ABSTRACT

FACTORS INVOLVED IN UPWARD SOCIAL MOBILITY FROM THE CULTURE OF POVERTY

by Lawrence E. Sneden II

This thesis sought to test the relationship between various independent variables and the development of attitudes toward social ascent. Borrowing heavily from the work of Professor F. B. Waisanen and from the work of Oscar Lewis, cognitive dissonance theory, symbolic interactionism, and reference group theory, it was hypothesized that a set of investment and contact factors would be significantly correlated with attitudes toward social ascent.

Briefly, mass media use, evaluation of and contact with middle-class referents (in education, work, and generally), spatial mobility, and the desire for contact with middle-class referents were positively correlated with commitment to social ascent.

Those highly committed to the culture of poverty--the older female respondents--were much weaker in their commitment to social ascent. Those who were alienated from the culture of poverty were much more committed to social ascent.

Television use was significantly (positively) correlated with belief in the value of social ascent, but not with the belief in the possibility of social ascent; non-whites in our research population tend to value social ascent more (the correlation emerged as statistically significant within the R^2 Delete Procedure), than whites but whites and non-whites differ little in terms of their beliefs concerning the possibility of upward-social-mobility. Those who had many inter-group contacts outside the culture of poverty were much more committed to attitudes conducive to social ascent.

Generally, then, most of the null hypotheses were rejected; only the hypotheses testing the relationship between other indicators of middle-class contact (knowledgeability; perception of the problems involved in getting ahead; and facilities) seemed to be relatively uncorrelated with attitudes toward social ascent.

One does not, apparently, have to be relatively more knowledgeable or have more facilities to be more mobility-oriented; it is probably more a matter of being somewhat free from the culture of poverty and then maintaining some sustained contact with middle-class referents. Indeed, increases in knowledgeability and the number of facilities one has may well be a consequence, not an antecedent precondition, of social mobility.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

The Problem

Although sociology has conventionally given relatively little attention to the study of the poor,[1] recent concern over the "war on poverty" and background data and theoretical formulations from sociology have led the social sciences to greater concern for the area. While much of what is being done springs from established concern with social stratification, new methods and perspectives are increasingly being brought to bear in order to further our understanding of the problems involved in the general area.

The study of stratification has become a major concern for the discipline of sociology, and the subject matter is a singularly valuable one, for, as Lipset and Bendix point out,[2] the data involved cross-cut many other crucial concerns in the social sciences.

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[1] Jack L. Roach, Economic Deprivation and Lower-Class Behavior (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University at Buffalo, New York, 1964), pp. 186-188.

[2] Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1959), pp. ix-x.

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.[3] They hold that the primary concern of sociology ought to be with the "outcomes" of stratification systems. However, if we are to understand poverty and a stratification system itself, we must attend to the factors involved in its development, and not only to the ways in which the stratification system manifests itself.

Certainly the "results" of the stratification system must be of real concern to sociologists and other social scientists, but another equally valid concern is with the way in which the system maintains itself. That is, it is also important to understand how the system works, in addition to understanding what results come from its continued operation. In fact, a cogent case might be made for the contention that the study of the social psychological dynamics of stratification systems is as theoretically significant as the other concerns previously mentioned.

The major concern of this dissertation is, specifically, with the social psychological dynamics of the culture of poverty; that is, with the factors involved in the maintenance or non-maintenance of behavioral patterns

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[3]Lipset and Bendix, 1959.

among those of the lowest socioeconomic stratum in our society. An attempt will be made to identify some of the factors involved in the development (or non-development) of an "upward-mobility-orientation" among those who are at the bottom of the socioeconomic structure.

Outline of the Dissertation

In Chapter II there is a general discussion of the theoretical framework of this study and reference is made to relevant research.

In Chapter III there is further discussion of the theoretical framework of this study and an outline and brief discussion of the hypotheses generated from the theoretical framework.

In Chapter IV there is an outline of the research design; there is also a brief summary of the methodological procedures used, the nature of the sample and sampling technique, and the instrument used.

In Chapter V there is a presentation of the findings and a preliminary analysis of the results obtained.

Chapter VI presents a summary and discussion of the findings and some suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Many authors have recognized the existence of social systematic organization within social class strata.[1] As Loomis has observed,[2] social systems are constantly involved, if they have systemic integrity and cohesiveness, in the attempt to preclude change (although not all change at all time). Some changes would "destroy" some systems, and many must be seen as threatening to the integrity of other systems.

Lewis[3] and Briones and Waisanen[4] have suggested that this concern for boundary maintenance may be found even among social (socioeconomic) classes. There may be, for example, a "culture of poverty" to which those lowest in the stratification hierarchy "belong." Membership in this system, then, may function to shelter the members from

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[1]Lipset and Bendix, 1953.

[2]Charles P. Loomis, and Zona K. Loomis, Modern Social Theories (D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., Princeton, N. J., 1951).

[3]Oscar Lewis, The Children of Sanchez; Autobiography of a Mexican Family (New York: Random House, 1961).

[4]Guillermo Briones and F. B. Waisanen, "Educational Aspirations, Modernization and Urban Integration," a paper read at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association (Miami, Florida, 1966).

frustrations that they would have if they were subject to the aspirations of those in other social classes.

The lower-lower class is almost completely isolated from the activities of the rest of the society, whether these be formal organizations or loosely knit activities.[5] Participation is (relative to other social classes) very low in even such basic aspects of community life as church attendance and voting.[6]

The poor, then, tend to interact with one another, insofar as they do maintain social interaction.[7] In fact, the poor tend to experience a kind of extraordinary social isolation, even from those of their own class.[8] Our main concern here, though, is that, insofar as they do maintain interaction patterns, it tends to be with those of their own socioeconomic stratum.

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[5]Earl H. Koos, Families in Trouble (New York: Kings Crown Press, 1946); Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd Middletown (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1929), pp. 29-30, 272-273, 309; Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, Middletown in Transition (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1937), pp. 234-235, 442-443; Allison Davis, Deep South (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), pp. 10, 146.

[6]Roland L. Warren, "Multi-Problem Families" (Paper presented at New York State Welfare Conference, 1960, Annual Meeting, New York, mimeo); August Hollingshead and Frederick Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness (New York: John Wiley, 1958), p. 117; Benjamin Schlesinger, The Multiproblem Family (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963).

[7]Lewis, The Children of Sanchez and Roach, 1964.

[8]Roach, 1964, p. 133.

There are several factors that tend to propagate similarity in behavior and attitudes on the part of those in the different socioeconomic strata: generally, people who have similar experiences tend to have similar beliefs about the world and behave similarly; fewer people experience upward social mobility than maintain the social class position of their parents,[9] and most of the marriages in the United States are class-endogamous--at all social levels.[10]

There have been some studies[11] that have tended to show, moreover, that socioeconomic strata tend to cluster together geographically. For example, the early studies by the "Chicago School" showed how central sectors of large urban areas tend to be inhabited by the poor, and less central areas by the more affluent.

It is clear that the poor are more likely than those less poor to be unemployed, but this fact represents another factor that tends to isolate the poor in our society. Very often it is only one's work that takes one out of his own neighborhood, and when that is eliminated, spatial mobility and inter-class contact are

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[9]Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1964), p. 471.

[10]John Sirjamaki, The American Family in the Twentieth Century (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 67.

[11]Briones and Waisanen.

reduced further, and the insularity of the social system of the very poor increases.

Sub-cultures within the larger society may be seen as social systems, with cohesiveness of their own, much as the larger society may be seen as a social system. These sub-cultural social systems tend to procreate themselves: they have institutionalized patterns of acceptable conduct; they socialize and they exercise social control.[12]

Another factor that allows for the development and maintenance of an insulated way of life for the "culture of poverty" is the existence of a large number of very poor people concentrated in one area. If there are only a few members in a sub-culture or sub-system, they will often be "forced" to have some minimal contact with the other members of the society in order to be able to maintain themselves in terms of food, shelter, and the like. One of the reasons that Mexican-Americans have become assimilated more slowly into the larger society in the United States than the Japanese-Americans have is that the large number of Mexican-Americans found in our society has allowed for their maintaining Mexican customs through living in relatively large, more or less self-sufficient geographical areas.[13]

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[12]Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, Sociology: A Text with Adapted Readings, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1963).

[13]Ibid.

The social system of the poor may be seen as a social system separate, in some ways at least, from the social system of the larger society. What, then, are some of the characteristics of that system and how do those characteristics affect the attitudes and behavior of those within that social system?

Roach points out[14] that Merton and several others have tended to see the lower class(es) as "deviant subcultures."[15] Merton has postulated what has been called the "status-frustration hypothesis," which asserts that status-frustration increases as socioeconomic class decreases; that is, those in the upper-upper class should be most satisfied with their status and those in the lower-lower class should be most dissatisfied with their status. Empirical evidence has not borne this contention out.[16]

In fact, status-frustration is probably highest among those of the lower-middle and upper-lower classes. Those who have experienced some upward social mobility tend to want more.[17] The very poor tend to be isolated from the larger society and, having a way of life associated with being poor, they tend to not believe in the possibility

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[14]Roach, 1964, pp. 147-182.

[15]Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, rev. ed. (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 131-160.

[16]Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960), pp. 86-90; Roach, p. 151.

[17]Berelson and Steiner, p. 465.

of or value of upward social mobility. Many members of the lower-lower class tend to be fundamentalists, religiously, and devalue, therefore, the rewards of life on earth.[18]

At the very bottom of the stratification hierarchy in many societies, then, there exists what may be termed a "culture of poverty," a sub-culture that provides a way of life for those within it. It is not only the structural organization of the larger society that allows for the development of the individual's aspirations and achievements, but the stratum within which the individual finds himself. Indeed, commitment to the culture of poverty may well preclude upward social mobility even when opportunities exist for such movement.

Lewis has noted the tendency of those in the lowest stratum to separate themselves social psychologically from the rest of the society; he also points to the cohesiveness of the interaction patterns of those within the culture of poverty; the poor interact, in short, almost exclusively with one another.[19]

Briones and Waisanen have noted the tightness of the social groupings of the poor geographically. They

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[18] Ibid., p. 487.

[19] Lewis, The Children of Sanchez and Five Families.

have also shown that residence in an area of economic marginality (in the study of question, the peripheral slums of Santiago, Chile) "is related to cultural marginality and attendant lower educational aspirations for children, greater pessimism regarding the possibility of achieving these aspirations, and more materialistic orientation toward the function of education.[20]

Their findings also supported the assertion made by Hyman and others that different social strata "generate" different orientations toward education.[21] The above-mentioned marginality, compounded with these class-related factors, then, serve to limit the attitudinal systems of the individuals involved, and, ultimately, "preclude" the development of behavior that would allow for an increase in the likelihood of upward social mobility.

The lower classes are in general more distrustful of authority and more resigned to physical and psychological suffering than the upper classes.[22] The modal personality of the lower class is more limited, restricted,

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[20]Briones and Waisanen.

[21]Herbert H. Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in Bendix and Lipset, eds., Class, Status, and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 426-442.

[22]Hollingshead and Redlich, 1958, pp. 172-73.

and authoritarian than that of the middle or upper class.[23]

Closely linked with economic underprivilege is psychological underprivilege: habits of submission, little access to sources of information, lack of verbal facility. These things appear 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.[24]

Those in the lower class are also more likely than those in the middle or upper class to see "bad luck" or chance factors as playing the most important role in the determination of their life style. Lower-class people are more likely than upper-class people to attribute emotional disturbance or social maladjustment to "unhappiness, tough luck, laziness, meanness, or physical illness rather than to factors of psychogenic origin."[25]

Those in the lower-lower class tend to devalue education and other goals that require complex behavioral patterns; they tend, instead, to value those goals that are clearly and easily attainable. Personal life is organized around private codes. Behavioral patterns tend

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[23]Berelson and Steiner, p. 490.

[24]Genevieve Knupfer, "Portrait of the Underdog," Public Opinion Quarterly, 11 (1947), pp. 103-114.

[25]Hollingshead and Redlich (1958), p. 175.

to be closely associated with impulse-release and immediate gratification rather than planning and self-discipline or self-regulation.[26]

Since the child's peer group generally tends to reinforce the attitudes and tendencies of the parental family, those in the lower-lower class are not likely to experience a change in referents, since most of their peers are usually of their own socioeconomic class.

The adolescent clique is a crucial medium for maintaining the stratification system. The cultures of the various types of cliques specifically adapt to the activities of teen-agers the general values of the class level of their parents, and thereby teach those values more effectively than the preachments of the parents.[27]

All of the previously-mentioned factors tend to isolate the lower-lower class person social psychologically and preclude meaningful contact with other referents that would, in all likelihood, contribute to the disruption of the stability of the way of life among the very poor.

Commitment "by default" to "non-mobility-oriented" values could play a part in the development of this pattern. The poor may have learned that success is difficult and they are suspicious of it. They distrust

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[26]Roach (1964), p. 132.

[27]Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1957), p. 135.

those who hold power and "disown" the importance of power and success. In order for the members of the culture of poverty to maintain a sufficient level of self-esteem, "success" is eventually devalued; and the "substitute" values become institutionalized and are passed on from one generation to the next. Further, the maintenance of this value system is supported by the social organization of the culture of poverty. Occupants of some positions within the culture of poverty are more "free" to adopt change than others, however. In these cases, contact is more often made with the larger society. This study is concerned with the influence of these factors on social mobility.

It appears, then, that in the lowest social classes have a view of the world and a way of life that puts emphasis upon factors different from other social classes, particularly different in regard to factors which are related to social ascent. Occupational mobility and prestige are less important objects in this social world. Members of these lowest strata have lower educational and occupational expectations for their children. They do not emphasize the value of education as do the members of other social classes.[28]

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[28]Hyman, in Lipset and Bendix, op. cit.

Much has been made[29] of the concept of "life chances" in the analysis of the etiology, maintenance, and implications of poverty conditions. While it is clear that the structuring of opportunities and the limiting of resources and facilities available to the poor is a factor in their inability to achieve mobility, it may not have the importance that some attribute to it. The outcomes of these limiting factors--suspicion concerning authority, lack of belief in the possibility of the attainment of success, distrust of formal authority and other social classes, and the like--are undoubtedly debilitating, as those advocates of the "life chances" perspective point out. But this perspective does not attend to the possibility that within the culture of poverty may be world views which are "functional" i.e., in fit with a normative structure which is not based upon, or directed toward, social ascent.

Assuming that those in the culture of poverty live by its norms and are committed to its goals, how can relevant research within this perspective be organized? Roach suggests that the Mertonian "status frustration" hypothesis is probably incorrect, and he reorganizes the conceptualization into an end product which tends to show that those in the lower-lower class are less frustrated than Merton

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[29]Hollingshead and Redlich (1958).

assumes. According to Roach, the way of life of the lower-lower class individual insulates him well.[30]

Not all individuals remain in the culture of poverty throughout their lives, though; some do achieve upward social mobility. We are concerned, specifically, with the extent of influence that various social structural factors and various contact factors have in the attainment or non-attainment of attitudes that are important to the attainment of upward social mobility by those in the culture of poverty. The analysis of poverty, if it is to go beyond this level of description, must gain some sort of dynamic explanation of the phenomena associated with poverty. Involved in any such understanding must be an analysis of how the self structures of those involved are maintained. If we are to understand why some individuals develop attitudes that allow for social ascent and others do not, we must uncover those antecedent conditions that are requisite to the development of the various attitudinal configurations involved.

Certain sorts of beliefs must be maintained by those within the various strata or they will not maintain their positions within those strata. More specifically, those in the lower classes must feel that mobility is possible, if they are ever to be mobile. If alternative life modes are not perceived, or routes of access to perceived

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[30]Roach (1964).

alternatives are not known, the consequence would have to be apathy and acceptance of one's state.

Upward social mobility has at its base and at a social psychological level a set of attitudes that will direct behavior out of one social system and into another. For one in the culture of poverty, this involves change in referents, and the process of changing one's referents does not appear to be unilinearly related to contacts with representatives of higher social strata. For example, Waisanen and Briones have shown that contact with middle-class referents (considering formal education as an indicator of contact) has little effect until a certain threshold is reached; then the change is striking.[31] The commitment is shifted from one system to another. One can be concerned, then, with the question of <u>how</u> the reference world of the person shifts from one group to another.

One may, of course, study the attitudinal consequences of social mobility; but perhaps more relevant theoretically is a concern with the way in which attitudes change to allow for that mobility. Much has been done concerning the former; little has been made clear about the latter.

Shibutani has noted that

> . . . the concept of reference group can be of crucial importance. For example, all forms of

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[31]Briones and Waisanen.

> social mobility, from sudden conversions to gradual assimilation, may be regarded essentially as displacements of reference groups, for they involve a loss of responsiveness to the demands of one social world and the adoption of the perspective of another.[32]

He notes that this change in referent may come about in stages and for a variety of reasons and that the unravelling of the nature of this general process has special importance in the study of social change.

The primary concern of this study is with how this change of referents comes about--how the previously mentioned contact factors and other social structural factors allow for the development of or preclude this change of referents.

In order for one to change referents, there must exist another referent (or set of referents) to which one might move. If a member of the culture of poverty is to gain an "upward-mobility-orientation," then, a referent other than those in the culture of poverty must exist for him. The new referents (to function as referents) must be perceived as attractive, relevant, and important[33] in order to produce dissociation from the culture of poverty and to develop aspirations toward membership

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[32]Tomatsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives," American Journal of Sociology, vol. LX (May, 1955), p. 569.

[33]Theodore Newcomb, R. H. Turner and P. E. Converse, Social Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1965).

in the social system of the referent. In other words, the attractiveness of the new referents may be related to alienation (or social psychological dissociation) from the social system (or systems) within which mobility-related factors are not salient.

Some studies have clearly shown that those who maintain "culture of poverty" referents are unlikely to become oriented toward social ascent. Those who are delinquent gang members, for example, are more likely to evaluate socially-disreputable social types (i.e., disreputable in terms of the larger society) like prostitutes and pimps higher than policemen and others of "higher social" positions.[34]

Those who are upwardly-mobile identify with those of the level to which they are aspiring[35] and reject the referents found in their class or origin.

Cohen has pointed out that even coercive controls of behavior sometimes result ultimately in attitude change.

> Greater activity in behalf of something one dislikes should create greater dissonance. In effect, the more effort put into taking a discrepant position--the more ingenious the arguments giving in its favor, the longer one engaged in it--then the greater the dissonance when it is inconsistent with one's attitudes, and consequently the greater attitude change toward favoring it.[36]

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[34]Robert A. Gordon, James F. Short, Jr., Desmond S Cartwright, "Values and Gang Delinquency: A Study of Street Corner Groups," American Journal of Sociology, vol. LXIX (September, 1963), pp. 109-128.

[35]Berelson and Steiner, p. 487. [36]Cohen, p. 97.

That is, even activities that one must engage in and that one may evaluate negatively may effect attitudinal change eventually. Formal education, particularly at elementary school levels, is a classical instance of a coercive base to attitude change. The six-year old does not "volunteer" to begin the process.

Children from the culture of poverty who go to school (by whatever coercive factors may be involved) might eventually be affected by the results of forced attendance. Similarly, those who are involved for long periods of time in work situations outside the culture of poverty might be similarly (but perhaps less) affected. These assumptions lead to the following thesis: The more discrepant the value orientations in interactions between members of conflicting social systems and the longer the maintenance of the interaction, the greater the likelihood of adoption of a new referent by one or the other in the interaction situation.

The more insulated one is, the less likely he is to gain potentially threatening referents (in terms of the culture of poverty value system). The less complete and cohesive a culture of poverty pocket is in terms of being readily able to fulfill all the institutional prerequisites for social organization--economic, religious, etc.--of its inhabitants, the more likely will be prolonged contact with other potential referents.

For example, the less a person's school represents a culture of poverty or "ghetto" school, the greater will be the number of contacts that might eventually serve as referents or might serve in the development of new referents.

The greater the number of significant referents maintained over time in a social system (or systems) that are predominantly other than lower-lower class, the greater the likelihood of a change in referents for the member of the culture of poverty. The less full the boundary maintenance of the culture of poverty sub-system, the less likely it is that it will maintain its hold on its members, and the more likely that individuals will acquire referents in other social systems.

Those whose parents were status discrepant may be more likely to change referents, for example; this would be an example of incomplete boundary maintenance in that these parents would not be completely meshed within the general social system of the culture of poverty. In fact, those who generally experience attitudinal dissonance will be more likely to experience this change.

There are social positions within any social system that will tend to allow for more "freedom" from commitment to the values of that system; this holds for the culture of poverty. Those in certain social positions in the culture of poverty are more likely to perceive the possibility of changing their life styles than others, to evaluate

these possibilities positively, and to manage consequential social mobility.

Males, for example, are more likely to be somewhat less committed to culture of poverty values because theirs is, as is the case in all strata more or less, a position more concerned with action in the market place and with the search for gainful employment and as such is less "bounded" by the system; the male's behavioral horizons are broader.[37] The woman's role, on the other hand, is generally more concerned with the family; she is likely, for example, to marry someone from her own stratum and thus further restrict her symbolic world. Commitment to the culture would likely be fostered through longer participation within the stratum, so younger individuals are more likely to be open to attitude changes.[38] Those who are married are more deeply in intrasystemic processes and are therefore less likely to perceive new behavior patterns as viable.[39]

Given these structural conditions, then, we would expect young single males to be most likely to attempt to gain (or fortuitously gain) contacts outside the culture of poverty. Similarly, older married women would

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[37]F. B. Waisanen, "Control Variables or Indicators: Some Preliminary Comments," (unpublished working paper, mimeo, Michigan State University, February, 1966).

[38]Waisanen (1966).

[39]Waisanen (1966).

be most likely to become enmeshed "permanently" within the culture of poverty. They are, in Waisanen's terms, likely to succumb (because of their social positioning) to normative "entrapment."[40]

The previously mentioned factors, then--age, sex, and marital status--are complemented by the "social contacts" that the members of the culture of poverty may have with the larger society. Given that some members have somewhat "freer" positions, the more significant sustained social contacts one has, the greater the likelihood of the development of "upward-mobility-oriented" attitudes. Such "significant" contacts as school attendance, job experience, and contact with mass media will be considered in this study.[41]

As has been indicated, one who participates in a social system that espouses a way of life contrary to that in which he was originally socialized and in which he has continuing contacts which remain important must eventually change himself, the system or his relatedness to one of the systems. He may either leave his home or school, for example, if these two systems are perceived as being at odds with one another. Given that the culture of poverty values may be effective through "default," prolonged contact with the larger society by individuals

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[40]Waisanen (1966).

[41]Waisanen (1966).

"relatively free" from a necessarily firm commitment to culture of poverty values will be more likely to develop attitudes requisite for the attainment of upward social mobility.

Our summary hypothesis is, then, that those in the culture of poverty who are young single males and who have prolonged significant contact with agents of the larger system (whose value systems are perceived as being discrepant with that of the culture of poverty) are most likely to develop "upward-mobility-oriented" attitudes.

CHAPTER III

OUTLINE OF THE HYPOTHESES

In this chapter, some of the major hypotheses that can be generated from the theoretical framework of this dissertation will be outlined. Preceding these hypotheses will be a summation of the theoretical considerations found in Chapter II and a discussion of the theoretical framework that is specific to this dissertation. That is, a summary rationale for asserting the hypotheses will be given.

Time and energy input by individuals are central to social system maintenance. The larger the stake in a system, in terms of time and energy, the less likely it is that a person will experience departure from the system. The longer one is in a system and the more effort one puts into maintaining behavioral patterns within the system, the less likely it is that one will want to leave that system. Participation in a social system involves investment of oneself in that system; the greater the participation (in terms of time and energy), other things equal, the greater the investment. The greater the investment on the part of an individual, then, the greater the

likelihood of the maintenance of the patterns already established within the system.[1]

Further, the more one contributes to a social system, other things equal, the less likely it is that that system will reject the individual from the system. In addition, the longer one is active within a social system, the greater is his acquisition of skills required for the maintenance of the system.

The older the person, then, the greater his investment (in terms of time and energy) into the social contexts of his life and the less "free" he is to adopt new behavioral patterns. In summary, the person who has invested more in terms of time and skill-acquisition is less likely to be able to develop an "upward-mobility-orientation" because that orientation runs counter to those patterns he has learned in the process of maintaining himself within the culture of poverty.[2] Therefore,

Hypothesis I. The younger a respondent is, other things equal, the higher will be the likelihood of his having an "upward-mobility-orientation."

Role behavior is differentially limited. The behavioral boundaries are generally broader for males than for females, for example. As was suggested in the last chapter, males generally maintain a position more

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[1]Waisanen (1966).

[2]Waisanen (1966).

concerned with action in the market place and with the search for gainful employment. Role circumscription, then, tends to limit the participation of individuals within a society. Men are generally more involved with systemic linkage with social systems other than the family than women are.[3] 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. Since most marriages are class-endogamous and the status of one's family of procreation is in large measure a function of the status of the husband-father of that family, women of the lower-lower socioeconomic class generally find themselves tied to their family of orientation initially (waiting for marriage) and family of procreation finally (after marriage).[4] This differential structuring of the parameters of socially acceptable conduct according to sexual roles allows for the following proposition.

Hypotheses II. Males will be more likely than females, other things equal, to have an "upward-mobility-orientation."

> "As involvement of a person in sub-systems of any larger system increases, the tendency for the person to be social psychologically "locked" in the larger system increases. While marital status is one of the more apparent indicators of this variable, membership in formal and informal

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[3]Waisanen (1966).

[4]Sirjamaki (1964).

organization, friendship cliques, size of family and its genealogical extension might be others."[5]

Habituation to a way of life comes with marriage, and the satisfactions of marriage and family tend, especially in some socioeconomic contexts, to dull the desire to attain success or to mute the pain of not having gained success; furtherfore, the longer one maintains a way of life or a set of behavioral patterns, the more difficult it will be to relinquish them. Becoming married and establishing a family for oneself and one's spouse involves taking on more responsibilities; one is less able to maintain the freedom to try alternative ways of behaving. One also becomes more socially anchored to the circumstances in which one finds oneself. One has "deeper roots."[6] It follows that

Hypothesis III. Those that are unmarried will be more likely to have an "upward-mobility-orientation" than those that are married, other things equal.

It is assumed that the independent variables mentioned in the first three hypotheses will not have merely an additive effect, but that they will "interact" with one another; that is, having one sort of freedom means that, if one has another sort of freedom, that other freedom will be enhanced by having the first, and vice

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[5] Waisanen (1966).

[6] James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the Teenager and its Impact on Education (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1961), pp. 238-239.

versa. The assumption here is that none of the factors mentioned represents a sufficient cause for developing a really strong "upward-mobility-orientation," but that each plays a part.

Hypothesis IV. There will be a cumulative effect involved in the variables mentioned in the previous three hypotheses: the more "freedom" in the positions in one's life trajectory, the greater the likelihood of developing "an upward-mobility-orientation," other things equal. (E.g., those who are young and single, with sex held constant, are more likely to develop an "upward-mobility-orientation" than those just young or just single).

Those who are alienated or dissociated from a social system are more likely to maintain contacts with alternative systems than those who are not alienated. The greater the sub-systemic involvement in a social system, the less the likelihood of the maintenance of contacts with alternative systems. With respect to the specific focus of this dissertation,

Hypothesis V. Those within "free" positions will be more likely to maintain "outside" contacts (contacts outside the culture of poverty).

The greater the number of alternative behavioral prescriptions, the greater the likelihood of changing behavioral patterns, other things equal; that is, those among the culture of poverty who experience the most interaction outside the culture of poverty will be those who will be most likely to have an "upward-mobility-orientation." In order to change one's reference group,

one must have a new referent to which one feels one can move with impugnity and gratification.

Sub-hypotheses, then, are:

Hypothesis Va. The more free the position, the greater the level of education, other things equal.

Hypothesis Vb. The more free the position, the greater the spatial mobility, other things equal.

Hypothesis Vc. The more free the position, the greater the interpenetration with other social classes, other things equal.

Hypothesis Vd. The more free the position, the more extensive will be the work experience, other things equal.

Hypothesis Ve. The more free the position, the greater the mass media use, other things equal.

All these sub-hypotheses are specific instances of the general case that is outlined in Hypothesis V.

In the case of television usage, in particular, there may be a curvilinear relationship between television usage and the development or non-development of an "upward-mobility-orientation." For example, some research has shown that the child most likely to become a "television addict" is generally the child of lower intelligence, the child with some emotional insecurity, or the child who is socially isolated.[7]

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[7]Hilde Himmelweit, A. N. Oppenheim, and Pamela Vince, "Television and the Child," in Reader in Public Opinion and Communication, Bernard Berelson and Morris Janowitz, eds. (2nd edition; Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1966), pp. 418-445.

In general, contact with other systems may take two forms: (1) physical out-movement of an individual from a system (the culture of poverty, for example) to contact with other systems (as in work experience or general spatial mobility) or the movement of members of alternative systems into one's own system (middle-class individuals interpenetrating the culture of poverty, for example); (2) "psychic mobility," as in mass media use.[8]

One must perceive that there is some group support to be had in the movement to a new referent if one is to move to that referent. Recognition of the existence of that support implies, obviously, contact with the new referent.

> "Contact with other referents differentiates the class of variables which enable (although not necessarily force) dissociation from one system and identification with another. Two apparent indicators of these variables are education and mobility.[9]

Education, for example, is an indicator of the conceptual and behavioral skills that increase the likelihood of interaction with middle-class referents and will increase the likelihood that these members (and the normative structure of that system) will be perceived as important, attractive, and relevant. Thus education

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[8]Waisanen (1966).

[9]Waisanen (1966), p. 4.

may be seen as a "preparation" variable that facilitates the process of mobility.[10]

Work experience, mass media use, general spatial mobility, and contact with the middle-class also represent factors that will allow for involvement in systems other than the culture of poverty. Given some contact, then, the greater the investment in A-System patterns, the greater the likelihood of developing an "upward-mobility-orientation."

Hypothesis VI. The greater the number of inter-systemic contacts sustained, the greater the likelihood of having an "upward-mobility-orientation."

One must perceive a referent as important, attractive, and relevant if one is going to "move toward" that referent. If one evaluates a reference group positively, one is also likely to evaluate the goals of that group highly, and vice versa. One who experiences or anticipates upward social mobility tends to identify with the social class toward which he is moving.[11]

Hypothesis VII. The higher the evaluation of middle-class referents by a member of that culture of poverty, the greater the likelihood of having an "upward-mobility-orientation."

Those who experience cross-pressures are more likely, other things equal, to experience attitudinal change than

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[10]Waisanen (1966).

[11]Waisanen (1966).

those who do not experience cross-pressures. Cognitive dissonance is disruptive.[12] An individual must have some minimal consistency among his attitudes in order to be able to foster a coherent plan of action. Cross-pressures bring confusion and, normally, lead to efforts to resolve that confusion.[13] If one has referents that are odds with one another, one is likely to attempt some reorganization of one's referents. In the case of those in the culture of poverty, the referents that are likely to begin this cross-pressure pattern are middle-class referents. Contact with middle-class referents could be a significant factor, therefore, in the development of an "upward-mobility-orientation." Also, those who have a great deal of contact with middle-class referents are likely to be those who are experiencing some sort of anticipatory socialization preparatory to their actually achieving social ascent.[14]

Hypothesis VIII. The greater the number of contacts with middle-class referents, the greater the likelihood of having an "upward-mobility-orientation," other things equal.

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[12]Leon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (New York: Harper and Row, 1957).

[13]C. I. Hovland and M. Sherif, Social Judgment (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

[14]Berelson and Steiner (1964), pp. 460-472.

Those who desire more contact with middle-class referents are those who have resolved the cross-pressures and are actually anticipating contact with their "new" referents; movement toward these new referents is likely to be associated with an attitudinal configuration that is positively oriented toward social ascent.

Those who experience high levels of contact with both middle-class referents and culture of poverty referents will probably be less likely to develop an "upward-mobility-orientation" than those who experience high contact with only the middle-class referents because these individuals will probably still be, at least in part, in the midst of the cross-class pressures. This qualification will probably hold even more strongly for those who desire high contact with both classes.

Hypothesis IX. Those who express a desire for increased contact with middle-class referents are more likely than those who do not express this desire to have an "upward-mobility-orientation," other things equal.

Knowledgeability is seen as an empirical indicator of involvement outside the culture of poverty. It presupposes contact and participation and some self-investment within the system. As such, it should be positively associated with an "upward-mobility-orientation."

Hypothesis X. The higher a respondent's knowledgeability, other things equal, the higher the likelihood of his having an "upward-mobility-orientation."

In order to be able to gain new referents, one must have the possibility of having contact with them. The possession of an automobile, a telephone, a television set, a radio, and other items allows for some contacts with middle-class referents that would otherwise not be possible, increasing the likelihood of the development of attitudes favorable toward social ascent. Therefore,

Hypothesis XI. The greater the number of facilities allowing for social contact with referents outside the culture of poverty, the greater the likelihood of having an "upward-mobility-orientation."

Those who do not perceive the possibility of personally achieving much in this life are not likely to be oriented toward social ascent; those who see life as outside their control are not likely to believe that success is possible for them. Those who answer "don's know" are probably those who have forgotten the issue, no longer understand it, or no longer care about it; they too are without the motivation requisite to the attainment of upward social mobility.

Hypothesis XII. Those who perceive the difficulties involved in getting ahead in terms of the individual coping with soluble problems will be more likely to have an "upward-mobility-orientation" than those who perceive these difficulties in terms of matters outside their control (luck, regulations, "having pull," etc.) and both will be more likely to have "upward-mobility-orientations" than those who show no evidence of perceptual structuring with respect to coping with problems of getting ahead.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH DESIGN

The Research Population: General Considerations

One of the first methodological issues any researcher must face is the problem of defining and obtaining a sample representative of the population about which he is attempting to generalize--in the present case, youth from poverty enclaves. One characteristic that members of various cultures of poverty clearly have in common is their position in their respective stratification hierarchies; that is, they are simply at the bottom of the social class systems in their respective societies.

There are many criteria classically used to determine the socioeconomic class of an individual; among those most commonly used have been

1. authority
2. power (political, economic, military)
3. ownership of property, relation to means of production, control over land (the feudal estates)
4. income--amount, type, and source
5. consumption patterns and style of life
6. occupation or skill, and achievement in it
7. education, learning, wisdom
8. divinity, "control" over the supernatural
9. altruism, public service, morality
10. place in "high society," kinship connections, ancestry (i.e., inherited position)
11. associational ties and connections
12. ethnic status, religion, race[1]

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[1]Berelson and Steiner, p. 454.

One of the most important measures of status or social class in the United States is income.[2] It is difficult to determine just one characteristic or set of characteristics that are in fact the determinants of socioeconomic class or status; in fact, there are no a priori rules for determining social class or status. Indeed, some sociologists contend that there is no clear logical or empirical means to descern the social class of an individual or set of individuals. For example, Berelson and Steiner assert:

> With few exceptions, American researchers have been reluctant to accept à priori and have been unable to discover empirically the reality of class in the sense of fully developed, sharply defined strata comprised of individuals who are aware of their positions and are capable of corporate action.[3]

The Research Population: Income

One way to discern which individuals should be included among the poor (poor relative to the remainder of the individuals within the social system) is to descern which level of income would include only those who are (relatively) at the bottom of the "income ladder" of the society.

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[2]Lloyd W. Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Status System of a Modern Community, Yankee City Series, Vol. II (Yale University Press, 1942.

[3]Leonard Broom, "Social Differentiation and Stratification," in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., eds. of Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects (New York: Basic Books, 1959), pp. 429-441.

This can be done, of course, by calling anyone with less than the median or mean income of the society "poor," but poverty usually implies that someone has rather less than the income level that is conventionally considered sufficient to allow one to live above more or less subsistence levels. That is, poverty levels are determined not only in terms of who fits where, relatively, but in terms of how much income is needed to live about the minimal subsistence level of a particular society.[4]

So any measure of poverty based on these two criteria must have some connection to the cost of living in the society in question and the number of family members in the family in question. Obviously $5,000.00 per year will not be "poverty" if there are only two family members; it will be, clearly, if there are fifteen family members.

Based upon a scale used by the Social Security Administration,[5] the following income levels were accepted as indicative of poverty by this study.

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[4]Mollie Orshansky, "Counting the Poor: Another Look at the Poverty Profile," in Poverty In America, ed. by Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and Alan Haber, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1966), pp. 42-86.

[5]Orshansky, p. 52.

Head of Household (Non-farm area)

Number of Family Members	Male	Female (Female is head of household only if no adult male is living there).
1	$1,970	$1,820
2	2,740	2,570
3	3,170	3,070
4	4,010	3,920
5	4,680	4,595
6	5,255	5,140
7	6,405	6,270
8	7,200	7,000

Concerning the day-to-day effects of the financial limits set forth in the table given here, it may be said that, on the average, such income levels are likely to provide less than 40 cents per day per person per meal for food.

The Research Population: Age

Another factor that must be considered in determining the criteria used in the selection of the sample is the age range. This is not always a crucial issue, perhaps, but it is a significant one for the present study: in dealing with changes in reference groups and factors involved in increasing the likelihood of making this sort of change, one must, to make the matter researchable, have subjects within the age range likely to experience this sort of change.

What age fits this criterion? The answer is "Not too young and not too old." The sample must not include

those who are really too young to have any coherent set of attitudes toward social ascent, and it should not include an overabundance of those who have already reached the age where their "final" status has been achieved. If we are to study those who may be under-going attitudinal change, we must gain a sample that has an age range in which we can reasonably expect to find such change. Since age is one of our theoretically-relevant variables, and since we are concerned with its effect upon attitudes toward social ascent, a wide enough range to allow measurement must be utilized. An age range of 17 to 29 years appeared to fit theoretical and empirical needs and was, therefore, adopted.

The Research Population: Sample Site and Size

Since we are dealing with a relatively large number of variables and have need to test some hypotheses involving cumulative effects of variables, the relatively complex techniques of multivariate analysis (such as multiple correlation) necessitate a rather large sample.

Lansing, Michigan was the site chosen for this project. This area has relatively few non-whites,[6] and has had less cyclical fluctuation in employment-under-employment than other Michigan cities of comparable size.

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[6]Since the theoretical framework of this study may hold for all ethnic groups in a social system if it is open to some degree, all the ethnic groups in the Lansing area were considered "acceptable" respondents in this study.

The relatively large number of respondents needed for our analysis, as well as other limitations in terms of time and money, precluded in-depth interviewing. It was felt, in addition, that the sort of information needed for the study was generally of the sort that might be gained through ordinary interview procedures. Self-administered questionnaires were considered less useful because of the likelihood of introducing bias through "selective response." Further, if the number who did not return questionnaires had been very high, it might have been impossible to gain the number requisite for our analysis.

It was hoped at first that some sort of random selection of respondents from two or three census tracts might give us the number of respondents desired. Random selection in one of the poorer census tracts was tried, initially, but not enough respondents meeting our criteria of income and age were gained through this method. It became clear, therefore, that a complete census of several census tracts would be necessary. Eventually, a complete census of the following tracts was made: L-2, L-11, L-12, L-15, L-18, L-19, and L-20. In addition, portions of the following tracts that were contiguous to the tracts completed done were canvassed: L-1, L-4, L-5, L-6, L-8, L-10, L-16, L-21, L-24, L-29, and L-30. All in all, initial interviews were done in about 8,000 homes.

Although the procedure used to gain respondents was somewhat cumbersome, it had important advantages. An interviewer administered an initial interview schedule (Schedule No. 1) which "screened" the household in terms of its fitting or not fitting the two criteria that qualify or disqualify an individual as a potential respondent (age and income). If the family in question was of the wrong income level or had no family members within the acceptable age range, then the interviewer moved on to another screening interview. If, however, the total family income was within the poverty range and the family had members within the acceptable age range, then the interviewer attempted to administer at that time (or a later time) the main questionnaire (Schedule No. 2).

We considered but rejected alternatives to this procedure. Welfare rolls do not always indicate who the poor are in a community; they (welfare rolls) are selective. Charitable institutions are reluctant to give out information on those to whom they make gifts, and they too are selective in their dealing with the poor. The best way to "get at" the entire poor stratum of a community, then, under many circumstances is to attempt some sort of sampling out of the entire area deemed to predominantly contain the poor of the community. Those tracts utilized were those which had very low median incomes. The reason that a complete census of so many

tracts was necessary was the relative scarcity of those who fit both our criteria.

The structuring of the interview schedule itself was begun in the fall of 1966 and finished in February of 1967. Since there were no well-established means of measuring several of the variables with which the study dealt, part of the work of preparing the interview schedule consisted in constructing preliminary scales. Using a modified semantic differential design, we constructed a series of closed-form opinion questions designed to measure belief in the possibility and value of social ascent. Several sub-scales dealing with educational, occupational, familial, and other aspects of these factors were constructed as components of the final scale.

In the pre-test stage, some low socioeconomic areas of East Lansing were used in order to be able to test our various questions, scales, and techniques. Through the use of this pre-test, many questions were eliminated as ambiguous or otherwise lacking the clarity, specificity, or meaning required. It became apparent during this pre-test stage that many questions with high "face validity" were useless because they were not in fit with vocabularies of the sample and that the "ladder technique" in using the semantic differential foremat was superior to other operational possibilities.

The author and two other trained interviewers gathered the pre-test data. After the pre-test stage, we put

together a list of prospective interviewers. From this candidate group, interviewers were chosen who fit the following criteria: 1) at least at the junior class level (optimum: seniors or graduate students), 2) those in good academic standing or otherwise clearly intellectually competent (those who were "temporarily on academic probation" were automatically eliminated), 3) those who had their own transportation or definite access to transportation on a regular basis, 4) had some previous experience in some general social science areas, 5) showed evidence of general responsibility, stability, and consistency. The last qualification is one of the most important, but the most difficult to ascertain. While the flagrant misfit is easily enough identified, other problem types become evident only in the field; close field-checking, particularly during the early stages of data collection, is therefore essential.

All interviewers went through at least a three day training and orientation period and had to complete at least two practice interviews outside the sample area before beginning work on actual assignments.

Interviewing began in early March and was finished in late August. Interviewers were given assignments by the project director, and field checks of their validity and accuracy were periodically made; assignments were given in terms of streets, street sections, or sets of

streets. When interviewers finished their assignments, they returned their finished work and got new assignments. Two "call-backs" were required on those "not at home" or in instances where there were "acceptable" respondents who were not immediately available.

Following the completion of the data collection, the data were coded and punched into IBM cards in late August. Statistical analyses were effected through the use of Michigan State University's computer facilities.

For a list of all the variables used in the study and a reference to the items used to operationalize the variables, see Appendix I; for an indication of the coding (and recoding) procedures used, see Appendix II.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The Design of Analysis

Our aim in this study is to gain some preliminary indication of the relative and total significance of various independent variables in the determination of attitudes toward social ascent, the dependent variable. The statistical techniques to be used are chi square (X^2) and partial (r) and multiple (R) correlation.

Several of the variables of the present study were tapped by more than one item in the questionnaire (see Appendix I), and the final score with respect to any one variable (for any particular respondent) often represents a summation of the scores on several items or sub-scales. Although many sub-scales are analytically separable from one another, they frequently constitute measures of the same variable. So the sub-scales have been combined, but not without first attending to the matter of the correlations of the sub-scales with one another and themselves (correlating the items of the sub-scale with one another). Since the inter-item correlations (both intra-scale and inter-scale) and the correlation of item score with total scale score were generally quite high, it was felt that the use of summated ratings was justifiable (see Appendix III).

It was not known, initially, whether or not the scales or sub-scales in question would fit the criteria for Guttman scaling. Since decisions concerning the determination of the presence or absence of this type of scale through the use of the computer requires some knowledge of the character of the scale previous to the computer analysis (or, at least, assumptions as to those characteristics), the use of Guttman scaling procedures was not effected.

Results of the Scalogram Analysis

One of the ways in which we can get some indication of the validity of a measure is to determine the degree to which items that make up the measure constitute a Guttman scale.

Using a notation technique for scalogram analysis,[1] it was found that two sets of items used as parts of the measures of the dependent variable fit the criteria for a Guttman scale.

For a persual of the results of the scalogram analysis, see Appendix IV.

Rationale for the Use of Correlational Analyses

We have been concerned in this project with the relative and total effect of the various independent variables

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[1] F. B. Waisanen, "A Notation Technique for Scalogram Analysis," Sociological Quarterly, vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 245-252.

upon the dependent variable. Partial correlation allows us to look at the effect of one variable, while simultaneously controlling for the effect of all the others; thus, the technique clearly suits one of our aims. Multiple correlation allows us to discern the total amount of variation that a number of variables accounts for: thus, we have some indication of the total effect (the total amount of variation on the dependent variable) accounted for by the various independent variables.

The use of parametric statistics necessitates the fulfillment of some conditions--among others, that the variables in question be normally distributed and that the relationship between the variables be linear. The graphs at the end of this chapter indicate that the latter condition is satisfied.

The use of unequal interval scales such as might be produced by the use of Lickert procedures increases the likelihood, of course, of our not obtaining normal distributions for the various variables. Lickert procedures were used in this study in only one instance, the closed-form opinion measure of the dependent variable.

Although some of the independent variables in this work have only two values (sex and work status, for example), this will just tend to limit the extent to which those independent variables might be correlated with the dependent variable. Among those variables with a significant range of values, relatively normal distributions

were obtained. It should be noted that since the two facets of attitudes toward social ascent (belief in the possibility of social ascent and belief in the value of social ascent) have been shown to be of importance to the theoretical framework of this study, they have been treated, in the case of the correlational analyses, both together and separately.

The presentation of some results of graphic analysis will also be given. In order to facilitate easy comprehension of the analyses, the primary results of the correlation analyses will be given in toto before dealing with the results germaine to each specific hypothesis. It is hoped, in addition, that this procedure will enable the reader to get some early indication of the relative significance of the variables involved in this study. The level of significance for both the chi square and the partial correlation analyses will be set at $< .05$.

General Description of the Sample

One of the 398 respondents gleaned, 143 were male and 255 female; 177 were married and the remainder, 221, were unmarried. Of the 221 unmarried, 180 had never been married, 20 were divorced, 20 separated from their spouses, and 1 respondent was widowed.

At the time of the survey, 125 of the respondents were gainfully employed; another 122 responsdents had had a job within the previous year.

Tables 1 and 2 show the distribution of the sample population in terms of age and educational level, respectively.

TABLE 1.--Age distribution of sample population.

Years of Age	Number of Respondents
17	63
18	62
19	41
20	39
21	21
22	24
23	27
24	26
25	21
26	18
27	19
28	23
29	14
	N = 398

TABLE 2.--Distribution of educational level of the sample population.

Last Grade in School Completed	Number of Respondents
02	1
03	0
04	1
05	0
06	3
07	7
08	18
09	41
10	56
11	99
12	26
13 (high school diploma)	110
14 (1st year of college)	10
15	8
16	6
17	6
18 (college degree)	6
	N = 398

Table 3 deals with the ethnic composition of the sample population.

TABLE 3.--Ethnic composition of the sample population.

Ethnic Group	Number of Respondents
Non-Ethnic Minority: (Anglo, "white")	269
Ethnic Minority: Negro (Afro-American)	78
Ethnic Minority: Mexican-American	49
Ethnic Minority: Puerto Rican-American	2
	N = 398

TABLE 4.--Partial and multiple correlation of the independent variables with the semantic differential measure of the dependent variable.

Variable	Partial Correlation Coefficient	Significance
Desire for contact with middle-class referents	0.19350	0.0005
Desire for contact with lower-class secondary referents	-0.17569	0.001
General spatial mobility	0.14148	0.007
Sex	-0.14065	0.007
Neighborhood visits	-0.13980	0.008
Evaluation of middle-class referents	0.13450	0.010
Contact with middle-class referents	0.13438	0.010
Age	-0.09946	0.065
Ethnic status of respondent	0.09290	0.073
Average working hours per week	0.08929	0.085
Mass media use	0.07754	0.136
Television use	0.07642	0.141
Distance of non-familial primary referents from respondents within city	0.06054	0.248
Educational level	0.05393	0.306
Location of non-familial primary referents (inside or outside city)	0.05326	0.312
Yearly work status	0.05282	0.316
Job promotion efforts	0.05278	0.317
Length of work	-0.04968	0.347
Travel-work	-0.04902	0.354
Desire for contact with lower-class primary referents	0.04755	0.369
Evaluation of lower-class primary referents	-0.04616	0.384
Educational status	-0.04243	0.425
Marital status	-0.03608	0.500
Evaluation of lower-class secondary referents	0.03298	0.538
Spatial mobility travelling to work	-0.02754	0.607
Spatial mobility travelling to school	0.02677	0.617
Contact with lower-class primary referents	0.02577	0.630
Contact with lower-class secondary referents	0.02462	0.646
Number of friends	0.01833	0.725
Knowledgeability	0.01529	0.764
Work status	0.01443	0.775
Travel-shopping	0.01316	0.790
Travel-school	-0.00714	0.862
Facilities	0.00359	0.902
Perception of problems involved in getting ahead	-0.00127	0.930

N = 398 R (Multiple Correlation) = 0.7135

TABLE 5.--Partial and multiple correlation of the independent variables with the closed-form opinion measure of the dependent variable.

Variable	Partial Correlation Coefficient	Significance
Evaluation of middle-class referents	0.21316	0.0005
Ethnic status of respondent	-0.16689	0.002
Mass media use	0.13013	0.012
Knowledgeability	0.12107	0.020
Length of work	-0.10688	0.040
Sex	0.10057	0.052
Distance of non-familial primary referents from respondents (within city)	-0.10509	0.043
Location of non-familial primary referents (inside or outside city)	0.09738	0.060
Desire for contact with lower-class secondary referents	-0.08675	0.094
Travel-school	-0.08675	0.094
Educational level	-0.08106	0.118
Marital status	0.06925	0.184
Desire for contact with lower-class primary referents	-0.06745	0.196
Yearly work status	0.06720	0.198
Travel-work	-0.06598	0.206
Contact with lower-class secondary referents	0.06430	0.219
Number of friends	0.06210	0.235
Desire for contact with middle-class referents	0.05903	0.260
Work status	-0.05402	0.305
Job promotion efforts	0.05323	0.312
Average working hours per week	0.04861	0.358
Television use	0.04847	0.359
General spatial mobility	0.03908	0.464
Spatial mobility travelling to school	0.03362	0.530
Facilities	0.03132	0.559
Neighborhood visits	-0.02321	0.663
Perception of problems involved in getting ahead	-0.01924	0.714
Spatial mobility travelling to work	-0.01619	0.753
Evaluation of lower-class secondary referents	-0.01126	0.813
Evaluation of lower-class primary referents	-0.00997	0.829
Contact with lower-class primary referents	0.00774	0.855
Age	0.00767	0.856
Educational status	0.00489	0.888
Travel-shopping	-0.00406	0.897
Contact with middle-class referents	-0.00162	0.925

N = 398 R = 0.5720

TABLE 6.--Partial and multiple correlation of undeleted independent variables with the semantic differential measure of the dependent variable.

Variable	Partial Correlation Coefficient	Level of Significance
Desire for contact with lower-class secondary referents	-0.23162	0.0005
Desire for contact with middle-class referents	0.21790	0.0005
Contact with middle-class referents	0.19123	0.0005
Evaluation of middle-class referents	0.18488	0.0005
General spatial mobility	0.17841	0.001
Sex	-0.13488	0.008
Age	-0.12847	0.011
Neighborhood visits	-0.12845	0.011
Mass media use	0.12357	0.014
Average working hours per week	0.12189	0.015
N = 398	R = 0.6933	

TABLE 7.--Partial and multiple correlation of undeleted independent variables with the closed-form opinion measure of the dependent variable.

Variable	Partial Correlation Coefficient	Level of Significance
Evaluation of middle-class referents	0.37944	0.0005
Mass media use	0.19169	0.0005
Knowledgeability	0.13396	0.008
Yearly work status	0.13232	0.009
Ethnic status of the respondent	-0.11831	0.018
Length of work	-0.11643	0.020
Location of non-familial primary referents	0.10818	0.030
N = 398	R = 0.5165	

TABLE 8.--Partial and multiple correlation of the independent variables with the semantic differential measure of the dependent variable (measure of the belief in the value of social accent).

Variable	Partial Correlation Coefficient	Significance
Desire for contact with middle-class referents	0.25826	<0.0005
Desire for contact with lower-class secondary referents	-0.15391	0.003
Evaluation of middle-class referents	0.14945	0.004
Sex	-0.13527	0.010
Television use	-0.11512	0.023
Average working hours per week	0.11513	0.027
Ethnic status of the respondent	0.11725	0.030
Mass media use	0.09994	0.054
Neighborhood visits	-0.09975	0.054
General spatial mobility	0.09942	0.055
Educational level	-0.09705	0.061
Number of friends	-0.06047	0.249
Facilities	-0.05927	0.267
Distance of non-familial primary referents from respondents (within city)	0.05729	0.274
Contact with lower-class primary referents	-0.05564	0.290
Knowledgeability	0.05141	0.338
Spatial mobility travelling to work	-0.04906	0.396
Perception of problems involved in getting ahead	0.04388	0.409
Contact with lower-class secondary referents	-0.04259	0.423
Contact with middle-class referents	0.04066	0.445
Length of work	-0.04049	0.447
Evaluation of lower-class secondary referents	0.03655	0.494
Travel-school	-0.03477	0.515
Desire for contact with lower-class primary referents	-0.02970	0.592
Distance travelled to school	-0.02273	0.668
Travel-shop	-0.01823	0.727
Educational status	0.01819	0.727
Evaluation of lower-class primary referents	-0.01679	0.745
Work status	0.01530	0.764
Age	-0.01249	0.799
Location of non-familial primary referents (inside or outside city)	0.01238	0.800
Yearly work status	0.00479	0.889
Travel-work	0.00464	0.891
Marital status	-0.00364	0.902
Job promotion efforts	-0.00187	0.922

N = 398 R = 0.6754

TABLE 9.--Partial and multiple correlation of the independent variables with the semantic differential measure of the dependent variable (measure of the belief in the possibility of social ascent).

Variable	Partial Correlation Coefficient	Significance
Contact with middle-class referents	0.16586	0.002
Educational level	0.16435	0.002
Desire for contact with middle-class referents	0.15089	0.004
General spatial mobility	0.13444	0.010
Desire for contact with lower-class secondary referents	-0.12222	0.019
Sex	-0.10426	0.044
Neighborhood visits	-0.10397	0.045
Travel-work	-0.10263	0.048
Age	-0.09621	0.063
Work status	-0.09515	0.066
Evaluation of middle-class referents	0.09247	0.074
Yearly work status	0.06396	0.221
Length of work	-0.06361	0.224
Mass media use	0.6019	0.251
Knowledgeability	0.05328	0.312
Number of friends	0.04996	0.344
Average working hours per week	0.04607	0.385
Travel-shop	0.04287	0.420
Educational status	-0.02957	0.594
Contact with lower-class secondary referents	0.02516	0.638
Desire for contact with lower-class primary referents	0.02337	0.661
Distance travelled to school	0.02311	0.664
Contact with lower-class primary referents	0.02043	0.699
Television use	0.01966	0.708
Job promotion efforts	-0.01670	0.746
Spatial mobility travelling to work	0.01496	0.768
Distance of non-familial primary referents from respondents (within city)	0.01454	0.773
Ethnic status of the respondent	-0.01359	0.785
Evaluation of lower-class secondary referents	0.01195	0.806
Evaluation of lower-class primary referents	-0.00309	0.839
Facilities	-0.00878	0.843
Perception of the problems involved in getting ahead	0.00669	0.867
Distance travelled to school	0.00560	0.880
Marital status	-0.00526	0.884
Location of non-familial primary referents	0.00231	0.917

N = 398 R = 0.6886

TABLE 10.--Partial and multiple correlation of undeleted independent variables with the semantic differential measure of the dependent variable (measure of the belief in the value of social ascent).

Variable	Partial Correlation Coefficient	Level of Significance
Desire for contact with middle-class referents	0.30365	0.0005
Desire for contact with lower-class secondary referents	-0.26564	0.0005
Evaluation of middle-class referents	0.23433	0.0005
Television use	0.14452	0.004
General spatial mobility	0.14391	0.004
Ethnic status of the respondent	0.14007	0.006
Average working hours per week	0.13390	0.008
Sex	-0.11081	0.027
Neighborhood visits	-0.10727	0.032
N = 298	R = 0.6548	

TABLE 11.--Partial and multiple correlation of undeleted independent variables with the semantic differential measure of the dependent variable (measure of the belief in the possibility of social ascent).

Variable	Partial Correlation Coefficient	Level of Significance
Contact with middle-class referents	0.23643	0.0005
Educational level	0.23492	0.0005
General spatial mobility	0.21069	0.0005
Desire for contact with lower-class secondary referents	-0.19649	0.0005
Age	-0.16760	0.001
Desire for contact with middle-class referents	0.16013	0.002
Evaluation of middle-class referents	0.13661	0.007
Sex	-0.11859	0.018
Neighborhood visits	-0.10558	0.035
N = 398	R = 0.6629	

TABLE 12.--Partial correlation of age with upward-mobility-orientation (R^2 Delete).

Variant Measures of the Dependent Variable	Initial Partial Correlation	Level of Significance	Highest Partial Correlation	Level of Significance	Partial Correlation at Deletion	Level of Significance
Semantic Differential Measure	-0.09546	0.065	-0.14025	0.006	-0.1132	0.024
Closed-form Opinion Measure	0.00767	0.856	0.00848	0.846	0.0072	0.861
Semantic Differential (Value)	-0.01249	0.799	-0.01255	0.798	-0.01169	0.807
Semantic Differential (Possibility)	-0.09621	0.063	-0.17317	0.001	-0.16229	0.001

TABLE 13.--Rank characteristics of variable deletion (age).

Variant Measures of the Dependent Variable	Number of Other Variables Undeleted When Partial Correlation of Variable in Question is Highest	Number of Other Variables Undeleted When Variable in Question is Deleted
Semantic Differential Measure	15	8
Closed-form Opinion Measure	31	29
Semantic Differential (Value)	34	30
Semantic Differential (Possibility)	9	5

Table 13 indicates the relative rank significance of the variable compared with the other independent variables we are concerned with in this study.

Partial and Multiple Correlation Analyses

In this section, there will be a general exposition of the results of the correlational analyses. Tables 4 and 5, for example, show the partial and multiple correlations of all of the independent variables with two different measures of the dependent variable.

Through the use of the R^2 Delete Procedure,[2] the less significant variables may be removed from the correlation analyses. The results of this procedure may be seen in Tables 6 and 7, where several variables emerge as statistically significant in each case, and the total R remains high.

Since the two facets of the general attitudinal stance toward social ascent (belief in the possibility of social ascent and belief in the value of social ascent) have, as previously mentioned, been crucial to the theoretical framework of this study and the modified semantic differential measure of these attitudes has tapped these two facets, the analysis of our hypotheses has also been accomplished in terms of these two facets. Tables 8 and 9, then, mirror these correlations.

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[2]The R^2 Delete Procedure allows for an exposition of the partial and multiple correlation of a number of independent variables with a dependent variable. Initially all the independent variables are correlated with the dependent variable. In each successive stage, however, the variable that accounts for the least variation is deleted. This process continues until all the independent variables are deleted.

For further information concerning this program, contact the Office of Applications Programming in the Computer Center at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan.

Using the R^2 Delete Procedure, then, we find the results given in Tables 10 and 11.

It will be noted that in Tables 4 through 10, the independent variables account for a significant amount of the total variance of the dependent variable, and that several independent variables ultimately emerge as statistically significant. Discussion of the significance of these variables will follow in this chapter and the conclusion.

Analysis of the Significance of the Social Structural Factors Within the Culture of Poverty (Investment Variables)

The variable "age" is shown, in Table 12, to be significantly correlated with two of the four measures of the dependent variable.

Table 14 indicates the results of the major chi square tests of the association between age and upward-mobility-orientation (no controls are used in these tests).

TABLE 14.--Association between age and upward-mobility-orientation (attitudes toward social ascent).

Variant Measures of the Dependent Variable	
Semantic Differential	$X^2=15.700;p. < .01;d.f.=4$
Closed-form Opinion	$X^2=21.692;p. < .001;d.f.=4$
Semantic Differential (Value)	$X^2=11.224;p. < .05;d.f.=4$
Semantic Differential (Possibility)	$X^2=19.898;p. < .001;d.f.=4$
	N = 398

It should be noted here that all of the associations were dispersed in the predicted direction and that all four associations are statistically significant at least at the $p. < .05$ level, two of them at the $p. < .001$ level.

Since the correlational analyses did not show such a strong relationship, examination of some of the chi square tests in which controls were used is in order.[3] Tables 15-17 indicate these results.

When sex is held constant, the significance of age disappears--but only for females, consistent with our hypotheses. In the case of marital status, however, the association disappears altogether. One might wonder if this might not be due to our having included the widowed, divorced, and separated with those who are single within the category "unmarried." Since there were so few within those categories, though, one would not expect this to destroy the association (for an indication of the number of unmarried who have never been married, see the Introduction to this chapter). Deciding where to put the unmarried who have been married is no easy matter: in terms of our theoretical framework, one ought to decide this matter on the basis of how long the marital commitment involved the subject within the culture of poverty. Those who are young and divorced, widowed, or separated might be meaningfully included with those who are single

[3]Berelson and Steiner, p. 487.

TABLE 15.--Association between age and upward-mobility-orientation.

Control Variable	Control Variable Value	Semantic Differential Measure of the Dependent Variable	Closed-form Opinion Measure of the Dependent Variable
Sex	Male	$x^2 = 10.615$; p. < .05; d.f. = 4	$x^2 = 3.940$; p. < .05; d.f. = 1
	Female	Not Significant	Not Significant
Marital Status	Married	Not Significant	Not Significant
	Unmarried	Not Significant	Not Significant
Educational Level	Low	$x^2 = 12.758$; p. < .02; d.f. = 4	$x^2 = 12.578$; p. < .02; d.f. = 4
	High	Not Significant	Not Significant
Yearly Work Status	Has Not Worked	$x^2 = 17.743$; p. < .01; d.f. = 4	$x^2 = 9.543$; p. < .05; d.f. = 4
	Has Worked	Not Significant	$x^2 = 12.303$; p. < .02; d.f. = 4
Educational Status	In School	Not Significant	Not Significant
	Not in School	Not Significant	$x^2 = 11.502$; p. < .05; d.f. = 4
Mass Media Use	Low	$x^2 = 13.294$; p. < .01; d.f. = 4	$x^2 = 14.451$; p. < .01; d.f. = 4
	High	Not Significant	$x^2 = 0.676$; p. < .05; d.f. = 4
Distance Travelled To Work	Low	$x^2 = 18.068$; p. < .01; d.f. = 4	Not Significant
	High	Not Significant	$x^2 = 12.328$; p. < .02; d.f. = 4

TABLE 16.--Association between age and upward-mobility-operation.

Control Variable	Control Variable Value	Semantic Differential Measure of the Dependent Variable	Closed-form Opinion Measure of the Dependent Variable
General Spatial Mobility	Low	Not Significant	$x^2 = 15.915$; $p. < .01$; d.f. = 4
	High	Not Significant	Not Significant
Contact With Lower-Class Primary Referents	Low	Not Significant	$x^2 = 11.076$; $p. < .05$; d.f. = 4
	High	Not Significant	Not Significant
Desire for Contact With Middle-Class Referents	Low	Not Significant	Not Significant
	High	$x^2 = 11.462$; $p. < .05$; d.f. = 4	$x^2 = 16.053$; $p. < .01$; d.f. = 4
Desire for Contact With Lower-Class Primary Referents	Low	$x^2 = 9.940$; $p. < .01$; d.f. = 1	Not Significant
	High	Not Significant	$x^2 = 8.941$; $p. < .01$; d.f. = 1
Evaluation of Middle-Class Referents	Low	$x^2 = 6.996$; $p. < .01$; d.f. = 1	Not Significant
	High	$x^2 = 3.910$; $p. < .05$; d.f. = 1	Not Significant
Ethnic Status of the Respondent	White	$x^2 = 4.414$; $p. < .05$; d.f. = 1	$x^2 = 4.203$; $p. < .05$; d.f. = 1
	Non-white	Not Significant	Not Significant

TABLE 17.--Association between age and upward-mobility-orientation.

Control Variable	Control Variable Value	Semantic Differential Measure of the Dependent Variable	Closed-form Opinion Measure of the Dependent Variable
Contact With Lower-Class Secondary Referents	Low	Not Significant	Not Significant
	High	$x^2 = 11.908$; $p. < .001$; d.f. = 1	$x^2 = 5.780$; $p. < .02$; d.f. = 1
Evaluation of Lower-Class Primary Referents	Low	$x^2 = 8.201$; $p. < .01$; d.f. = 1	Not Significant
	High	$x^2 = 4.568$; $p. < .05$; d.f. = 1	$x^2 = 6.182$; $p. < .02$; d.f. = 1
Evaluation of Lower-Class Secondary Referents	Low	$x^2 = 9.905$; $p. < .01$; d.f. = 1	$x^2 = 5.045$; $p. < .05$; d.f. = 1
	High	Not Significant	Not Significant
Desire for Contact With Lower-Class Secondary Referents	Low	$x^2 = 5.104$; $p. < .05$; d.f. = 1	$x^2 = 3.968$; $p. < .05$; d.f. = 1
	High	$x^2 = 7.821$; $p. < .01$; d.f. = 1	Not Significant
Contact With Middle-Class Referents	Low	$x^2 = 10.829$; $p. < .05$; d.f. = 4	Not Significant
	High	$x^2 = 9.556$; $p. < .05$; d.f. = 4	$x^2 = 12.562$; $p. < .02$; d.f. = 4

(in terms of our theoretical framework), but those who are older and are widowed, separated, or divorced would be more meaningfully associated with those who are married (because of their presumed longer participation and involvement with the culture of property).

In order to have a consistent rule, however, one must include the entire group within one category or another; we decided, therefore, to put this group with those who are single (never married). It might be interesting to test the difference in level of association that one would find if one introduced other more complicated criteria in establishing these cutting points, however. What would be the effect, for example, of putting the young-divorced, young-widowed, and young-separated with those who are single, and the others who are unmarried but older with those who are married? This would involve a partial overlap with the effect of age per se, of course.

As will be seen later, educational level is one of the more significant variables involved in the determination of attitudes toward social ascent. When educational level was controlled for, the association between age and upward-mobility-orientation held only for those at the lower educational levels. Apparently, then, among those with more education, age ceases to be such a significant determinant of attitudes toward social ascent. A similar effect holds, to some extent (as seen in Table 14) for

educational status: age is more relevant for those who are not in school.

Yearly work status (whether or not one has worked within the last year), mass media use, desire for contact with lower-class primary referents, evaluation of middle-class referents, and distance travelled to work apparently do not effect the association markedly; the association holds fairly generally in all the cells of these tests.

Age is relevant among those who are low in general spatial mobility and who are white. Apparently, the racist character of our society still dampens the motivational level of non-whites somewhat, but it should be noted that the level of association of age with upward-mobility-orientation among non-whites approached the $p. < .05$ level in the case of both measures of the dependent variable. General spatial mobility apparently overshadows age in terms of its significance in the determination of attitudes toward social ascent. One is somewhat surprised to find a lack of cumulation of effect here, however.

More significant, though, is the following: age ceases to be a significant factor among those who are low with respect to desire for contact with middle-class referents. This appears to be the sine qua non for having mobility aspirations. Even if one is very young, if one does not identify with the class above him, he will not

aspire to move toward that class. This is, of course, consistent with a host of other findings.[4]

Contact with middle-class referents, desire for contact with lower-class secondary referents, and evaluation of lower-class primary referents seem to have little effect on the association between age and upward-mobility-orientation. It should be noted, however, that among those who have high contact with lower-class secondary referents, the association between age and upward-mobility-orientation assumes a greater significance. Apparently those who experience this contact are less socially isolated and generally more a part of the mainstream of their community; overwhelming social isolation is debilitating, and it has been well documented that the very poor are generally isolated. Those who are less isolated, then, tend to be more upward-mobility-oriented.

Perhaps even more significant, however, is the fact that those who tend to devalue lower-class secondary referents are more mobility-oriented than those who are not. Besides having contact with another referent, one must be somewhat alienated from the past referent (or at least somewhat predisposed to relinquish that referent) if one is to make the attitudinal and/or behavioral move to a new referent.

Finally, then, we must remember that we have seriously limited the age range in this study (17-29), and this undoubtedly has had an effect upon the results that

we have gleaned. If we had extended the age range, we would almost certainly have got a higher correlation and association of age with upward-mobility-orientation.

The rank significance (in terms of the rank in deletion process of the R^2 Delete Program) of age in the correlational analyses, the fact that it was significantly correlated with two measures of the dependent variable (at some stages of the deletion process), the large number of statistically significant chi square tests, and the fact that the direction of the correlation and association are clearly in the predicted direction, indicate a strong enough trend to warrant the rejection of the null hypothesis in this instance.

The Significance of Sex in the Determination of Attitudes Toward Social Ascent

In Table 18, we see that sex is significantly correlated with upward-mobility-orientation in three of the four instances; only in the case of the closed-form opinion measure (the measure with the lowest construct validity, as we shall see later), do we find results that do not confirm our hypothesis. In Table 19, we have some indication of the relative ranking of sex in terms of its place within the deletion process used in the R^2 Delete Procedure.

Although the correlation involving the closed-form opinion measure of the dependent variable is not in the

TABLE 18.--Partial correlation of sex with upward-mobility-orientation (R^2 Delete).

Variant Measures of the Dependent Variable	Initial Partial Correlation	Level of Significance	Highest Partial Correlation	Level of Significance	Partial Correlation at Deletion	Level of Significance
Semantic Differential Measure	-0.14065	.007	-0.18636	.0005	-0.16001	.002
Closed-form Opinion Measure	0.10057	.052	0.10711	.036	.07788	.123
Semantic Differential (Value)	-0.13527	.010	-0.14235	.005	-0.11773	.018
Semantic Differential (Possibility)	-0.10426	.044	-0.13159	.009	-0.13159	.009

TABLE 19.--Rank characteristics of variable deletion (sex).

Variant Measures of the Dependent Variable	Number of Other Variables Undeleted When Partial Correlation of Variable in Question is Highest	Number of Other Variables Undeleted When Variable in Question is Deleted
Semantic Differential Measure	6	5
Closed-form Opinion Measure	24	13
Semantic Differential (Value)	15	4
Semantic Differential (Possibility)	7	7

direction predicted, the correlation is not significant in two of the partial correlations given. When it does reach a level of statistical significance, it is worthwhile to note that it is barely significant, and that, at its deletion, deprived of the interactive relationship with the other variables deleted before it, once again, it is not--as it was not initially--significantly correlated with upward-mobility-orientation.

The other measures are all in the predicted direction, and indicate statistically significant correlations in each of the three instances shown. Measures of association also indicate statistically significant levels of association, both with and without the use of controls. Table 20 indicates the general results of the chi square analysis; since the evidence is so compelling in terms of the rejection of the null hypothesis, it is felt that the presentation of chi squares analyses utilizing controls serves little purpose here. Some effort will be made to present some of these analyses, however.

Since the closed-form opinion measure of the dependent variable did not prove to be significantly correlated or associated with sex, there is little point in ascertaining the influence various controls have on the level of association found in the chi square analyses where controls were used but that measure of the dependent variable was used. Our concern here, then, is

with the results of controlling measures upon chi square tests utilizing the DVSD measure of the dependent variable.

TABLE 20.--Association between sex and upward-mobility-orientation.

Variant Measures of the Dependent Variable	
Semantic Differential	$x^2=15.700;p. < .01;d.f.=4.$
Closed-form Opinion	not significant
Semantic Differential (Value)	$x^2=8.726;p. < .02;d.f.=2.$
Semantic Differential (Possibility)	$x^2=12.025;p. < .01;d.f.=2.$
	N = 398

The association between sex and upward-mobility-orientation did not hold when controls for the following variables were utilized: (1) marital status, (2) general spatial mobility, and (3) lower-class-primary contact. In the case of the second factor, it may be that the potency of this variable nullifies to some extent the significance of sex; in the first and third instances, it may be that other random confounding influences negate the association between sex and the dependent variable.

The control for educational level shows a highly significant association between sex and attitudes toward social ascent at higher levels of education (.001), but the association at the lower levels of education is only

at the level of .05; in both instances, the level of association is high enough in both cases to warrant some confidence in contending that sex is a significant factor in the determination of attitudes toward social ascent, regardless of educational level. At lower educational levels, males may not be so mobility-oriented because they have lower expectations for themselves. Their failure to attain higher levels of education may affect their mobility-orientation more adversely than such a failure would affect female's orientation toward social ascent and they may consequently downgrade their aspirations.

Essentially the same association holds when we control for educational status: among those who are in school (.02), and among those who are not in school (.05). Perhaps, again, the higher expectations of males result in their lowering their expectations once they experience some failures. The association was still at a rather high level in both instances, though.

Among those with low levels of contact with middle class referents there is a higher association between age and attitudes toward social ascent ($p. < .001$) than there is among those with high levels of contact ($p. < .05$). Sex does emerge as statistically significant in both instances, however.

The association between sex and upward-mobility-orientation held only among the lower one-half in the case of controlling for each of the following factors: (1) the desire for lower-class-secondary contact, (2) the evaluation of middle-class referents, (3) the evaluation of lower-class-secondary referents, and (4) the desire for contact with lower-class-secondary referents. In the case of 1, 3, and 4, the significance of the dissociative factors is once again pointed out, as it was in the analyses of the effects of age upon attitudes toward social ascent.

The extraordinary significance of evaluation of middle-class referents is clearly pointed out in the correlational analyses. The significance of this factor apparently outstrips that of sex, especially in the case of those who evaluated middle-class referents highly. Among those who evaluate these referents highly, sexual role definition has probably been changed, and is no longer, therefore, a significant factor.

Controlling for ethnicity has shown that the association clearly holds for whites, but not for non-whites. The association is at the .001 level among non-whites, but perhaps the greater employability of the Negro female and the matricentric character of the Negro family have allowed for a different role definition among Negroes, the largest non-white group in our sample.

Although the association is not significant among non-whites, the majority of the males among the non-whites were among those of high mobility-orientation, and a majority of the females were among those of low mobility-orientation.

All in all, sex is a significant factor in the determination of attitudes toward social ascent. With a minimal level of dissociation from the culture of poverty, the male is more likely than the female to gain an upward-mobility-orientation.

The Influence of Marital Status in the Determination of Attitudes Toward Social Ascent

Tables 21 and 22 indicate the paucity of significance of the variable, "marital status."

In only one instance (of three possible) on one measure (of four possible) was the correlation barely statistically significant, and the direction of the correlation was opposite to what was predicted in the case of all three instances on each of three of the four measures of the dependent variable.

The chi square measures generally proved to be in a direction opposite to that predicted or not significant, statistically. One might assume that the effect of marital status is clear at an analytical level, but difficult to indicate empirically in a research context. Those who are older tend, other things equal, to be

TABLE 21.--Partial correlation of marital status with upward-mobility-orientation (R^2 Delete).

Variant Measures of the Dependent Variable	Initial Partial Correlation	Level of Significance	Highest Partial Correlation	Level of Significance	Partial Correlation at Deletion	Level of Significance
Semantic Differential Measure	-0.03608	.500	-0.03688	.487	-0.02913	.581
Closed-form Opinion Measure	0.06925	.184	0.10081	.046	0.08239	.102
Semantic Differential (Value)	-0.00364	.902	-0.00377	.900	-0.00377	.900
Semantic Differential (Possibility)	-0.00526	.884	-0.00539	.882	-0.00539	.882

TABLE 22.--Rank characteristics of variable deletion (marital status).

Variant Measures of the Dependent Variable	Number of Other Variables Undeleted When Partial Correlation of the Variable in Question is Highest	Number of Other Variables Undeleted When the Variable in Question is Deleted
Semantic Differential Measure	29	22
Closed-form Opinion Measure	14	12
Semantic Differential (Value)	34	33
Semantic Differential (Possibility)	34	33

married, for example, so the effects of marital status in adding system-involvement (with respect to the culture of poverty) may not be observable; it may be only an ancillary factor adding to the effect of such factors as age, sex, and reference group identifications. In any case, the relative significance of marital status that was predicted did not show up even in those chi square tests where sex, age, and the like were controlled for.

It is necessary, therefore, to accept the null hypothesis in this instance. This acceptance is, perforce, tentative, and perhaps with other better empirical indicators of the effects of marital involvement, one might be able in the future to more accurately measure the effects of marital status in terms of its effect upon attitudes toward social ascent. Given the data presently at hand, however, the null hypothesis must be accepted.

Indeed, one might speculate (given the direction of these results) that being married tends to give one's life some level of order and may contribute somewhat to one's aspirations with respect to social mobility. Perhaps marriage involves raising one's aspirations to one's responsibilities.

Analysis of the Cumulative Effect of the Investment Variables

Our fourth hypothesis holds that the total effect of the investment variables mentioned in the first three hypotheses will be greater than any of their separate

TABLE 23.--Partial and multiple correlation of investment variables with the semantic differential measure of the dependent variable.

Variable	Partial Correlation Coefficient	Level of Significance
Marital Status	0.09275	0.062
Sex	-0.14151	0.005
Age	-0.10454	0.035
N = 398	R = 0.2809	

TABLE 24.--Partial and multiple correlation of investment variables with the semantic differential measure of the dependent variable (marital status deleted).

Variable	Partial Correlation Coefficient	Level of Significance
Age	-0.19559	0.0005
Sex	-0.16849	0.001
N = 398	R = 0.2633	

TABLE 25.--Partial and multiple correlation of investment variables with the closed-form opinion measure of the dependent variable.

Variable	Partial Correlation Coefficient	Level of Significance
Marital Status	0.09734	0.050
Sex	-0.07586	0.128
Age	-0.05391	0.285
N = 398	R = 0.1731	

TABLE 26.--Partial and multiple correlation of investment variables with the closed-form opinion measure of the dependent variable (age deleted).

Variable	Partial Correlation Coefficient	Level of Significance
Marital Status	0.16004	0.002
Sex	0.08003	0.107
N = 398	R = 0.1647	

effects; that is, it is predicted that their total effect will be cumulative. If we are to reject the null hypothesis in this instance, the multiple correlation of these three variables with the dependent variable should reflect some additive effects. The multiple correlation should be above that of any separate partial correlation and should approach that of the sum of all the partial correlations taken together. It should be noted that since we are using parametric statistics, it is impossible for the multiple correlation to exceed the sum of the separate partial correlations found in any one correlational analysis. That is, one cannot measure "interaction effects" using parametric statistics.[4]

Using the R^2 Delete Procedure with the three investment variables alone, the pattern indicated in Tables 23 through 26 emerged.

When sex is deleted, then the partial (and multiple, since it is the only remaining variable) correlation of age with the dependent variable is 0.2092, indicating that the combination of age and sex accounts for more variation than age, the most significant variable, does. As shown in Table 23, age, sex, and marital status account for more variation than just age and sex together. In addition, it might be noted that the partial correlation of

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[4]Phillips, pp. 97-99.

marital status is, with the other independent variables excluded, not only in the predicted direction, but nearly at the .05 level of significance; this level of correlation was not found, it will be recalled, when all the independent variables were included in the R^2 Delete Procedure. Indeed, the correlation was not even in the predicted direction with the use of the semantic differential measure of the dependent variable.

As in the case of the other measure of the dependent variable, after the next-to-last variable is deleted, the multiple correlation once again descends, in this case to 0.1445. We can be less confident of our hypothesis in this case (the closed-form opinion measure of the dependent variable) for two reasons: the multiple correlation is low throughout and the direction of the correlation of the variable "sex" changes within the delete procedure.

Since the cumulation is clear in both instances, and a similar pattern is indicated when the expanded list of independent variables is used, the null hypothesis may be rejected.

Analysis of the Effect of the Investment Variables Upon Contacts Outside the Culture of Poverty

In this section, we will attempt to analyze the association between "freedom" from culture of poverty restraints and participation in middle-class activities;

in so doing, we will examine chi square analyses of the association between the so-called investment variables and the specific contact factors mentioned in the sub-hypotheses of Hypothesis V (see page 29).

Tables 27 through 50 indicate the results of these analyses.

The general hypothesis is that those who are "freer" are more likely to maintain outside contacts. The data in Table 27 represent a restricted age range, however; if the data were more representative of the larger population, the association might be statistically significant in the predicted direction. Logically, those who are older have had more possibility (in terms of years available for such efforts) of achieving higher educational levels. It may be that those who are young will eventually achieve higher educational levels than those who are older and who, at this point, have relatively higher educational levels than the younger respondents. Indeed, the relative educational level among those under thirty in America is generally higher than that of those over thirty because of the increased opportunity for further education that America has experienced, especially since World War II.

The association between sex and educational level is not, as Table 28 indicates, a significant one, but the association between marital status and educational level is statistically significant. The unmarried apparently

TABLE 27.--Association between age and educational level.

Educational Level	Age		
	Low	Moderate	High
Low	37	48	42
Moderate	64	34	27
High	24	70	52
N = 398	x^2 = 38.602	p. < .001	

TABLE 28.--Association between sex and educational level.

Educational Level	Sex	
	Male	Female
Low	40	87
Moderate	46	79
High	57	89
N = 398	x^2 = 1.740 (not significant)	

TABLE 29.--Association between marital status and educational level.

Educational Level	Marital Status	
	Married	Unmarried
Low	85	42
Moderate	53	72
High	80	66
N = 398	x^2 = 15.301	p. < .001

TABLE 30.--Association between age and educational status.

Educational Status	Age		
	Low	Moderate	High
Currently in School	73	23	8
Currently Not in School	52	129	113
N = 398	x^2 = 100.843	p. < .001	

TABLE 31.--Association between sex and educational status.

Educational Status	Sex	
	Male	Female
Currently in School	51	53
Currently Not in School	92	202
N = 398	x^2 = 10.510	p. < .01

TABLE 32.--Association between marital status and educational status.

Educational Status	Marital Status	
	Married	Unmarried
Currently in School	13	91
Currently Not in School	205	89
N = 398	x^2 = 101.566	p. < .001

TABLE 33.--Association between age and general spatial mobility.

General Spatial Mobility	Age		
	Low	Moderate	High
Low	29	45	54
Moderate	41	47	41
High	55	60	26
N = 398	x^2 = 19.401	p. < .001	

TABLE 34.--Association between sex and general spatial mobility.

General Spatial Mobility	Sex	
	Male	Female
Low	25	103
Moderate	37	92
High	81	60
N = 398	x^2 = 46.254	p. < .001

TABLE 35.--Association between marital status and general spatial mobility.

General Spatial Mobility	Marital Status	
	Married	Unmarried
Low	89	39
Moderate	73	56
High	56	85
N = 398	x^2 = 24.330	p. < .001

TABLE 36.--Association between age and middle-class contact.

Middle-Class Contact	Age		
	Low	Moderate	High
Low	37	66	51
Moderate	39	53	28
High	49	33	42
N = 398	x^2 = 14.502	p. < .01	

TABLE 37.--Association between sex and middle-class contact.

Middle-Class Contact	Sex	
	Male	Female
Low	56	98
Moderate	46	74
High	41	83
N = 398	x^2 = 0.756 (not significant)	

TABLE 38.--Association between marital status and middle-class contact.

Middle-Class Contact	Marital Status	
	Married	Unmarried
Low	96	58
Moderate	62	58
High	60	64
N = 398	x^2 = 6.066	p. < .05

TABLE 39.--Association between age and yearly work status.

Yearly Work Status	Age		
	Low	Moderate	High
Had Not Worked in Past Year	40	53	58
Had Worked in Past Year	85	99	63
N = 398	$x^2 = 7.615$	p. < .05	

TABLE 40.--Association between age and length of work.

Length of Work	Age		
	Low	Moderate	High
Low	40	54	58
Moderate	46	46	23
High	39	52	40
N = 398	$x^2 = 11.630$	p. < .05	

TABLE 41.--Association between sex and yearly work status.

Yearly Work Status	Sex	
	Male	Female
Had Not Worked in Past Year	21	130
Had Worked in Past Year	122	125
N = 398	x^2 = 51.260	p. < .001

TABLE 42.--Association between sex and length of work.

Length of Work	Sex	
	Male	Female
Low	22	130
Moderate	53	62
High	68	63
N = 398	x^2 = 50.080	p. < .001

TABLE 43.--Association between marital status and yearly work status.

Yearly Work Status	Marital Status	
	Married	Unmarried
Had Not Worked in Past Year	103	48
Had Worked in Past Year	115	132
N = 398	x^2 = 17.737	p. < .001

TABLE 44.--Association between marital status and length of work.

Length of Work	Marital Status	
	Married	Unmarried
Low	103	49
Moderate	48	67
High	67	64
N = 398	x^2 = 18.937	p. < .001

TABLE 45.--Association between age and television use.

Television Use	Age		
	Low	Moderate	High
Low	60	54	47
Moderate	23	40	38
High	42	58	36
N = 398	x^2 = 8.343 (not significant)		

TABLE 46.--Association between age and mass media use.

Mass Media Use	Age		
	Low	Moderate	High
Low	25	50	48
Moderate	49	54	41
High	51	48	32
N = 398	x^2 = 12.503	p. < .02	

TABLE 47.--Association between sex and television use.

Television Use	Sex	
	Male	Female
Low	80	81
Moderate	33	68
High	30	106
N = 398	x^2 = 25.073	p. < .001

TABLE 48.--Association between sex and mass media use.

Mass Media Use	Sex	
	Male	Female
Low	53	70
Moderate	44	100
High	46	85
N = 398	x^2 = 4.583 (not significant)	

TABLE 49.--Association between marital status and television use.

Television Use	Marital Status	
	Married	Unmarried
Low	72	89
Moderate	61	40
High	85	51
N = 398	x^2 = 11.135	p. < .01

TABLE 50.--Association between marital status and mass media use.

Mass Media Use	Marital Status	
	Married	Unmarried
Low	81	42
Moderate	76	68
High	61	70
N = 398	x^2 = 9.891	p. < .01

have more opportunity to gain further education than the married.

Perhaps a better measure of contact with outside educational referents is the measure of educational status; it was highly associated with all three investment variables in the predicted direction (see Tables 30-32). Most states have laws that require youngsters to remain in school until a certain age, and Michigan is no exception. Michigan law requires young persons to remain in school until they are sixteen years of age. Since our sample population consists in those between the ages of seventeen to twenty-nine, the association between age and educational status cannot be accounted for just in terms of this legal requirement. The young apparently are freer to invest themselves in capital expenditures such as education; similarly, those who are unmarried are less likely to have the culture of poverty commitments that will demand their removal from the educational process (see Table 32).

That only about one-fourth of our sample population is still in school bodes poorly for their mobility potential, but the proportion of men in school clearly exceeds that of the women (see Table 31).

Those who are freer from the culture of poverty experience more general spatial mobility; the association between general spatial mobility and the investment

variables holds in all three instances (see Tables 33-35).

The associations between middle-class contact and two of the investment variables--age and marital status--are statistically significant, but the other is not: apparently sex is not a significant factor in the determination of contact with referents outside the culture of poverty.

One might think that since our sample population is so young that work contacts would not be very significantly associated with freedom from the culture of poverty. After all, work is generally necessary for subsistence and being in school usually involves considerable investment of self in terms of time and energy. Many of the students in our sample had part-time jobs, however; and some of the non-students experienced periodic or chronic unemployment. The association between age and yearly work status holds, then, as does the association between age and length of work at present job.

Similarly, Tables 41-44 indicate very strong associations between the other two investment variables and the two work contact variables.

Television use is not significantly associated with age, but it is significantly associated with sex and marital status, but not in the predicted direction. Apparently television use affords release from daily

boredom and serves as a sort of euphoric. Married women, in particular, seem to be high in television use. As will be pointed out later, television use is significantly correlated with only one facet (value) of upward-mobility-orientation. Since high television use is associated with role-commitment to the culture of poverty, one would expect ti to be negatively correlated with attitudes toward social ascent; both graphic and correlational analyses bear this out.

General mass media use is higher among the young, the unmarried, and among males, as Tables 46, 48, and 50 indicate.

Age is not clearly associated with educational level in terms of the data collected in the project at hand, but the reasons for the lack of clear association were discussed. Television use, on the other hand, is not associated with greater freedom from the culture of poverty; rather, the association is statistically significant, but in the direction opposite to that predicted. With respect to that one facet of one sub-hypothesis, then, we must accept the null hypothesis. This association should be kept in mind when we discuss later associations and correlations of television use with other variables, especially the primary dependent variable in this work, upward-mobility-orientation.

Analysis of the Effects of Inter-Systemic Contacts

General spatial mobility is, as indicated in Tables 4-11, significantly correlated with upward-mobility-orientation. First, it is correlated with the dependent variable in the predicted direction in terms of all four measures of the dependent variable. In Tables 4 and 9, it will be noted that the correlation is statistically significant at the onset of the deletion procedure, and in Table 8, the correlation is clearly approaching significance. In Tables 6, 10, and 11, general spatial mobility emerges as clearly significant--at the .001 level or better. The correlations are high enough, then, to warrant rejection of the null sub-hypothesis.

Mass media use is initially significantly correlated with only one measure of the dependent variable (see Table 5), but eventually emerges as statistically significant in three of the four deletion procedures (see Tables 6 and 7; in the semantic differential (possibility) instance, mass media use attained a statistically significant correlation with the dependent variable before it was deleted (level of significance: 0.029) and at deletion (level of significance: 0.049).

Television use is significantly correlated with two measures of the dependent variable, and in all four instances, the correlation is in the predicted direction.

The closed-form opinion measure of the dependent variable is, as indicated in Appendix I, primarily constituted of items associated with the value of social ascent. Television use was significantly correlated with that measure of the dependent variable and with the semantic differential (value) measure of the dependent variable. Television apparently affects one's goals, but not one's skills. The explosiveness of television in terms of the elevation of one's hopes without aiding one in terms of one's knowledge of appropriate routes to attain those hopes has been pointed out by a number of social scientists.[5] Graphs 1-4 indicate the relationship of television use to upward-mobility-orientation.

Contact with middle-class referents is correlated with the semantic differential measure and the semantic differential (possibility) measure at a statistically significant level, initially, throughout the deletion process, and at deletion (see Tables 4, 6, and 11). The correlations with the other two measures do not prove to be statistically significant; in fact, the closed-form opinion measure is uncorrelated with this variable. Perhaps contact with middle-class referents is initially threatening in terms of being able to consciously accept middle-class goals, but reinforcing in terms of allowing

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[5]Berelson and Steiner, p. 489.

the individual to gain access to socially acceptable routes to social mobility. This access, presumably, and the skills that emerge from it would eventually subsume this overt ambivalence about middle-class values (the value of social ascent is clearly a middle-class value). The null hypothesis of hypothesis VIII is, then, rejected.

Tables 6 and 10 indicate the variable of average-working-hours-per-week emerges, through the deletion procedure, as significantly correlated with upward-mobility-orientation. In Table 7, it should be noted that length of work is negatively correlated with upward-mobility-orientation; this may be a function of long participation in a job with low wages, prestige, and the like. Apparently having the possibility of full-time work increases one's upward-mobility-orientation. Work status is negatively correlated with the dependent variable (see Table 9): that is, those who are working are more mobility oriented than those who are not. The correlation becomes statistically significant during the deletion process. Apparently, having a job in which one can work full-time is a strong factor in the development and maintenance of attitudes favorable to social ascent; again, though, the relationship holds only in terms of attitudes associated with the <u>possibility</u> of social ascent.

Similarly, educational level is either only slightly or negatively correlated with upward-mobility-orientation

in three of the correlational analyses; in the fourth (semantic differential-possibility measure), however, the correlation is strong throughout the deletion procedure and is statistically significant from the beginning, eventually emerging as significant at the level of $p. < 0.0005$. Apparently education does more to teach one how to become a success than the value of that success; if, however, as we have assumed, goals tend to cluster around expectations, then learning the means to an end may ultimately lead to acceptance of that end or goal.

The null hypothesis for Hypothesis VI must be rejected, but with the proviso that the relationship between this category of variables and the dependent varible seems to be one-sided: that is, they affect the attitudes toward the possibility of social ascent considerably more than attitudes toward the value of social ascent.

The Effect of the Evaluation of and Desire for Contact with Middle-Class Referents

Perhaps none of our hypotheses is as well established as the relationship between the evaluation of middle-class referents and upward-mobility-orientation; a similarly strong relationship between the desire for contact with middle-class referents and upward-mobility-orientation is also well established.

The evaluation of middle-class referents is initially (at the beginning of the deletion procedure, before it has begun) significantly correlated with upward-mobility-orientation in three of the four instances, and the relationship is nearly significant in the fourth (see Tables 4, 5, 8, and 9); in every instance, the relationship is in the predicted direction, and in every instance, the correlation eventually emerges as statistically significant, in three instances at the level of $p. < 0.0005$.

The desire for contact with middle-class referents is similarly strong, being correlated with two measures of the dependent variable at the $p. < 0.0005$ level of significance initially (see Tables 4 and 8). In every instance the relationship is in the predicted direction, and in only one instance (the closed-form opinion measure) does the relationship fail to emerge as statistically significant.

This hypothesis is not a new one; other data have borne it out: people tend to take on the attitudes of the group to which they are aspiring.[6] The relationship is probably one of reciprocal causation: having certain attitudes leads one to seek out certain groups and group membership or even identification with a group tends to create a stress in oneself toward adopting the values of

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[6]Siijamaki.

that group. Our data bear this out. The null hypotheses of Hypotheses VII and IX are, therefore, rejected.

Other Factors Affecting Attitudes Toward Social Mobility

The number of facilities one has apparently has little to do with mobility aspirations; apparently one can have material possessions in a relatively greater number and still not be as mobility oriented as one who has fewer possessions; indeed, in our possession-oriented society, if one can gain those possessions without developing a strong orientation toward social ascent, it may be that this will constitute a factor mediating against developing such an orientation.

In any case, our data show no clear relationship between the number of material possessions one has and one's attitudes toward social ascent. Two of the measures of the relationship (see Tables 8 and 9) indicate a negative correlation; the other two, a positive correlation. None of the correlations proved to be significant at any point in the deletion process, so the null hypothesis must be accepted in the case of Hypothesis XI.

An almost identical pattern exists in terms of Hypothesis XII: two measures in the predicted direction, two in the opposite direction, and none of the correlations prove to be statistically significant; the null hypothesis must, therefore, be accepted.

In the case of knowledgability, however, we encounter another set of relationships; in each instance the correlation is in the predicted direction, but only the correlation between the closed-form measure of the dependent variable and knowledgability proves to be significant (see Tables 5 and 7). The data are cogent enough to warrant the rejection of the null hypothesis. There is not enough reason to believe the hypothesis wrong to accept the null hypothesis.

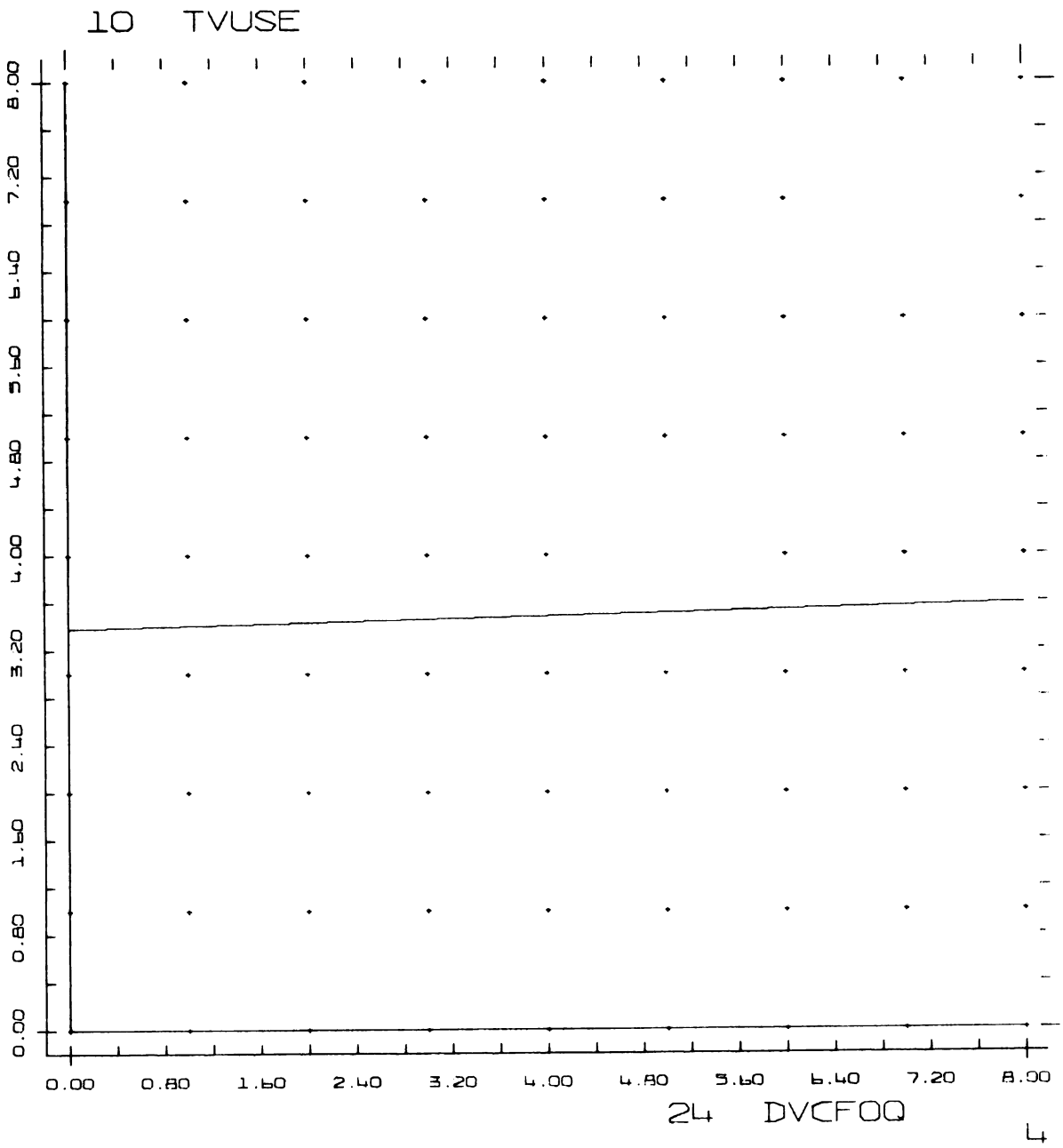

Figure 1.--Graphic representation of the relationship between upward-mobility-orientation (closed-form opinion measure) and television use.

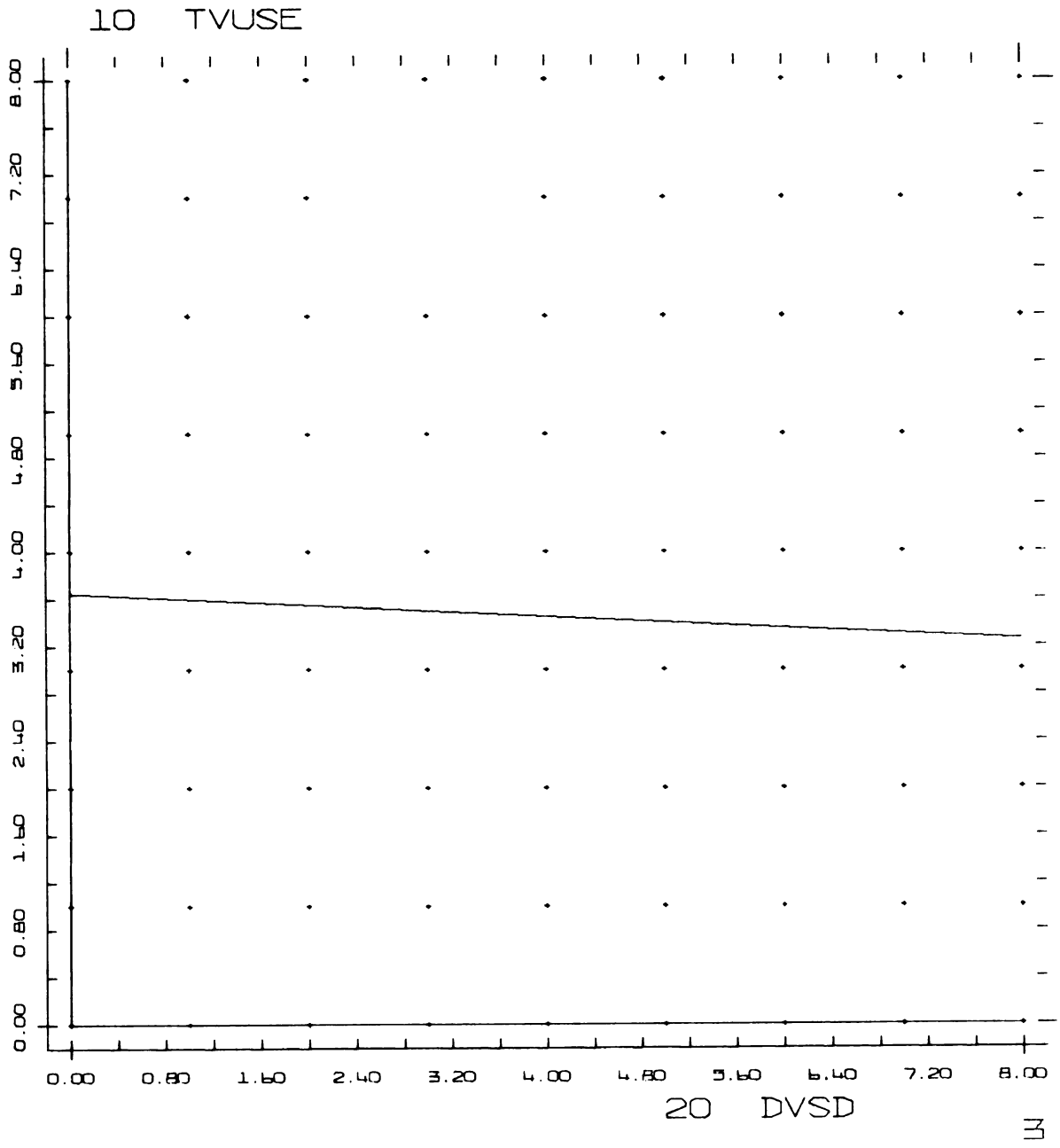

Figure 2.--Graphic representation of the relationship between upward-mobility-orientation (semantic differential) and television use.

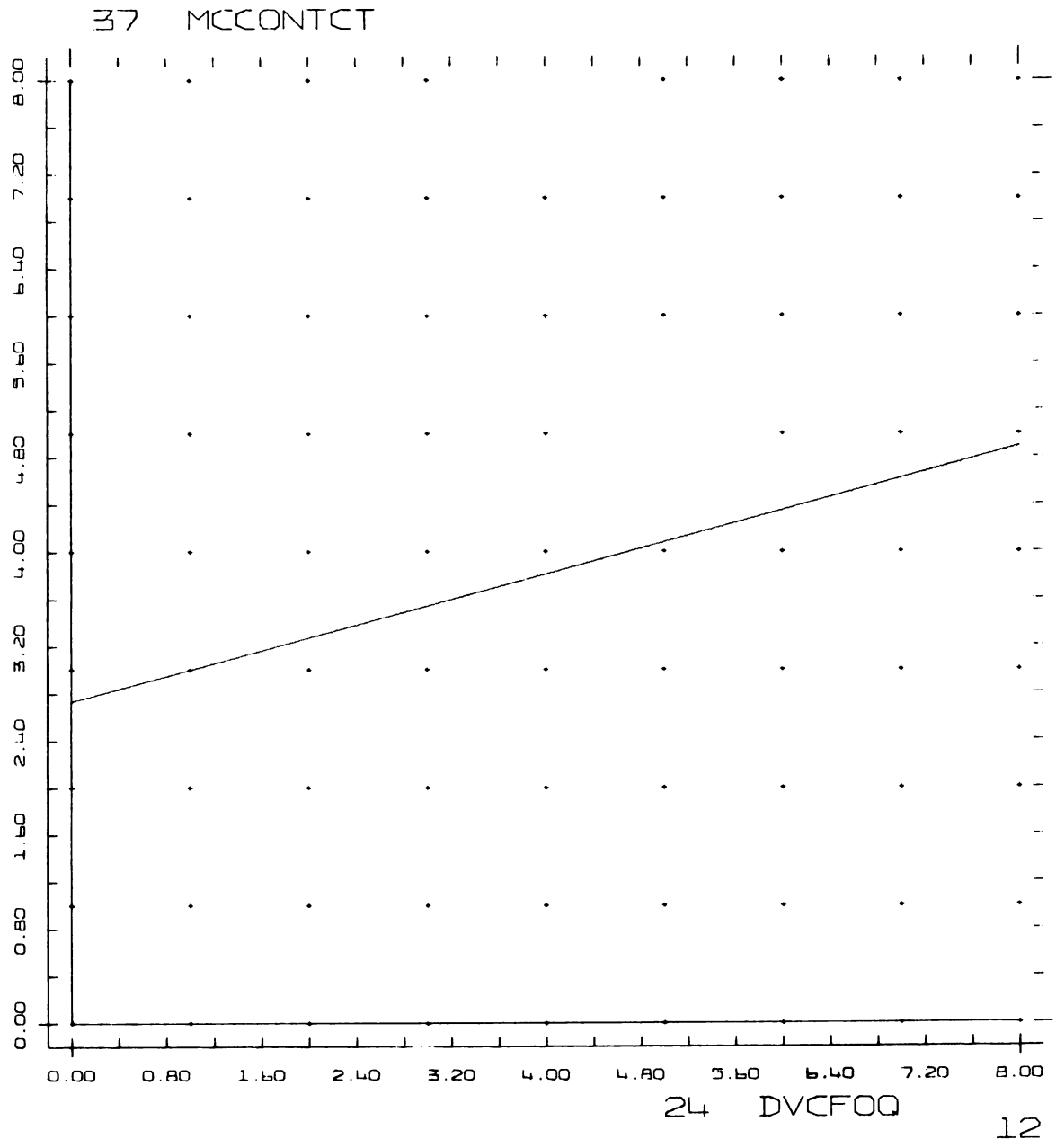

Figure 3.--Graphic representation of the relationship between upward-mobility-orientation (closed-form opinion measure) and middle-class contact.

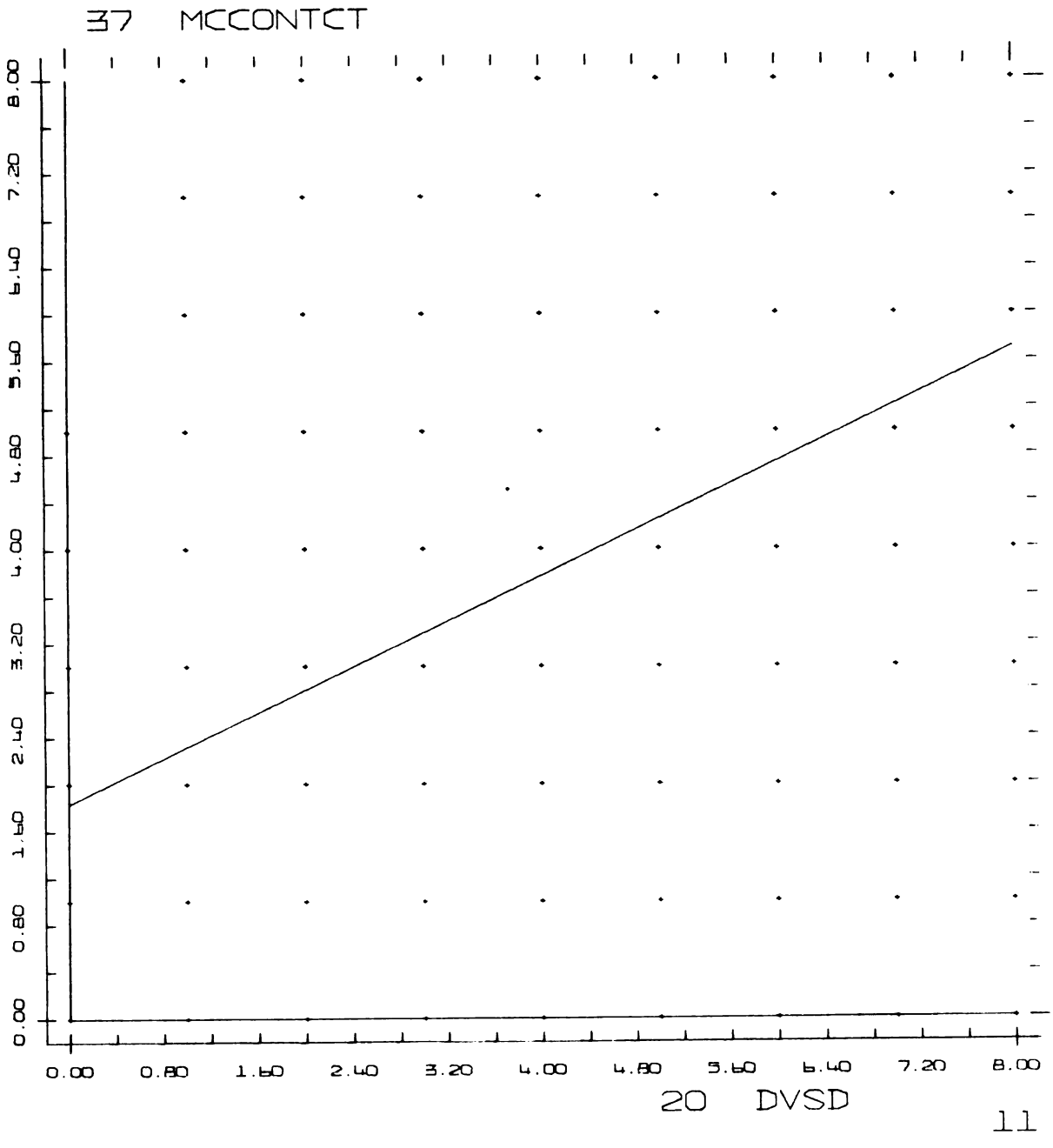

Figure 4.--Graphic representation of the relationship between upward-mobility-orientation (semantic differential) and middle-class contact.

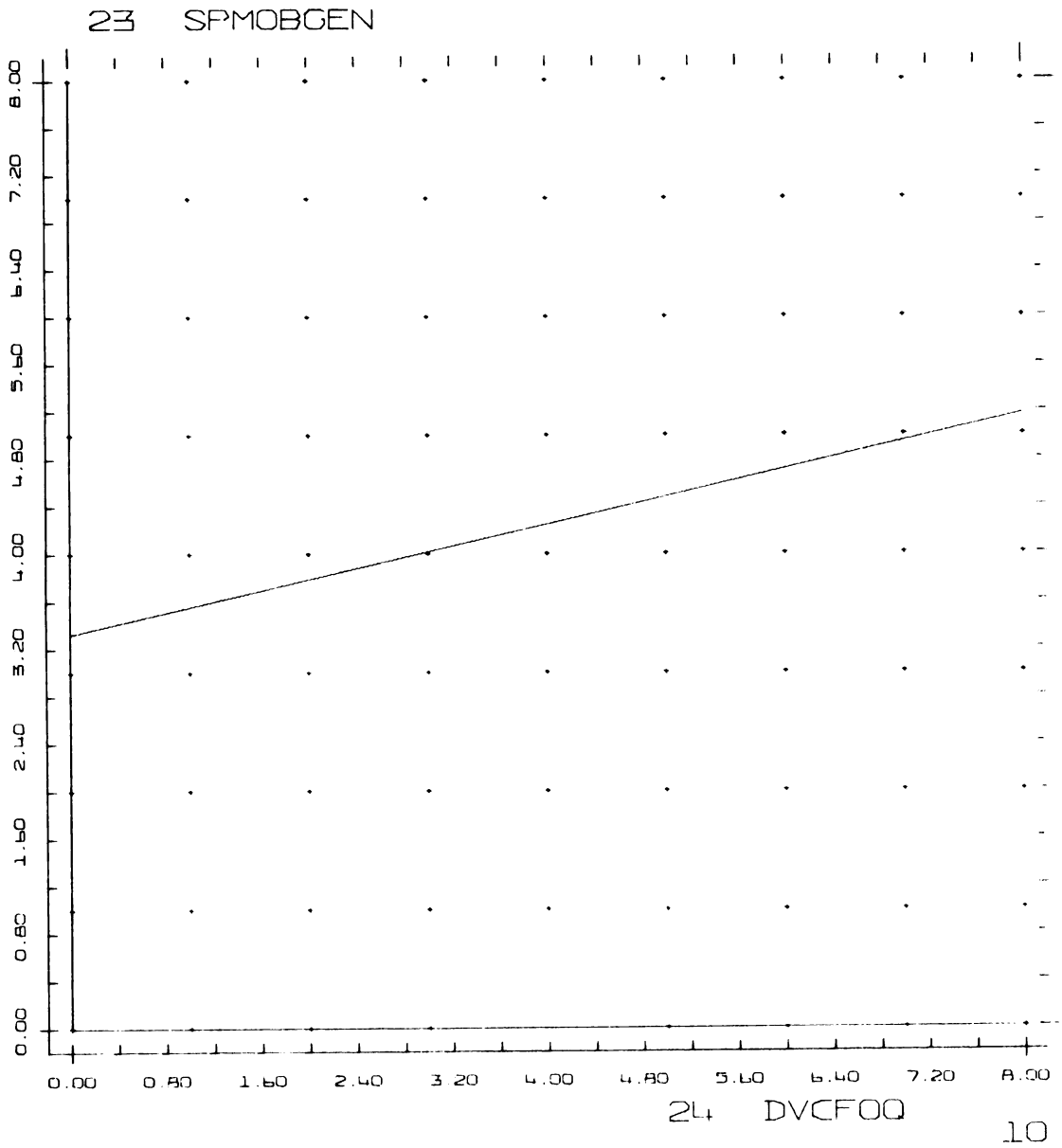

Figure 5.--Graphic representation of the relationship between upward-mobility-orientation (closed-form opinion measure) and general spatial mobility.

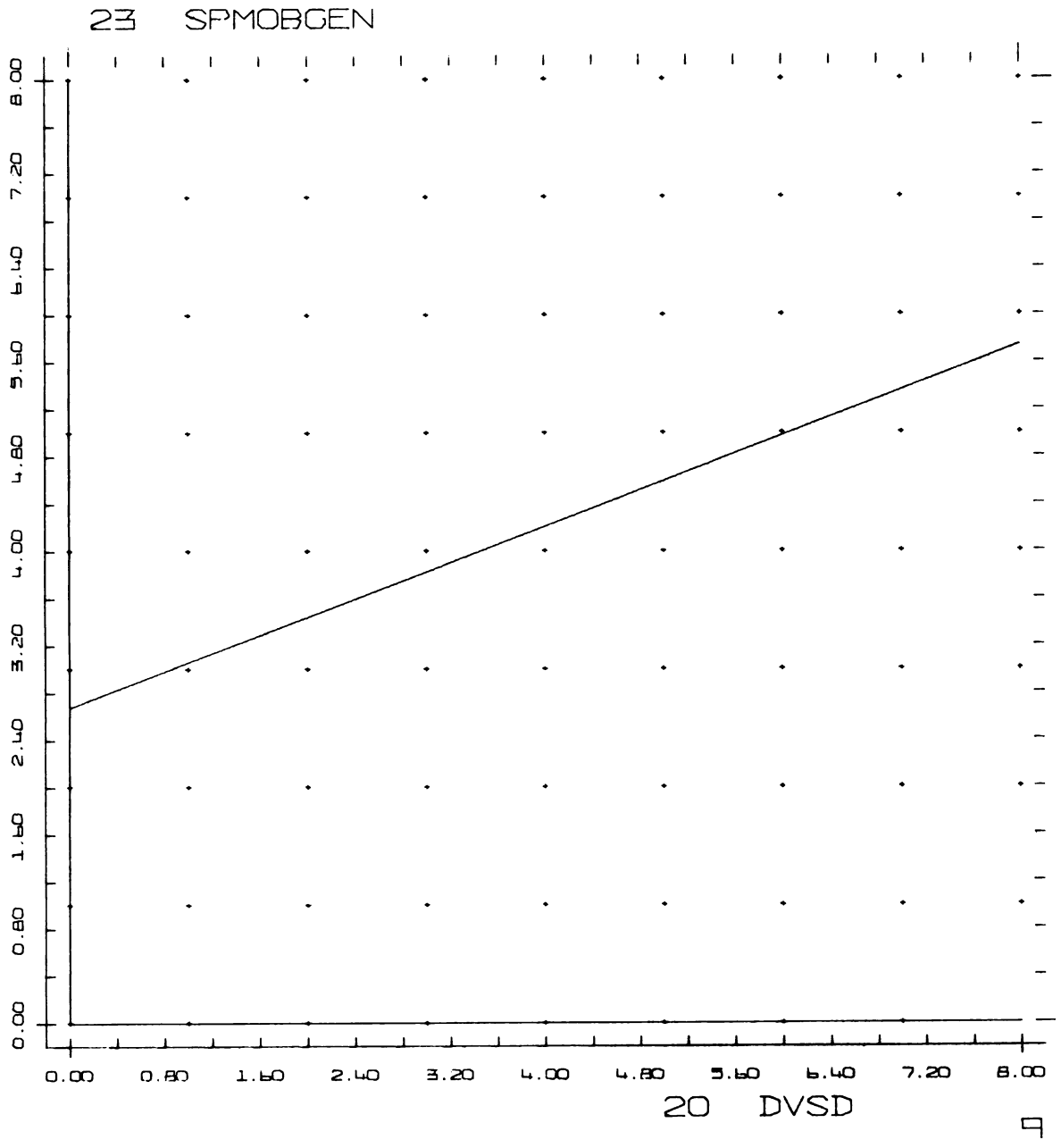

Figure 6.--Graphic representation of the relationship between upward-mobility-orientation (semantic differential) and general spatial mobility.

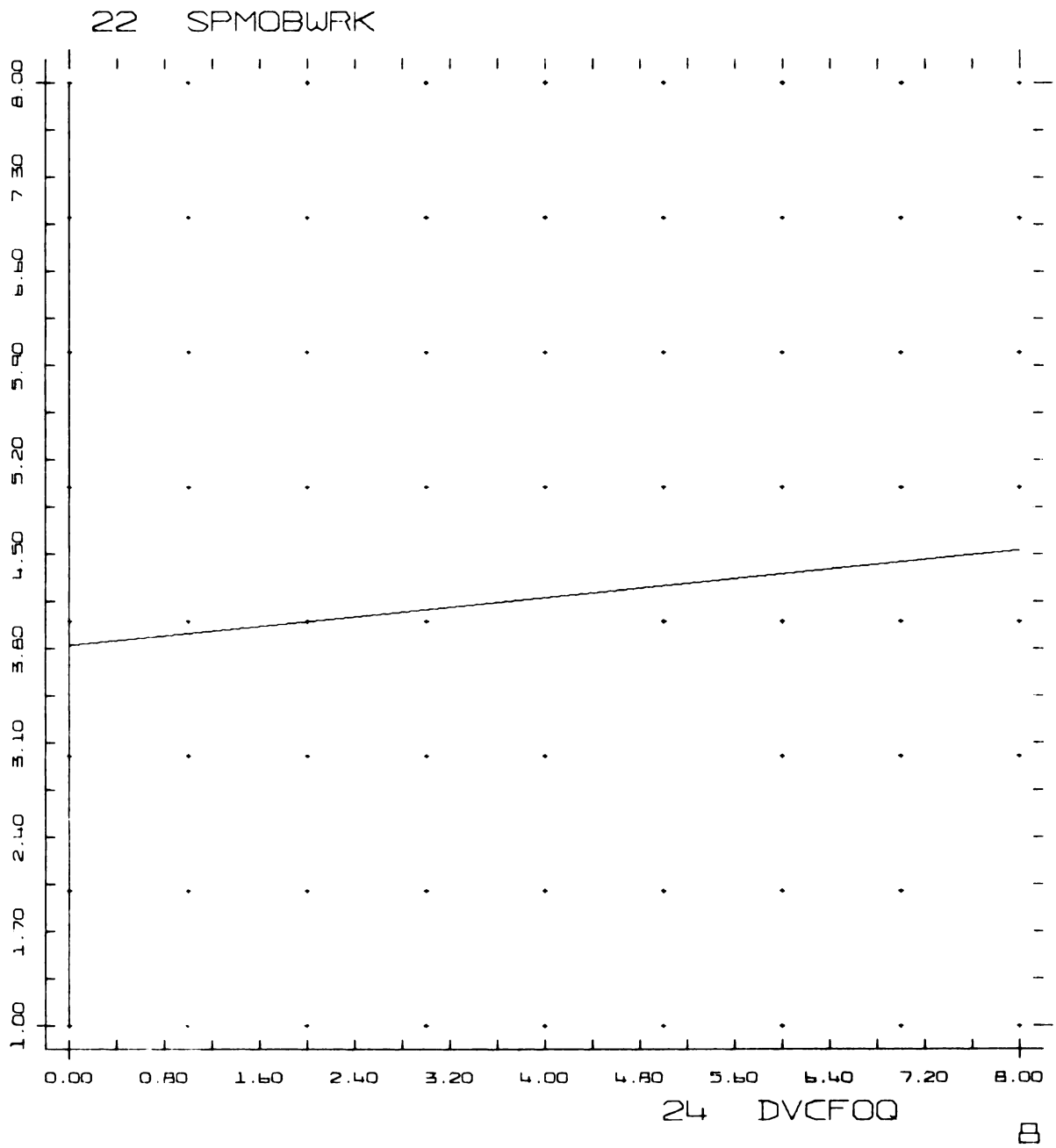

Figure 7.--Graphic representation of the relationship between upward-mobility-orientation (closed-form opinion measure) and spatial mobility-work.

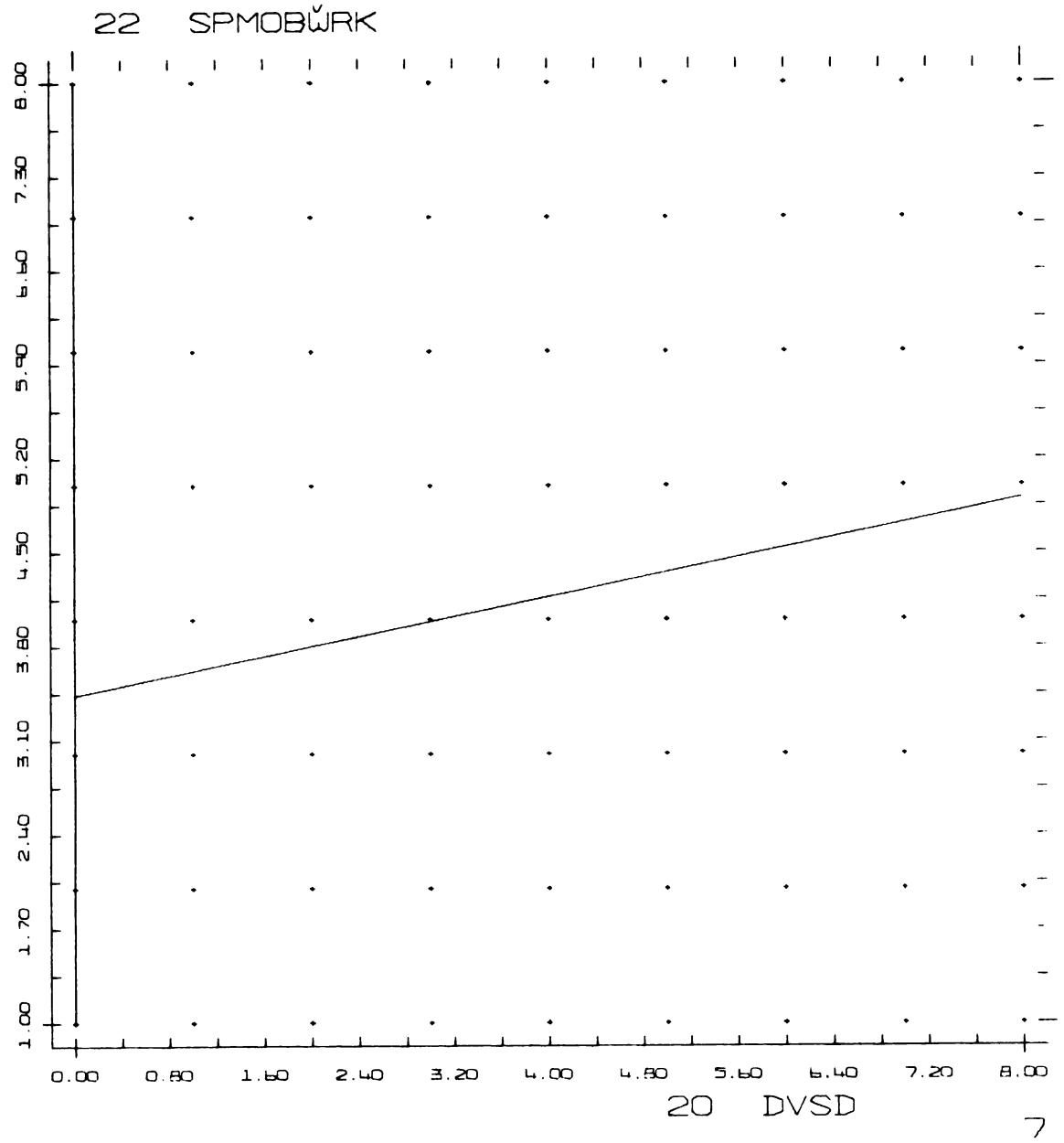

Figure 8.--Graphic representation of the relationship between upward-mobility-orientation (semantic differential) and spatial mobility-work.

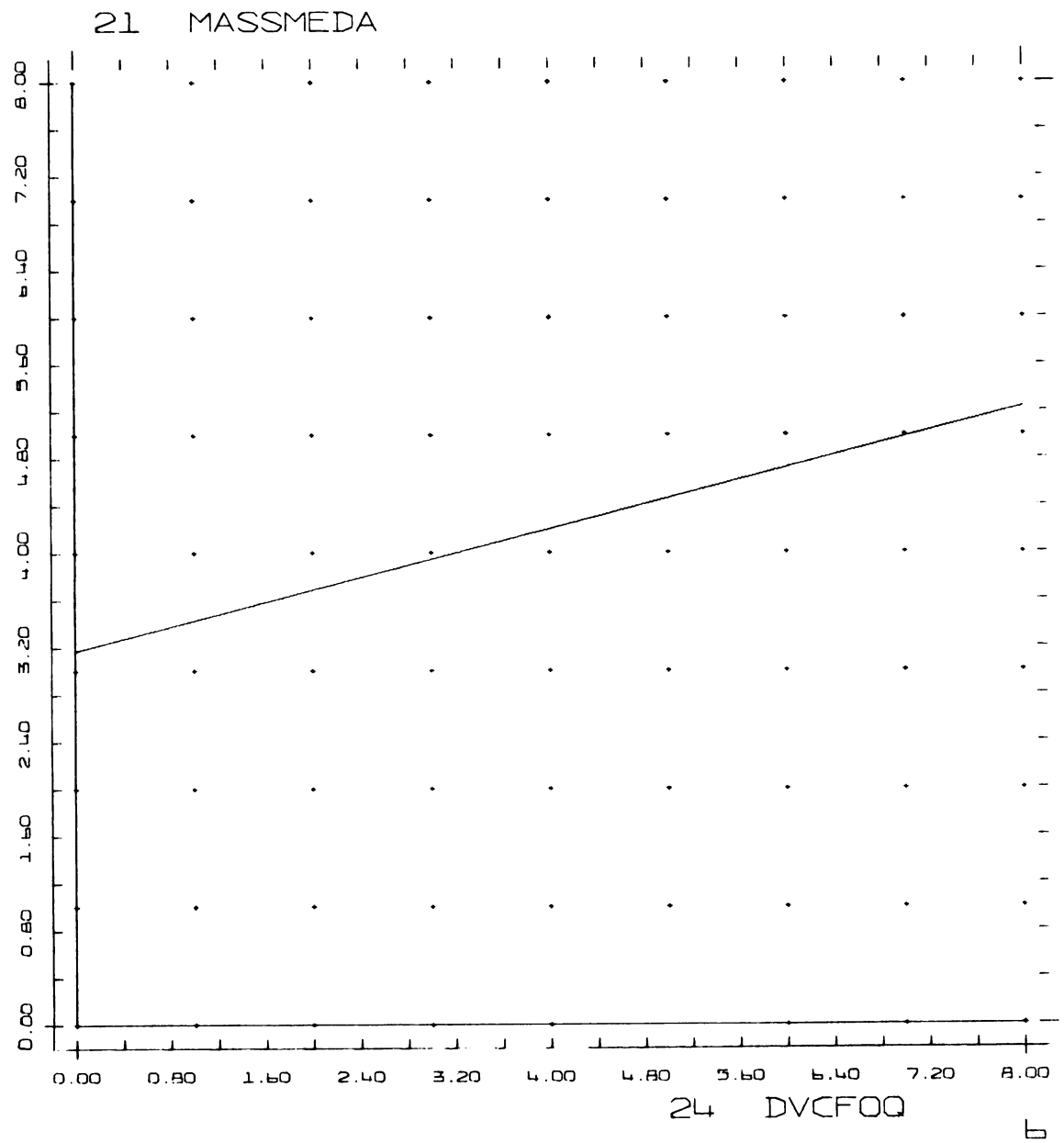

Figure 9.--Graphic representation of the relationship between upward-mobility-orientation (closed-form opinion measure) and mass media use.

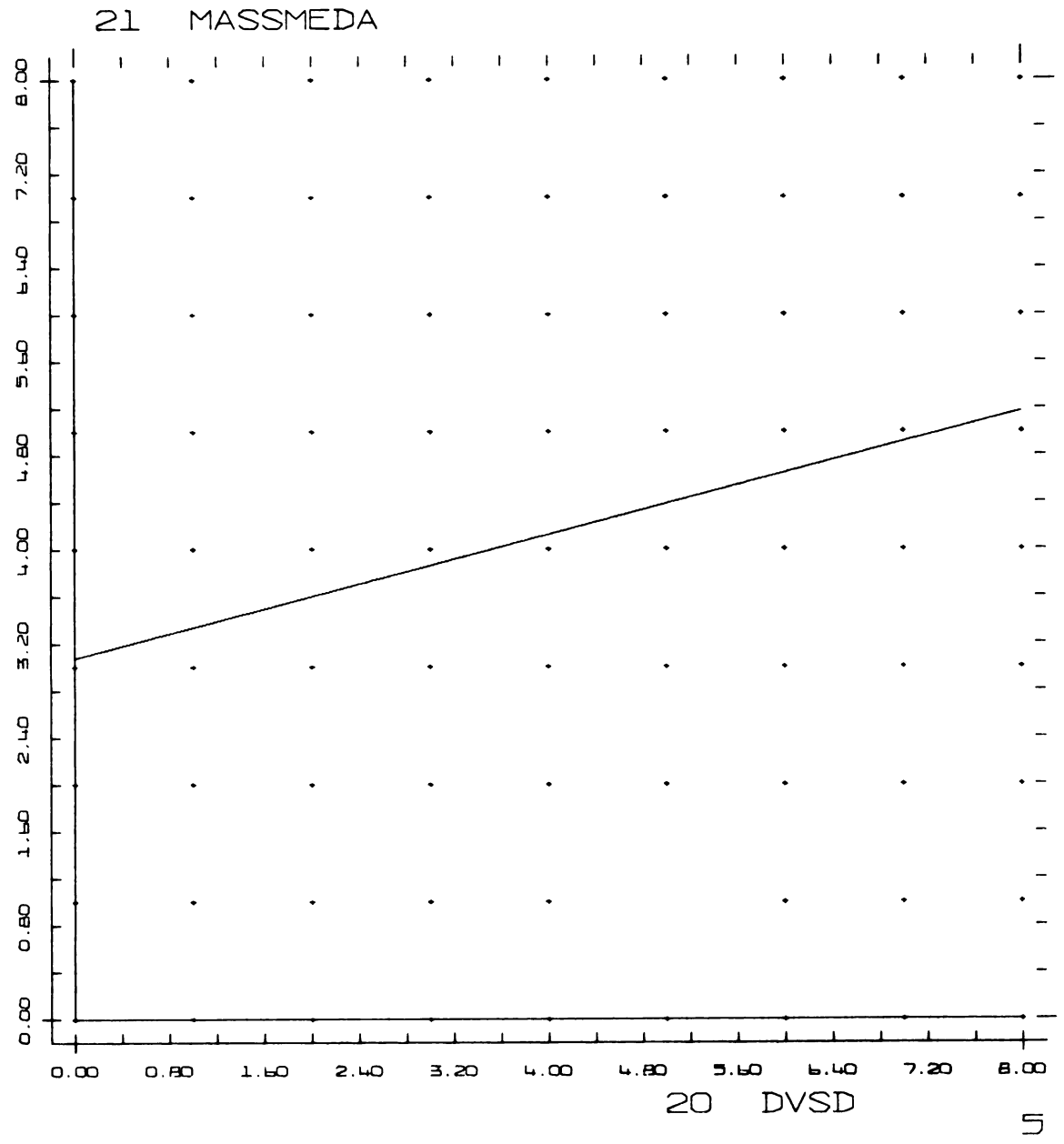

Figure 10.--Graphic representation of the relationship between upward-mobility-orientation (semantic differential) and mass media use.

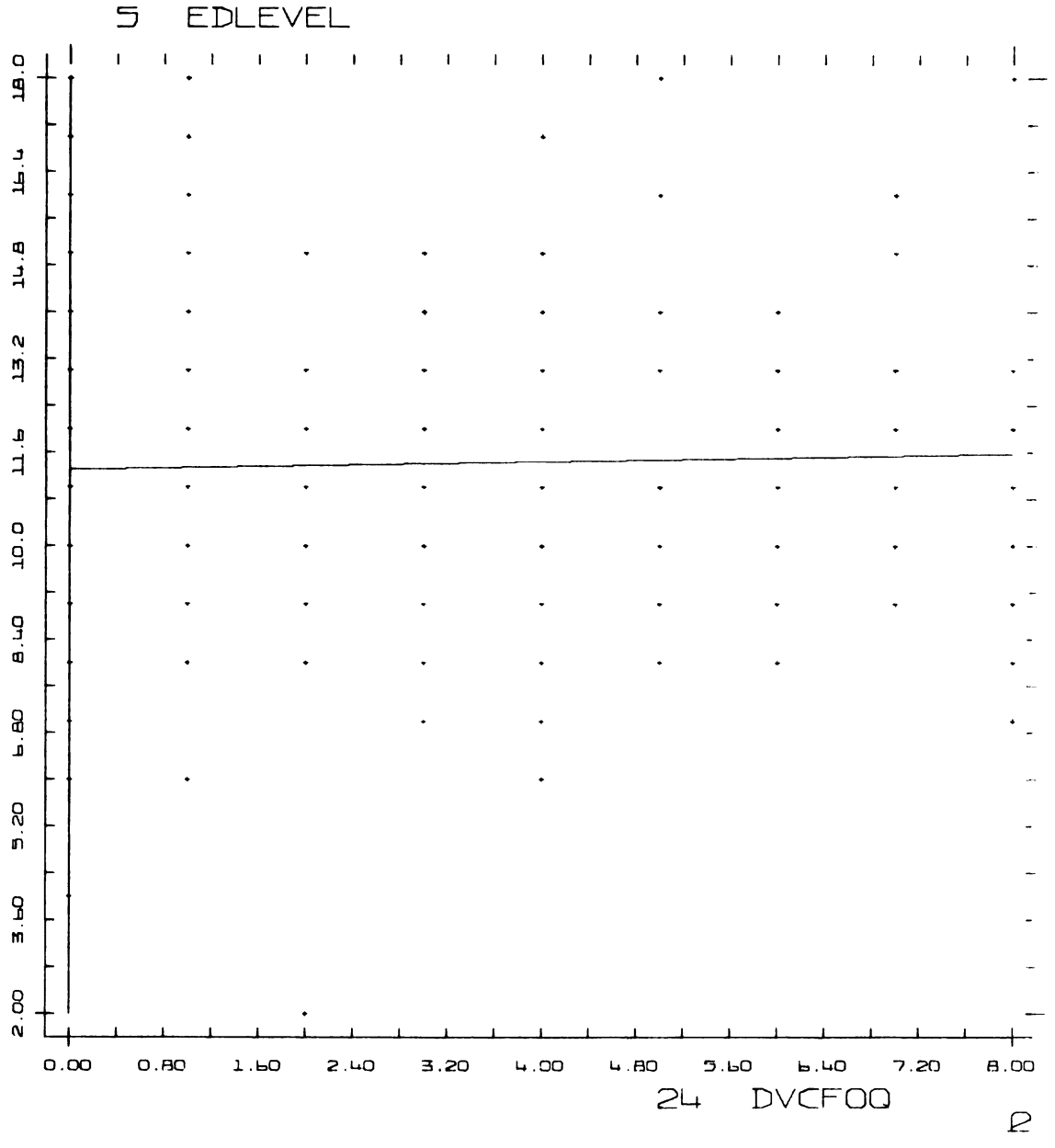

Figure 11.--Graphic representation of the relationship between upward-mobility-orientation (closed-form opinion measure) and educational level.

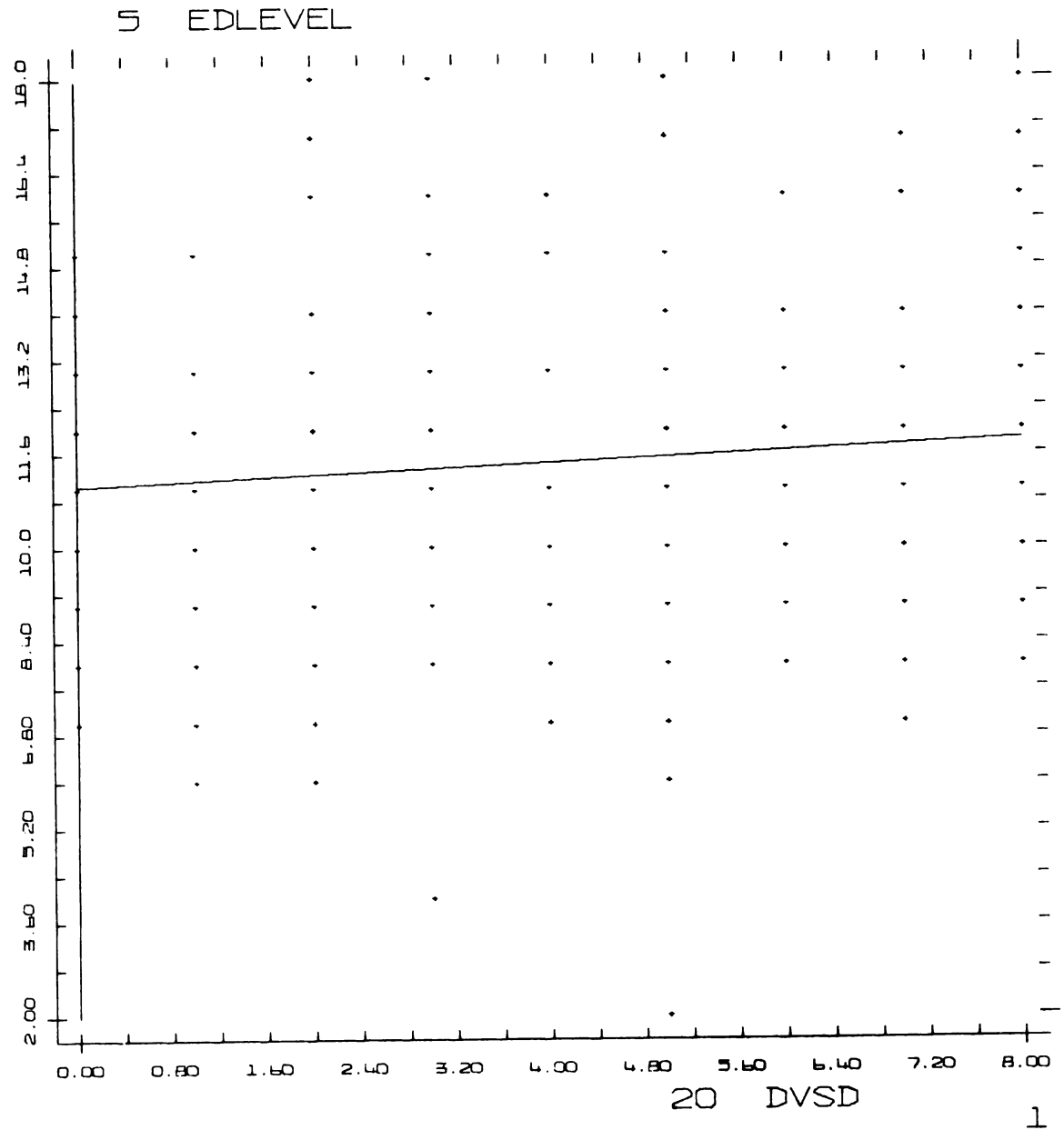

Figure 12.--Graphic representation of the relationship between upward-mobility-orientation (semantic differential) and educational level.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND PROPOSALS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Summary of the Findings

How many of our null hypotheses have been rejected, and how many accepted? The null hypothesis has been rejected in nine out of the twelve major hypotheses, but not without some qualification. Although the last two hypotheses were certainly not afterthoughts, they were attempts to test the relationship between various indicators of involvement with non-culture-of-poverty referents with upward-mobility-orientation. The variables being tested were, in a sense, at one remove from the process of attitudinal change. There was less clear explication within our theoretical framework just how these factors would develop or manifest their presence separate from the other factors; that is, I am here suggesting that the number of facilities one has and one's attitudes toward social ascent are probably consequences of one's upward-mobility-orientation, and not the other way around.

Even if this is so, however, shouldn't the relationships still hold? The answer would seem to be yes, were it not for one fact: our population, as was indicated very early, is a population in flux--one that is still, presumably, in the process of developing an upward-mobility-orientation. If this attitudinal configuration is not fully developed, then, we surely could not expect the consequences of that development to be in evidence; hence, the paucity of relationship with respect to the last two predicted hypotheses.

The investment variables proved to be significantly correlated with the dependent variable in two of three instances, the exception being the variable, "marital status." It has been suggested that this variable's relationship to the dependent variable has been confounded in terms of its relationship to the other independent variables; in any case, its rank order significance and correlational significance has not been adequately shown. Indeed, the correlation was not even in the predicted direction in terms of three of the four measures of the dependent variable, but the correlation in the opposite direction was at a very low level. It may be, however, that assuming the married state may actually raise the level of aspiration of those who are very very low in terms of their aspirations, thus altering the relationship of the variables.

The most significant correlations and associations were found between the dependent variable and attitudes toward middle-class referents; this is reassuring, but not particularly enlightening because, as was pointed out in the last chapter, this finding has been reported over and over again in the literature of social psychology.

An interesting finding related to this matter did emerge, however, and I must add here that the relationship was one that we assumed would develop, but which we did not deem to predict (because of its assumptive quality and because we were not certain as to how well our one measure of the relationship would tap it). I am speaking of the relationship between the dependent variable and the desire for contact with lower-class secondary referents. The relationship is, at the onset, statistically significant in three of the four cases (see Tables 4, 8, and 9) and eventually emerges as highly significant vis-à-vis those three measures of the dependent variable and minimally significant with respect to the other measure of the dependent variable within the deletion procedure. The reader will note that the correlations attained are among the highest gleaned in this project. This strong correlation indicates alienation from, or at least rejection of, lower-lower class occupations and/or goals; thus, as current social psychological theory would have

us believe,[1] it is not only the availability of a new referent and the cogency of its proffered program that are involved in the conversion or movement of individuals, but the degree of impetus that they have in terms of feeling that they would profit from a move away from their current social anchorage(s).

It should be noted, however, that contact with lower-class secondary referents is negatively correlated with the dependent variable in terms of only one measure, indicating that it is not just social contact with lower-lower class referents that is involved in this alienation; indeed, contact with lower-lower class referents generally increases the level of interaction among those of the culture of poverty and since they usually experience a high level of social isolation, this further contact might be the site of their further expansion of social contact (to other reference groups) and the beginning of their alienation from lower-lower class referents. The most socially isolated often gave their relatives as their only associates and friends when asked, for example. So increased contact with lower-class secondary referents is probably an intervening variable affecting attitudinal change with respect to social ascent.

Alienation from one's primary groups, especially one's family, is not significantly correlated with upward-mobility-orientation, though. Apparently one cannot fully

[1]Waisanen (1966); Cohen (1964); Hovland (1961).

reject one's early primary referents and still have sufficient self-esteem to gain stability and order enough within oneself to be able to attain a positive orientation toward social ascent. Basic rejection of one's primary referents (often initiated by their rejection of oneself) is commonly associated with psychosis. Those who reject the goals of their primary referents (e.g., those who experience upward social mobility during their lifetimes) but not the referents themselves tend to experience some emotional disturbance.[2]

Which other variables, then, emerge as most significant? As indicated by Tables 6, 7, 10, and 11, besides those already mentioned, general spatial mobility and mass media use are among the most significant; and, as indicated before, these variables are in turn affected (in terms of their being available to a respondent or not) by the investment variables.

Television use probably affects the evaluation of the goals of the middle-class, but not the beliefs concerning the possibility of social ascent. Generally, television use in negatively related to upward-mobility-orientation, as Graphs 1 and 2 indicate.

The various contact factors--educational level, educational status, work status, contact with middle-class

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[2]Berelson and Steiner, p. 489.

referents--affect upward-mobility-orientation more in terms of attitudes toward the possibility of social ascent.

The investment variables, the evaluation of middle-class referents, mass media use, general spatial mobility, and the desire for contact with both middle-class and lower-class secondary referents emerge as the most significant variables. Apparently these classes of variables affect both facets of upward-mobility-orientation more than the others; contact factors allow for knowledge concerning the availability of various behavioral routes to the attainment of various goals, thus the relationship with the possibility-related measures of the dependent variable.

Perhaps psychic mobility lays a foundation for upward social mobility, but that vicarious inter-systemic contact is probably not enough to allow for the development of the perception of the possibility of upward social mobility. Perception of the possibility of social ascent seems to be related to the adquisition of basic coping skills, and these come from actual, as against psychic, inter-systemic contact.

It should be noted that a variety of ancillary measures of the various independent variables yielded very little; the reader will note that they are dealt with very little except in terms of indicating their

relative significance at the onset of the deletion procedures. These measures were, as indicated in the appendices, merely variant ways of measuring the variables we have been concerned with in this research; it was hoped that they too might yield some significant correlations, but they did not and they have been largely ignored in terms of detailed discussion here because of their paucity of validity in terms of the three conventionally accepted measures of validity--face-validity, criterion-validity, and construct-validity.

The variable of "ethnicity," or the "ethnic status of the respondent" did not prove to be significantly correlated with the dependent variable in any but one instance (see Table 10); in that instance, non-whites are associated with higher mobility aspirations than whites. Current civil rights activity may have lifted the aspirations of non-whites significantly: the significant correlation is found in terms of the value of social ascent, not in terms of its possibility. Generally, however, our basic null hypotheses have been rejected, even with the control for ethnicity.

One ancillary measure that did prove to be a significent one was that of "neighborhood visits." It must be admitted that the correlation is in the opposite direction to that predicted, but inspection of the question and various ecological considerations will lead to a better

understanding of the relationship. The question at issue dealt with the number of times the individual went to another part of town (more than ten blocks away); it was our original assumption that such travel would be an indicator of general spatial mobility. Upon recoding the responses, however, it was found that it might be meaningful to discern the reasons for the spatial mobility. Variables were constructed indicating whether or not the individual went to visit friends or relatives (one variable with two values: yes or no), to work (another variable with two values: yes or no), and so on.

The only variable of these that were specially constructed that proved to be significant was that concerned with travel involving "visits." Now, our general hypothesis holds that general spatial mobility should be positively correlated with upward-mobility-orientation. I submit that this variable does not really tap just general spatial mobility, but much more, it does tap contact with culture of poverty members. That is, these visits constitute an indicator of sub-systemic involvement. After all, all of the lower-lower class ghettoes were more than a mile across in at least one direction; logically, then, a ten-block visit could still be within the culture of poverty enclave. A cursory inspection of the responses of Afro-Americans led to the conclusion, for example, that whenever they went more than, say, one

mile away from their home they almost invariably went to another black enclave across town. So the strong correlation that emerged (see Tables 6, 10, and 11) really indicates a negative correlation between sub-systemic involvement within the culture of poverty and upward-mobility-orientation, consistent with our general theses.

The relative increase of the multiple correlation throughout the various analyses as more variables are included in the analyses and the relatively high level of multiple correlation throughout the analyses clearly backs up our contention concerning the cumulative effect of the independent variables in this study.

In our determination of which items to include within the sets to be used for the determination of summated ratings, it was found that a number of items within the closed-form opinion measure were poorly correlated with nearly all the other items and among themselves; a number of these items were, therefore, eliminated from the final analysis. Even with this accomplished, the reader has almost certainly noticed that the construct validity of the closed-form measure lags far behind the other measures of the dependent variable: the total multiple correlation is lowest, and considerably fewer variables can be considered significantly correlated with that measure. This finding will perhaps aid those who decide to do similar work in the future. The semantic

differential measure, then, appears to be better than alternative methods.

Our findings also indicate that there is some utility and meaning to the separation of the two facets of upward-mobility-orientation: that is, certain independent variables seem to be highly correlated with one but not the other of these two facets, indicating that they have more than just an analytical or conceptual meaningfulness. They do appear to have some empirically validatable existence, even in terms of their specific relationship to various independent variables. In this study, no mention was made of which facet would predominate in the relationships of the various independent variables to the various measures of the dependent variable. In future studies, however, now that the relationship of the facets to the variables is at least tentatively indicated, perhaps others ought not only to specify the general relationship, but the relationship with respect to the two facets of upward-mobility-orientation. Indeed, more researchers should, to my mind, attend to the issue of which type of attitudinal change is effected by which variables, especially if it can be shown that one facet is of greater significance than the other (generally or within various contexts for whatever reasons).

Proposals for Further Research

It has been our assumption here that the possibility facet of upward-mobility-orientation is the more important one: logically, one must believe something is possible before he can value it. This hypothesis is testable; I am proposing that it indeed be tested. A researcher might take two research populations, both high in attitudes toward social ascent, but varying in commitment to the two facets of upward-mobility-orientation, and then measure actual social mobility. This would necessitate a longitudinal or panel study and adequate control for a number of other factors, of course. I am suggesting here that there be some attempt to correlate our findings with actual behavioral outcomes in terms of who does and who does not eventually achieve social mobility. This would be in part, of course, a function of a variety of other factors, and was not our aim in this research effort. We have been primarily concerned with the attitudinal change requisite to the achievement of such social mobility.

It is my expectation that beliefs about the possibility of upward-mobility-orientation would be more significantly related to actual behavioral mobility than would beliefs concerning the value of social mobility. That is, I contend that expectations are generally better predictors of behavior than goals and that goals tend to cluster around expectations.

Since we have indicated that middle-class contact, educational level, educational status, work experience, and the like are significantly correlated with upward-mobility-orientation, further work might be done in this area. What might happen, for example, if decent jobs were readily available for all or if advanced education were free for everyone? It is my expectation that it would tend to elevate the mobility aspirations of many members of the culture of poverty.

Would such social structural factors affect the relative significance of so-called investment variables? There is good reason to believe so: among the middle-class, birth control methods have liberated women to some extent, and women have become relatively more field-independent.[3] One might speculate upon the effects of free and widely-spread birth control and family planning information.

If contact factors are so significant, then ecological factors such as the size of the culture of poverty enclave, the quality of municipal transit facilities, the number and type of culture of poverty institutions within the enclave (are they primarily religious, for example?), and the like would undoubtedly affect mobility aspirations. The lack of such factors, given commitment to the goals of

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[3] Sirjamaki (1964).

mobility, has frequently been cited as a source of frustration that has been a major factor in the evocation of recent urban riots.

Generally, then, although the null hypotheses have generally been rejected within the context of this research effort, I propose that further work be done with a clearer specification of hypotheses and the generation of further hypotheses. Specifically, these further hypotheses should take the independent variables of this research effort as dependent variables (as was partially done in this project: contact factors were dealt with at one point as dependent variables and were associated with the so-called investment variables) and the dependent variable (both its facets) should be taken as one of a series of independent variables affecting actual behavioral changes over time.

I would be particularly interested, for example, in uncovering what factors lead to the alienation from or rejection of lower-class secondary referents that became so apparent in this research; and further analysis of its relative import is warranted, to my mind.

I think a worthwhile doctoral dissertation might be done in explication of the interrelationship of a variety of research efforts made in the area of attitude change and mobility aspirations. Certainly someone might try to bridge the theoretical gaps between such research

projects and devise some comprehensive theory. One of the striking facts that one cannot help but see in interdisciplinary conferences is the great overlap between disciplines when they are studying the same or similar areas. All I am proposing here is that which may be seen as most valuable be synthesized a larger framework with the best of other similar efforts in the hope that some larger and more comprehensive model might be developed.

To do so would increase the theoretical utility of the findings presented here and elsewhere and move us a bit further in our understanding of the dynamics of social psychological change.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

VARIABLES AND THEIR OPERATIONAL MEASURES

Variable 1.--Upward-Mobility-Orientation (Semantic Differential-Value).

	Card 2 Col.:	Value
Now, here is another set of ladders. They work the same way. Please look at the first ladder. At the top of the ladder are those things which are very important to you. At the bottom are those things which are very unimportant to you.		
1. Where on this ladder would you put 'getting more education?'		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	1	
2. Where would you put 'living in a brand new house?'		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	2	
3. Your earning more than $7,000 a year?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	3	
4. Getting a job that most people would not look down on?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	4	

	Card 3 Col.:	Value
Now, turn to card number 2. At the top of this ladder are those things which you consider very desirable. At the bottom are those things which you consider very undesirable.		
5. Now, where on this ladder would you put 'getting more education?'		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	5	
6. Living in a brand new house?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	6	

	Card 3 Col.:	Value
7. Earning more than $7,000 a year?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	7	
8. Getting a job that most people would not look down on?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	8	

Now, turn to card number 3. At the top of this ladder are those things which you consider very appealing. At the bottom are those things which you consider very unappealing.

9. Where on this ladder would you put 'getting more education?'		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	9	
10. Living in a brand new house?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	10	
11. Your earning more than $7,000 a year?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	11	
12. Getting a job that most people would not look down on?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	12	

Now, turn to ladder number 6. At the top are those things which you would consider very good for you. At the bottom are those things which you would consider very bad for you.

13. Where on this ladder would you put 'getting more education?'		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	13	
14. Living in a brand new house?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	14	

	Card 3 Col.:	Value
15. Earning more than $7,000 a year?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	15	
16. Getting a job that most people would not look down on?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	16	

Variable 2.--Upward-Mobility-Orientation (Semantic Differential-Possibility).

	Card 3 Col.:	Value
Now, turn to ladder number 4. At the top are those things you think are very possible for you to obtain. At the bottom are those things which are completely impossible for you to obtain.		
1. Where on this ladder would you put 'getting more education?'		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	1	
2. Living in a brand new house?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	2	
3. Earning more than $7,000 a year?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	3	
4. Getting a job that most people would not look down on?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	4	
5. Getting an ever better life for your children than you now have?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	5	

	Card 3 Col.:	Value

Now, turn to card number 5. At the top of this ladder are those things which are very easy for you to achieve. At the bottom are those things which are very difficult for you to achieve.

6. Where on this ladder would you put 'getting more education?'

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 6 ____ ____

7. Living in a brand new house?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 7 ____ ____

8. Your earning more than $7,000 a year?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 8 ____ ____

9. Getting a job that most people would not look down on?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 9 ____ ____

10. Getting an even better life for your children than you now have?

    8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 10 ____ ____

Now, turn to card number 7. At the top are those things which you think are very likely to happen to you. At the bottom are those things which you think are very unlikely to happen to you.

11. Where on this ladder would you put 'getting more education?'

    8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 11 ____ ____

12. Your living in a brand new house?

    8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 12 ____ ____

13. Your earning more than $7,000 a year?

    8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 13 ____ ____

14. Getting a job that most people would not look down on?

    8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 14 ____ ____

	Card 3 Col.:	Value
15. Getting an even better life for my children than I now have?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	15	

Variable 3.--Upward-Mobility-Orientation (Semantic Differential).

Variables 1 and 2 combined.

Variable 4.--Upward-Mobility-Orientation (Closed-form Opinion Measure).

	Card 3 Col.:	Value

Now, I'm going to read some statements to you. When I read a statement, would you tell me which answer on this card tells how you feel?

Interviewer: Circle response number.

Now, here is the first statement. Which answer on the card (Interviewer: give card to respondent) tells best how you feel about this statement?

1. (A-1) It is possible for a man to better himself if he works hard. — 1 _____ _____

4 Agree Strongly 1 Disagree
3 Agree 0 Disagree Strongly
2 Don't know

2. (C-1) America is the land of opportunity, especially to make money. — 2 _____ _____

4 Agree Strongly 1 Disagree
3 Agree 0 Disagree Strongly
2 Don't know

		Card 3 Col.:	Value
3.	(D-1) Better jobs are available if only men will train (or re-train) themselves to fill them.	3	

4 Agree Strongly
3 Agree
2 Don't know
1 Disagree
0 Disagree Strongly

4.	(C-2) Nobody can make much money in the U. S. today without some kind of "pull."	4	

4 Agree Strongly
3 Agree
2 Don't know
1 Disagree
0 Disagree Strongly

5.	(A-2) A man can still get ahead in the U. S. if he wants to and if he tries hard enough.	5	

4 Agree Strongly
3 Agree
2 Don't know
1 Disagree
0 Disagree Strongly

6.	(A-3) Anyone can become a success if he wants to.	6	

4 Agree Strongly
3 Agree
2 Don't know
1 Disagree
0 Disagree Strongly

7.	(C-4) Anyone in this country can make more money if he works hard enough.	7	

4 Agree Strongly
3 Agree
2 Don't know
1 Disagree
0 Disagree Strongly

8.	(B-1) In this country, how much education a person gets depends on how hard he is willing to work.	8	

4 Agree Strongly
3 Agree
2 Don't know
1 Disagree
0 Disagree Strongly

			Card 3 Col.:	Value
9.	(D-2)	People can find better jobs if they really want to.	9	

4 Agree Strongly 1 Disagree
3 Agree 0 Disagree Strongly
2 Don't know

			Card 3 Col.:	Value
10.	(B-2)	I can get more schooling if I really want to.	10	

4 Agree Strongly 1 Disagree
3 Agree 0 Disagree Strongly
2 Don't know

			Card 4 Col.:	Value
11.	(C-5)	No matter how poor a man is to start with he can make a lot of money if he really tries.	11	

4 Agree Strongly 1 Disagree
3 Agree 0 Disagree Strongly
2 Don't know

			Card 4 Col.:	Value
12.	(B-3)	Almost anyone can go to college if he works hard enough.	12	

4 Agree Strongly 1 Disagree
3 Agree 0 Disagree Strongly
2 Don't know

			Card 4 Col.:	Value
13.	(A-4)	People who are not successful are that way because they never really had a chance.	13	

4 Agree Strongly 1 Disagree
3 Agree 0 Disagree Strongly
2 Don't know

			Card 4 Col.:	Value
14.	(B-4)	Anybody can get at least a high school education if he wants to.	14	

4 Agree Strongly 1 Disagree
3 Agree 0 Disagree Strongly
2 Don't know

Variable 5.--Age.

	Card 1 Col.:	Value
1. Respondent's age at last birthdate: _____	1_____	_____

Variable 6.--Sex.

1. Respondent's sex: Male____ (1) Female____ (2)	1_____	_____

Variable 7.--Marital Status.

1. Marital Status: Married _____ (1) Divorced_____ (2) Separated_____ (3) Widowed_____ (4) Other_____ (4) Single_____ (5)	1_____	_____

Variable 8.--Spatial Mobility Travelling to School.

1. Are you now in school? Yes_____ (1) No_____ (2)	1_____	_____
If no, where did you live when you last went to school?_____		

Variable 9.--Educational Level.

1. What was the last grade in school that you completed?	1_____	_____
None____		
Grade school__ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ K (1) 1st (2) 2nd (3) 3rd (4) 4th (5) 5th (6) 6th		
Junior high or high school ___ ___ ___ ____ ____ ____ 7th (7) 8th (8) 9th (9) 10th (10) 11th (11) 12th (12)		

Card 1
Col.: Value

Did you graduate: yes___ no___
(13)

College_____ _____ _____
1st year 2nd year 3rd year
(14) (15) (16)

_____
4th year
(17)

Did you graduate: yes____ no____
(18)

Variable 10.--Work Status.

1. Are you working at present?
Yes_____ No_____ 1_____ _____
(1)
(2)_____ student
(3)_____ housewife
(4)_____ disabled
(5)_____ unemployed

Interviewer: When interviewing females, state: "This refers to work on a regular pay basis."

Interviewer: If no, ask respondent to specify his or her answer. Then to on to question 7. If yes, go on to question number 8.

Variable 11.--Yearly Work Status.

1. Have you worked in the past year? 1_____ _____
Yes_____ No_____
(1) (2)

Interviewer: If yes, when?_____
If no, go on to question 15.

	Card 1 Col.:	Value
Variable 12.--Average working house per week.		
1. On the average, how many hours a week do (did) you work?_____	1_____	_____
Variable 13.--Length of work.		
1. How long have you worked at the job you have now? (Or, how long did you work at the last job you had?) _____ Years; _____Months	1_____	_____
Variable 14.--Television use.		
1. In the average day, how many hours would you say you spend watching TV? _____ hours	1_____	_____
Variable 15.--Educational status.		
1. Are you now in school? _____Yes (1) _____No (2)	1_____	_____
Variable 16.--Neighborhood visits.		
1. In the average week, how often do you go to another part of town (Interviewer: 'another part of town' means any place more than 10 blocks away)? _____	1_____	_____
Variable 17.--Number of friends.		
1. How many close friends do you have? _____	1_____	_____
Variable 18.--Distance of non-familial primary referents from the respondent.		
Following the question tapping variable Number 17, the following question was used to tap variable number 18:		
1. Where do they live?_____	1_____	_____

	Card 1 Col.:	Value

Variable 19.--Job promotion efforts.

1. Are you presently doing anything which would increase the possibility of getting ahead in your work (e.g., getting promoted, training for another job, etc.?) 1 _____

_____ No

_____ Yes. What?_____

_____

Variable 20.--Ethnicity: scored by interviewer and checked by project director.

Variable 21.--Travel-shopping.

1. For what reasons do you go to another part of town?_____ 1 _____

Variable 22.--Travel-work.

1. For what reasons do you go to another part of town?_____ 1 _____

Variable 23.--Travel-school.

1. For what reasons do you go to another part of town?_____ 1 _____

Variable 24.--Mass media use.

1. In the average month, how many times do you go to the movies?____ 1 _____

2. What newspapers do you read? 2 _____

_____|_____
(1) (2)

_____None

_____|_____
(3) (4)

Interviewer: If none, go on to question #4.

	Card 1 Col.:	Value
3. In the average day, how much time do you spend reading the newspaper? _____ hours	3____	____
4. In the average day, how much time to you spend listening to the radio? _____ hours	4____	____
5. What magazines do you read?	5____	____

(1) | (2)

(3) | (4) | (5)

_____ None

Interviewer, if none, go on to question #6.

6. In the average week, how much time do you spend reading magazines? _____ hours	6____	____

Variable 25.--Spatial mobility travelling to work.

1. Where do (did) you work? _____	1____	____
2. Could you tell me what "other jobs" you've had within the past three years? (Most recent "other job" first; then next most recent; etc.)	2____	____

_____None

Job	Where	How Long

	Card 1 Col.:	Value
Variable 26.--General spatial mobility.		
1. In the average week, how often do you go downtown? _____	1____	____
2. In the average week, how often do you go to another part of town (Interviewer: 'another part of town' means any place more than 10 blocks away)? _____	2____	____
3. For what reasons do you go to another part of town?_____	3____	____
4. In the average month, how often do you travel out of Lansing?_____	4____	____
5. Where do you usually go?_____	5____	____
6. Where is the farthest city or place you have gone to within the last two years?_____	6____	____
7. How often did you go to Detroit during the year 1966?_____	7____	____

Variable 27.--Location of non-familial primary referents (inside or outside city).

Same as for Variable No. 16.

Variable 28.--Perception of problems involved in getting ahead.

1. What do you think is <u>the</u> biggest problem the average person has in trying to get ahead in the world nowadays? ____No problems; _____Don't know or no answer	1____	____

Variable 29.--Contact with lower-class primary referents.

Now, turn to card number 4. At the top of the ladder are those with whom you have <u>very</u> <u>much</u> contact. At the bottom are those with whom you have <u>no</u> contact.

	Card 2 Col.:	Value
1. Where on this ladder would you place your close friends?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	1	
2. Where would you put your father?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	2	
3. Your mother?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	3	
4. Your brothers and sisters?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	4	
5. Your neighbors?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	5	

Variable 30.--Facilities.

1. Do you own a television? ___Yes (1) ___No (2)	1	
2. Do you own a radio? ___Yes (1) ___No (2)	2	
3. Do you subscribe to a newspaper? ___Yes (1) ___No (2)	3	
4. Do you subscribe to any magazines? ___Yes (1) ___No (2)	4	
5. Do you own an automobile? ___Yes (1) ___No (2)	5	
6. Do you have a telephone? ___Yes (1) ___No (2)	6	

Card Col.: Value

Variable 31.--Knowledgeability.

Suppose you have to describe to a person from another country what the following people do for a living. What would you tell them?

1. Mickey Mantle_____
   Don't know_____ 1____ ____

2. Dean Rusk_____
   Don't know_____ 2____ ____

3. Marilyn Monroe_____
   Don't know_____ 3____ ____

4. Lyndon Johnson_____
   Don't know_____ 4____ ____

5. Adam Clayton Powell_____
   Don't know_____ 5____ ____

6. The Beatles_____
   Don't know_____ 6____ ____

7. Cassius Clay_____
   Don't know_____ 7____ ____

8. George Romney_____
   Don't know_____ 8____ ____

Variable 32.--Desire for contact with middle-class referents.

Now, turn to card number 5. At the top of the ladder are those with whom you would like to have very much contact. At the bottom are those with whom you would like to have no contact at all.

Card 2 Col.: Value

1. School teachers 'in general?'

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA 1____ ____

2. Those who are considered wealthy?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA 2____ ____

	Card 2 Col.:	Value
3. Businessmen?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	3	
4. Job supervisors?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	4	
5. Those who are well educated?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	5	
6. Doctors?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	6	
7. Lawyers?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	7	

Variable 33.--Desire for contact with lower-class primary referents.

Where on this ladder would you put:

1. Your close friends?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	1	
2. Where would you put your father?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	2	
3. Your mother?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	3	
4. Your brothers and sisters?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	4	
5. Your neighbors?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	5	

	Card 2 Col.:	Value

Variable 34.--Desire for contact with lower-class secondary referents.

1. Assembly line workers?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 1 ____ ____

2. Truck drivers?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 2 ____ ____

3. Bartenders?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 3 ____ ____

4. Waitresses?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 4 ____ ____

5. Domestic help?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 5 ____ ____

6. Fortune tellers?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 6 ____ ____

Variable 35.--Evaluation of middle-class referents.

Interviewer: Tell respondents: "The following groups are to be considered 'in general.'"

	Card 1 Col.:	Value

1. Where on this ladder would you put school teachers 'in general?'

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 1 ____ ____

2. Those who are considered wealthy? (Interviewer, if not clear, '$20,000 a year or more').

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 2 ____ ____

3. Businessmen?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 3 ____ ____

		Card 1 Col.:	Value
4.	Job supervisors? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	4	
5.	Those who are well educated? (Interviewer: for example, 'some education beyond high school.') 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	5	
6.	Doctors? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	6	
7.	Lawyers? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	7	
	Interviewer, Again, the following questions are 'in general.'		
8.	Where on this ladder would you put school teachers? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	8	
9.	Those who are considered wealthy? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	9	
10.	Businessmen? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	10	
11.	Job supervisors? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	11	
12.	Those who are well-educated? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	12	
13.	Doctors? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	13	
14.	Lawyers? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	14	

	Card 2 Col.:	Value
Interviewer: Again the following questions are 'in general.'		
15. Where on this ladder would you place school teachers?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	15	
16. Those who are considered wealthy?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	16	
17. Businessmen?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	17	
18. Job supervisors?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	18	
19. Those who are well educated?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	19	
20. Doctors?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	20	
21. Lawyers?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	21	

Variable 36.--Evaluation of lower-class primary referents.	Card 1 Col.:	Value
1. Now, where on the ladder (Interviewer: Move finger up and down) would you put 'close friends?'		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	1	
2. Where on the ladder would you put your father?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	2	
3. Where would you put your mother?		
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	3	

		Card 1 Col.:	Value
4.	Where would you put your brothers and sisters? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	4	
5.	Where would you put your neighbors? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	5	
6.	Now, where on this ladder would you place your close friends? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	6	
7.	Where would you put your father? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	7	
8.	Your mother? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	8	
9.	Your brothers and sisters? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	9	
10.	Your neighbors? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	10	
11.	Where on this ladder would you place your close friends? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	11	
12.	Where would you put your father? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	12	
13.	Your mother? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	13	
14.	Your brothers and sisters? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	14	
15.	Your neighbors? 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	15	

	Card 1 Col.:	Value

Variable 37.--Evaluation of lower-class secondary referents.

1. Assembly line workers?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 1 ____ ____

2. Truck drivers?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 2 ____ ____

3. Bartenders?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 3 ____ ____

4. Waitresses?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 4 ____ ____

5. Domestic help: (Interviewer: 'those who are paid for doing housework.')

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 5 ____ ____

6. Fortune tellers?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 6 ____ ____

7. Assembly line workers?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 7 ____ ____

8. Truck drivers?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 8 ____ ____

9. Bartenders?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 9 ____ ____

10. Waitresses?

    8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 10 ____ ____

11. Domestic help?

    8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 11 ____ ____

12. Fortune tellers?

    8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 12 ____ ____

		Card 2 Col.:	Value
13.	Assembly line workers?		
	8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	13	
14.	Truck drivers?		
	8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	14	
15.	Bartenders?		
	8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	15	
16.	Waitresses?		
	8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	16	
17.	Domestic help?		
	8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	17	
18.	Fortune tellers?		
	8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	18	

Variable 38.--Desire for contact with lower-class secondary referents.

1.	Assembly line workers?		
	8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	1	
2.	Truck drivers?		
	8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	2	
3.	Bartenders?		
	8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	3	
4.	Waitresses?		
	8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	4	
5.	Domestic help?		
	8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	5	
6.	Fortune tellers?		
	8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA	6	

	Card 2 Col.:	Value

Now, turn to card number 4. At the top of the ladder are those with whom you have very much contact. At the bottom are those with whom you have no contact.

1. School teachers 'in general.'

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 1 ____ ____

2. Those who are considered wealthy?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 2 ____ ____

3. Businessmen?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 3 ____ ____

4. Job supervisors?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 4 ____ ____

5. Those who are well educated?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 5 ____ ____

6. Doctors?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 6 ____ ____

7. Lawyers?

   8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 NA — 7 ____ ____

Variable 40.--Number of family members (screening variable).

Right now we are interested in interviewing people between the ages of 17 and 29. Are there any members of your family (both at home and living away from home) in this age group? Interviewer: If no, thank the respondent and take your leave. If yes, ask the following question. Could you list for me, please, the members of your family?

Variable 41.--Income (screening variable).

Now I am going to hand you a card with various levels of income on it. Where on this card would you put your total family income for the last year?

APPENDIX II

CODING AND RECODING PROCEDURES

Variable Number	Coding Procedure	Recoding Procedure (Correlation)	Recording Procedure (8-foil-Chi Square)	Recording Procedure (3-foil-Chi Square)	Recoding Procedure (2-foil-Chi Square)
1.	Summary score of all items.	None	None	None	None
2.	Same as 1.				
3.	Summary score of all items.	None	248-220 = 8 219-210 = 7 209-201 = 6 200-191 = 5 190-177 = 4 176-166 = 3 165-144 = 2 143-115 = 1 114-000 = 0	6-8 = 3 3-5 = 2 0-2 = 1	5-8 = 2 0-4 = 1
4.	Summary score of all items.	None	57-46 = 8 45-43 = 7 42-41 = 6 40 = 5 39 = 4 38-37 = 3 36-35 = 2 34-31 = 1 30-00 = 0	6-8 = 3 3-5 = 2 0-2 = 1	5-8 = 2 0-4 = 1
5.	As on questionnaire	None	None	24-29 = 3 19-23 = 2 17-18 = 1	21-27 = 2 20-17 = 1
6.	As on questionnaire	None	None	None	None
7.	As on questionnaire	2-8 = 2 1 = 1	None	None	None
8.	As on questionnaire	None	None	None	None
9.	As on questionnaire	None	None	18-13 = 3 12-11 = 2 10-00 = 1	18-12 = 2 11-00 = 1
10.	As on questionnaire	None	None	None	None
11.	As on questionnaire	None	None	None	None
12.	As on questionnaire	None	None	99-40 = 3 39-01 = 2 00 = 1	99-40 = 2 39-00 = 1
13.	As on questionnaire	10 mo. = 9 mo. 11 mo. = 1 year	None	99-05 = 3 04-01 = 2 00 = 1	99-04 = 2 03-00 = 1
14.	0 = not at all 1 = less than 1 hr. per day 2 = 1-1.9 hrs. per day 3 = 2-2.9 hrs. per day 4 = 3-3.9 hrs. per day 5 = 4-4.9 hrs. per day 6 = 5-5.9 hrs. per day 7 = 6-6.9 hrs. per day 8 = 7 or more hrs. per day 9 = no information	None	None	8-5 = 3 4-3 = 2 2-0 = 1	8-5 = 2 4-0 = 1

Variable Number	Coding Procedure	Recoding Procedure (Correlation)	Recoding Procedure (8-fold-Chi Square)	Recoding Procedure (3-fold-Chi Square)	Recoding Procedure (2-fold-Chi Square)
15.	As on questionnaire	None	None	None	None
16.	0 = not at all 1 = once 2 = twice 3 = 3 times 4 = 4 times 5 = 5 times 6 = 6 times 7 = 7 times 8 = 8 times or more 9 = no information	None	None	None	None
17.	8 = 8 or more 1-7 = no. of friends	None	None	8-6 = 3 5-3 = 2 2-0 = 1	8-5 = 2 4-0 = 1
18.	0 = no friends or all outside city 1 = less than 2 blocks 2 = 2-4.9 blocks 3 = 5-6.9 blocks 4 = 7-8.9 blocks 5 = 9-11.9 blocks 6 = 1-1.9 miles 7 = 2-2.9 miles 8 = 3-3.9 miles	None	None	8-6 = 3 5-3 = 2 2-0 = 1	8-5 = 2 4-0 = 1
19.	0 = no answer or don't know 1 = getting training outside one's job 2 = bargaining on personal basis for better position 3 = getting further education in college 4 = apprenticeship program 5 = job-hunting 6 = finishing high school 7 = on-job training 8 = working second job 9 = taking training for promotion	8-1 = 2 0-1 = 1	8-1 = 2 0-1 = 1	8-1 = 2 0-1 = 1	8-1 = 2 0-1 = 1
20.	1 = white 2 = Negro 3 = Mexican American 4 = Puerto Rican American 5 -8 = Illegal codes 9 = no information	8-2 = 2 1 = 1	None	None	None
21.	0 = does not shop 1 = does shop 2 = goes to doctor or dentist 3 = shops and goes to doctor or dentist	3-1 = 2 0 = 1	None	None	None
22.	0 = does not work 1 = goes to work 2 = looks for work	2-1 = 2 0 = 1	None	None	None
23.	0 = does not go to school 1 = goes to school	None	None	None	None

Variable Number	Coding Procedure	Recoding Procedure (Correlation)	Recoding Procedure (8-foil-Chi Square)	Recoding Procedure (3-foil-Chi Square)	Recoding Procedure (2-foil-Chi Square)
24.	Summary score of all items.	None	30-21 = 8 20-16 = 7 15-14 = 6 13-11 = 5 10-09 = 4 08-07 = 3 06-05 = 2 04-03 = 1 02-00 = 0	8-6 = 3 5-3 = 2 0-2 = 1	8-5 = 2 4-0 = 1
25.	Summary score of the following codings: 0 = not applicable 1 = within 5 blocks or less 2 = between 6-7 blocks 3 = between 8-9 blocks 4 = from 10-12 blocks (to less than a mile) 5 = from 1-1.9 miles 6 = from 2-4.9 miles 7 = from 5-9.9 miles 8 = 10 miles or more 9 = no information Total no. of jobs 0 = not applicable 1 = jobs in other cities 2 = jobs all in same city disregard 3-8 9 = no information	None	18-12 = 8 11 = 7 10 = 6 09 = 5 08-07 = 4 06-04 = 3 03-02 = 2 01 = 1 00 = 0	8-6 = 3 5-3 = 2 0-2 = 1	8-5 = 2 4-0 = 1
26.	Summary score of all items.	None	40-23 = 8 22-19 = 7 18-16 = 6 15-14 = 5 13-11 = 4 10-09 = 3 08-07 = 2 06-05 = 1 04-00 = 0	8-6 = 3 5-3 = 2 2-0 = 1	8-5 = 2 4-0 = 1
27.	0 = not applicable 1 = yes 2 = no	1 = 2 0 & 2 = 1	1 = 2 0 & 2 = 1	1 = 2 0 & 2 = 1	1 = 2 0 & 2 = 1
28.	00 = none 01 = DK or NA 02 = stress of trying to achieve 03 = lack of money; cost of living 04 = getting an education; getting more education 05 = getting new skills, training 06 = understanding oneself and one's goals having (or not having) clear goals; having right attitudes; having right relationship to society	3 = personal problem 2 = social structural problem 1 = No answer or don't know	None	None	3 = 2 2-1 = 1

Variable Number	Coding Procedure	Recoding Procedure (Correlation)	Recoding Procedure (8-foil-Chi Square)	Recoding Procedure (3-foil-Chi Square)	Recoding Procedure (2-foil-Chi Square)
	07 = trying hard enough to get ahead 08 = bad luck; no luck 09 = not enough good jobs to go around; limitation of opportunities 10 = too much competition; competition in general 11 = getting married too young 12 = finding a good job; locating available jobs 13 = knowing the right people; having "pull" 14 = getting enough help from your family 15 = having a bad family life 16 = working hard enough to finish education 17 = taxes; high taxes; government not "taking care of people" 18 = lack of experience in work areas 19 = learning English; learning American customs 20 = not working hard enough; laziness 21 = not getting enough education 22 = draft laws 23 = getting started; getting a good start 24 = prejudice; racial discrimination 25 = adjusting to society 26 = too much charity; too much welfare; giving too much money to poor people 27 = drinking 28 = learning from your mistakes 29 = lack of self-confidence 30 = people too pushy 31 = trying too hard; trying to do too much at once				
29.	Summary score of all items.	None	40-38 = 8 37-36 = 7 35-34 = 6 33-32 = 5 31-29 = 4 28-25 = 3 24-22 = 2 21-17 = 1 16-0 = 0	8-6 = 3 5-3 = 2 2-0 = 1	8-5 = 2 2-0 = 1

Variable Number	Coding Procedure	Recoding Procedure (Correlation)	Recoding Procedure (8-foil-Chi Square)	Recoding Procedure (3-foil-Chi Square)	Recoding Procedure (2-foil-Chi Square)
30.	Summary score of all items.	None	8 = All facilities 7 = lacking one facility 6 = lacking two facilities 5 = lacking three facilities 4 = lacking four facilities 3 = lacking five facilities 2 = lacking six facilities	8 = 3 7 = 2 6-0 = 1	8-7 = 2 6-0 = 1
31.	Summary score of all items.	None	8 = all 7 = lacking one 6 = lacking two 5 = lacking three 4 = lacking four 3 = lacking five 2 = lacking six 1 = lacking seven 0 = lacking eight	8 = 3 7 = 2 6-0 = 1	8-7 = 2 6-0 = 1
32.	Summary score of all items.	None	56-47 = 8 46-42 = 7 41-37 = 6 36-33 = 5 32-29 = 4 28-26 = 3 25-20 = 2 19-10 = 1 09-00 = 0	8-6 = 3 5-3 = 2 2-0 = 1	8-5 = 2 4-0 = 1
33.	Summary score of all items.	None	40-39 = 8 38 = 7 37 = 6 35-34 = 5 33-31 = 3 30-28 = 2 27-24 = 1 23-0 = 0	8-6 = 3 5-3 = 2 2-0 = 1	8-5 = 2 4-0 = 1
34.	Summary score of all items.	None	48-27 = 8 26-22 = 7 21-19 = 6 18-17 = 5 16-14 = 4 13-11 = 3 10-8 = 2 7-4 = 1 3-0 = 0	8-6 = 3 5-3 = 2 2-0 = 1	8-5 = 2 4-0 = 1
35.	Summary score of all items.	None	200-143 = 8 142-132 = 7 131-125 = 6 124-115 = 5 114-102 = 4 101-092 = 3 091-082 = 2 081-068 = 1 067-000 = 0	8-6 = 3 5-3 = 2 2-0 = 1	8-5 = 2 4-0 = 1

Variable Number	Coding Procedure	Recoding Procedure (Correlation)	Recoding Procedure (9-foil-Chi Square)	Recoding Procedure (3-foil-Chi Square)	Recoding Procedure (2-foil-Chi Square)
36.	Summary score of all items.	None	120-113 = 8 112-110 = 7 109-105 = 6 104-100 = 5 099-096 = 4 095-091 = 3 090-085 = 2 084-076 = 1 075-000 = 0	8-6 = 3 5-3 = 2 2-0 = 1	8-5 = 2 4-0 = 1
37.	Summary score of all items.	None	144-095 = 8 094-083 = 7 082-073 = 6 072-066 = 5 065-060 = 4 059-054 = 3 053-045 = 2 044-036 = 1 035-000 = 0	8-6 = 3 5-3 = 2 2-0 = 1	8-5 = 2 4-0 = 1
38.	Summary score of all items.	None	48-27 = 8 26-22 = 7 21-19 = 6 18-17 = 5 16-14 = 4 13-11 = 3 10-08 = 2 07-04 = 1 03-00 = 0	8-6 = 3 5-3 = 2 2-0 = 1	8-5 = 2 4-0 = 1
39.	Summary score of all items.	None	56-43 = 8 41-35 = 7 34-30 = 6 29-27 = 5 26-24 = 4 23-21 = 3 20-18 = 2 17-14 = 1 13-00 = 0	8-6 = 3 5-3 = 2 2-0 = 1	8-5 = 2 4-0 = 1
40.	Used for screening only.				
41.	Used for screening only.				

APPENDIX III

VARIABLE CONSTRUCTION DATA

Inter-item correlations--desire for contact with lower-class primary referents.

Items	1	2	3	4	5
1	--	.20	.17	.11	.26
2		--	.47	.36	.24
3			--	.41	.19
4				--	.47
5					--

Inter-item correlations--desire for contact with lower-class secondary referents.

Items	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	--	.67	.33	.46	.40	.19
2		--	.46	.49	.40	.17
3			--	.44	.26	.25
4				--	.49	.25
5					--	.18
6						--

Inter-item correlations--desire for contact with middle-class referents.

Items	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	--	.45	.48	.49	.60	.42	.49
2		--	.70	.48	.54	.36	.43
3			--	.59	.65	.47	.49
4				--	.59	.39	.41
5					--	.49	.50
6						--	.64
7							--

Inter-item correlations--desire for contact with lower-class primary referents.

Items	1	2	3	4	5
1	--	.32	.31	.26	.19
2		--	.62	.44	.18
3			--	.61	.18
4				--	.36
5					--

Inter-item correlations--desire for contact with lower-class secondary referents.

Items	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	--	.50	.39	.40	.44	.20
2		--	.42	.38	.31	.25
3			--	.51	.28	.23
4				--	.47	.18
5						.25
6						--

Inter-item correlations--desire for contact with middle-class referents.

Items	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	--	.46	.30	.23	.43	.11	.24
2		--	.59	.39	.40	.15	.32
3			--	.40	.50	.32	.35
4				--	.44	.15	.29
5					--	.31	.30
6						--	.49
7							--

Mass media use.

Items	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	--	.14	.15	.24	.17	.20
2		--	.64	.14	.44	.34
3			--	.20	.40	.33
4				--	.19	.23
5					--	.66
6						--

General Spatial Mobility.

Items	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	--	.29	.06	.22	.24	.15	.28
2		--	.19	.28	.28	.21	.35
3			--	.13	.11	.04	.28
4				--	.54	.21	.21
5					--	.27	.32
6						--	.24
7							--

Spatial mobility-work.

Items	1	2	3
1	--	.55	.41
2		--	.44
3			--

Evaluation of lower-class secondary referents.

Items	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	--	.68	.37	.54	.48	.23	.73	.56	.31	.43	.41	.20	.73	.56	.29	.46	.40	.15
2		--	.41	.53	.46	.21	.58	.75	.36	.43	.37	.16	.59	.75	.34	.45	.43	.12
3			--	.48	.30	.41	.34	.41	.86	.43	.28	.35	.39	.37	.84	.46	.30	.32
4				--	.65	.32	.47	.50	.40	.77	.51	.28	.50	.49	.38	.73	.50	.23
5					--	.31	.45	.37	.26	.49	.73	.25	.50	.40	.23	.50	.72	.20
6						--	.19	.20	.35	.27	.28	.84	.23	.24	.38	.32	.29	.79
7							--	.74	.38	.53	.54	.18	.83	.63	.31	.50	.51	.13
8								--	.42	.58	.49	.16	.67	.80	.39	.54	.49	.17
9									--	.46	.28	.42	.39	.39	.87	.46	.32	.29
10										--	.55	.33	.50	.51	.42	.82	.50	.26
11											--	.26	.51	.42	.27	.49	.80	.26
12												--	.22	.22	.38	.34	.27	.75
13													--	.70	.40	.55	.57	.18
14														--	.38	.59	.52	.14
15															--	.48	.31	.36
16																--	.59	.30
17																	--	.24
18																		--

Evaluation of lower-class primary referents.

Items	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1	--	.19	.10	.22	.29	.64	.15	.08	.14	.25	.65	.16	.11	.17	.24
2		--	.34	.23	.20	.17	.84	.25	.14	.14	.25	.83	.28	.19	.15
3			--	.36	.14	.13	.22	.78	.23	.12	.06	.25	.79	.26	.13
4				--	.41	.19	.16	.31	.71	.34	.15	.19	.33	.70	.36
5					--	.25	.13	.17	.33	.74	.27	.17	.19	.31	.75
6						--	.24	.19	.33	.34	.73	.20	.18	.27	.33
7							--	.26	.24	.17	.26	.89	.27	.20	.13
8								--	.33	.20	.14	.27	.87	.32	.14
9									--	.46	.21	.21	.32	.77	.40
10										--	.31	.19	.21	.37	.86
11											--	.31	.20	.28	.35
12												--	.35	.31	.21
13													--	.45	.21
14														--	.44
15															--

Evaluation of middle-class referents.

Items	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1	--	.27	.39	.32	.39	.37	.39	.72	.34	.39	.30	.36	.30	.39	.68	.35	.39	.28	.37	.32	.34
2		--	.60	.41	.37	.25	.36	.25	.67	.48	.35	.36	.23	.33	.27	.57	.46	.36	.35	.26	.34
3			--	.52	.56	.45	.49	.43	.55	.72	.54	.52	.43	.48	.45	.48	.57	.51	.45	.46	.47
4				--	.55	.38	.43	.35	.40	.58	.76	.53	.39	.49	.41	.39	.57	.71	.49	.49	.47
5					--	.47	.59	.43	.45	.58	.55	.75	.43	.54	.52	.50	.61	.50	.70	.51	.53
6						--	.62	.40	.29	.46	.39	.44	.76	.51	.43	.30	.46	.36	.36	.65	.48
7							--	.47	.42	.54	.47	.56	.57	.75	.48	.41	.54	.43	.50	.56	.69
8								--	.41	.52	.43	.49	.43	.50	.74	.38	.49	.38	.40	.39	.42
9									--	.70	.48	.54	.30	.52	.43	.78	.63	.44	.50	.36	.45
10										--	.65	.67	.52	.64	.52	.59	.80	.59	.57	.54	.56
11											--	.67	.47	.57	.49	.47	.62	.81	.57	.52	.50
12												--	.54	.64	.56	.54	.66	.58	.76	.57	.59
13													--	.60	.42	.32	.51	.44	.40	.74	.51
14														--	.52	.47	.62	.55	.57	.65	.80
15															--	.49	.62	.52	.50	.50	.53
16																--	.72	.52	.60	.44	.51
17																	--	.71	.66	.62	.62
18																		--	.59	.55	.55
19																			--	.60	.63
20																				--	.71
21																					--

Upward-mobility-orientation (closed-form opinion measure).

Items	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	--	.25	.33	.27	.44	.27	.24	.29	.26	.26	.20	.19	.29	.16
2		--	.33	.23	.19	.13	.22	.14	.16	.15	.22	.10	.14	.14
3			--	.20	.33	.29	.20	.29	.22	.24	.32	.29	.24	.27
4				--	.14	.20	.10	.05	.13	.11	.11	.14	.34	.10
5					--	.31	.32	.27	.28	.26	.26	.27	.23	.22
6						--	.30	.37	.41	.23	.37	.46	.10	.25
7							--	.32	.35	.19	.35	.34	.17	.16
8								--	.32	.30	.29	.29	.24	.22
9									--	.22	.37	.35	.10	.19
10										--	.14	.28	.21	.22
11											--	.40	.19	.25
12												--	.18	.32
13													--	.16
14														--

Upward-mobility-orientation (semantic differential).

Items	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
1	--	.48	.56	.61	.94	.53	.53	.57	.92	.54	.52	.58	.52	.25	.42	.49	.26	.36	.22	.48	.33	.17	.68	.34	.41	.46	.56	.40	.46	.52	.24
2		--	.66	.57	.48	.81	.53	.51	.48	.79	.51	.51	.17	130	.23	.20	.13	.19	.23	.20	.15	.14	.29	.62	.42	.33	.21	.41	.26	.24	.16
3			--	.62	.54	.62	.87	.57	.55	.61	.83	.57	.31	.30	.47	.36	.20	.25	.25	.40	.29	.13	.42	.44	.67	.44	.33	.40	.46	.41	.18
4				--	.64	.60	.62	.88	.64	.57	.59	.87	.40	.29	.40	.54	.30	.33	.21	.31	.45	.18	.45	.41	.47	.70	.40	.39	.40	.60	.20
5					--	.57	.56	.61	.94	.56	.55	.61	.54	.29	.45	.52	.29	.41	.24	.40	.44	.17	.66	.36	.42	.49	.59	.42	.47	.54	.25
6						--	.61	.63	.55	.88	.58	.61	.27	.35	.31	.31	.16	.24	.24	.26	.24	.13	.37	.66	.48	.47	.32	.36	.32	.32	.18
7							--	.63	.55	.57	.91	.59	.33	.30	.50	.41	.26	.26	.24	.45	.34	.17	.43	.43	.73	.44	.33	.38	.51	.45	.21
8								--	.59	.57	.59	.92	.36	.32	.39	.56	.29	.33	.22	.31	.49	.18	.44	.42	.48	.71	.41	.40	.38	.62	.19
9									--	.57	.55	.61	.53	.28	.44	.48	.29	.40	.24	.38	.42	.20	.68	.38	.44	.50	.56	.42	.46	.52	.27
10										--	.59	.59	.27	.36	.29	.32	.19	.23	.26	.26	.25	.14	.39	.66	.46	.44	.32	.46	.32	.31	.19
11											--	.61	.35	.32	.52	.42	.23	.27	.26	.46	.34	.18	.42	.43	.73	.47	.36	.40	.51	.45	.19
12												--	.39	.29	.38	.58	.27	.32	.22	.32	.51	.18	.45	.44	.48	.73	.41	.39	.38	.63	.17
13													--	.42	.49	.53	.44	.70	.31	.39	.41	.25	.55	.21	.28	.35	.74	.38	.40	.50	.35
14														--	.64	.41	.37	.40	.70	.57	.33	.28	.23	.30	.28	.22	.36	.65	.48	.35	.30
15															--	.57	.44	.41	.51	.82	.46	.30	.34	.18	.40	.30	.44	.48	.75	.53	.30
16																--	.44	.41	.30	.48	.75	.28	.41	.22	.35	.53	.50	.38	.51	.72	.27
17																	--	.39	.32	.39	.47	.65	.33	.13	.25	.30	.32	.35	.36	.43	.65
18																		--	.53	.46	.43	.42	.42	.21	.27	.31	.65	.36	.38	.46	.32
19																			--	.64	.39	.45	.20	.29	.26	.21	.34	.62	.47	.34	.32
20																				--	.53	.46	.31	.19	.41	.27	.40	.50	.78	.54	.35
21																					--	.42	.41	.19	.35	.52	.44	.43	.51	.76	.34
22																						--	.21	.23	.26	.23	.26	.40	.38	.34	.64
23																							--	.42	.51	.54	.56	.33	.37	.47	.33
24																								--	.59	.52	.26	.46	.25	.21	.22
25																									--	.55	.33	.42	.50	.39	.27
26																										--	.38	.36	.33	.60	.23
27																											--	.49	.46	.43	.35
28																												--	.62	.50	.40
29																													--	.63	.40
30																														--	.40
31																															--

Correlation of item value with scale value--

Upward-mobility-orientation (semantic differential-value).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
.74	.69	.75	.81	.43	.77	.78	.76	.80	.37	.77	.76	.74	.79	.35	.61	.61	.66	.68	.29

Upward-mobility-orientation (semantic differential-possibility).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
.60	.64	.74	.66	.59	.61	.64	.76	.68	.54	.65	.74	.71	.51	.23

Upward-mobility-orientation (closed-form opinion measure).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
.47	.33	.50	.36	.48	.51	.46	.44	.46	.40	.48	.50	.39	.38

APPENDIX IV

GUTTMAN SCALOGRAM ANALYSIS RESULTS

Upward-Mobility-Orientation
(Semantic Differential Possibility)

Items	11	9	10	12	8	
1	x	x	x	x	x	
2	x	x	x	x	x	
3	x	x	x	x	x	
4	x	x	x	x	x	
5	x	x	x	x	x	
6	x	x	x	x	x	
7	x	x	x	x	x	
8		x	x	x	x	
9		x	x	x	x	
10		x	x	x	x	
11		x	x	x	x	
12		x	x	x	x	
13		x	x	x	x	
14		x	x	x	x	
15		x	x	x	x	
16		x	x	x	x	
17		x	x	x	x	
18		x	x	x	x	
19		x		x	x	
20		x		x	x	
21		x	x	x	x	
22		x	x	x	x	
23		x	x	x	x	
24			x	x	x	
25			x	x	x	
26	x		x	x	x	
27			x	x	x	
28			x	x	x	
29			x	x	x	
30			x	x	x	
31			x	x	x	
32			x	x		
33	x		x	x		
34				x	x	
35				x	x	
36	x			x	x	
37				x	x	
38		x		x		
39				x	x	
40				x	x	
41				x	x	
42	x			x		
43				x	x	
44					x	
45					x	
46					x	
47						
48				x		
49						
50						CR=.95

Upward-Mobility-Orientation
(Semantic Differential-Possibility)

Item	15	14	13	16	17
1	x	x	x	x	x
2	x	x	x	x	x
3	x	x	x	x	x
4	x	x	x	x	x
5	x	x	x	x	x
6	x	x	x	x	x
7	x	x	x	x	x
8	x	x	x	x	x
9	x	x	x	x	x
10	x	x	x	x	x
11	x	x	x	x	x
12	x	x	x	x	x
13		x	x	x	x
14		x	x	x	x
15		x	x	x	x
16		x	x	x	x
17		x	x	x	x
18		x	x	x	x
19		x	x	x	x
20		x	x	x	x
21		x	x	x	x
22		x	x	x	x
23		x	x	x	x
24	x		x	x	x
25	x		x	x	x
26			x	x	x
27			x	x	x
28			x	x	x
29			x	x	x
30			x	x	x
31			x	x	x
32			x	x	x
33			x	x	x
34			x	x	x
35			x	x	x
36			x	x	x
37			x	x	x
38			x	x	x
39			x	x	x
40			x	x	x
41			x	x	x
42			x	x	x
43			x	x	x
44			x	x	x
45			x	x	x
46			x	x	x
47			x	x	x
48			x	x	x
49			x	x	x
50			x	x	x

Item	15	14	13	16	17
51			x	x	x
52			x	x	x
53			x	x	x
54			x	x	x
55			x	x	x
56			x	x	x
57			x	x	x
58			x	x	x
59			x	x	x
60			x	x	x
61			x	x	x
62			x	x	x
63			x	x	x
64			x		x
65		x		x	x
66		x		x	x
67			x	x	
68			x		x
69			x		x
70			x	x	x
71			x		x
72			x		x
73				x	x
74				x	x
75				x	x
76				x	x
77				x	x
78				x	x
79				x	x
80		x		x	x
81	x			x	x
82	x			x	x
83	x			x	x
84	x			x	x
85					x
86					x
87					x
88					x
89					x
90					x
91					x
92					x
93					x
94			x		
95			x		
96					
97					
98					
99					
100					

CR = .97