at  $p < .001$ . The contingency coefficient is .18 and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

Table 44 presents data based upon an index combining Items 1 and 2.

The Chi-squared in this case is 46.09, which, with eighteen degrees of freedom, is significant at  $p < .001$ . The contingency coefficient is .22, and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

In summary: The data from the items and the index support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 23: "Regardless of strata, the higher the level of education, the higher the probability to perceive more possibilities of mobility."

Tables 45-48 present data relative to this hypothesis.

Table 45 is based upon the first indicator of perception of possibilities of mobility: "Do you believe that some persons who live in conditions such as yours, can come to get a better job?"

TABLE 44

## EDUCATION BY AWARENESS OF MOBILITY (Index)

| Years of Education |   | Lowest |      | Highest | N   |     |
|--------------------|---|--------|------|---------|-----|-----|
|                    |   | 0      | 1    | 2       |     |     |
| 0                  | f | 5      | 14   | 16      | 35  |     |
|                    | % | 14.3   | 90.0 | 45.7    |     |     |
| 1-2                | f | 3      | 14   | 61      | 78  |     |
|                    | % | 3.8    | 17.9 | 78.2    |     |     |
| 3-4                | f | 8      | 54   | 124     | 186 |     |
|                    | % | 9.3    | 29.0 | 66.7    |     |     |
| 5-6                | f | 5      | 46   | 183     | 234 |     |
|                    | % | 2.1    | 19.7 | 78.2    |     |     |
| 7-8                | f | 2      | 13   | 63      | 78  |     |
|                    | % | 2.6    | 16.7 | 80.8    |     |     |
| 9-10               | f | 2      | 16   | 68      | 86  |     |
|                    | % | 2.3    | 18.6 | 79.1    |     |     |
| 11-12              | f | 3      | 15   | 54      | 72  |     |
|                    | % | 4.2    | 20.8 | 75.0    |     |     |
| 13-14              | f | 0      | 6    | 29      | 35  |     |
|                    | % | 0.0    | 17.1 | 82.9    |     |     |
| 15-16              | f | 0      | 3    | 32      | 35  |     |
|                    | % | 0.0    | 8.6  | 91.4    |     |     |
| 17-18              | f | 2      | 2    | 31      | 35  |     |
|                    | % | 5.7    | 5.7  | 88.6    |     |     |
|                    |   | f      | 30   | 183     | 661 | 874 |

$\chi^2 = 46.09$       d.f. = 18       $p < .001$

Contingency Coefficient = .22

—

\_\_\_\_\_

TABLE 45

EDUCATION BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES  
OF MOBILITY (Item 1)

| Years of Education | Per Cent Yes | N         |
|--------------------|--------------|-----------|
| 0                  | 74.3         | 35        |
| 1-2                | 91.0         | 78        |
| 3-4                | 93.0         | 186       |
| 5-6                | 93.6         | 234       |
| 7-8                | 94.9         | 78        |
| 9-10               | 95.3         | 86        |
| 11-12              | 93.1         | 72        |
| 13-14              | 100.0        | 35        |
| 15-16              | 97.1         | 35        |
| 17-18              | 94.3         | 35        |
|                    |              | <hr/> 874 |

$$\chi^2 = 24.63 \quad \text{d.f.} = 9 \quad p < .01$$

$$\text{Contingency Coefficient} = .17$$

The Chi-squared which obtains is 24.63, which, with nine degrees of freedom is significant at  $p < .01$ . The Contingency coefficient is .17, and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

Table 46 is based upon the second indicator of perception of possibilities of mobility: "Will your children come to get better jobs than the one you have?"

TABLE 46

EDUCATION BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES  
OF MOBILITY (Item 2)

| Years of Education | Per Cent Yes | N   |
|--------------------|--------------|-----|
| 0                  | 85.7         | 35  |
| 1-2                | 92.3         | 78  |
| 3-4                | 90.9         | 186 |
| 5-6                | 95.3         | 234 |
| 7-8                | 97.4         | 78  |
| 9-10               | 95.3         | 86  |
| 11-12              | 93.1         | 72  |
| 13-14              | 91.4         | 35  |
| 15-16              | 94.3         | 35  |
| 17-18              | 94.3         | 35  |
|                    |              | 874 |

$$\chi^2 = 9.84 \quad d.f. = 9 \quad n.s.$$



With Item 2, the Chi-squared is 9.84, which, with nine degrees of freedom, is not significant at customary levels of rejection of the null hypothesis.

Table 47 presents data based upon the third indicator of perception of possibilities of mobility: "Could the children of families living in economic conditions such as yours go to the University if they wish?"

TABLE 47

EDUCATION BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES  
OF MOBILITY (Item 3)

| Years of Education | Per Cent Yes | N         |
|--------------------|--------------|-----------|
| 0                  | 54.3         | 35        |
| 1-2                | 76.9         | 78        |
| 3-4                | 80.6         | 186       |
| 5-6                | 91.9         | 234       |
| 7-8                | 97.4         | 78        |
| 9-10               | 98.8         | 86        |
| 11-12              | 97.2         | 72        |
| 13-14              | 97.1         | 35        |
| 15-16              | 94.3         | 35        |
| 17-18              | 100.0        | 35        |
|                    |              | <hr/> 874 |

$$x^2 = 96.03 \quad d.f. = 9 \quad p < .001$$

$$\text{Contingency Coefficient} = .31$$

1

With Item 3, the Chi-squared is 96.03, which, with nine degrees of freedom, is significant at  $p < .001$ . With a contingency coefficient of .31 and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

Table 48 presents data based upon an index combining Items 1 through 3.

The Chi-squared in this case is 118.73, which, with eighteen degrees of freedom, is significant at  $p < .001$ , with a contingency coefficient of .35 and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

In summary: The data from Items one and three and the Index support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 24: "Regardless of strata, the higher level of education, the higher the probability to have more desirability of mobility."

Tables 49-51 present data relative to this hypothesis.

Table 49 is based upon the first indicator of desirability of mobility: "Will you or your family come to improve their socio-economic conditions?"

TABLE 48

EDUCATION BY PERCEPTION OF POSSIBILITIES  
OF MOBILITY (Index)

| Years of Education | Lowest |      | Highest |      | N   |
|--------------------|--------|------|---------|------|-----|
|                    |        | 0    | 1       | 2    |     |
| 0                  | f      | 9    | 7       | 19   | 35  |
|                    | %      | 25.7 | 20.0    | 54.3 |     |
| 1-2                | f      | 4    | 17      | 57   | 78  |
|                    | %      | 5.1  | 21.8    | 73.1 |     |
| 3-4                | f      | 6    | 37      | 143  | 186 |
|                    | %      | 3.2  | 19.9    | 76.9 |     |
| 5-6                | f      | 2    | 30      | 202  | 234 |
|                    | %      | 0.9  | 12.8    | 86.3 |     |
| 7-8                | f      | 1    | 4       | 73   | 78  |
|                    | %      | 1.3  | 5.1     | 93.6 |     |
| 9-10               | f      | 0    | 5       | 81   | 86  |
|                    | %      | 0.0  | 5.8     | 94.2 |     |
| 11-12              | f      | 1    | 5       | 66   | 72  |
|                    | %      | 1.4  | 6.9     | 91.7 |     |
| 13-14              | f      | 0    | 1       | 34   | 35  |
|                    | %      | 0.0  | 2.9     | 97.1 |     |
| 15-16              | f      | 0    | 3       | 32   | 35  |
|                    | %      | 0.0  | 8.6     | 91.4 |     |
| 17-18              | f      | 0    | 2       | 33   | 35  |
|                    | %      | 0.0  | 5.7     | 94.3 |     |
|                    |        | 23   | 111     | 740  | 874 |

$\chi^2 = 118.73$       d.f. = 18       $p < .001$

Contingency Coefficient = .35

TABLE 49

## EDUCATION BY DESIRABILITY OF MOBILITY (Item 1)

| Years of Education | Per Cent Yes | N         |
|--------------------|--------------|-----------|
| 0                  | 71.4         | 35        |
| 1-2                | 84.6         | 78        |
| 3-4                | 82.3         | 186       |
| 5-6                | 89.7         | 234       |
| 7-8                | 89.7         | 78        |
| 9-10               | 88.4         | 86        |
| 11-12              | 87.5         | 72        |
| 13-14              | 94.3         | 35        |
| 15-16              | 88.6         | 35        |
| 17-18              | 74.3         | 35        |
|                    |              | <hr/> 874 |

$$x^2 = 18.96 \quad \text{d.f.} = 9 \quad p < .05$$

Contingency Coefficient = .15

The Chi-squared which obtains is 18.96, which, with nine degrees of freedom, is significant at  $p < .05$ . The contingency coefficient is .15, and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

Table 50 is based upon the second indicator of desirability of mobility: "Given your present socio-economic condition, will your children come to enjoy a better socio-economic condition?"

1

TABLE 50

## EDUCATION BY DESIRABILITY OF MOBILITY (Item 2)

| Years of Education                  | Per Cent Yes | N         |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| 0                                   | 71.4         | 35        |
| 1-2                                 | 88.5         | 78        |
| 3-4                                 | 86.6         | 186       |
| 5-6                                 | 90.6         | 234       |
| 7-8                                 | 91.0         | 78        |
| 9-10                                | 91.9         | 86        |
| 11-12                               | 88.9         | 72        |
| 13-14                               | 91.4         | 35        |
| 15-16                               | 88.6         | 35        |
| 17-18                               | 85.7         | 35        |
|                                     |              | <hr/> 874 |
| $\chi^2 = 13.80$ d.f. = 9      n.s. |              |           |

With Item 2, the Chi-squared is 13.80, which, with nine degrees of freedom, is not significant at customary levels of rejection of the null hypothesis.

Table 51 presents data based upon an index combining Items 1 and 2.

TABLE 51

## EDUCATION BY DESIRABILITY OF MOBILITY (Index)

| Years of Education                      |   | Lowest |      | Highest | N   |     |
|---|---|--------|------|---------|-----|-----|
|   |   | 0      | 1    | 2       |     |     |
| 0                                       | f | 7      | 6    | 22      | 35  |     |
|   | % | 20.0   | 17.1 | 62.9    |     |     |
| 1-2                                     | f | 2      | 17   | 59      | 78  |     |
|   | % | 2.6    | 21.8 | 75.6    |     |     |
| 3-4                                     | f | 15     | 28   | 143     | 186 |     |
|   | % | 8.1    | 15.1 | 76.9    |     |     |
| 5-6                                     | f | 7      | 32   | 195     | 234 |     |
|   | % | 3.0    | 13.7 | 83.3    |     |     |
| 7-8                                     | f | 4      | 7    | 67      | 78  |     |
|   | % | 5.1    | 8.1  | 85.9    |     |     |
| 9-10                                    | f | 5      | 7    | 74      | 86  |     |
|   | % | 5.8    | 8.1  | 86.0    |     |     |
| 11-12                                   | f | 2      | 13   | 57      | 72  |     |
|   | % | 2.8    | 18.1 | 79.2    |     |     |
| 13-14                                   | f | 1      | 3    | 31      | 35  |     |
|   | % | 2.9    | 8.6  | 88.6    |     |     |
| 15-16                                   | f | 2      | 4    | 29      | 35  |     |
|   | % | 5.7    | 11.4 | 82.9    |     |     |
| 17-18                                   | f | 4      | 6    | 25      | 35  |     |
|   | % | 11.4   | 17.1 | 71.4    |     |     |
|   |   | f      | 49   | 123     | 702 | 874 |
| $\chi^2 = 35.41$ d.f. = 18      p < .01 |   |        |      |         |     |     |
| Contingency Coefficient = .20           |   |        |      |         |     |     |



The Chi-squared in this case is 35.41, which, with eighteen degrees of freedom, is significant at  $p < .01$ . The contingency coefficient is .20, and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

In summary: The data from Item 1 and the Index support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 25: "Regardless of strata, the higher the level of education, the higher the probability to invest more in mobility."

Tables 52-54 present data relative to this hypothesis.

Table 52 is based on the first indicator of investment in mobility: "Are you doing something to improve your socio-economic condition?"

The Chi-squared is here 16.46, which, with nine degrees of freedom is not significant at the customary level of rejection of the null hypothesis.

Table 53 is based on the second indicator of investment in mobility: "Are you doing something so that your children can come to a socio-economic condition better than yours?"

3

TABLE 52

## EDUCATION BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Item 1)

| Years of Education                  | Per Cent Yes | N   |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|-----|
| 0                                   | 77.1         | 35  |
| 1-2                                 | 87.1         | 78  |
| 3-4                                 | 84.9         | 186 |
| 5-6                                 | 85.9         | 234 |
| 7-8                                 | 94.9         | 78  |
| 9-10                                | 81.4         | 86  |
| 11-12                               | 81.9         | 72  |
| 13-14                               | 97.1         | 35  |
| 15-16                               | 94.3         | 35  |
| 17-18                               | 85.7         | 35  |
|                                     |              | 874 |
| $\chi^2 = 16.46$ d.f. = 9      n.s. |              |     |

TABLE 53

## EDUCATION BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Item 2)

| Years of Education  | Per Cent Yes | N   |
|---|--------------|-----|
| 0   | 74.3         | 35  |
| 1-2   | 80.8         | 78  |
| 3-4   | 84.4         | 186 |
| 5-6   | 88.9         | 234 |
| 7-8   | 92.3         | 78  |
| 9-10  | 84.9         | 86  |
| 11-12   | 86.1         | 72  |
| 13-14   | 94.3         | 35  |
| 15-16   | 97.1         | 35  |
| 17-18   | 91.4         | 35  |
|   |              | 874 |
| $\chi^2 = 17.24$ d.f. = 9      p < .05<br>Contingency Coefficient = .17 |              |     |

With Item 2, the Chi-squared is 17.24, which, with nine degrees of freedom, is significant at  $p < .05$ . The contingency coefficient is .17, and the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

Table 54 presents data based upon an index combining Items 1 and 2.

The Chi-squared in this case is 25.78, which, with eighteen degrees of freedom is not significant at the customary levels of rejection of the null hypothesis.

In summary: Only the data from the second item support the hypothesis.

Although the data do not provide dramatic support for the hypotheses--by a criterion of "percentage of variance explained"--the pattern of findings is by no means discouraging. Satisfaction with findings is clearly a function of the basic objectives of a research undertaking. Primary emphasis upon maximization of "variance explanation" can lead, on the one hand, to an uncritical "adding on" of variables to the analytic scheme (as in multiple correlation) and, on the other hand, to a searching for "strong" relationships upon which post

TABLE 54

## EDUCATION BY INVESTMENT IN MOBILITY (Index)

| Years of Education |   | Lowest    |       | Highest | N     |
|--------------------|---|-----------|-------|---------|-------|
|                    |   | 0         | 1     | 2       |       |
| 0                  | f | 6         | 5     | 24      | 35    |
|                    | % | 17.1      | 14.3  | 68.6    |       |
| 1-2                | f | 8         | 13    | 57      | 78    |
|                    | % | 10.3      | 16.7  | 73.1    |       |
| 3-4                | f | 17        | 23    | 146     | 186   |
|                    | % | 9.1       | 12.4  | 78.5    |       |
| 5-6                | f | 13        | 33    | 188     | 234   |
|                    | % | 5.6       | 14.1  | 80.3    |       |
| 7-8                | f | 2         | 6     | 70      | 78    |
|                    | % | 2.6       | 7.7   | 89.7    |       |
| 9-10               | f | 9         | 11    | 66      | 86    |
|                    | % | 10.5      | 12.8  | 76.7    |       |
| 11-12              | f | 8         | 7     | 57      | 72    |
|                    | % | 11.1      | 9.7   | 79.2    |       |
| 13-14              | f | 0         | 3     | 32      | 35    |
|                    | % | 0.0       | 8.6   | 91.4    |       |
| 15-16              | f | 1         | 1     | 33      | 35    |
|                    | % | 2.9       | 2.9   | 94.3    |       |
| 17-18              | f | 2         | 4     | 29      | 35    |
|                    | % | 5.7       | 11.4  | 82.9    |       |
|                    |   | <hr/>     | <hr/> | <hr/>   | <hr/> |
| f                  |   | 66        | 106   | 702     | 874   |
| $\chi^2 = 25.78$   |   | d.f. = 18 |       | n.s.    |       |

factum interpretations can be formulated. Such an emphasis can produce subtle influences toward a de-emphasis of theory.

An alternative standard of judgment is to begin with an assessment of the tenability of the theoretical framework upon which the hypotheses are based and to judge the larger pattern of data in terms of its fit with the theoretical-hypothetical system. In this context, one would of course prefer that the correlations be 1.00 and the contingency tables present no deviant cases; but that is neither essential as an objective nor the most appropriate criterion for evaluation.

In the present case, for example, it was attempted to test a set of related propositions (it may be presumptuous to call the whole "theory") on social stratum, perceptions of mobility and family planning. The interpretative framework is preliminary, and the operationalizations are in some cases primitive. There was little reason to anticipate that a specific hypothesized relationship would be linear or curvilinear. If the latter is the nature of the case, the imposition of analytic models versed upon assumptions of linearity, and to then rest one's case upon the strength of the statistic that

obtains, is more than naive; it can be injurious to the long-term development of more substantial theory.

Nevertheless the findings are encouraging. From the 25 hypotheses, 8 were substantially supported, 8 received some support, 6 were not testable, and 3 not supported by the data.

## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

#### A. SUMMARY

The general objectives of this study were:

(1) To see whether existential experience within a socio-economic stratum breeds in individuals certain cognitive styles toward social mobility as well as certain behavioral styles amenable (or not) to such a process. In this way, the study intended to bring forth some more knowledge about the self-perpetuation of social strata.

(2) To see whether some factors prompt actors, whichever their social stratum may be, to be mobility-oriented and to invest in mobility.

The conceptual framework was formulated along the following lines:

(1) The concept of social system was defined and postulated as of one of central concern of sociology.



(2) A way to differentiate social systems in terms of conceptualization norms and interaction norms was proposed. Conceptualization norms refer to such symbolic processes as (a) conceptual mapping (i.e., providing a relevant system of social objects), (b) specification of relationships among these social objects, and (c) interpretation of events, including the assumption of cause-effect sequences. These norms guide the actor's retrospections, situational analysis, and plans; they provide meaning. Interaction norms provide the framework for overt action. The class subsumes, by example, patterns of etiquette, deference, and reciprocity. The normative relevance in this class is less a matter of how actors structure reality and more of how they deal with it. The difference between strata in such terms served to support the point that social strata differ along the normative dimensions of "traditionalism-modernity."

(3) A case was made that "social strata" can be conceived as "social systems," because they show (a) integrative elements, (b) interrelatedness of parts, and (c) boundary circumscription.

(4) An argument was made that social strata are social systems which differ in degree of modernization. To do this, some examples of conceptualization norms were given: self-perceived autonomy, secularism, multiplicity of reference groups, and the calculi of planning and risk. It was argued that such conceptualization norms characterize modernization and that they tend to prevail in higher strata. This assertion was supported on the basis of findings of previous empirical research. Examples of interaction norms were also given: the traditional social system tends to emphasize: collectivity over person, inflexibility over flexibility, ascription over achievement, past validation over future validation. On the basis of previous empirical findings, it was sustained that modern interaction norms tend to prevail in higher strata.

(5) Following different lines of argument, a case was made that the process of upward social mobility can be seen as a process of modernization. These lines of argument were: (a) The process constitutes the transference of actor from a traditional to a more modern social system. (b) The attitude configuration of the

11

mobility oriented actor parallels that of the modern man, as defined in contemporary sociology (Inkeles). (c) Mo-  
bility oriented actor's means are present prescriptions to the extent that they are efficient to advance himself. (d) The mobility oriented actor's goal is to climb up to a more modern social system. (e) The mobility-oriented actor's mode of relationship between the elements of the unit act (i.e., actor, means, and goals) is a rational one, as it is for the modern man. (f) The processual underlayment of modernity entails ". . . changes in the number and in the meaning of social systems to the actor and concomitant changes in his behavior." So it happens with the process of social mobility, for a socially-mobile actor, in contrast with the not socially-mobile actor, must: (1) perceive a broader spectrum of social systems, (2) participate in a broader set of social systems, (3) attribute relevance to (i.e., take into account) and perceive potency of (i.e., perceive rewarding potentiality) the system to which the actor moves or wants to move. (g) Change can be seen not as a clash between traditionalism and modernity, but as a movement away from traditionalism where inter-systemic or dissociative variables

(i.e., variables which imply people's contacts between systems which differ among themselves along one or more dimensions and therefore provide experiences which may dissociate people from their system of origin), play a role. And at the heart of this matter is mobility, be it physical or psychic, because if mobility implies an inter-systemic contact it functions to (1) bring awareness of alternative behavioral modes, (2) facilitate the attributions of meaning to these modes; i.e., their attractiveness, centrality and potency, (3) provide behavioral trials within the new normative frameworks. On the other hand, mobility occurs if (1) actor's conditions bring awareness of alternative behavioral modes, (2) facilitates the attributions of meaning to these modes, i.e., their attractiveness, centrality, and potency, (3) provides behavioral trials within the new normative framework.

Within this context, and firstly, a theoretical frame of reference was stated. This theoretical frame of reference pointed out types of variables or indicators which may help to understand the states and processes under study and to propose some hypotheses about these states and processes.

Secondly, a parsimonious perspective for the analysis of the modernization process was selected. In the search for this parsimonious approach, the focus was upon some basic conditions which can spark the individual change process and produce something like an attitudinal "take off" toward modernity. Among the crucial facets of this process are: (1) knowledge; (2) interest; and (3) activity. To elaborate: (1) Knowledge. Assuming that there are many social systems to which one can be anchored, awareness of other systems must precede aspiration to involve oneself in them. (2) Interest. Given knowledge of alternative life modes (i.e., in modern social systems), evaluation of them is possible. To the degree that he finds these alternative life modes attractive, he has acquired a generalized change orientation, a willingness to innovate, and a readiness to move toward modernity. (3) Activity. If one is aware of alternative life modes, and sees them as attractive, behavior which is instrumental to change in social environments should follow. These instrumental behaviors occur if the means for change in personal life conditions are perceived. In short, when one judges personal change to be desirable and the possibility (which is to say, the means) of change

to be real and manageable, the attitudinal climate for a change to modernity are at an optimum.

If (1) the previous behavioral categories are valid components of the conditions which, at an individual level, can spark the individual change process and produce something like an attitudinal "take off" toward modernity, and (2) one of the problems one had in hand refers to certain attitudinal and behavioral aspects of the process of upward social mobility as self-perpetuating elements of strata, and if (3) the process of social mobility can be seen as a process of change toward modernity, then it appeared theoretically sound to see the process in terms of:

Awareness of Mobility: responding to the "knowledge" dimension of Mobility.

Perception of Possibilities of Mobility: responding to the "understanding" dimension.

Desirability of Mobility: responding to the "evaluational" dimension.

Investment in Mobility: responding to the "behavioral input" dimension.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.



The relationship between social stratum, the above-mentioned aspects of mobility and family planning can be seen under the theoretical frame of reference developed above. In fact, both "mobility orientation" and "family planning" have been mentioned by the relevant literature as indicators of modernity. Similarly, the dimensions of mobility discussed above are applicable to family planning. The theoretical basis of such a relationship can be stated by saying that in a significant sense, modern man is an autonomous being. He perceives a relative freedom in the manipulation of his life trajectory. When the anticipated trajectory is predicated upon social ascent and the maximization of self-esteem (as it commonly is in modern society), chance of ascent is maximized as social systemic investments are minimized. Since family planning implies a minimization of social systemic investments, chance of ascent is increased with family planning.

The second general objective of the study was to see whether some factors prompt actors, whichever their social stratum may be, to be mobility oriented and to invest in mobility. In a way, this is to ask, ". . . at an individual level (what conditions) can spark the

individual change process and produce something like attitudinal 'take off' toward modernity?"

The basic concern here is ". . . the relationship of actor to a particular (i.e., normatively-definable) social system." Here, one must look for certain variables which point to the question: What do actors put into a social system? and what experiences function to ". . .

(1) bring awareness of alternative behavioral modes, (2) facilitate the attributions of meaning to these modes, i.e., their attractiveness centrality and potency, (3) provide behavioral trials within the new normative frameworks."

To answer these questions, in this study, the following variables were considered: (1) Participation; (2) Time and (3) Intersystemic or dissociative variables.

The theoretical bases generated the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: "The higher the social stratum, the greater the awareness of mobility." The data supported the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2: "The higher the social stratum, the greater the perception of possibilities of mobility." The data supported the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 3: "The higher the social stratum, the greater the desirability for mobility." The data did not support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4: "The higher the social stratum, the greater the investment in mobility." The data provided some support for the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 5: "The higher the social stratum, the greater the awareness of mobility, which will lead to increased family planning." The data provide some support for the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 6: "The higher the social stratum, the greater the perception of possibilities of mobility, which will lead to increased family planning." The data provide some support for the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 7: "The higher the social stratum, the greater the desirability of mobility, which will lead to increased family planning." The data provide some support for the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 8: "The higher the social stratum, the greater the investment in mobility, which will lead to increased family planning." The data provide some support for the hypothesis.

Because of measurement problems with the variable "Length of Marriage," the following six hypotheses could not be tested:

Hypothesis 9: "For lower strata, the longer the length of marriage, the lower the perception of possibilities of mobility." Untested.

Hypothesis 10: "For lower strata, the longer the length of marriage, the lower the desirability of social mobility." Untested.

Hypothesis 11: "For lower strata, the longer the length of marriage, the lower the investment in mobility." Untested.

Hypothesis 12: "For higher strata, the negative association between length of marriage and perception of the possibility of mobility (as hypothesized for the lower strata) will be lessened, eliminated, or will change to a positive association." Untested.

Hypothesis 13: "For higher strata, the negative association between length of marriage and desirability of mobility (as hypothesized for lower strata) will be lessened, eliminated, or will change to a positive association." Untested.

Hypothesis 14: "For higher strata, the negative association between length of marriage and investment in mobility (as hypothesized for lower strata) will be lessened, eliminated, or will change to a positive association." Untested.

The tests of hypotheses concerning sex (15-18) provide mixed findings.

Hypothesis 15: "Regardless of strata, males will be more likely than females, other things being equal, to have more awareness of mobility." The data do not support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 16: "Regardless of strata, males will be more likely than females, other things being equal, to perceive more possibilities of mobility." While inconclusive, the data provide some support for the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 17: "Regardless of strata, males will be more likely than females, other things being equal, to have more desirability of mobility." The data do not support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 18: "Regardless of strata, males will be more likely than females, other things being equal, to invest more in mobility." The data support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 19: "For all strata, the younger the individual is, other things equal, the higher the probability to perceive more possibilities of mobility." Only one of the three individual item tests provides supportive data.

Hypothesis 20: "For all strata, the younger the individual is, other things equal, the higher the probability to have more desirability of mobility." The data support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 21: "For all strata, the younger the individual is, other things equal, the higher the probability to invest more in mobility." The data support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 22: "Regardless of strata, the higher the level of education, the higher the probability to have more awareness of mobility." The data support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 23: "Regardless of strata, the higher the level of education, the higher the probability to perceive more possibilities of mobility." The data support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 24: "Regardless of strata, the higher the level of education, the higher the probability to have more desirability of mobility." The data support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 25: "Regardless of strata, the higher the level of education, the higher the probability to invest more in mobility." The data provide some support to the hypothesis.

Table 55 presents a summary of the findings, including specification of variables, the relevant statistics, and page reference to the chapter on Findings. Of 19 hypotheses tested, all but two are given some measure of support. Nine of the 19 are strongly supported, and

eight are given some support, i.e., the hypothesized relationship obtains in one or another of the multiple tests of the hypothesis.

TABLE 55  
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

| Hypothesis   | Page | Statistic                     | D.F. | P     | Action on Ho  |
|--|------|-------------------------------|------|-------|---------------|
| 1. <u>Stratum</u><br>Awareness of<br>Mobility                      |      |                               |      |       |               |
| Item 1   | 163  | $\chi^2 = 12.88$<br>$C = .12$ | 3    | <.01  |               |
| Item 2   | 164  | $\chi^2 = 4.71$               | 3    | n.s.  |               |
| Index  | 165  | $\chi^2 = 13.56$<br>$C = .14$ | 6    | <.05  | Supported     |
| 2. <u>Stratum</u><br>Perception of<br>Possibilities of<br>Mobility |      |                               |      |       |               |
| Item 1   | 166  | $\chi^2 = 1.93$               | 3    | n.s.  |               |
| Item 2   | 167  | $\chi^2 = 2.10$               | 3    | n.s.  |               |
| Item 3   | 168  | $\chi^2 = 49.06$<br>$C = .23$ | 3    | <.001 |               |
| Index  | 169  | $\chi^2 = 35.60$<br>$C = .20$ | 6    | <.001 | Supported     |
| 3. <u>Stratum</u><br>Desirability<br>of Mobility                   |      |                               |      |       |               |
| Item 1   | 170  | $\chi^2 = 5.25$               | 3    | n.s.  |               |
| Item 2   | 171  | $\chi^2 = 1.61$               | 3    | n.s.  |               |
| Index  | 172  | $\chi^2 = 9.74$               | 6    | n.s.  | Not supported |





Table 55.--Continued

| Hypothesis   | Page | Statistic                                  | D.F. | P     | Action on Ho   |
|--|------|--|------|-------|--|
| 4. <u>Stratum</u><br>Investment in<br>Mobility   |      |  |      |       |  |
| Item 1   | 173  | $\chi^2 = 12.22$<br>$C = .12$              | 3    | <.01  |  |
| Item 2   | 174  | $\chi^2 = 4.03$                            | 3    | n.s.  |  |
| Index  | 175  | $\chi^2 = 11.19$                           | 6    | n.s.  | Some support   |
| <u>Stratum</u><br>Family<br>planning   |      |  |      |       |  |
| Item 1   | 176  | $\chi^2 = 84.07$<br>$C = .30$<br>$r = .31$ | 3    | <.001 |  |
| Item 2   | 177  | $\chi^2 = 65.56$<br>$C = .37$<br>$r = .37$ | 21   | <.001 |  |
| Item 3   | 178  | $\chi^2 = 70.92$<br>$C = .38$<br>$r = .38$ | 12   | <.001 | Not among<br>hypotheses<br>to be tested:<br>r value pro-<br>vides basis<br>for testing<br>Ho's 5-8 |
| 5. <u>Stratum--</u><br>Family Plan-<br>ning con-<br>trolling<br>for Awareness<br>of Mobility                             |      |  |      |       |  |
| Item 1   | 179  | $r_{xy} \cdot z = .30$                     |      |       | Some support   |
| 6. <u>Stratum--</u><br>Family Plan-<br>ning con-<br>trolling<br>for Percep-<br>tion of Pos-<br>sibilities<br>of Mobility |      |  |      |       |  |
| Item 3   | 180  | $r_{xy} \cdot z = .29$                     |      |       | Some support   |

Table 55.--Continued

| Hypothesis   | Page | Statistic                    | D.F. | P    | Action on Ho  |
|--|------|------------------------------|------|------|---------------|
| 7. <u>Stratum--</u><br>Family Plan-<br>ning con-<br>trolling<br>for Desira-<br>bility of<br>Mobility |      |                              |      |      |               |
| Item 1   | 182  | $r_{xy} \cdot z = .31$       |      |      | Some support  |
| Item 2   | 183  | $r_{xy} \cdot z = .31$       |      |      |               |
| 8. <u>Stratum--</u><br>Family Plan-<br>ning con-<br>trolling<br>for Invest-<br>ment in<br>Mobility   |      |                              |      |      |               |
| Item 1   | 184  | $r_{xy} \cdot z = .31$       |      |      | Some support  |
| Item 2   | 184  | $r_{xy} \cdot z = .30$       |      |      |               |
| Index  | 185  | $r_{xy} \cdot z = .30$       |      |      |               |
| 9-14 <u>Length of</u><br><u>Marriage--</u><br>Dimensions<br>of Mobility                              | 185  |                              |      |      | Not testable  |
| 15. <u>Sex</u><br>Awareness of<br>Mobility   | 187  |                              |      |      | Not supported |
| 16. <u>Sex</u><br>Perception of<br>Possibilities<br>of Mobility                                      |      |                              |      |      |               |
| Item 1   | 187  | $\chi^2 = 6.46$<br>$C = .09$ | 1    | <.02 | Some support  |
| Item 2   | 188  | $\chi^2 = .34$               | 1    | n.s. |               |
| Item 3   | 189  | $\chi^2 = 0$                 | 1    | n.s. |               |
| Index  | 189  | $\chi^2 = 4.78$              | 2    | n.s. |               |
| 17. <u>Sex</u><br>Desirability<br>of Mobility  | 190  |                              |      |      | Not supported |

Table 55.--Continued

| Hypothesis  | Page | Statistic                   | D.F. | P     | Action on Ho |
|---|------|-----------------------------|------|-------|--------------|
| 18. <u>Sex</u><br>Investment on<br>Mobility                     |      |                             |      |       |              |
| Item 1  | 191  | $\chi^2 = 16.22$<br>C = .14 | 1    | <.001 |              |
| Item 2  | 191  | $\chi^2 = 5.15$<br>C = .08  | 1    | <.05  |              |
| Index   | 192  | $\chi^2 = 13.78$<br>C = .13 | 2    | <.01  | Supported    |
| 19. <u>Age</u><br>Perception of<br>Possibilities<br>of Mobility |      |                             |      |       |              |
| Item 1  | 193  | $\chi^2 = 1.01$             | 2    | n.s.  |              |
| Item 2  | 194  | $\chi^2 = 8.53$<br>C = .09  | 2    | <.02  |              |
| Item 3  | 195  | $\chi^2 = 1.72$             | 2    | n.s.  |              |
| Index   | 196  | $\chi^2 = 1.29$             | 4    | n.s.  | Some support |
| 20. <u>Age</u><br>Desirability<br>of Mobility                   |      |                             |      |       |              |
| Item 1  | 197  | $\chi^2 = 13.83$<br>C = .11 | 2    | <.001 |              |
| Item 2  | 198  | $\chi^2 = 14.30$<br>C = .12 | 2    | <.001 |              |
| Index   | 198  | $\chi^2 = 23.74$<br>C = .15 | 4    | <.001 | Supported    |
| 21. <u>Age</u><br>Investment in<br>Mobility                     |      |                             |      |       |              |
| Item 1  | 199  | $\chi^2 = 17.95$<br>C = .14 | 2    | <.001 |              |
| Item 2  | 200  | $\chi^2 = 39.34$<br>C = .21 | 2    | <.001 |              |
| Index   | 201  | $\chi^2 = 36.08$<br>C = .20 | 4    | <.001 | Supported    |

Table 55.--Continued

| Hypothesis  | Page | Statistic                    | D.F. | P     | Action on Ho |
|---|------|------------------------------|------|-------|--------------|
| 22. <u>Education</u><br>Awareness of<br>Mobility                      |      |                              |      |       |              |
| Item 1  | 202  | $\chi^2 = 22.05$<br>C = .16  | 9    | <.01  |              |
| Item 2  | 203  | $\chi^2 = 28.56$<br>C = .18  | 9    | <.001 |              |
| Index   | 204  | $\chi^2 = 46.09$<br>C = .22  | 18   | <.001 | Supported    |
| 23. <u>Education</u><br>Perception of<br>Possibilities<br>of Mobility |      |                              |      |       |              |
| Item 1  | 206  | $\chi^2 = 24.63$<br>C = .17  | 9    | <.01  |              |
| Item 2  | 207  | $\chi^2 = 9.84$              | 9    | n.s.  |              |
| Item 3  | 208  | $\chi^2 = 96.03$<br>C = .31  | 9    | <.001 |              |
| Index   | 209  | $\chi^2 = 118.73$<br>C = .35 | 18   | <.001 | Supported    |
| 24. <u>Education</u><br>Desirability<br>of Mobility                   |      |                              |      |       |              |
| Item 1  | 211  | $\chi^2 = 18.96$<br>C = .15  | 9    | <.05  |              |
| Item 2  | 212  | $\chi^2 = 13.80$             | 9    | n.s.  |              |
| Index   | 213  | $\chi^2 = 35.41$<br>C = .20  | 18   | <.01  | Supported    |
| 25. <u>Education</u><br>Investment in<br>Mobility                     |      |                              |      |       |              |
| Item 1  | 214  | $\chi^2 = 16.46$             | 9    | n.s.  |              |
| Item 2  | 215  | $\chi^2 = 17.24$<br>C = .14  | 9    | <.05  |              |
| Index   | 216  | $\chi^2 = 25.78$             | 18   | n.s.  | Some support |

Although we recognize that a pattern of supportive data, such as the present one, is not the only criterion for evaluating a social research undertaking, it is comforting when positive findings occur. The data tell us, if incompletely, that that part of the social world with which this research is concerned is in a form somewhat like that proposed by our conceptual framework, and that further input of intellectual energy into this general direction of investigation is warranted.

#### B. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

As indicated above, the data support Hypothesis 1, viz., "The higher the social stratum, the greater the awareness of mobility." However, it is important to observe that the strength of the correlation is not very high. This clearly indicates that other factors should be taken into account. For example, there are reasons to believe that peculiar characteristics of the Costa Rican society might account for the fact that a significant number of individuals in the lowest strata are aware of the process of mobility. In this context, it is perhaps meaningful to note that Costa Rica, since the end of the

last century, has established primary education as obligatory. It is reasonable to suggest that this factor could affect the correlation at this particular historical moment in this particular society. Similarly, the fact of dealing with an urban sample could explain why the association is not as strong as one would have expected. It is well-known that the urban environment is in and of itself a factor which contributes to the degree of modernity of the people, and if awareness of mobility is an indicator of modernization, the correlation is low because awareness is so endemic. Of course, more information is required to interpret the dynamic at issue. For example, we recognize the importance of taking into account occupation of individuals and length of residence in the urban environment. Working in a factory is, to a certain degree, equivalent to being exposed to formal education. It is also important to take into account that mass media exposure could have substantially influenced the levels of awareness of mobility in the urban setting at issue.

Similar considerations are involved in the hypothesis relating social strata to perception of possibilities of mobility. There are, however, other

considerations here. For example, the first and second items of the variable "perception of possibilities of mobility" were not associated with social stratum. It might be the case that in this particular society a significant number of individuals from the lowest strata perceive the goal of mobility as viable, even when by objective socio-economic conditions, the means toward such goal attainment do not exist.

It is important to note that the third indicator of perception of possibilities of mobility proved to be associated with social stratum. If one keeps in mind the symbolic content of that indicator, in comparison with the two other indicators, one might be able to find a reason for such a finding. The fact is that the third indicator presents to the respondent a more specific and structured issue than the other two. In effect, it is not the same to ask a person, "Will your children come to get better jobs than the one you have?," than to ask, "Could the children of families living in economic conditions such as yours go to the University if they wish?" It is easier to find a "Yes" answer to the former than to the latter. This is so because a respondent who works as a manual worker, for example, might answer "Yes" to



the first question, having in mind, for example, that a better job for his children is to have them become school teachers. He might answer "No" to the third indicator of perception of possibilities of mobility, however, because it is one thing to get a comparatively better job and quite another thing to perceive that one's child can travel through the main channel of social mobility, i.e., the university, as it is the case in Costa Rica in the present-historical moment.

Not much can be said about the relationship between social stratum and desirability of mobility. The first and second indicators do not show association. The index shows association only if a one-tailed test is defensible. If this indicates that people evaluate social mobility positively, even when they do not perceive possibilities of mobility, one should think on the possibility of reversing the order of the different dimensions of mobility mentioned in this study. It might be more plausible perhaps to assert that people can, and do, evaluate mobility positively, even without perceiving possibilities of being mobile themselves, than to say that people come to evaluate only those goals which they consider as attainable.

The association between the first indicator of investment in mobility and social stratum and the lack of association of the second indicator and social stratum, might suggest the need to use more specific items. It is, perhaps, too "easy" to give a "Yes" answer to this question: "Are you doing something to improve your socio-economic condition?"

The fact that the index of investment in mobility shows the hypothesized relationship with social stratum only if the assumption that a one-tailed test is defensible, also points to the need for more specific measures of investment in mobility.

Hypotheses 5, 6, and 7 were preceded by reports on the relationship between social stratum and family planning. Family planning was measured by three items: 1) Practice of birth control, 2) Number of years of practice of birth control, and 3) Number of children at first practice of birth control. The expected relationship between social strata and family planning was, of course, supported.

The partial correlation which interprets the zero-order correlation between social strata and the first indicator of family planning is minute. However,

the partial correlation which interprets the correlation between social strata and the two last indicators of family planning is more substantial, although by no means conclusive. In any case, the hypothesized interpretative variable seems to account for part of the variability, as predicted. The minute difference between the zero-order correlation and the partial correlation for social stratum and the first indicator of family planning, partialing out "awareness of mobility," might be due to the fact that the first indicator of family planning is a primitive, dichotomous measurement of the behavior at issue.

The same conclusion might be drawn about Hypothesis 6. The difference between the partial correlation and the zero-order correlation, taking into account the first indicator of family planning, is minute. With the second and third indicators of family planning, the difference is greater, although not conclusive. However, each of the three partial correlations show the hypothesized tendency.

The same observations hold for Hypotheses 7 and 8.

The tests of the Hypotheses 9 to 14 were not possible because two complications discussed earlier: 1) the

pattern of response regarding perception of possibilities of mobility was overwhelmingly positive, and 2) there are obvious problems of measurement of length of marriage.

The hypotheses regarding the relationship between sex, age, and education with the different dimensions of mobility highlighted in this study were supported to a large extent, taking into account individual items or indexes.

#### C. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Even with a pattern of substantially supportive data, there are limitations to the research that require recognition and discussion. Some of these limitations stem from the fact that the data of this study are sourced in a larger research project conducted by the writer. This imposed a need to limit the number of questions for every variable. Clearly, a larger number of indicators for each variable would have decreased the likelihood of bad items, which, in turn, may decrease correlation values. Such a long questionnaire might have also introduced errors due to misperceptions and wrong answers based on fatigue.

1

2

Connected with the limitations related to interviewing time available is the fact that a dichotomous response was used on most of the questions. Had not this been the case, one may have found fewer skewed distributions, and lessened the analytic problems that such skewness introduces.

Another limitation centers around the substance of some of the questions. The items referring to "perception of possibilities of mobility" provide a case in point. In this case, the item referring to whether the respondents saw some possibilities for their children to go to the University seemed to be, almost consistently, a better item than, for example, an item such as "Would your children come to have better jobs than yours?" The former question certainly provides a more specific and structured issue to the respondent.

In some cases there are basic limitations related to the use of Product Moment Correlations. In those cases where Product Moment Correlations were used, important assumptions regarding "linearity" and "equal interval measurement" were not met. On the other hand, "curvilinearity" and the absence of "equal interval scales"

can lead to more "conservative" tests of hypotheses, in that they function to decrease correlation values.

Finally, the sample design is imperfect. For variables like length of marriage, age, and education, a researcher should use strata assignment criteria that would produce cell frequencies adequate for multi-variate analysis. By example, a simple random sample (in any stratum) may, in an analysis of relationship between education and awareness of mobility, produce a skewed distribution, with consequentially small and unstable frequencies in crucial cells of a contingency table. Stratified random sampling could have remedied this important problem.

#### D. SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Social research commonly points to new and necessary directions; the present study is no exception. Here we mention only a few of the most salient of them. For example, the findings suggest the strong influence of the urban setting. Some of the inter-strata differences on the relevant variables may have been decreased because of this factor. It would be profitable, therefore, to

conduct parallel studies, with rural and urban samples, on the social stratification configuration. With such a design, one might see how and to what extent the differences between strata differentially affect the dependent variables as one moves from a rural to an urban setting.

Of course, in future research one should collect information about certain factors which are part of the conditions of actors in social action. Such is the case, for example, of factors as "mass media exposure," "unemployment," "length of residence in the urban setting," and "type of occupation." Another set of relevant data, not commonly obtained in this kind of research, would focus upon the contacts which individuals may have had with people of higher strata than their own. It seems plausible to assert that the type and number of reference groups the individual has, have crucial influence upon the dimensions of mobility which have been of central concern in this study. It might be the case, for example, that if only one member of his family has been socially mobile, the respondent himself will have become mobility oriented.





Some of the findings of the study seem to suggest that the order of the perceptual dimensions of mobility should be changed. There seems to be more people, regardless of strata, who evaluate social mobility positively than there are those who perceive possibilities of mobility. Another strategy of research, not at issue in this study, might deal with the scalability of the four dimensions of mobility and the order in which they have to be placed. In this study, it was not worthwhile to do this because the skewness of the distribution was so pronounced toward the positive level of the curve. The data only suggest the possibility of change in the order of those dimensions; there is no way presently available to examine the question adequately.

The methodological difficulties with the measurement of length of marriage can and should be easily overcome in future research. Of course, with a better distribution of the data on the several dimensions of mobility, as could be obtained with better instrumentation, a set of controls could be applied in order to avoid spurious relationships. For example, the hypotheses relating age with the several dimensions of mobility could have been affected by level of education, considering the

fact that for samples similar to the one used in this study, education tends to vary inversely with age. Similarly, the relationships between length of marriage and the dimensions of mobility could have been affected by income.

It would also be worthwhile to obtain information on the relationship between objective social mobility and the perceptual dimensions of mobility at issue in this study. This relationship could prove to be very crucial. It seems plausible to assert that in order to become mobility-oriented the individual should experience, be it psychically or objectively, the process of mobility itself.

Finally, in order to be able to generalize in this kind of study, cross-societal and cross-cultural research is indispensable. It seems obvious that the conditions of the strata from one society to the other may differ, a situation which may affect the degree of modernity of those social strata. Similarly, cross-cultural comparison could bring to awareness cultural elements which legitimate, facilitate, or impede the process of social mobility. If such be the case, the perceptual dimensions of mobility might be fundamentally effected.

APPENDIX I

## APPENDIX I

This appendix provides a brief discussion of the validity and reliability of the measurements.

Since it was our intention to select "Barrios" as typically representative as possible of the economic dimension, it seemed proper to look at the correlation between the strata, as they were selected in the study, and income as reported by the sample individuals. Such a correlation is of .55, which indicates a strong correlation between the two factors, not only because the number is in and of itself high enough, but because the accuracy of the data on income decreases as one moves up in the social ladder. That is to say, individuals from the highest stratum tend to report lower incomes than those they receive, in comparison with individuals in the lower strata who tend to report their income more accurately. Would the accuracy of this information be higher, the correlation between the social strata, as selected for this study, and income would have been substantially

higher. Thus, all seems to indicate that the selection of the "Barrios" or sectors of "Barrios" was accurate enough for the purpose of the study.

To test the validity of the indicators of the different dimensions of mobility, correlations were calculated with three indicators of people's orientation toward problem solving. In the questionnaire, three different problems were posed to the respondents. The central issues in these problems involved: 1) Insufficient income, 2) Illegitimate pregnancy of a daughter, and 3) Illness of one close relative. The respondents were asked what would they do if they had to confront these three problems and a set of alternative responses were given to them. These alternative responses intended to tap whether the respondent had a secular or a religious orientation, an activistic or pasivistic orientation, or a collectivistic or individualistic orientation toward those problems. It was assumed that an activistic, secularistic and collectivistic orientation would be an indicator of modernity. Only the three indicators of secularism-religiosity showed a considerable degree of internal consistency. The first indicator shows a correlation of .40 with the second indicator and a correlation

1

of .21 with the third indicator. The second indicator showed a correlation of .24 with the third indicator. Each of these items on the secularism scale was positively correlated with education, the first indicator showed a correlation of .28 with education; the second, .42, and the third indicator, .19.

The fact that the indicators of activism and collectivism show little internal consistency and low validity when related with education prompted us to test for the validity of the dimensions of mobility only with the items of secularism-religiosity. This showed that for the indicators of those dimensions of mobility, the correlations with the secularistic orientation tends to be uniformly low and in other cases non-existent. Consequently, we lack validating data other than that represented by the tests of the hypotheses, i.e., empirical validity.

The reliability by internal consistency of the different indicators of the several dimensions of mobility is as follows:

The first item of awareness of mobility showed a correlation of .19 with its second item.



The first item of perception of possibilities of mobility showed a correlation of .15 with the second item and of .24 with the third item. The second item of perception of possibilities of mobility showed a correlation of .08 with its third item.

The first item of desirability of mobility showed a correlation of .37 with the second item.

The first item of investment in mobility showed a correlation of .50 with its second item.

Finally, the first indicator of family planning showed a correlation of .76 with the second indicator and a correlation of .54 with the third indicator. The second indicator showed a correlation of .41 with the third indicator. This seems to indicate that the three indicators have internal consistency.

APPENDIX II

APPENDIX II

VARIABLES, INDICATORS, AND CODES

| <u>Variable</u>          | <u>Indicators</u>  | <u>Codes</u>                                 |                  |
|--------------------------|--|--|------------------|
| 1) Social Stratum        | "Barrios" typically representative of different economic levels. (The procedure of selection was indicated in the chapter on Methodology and Analysis Design.) | Highest:<br>Middle:<br>Poor:<br>Slum:        | 3<br>2<br>1<br>0 |
| 2) Awareness of Mobility | 1 <sup>o</sup> : Do you know whether persons who live in certain economic conditions ever move out of those conditions into different conditions?              | Yes:<br>No:<br>Undecided:<br>Doesn't Answer: | 1<br>0<br>0<br>0 |
|                          | 2 <sup>o</sup> : Do you believe that any person born in a family that lives like yours, is fated to continue living in the same way?                           | Yes:<br>No:<br>Undecided:<br>Doesn't Answer: | 1<br>0<br>0<br>0 |

|  |   |                 |   |
|--|---|-----------------|---|
| 3) Perception of<br>Possibilities of<br>Mobility | 1 <sup>0</sup> : Do you believe<br>that some per-<br>sons who live<br>in conditions<br>such as yours<br>can come to<br>get a better<br>job?                     | Yes:            | 1 |
|  |   | No:             | 0 |
|  |   | Undecided:      | 0 |
|  |   | Doesn't Answer: | 0 |
|  | 2 <sup>0</sup> : Will your<br>children come<br>to get better<br>jobs than the<br>one you have?  | Yes:            | 1 |
|  |   | No:             | 0 |
|  |   | Undecided:      | 0 |
|  |   | Doesn't Answer: | 0 |
|  | 3 <sup>0</sup> : Could the<br>children of<br>families living<br>in economic<br>conditions such<br>as yours go to<br>the University<br>if they wish?             | Yes:            | 1 |
|  |   | No:             | 0 |
|  |   | Undecided:      | 0 |
|  |   | Doesn't Answer: | 0 |
| 4) Desirability<br>of Mobility                   | 1 <sup>0</sup> : Will you or<br>your family<br>come to improve<br>their socio-<br>economic condi-<br>tions?   | Yes:            | 1 |
|  |   | No:             | 0 |
|  |   | Undecided:      | 0 |
|  |   | Doesn't Answer: | 0 |
|  | 2 <sup>0</sup> : Given your<br>present socio-<br>economic con-<br>dition, will<br>your children<br>come to enjoy<br>a better socio-<br>economic condi-<br>tion? | Yes:            | 1 |
|  |   | No:             | 0 |
|  |   | Undecided:      | 0 |
|  |   | Doesn't Answer: | 0 |

|                              |  |                   |   |
|------------------------------|--|-------------------|---|
| 5) Investment in<br>Mobility | 1 <sup>o</sup> : Are you doing<br>something to<br>improve your<br>socio-economic<br>condition?   | Yes:              | 1 |
|                              |  | No:               | 0 |
|                              |  | Undecided:        | 0 |
|                              |  | Doesn't Answer:   | 0 |
|                              | 2 <sup>o</sup> : Are you doing<br>something so<br>that your<br>children can<br>come to a<br>socio-economic<br>condition<br>better than<br>yours? | Yes:              | 1 |
|                              |  | No:               | 0 |
|                              |  | Undecided:        | 0 |
|                              |  | Doesn't Answer:   | 0 |
|                              |  | Without Children: | 0 |
|                              |  | Adult Children:   | 0 |
| 6) Family<br>Planning        | 1 <sup>o</sup> : Have you done<br>anything to<br>limit births?   | Yes:              | 1 |
|                              |  | No:               | 0 |
|                              |  | Doesn't Answer:   | 0 |
|                              | 2 <sup>o</sup> : Since when have<br>you done any-<br>thing to limit<br>your births?  | Doesn't Answer:   | 0 |
|                              |  | less than 1 year: | 0 |
|                              |  | 1 year:           | 1 |
|                              |  | 2 years:          | 2 |
|                              |  | 3 years:          | 3 |
|                              |  | 4 years:          | 4 |
|                              |  | 5 years:          | 5 |
|                              | 3 <sup>o</sup> : After what<br>child have you<br>done anything<br>to limit your<br>births?   | 6 years:          | 6 |
|                              |  | 7 years or more:  | 7 |
|                              |  | Child 5 or more:  | 0 |
|                              |  | Child 4:          | 1 |
|                              |  | Child 3:          | 2 |
|                              |  | Child 2:          | 3 |
|                              |  | Child 1:          | 4 |

|                          |   |   |
|--------------------------|---|---|
| 7) Participation         | 1 <sup>o</sup> : <u>Length of Marriage</u>  | Less than 19  |
|                          |   | 20-39   |
|                          |   | 40 or more  |
|                          | a) Are you married?   |   |
|                          | b) If "yes," how long a time have you been married?   |   |
|                          | c) If multiple marriages: how long a time did each marriage last? (In this case the respondent received a score equal to the sum of years of marriage for every union.) |   |
|                          | 2 <sup>o</sup> : <u>Sex</u>   | Male: 1   |
|                          |   | Female: 0   |
| 8) Time                  | <u>Age:</u><br>How old are you?<br>Answer: in years completed   | less than 39: low<br>40-59: middle<br>60 or more: high                                    |
| 9) Dissociative Variable | <u>Education:</u><br>Until what grade or year did you study? No. years (Maximum 18)   | <u>Years</u><br>0<br>1-2<br>3-4<br>5-6<br>7-8<br>9-10<br>11-12<br>13-14<br>15-16<br>17-18 |

3

## BIBLIOGRAPHY



J

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acosta-Monzon, J. Encuesta de Fecundidad en el Area Metropolitana de Caracas, Ministerio de Fomento, Direccion General de Estadistica y Censos Nacionales: Venezuela, n.d.
- Agarwala, S. N. Attitude Toward Family Planning in India, Asia Publishing House: Delhi (Occasional Papers No. 5), Institute of Economic Growth, 1962.
- Bachi, R. and Matras, J. "Contraception and Induced Abortion among Jewish Maternity Cases in Israel," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XLIX. April: 1962.
- Bachi, R. and Matras, J. "Family Size Preferences of Jewish Maternity Cases in Israel," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XLII. April: 1964.
- Baltzell, E. D. "Social Mobility and Fertility Within an Elite Group," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XXXI. October: 1953, No. 4.
- Barber, B. Social Stratification: A Comparative Analysis of Structure Process, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc.: New York, 1956.
- Becker, G. S. An Economic Analysis of Fertility, a Conference of the Universities National Bureau for Economic Research, Demographic and Economic Change in Developed Countries, Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 1960.
- Bendix, R. and Lipset, S. M. (eds.) Class Status and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective, The Free Press: New York, 1966.

- Berelson, B. "On Family Planning and Communication," Demography, Vol. I. 1964.
- Berelson, B. et al. (eds.) Family Planning and Population Programs: A Review of World Development, The University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1965.
- Berelson, B. and Freedman, R. "A Study in Fertility Control," Scientific American, Vol. CCX. May: 1965, No. 5.
- Berelson, B. and Steiner, I. Human Behavior: an inventory of scientific findings, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc.: New York, 1964.
- Berent, J. "Fertility and Social Mobility," Population Studies, Vol. V. March: 1952, No. 3.
- Blacker, J. G. C. "Social Ambitions of the Bourgeoisie in the Eighteenth Century France and Their Relation to Family Limitation," Population Studies, Vol. II. July: 1957, No. 1.
- Blalock Jr., H. M. "Status Consciousness: A Dimensional Analysis," Social Forces, Vol. XXXVII. March: 1959, No. 3.
- Blake, J. Family Structure in Jamaica: The Social Context of Reproduction, The Free Press: New York, 1961.
- Boggs, S. T. "Family Size and Social Mobility in a California Suburb," Eugenics Quarterly, Vol. IV. December: 1957, No. 4.
- Bresard, M. "Mobilite sociale et dimension de la famille," Population, Vol. V. July-September: 1950, No. 3.
- Brim, O. and Forer, R. "A Note on the Relation of Values and Social Structure to Life Planning," Sociometry, Vol. XIX. March: 1956, No. 1.

Briones, G. and Waisanen, F. B. "Educational Aspirations, Modernization and Urban Integration," a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Miami, Florida, 1966.

Brooks, H. F. and Henry, F. J. "An Empirical Study of the Relationship of Catholic Practice and Occupational Mobility to Fertility," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XXXVI. July: 1958, No. 3.

Buckley, W. "Social Stratification and Functional Theory of Social Differentiation," ASR, Vol. XXIII. August: 1958, No. 4.

Burnstein, E., Moulton, R., and Liberty, P. "Prestige vs. Excellence as Determinants of Role Attractiveness," ASR, Vol. XXIII. April: 1963, No. 2.

Carleton, R. O. "Fertility Trends and Differentials in Latin America," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XLIII. October: 1965.

Carrol, T. W. and Farace, R. V. Systems Analysis, Computer Simulation, and Survey Research: Applications to Social Research in Developing Countries, Computer Institute for Social Science Research, Michigan State University: East Lansing, Revised Edition, March: 1970.

Centers, R. The Psychology of Social Classes, Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1949.

Centers, R. "Social Class, Occupation and Imputed Belief," AJS, Vol. LVIII. May: 1953.

Dahrendorf, R. Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, Stanford University Press: Stanford, California, 1968.

Davis, A. and Gardner, B. B. Deep South, University of Chicago Press: Illinois, 1948.

Davidson, P. E. and Anderson, H. D. Occupational Mobility in an American Community, Stanford University Press: Stanford, California, 1937.

- Day, L. H. "Fertility Differentials Among Catholics in Australia," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XLII. April: 1964.
- De Hoyos, A. Occupational and Educational Levels of Aspiration of Mexican-American Youth, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University: East Lansing, 1961.
- Diez-Nicolas, J. "Status Socio-Economico, Religion y Tamano de la Familia Urbana," Revista Espanola de la Opinion Publica, n. p., December: 1965.
- Dinkel, R. M. "Occupation and Fertility in the United States," ASR, Vol. XVII. April: 1952, No. 2.
- Eisenstadt, S. M. Israeli Society, Basic Books Inc., Publishers: New York, 1967.
- Febvay, M. "Niveau et evolution de la fecondite par categorie socio-professionnelle en France," Population, XIV. October-December: 1959, No. 4.
- Fonseca, E. et al. Algunos Aspectos Sociograficos del Area Metropolitana de San Jose, Costa Rica, CESPO, Universidad de Costa Rica: San Pedro, Costa Rica, 1969.
- Foster, G. M. Traditional Cultures and the Impact of Technological Change, Harper and Row Publishers: New York, 1962.
- Freedman, R. et al. "Fertility and Family Planning in Taiwan: A Case Study of the Demographic Transition," AJS, Vol. LXX. July: 1964.
- Freedman, R. and Sharp, H. "Correlates of Values about Ideal Family Size in the Detroit Metropolitan Area," Population Studies, Vol. VIII. July: 1954.
- Gerth, H. H. and Mills, C. W. (eds. and trans.) From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, Oxford University Press: New York, 1968.

- Glantz, O. "Class Consciousness and Political Solidarity," ASR, Vol. XXIII. August: 1958, No. 4.
- Gomez, B. M. Informe de la Encuesta de Fecundidad en el Area Metropolitana, Instituto Centroamericano de Estadística, Universidad de Costa Rica: San Pedro, Costa Rica, 1968.
- Haer, J. L. "An Empirical Study of Social Class Awareness," Social Forces, December: 1957, No. 36.
- Hall, F. "Birth Control in Lima, Peru: Attitudes and Practices," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XLIII. October: 1965.
- Haller, A. D. and Miller, I. W. The Occupational Aspiration Scale: Theory Structure and Correlates, Michigan State University, Ag. Exp. Station, East Lansing, 1961.
- Hartman, G. W. and Newcomb, T. (eds.) Industrial Conflict, The Gordon Company: New York, 1939.
- Hauser, Ph. M. and Schnore, L. F. (eds.) The Study of Urbanization, John Wiley and Sons, Inc.: New York, 1967.
- Heer, D. M. "Fertility Differences Between Indian and Spanish-speaking Parts of Andean Countries," Population Studies, Vol. XXXVIII. July: 1964.
- Heer, D. M. and Turner, E. S. "Areal Differences in Latin American Fertility," Population Studies, Vol. XVIII. March: 1965.
- Heller, C. S. (ed.) Structured Social Inequality: A reader in Comparative Social Stratification, The McMillan Co.: New York, 1969.
- Higgins, E. "Some Fertility Attitudes Among White Women in Johannesburg," Population Studies, Vol. XVI. July: 1962.
- Hollingshead, A. B. Elmtown's Youth: The Impact of Social Classes on Adolescents, John Wiley and Sons, Inc.: New York, 1959.



- Hollingshead, A. B. and Redlich, F. C. Social Class and Mental Illness, John Wiley and Sons, Inc.: New York, 1958.
- Hong, S. and Yoon, J. "Male Attitudes Toward Family Planning on the Island of Kangwah-Gun, Korea," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XLIX. October: 1962.
- Hubback, J. "The Fertility of Graduate Women," Eugenics Review, Vol. XLVII. July: 1955, No. 2.
- Hughes, R. B. "Human Fertility Differentials: the influence of industrial urban development on birth rates," Population Review, Vol. III. July: 1959, No. 2.
- Hutchinson, B. "Fertility, Social Mobility, and Urban Migration in Brazil," Population Studies, Vol. XIV. March: 1961, No. 3.
- Hyman, H. "The Value System of Different Classes," in Bendix, R. and Lipset, S. M. (eds.), Class, Status and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective, The Free Press: New York, 1966.
- Hyman, H. Survey Design and Analysis, The Free Press of Glencoe: Illinois, 1963.
- Inkeles, A. "The Modernization of Man," The Center of International Affairs, Harvard University, Reprinted from Weiner, M. (ed.), Modernization, Basic Books, Inc. Pub.: N.Y., 1966.
- Kahl, J. A. The American Class Structure, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.: New York, 1962.
- Kahl, J. A. and Davis, J. A. "A Comparison of Indexes of Socio-Economic Status," ASR, Vol. XX. June: 1955, No. 2.
- Karp, H. Class notes in Sociology 494, Sociology Department, Michigan State University: East Lansing, Winter 1970.



- Kinch, J. "A Formalized Theory of the Self-Concept," AJS, Vol. LXVII. January: 1963, No. 4.
- Kiser, C. V. (ed.) Research in Family Planning, Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 1962.
- Knupfer, G. "Portrait of the Underdog," in Bendix, R. and Lipset, S. M. (eds.), Class, Status and Power: Social Stratification in comparative Perspective, The Free Press: New York, 1966; also in Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XI. 1947.
- Koos, E. H. Families in Trouble, Kings Crown Press: New York, 1946.
- Kornhauser, A. W. "Analysis of 'Class' Structure of Contemporary American Society: Psychological Bases of Class Divisions," in Hartman, G. W. and Newcomb, T. (eds.), Industrial Conflict, The Gordon Company: New York, 1939.
- Lampard, E. E. "Historical Aspects of Urbanization," in Hauser, P. M. and Schnore, L. F. (eds.), The Study of Urbanization, John Wiley and Sons, Inc.: New York, 1967.
- Landecker, W. S. "Class Crystallization and Class Consciousness," \_\_\_\_, Vol. XXVIII, 1963, No. 2.
- Lasswell, T. E. Class and Stratum: An Introduction to Concepts and Research, Houghton Mifflin Co.: Boston, 1965.
- Lasswell, T. E. "The Perception of Social Class from Photographs," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. XLV. July: 1961.
- Lasswell, T. E. "The Perception of Social Status," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. XXXV. January: 1961, No. 2.
- Legget, J. C. "Economic Insecurity and Working-Class Consciousness," ASR, Vol. XXIX. April: 1964, No. 2.

- Legget, J. C. "Uprootedness and Working-Class Consciousness," AJS, Vol. LXVIII. May: 1963, No. 6.
- Lerner, D. The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East, The Free Press: New York, 1958.
- Lewis, L. S. "Class Consciousness and Interclass Sentiment," The Sociological Quarterly, V. G., Autumn: 1963, No. 4.
- Lewis, L. S. "Class and Perception of Class," Social Forces, Vol. XLII. March: 1964, No. 3.
- Lewis, L. S. "Class Consciousness and Salience of Class," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. XLIX. January: 1965, No. 2.
- Lewis, O. Five Families, Science Editions, Inc.: New York, 1962.
- Lewis, O. Tepoztlan: Village in Mexico, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.: New York, 1960.
- Lewis, O. The Children of Sanchez: Autobiography of a Mexican Family, Random House: New York, 1961.
- Lipset, S. M. and Bendix, R. Social Mobility in Industrial Society, University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959.
- Loomis, C. P. Social Systems, The Van-Nostrand Series in Sociology: Princeton, New Jersey, 1960.
- Loomis, C. P. and Loomis, Z. Modern Social Theories, The Van-Nostrand Series in Sociology: Princeton, New Jersey, 1965.
- Lynd, R. S. and Lynd, H. M. Middletown, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc.: New York, 1929.
- Lynd, R. S. and Lynd, H. M. Middletown in Transition, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc.: New York, 1937.

- Manis, J. G. and Meltzer, B. N. "Some Correlates of Class Consciousness Among Textile Workers," AJS, Vol. LXIX. September: 1963, No. 2.
- Martin, F. M. "Some Subjective Aspects of Social Stratification," Chapter III in Glass, D. V. (ed.), Social Mobility in Britain, Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, 1954.
- Marx, K. "Karl Marx's Theory of Social Classes," in Bendix, R. and Lipset, S. M. (eds.), Class, Status and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective, The Free Press: New York, 1966.
- Marx, K. The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, International Publishers: New York, n.d.
- McGregor, D. M. "The Major Determinants of the Prediction of Social Events," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, Vol. XXXIII. 1938.
- McNelly, J. and Torres, A. El Uso de los Medios de Comunicacion en una Capital Latinoamericana, Programa Interamericano de Informacion Popular: San Jose, Costa Rica, 1963.
- Meyer, K. Class and Society, Random House: New York, 1965.
- Miller, D. C. and Form, W. H. Industrial Sociology, Harper and Brothers: New York, 1951.
- Mills, C. W. White Collar, Oxford University Press: New York, 1951.
- Minon, P. "Choix d une profession et mobilite sociale," in Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology, Vol. II. n.d.
- Miro, C. A. "Some Misconceptions Disproved: A Program of Comparative Fertility Surveys in Latin America," in Berelson, B. et al. (ed.), Family Planning and Population Programs: A Review of World Development, The University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1965.

- Miro, C. A. and Rath, F. "Preliminary Findings of Comparative Fertility Surveys in Three Latin American Cities," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XLIII. October: 1965.
- Morris, R. T. and Murphy, R. J. "A Paradigm of the Study of Class Consciousness," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. L. April: 1966, No. 3.
- Morrison, W. A. "Attitudes of Females Toward Family Planning in a Maharashtrim Village," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XXXV. 1957.
- Morrison, W. A. "Attitudes of Males Toward Family Planning in a Western Indian Village," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XXXIV. 1956.
- Nowak, S. "Changes in Social Structure in Social Consciousness," a revised version of an article in the Polish Sociological Bulletin, Vol. II. 1964.
- Ossowski, S. Class Structure in the Social Consciousness, Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, 1963.
- Ossowski, S. "Non-Egalitarian Classlessness--Similarities in Interpreting Mutually Opposed Systems," in Heller, C. S. (ed.), Structured Social Inequality: A reader in Comparative Social Stratification, The McMillan Co.: New York, 1969.
- Parsons, T. The Social System, The Free Press: London, 1951.
- Parsons, T. The Structure of Social Action, The Free Press of Glencoe: Illinois, 1949.
- Piaget, J. "Social Factors in Moral Development," in Newcomb et al. (eds.), Readings in Social Psychology, Henry Holt and Company: New York, 1947.
- Popits, H., Bahrdt, H. P., Kestling, J. and H. Das Gesellschaftsbild des Arbeiters, Tubingen, 1957.

- Rainwater, L. And the Poor Get Children, Quadrangle Books: Chicago, 1960.
- Requena, M. "Social and Economic Correlates of Induced Abortion in Santiago, Chile," Demography, Vol. II, 1965.
- Reynolds, L. G. The Structure of Labor Market, Harper and Row: New York, 1967.
- Riley, J. W. and White, M. "The Use of Various Methods of Contraception," ASR, Vol. V. 1940.
- Roach, J. L. "Economic Deprivation and Lower-Class Behavior," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University at Buffalo: New York, 1964.
- Rogers, E. M. Modernization Among Peasants: The Impact of Communication, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.: New York, 1969.
- Rosen, B. "The Achievement Syndrome," ASR, Vol. XXI. April: 1956, No. 2.
- Rosenberg, M. "Perceptual Obstacles to Class Consciousness," Social Forces, Vol. XXXII. October: 1953.
- Rowntree, G. and Pierce, R. "Birth Control in Great Britain," Population Studies, Vol. XV. July: 1961.
- Sanchez-Bolanos, R. El Area Metropolitana de San Jose, segun los Censos de 1963 y 1964, Direccion General de Estadistica y Censos: San Jose, Costa Rica, 1967.
- Sauvy, A. La Poblacion, Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1961.
- Schneider, L. and Lysgaard, S. "The Deferred Gratification Pattern," A.S.R., Vol. XVIII. April: 1953, No. 2.

- Sherif, M. The Psychology of Social Norms, Harper and Brothers: New York, 1936.
- Simon, J. L. "The Effect of Income on Fertility," Population Studies, Vol. XXIII. November: 1969, No. 3.
- Sinha, J. N. "Differential Fertility and Family Limitation in an Urban Community of Uttar Pradesh," Population Studies, Vol. II. November: 1957, No. 2.
- Sjoberg, G. "Cities in Developing and in Industrial Societies: A Cross-Cultural Analysis," in Hauser, Ph. and Schnore, L. (eds.), The Study of Urbanization, John Wiley and Sons, Inc.: New York, 1967.
- Snedden II, L. E. Factors Involved in Upward Mobility from the Culture of Poverty, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University: East Lansing, 1968.
- Sorokin, P. A. Social and Cultural Dynamics, Porter Sargent Publisher: Boston, 1957.
- Stycos, J. M. Contraception and Catholicism in Latin America, International Population Program, Cornell University: New York, December: 1965.
- Stycos, J. M. "Female Employment and Fertility in Lima, Peru," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XLIII. January: 1965, No. 1.
- Stycos, J. M. "Social Class and Preferred Family Size in Peru," AJS, Vol. LII. May: 1966, No. 6.
- Stys, W. "The Influence of Economic Conditions on the Fertility of Peasant Women," Population Studies, Vol. II. November: 1957, No. 2.
- Svalastoha, K. "An Empirical Analysis of Intrasocietary Mobility Determinants," Working Paper Nine submitted to the Fourth Working Conference on Social Stratification and Social Mobility, International Sociological Association, December: 1957.

1

- Tabah, L. and Samuel, R. "Preliminary Findings of a Survey on Fertility and Attitudes Toward Family Planning in Santiago, Chile," in Kiser, C. V. (ed.), Research in Family Planning, Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 1962.
- Teran-de-Beck, E. and Rodriguez-Monge, C. "Planeamiento Urbano del Area Metropolitana," unpublished Thesis Dissertation in the Department of History and Geography, University of Costa Rica: San Pedro, Costa Rica, n.d.
- Tien, H. Y. "The Social Mobility Fertility Hypothesis Reconsidered: An Empirical Study," ASR, Vol. XXVI. April: 1961, No. 2.
- Waisanen, F. B. Actors, Social Systems, and the Modernization Process, The Carnegie Seminar on Political and Administrative Development, Department of Government, Indiana University: Bloomington, 1969.
- Waisanen, F. B. "Family Planning and the Modernization Process," a paper prepared for the Family and Society Conference of the Merrill-Palmer Institute, Detroit, Michigan, November: 1967.
- Waisanen, F. B. "Self-Attitudes and Performance Expectations," The Sociological Quarterly, Vol. III. July: 1962, No. 3.
- Weber, M. "Class and Status," in Gerth, H. H. and Mills, C. W. (eds. and trans.), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, Oxford University Press: New York, 1968.
- Weber, M. The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, edited with an introduction by Talcott Parsons, The Free Press: New York, 1964.
- Westoff, C. et al. Family Growth in Metropolitan America, Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 1956.



- Yang, J. M. et al. "Fertility and Family Planning in Rural Korea," Population Studies, Vol. XLVII. March: 1965, No. 3.
- Yellin, S. "Social Mobility and Familism," Ph.D. Dissertation in Sociology, Northwestern University, 1955, abstracted in Dissertation Abstracts, Vol. XVI. No. 1.
- Znaniecki, F. The Method of Sociology, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc.: New York, 1934.





MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



31293100642333