

A SOURCE OF SOCIAL PROTEST:
THE PREDICAMENT OF THE
STATUS INCONSISTENT NEGRO

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WALTER ROSSER BANKS

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ABSTRACT

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by Walter Rosser Banks

The task of relating dimensions of social stratification to one another has been facilitated in recent years by the introduction of the concept status inconsistency into the sociological literature. This concept has focused attention upon problems faced by individuals who must coordinate combinations of high and low statuses. The traditional distinction between achieved and ascribed statuses has proven useful in distinguishing types of status inconsistency. One general hypothesis that has been presented is that persons with high ascribed status and low achieved status will blame themselves for their lack of status achievements. On the other hand, persons with low ascribed status and high achieved status are expected to engage in collective protest designed to alter their low ascribed status. There are two assumptions that have been made in deriving these hypotheses, one is that status inconsistent people will experience tensions that will be reduced by

achieving consistent combinations of statuses, i.e., all at the same status level. The other assumption is that attempts to achieve status consistency will also be attempts to obtain the best self-image possible, i.e., as high a general status as possible by raising one's lower statuses to levels consistent with one's high statuses.

This research is concerned with the hypothesis relating low ascribed status to high achieved status. A group with low ascribed status, American Negroes, was selected, and attention was directed toward establishing to what extent Negroes with high achieved statuses were more concerned with altering their status as Negroes than Negroes with low achieved statuses. An attempt was made to shift the focus of the status inconsistency concept from relationships between high and low statuses to a concern with the extent to which a person had to overcome barriers to upward mobility in order to achieve high status. To this end the hypothesis was made that Negroes with dark skin, who were young and from the south would be most concerned with altering their status as Negroes as they achieved higher statuses. Three areas of status achievements were selected (occupation, income, and education) because they had been used in other studies of status inconsistency, and because Negroes are not expected to achieve high status in them.

The subjects for this study were 150 Negro male heads-of-households randomly selected from a fairly complete list of Negro households in Lansing, Michigan. In general, the hypothesis of this study was confirmed in that status achievement was found to be associated positively with desire to reduce discrimination against Negroes. However, after analyzing this desire in some detail, the conclusion was reached that status achievement among the respondents led to participation in collective action, but this participation was not clearly founded upon an assimilationist ideology, nor upon a militant protest orientation.

Perhaps the most significant finding of the study is that education proved to be most predictive of desire to reduce discrimination. Respondents with a high school education were much more desirous of change than those who did not complete high school. This finding, and a few other observations, seemed to indicate desire for assimilation among Negroes might not be associated with status inconsistency. An alternative hypothesis was proposed that suggested Negroes would desire assimilation as a goal most frequently when their achievements did not focus attention upon their being Negro. Desires for assimilation, thus, may be expected to follow, rather than precede, the breakdown

of barriers against Negroes achieving high status. The hypothesis was also proposed that the more Negroes organize to achieve integration, the more likely they will find themselves, in the tradition of American pluralism, accepting and realizing the ideal of separate but equal positions.

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By

Walter Rosser Banks

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CHAPTER I

~~STATUS INCONSISTENCY AND THE VALUE OF SUCCESS~~

New vigor may have been given to the field of social stratification and to studies of social status in particular, for a concept has been introduced to the social science literature that focuses attention upon the complexity of social stratification in technologically advanced societies. This new concept--status consistency--places emphasis upon the fact that in a society with a complex division of labor individuals find themselves holding numerous positions, each having implications for their general status in the society. Modern man is not simply a worker, he is a responsible citizen, and a conscientious consumer, and each of these activities along with others, become important in the allocation of status to him.)

The concept of status consistency points up the complexity of assigning general or over-all status in modern societies, but it also attempts to give some structure to this problem. Attention is directed to difficulties that arise when a person has a number of significant statuses that are not all of equal rank. Such a person is

referred to as being status inconsistent, while people with statuses all of the same rank are status consistent. An individual who is status inconsistent has achieved status ranks that are unexpectedly high given the low statuses that he also possesses. With this concept of status inconsistency the problem of characterizing over-achievers is now extended to include questions concerning the consequences of overachievement at both societal and individual levels.

One important research finding has been that over-achievers tend to express liberal ideas regarding political and economic issues, and in general desire changes in the existing social order.¹ Another significant finding has been that not all status inconsistent individuals are critical of the social order; instead, some of them seem more concerned with personal upward mobility striving than with social change.²

¹Irwin W. Goffman, "Status Consistency and Preference for Change in Power Distribution," American Sociological Review, XXII (1957), 275-281; and Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," American Sociological Review, XIX, 1954, 405-13.

²G. H. Fenchel, J. H. Monderer, and E. L. Hartley, "Subjective Status and the Equilibration Hypothesis," The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XL VI (1951), 476-79. For three studies that may be interpreted as having implications for mobility striving see Stuart N. Adams, "Status Congruency as a Variable in Small Group Performance,"

A typology of status inconsistency has been proposed by Jackson to account for these two quite different behavioral characterizations of status inconsistent individuals.³ This typology utilizes the often made distinction between ascribed and achieved statuses. /Status combinations consisting of high achieved statuses and low ascribed statuses are considered to be associated with critical orientations toward the social order. Status combinations containing low achieved statuses and high ascribed statuses are thought to be associated with upward mobility striving and feelings of self-blame. Consequently, individuals who have over-achieved (high achieved with low ascribed status) tend toward political liberalism, while individuals who have under-achieved are still concerned with achieving higher personal status. The question of imputing overachievement or underachievement is relative to the level of ascriptive statuses incorporated in a status combination./

One possible answer to the question, why are certain

Social Forces, XXXII (1953), 16-22; Ralph V. Exline, and Robert C. Ziller, "Status Congruency and Interpersonal Conflict in Decision-Making Groups," Human Relations, XII (1959), 147-62; and George C. Homans, "Status Among Clerical Workers," Human Organization, 1953, 5-10.

³ Elton F. Jackson, "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress," American Sociological Review, XXVII (1962), 469-80.

individuals overachievers and others not, is that the former are conforming to cultural values. In a society in which great value is attached to being successful, and even greater value to overcoming a disadvantaged background, it is simply a matter of complying with societal values to overachieve. To the extent to which this is the case, an explanation of conformity could also be utilized to explain the existence of overachievers, as well as why underachievers are still concerned with mobility striving.⁴

Why overachievers, however, should adopt critical opinions concerning the social order is still not answered by the above line of reasoning. Unless, it so happens the social recognition that is expected for so fully complying with a fundamental social value--to be successful--is, in fact, not forthcoming. Such would be the state of affairs in a society where one ideal is for everyone to achieve success, while, in actuality, there are many who subscribe to a set of values in which successfulness is restricted

⁴In addition to the importance of value commitment as an explanation, one would also expect that the very process of achieving must to some extent be rewarding for an individual to extend himself to such a degree that he overachieves. In other words, compliance with the value system must not result in significant increases in what Goode calls "role strain -- the felt difficulty in fulfilling role obligations." (William J. Goode, "A Theory of Role Strain," American Sociological Review, XXV [1960], 483.)

to people with particular social backgrounds. In a society such as this overachievers are likely to suffer a rude awakening when they attempt to mingle with the "legitimately" successful as equals.)

One method of testing the validity of this discussion is through the selection of a group of people, who by achieving status are both complying with certain societal values, and, at the same time, are placing themselves in opposition with other equally significant values. Such a group would be American Negroes who have attained high status on widely recognized status dimensions. By doing so they have indicated acceptance of the value of success, but they have also indicated a rejection of the value of racial or social inequality.

~~Thus,~~ the basic assumption of this study is that American Negroes who have overcome status difficulties to attain high achieved status are not rewarded for their accomplishments in a manner they expected, but instead are rejected in favor of the high value placed upon racial inequality. The general hypothesis of this study is that status inconsistent Negroes, meaning those who have over-achieved, will be concerned with bringing about changes in the existing American caste structure. They will thus differ from other kinds of overachievers who may turn their

attention toward additional mobility striving, or toward fully securing achieved statuses, or who may simply become acquiescent as far as status problems are concerned.

This study will not be concerned with psychological factors that distinguish Negroes who have overachieved, nor will it be concerned with specifying value systems that pertain to success, nor to what specific modes of success are open to different social classes or groups. It will be assumed that success is widely valued in American society, and that there are also widely accepted notions as to who may, and who may not, legitimately become successful. Should Negroes who have overachieved turn out to be most concerned with altering the American caste system, this will be taken as an indication of the operation of two incompatible value systems, one placing a high value on success regardless of background, and the other placing a high value on racial inequality. If, on the other hand, overachieving Negroes seem less concerned with altering the intricacies of the caste system than those who have not overachieved, this may be viewed as an indication of either the positive acceptance of overachieving Negroes by whites, or the acceptance of the caste system as legitimate by Negroes, who, as a result of their own gains, are mostly concerned with their status position within the Negro caste. It would be necessary to

conduct additional research to ascertain which of these two alternatives would be the most accurate description of conditions producing a negative correlation between status achievement and concern with altering the existing caste structure.

Status Inconsistency: Theory and Research

To date only a few studies have been published that are explicitly concerned with status inconsistency.⁵ They have all employed the concept to refer to individuals who have both high and low status. For the most part these studies of status inconsistency pay tribute to Benoit-Smullyan or Hughes as sources of their theoretical inspirations.⁶ Both of these writers were concerned with what happens to individuals who have both high and low statuses. They differed, however, in their discussions of the consequences of being status inconsistent. Benoit-Smullyan focused his attention on problems the status inconsistent individual faces. Hughes, on the other hand, was mostly concerned with status inconsistency as a problem having implications for

⁵See footnotes 1, 2, and 3.

⁶Emile Benoit-Smullyan, "Status, Status Types and Status Interrelationships," American Sociological Review, IX (1944), 151-61. E. C. Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," American Journal of Sociology, L (1944), 353-59.

intergroup relations.

Benoit-Smullyan may be regarded as establishing a frame of reference for research in which status inconsistency is associated with mobility striving. In such studies the central hypothesis is that status inconsistent persons will try to raise their lower statuses to a level that is in accord with their high statuses. Fenchel, Monderer, and Hartley have found that status inconsistent persons are concerned with upward mobility striving, and specifically with respect to those status dimensions in which they are low.⁷

Research relating status inconsistency to opinions concerning the social order follow more directly from arguments presented by Hughes than from Benoit-Smullyan's concern with a tendency toward status equilibrium. Hughes expressed concern over the possibility that status inconsistency might become a source of social disintegration, that is a social system problem, and not just an individual problem of adjustment. One of the major difficulties Hughes saw as a consequence of "new kinds" of persons entering a social group was the tendency for such groups to

⁷Op. cit., pp. 476-79.

divide into fairly distinct subgroups with these new members interacting mostly among themselves.⁸ One example Hughes gives as to how this process may take place is that as Negroes gain in occupational status, instead of being fully accepted in terms of their occupational status, a separate social structure develops to accommodate them.⁹ As a consequence of this emergent social structure the basic pattern of racial segregation is essentially maintained at even higher status levels, i.e., the formation of ^{INDIAN} Negro country and ~~ski~~ clubs, Negro fraternities on northern university campuses, etc.

The studies of status inconsistency that have been concerned with the orientations status inconsistent persons have toward the social order do not follow in full detail Hughes' line of reasoning. Whereas Hughes emphasized the possibility that caste relations might be extended to higher status levels as a result of status gains on the part of low caste members, writers employing the status inconsistency concept have for the most part been concerned with inter-group conflict rather than accommodation. The concern, nevertheless, is still with status inconsistency as a possible

⁸Op. cit., p. 357.

⁹Ibid., pp. 358-59.

source of social action that may be dysfunctional to the existing social structure. The general hypothesis of these studies is that status inconsistent individuals will have a negative opinion of their society. Those who would emphasize the fact that status inconsistent persons have been found to be political liberals and not radicals, might qualify the foregoing to "mildly negative opinions of their society." At any rate it is hypothesized status inconsistent persons want societal changes. Jackson has given greater specificity to this particular view of the effects of status inconsistency.

/ A person whose achievement ranks are inferior to his ascribed rank is likely to view his situation as one of personal failure. . . . On the other hand, the inconsistent whose achievement ranks exceed his ascribed rank usually is evaluated, and evaluates himself, as a success, since he has won (or maintained) his position despite the handicap of low racial-ethnic status.

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Advanced education and high status occupation both reflect and reinforce a tendency to cope actively with problems and an ability to see them in their social context. An inconsistent with high achieved and low ascribed rank thus tends to see the social bases for his difficulties; . . .¹⁰

It is generally acknowledged that the utility of status consistency as an independent variable depends upon

¹⁰ Jackson, American Sociological Review, XXVII, 477.

what statuses are selected for study, and how these statuses are then combined into a measure of degree of status inconsistency. One must also be careful to keep clearly in mind specifically which status variables he has selected in making his hypotheses. For example, Lipset in his Political Man may be going too far when he suggests that since Negroes vote Democratic more than do whites, this indicates Negroes are further left politically than whites.¹¹ But Lipset does not stop there; he goes on to suggest Negroes who achieve high economic status will tend to be extreme leftists. "High-income members of a low-status ethnic or religious group are . . . in a situation comparable to the upper level of the working class in those countries with 'closed' status systems."¹² What Lipset seems to be overlooking is that as Negroes achieve high economic status they may also become the extreme black bourgeoisie described by E. Franklin Frazier. In this study no hypotheses will be made concerning political orientation. Instead, the concern will be with what connections, if any, there are between status achievement for Negroes and their reactions to being Negro.

¹¹Seymour M. Lipset, Political Man (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1960), p. 242. Lipset does stress the tentativeness of his hypotheses.

¹²Ibid.

The Tendency Toward Status Consistency

In general there have been two explanations advanced concerning the tendency for status inconsistent persons to alter their status patterns in such a way that they become more status consistent. One explanation is at the societal level and relates this individual tendency to the general process of class formation.¹³ This explanation is simply that there will be fewer and fewer status inconsistent persons in a society as the society changes from an open-classed one to a rigidly stratified one. The explanation for this societal process might then be sought in the economic or political systems of the society. The other mechanism invoked to explain the tendency toward status consistency at the individual level is also applicable here.

At the individual level status inconsistency is considered to have a disruptive effect upon the self concept.¹⁴ People who are high in one status area and low in another receive inconsistent treatment from others. In certain situations they are treated with great respect, and in

¹³Werner S. Landecker, "Class Stratification," and "Stratification in the Urban Society" in Ronald Freedman, et al, Principles of Sociology (New York: Henry Holt, 1956), pp. 231-44 and 520-39.

¹⁴Jackson, American Sociological Review, XXVII, 469-70.

other situations they may consider themselves lucky if they are ignored. A status inconsistent person may be given more respect than he thinks he deserves in one situation because others are aware that although in this situation his status is low, in other significant situations he is known to have high status. Similarly, a person may be given less respect in one situation where his status is high because his subordinates are aware of other important situations in which his status is low. The necessity of having to cope with these inconsistencies in how he is being treated by others makes it difficult for the status inconsistent person to establish a stable self-identity. Efforts to achieve status consistency, then, may also be viewed as attempts to relieve tensions centering around the self-concept.

Status Inconsistency Theory

The following is a brief summary of what seems to be the basic theory that has developed concerning the concept of status inconsistency. Status inconsistent persons have both high and low statuses at the same time. There is a tendency for status inconsistent individuals to try to achieve status consistency. If their high statuses are ascribed and their low statuses achieved, then, they will try to achieve status consistency through upward mobility

striving. If their high statuses are achieved and their low statuses ascribed, then, they will try to attain status consistency through social change. The greater the discrepancy between the high and low statuses the greater the effort to attain consistency. There may be a sensitivity threshold, a point below which status inconsistency has no measurable effect. These tendencies exist because of a societal transformation from an open-class society toward a closed-class society, and because status inconsistency presents problems for maintaining a stable self-concept. The techniques a person learns to protect his self-concept may be taken as basic factors underlying the societal transformation, or attention may be turned toward the social system itself, or conditions external to it, to account for the trend toward the formation of classes or castes.¹⁵

Thus, at the societal level current theory views a reduction in the number of status inconsistent persons as producing, or coinciding with, the formation of clearly delineated classes. This may be taken as implying a tendency

¹⁵For an interesting discussion of the possible importance of psychological factors underlying class and caste formation see Dennis H. Wrong, "The Functional Theory of Stratification," American Sociological Review, XXIV (1959), 781.

toward class conflict; however, as the theory stands at present the opposite seems to be the expectation, i.e., as the number of status inconsistent persons increases there is greater likelihood that conflict between classes will develop because they will provide leadership for the lower classes. We have then the interesting idea that relations between classes will be most harmonious when class membership is clearly associated with a number of statuses. The fact that the tendency toward status consistency is also regarded as reducing tensions involving the self-concept fits with this view of class relations. The status inconsistency concept may also be evaluated in this connection as an attempt to handle the dual problem of class conflict--class consciousness based on similarity of experience and class leadership based on contacts outside intraclass relationships.

Antecedents of Status Inconsistency

Even if the foregoing is the most fruitful beginning toward incorporating the concept of status inconsistency into a general theory of society, there is still the problem of how individuals become status inconsistent in the first place. It would be possible to talk of an industrializing

society shifting from a castelike society into a class or classless one, and thereby producing status inconsistent persons. At the individual level it would be necessary to postulate conditions under which there will be a tendency to desire unstable or ill-defined self-concepts.

The Value of Success

The theory as it has thus far been developed could be kept intact and expanded to account for the presence of status inconsistent persons by introducing societal values as significant independent variables. To the extent that members of a society attach high value to being successful there is a pressure toward the formation of status inconsistent persons.

In comparing different societies, differences in cultural values may explain to some extent why vertical mobility is more common in one society than in another. A culture which places a premium in personal striving, the display of initiative, and competitive endeavor, thereby fosters efforts to rise from lower to higher status levels. Such stimulus is not provided by a culture which strongly restricts personal choice, requires that some follow in the footsteps of their fathers, and encourages the cautious accumulation of property at the expense of taking chances in the pursuit of opportunities.¹⁶

¹⁶Freedman, et al., op. cit., p. 531.

One of the most difficult problems facing those theorists who ascribe to cultural values the power to determine, or alter, social conditions is to find some way in which they can adequately test this hypothesis. Gideon Sjoberg in Sociology Today points up some of the problems involved when values are employed as independent variables.¹⁷ Sjoberg suggests there is need for an approach that utilizes cultural values, technology, and power together as independent variables. The foregoing quote from Freedman, et al. probably tends toward an overstatement of the case for the use of cultural values as social determinants. The value of success is being introduced in the present discussion, not simply because it may be capable of giving rise to mobility striving, but because it is likely to influence how people evaluate their present status attributes: The number of status inconsistent people in a society is likely to be determined mainly by such factors as rate of industrialization and urbanization. Still, how concerned these people are about being status inconsistent is likely to be traceable to the emphasis their particular society places upon success.

Since it is unlikely that a person will be able to change all his statuses at the same time in his efforts to

¹⁷Gideon Sjoberg, "Comparative Urban Sociology," in Robert K. Merton, et al., Sociology Today (New York: Basic Books, 1959), pp. 344-47.

be successful, he is bound to be status inconsistent on a number of occasions during his life time. A person with a low ascribed status becomes status inconsistent the moment he begins to realize a certain amount of success, and remains inconsistent as long as he is successful. Similarly persons with high ascribed statuses remain status inconsistent so long as they fail to achieve high status./

/ The status inconsistent members of a society in which a high value is placed upon success can be expected to show interest in trying to raise their lower statuses to a level that is compatible with their high statuses, and to even continue from there to try to gain an even higher general status level. Inasmuch as they have already been labeled as being inherently more valuable to their society, members who have high ascribed status can be expected to be even more success oriented than those with low ascribed status. Thus, by introducing the variable of societal values regarding success it is possible to explain some of the tensions status inconsistent persons have in an open classed society. Besides an unstable self-image, the status inconsistent person is now also being plagued by the presence of values pertaining to success. There is an additional reason, then, for the status inconsistent individual with high ascribed status and low achieved status to feel guilty,

and to develop tensions concerning his combination of statuses--he is an "underachiever."

In a society that ascribes statuses and also values status achievement, it is possible, indeed likely, that there will be some members who view themselves and are viewed by others as underachievers, as people who have not lived up to societal values by failing to take advantage of their superior origin. In such a society there are also likely to be individuals who are viewed as overachievers, those people of inferior origin who have achieved status levels expected only of those from superior stock. Over-achievers may also have low and high achieved status, e.g., high occupational status with low educational status.

Probably the most obvious focus of conflict in the American (stratification) system is the clash between the principles of achieved status and status gained by birth or group membership.

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And cleavage in the moral framework of the system is especially marked where the criteria of equal opportunity and personal achievement meet head-on with systems of ascribed status and parental opportunity--most conspicuously in the case of ethnic, religious, or racial minorities.¹⁸

¹⁸ Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), pp. 126-28.

The Relationship between Ascribed
and Achieved Status

In a society in which both ascribed and achieved statuses are recognized and legitimized, expectations also arise concerning relationships between these two kinds of statuses. They may be related in terms of rationalistic considerations, i.e., it is very difficult to overcome a disadvantaged social or biological background so people with such backgrounds are not expected to achieve high status. They may also be related on grounds that have moralistic overtones, i.e., people with the best qualifications (high ascribed status) should be the only ones to fulfill positions requiring skill, leadership, responsibility, etc. (high achieved statuses). It is important which of these two modes of relating achieved and ascribed status predominates in a society, for they each have different implications as regards the treatment of overachievers.

According to status inconsistency theory overachievers will express desires to alter the social order. Such a finding is contrary to what would seem more likely in a society that values success. Overachievers in such a society should be highly rewarded for their unusual success, and should, therefore, constitute one of the most conservative elements in their society. The overachiever, it

would seem, has definitely acquired a vested interest in the existing social order, after all he has worked unusually hard to rise within it. It would be a rejection of all he has achieved to advocate changing the very social order within which he is at last being designated a position of high status. Usually high status individuals are not easily persuaded to peacefully relinquish their privileged position, and certainly it is not common for such people to actually desire social change that would result in a general reduction of their status.

The foregoing would be the case in a stratification system where overachievers receive additional social prestige, or other recognitions of success, for rising above and beyond their status limitations. In a society where success is evaluated only in terms of implied ability and effort this would be the expected consequence of overachievement. However, in a society where ascribed statuses also become involved in evaluating a person's achievements, the consequence of overachievement may be entirely different. In other words, the value of ascribed status may override values pertaining to success as well as any value that may be placed upon reason. The result is that only persons with high ascribed status will be given special recognition for unusually difficult achievements that have status implications.

Individuals lacking in those high ascribed statuses, who, nevertheless, have achieved high status may be rejected openly, or ignored and allowed to form a separate, and to some extent, independent stratification system of their own. To the extent that low ascribed status groups develop a stratification system of their own in which they are sufficiently rewarded for personal achievements, they can be expected to refrain from taking action against the societal system of stratification.

Significance of the Present Study

Inasmuch as one of the frequent findings of status inconsistency research is that status inconsistent persons desire changes in the social order, and the theory specifically predicts these will most likely be status inconsistent persons who have low ascribed statuses, the implication is that in the United States particular ascribed statuses are valued above achieved statuses not simply in terms of status levels but as dimensions of status, i.e., race is more important than education in evaluating a person's general status. One of the obvious next steps in status inconsistency research is the analysis of various status dimensions both ascribed and achieved to ascertain which specific combinations result in mobility striving, satisfaction

with general status, or desires to change the social order. Such a series of studies should also attempt to pursue the implications of their findings as these relate to the possible effects of societal values just outlined.

Research focusing upon a group with low ascribed status, such as the American Negro, should be of significance in developing the status inconsistency concept. American Negroes clearly constitute one of the lowest, if not the lowest, statused groups in the United States. Therefore, any status achievement on the part of a Negro is an instance of overachievement, a surmounting of difficult status barriers. There is also among Negroes a tradition of collective action aimed at changing the social order as it pertains to their caste position. Thus, it is possible to investigate the extent to which there is a positive correlation between being an overachieving or, in other words, status inconsistent Negro, and engaging in collective action to alter the existing structure of race relations.

Investigating the relationship between status inconsistency and engaging in collective action must be viewed as only one possible step in the direction of pursuing the implications of the status inconsistency concept. The selection of the American Negro as a subject for study provides a particular vantage point from which to begin.

A number of the different facets of the theory that have been discussed can be studied through observations of status inconsistent American Negroes. What are the factors that give rise to status inconsistency? Under what conditions will status inconsistent persons be concerned with altering the social order rather than forming a system of stratification of their own that can operate without altering the society's general system of stratification? These are two important questions that can be answered through studies of status inconsistent Negroes.

This study is designed to be a basic investigation of the relationship between status inconsistency and engagement in collective action, where status inconsistency refers to American Negroes who have achieved success in widely recognized status dimensions, and where engaging in collective action refers to a measure of degree of concern with reducing the amount of discrimination that exists in American society. The general hypothesis of this study follows from status inconsistency research and theory, and asserts that status inconsistent persons with low ascribed status and high achieved status will be concerned with bringing about widespread social changes that will alter their ascribed status.

One of the features of this study that will distinguish it from other status inconsistency studies is that instead of being primarily concerned with classifying status combinations in terms of distance between the highest and lowest status elements, the concern will be an evaluation of status combinations in terms of their difficulty of attainment. This is in accord with the assumption that previous findings in this research area reflect the operation of societal values pertaining to success as well as those factors that are usually invoked to explain them.¹⁹ Indirectly, then, this research will also indicate the extent to which it might be more fruitful to give a different perspective to the status inconsistency concept, one that emphasizes the difficulty of status achievement, rather than simply the range of status levels in a combination of statuses.

If the price of failure to rise socially--or even of downward mobility--is not too great, if a definite floor and ceiling are institutionalized to confine inequalities within tolerable

¹⁹The complexity of the concept of status inconsistency is greatly increased when seen in the context of success values. Rosen, for example, has found that the achievement values and educational aspirations of Negroes do not differ significantly from those of white Protestants, and yet vocational aspirations of Negroes were lower than any of the ethnic groups distinguished in his study (op. cit., p. 60).

limits, and if the general standard of living is high, then upward mobility . . . may come to be viewed as "optional rather than obligatory" and equality of opportunity need not produce a monolithic elite ruling over an inert mass. A diversified value system which recognizes and honors human qualities other than functional intelligence and single-minded ambition will be more likely to flourish.²⁰

²⁰Wrong, op. cit., p. 781.

CHAPTER II

~~STATUS INCONSISTENCY AND NEGRO PROTEST~~

If one included all the literature concerning the reaction of people to oppression, to poverty, to being the objects of discrimination, to being "misfits" or marginal men, then, a good deal has been written that would be of relevance for understanding what it means for a person to be an American Negro. Most discussions of how Negroes react to being Negro have first distinguished their economic status, and have then suggested that either the higher or lower statused Negro reacts most strongly to his caste position.¹ This particular study, for example, is pursuing a line of reasoning that suggests Negroes with high achieved statuses will make the greatest efforts to change the status of all Negroes through collective action. Other writers have dealt with somewhat narrower kinds of responses such as acceptance or rejection of stereotypes, sensitivity or

¹W. S. M. Banks, II, "The Rank Order of Sensitivity to Discrimination of Negroes in Columbus, Ohio," American Sociological Review, XV (1950), 529-34. Robert Johnson, "Negro Reactions to Minority Group Status," in Milton L. Barron (ed.), American Minorities (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), 192-212.

insensitivity to being the object of discrimination, the development of selfish versus altruistic motivations, etc.² The present study is concerned with ideological positions and with forms of collective action or, in other words, beliefs and behavior that may be viewed as bases for the development of a social movement.

Increase in economic, educational, or occupational status are expected to result in problems of status inconsistency for Negroes. These problems in turn are expected to lead to desires for social change. It is assumed that for Negroes these desires will be for the assimilation of Negroes into American society, the elimination of all forms of segregation.

The Adoption of a Negro Role

A commonly accepted way of treating the concept of status is to view each status as having a role or set of roles associated with it. This role aspect of status³ is

²James G. Martin and Frank R. Westie, "The Tolerant Personality," American Sociological Review, XXIV (1959), 521-28. Howard J. Ehrlich, "Stereotyping and Negro-Jewish Stereotypes," Social Forces, XLI (1962), 171-76. Robert W. Friedrichs, "Alter Versus Ego," American Sociological Review, XXV (1960), 496-508.

³Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: Appleton-Century, 1936); Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: Free Press, 1957), pp. 369 ff. And for

Sometimes lost in discussions of economic and educational status where status distinctions are made in terms of quantitative rankings without due consideration as to whether or not the levels are in fact associated with different roles.

Here
~~The present study is also lacking in this kind of concern; however,~~ the variables being used are intended to refer to more than hierarchical rankings of quantity. That is, it is assumed that there are certain activities that are associated with having a high school education (getting a "good" job, being more civic minded, etc.), a white collar job (the homes of fellow workers, attending office parties, etc.), a home in a fairly quiet neighborhood, etc. The expectation is that Negroes will have difficulties engaging in some of the activities that are associated with these status achievements, and because they have put effort into making these gains they will resent not being able to fully enjoy the expected benefits. It is further assumed that in the process of making these advances in status, Negroes will become more aware of the fact that widely held stereotypes

a criticism that has some relevance for the concept of status consistency see William J. Goode, "A Theory of Role Strain," American Sociological Review, XXV (1960), 483-96.

cannot be changed by individual action, but that they can be changed through collective action directed at eliminating the bases for their existence.

Since being a Negro is an ascribed status, any individual who is so categorized cannot avoid situations where he will be defined as a Negro. Inasmuch as there are activities associated with being Negro, a Negro is expected to engage in them. The first question of reaction to being a Negro then must be concerned with whether or not the person plays those roles that are expected of Negroes. A Negro at any status level can refuse to play roles that are expected of him because he is a Negro.

Since these Negro roles may not be the same at different status levels, or regions of the country, it is difficult to specify a basic role or set of roles expected of Negroes. In one situation the behavior of a Negro may be expected, while in other situations that same behavior will be resented. For instance, Negro professionals are often expected to be sources of unlimited information concerning the desires and problems of all Negroes. However, should a Negro laborer relate this same information, his statements may be ignored as exaggerated complaints, or reflections of his own personal hardships. Thus, although

all Negroes are expected to know how to behave as Negroes, only certain ones are expected to have objective knowledge of what it is like to be a Negro.⁴

It is not enough to say that a Negro who is over-achieving, who has accepted the value of success, has thereby rejected playing Negro roles. There are still roles open to the successful Negro, particularly if his success does not bring him into frequent contact with the general public, and is in a field in which Negroes are expected to excel.

The achievements of Negroes in scholarship and the arts are most likely to be overvalued when they conform to what whites think Negroes should study, write, or paint. These warped estimates of the work of Negroes form a part of the folklore of race relations which has grown out of segregation. The road to distinction and to more concrete rewards in the segregated Negro world is not as rough as whites who invest the Negro with pathos think it is.⁵

Reactions to Being Negro

It has been noted by Johnson that minority group reactions have usually been considered to follow a certain

⁴Johnson states that his Negro subjects reported feeling uncomfortable whenever they are asked how it feels to be Negro or to discuss race relations with whites, op. cit., p. 197.

⁵E. Franklin Frazier, "The Negroes' Vested Interest in Segregation," in Arnold M. Rose (ed.), Race Prejudice and Discrimination (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), p. 339.

sequential pattern.⁶ The first reaction to minority group status is usually one of acceptance of majority group stereotypes and subsequent feelings of self-hatred. This reaction is followed by attempts to integrate into the majority group. These attempts are usually not successful so the third reaction to develop is one of hostility and avoidance of contact with majority group members. Johnson indicates that still a fourth reaction may follow involving racial pride and militancy.⁷

It would seem that as a group American Negroes have had time to run the gamut of these reactions a number of times. That Negroes are far from being homogeneous when it comes to their orientations toward being Negro is an indication that all Negroes are not at the same point in this sequence of reaction patterns. Johnson's study of Negroes in a New York community consistently shows a wide distribution of responses to a number of questions concerning Negro reactions to minority status. Johnson concludes, nevertheless, ^{I also find} that the Negroes in this community are divided into two factions, one being a more recent ¹⁹⁷⁰ development than the other. These two factions are

⁶Op. cit., p. 202.

⁷Ibid.

distinguished in terms of their orientations toward being ^{Indian} Negro, one set of orientations Johnson calls the "Old Negro Creed" and the other the "New Negro Creed." References are also made to the status characteristics of Negroes most likely to be adherents to either of these two creeds.

The Old Negro Creed is most often adhered to by Negroes who are older, less educated, southern-born, and who have low incomes. They are also less likely to participate in voluntary associations. From the manner in which Johnson describes this creed, it appears to be a mixture of the first and third stages of minority group reaction patterns. "They are likely to endorse all the items of lassitude, hostility, insulation, self-hatred, avoidance, and 'angry' reactions to the 'language of prejudice.'"⁸

The New Negro Creed is most frequently held by younger, better educated, northern-born Negroes who also have high incomes and participate in voluntary associations. "They have almost no 'distasteful' reactions, express a belief in militancy, and maintain an attitude of friendliness toward whites in general. . . . They have few discomforts in interracial situations, . . . i.e., they are more likely

⁸ Ibid.

to be annoyed than angry."⁹ The New Negro Creed seems to combine the second and fourth types of reactions to minority group status mentioned by Johnson.

These two creeds interestingly enough suggest that the sequential pattern of minority group reactions proposed by Johnson does not in fact constitute a necessary order of progression. The Old Negro Creed seems to be held by Negroes who have not attempted integration, yet they have reached the third stage of hostility and avoidance. The New Negro Creed involves attempts to integrate, but instead of reacting to failure in these attempts by withdrawing, the pattern of reaction is to continue trying to associate with whites fortified with feelings of racial pride and militancy. Thus, the crucial variable would seem to be that of racial pride. With racial pride Negroes are able to withstand setbacks in their attempts to integrate. One could even argue that racial pride is a valuable antecedent to attempts to integrate in the first place.

If Johnson is correct and the fourth pattern of reaction to minority group status does involve ingroup pride it does not logically follow that complete integration

⁹Ibid., p. 212. Johnson uses the term hostility to suggest individual feelings of hatred toward an outgroup, and militancy to refer to collective aggression against an outgroup.

would be the desired goal. It is racial pride on the part of whites, for example, that is offered as the reason for rejecting the attempts of Negroes to assimilate. Johnson himself finds that Negroes who endorse the New Negro Creed are only somewhat more permissive toward intermarriage.¹⁰

It is essential to point out in discussions of how Negroes react to their ascribed position that self-hatred and racial pride are not the only two evaluations that they may have of themselves. The term self-hatred is an unfortunate one for it does not adequately describe the psychological referent usually given to it.¹¹ Self-shame or self-abasement more adequately describes how Negroes would feel if they accepted the stereotypes that are assigned to them as being negative and the majority group's stereotype of itself as being positive.

A Negro who believes he is inferior to whites in the way that stereotypes inform him does not necessarily hate himself. It would seem more likely that he would feel ashamed of himself, that he would regret having to be

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Kurt Lewin, "Self-Hatred Among Jews," in Arnold Rose, (ed.), op. cit., pp. 321-322.

such a burden on the white man.¹² Do women who believe that women in general are inferior to men hate themselves or do they occasionally apologize for their handicaps? For the most part they apologize, and try to make up for their inadequacies by being responsible mothers, wives, and homemakers.

It does not seem to the writer particularly pathological for a Negro to hate being a member of an oppressed group. It is difficult in fact to understand what is natural about a Negro saying that he is proud of being a member of the lowest statused group in American society even if he does justify his pride by citing differences between the present status of American Negroes and their status before the Civil War. Most writers on this subject have unwittingly fallen into the dichotomy that prevailing popular views on race present. That is they give only the minority-majority view on race, i.e., one is proud of one's race or one is ashamed of his race. They have failed to realize a third alternative, that of hating to be assigned to a low or high status position solely on the basis of race.

¹² See the lists of stereotyped beliefs regarding Negroes in Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1958), pp. 192-94, and in Ehrlich, op. cit., p. 173.

These writers, and integrationists in general, have spoken of eliminating the use of race as a status category, and yet when a Negro suggests he is not proud of his race the only alternative given is that he must be ashamed of his race.¹⁴ There may be some who might even interpret this to mean the person must be denying he is a member of any race.¹⁵ These restricted views on racial identification are probably due to the fact that race is generally seen in this society as something that should be a source of pride, and even by the very people who also vigorously argue for its elimination as a criteria for assigning status.¹⁶

Pluralism and Racial Pride

There is some confusion over the issue of the importance of racial pride as an antecedent condition for

¹⁴For a brief discussion, and at least recognition of this dilemma, see Robin M. Williams, Jr., The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947), reprinted in Barron, op. cit., pp. 462-63.

¹⁵The writer asserted in a talk given at an NAACP meeting that he was not proud of his race. It was only after the heat of the ensuing argument had subsided that the writer realized a number of the combatants had taken this to simply mean he had denied being a Negro.

¹⁶The basis for this tendency to see racial pride cited as a positive value in the same context with claims of scientists that races do not differ in mental and cultural capacity, and with reference to equalitarian social values is probably found in the fact that, as Allport notes, when the dominant group is deeply prejudiced, neither separation nor assimilation are considered desirable goals for the minority group, op. cit., p. 232.

the development of organized and effective Negro protest. The confusion is partly reduced by equating integration with separate-but-equal, or, perhaps the better term in this case would be pluralism. When integration is not regarded as having the same meaning as assimilation, when a continuum of degrees of assimilation may be specified with integration falling somewhat short of complete assimilation, then, it is less confusing to talk of an integrated Negro with racial pride.¹⁷

Most writers, while noting the value of variety in culture, point out certain dangers in the development of in-group pride. "A group which becomes enamoured of its own achievements, real or mythological, or which blinds itself to the accomplishments of other groups closes the door to its own improvement."¹⁸ Nevertheless, it is also commonly

¹⁷Lincoln sees a need for distinguishing the terms "integration" and "assimilation." "Integration, for our present purposes, refers to the freedom of a minority to participate in the total life of the community without necessarily merging with the majority group. . . . Assimilation, . . . refers to the merging of a minority into the general community and gradual disappearance of its identity and its unique cultural values." C. Eric Lincoln, The Black Muslims in America (Boston: Beacon, 1961), p. 239. Now that he has made this distinction it is interesting that separatist organizations such as the Black Muslims become simply groups that are exclusive in membership, ibid., p. 234.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 230.

acknowledged that minority groups tend to at some time or other become divided into two factions, one faction seeking assimilation and the other wanting to maintain a separate identity.¹⁹ One would expect that the visibility of the minority group and the position of the majority group toward assimilation are two determinants of the attitude a minority group will take toward integration.

Racial pride may be a source of psychological strength and confidence for an integrationist. The notion of self-hatred, to be distinguished from self-shame, is a more likely source of psychological strength for an assimilationist. Self-shame will plague the integrationist more than the assimilationist for the former believes there is a difference worth maintaining. The integrationist will be plagued by self-shame because, even though variety may be the spice of life, the integrationist must constantly prove his unique worth in a pluralistic society.²⁰ The difference

¹⁹ Allport, op. cit., p. 231.

²⁰ The haunting presence of this self-shame is quite evident in the program Martin Luther King offers to Negroes for achieving integration. "We (Negroes) must not let the fact that we are the victims of injustice lull us into abrogating responsibility for our own lives. Our crime rate is far too high. Our level of cleanliness is frequently far too low. Too often those of us who are in the middle class live above our means . . . We are too often loud and boisterous and spend far too much on drink. Even the most poverty-stricken among us can purchase a ten-cent bar of soap . . ." Martin Luther King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom (New York: Ballantine Books, 1960), pp. 182-83.

between an integrationist or pluralist and a segregationist or separatist is a matter of the number of significant contributions to the total society a group feels it is capable. On the other hand, the assimilationist argues the groups are divided along lines that suggest none of them have any basis for being considered capable of making unique cultural contributions. In other words a reasonable racial assimilationist would presumably become an integrationist if races were demonstrated to be particularly fit for significantly different activities.

The prevailing consensus of opinion seems to be, both among Negroes who are working to achieve civil rights and among social scientists predicting the outcome of these efforts, that the future will witness the emergence of a truly pluralistic society. Leading integrationists assert they do not want to marry whites; they only want to go to schools with them, eat with them in public places, work with them, etc.²¹ Handlin sees the emergence of Negro

²¹King notes that ". . . the Negroes primary aim is to be the white man's brother, not his brother-in-law." Op. cit., p. 168. DuBois, who was instrumental in challenging the accommodative position of Washington, states the case for racial pluralism eloquently.

"The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife, -- this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer

suburbias as ends in themselves, and the desire for complete assimilation as pathological.²²

These arguments for the "naturalness" of racial pluralism ignore the basic issue, however, and that is the use of race as a criteria for ascribing status. It is one thing to argue in favor of a pluralistic society based on special interests and quite another to argue since Negroes have been discriminated against and forced to develop a rudimentary way of life of their own they should be allowed, in fact encouraged, to further the enhancement of an American

self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in the flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face."

W. E. Burghardt DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk (New York: Premier Books, 1961), p. 17.

²²"The central problem of identification is settled for the Negroes by the fact that it is the white society that sets them apart as a group. For a long time, this enforced affiliation created the pathological attitude that assimilation was the only acceptable ideal. . . ." Oscar Handlin, The Newcomers (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1962), pp. 114-15. "If New York continues to witness, in the next twenty-five years as it has in the past decade, an abatement of prejudice in accord with its tradition of diversity . . . Under such conditions, the differences that identify the Negroes and the Puerto Ricans will lose their stigmatizing effect and will become the basis for the healthy development of ethnic communities. . ." Ibid., p. 118 [emphasis mine].

Negro culture. It is neither pathological to desire having race disassociated from status and culture, nor to desire an association between race, and status and culture. Both positions may be taken as a goal with equal legitimacy. Questions of scientific validity arise, however, when arguments for necessary relationships, or lack of necessary relationships; between race and culture are also alluded to in the justification of a separatist or assimilationist position.²³

The Assumption of Racial Equality

If, as is commonly done, the assumption is made there are no differences between the races as far as cultural capacity is concerned, then the position that racial pluralism

²³ Handlin, for example, does not seem so concerned that race should serve as a basis for ethnic communities as he is that ethnic communities should serve democracy, ibid., p. 119. Somehow, Handlin is able to see a connection between the maintenance of ethnicity and democracy, perhaps he sees ethnic groups as publics anxious about perpetuating democratic processes. Is it possible that if it were not for ethnic groups concerned with their freedoms America would be a totalitarian society? The answer to this would lead into a discussion of politics in pluralistic versus mass societies. See Joseph R. Gusfield, "Mass Society and Extremist Politics," American Sociological Review, XXVII (1962), 19-30, for a statement of the case in favor of the mass society providing a milieu in which tolerance for dissent will be cultivated.

is an ideal must be given justification on other than a biological basis. This position may reasonably be justified by arguing for the maintenance of the status quo, or for cultural variation as an end in itself.

A cultural and racial assimilationist position is contrary to the status quo and to human history in general, at least since the Middle Paleolithic began. Technology has only recently advanced far enough that it is reasonable to talk about a world culture as thoroughly standardized as the hand-axe tradition of the Early Paleolithic. And for the first time in human history climatic conditions can be ignored enough to seriously talk of racial assimilation, and perhaps even of planned human evolution.²⁴

These comments are made to suggest that it is not pathological to desire racial and cultural assimilation in the United States, but that such desires are contrary to what seem to be the basic trends in human and cultural evolution. Pluralism, on the other hand, seems an adequate description of the general course of racial and cultural evolution, and perhaps, given present trends such as the ever increasing concentration of American Negroes in the larger cities of the

²⁴The "splitting" of the gene will undoubtedly be of as great consequence as the splitting of the atom.

United States, the emergence of racially homogeneous Nation states, and a conflict between East and West of unparalleled magnitude, pluralism will continue to be the course of racial and cultural evolution in the future.

The fundamental point, however, is that unless one is willing to specify advantages peculiar to specific races that would be lost through racial amalgamation, racial pluralism must be justified solely in terms of cultural traits historically associated with different races. Cultural pride, then, not racial pride would seem to be the least pathological psychological fortifier of racial pluralism. Perhaps those writers who do speak of the importance of racial pride really have in mind cultural ethnocentrism, and not a tolerant racism. Regardless of what they have in mind, the results are the same--the maintenance of a combined racial and cultural identity.

The Function of the Negro in American Society

This discussion of psychological reactions to being Negro, or more generally to being a member of a minority group, leads necessarily to a discussion of the relationships between minority and majority groups. A basic question that can be raised in discussing the psychology of minority groups is that of the functional value of in-group

pride. Ethnocentrism may support integrative and disruptive social forces depending upon the nature of intergroup relationships. Ethnocentrism is likely to have an integrative effect from the point of view of in-group members, while, from the point of view of intergroup relations ethnocentrism may lead to conflict. On the other hand, there is also the possibility that numerous ethnocentric groups may be essential to the maintenance of the over-all social system.

In the particular case of the United States it has been suggested that the existence of minority groups is essential for the operation of the capitalist system of enterprise.²⁵ And, if not essential to this system of enterprise, the elimination of minority groups would certainly make the capitalist system a more difficult one to maintain. Minority groups would not be competing among themselves for the right to work or for higher wages, but would be united into a common class that would be in opposition with the controllers of the means of production. This particular position assumes capitalism requires a heterogeneous laboring class because homogeneity would lead

²⁵ Oliver C. Cox, Caste, Class and Race (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1948). See also Oscar Handlin, Race and Nationality in American Life (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957), pp. 40-53, for a general discussion of prejudice and exploitative capitalism.

to class consciousness and ultimately class conflict. Such a position when stated in an extreme form does not give enough credit to the controllers of the means of production. It assumes that they must necessarily fail to satisfy the demands of labor. Anyone familiar with the importance of credit buying in the United States would understand how it is possible to satisfy demands for more consumer goods without raising wages. In any case it is not immediately obvious that the American Dream will disappear with the emergence of a homogeneous laboring class. And it is this American Dream, the belief that opportunities exist for individual success, that seems basic to the capitalist system, not beliefs concerning what race or ethnic group has the right to succeed.

A more general issue that is raised when the requirement that a minority group maintain its identity is questioned concerns the universality of social stratification. That is, if majority-minority group relationships are inherent in any social organization, then the best a minority group can hope for is either that it will one day become the majority group, while the least such a group can hope for is that it will not be exploited too severely. A third hope arises when a third group appears that can be exploited while the old minority group joins the ranks of the majority.

In other words if social stratification is necessary for the maintenance of any social system, and if the assimilation of Negroes into American society would seriously alter this society's system of stratification, then, all that is required for the maintenance of the system would be a criteria of status to take the place of race. In fact if a criteria of status could be developed that offered more psychological and economic rewards than race, the problem of racial assimilation would be a less difficult one.

Minority-majority group relationships based on race do not seem to be necessary, therefore, for either the maintenance of the American capitalistic society in particular, or for the persistence of systems of stratification in general. True, the presence of the American Negro as a minority group offers economic and psychological advantages to certain white (and Negro) Americans but still it is possible to envision an America without racial discrimination. The problem with racial assimilation is that it is difficult to find another criteria of status to match race in terms of ease of applicability. Of course, this is only a problem if minorities are viewed as fulfilling some necessary function. The only alternative to race that comes to mind is that of sex, and there may be some merit in Negroes looking toward women as a substitute minority group.

Women are as readily identifiable as are Negroes; they have thus far been somewhat more willing to accept inferior positions, and also have less physical strength than Negro males.²⁶

Pluralism and Status Inconsistency

The concept of status inconsistency suggests a person with low ascribed status and high achieved status will be concerned with raising his low ascribed status.²⁷ There are two ways in which a low ascribed status may be raised. One is through the successful efforts of many people with low ascribed statuses to achieve statuses believed to be beyond their ability. The other is to have the legitimacy of the ascriptive status revoked even though persons with such statuses tend to have other statuses of low value. The first method involves the efforts of individuals, and the second that of groups. The first often implies a gradual process of social change and the second often a more sudden social change.

According to the status inconsistency hypothesis,

²⁶ These, of course, must be viewed as tentative conclusions. More research is needed in this area.

²⁷ Elton F. Jackson, "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress," American Sociological Review, XXVII (1962), 469-80.

people who overachieve will have desires to change the social order. This has the interesting implication that the first or individualistic method of altering low ascribed statuses may facilitate the development of the second or collective method; overachievement may lead to attempts to eliminate the social barriers that have been surmounted. One would expect that such social activity will be even more likely the greater the number of overachievers there are who have passed over the same barrier to success. More specifically, to the extent that opportunities open up for Negroes to achieve economic success, there will also emerge groups of Negroes concerned with eliminating all forms of racial discrimination. This hypothesis of status inconsistency fits well with the notion that it is rising expectations that lead to revolutions.²⁸

Many writers point out that even though it has only been 100 years since Negroes were slaves they have made considerable economic, political, and social gains. If this is so then it does not fit with the foregoing discussion of pluralism. One would expect status gains by Negroes to have resulted in the breakdown of racial pluralism in the

²⁸For an explication of this notion see James C. Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution," American Sociological Review, XXVII, 1962, 5-18.

United States, that Negroes would have collectively attacked the use of race as a status criteria the more their levels of achieved status approached those of the general population. Negroes, it has been suggested, take essentially a pluralistic position as far as their ultimate goals are concerned.²⁹ That is, they do not seek to eliminate the use of race as a status position, only the extent to which it is associated with low achieved and ascribed statuses.

Thus, status inconsistency among Negroes seems to be related to increased efforts to raise their ascriptive status. In other words, individual efforts to achieve success are now given social support, and collective action has turned toward making it easier for Negroes to rise in the stratification system. Rather than status inconsistency among Negroes leading to attempts to reject racism, it has led instead to the alteration of an essentially individual method of achieving status consistency into a collective effort. This means that if most Negroes do not even aspire to assimilate, perhaps the freedom riders and the Black

²⁹ In his discussion of a study of Negroes living in the New York area, Handlin notes that the Negroes interviewed seldom gave integrated housing as an attraction when they changed their place of residence. "Examination of situations in which Negroes have been relieved of the anxiety of inferiority reveals that they are as prone as other groups to clannishness or self-segregation," op. cit., pp. 93-94.

Muslims want basically the same thing after all, and that is to improve the economic status of Negroes.

Johnson's description of the New Negro Creed and of the Negroes most likely to accept it hints at the possibility that, even though a pluralist ideology dominates Negro protest, among the overachieving Negroes there lurks a desire for assimilation. Believers in the New Negro Creed ". . . hold complete integration as their goal, have a somewhat more permissive attitude toward intermarriage, and regard the struggles of the Negro as part of a general drive toward The More Perfect Union."³⁰

If Negroes overachieve in areas where they cannot easily avoid the fact that they are regarded by others as unusual, and where they cannot avoid realizing that certain amenities typically associated with their achieved position are being denied them, then it is less likely that they will take a pluralist position. To put this in terms that have a fairly long history in sociological literature, Negroes who are marginal men, who are caught between the Negro and white worlds, will be less likely to see the continuation of cultural pluralism as a solution to their problems. To

³⁰ Johnson, op. cit., p. 212 [emphasis mine].

the extent status achievement among Negroes can be described in terms of social class within the Negro community, this variable should then be associated with desires for pluralism. The Black Muslims are an example of a group that can be expected to grow in size should Negroes begin to evaluate themselves solely in terms of their own class system. To the writer's knowledge, there are no groups advocating assimilation that are as extreme as the Black Muslims. Groups such as the NAACP seem to take a position somewhat short of assimilation, and it is difficult to tell at this point what ideological position, if any, the various freedom groups in the south will take.

One might note that those Negroes who do achieve success in areas that are likely to make marginal men of them do not often engage in collective action, at least of a militant sort. Those in respectable areas such as teaching and the business world in general are perhaps hampered by the respectability of their positions. Those in somewhat less respectable areas such as the entertainment world seem to prefer limiting their protest to interracial marriage or long trips abroad.³¹ It may be that pluralism, like the

³¹Richard Bardolph, The Negro Vanguard (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), p. 291. At the moment Dick Gregory and Al Hibbler are among a few Negro entertainers who are engaging in a more aggressive protest against discrimination.

caste system itself, is so pervasive that the marginal Negro, or the overachieving Negro in general, prefers to seek comfort wherever he can rather than face up to the criticism of both Negroes and whites. There is some evidence that Negro entertainers are beginning to succumb to the pressures of the caste system and are being attracted more and more toward pluralism.³²

Conclusion

We briefly explored the question of whether or not there are necessary reasons for the continued use of race as a criteria of status. It does not seem necessary for the maintenance of the American economic system or as an essential part of systems of stratification. That race will continue to be used as a criteria of status for some time to come seems probable, however, given the long history of its use, and the present division of the world into developed and underdeveloped countries which to quite an extent also happens to follow lines of racial demarcation.

The question of pluralism versus assimilationism as an ideological position was raised because it is a central issue in any minority group's struggle for equality. It

³²Leonard Feather, "Jazz and Race," Hi Fi Review, February, 1963, 45-49.

is also necessary to specify which ideological position status inconsistency will lead Negroes to take. One speculation was made that the gradual improvement of the economic status of Negroes will lead to a pluralist ideology, while sudden changes in the status of Negroes will lead to an assimilationist ideology. This suggestion is related to the concept of marginal men, in that sudden changes in the status of Negroes increases the likelihood that many of them will be marginal men. Men caught between two social systems would seem more likely to favor the merging of the two systems into a single system than men who felt loyalties to only one to the two systems in question.³³

³³One difficulty in restricting our discussion to the question of pluralism versus assimilation is that it minimizes the importance of a third alternative, rejection of the present society in toto for some form of Utopia either of escape or reconstruction.

CHAPTER III

STATUS INCONSISTENCY AND DESIRE FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

Research Problem

To develop a measure of status inconsistency for this study, status dimensions have been selected that seem capable of producing marginal men of ~~Negroes~~^{Indian}.¹ An attempt has also been made to ascertain the extent to which, in the desires of ~~Negroes~~^{Indian} for social change, there is evidence of desires for assimilation. The result is an extremely stringent test of the status inconsistency hypothesis. Not only are specific desires for social changes being predicted, these desires are also believed to be quite infrequent in the population being studied. The value of the status inconsistency concept, if there be any, lies in the fact that by careful selection of the statuses to be simultaneously considered it may be possible to increase the specificity of predicted response patterns.

¹ Negroes who have a difficult time identifying with Negroes, but because they are Negro they are frequently reminded of the fact that most people expect them to have pride in their race.

Status Inconsistent Negroes

~~Further~~
Negroes are not status inconsistent simply because they have achieved high status, they are inconsistent because they put more effort into the competition for status than is expected. By definition a wealthy Negro is inconsistent with the stereotype of Negroes, how he acquired his wealth may also be inconsistent with expectations concerning level of drive for wealth. Even though this is a society in which everyone is supposed to achieve to the best of his ability, there are still limits placed upon how much effort a person is expected to put into trying to improve his station in life.²

The fact that previous studies have found it necessary to distinguish between consistent and sharply inconsistent combinations may not be due entirely to the operation of social mechanisms that help to reconcile status inconsistencies. It is likely that the difficulty of attainment is also increasing, so that not only are sharply inconsistent combinations more difficult to cover up, they are also more difficult to develop. When both aspects of status

²William Goode, "A Theory of Role Strain," American Sociological Review, XXV (August, 1960), pp. 483-96.

inconsistency--unexpected high-low combinations and unexpected effort--are considered there should be less need to distinguish sharply inconsistent high-low combinations in order to realize the effects of status inconsistency. For example, it is probably more difficult to achieve high occupational status with a low educational status than with low economic status. And yet, high economic status is probably just as effective, if not a better, leverage than high educational status for achieving high occupational status.

The introduction of the element of effort while perhaps permitting greater accuracy in the measure of status inconsistency raises theoretical complications. It is being predicted that overachieving Negroes will be most desirous of social change since they have not been rewarded enough for their efforts. The problem that arises is that most Negroes, regardless of the stereotype of ignorance, are probably aware of the fact that they are not going to receive the same kind of treatment as whites even after they have overachieved.³ This would mean that many Negroes who

³ Since groups with high ascribed status can only become inconsistent through overachievement when they fail to achieve in all relevant dimensions, and since values and norms are not so explicit and universal concerning these

overachieve are at least to some extent consciously producing status inconsistent combinations.

Thus, for a Negro the very act of overachieving may be a personal attack on the caste system, and therefore must be considered a consequence of desires for change rather than an antecedent condition. A Negro who overachieves is not only a good American, he is also a good Negro for he is helping to prove that Negroes do not deserve being thought of as an inferior race.⁴ This fits with Jackson's findings that people with low ascribed and high achieved status do not seem to blame themselves for their inconsistency. From the Negroes' point of view overachievement may result in a consistent self image, while the fact that other Negroes fail to overachieve may disrupt his self-image.

forms of inconsistency, these people may very well be shocked to find they are handicapped or rebuffed because they are lacking in a particular status dimension.

⁴The Negro in America is so constantly striving to become an American that he has no time to become or try to become anything else. . . . This is the answer to the question that so many people have asked about American Negroes: Why do not American Negroes rebel? Aside from the fact that they are a minority and their rebellion would be futile, they haven't got time to rebel.

(Richard Wright, White Man, Listen! (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1957), p. 41.)

Negroes can achieve high status, restrict their contacts to other Negroes who have also achieved high status, and avoid those problems that arise when they try to assert their status in the presence of whites. The development of Negro middle and upper classes thus operate as mechanisms which enable the avoidance of contacts with whites and the problems of status inconsistency. In this context, it is only from the point of view of racial stereotypes that these Negroes are status inconsistent, and insofar as stereotypes concerning the Negro shift to include those who have achieved status, it will not be possible to describe middle and upper class Negroes as being status inconsistent even from the point of view of the white population.

These problems are introduced in this chapter because they raise questions concerning the measurement of status inconsistency, and indicate the importance of the social context. In this study it is being assumed that Negroes have not accepted the closed caste position, and therefore are still bothered by the fact that they are not able to lose their identity as an essentially endogamous and low status group. This assumption is necessary if status inconsistent Negroes are to be expected to take an assimilationist ideological position.

To the extent to which absolute status achievements give rise to status inconsistency, the implication is that the traditional stereotypes concerning Negroes are still effective. In other words, if Negroes must also overcome ascribed statuses other than the fact of race before the effects of status inconsistency are felt, the implication is that traditional social stereotypes are losing their effectiveness. If the assumptions that we have made concerning the basis for assimilationist desires among American Negroes are correct, and even if the traditional stereotypes concerning Negroes are still effective, a measure of status inconsistency should be all the more closely associated with desire for social change that treats status achievement not only in terms of absolute levels, but in terms of implied effort as well.

Given the explicitness of the Negro's position in American society, there is perhaps less justification in treating status inconsistency as an independent variable in the prediction of desires for social change, since it may be a consequence of such desires as well.⁵ Nevertheless

⁵"Certainly, awareness of status inconsistency and its intervening effects on upward mobility should be exhaustively assessed before low crystallization per se can be taken as the independent variable. One may guess that concomitants of status striving may

in such cases being status inconsistent should have the effect of increasing the intensity of already existing desires for changes in the caste system. It is in this sense, then, that reference will still be made to status inconsistency as an antecedent of desires for social change.

Selection of Independent Variables

For comparative purposes status dimensions were selected that have been used in previous studies and have been found to produce the expected effects of status inconsistency. ^{Indians} ~~Negroes~~, because their low social status is ascribed, are likely to be most strongly affected by status inconsistencies that are describable in terms of status achievements that have definite social importance. For ^{Indians} ~~Negroes~~ to achieve status in dimensions that are highly valued means they have surpassed many whites who are also in the competition. Achievements such as these cannot be dismissed as being due to advantages that are inherent in a superior racial heritage. ~~Negro athletic achievements, for example, may be explained in terms of racial heritage,~~

account for at least part of Lenski's findings."

(Leonard Broom, "Social Differentiation and Stratification," in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. (eds.), Sociology Today [New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959], p. 432).

by those who wish to do so, without disrupting those beliefs that legitimize ascribing to all Negroes low social status. Thus, the selection of socially significant status dimensions that are ranked in terms of abilities considered lacking in the Negro race will best fit the objectives of this study.

Exline and Ziller point out the importance of relating the status dimensions selected to the predicted behavioral consequences.⁶ In doing so they refer to the study made by Adams as an example of how the failure to make this selection feature an essential part of the research design may lead to erroneous conclusions.⁷ Adams found in his investigation of the relationship between status consistency and group productivity that there was not a positive association between status consistency and technical productivity. Exline and Ziller, however, predict status consistency will be positively related to technical productivity when status dimensions are specifically selected in terms of their relevance to the power structure of the task

⁶ Ralph V. Exline, and Robert E. Ziller, "Status Congruency and Interpersonal Conflict in Decision-Making Groups," Human Relations, XII (1959), 147-62.

⁷ Stuart N. Adams, "Status Congruency as a Variable in Small Group Performance," Social Forces, XXXII (1953), 16-22.

environment. The dimensions selected by Adams they felt did not meet this criterion. In the⁵ present study the concern is with predicting desire for social change. The dimensions used must be selected with this variable in mind.

Three Three status dimensions meet the foregoing pre-requisites--income, occupation, and education. All three of these status dimensions have been employed for explanatory purposes in other studies of status inconsistency; they are commonly used in conjunction with one another, to make evaluations of general status attainment; *I understand* Negroes are not expected to achieve high status in any of these dimensions, and even if they should manage to do so, all the rights usually associated with such achievements are still not given to them; and, finally, each of the dimensions may be regarded as having implications concerning collective action and desire for social change as a response pattern. *stop*

Economic Success

Usually personal economic success is not thought of as being positively associated with desire for social change. The acquisition of wealth, even wealth acquired by illegitimate means, would seem most likely to lead to concern for maintaining the status quo, particularly those

conditions that permit the continued accumulation of wealth. Nevertheless, Brinton observes that the four revolutions he used as basic sources of data for The Anatomy of Revolution occurred in countries that were experiencing improved economic conditions.⁸ Furthermore, the revolutions seem to have developed, at least in their early phases, among those people who were acquiring economic wealth, but were not making comparable gains in other status dimensions, such as social honor, or political power. It seems, then, that economic success minus any fringe benefits that are expected to accompany it, and are deemed important, may be a potent enough irritant to give rise to social protest, even of a revolutionary nature.

Of particular importance to this study, however, is the extent to which economic success is thought of as

⁸It should be noted that although Brinton makes the point that a good many "respectable" people participate in revolutions, his major point seems to be that revolutionists are drawn from all social classes.

In all four of our revolutions, even in the Russian Revolution, the rank and file was composed of quite ordinary men and women, probably a bit superior to their less active fellows in energy and willingness to experiment, in the English, American, and French revolutions, even in their crisis periods, people of substantial property [*Italics mine, W.B.*]

(Crane Brinton, The Anatomy of Revolution [New York: Vintage Books, 1960], p. 32 and pp. 166-67).

reflecting an ability to save and spend money wisely. According to beliefs that are basic to the caste system, abilities such as these are not likely to be found among Negroes. In other words, Negroes, because of racial factors, are considered to be at a disadvantage when it comes to making the sacrifices that are required to save and spend money wisely.⁹

Occupational and Educational Success

Occupational achievement is not usually thought of as being associated with desire for widespread social change. Inasmuch as educational success is to some extent associated with intellectualism, one could expect educational achievement to lead to social criticism.¹⁰ Also since educational achievement involves mental ability, Negroes, according to the stereotypes pertaining to them, should be at a significant disadvantage when competing for achievements in this status dimension.¹¹

⁹ See Gordon W. Allport's chapter on "Stereotypes in our Culture" (The Nature of Prejudice [Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1958]).

¹⁰ For discussions relating intellectuals to social protest see Karl Mannheim, Essays on the Sociology of Culture, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1956) and Brinton, op. cit., pp. 41-52.

¹¹ Allport, op. cit.

Similarly, according to the stereotype, occupational success carries with it increased responsibilities and demands which would be too difficult for Negroes.¹² On the other hand, economic success, it has been argued, may lead to desire for social change when other factors operate to prevent the utilization of this wealth to enhance status in non-economic terms. Occupational success cannot easily lead to desire for social change in these same terms, for occupational success, like educational success, is not as readily translated into other kinds of status attributes as is economic wealth. Jackson, however, suggests an argument for the consideration of both high occupational and educational statuses as sources of experiences facilitating the development of desires for social change. Included in Jackson's arguments are his reasons for distinguishing ascribed and achieved statuses.

In summary, I suggest that low education and occupation make it unlikely that an inconsistent will respond to his difficulties in an active, coping manner, especially by a reaction against the social system. If in addition his ascribed status is higher than his achieved ranks (as would usually be the case), he may experience feelings of guilt which will make an internal response even more likely. He thus tends to respond passively and internally by developing psychosomatic symptoms.

¹²Ibid.

An inconsistent high in occupation and education on the other hand is likely to respond in an active, reality oriented way. This response is likely to take a social direction, due to his ability to see his problems in a social context. If his ascribed status is lower than his achieved status, he will be even more pre-disposed to see the social system as the source of his difficulties, since he will lack grounds for self-blame. He therefore tends to respond with politically liberal attitudes and actions.¹³

Ascriptive Status and Achievement

Ascribed statuses, which are believed to have the effect of making status achievement even more difficult, will also be used in this study. If status inconsistency is basically a variable concerned with the extent to which there is evidence that a person has overachieved or under-achieved, then, more must be considered than simply a measure of distance between a person's highest and lowest statuses. Of great importance are the positive or negative implications that a particular status has for achievement in other status dimensions. Thus, there would seem to be at least two important variables involved in characterizing status combinations in terms of their consistency.

Previous research has treated status inconsistency

¹³Elton F. Jackson, "Status Consistency, Vertical Mobility and Symptoms of Stress," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1960), p. 73.

solely in terms of the distance between statuses. The present research will be concerned with that aspect of status inconsistency, but will also try to handle the variable of difficulty of overachievement. The term "status inconsistency" will be restricted to that measure which takes into account what seems to be difficulties inherent in status achievement for Negroes, as well as the absolute achievements they have made.

This study will not, however, be an attempt to come to grips with problems concerning the actual measurement of these two basic variables. That is, no answer will be given to such questions as how to measure the distance between statuses in different status dimensions, or how to relate any two statuses in terms of the difficulties involved in obtaining one given the other. In order to handle these problems a number of social values and norms would have to be taken into consideration. Goode's theory of role strain might be viewed as one possible starting point for working out the details of a theory of status inconsistency, for he considers problems of relating statuses to one another as well as problems that arise when social values and "third parties" are taken into account.¹⁴

¹⁴Goode, op. cit., 483-96.

Status inconsistency could be treated as one type of role strain.

The Importance of Age

Since the population as a whole has been moving toward higher educational status, and since children are only required to remain in school up to a certain age, older Negroes very likely were brought up in an educational climate quite different from younger Negroes. Nevertheless, inasmuch as education is often a prerequisite for higher paying, and higher statused occupations, being born some years ago when there was less emphasis upon education is likely to also be a disadvantage occupationally and economically. Arguing from this point of view, older men would not be expected to have achieved high status. From another point of view, however, young men are not expected to achieve high status. More specifically, older men would not be expected to have high educational status, and therefore would not be expected to have high occupational or economic status. Young men would not be expected to have high occupational or economic status because they have not had a reasonable amount of time to acquire these statuses. Thus, the great achievement for older men would be high educational status, and for young men high occupational or economic status.

One assumption being made throughout this study is that race is the most significant status dimension for Negroes, and for this reason young Negroes who do not achieve high educational status will not be considered status inconsistent, even though from the point of view of age they may be regarded underachievers. Similar considerations hold for Negroes of northern origin who have not achieved high status.

The Importance of Region of Origin

A Negro having the South as his region of origin has enough of a handicap to deserve two additional status inconsistency points for each status increase on any of the achievement status dimensions. The Negro with a southern region of origin comes from the most economically and educationally deprived region of the country where his being Negro is also most obviously a great handicap. In addition to these status barriers, the Negro with a southern region of origin also has the problem of adjusting to a northern way of life, particularly its subtle, and not so subtle, forms of discrimination.

The Importance of Skin Color

Skin color, being the essential mark of Negro status, becomes a barrier to status achievement itself. Dark skin

color is negatively valued for it is a physical feature of Negroes, light skin color is positively valued for it implies white ancestry. It should be noted that when it comes to the basic question of getting any job rather than going unemployed, dark skinned Negroes from the South may have an advantage when it comes to competing for jobs traditionally assigned to Negroes.

Status Inconsistency: Operationalization

The primary concern of this study is to investigate one specific type of status inconsistency--the combinations of high achieved statuses and low ascribed statuses. All the subjects involved in this study have one low ascribed status, they are all Negroes. The crucial problem in operationalizing status inconsistency, then, is to develop an index of status achievement. Three achieved status dimensions have already been selected which seem appropriate, so attention may now be turned toward organizing these status dimensions in a meaningful way for the assigning of status inconsistency scores. Rather than divide the sample into consistent and sharply inconsistent groups on the basis of absolute achievement an attempt will be made to treat status inconsistency as a continuous complex variable involving references to both level of status achievements and effort

required to maintain combinations of achieved and ascribed statuses. Studies of status inconsistency have tended to recognize age as an important factor in the achievement of high educational status. In addition to age this study will include region of origin and skin color as important factors affecting the allocation, and achievement of high status as far as Negro males are concerned.

The Achieved Status Variables

Each of the status dimensions will be divided into status levels that seem socially meaningful. The occupational and educational dimensions are most readily categorized in a way that is socially meaningful. The argument for the way in which the economic dimension is categorized is that (1) respondents tended to report their incomes in round figures; (2) responses tended to be between \$4,000 and \$5,000; (3) an income of \$3,000 was the closest figure that seemed significantly less than an income of between \$4,000 and \$5,000; and (4) there were so few who reported incomes above \$5,000 that it is impossible to select a figure above \$5,000 as a base figure for high economic status, and still have many cases in that category. Thus, statistical considerations have dictated the categories of economic status, leaving the question open as to whether or not the distinctions

are socially meaningful as well. The income categories, however, continue to specify levels of economic status achievement, and therefore the basic prerequisite that the status dimension be hierarchical is at least met.

The occupational and educational status dimensions are divided into what seem to be culturally recognized levels. The occupational status levels are (1) unskilled occupations, (2) semiskilled and skilled occupations, and (3) white collar or supervisory occupations. The status levels of the educational dimension distinguish those who (1) did not complete high school, (2) completed high school, and (3) went beyond high school.

Operationalization of Ascribed Statuses

In order to carry out the type of analysis the foregoing suggests, it will be necessary to devise an index of exposure to the Southern way of life. Respondents who have spent at least 19 years of their life in the south before coming to Lansing will be regarded as being from the south. Length of time in the south will be taken as the sum of the number of years spent in a southern place of birth, plus the number of years spent in the place of residence prior to moving to Lansing, when that place of residence was still in the south. For a few subjects this will be an accurate

measure of the length of time they spent in the south before moving to Lansing. For others, who lived elsewhere in the south besides their place of birth, and their residence prior to Lansing, this figure is not as high as it should be. In any case, the index is such that status inconsistency points will not be given to subjects who do not deserve them.

The procedure for classifying subjects with respect to age will simply be to divide the sample in half. The result is that respondents over 41 years of age will be, for present purposes, considered "old," and those 41 years of age or less will be considered "young."

Skin color will refer to a subjective measure made during the interview by the interviewer. A five point scale was used in the interview situation. However, subjects will be divided into two groups with respect to skin color for purposes of analysis. Those subjects who were considered to have dark skins will be distinguished from the rest of the sample. The interviewer rated subjects as having either "light" (12), "light brown" (21), "brown" (23), "dark brown" (18), or "dark" (76) skin color.

The dimension of age and skin color are divided so that half the respondents are dark or light, old or young. The division, however, may still be meaningfully related to

the problem at hand. For example, a person who is 41 years of age today was old enough to serve in World War II, an event of some significance for Negroes with the outbreak of war. On the other hand, Negroes who were still of school age at this time probably had a better chance to continue their education beyond the level of their parents.

Status Inconsistency Score

A point system has been developed to distinguish degrees of status achievement and of status inconsistency. Points will be assigned to individual respondents for each level of status achievement, and whenever they have ascribed statuses that are considered to be barriers to status achievement. The sum of these points will be the respondent's status inconsistency score. More specifically, one status inconsistency point is given for each level of achievement above the lowest level for three status dimensions--income, occupation, and education (see Table 1, Achieved Status Score). Additional status inconsistency points are then given depending upon skin color, age, and region of origin. One status inconsistency point is given to dark skinned subjects, and two points to respondents from the south for each level of achievement they attain. Older subjects receive additional points for each level of educational

attainment, while young respondents receive points for each level of occupational and income achievement. Table 2 shows how all the possible status inconsistency scores would be assigned using these directions.

Table 1. Achieved status dimensions and levels.

Level	Achieved Status Score	Dimension Categories		
		Income	Occupation	Education
Low	0	0-\$3,000	Unskilled	0-11th grade
Middle	1	\$3,001 - \$5,000	Semiskilled and skilled	Completed high school
High	2	\$5,001 - and over	White collar and supervisory	Beyond high school

The first three columns of Table 2 present all the possible combinations of status achievements. The sum of these status achievement scores gives us the achieved status scores found in the fourth column from the left. The remaining columns contain status inconsistency scores that are derived by taking into account the eight possible combinations of ascribed statuses. As is shown in Table 2, a person may be completely status inconsistent and receive a score of 0, or he may receive as high a status inconsistency score as 28. The first person would have no status achievements,

Table 2. All possible assignments of status inconsistency scores.

Achieved Statuses		Achieved Status Score	Region: Skin Color:	Age:				<u>Ascribed Statuses</u>			
				Young		Old		North		South	
				Light		Dark		Light		Dark	
				Light	Dark	Light	Dark	Light	Dark	Light	Dark
0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	1		2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4
0	1	0		1	2	3	4	2	3	4	5
1	0	0		2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4
0	1	1		3	5	7	9	3	5	7	9
1	1	0		3	5	7	9	3	5	7	9
1	0	1		4	6	8	10	2	4	6	8
0	0	2		4	6	8	10	2	4	6	8
0	2	0		2	4	6	8	4	6	8	10
2	0	0		4	6	8	10	2	4	6	8
1	1	1		5	8	11	14	4	7	10	13
0	1	2		5	8	11	14	4	7	10	13
1	2	0		4	7	10	13	5	8	11	14

{

1	0	2	3	6	9	12	15	3	6	9	12	12	12	9	12
2	0	1	3	6	9	12	15	3	6	9	12	12	12	9	12
2	1	0	3	5	8	11	14	4	7	10	13	11	13	10	13
0	2	1	3	4	7	11	15	5	8	10	13	10	11	11	14
1	1	2	4	7	11	10	14	5	9	14	18	15	19	13	17
1	2	1	4	6	10	10	14	6	10	10	14	14	18	14	18
2	1	1	4	7	11	11	15	5	9	9	13	15	19	13	17
0	2	2	4	6	10	10	14	6	10	10	14	14	18	14	18
2	2	0	4	6	10	12	16	6	8	8	12	16	20	14	18
2	2	1	4	8	13	18	23	4	8	12	17	12	16	12	16
2	2	2	5	9	14	19	24	7	11	17	22	11	16	17	22
1	2	2	5	8	13	18	23	7	12	17	22	12	17	17	22
2	2	2	6	10	16	22	28	8	14	20	26	14	20	20	26

while the second would have high income, educational, and occupational status, plus he would be from the south, 41 years old or less, and dark skinned. This is the only combination that results in a status inconsistency score of 28. There is also only one possible combination that produces a score of 26; this would occur if a person was over 41 years of age, but otherwise was just like someone receiving a score of 28. There are a number of ways that all the other possible status inconsistency scores may be attained.

As an example of how status inconsistency scores are assigned one combination will be analyzed. A young, southern, dark skinned Negro with high occupational, moderate educational and low income status receives a status inconsistency score of 14. His achieved status score is 3 (2 for occupational achievement and 1 for educational achievement). Being young means 2 additional points will be given for occupational achievement (if he were old an additional point would also be given for educational achievement). Being dark skinned he receives an additional point for each status achievement, or another 3 points. Since he is from the south he is given 2 additional points for each status achievement, or 6 points in all. Thus, he receives 3 points for actual achievement, 2 points because of age, 3 points because of skin color, and 6 points because

of his southern background for a total of 14 points.

It is believed that this index of status inconsistency comes closer to being an accurate measure of the problems involved in the development of status inconsistency than an index relating only to the highest and lowest statuses a person has attained. It assumes that people do not react simply to the difference in rank between two statuses; equally important is the amount of effort implied in the achievement of a particular combination. The concept of status inconsistency has focused attention upon problems that arise from combinations of high and low status, while the distinction between ascribed and achieved status directs attention to the possibility of status inconsistency resulting from overachievement as well as an underachievement.

Desire for Social Change

The concept of status inconsistency has been employed to predict rate of participation in voluntary association and desire for social structural changes.¹⁵ It has been

¹⁵See Irwin W. Goffman, "Status Consistency and Preference for Change in Power Distribution," American Sociological Review, XXII (June, 1957), pp. 275-81; William F. Kenkel, "The Relationship between Status Consistency and Politico-Economic Attitudes," American Sociological Review, XXII (June, 1956), pp. 365-68; Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," American Sociological Review, XIX (August, 1954), pp. 405-13; Gerhard E. Lenski, "Social Participation and Status Crystallization," American Sociological Review, XXI (August, 1956), pp. 458-64.

suggested that status inconsistent individuals restrict their membership in voluntary associations to only those groups that in some way offer solutions to their status problems.¹⁶ This study is concerned with testing these notions. The dependent variable will consist of a number of components, each of which is considered essential to the development of collective protest action. Exline and Ziller have found status inconsistency produces interpersonal power conflicts; the present study is concerned with the extent which a particular kind of status inconsistency is associated with participation in collective protest.¹⁷

Factors that will be regarded as essential for collective protest are the existence of protest groups that have definite goals, ideologies, and procedures for bringing about desired changes.¹⁸ Inasmuch as Negro protest groups already exist, status inconsistent Negroes should be members of them more frequently than status consistent Negroes. The association of status inconsistency with

¹⁶Broom, op. cit., p. 432.

¹⁷Ralph V. Exline and Robert C. Ziller, "Status Congruency and Interpersonal Conflict in Decision-Making Groups," Human Relations, XII (1959), pp. 147-62.

¹⁸See "Elements of Social Movements: Goals and Means," in C. Wendell King, Social Movements in the United States (New York: Random House, 1956), pp. 30-38.

political liberalism that has been found by Lenski suggests status inconsistent Negroes should take a more extreme integrationist position than status consistent Negroes.¹⁹ In accord with this, status inconsistent Negroes should perceive more discrimination, select more militant goals, and approve of aggressive forms of protest more so than status consistent Negroes.

Protest Goals

Two aspects of the selection of goals for Negro protest are considered. Status inconsistent Negroes are expected to select those goals which are central to the integration process, such as the breaking up of Negro neighborhoods or residential discrimination. They are also expected to perceive these goals as being far from fully realized.

Occupational and residential discrimination seem to be two of the most crucial factors preventing the assimilation of Negroes. Inasmuch as residential proximity involves, or at least implies, closer social contact and equality than being a member of the same work group,

¹⁹Lenski, "Status Crystallization, . . ." op. cit., p. 410.

the reduction of residential discrimination as a protest goal will be regarded as a more militant selection than occupational discrimination.

Respondents were asked two questions having to do with the seriousness of various types of discrimination.²⁰ Their responses to these questions will be used as indications of the goals they would select for collective protest. Responses to these questions were rated in terms of "militancy." Thus, a score of zero was given to respondents who failed to mention either occupational or residential discrimination in response to these two questions. One point was added to the desire-for-change score if occupational discrimination was mentioned first to either question, and two points were given if discrimination in housing was mentioned first in response to either question. Respondents first had a chance to refer to occupational or residential discrimination spontaneously; they were then handed a card on which these two items, among others, were listed, and asked to rank the items in terms of seriousness as far as discrimination was concerned.²¹

²⁰See questionnaire in Appendix B, questions 4b and 5a.

²¹See Appendix B, question 5a.

Respondents were also handed a card with the words and figures "100-Complete," "75-Severe," "50-Quite a bit," "25-Some but not much," and "0-None" arranged in a vertical sequence.²²

AMOUNT OF DISCRIMINATION

100 COMPLETE OR EXTREME

75 SEVERE

50 QUITE A BIT

25 SOME, BUT NOT MUCH

0 NO DISCRIMINATION

RATING CARD

Figure 1. Card handed to respondents to enable them to estimate the amount of residential and occupational discrimination in Lansing.

They were then asked which number and phrase best described the amount of housing discrimination and the amount of occupational discrimination. Their selections are used as a measure of the amount of discrimination perceived. Status inconsistent respondents are expected to perceive more discrimination than those who are status consistent.

²²See Appendix B, questions 6 and 7.

Ideological Commitment

In order to receive a high ideological commitment score respondents have to take a strong position regarding the elimination of race as a significant status category. To do this they will have to indicate that they reject the idea that Negroes have a way of life all their own, especially one that is worth being maintained.²³ Additional ideological points were given to those reporting disbelief in the existence of a peculiarly Negro way of life if they also opposed the proposition that an all-Negro housing project be constructed in the Lansing area. Those who opposed could receive still another point on the ideological dimension if they disagreed with the suggestion that even Negroes who do not know one another still should greet each other when passing on the street. There were fewer respondents who felt Negroes should not greet each other when they are strangers than there were respondents who opposed an all-Negro housing project so the former position is given greater weight.

In the present study integration is viewed as being a process whereby a social group loses its identity. The

²³ See Appendix B, question 10d.

term could have been used in a way that permitted persons who take basically a separate but equal position to be described as integrationists. The concern here is to use the term in a way that would be comparable to a politically radical, or at least liberal, position.

By focusing attention upon the value of the Negro community and of ingroup attachments it is possible to pursue the idea of integration in a way that is not commonly done. If a number of questions were selected that referred to the integration of schools, public restaurants, and other public facilities, then responses to them have a better chance of reflecting more the way these issues are handled in the press than the personal development of an ideological position. This is a suggestion that Negroes learn to express opinions in favor of integration just as educated persons learn how to give the tolerant response to anti-Negro questions. Whether these expressed opinions are their personal opinions, or reflect their patterns of behavior is not certain. It is usually assumed that they do. By approaching the problem of integration from the point of view of what Negroes would have to give up if it were achieved, questions are asked that are not usually discussed publicly. Thus, if the various operationalized components of our notion of desire for social change were compared in terms of

difficulty, the ideological would probably be the most difficult since it assumes a certain amount of thinking in depth on the part of respondents.

Protest Procedures

Three questions concerning protest methods were used to indicate the degree to which a respondent was dedicated to collective protest as essential for the attainment of integration.²⁴ To be regarded as militant a respondent had to first assert the "sit-in demonstrations" did not go too far. He then must have selected group over individual forms of protest as most effective because of the power that resides in groups. Finally, he also had to reject strongly the idea that being a good Christian is one of the surest ways for Negroes to achieve equal rights.

It is felt that if status inconsistent Negroes are expected to desire widespread social change, and if in the process of their becoming status inconsistent they gain insights into the operation of the social system, that they should also be expected to consider aggressive collective protest the best protest procedure. This prediction is also in accord with the expectation that status inconsistent

²⁴ See Appendix B, questions 12c, 15, and 16c.

Negroes will tend toward relatively radical or aggressive ideological positions. Still it should be noted that a respondent received high scores in this dimension not by actually advocating aggressive group action, but simply by approving of it, and by objecting to the particular non-protest procedures being considered effective action orientations. Thus, this dimension implies a recognition of the importance of group protest, but the extent to which it also indicates a readiness to participate in aggressive forms of protest such as sit-in demonstrations is unknown. The extent to which respondents participate in protest groups may be regarded as further evidence of their belief in the effectiveness of concerted action. It would also seem to follow that if status inconsistent Negroes are expected to desire social change, then they can also be expected to attempt to bring about social change. Thus, if status inconsistent Negroes are going to be instrumental in bringing about social change, it is reasonable to expect that they will participate in groups interested in social protest and change.

In this study, degree of participation in collective action is treated as a variable that begins with knowledge of the existence of protest groups and ends with membership

in a particular group.²⁵ Thus, intensity of participation in a particular group is not measured, but would be a reasonable extension of this variable. To be regarded as active in protest organizations a respondent must first be able to spontaneously list at least one group he thinks is working to reduce discrimination in Lansing, he must belong to at least one group, and finally he must say that one of the groups to which he belongs is the NAACP. Membership in the NAACP is given such high importance because this is both the largest organized Negro protest group in Lansing, and because the NAACP is traditionally viewed as in the vanguard of Negro protest.

Organization of the Dependent Variable

A particular type of status inconsistency is predicted to be associated with desire for social change. This study is concerned with extending that prediction to include not only desires, but overt action. The dependent variable is composed of what seem to be very important elements in the process of social protest. They include references to knowledge of the nature of existing conditions and orientation toward engaging in collective action.

²⁵ See Appendix B, questions 12b, 12d.

The dependent variable is outlined in Table 3. Also shown in Table 3 are the desire for social change (in this case alteration of race relations in Lansing) scores. These scores are assigned in each component area so that each category is mutually exclusive. For example, a person scoring 5 in the Ideological Orientation component is found only in that category, and he had to go through the first four categories to be placed in the highest category. The same procedure holds for Action Orientation.

Each of the components of the dependent variable has been presented separately, scores will be assigned to respondents for each of these components. The dependent variable for this study is the sum of the component scores for each respondent. An attempt was made to structure the dependent variable in a way that recognized certain components as being more important than others. No clear cut weighting system could be devised so the dependent variable, unlike the independent variable, assumes equal importance for all components involved. It has also been noted that certain measures of the components of the dependent variable may be viewed as more extreme than others in their implications. For instance, to score high on the ideological dimension seems more difficult than

Table 3. Desire for social change scores.

Components of the Dependent Variable	Score
1. <u>Selection of Problem Area</u> (First responses to two questions)*	
Neither housing or occupation mentioned	0
Occupation mentioned twice	1
Occupation mentioned once	2
Both occupation and housing mentioned	3
Housing mentioned alone	4
Housing mentioned twice	5
2. <u>Perceived Housing and Occupational Discrimination (Scored separately)</u>	
None	0
Some, but not much	1
Quite a bit	2
Severe	3
Complete or Extreme	4
3. <u>Ideological Orientation</u>	
Negroes have a way of life that should be maintained	1
Negroes have a way of life, but it should not be maintained	2
Negroes do not have a way of life all their own	3
An all-Negro housing project should not be built in Lansing	4
Negroes who do not know one another should not greet each other	5
4. <u>Participation in Collective Action</u>	
Does not know of any groups working to reduce discrimination in Lansing	1
Familiar with such groups	2
Belongs to such group(s) but not to NAACP	3
NAACP member	4
5. <u>Action Orientation</u>	
Sit-in demonstrations go too far	1
Sit-ins do not go too far	2
Groups more power than individuals	3
Being a good Christian not a sure way to achieve equal rights	4

*See Appendix B, questions 4b and 5a.

scoring high in collective action. How accurate these observations are is difficult to discern.

Conclusion

A few theoretical questions have been raised concerning the use of Negroes as subjects in the study of status inconsistency. The hypothesis concerning status inconsistency that is being tested is that status inconsistency of the type involving low ascribed status and high achieved status is associated with desire for change in the social order. It has been suggested that inasmuch as overachievement on the part of Negroes may be motivated by desire for social change, it will be less accurate to assert in this instance that status inconsistency is the source of these desires. Of course, when one views American Negroes as having two ascriptive statuses, race and nationality, then from birth American Negroes are status inconsistent. They have high status as far as nationality is concerned, but are assigned low status with respect to race. Given this interpretation, being an American Negro is in itself a status inconsistency that may be regarded as a source of desires for social change, or perhaps more basically feelings of unrest. Then through the process of overachieving these feelings of unrest become crystalized into desires

for social change. Thus, overachievement on the part of the American can mean many things--acceptance of success values, a way of disproving racial stereotypes, a desire to engage in social or individual protest, or simply a reaction to feelings of unrest.

This study is concerned with investigating the extent to which status achievement for Negroes is associated with one of these possible concomitants of status inconsistency--the desire for social change through social protest. Status inconsistency has been measured by utilizing both achieved and ascribed status dimensions in order to derive what should be a more accurate measure of overachievement. The procedure attempts to take into account the position of the Negro in American social structure. The variable is specifically designed for the universe of American Negro men. The status variables involved are income, occupation, education, skin color, age, and region of origin.

The dependent variable consists of what are considered essential features of a desire for social change through collective protest. This variable too is by necessity restricted to orientations that American Negroes might have toward engaging in protest groups. The components of this

variable consists of the selection of protest goals, perception of amount of discrimination, ideological commitment, protest procedures, and participation in protest groups. Scores were assigned to respondents on the basis of these features of desire for social change. The sum of these scores was then used as a measure of desire for social change through collective action.

The hypothesis that is being tested is that the more status inconsistent a respondent is the greater will be his desire for social change. There should also be a positive correlation between status inconsistency and each of the component parts of the dependent variable. Attention will also be given in the analysis of the data to the question of treating status inconsistency as a variable referring to the absolute differences between highest and lowest statuses in a given combination as opposed to the amount of effort that has been exerted in the process of achieving the combination. The concept of status inconsistency by definition implies something unexpected has happened, and this unexpected event might best be viewed as the existence of an individual who has overachieved or underachieved.

CHAPTER IV

DESIRES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE OF OVERACHIEVING, ABSOLUTE ACHIEVING AND EDUCATED NEGROES

American Negroes have been selected as subjects for this investigation of the effects of status inconsistency because they constitute a readily identifiable group with low ascribed status. American Negroes have traditionally been considered worthy only of low social status; yet they have also been permitted to enhance their social standing in certain widely recognized status dimensions. Negroes who do manage to make significant status achievements, however, are still unable to completely avoid those disadvantages that are associated with their low ascribed status. Thus, Negroes who achieve high status are very likely to be faced with problems that follow from being status inconsistent.

The particular type of status inconsistency that becomes manifest as a consequence of socially significant status achievement by a person with low ascribed status is expected to facilitate the development of desires for widespread social change. It is here being predicted that Negroes who have made significant status achievements will

express the greatest desire for changes having to do with racial discrimination. Status achievement will be measured in two ways, in one status achievements are qualified by taking into account social handicaps that augment difficulties inherent in upward social mobility; in the other status achievements will be considered only in terms of level of actual achievement.

There are two ways in which American Negroes may change their ascribed status through collective action. One is by having the definition of American Negro changed from a low statused group to one of equal or superior status to whites. The other is to eliminate the use of race as a criteria for assigning status. These two solutions result respectively in racial pluralism or assimilation. In American society a movement toward racial assimilation would come into conflict with values concerning racial purity and tolerance of ethnic differences. A trend toward racial equality would be contrary to the existing state of affairs, but would not necessarily conflict with the fundamental value of racial separation.

The present study is concerned with the extent to which status inconsistency among Negroes is associated with desire for social change. Since racial assimilation presents

the greatest contrast with present conditions and trends, this position will be viewed as the one that could be taken toward the issue of what constitutes the most desirable relationship between Negroes and whites. Accordingly desire for social change in the present case will involve an estimate of degree of participation in collective action to bring about widespread social changes that could lead to racial assimilation.

Selection of Subjects

Negro male heads-of-households were selected as subjects for essentially two reasons. By focusing attention on a small and relatively homogeneous universe it was felt there would be less difficulty in achieving a random sample, and thus, a relatively small sample would be reasonably adequate to the demands placed on it. Although the actual universe from which the sample was drawn is restricted to a single urban area, the findings should at least apply to all Negro male heads-of-households living in northern cities of moderate size (50,000 to 200,000) that have between 5 and 10 per cent of their total population being Negro. Inasmuch as there do not seem to be definite reasons for expecting Negro women to react differently to status achievements on their part, or on the part of their husbands, these

findings may also be extended to include women. The same may be said for transient males who are not likely to be adequately represented in the sample. Generalizations beyond these limitations may prove to be correct; however, the theory as of yet does not lend support to such extensions, particularly, for example, to the inclusion of Negroes in the South, or to Negroes living in large metropolitan areas where they constitute close to or over 20 per cent of the population of the central city.

Examples of urban places within the North and West between 50,000 and 200,000 population, and between 5 to 10 per cent non-white residents are Ann Arbor, Grand Rapids, Jackson, and Kalamazoo, Michigan; Albany, New York; Cambridge, Massachusetts; Evansville, Indiana; Fresno, California; Muncie, Indiana; Niagara Falls, New York; Passaic, New Jersey; Racine, Wisconsin; Tacoma, Washington; Waterloo, Iowa; and York, Pennsylvania. There are about 41 cities that fall in, or come close to being in this category. Urban places with more than 800,000 population having more than 20 per cent non-white population are Chicago (23.6), Detroit (29.2), Philadelphia (26.7), Baltimore (35.0), Cleveland (28.9) and Houston (23.2). There are only two urban places of this size that have less than 20 per cent non-white population,

they are Los Angeles (16.8), and New York City (14.7).¹

Negro male heads-of-households were also selected because they should be most readily affected by status inconsistency resulting from significant status achievements. Since status achievements are still expected of men more than women, and it is the status of the head of the family unit that is crucial in assigning status to all the members of the family, Negro male heads-of-households are most likely to be burdened with problems of status and how to overcome them. (This, of course, is not meant to minimize the great interest in social status that women are likely to reveal in an affluent society.) Since Negro males are not completely exempt from the "calls to arms" extended to all American males to compete with one another to the best of their ability for relatively scarce symbols of status, there will be Negro males who will accept the challenge and who will succeed when permitted.

Sample and Universe

One of the unique features of this study is that it is possible to assume with more confidence than is customary

¹Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960. General Population Characteristics, United States Summary. Final Report PC(1)-1B (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1961).

in survey type studies that the sample of respondents was randomly drawn from a precisely defined universe.² The universe in question consists of all Negro male heads-of-households in the Lansing urbanized area. A list of Negro households compiled by a Lansing social worker, Mrs. Rose Brunson of the Family Service Agency, and considered by her to be a close approximation of all Negro households in the Lansing urbanized area, was brought up to date and made available to us just prior to the outset of the interviewing phase of this study.³ This list contained 1,484 addresses with each address representing an independent household. Thus, although the list was not compiled specifically for this study, its availability was unusually advantageous.

A sample size of 150 cases was set as the goal for the study (approximately a 10 per cent sample), and enough addresses were randomly drawn with the use of a table of random numbers to attain the sample size.⁴ Of the 303

²For an indication of the representativeness of the sample, see Table 17 in the Appendix A.

³Rose Toomer Brunson, "Socialization Experiences and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Urban Negroes as Related to Use of Selected Southern Foods and Medical Remedies," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Social Work, Michigan State University, 1962).

⁴According to the 1960 Census there were 1,655 non-white heads of primary families in Lansing. If we exclude (1) the non-whites who are not Negroes, about 50, and

addresses finally drawn, all were contacted, and only a few had not been eliminated for some reason before the 150th subject was interviewed. Addresses that did not result in completed interviews were instances of: Negro households without a male head (44), Mexican or other white households (45), vacant houses (26), refusals (9), poor health of Negro male head (4), and Negro male heads-of-households who for various reasons were never accessible when the interviewer came to their homes (25). The interviewer did not pre-arrange interview dates unless asked to return at a particular time or day. The interviews took about 45 minutes to complete. The interviewing was done by the author, a Negro, during the Summer of 1961.

Sample Limitations

An unknown number of Negro male heads-of-households living in the Lansing area were not included in the list of addresses that served as the operational delineation of the universe to be studied. They were Negro male heads-of-households whose addresses Mrs. Brunson believed were white residences, or who moved into residences that were previously

(2) the Negro primary families without male heads, about 300, the resulting figure is less than 1,500.

occupied by whites between the time Mrs. Brunson completed her list and the interviewing for this study took place. Exactly how many cases have been thus excluded from possible entry to the sample is unknown; the number is believed not to be over 100.

Despite the representativeness which the sample seems to have, some caution is probably warranted in making inferences from the sample to the universe, since in most instances the excluded cases are most likely residents of racially mixed neighborhoods, a factor that is likely to be in some way associated with particular reactions to being Negro. One would expect, however, that the inclusion of these persons in the universe would have the effect of increasing the likelihood of confirming the research hypothesis. They are likely to be status inconsistent, and by virtue of their residence may be expected to desire social integration. Some, of course, may be primarily "status seeking," and others mainly after certain conveniences; nevertheless, they still are willing to live outside of, or at least on the periphery of, Negro neighborhoods.

Negroes in Lansing

Negroes constitute a little more than 6 per cent of the total population of Lansing, Michigan. In the 1960

census, there were 6,745 Negroes in a total population of slightly over 100,000. They are not numerous enough, therefore, to constitute a serious threat to local politics except in cases of close contests and where one candidate is particularly appealing to the Negro voters. Through organized political activities they could, however, make themselves an element that local politicians would at least have to recognize as a source of political strength. There are a few Negroes in Lansing who are becoming aware of this fact. They feel the present mayor of Lansing owes his election to the support of the Negro voters. Some of these same Negroes, however, are now disenchanted with the mayor "they elected" and are looking for another candidate who appears sympathetic to their problems.

The Negro population of Lansing has been growing rapidly in the past two decades. The present study indicates that peaks of Negro immigration to Lansing occurred in the three years following the end of the second world war and again between 1952 and 1955, following the war in Korea.⁵ These peaks suggest Negroes come to Lansing to live during times of war, just as labor in general is attracted to

⁵See Appendix A, Table 1, item 4a.

centers of weapons' production at such times. The peaks of Negro migration into Lansing, however, seem to occur when the production of weapons should be on the decline. It may be that the influx of Negroes into Lansing immediately following periods of intensive weapons' production is a result of families seeking to be reunited. At any rate, one-third of the respondents interviewed moved to Lansing between 1945 to 1947, or between 1952 to 1955, a time span of only 6 years. It may be that some Negroes have moved to Lansing since 1955, but are not residentially stable, or are living in the fringe areas between Negro and white neighborhoods, and therefore escaped being included in this study.

Two-thirds of the respondents have lived in Lansing for less than 20 years. Almost one-third have lived in Lansing for less than 10 years. They are for the most part originally from small rural communities in the south. Half are from states directly south of Michigan. Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia alone are the birth places of one-third of the respondents.

Two-thirds of the respondents also report having relatives who live in Lansing. Only about one-fifth of the men interviewed stated that neither they nor their wives had relatives living in Lansing. These figures thus

bear out the contention that the migration of Negroes from the south tends to be due north, that it affects whole families, and that it is a response to an increase in job opportunities outside the south. The great migration of Negroes in the past decade had the added motivating factor of tensions created by the Supreme Court's decision regarding school integration. The north has remained attractive to many, and Lansing in particular was apparently on the list of desirable cities. Nearly all the men interviewed made favorable comments about Lansing when asked what they thought of Lansing as a place to live.

The fact that Lansing Negroes tend to be newcomers, at least not second or third generation residents of Lansing, that they come originally from small rural communities in the Deep South, and that opportunities for factory work seems to be the major factor attracting them to Lansing, suggests that Lansing just does not provide conditions for testing the status inconsistency hypothesis. Negroes have not been in Lansing long enough, nor have they increased in numbers enough to establish a base upon which a substantial middle and upper class of Negroes could rest.

Even if Lansing does not at first glance appear to be a likely place for the eruption of a radical assimilationist movement, it still can serve as a site to test the status

inconsistency hypothesis. In fact, it might be argued that a city such as Lansing is essential for testing this hypothesis. That is, if status inconsistent Negroes in Lansing are found to be more strongly committed to bringing about social change than status consistent Negroes, this cannot be explained in terms of a local tradition of active protest groups or a significant middle class base from which to operate. The findings would then lend further support to the factor of status inconsistency as a source of personnel for protest groups, and even more importantly as a source of desires for widespread social change in environments that are essentially still bound by relatively conservative traditions.⁶

Level of Analysis

In the present study, status inconsistency is viewed as the difference between the status levels of a person's achieved and ascribed statuses. Negroes will be considered status inconsistent when they achieve high status in areas that whites also consider important. In order to fully establish whether or not the status achievements of a

⁶Lansing is "conservative," relative to other Northern urban areas, but not relative to, say, a smaller Southern community.

particular Negro result in his being status inconsistent it would be necessary to specify values and norms pertaining to achievements expected of Negroes in general and of those with unusually disadvantaged or advantaged backgrounds in particular.

This methodological problem of treating status inconsistency as a concept referring to problems in defining a person's general status may be overcome, to some extent, by categorizing selected status dimensions in ways that are culturally meaningful rather than statistically significant. For example, since the concept of status inconsistency ultimately reduces to a problem of arriving at meaningful social evaluations of a person, it would appear more congruous to simply talk of people who graduated from high school and those who have not, rather than distinguishing 10 or more categories of educational status.⁷

⁷ Note the shift in the manner in which status achievement is categorized that occurs from the Lenski article to the Jackson article. Lenski uses a statistical approach while Jackson uses essentially the same approach that is employed in the present study. Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," American Sociological Review, XIX (1954), 405-13. Elton F. Jackson, "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress," American Sociological Review, XXVII (1962), 469-80. Jackson's article is based upon his doctoral dissertation and since Lenski was the chairman of Jackson's doctoral committee, it is possible to attach significance of a theoretical nature to differences between these two articles.

It just does not seem reasonable to expect Americans to distinguish as many as 10 different levels of occupational, educational, or economic status, much less average together 4 or more statuses levels a person has and then summing deviations from this mean to arrive at an over-all status level for him.⁸ Making such fine distinctions might be regarded as a defensible approach if the central concern is to establish the extent to which we live in a closed-class society.⁹ And, therefore, to what degree achievement in terms of a particular status hierarchy is associated with similar levels of achievement in other hierarchies of status.

This is not to imply a reasonable thesis could not be developed relating a statistically sophisticated index of status inconsistency to desires for social change, or to the frequency of occurrence of social movements. Such a

⁸Parker suggests that size of community influences the number of statuses used in the allocation of general status. In small towns a number of status dimensions may be used, while in cities a person is better able to restrict the number of status dimensions that are relevant in any given situation. Seymour Parker, "Status Consistency and Stress," American Sociological Review, XXVIII, (1963), 131-32.

⁹The concerns of Landecker may have influenced Lenski inasmuch as the former was concerned with class crystallization. Werner S. Landecker, "Class Stratification" and "Stratification in the Urban Society," in Ronald Freeman, et al., Principles of Sociology (New York: Henry Holt, 1952), pp. 228-39 and 449-63. The evidence of influence may be seen in Lenski's selection of the phrase "status crystallization." Evidence of a shift in emphasis may be noted in Jackson's subsequent selection of the phrase "status consistency," see footnote 7 on this point.

thesis would relate these two variables in terms of the implications status inconsistency has for the persistence of social structures, i.e., status inconsistency indicates a breakdown in stable relationships between status hierarchies, and, thus, may be associated with social movements concerned with re-establishing orderly relationships between criteria of status. In other words, status inconsistency may be investigated at the level of inter-organizational relationships or at the level of interpersonal relationships. A discrepancy between a person's occupational level and educational level may be viewed as a measure of degree of contact between the industrial and educational system, or as a problem that individuals must contend with in estimating each other's general status.

The present study follows previous studies of status inconsistency. The point has been made, however, that a Negro is status inconsistent not because he has achieved status levels equal to, or above, that expected of Americans in general, it is because status achievement is not evaluated in America solely in terms of rational judgments of effort. Thus, an attempt has been made to suggest how the concept of status inconsistency may be used in connection with societal norms and values pertaining to success.¹⁰ It

¹⁰For this discussion, see Chapter I.

would be interesting to pursue the implications of status inconsistency at the level of the Negro caste as a unit, and its relationship to the industrial and educational complexes. The existence of ascribed status groups in a society that places high value on equal opportunities would seem to place strains upon the efforts of all institutions allocating statuses to coordinate their status levels.

Although this study is primarily concerned with individuals as units of analysis it will have implications for larger social units. That is, inasmuch as three dimensions of achieved status were selected, it will be possible to ascertain from the over-all distribution of respondents on these dimensions how well status assignments are being coordinated in the Lansing area as far as its Negro population is concerned. In turn, it is possible that stable structural determinants of individual status inconsistency, i.e., mandatory school attendance and company policies concerning occupations open to Negroes, may lead to standardized ways of reducing status inconsistencies, i.e., active participation in labor unions to achieve status, emphasis on life style, working at more than one job in order to have an income consistent with educational achievement, etc.

Achieved Status Dimensions

The income, occupational, and educational status distribution of Negro males interviewed for this study does not suggest there is close coordination between these three dimensions of status in the allocation of status to Lansing Negroes. The fact that a large proportion of the Negro population in Lansing are immigrants from the South, a region lacking in educational facilities, makes it difficult to coordinate educational level with the other status dimensions in allocating status to them. Table 4 indicates, nevertheless, that Negroes in Lansing tend to have low status in each of the three status dimensions.

Table 4. Achieved status dimensions.

<u>Reported Income</u>			<u>Occupation</u>			<u>Education</u>	
	N	%		N	%		
0-\$3,000	30	23	Unskilled	47	36	0-11th grade	84 65
3,001-5,000	60	47	Semiskilled-Skilled	63	49	Completed High School	31 24
5,001-10,000	39	30	White collar and Supervisory	19	15	Beyond High School	14 11
TOTAL	129*	100		129	100		129 100

*N is 129 rather than 150 due to the fact that 21 respondents did not give usable responses to the interview item pertaining to personal income.

If education is taken as a prerequisite for occupational advancement and income as a reward for taking on more responsible occupations, then, Negroes in Lansing seem to be able to achieve higher occupational and income levels than might be expected given their educational level. Even though 65 per cent of the respondents have not completed high school, only about one-third of the respondents have unskilled occupations. Three occupations were classified as unskilled. They are laborer, janitor, and service (waiters, parking lot attendant).¹¹ Even though half the respondents are at the middle status level in both the income and occupational dimensions we see that twice as many have a high status income as high occupational status. One could conclude from this that Negroes in Lansing are not being strictly relegated to unskilled positions because of low educational level, nor does the fact that they have not achieved high status occupations prevent them from earning above average incomes.

To some extent then, Negroes in Lansing are able to make status achievements despite their caste position and low educational qualifications. Yet, achieving an income of \$5,000 to \$7,000 would not place an individual in a high income status position as far as the general population is concerned. Of the 39 respondents reporting incomes of over

¹¹See Appendix A, Table 1, item 4c.

\$5,000, only 4 had incomes over \$7,000. High status occupations in this study refer to such positions as stock room clerk, machine inspector, construction supervisor, and teacher. For the most part, these are occupations that might be classified by many people as equal in status to skilled or even semi-skilled occupations, and perhaps, in the case of stockroom clerk even equal to unskilled occupations.

At least as far as the general distribution of status is concerned the income and occupational hierarchies are similar in structure while the educational status structure is quite different. In order to give the educational hierarchy a structure comparable to the other two status dimensions, it would be necessary to assign high status to respondents who completed at least 1 or 2 years of high school and low status to respondents with less than 5 years of formal education. Such a division of the educational hierarchy might have been meaningful 20 or 30 years ago, and in rural areas in the South today, but does not seem relevant to the present situation.

If these data are typical of northern Negroes living in urban areas, it presents a rather bleak picture of the future. The view that Negroes are not qualified to move up

the occupational status hierarchy is supported by these data. With increasing automation of skilled occupations, Negroes are likely to find it increasingly more difficult to remain employed. The present status distributions among Lansing Negroes indicate advantages in their having migrated to Lansing, but it also foretells a period of readjustment, that is a lowering of income and occupational statuses to a level comparable with the amount of education they have.

The concept of status inconsistency places emphasis on the achievement of high status by Negroes as a source of discontentment with the present social order. It may be that the crucial period of Negro protest is yet to come, and will not be a result of improvements in status, but instead will follow a general decline in status for Negroes as more and more of them find the number of skilled and semi-skilled occupations open to them declining. Such a series of events is suggested by Davies' theory of revolution,¹² i.e., as Negroes improve their general status they will agitate for reforms, but only when a reversal occurs and they begin to lose status will their protest become revolutionary both in content and action.¹³ Perhaps one

¹²James C. Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution," American Sociological Review, XXVII (1962), 5-19.

¹³See Appendix A, Table 2.

of the major reasons why Negroes have not been more militant in their protests for social change is that their economic, educational, and occupational status level has been continuously improving relative to the general population.

Ascribed Statuses

It is being argued in this study that the type of status inconsistency that gives rise to desires for social reform may be characterized in terms of degree of overachievement. Individuals who overachieve and, therefore, are not adequately rewarded develop a negative orientation toward the social order. In order to give greater depth to this measure of status inconsistency, three ascribed statuses were selected that seem related to opportunities for status achievement. Age, region and skin color are likely to have an effect on the chances of a Negro getting a job or being able to improve his occupational status.

As Table 5 indicates, age and skin color were categorized so as to divide the sample in half, while the main concern with region of origin was to make sure that the cutting point for the categories included respondents who had reached at least the age of 19 before migrating from the south. This latter procedure suggests, while most of the respondents are from the south originally, only about

one-third reached an adult age before moving north. It was important to restrict the definition of southern region of origin in this way because two points toward status inconsistency were given to a southern respondent for each status achievement.

Table 5. Ascribed status dimensions.

	<u>Age</u>			<u>Region</u>			<u>Skin Color</u>	
	N	%		N	%		N	%
Over 41	63	49	North	83	64	Light	62	48
41 or less	66	51	South	46	36	Dark	67	52
TOTAL	129	100		129	100		129	100

Table 6 shows that of the 27 possible combinations of the achieved status dimensions, only four of these combinations lack empirical cases in the sample. Two of these combinations without cases contain statuses that are all of unequal rank (120 and 210), and three of them are above average in over-all status achievement score (120, 210, and 202), the mean achievement score being 2.3. The general tendency is for the frequency of occurrence of each combination to decrease with increases in achieved status score. Four status combinations describe the pattern of achievement of slightly more than half (66) the respondents. They are 000, 001,

Table 6. Frequency distribution of achieved status combinations by significant ascribed statuses.

Achieved Status		Age:		Young				Old			
		Achieved Status		Region:		North		South		North	
				Skin Color:		Light		Dark		Light	
Occ.	Ed.	Inc.	Score	Light	Dark	Light	Dark	Light	Dark	Light	Dark
0	0	0	0		2		2		4	3	2
1	0	0	1		1		1		1	2	
0	1	0	1								
0	0	1	1	2	2		1			6	4
1	0	1	2	4	1		4		2	1	3
1	1	0	2	3	1			1		1	
0	1	1	2	3	2					1	
2	0	0	2		1				1		
0	0	2	2		1			1	1		1
0	2	0	2		1						
1	1	1	3	1	2			1			
1	0	2	3	1	5		1		1	1	4
2	0	1	3		1			2		2	1
1	2	0	3								
2	1	0	3								

101 and 102, and with the exception of the last are below the 2.3 average score. The 100 and 010 combinations are unusual in that they are low achievement combinations that occur infrequently. It appears that occupational achievement is very closely associated with higher income status, or else respondents with low occupational and educational status tended to overestimate their incomes. If the latter is the case, then, all the most frequently occurring combinations would have achieved status scores of 2 or less, since combinations 102 would be, in actuality, at best either 101 or 100. The infrequency of 010 follows from the fact that combinations where education is higher than the other statuses are all infrequent, indicating education does operate as a useful status achievement prerequisite itself.

Table 6 also indicates that respondents are not equally distributed in terms of the eight possible combinations of ascribed statuses. Young, northern, light respondents are most frequent (25), and young, southern, light respondents least frequent (8). The outstanding feature of the frequency distribution of these combinations is that the young respondents are northern rather than southern in origin, while the older respondents are more

equally distributed between the two regions.

Of crucial importance to this study is the question whether or not these ascribed statuses have an effect upon total status achievement. These eight types of respondents should differ in a particular pattern with respect to mean status achievement scores. Table 7 contains the mean status achievement scores for each of the eight ascribed status combinations. Examination of this table substantiates the contention that age, region of birth, and skin color are ascribed status dimensions that can restrict or facilitate status achievement. In all cases, except one, when two of these dimensions are held constant the third has the expected effect on status achievement. For example, young, northern, light respondents have a higher mean achieved status score than young, northern, dark respondents. Only among the two groups with the lowest mean status achievement scores is there a reversal in that southerners have a higher mean status than northerners. In general, being young, having a northern region of origin, and a light skin color are positively associated with gains in achieved status dimensions.

Table 4 suggested there would be wide variety of patterns of status achievement. In actuality, we find

Table 7. Ascribed status combinations and mean status achievement scores.

Ascribed Status*	N	Mean Status Achievement Score
Y N L	25	3.04
Y S L	8	2.62
O N L	17	2.47
Y N D	22	2.27
O S L	12	2.25
Y S D	11	1.82
O N D	19	1.74
O S D	15	1.80

*Y - Young N - North L - Light
 O - Old S - South D - Dark

Negroes in Lansing are able to attain almost all the theoretically possible patterns of status achievement. Table 6, however, brings to our attention combinations of ascribed statuses that could not be gleaned from an inspection of Table 5. It has already been noted that young respondents tend to be of northern rather than southern origin. Another equally interesting finding is northern respondents are not lighter than southern respondents, nor are the younger lighter than the older.¹⁴ Slightly more than half the southern and older respondents are dark, while northern and

¹⁴ Respondents were categorized in terms of skin color before the actual interviewing began so that subsequent information about the subject would not influence the rating.

young respondents are equally divided in terms of skin color. Young Negroes of northern background are just as likely to be very dark skinned as to have a brown or lighter skin color. Of course, our data suggests it is still advantageous for Negroes to have a fair complexion and to have spent most of their lifetime in the north. Perhaps the most interesting fact that is brought out in Table 6 is that Negroes are far from being a homogeneous group. If status is a significant determinant of opinions and life style, one could expect a great variety in the life styles and opinions among Negroes. This variety may be expected to be limited, however, the extent to which the factor of race looms as a determinate of what Negroes choose to do or believe. One of the assumptions of this study is that few Negroes will be able to ignore the factor of race no matter how great their concern with status achievement.

Status Inconsistency and Desire for Social Change

The central hypothesis of this study is that the more a Negro overachieves the greater will be his desire for change in the caste system. Overachievement is being viewed as essentially a question of how many status achievements a person has made despite restrictive ascribed

statuses he also may have. Desire for changes in the caste system is being treated here as a complex variable containing references to both form of protest action and goals desired. An increase in desire for change is regarded as indicating greater willingness to engage in militant forms of protest aimed at bringing about complete racial assimilation.

A positive association is found to exist between status inconsistency and desire for social change as these two variables have just been defined. Although the two variables do not have normal distributions, it is interesting to note they produce a correlation coefficient of $r = .31$, which is significant at the .001 level. Status inconsistency scores range from 0 to 16 with lower scores being more frequent.¹⁵ Almost half the respondents (60) had status inconsistency scores of less than 6. Only about one-eighth (16) of the respondents had status inconsistency scores of 11 to 16. The same type of distribution was noted when patterns of achieved status were discussed. The patterns of status achievement as well as the status inconsistency scores indicate the extent to which Negroes are restricted to low status positions. Although we can see the operation of such restrictions, it is also evident

¹⁵See Appendix A, Table 2.

that within the confines of limited status achievements there is a considerable amount of variation in patterns of achievement.

Desire for social change scores range from 4 to 23 with a mean score of 12.95. Theoretically the scores of the dependent variable could have a range from 3 to 28. The variety of patterns of status achievement and of ascribed statuses suggested the respondents would not be a homogeneous group when it came to a question of opinions concerning race relations. The fact that opinions range almost the entire range of the 23 theoretically possible responses demonstrates quite well that Negroes are not in agreement even when it comes to the problem of what to do about being Negro.

A test of significance can be applied to the data if the variables are collapsed into fewer categories. Table 8 shows the data in the form used to ascertain a chi-square value of 9.50 which is significant at the .025 level with 3 degrees of freedom. The variable of status inconsistency was divided approximately into thirds. Only the upper (8-16) and lower (0-3) one-third groups were used in the calculation of this chi-square value.¹⁶ The desire for

¹⁶ If the middle group had been included in the calculation of chi-square then the resulting value would not have been significant. This is in accord with the Jackson study where he found it necessary to distinguish sharply status inconsistent from status consistent persons in order to confirm his hypotheses, op. cit., p. 473.

social change variable was divided as closely as possible into fourths. The magnitude of the chi-square is due mainly to the concentration of the highly status inconsistent respondents in the cell indicating greatest desire for changes in race relations. The general pattern of the data in Table 8 suggests it is not so much that status consistent respondents lack a desire for social change as the tendency for the highly status inconsistent respondents to have a great desire for change that establishes a relationship between status inconsistency and desire for social change.

Table 8. Status inconsistency and desire for social change.

Desire for Social Change	Status Inconsistency		
	Low (0-3)	Moderate* (4-7)	High (8-16)
Low (4-10)	12	(13)	6
(11-12)	9	(8)	9
(13-14)	12	(11)	7
High(15-23)	7	(15)	20
TOTALS	40	(47)	42

*Not used in calculation of chi-square value.

Desire for change might be regarded as the norm among American Negroes, particularly with the new styles in protest that have been emerging in the South. Status inconsistency seems to have the effect of heightening that

desire. Again status inconsistency does not reveal its effects until it reaches an extreme condition.¹⁷ Low and moderate degrees of status inconsistency appear practically unrelated to desire for social change. However, at high desire (15-23) there is a definite increase in frequency as we pass from low to moderate to high status inconsistency.

These findings support the hypothesis that inconsistencies between status achievement and ascribed status will lead to desires for social change when the ascribed statuses are of low value. The manner in which the variables were formulated in this study suggests two additional conclusions. First, that status inconsistency of the type just mentioned may be considered fundamentally a question of degree of overachievement. Which means highly status inconsistent respondents must not have received the kind, or amount, of rewards they expected for their achievements. The second conclusion which seems warranted is that these status inconsistent respondents identified the breakdown in the system of reward for status achievement in the use of race as a criteria for assigning status. The transition from the first to the second conclusion is made by suggesting

¹⁷ See Jackson, op. cit., p. 473.

in the process of achieving higher statuses the respondents learns to identify racial discrimination as a social problem requiring collective action to be eliminated. A study with time as a dimension would have to be undertaken to more clearly establish how status inconsistency does provide conditions for learning that one is being cheated, why he is being cheated, and what he should do to ensure a fair price for his efforts and accomplishments.

Desire for Assimilation

Studies of status inconsistency in which this variable is associated with desire for social change have consistently argued the changes desired tend to be widespread. Direction of the change desired is not clearly spelled out in these studies, but they seem to suggest status inconsistent persons tend to desire changes that would alter the basic pattern of the social order. The present study selected desire for racial assimilation as the dependent variable because it does provide direction, and if accomplished, would require about as many changes in race relations as any other alteration that the writer could imagine, including the annihilation of all races but one. Equally as important as direction of change is the question of what action is to be taken, and here the concern is formulating the dependent

variable was to select specific goals that would require extensive collective effort to achieve, and to ascertain what degree of militancy would be accepted as appropriate.

The level of significance of the chi-square value obtained when the independent and dependent variables are associated lead to the conclusion that status inconsistency, at least of a particular type, leads to desires for widespread social changes. Analysis of the dependent variable in more detail, however, does not fully support this conclusion. Ideally, each of the subdivisions of the dependent variable should be significantly associated with status inconsistency. In actuality, only two of the sub-variables of the general dependent variable are significantly associated with status inconsistency beyond the 5 per cent level. Status consistent respondents perceive less occupational discrimination and are less involved in social protest than the status inconsistent.

When Table 9 is reduced to a 2 x 3 table, a chi-square value (6.07) is obtained that is significant at the 5 per cent level. About half the status consistent respondents reported there was at most some, but not much, occupational discrimination. Only a fourth of the highly status inconsistent respondents perceived so little occupational discrimination in Lansing. The highly status

inconsistents, however, do not go on to report severe or complete occupational discrimination, but tend toward a moderate position ("Quite a bit").

Table 9. Status inconsistency and amount of occupational discrimination perceived.

Perceived Occupational Discrimination	Status Inconsistency		Total
	Low (0-3)	High (8-16)	
None	8	3	11
Some	11	6	17
Quite a bit	15	23	38
Severe	5	7	12
Complete	1	3	4
TOTAL	40	42	82

In general, respondents report more residential than occupational discrimination exists in Lansing. Residential discrimination is frequently perceived as severe or complete. Thus, in this instance, when the general population takes an extreme position, then status inconsistencies do not assume a still more extreme position, but when the general population takes a very conservative position then the "radicalism" of the status inconsistencies emerges. Although status inconsistencies maintain a consistently high perception of discrimination, they do not select residential discrimination over occupational discrimination as the problem

area requiring most attention.

The position was taken in the present analysis that the elimination of residential discrimination is more crucial in the process of racial assimilation than the elimination of occupational discrimination. The latter as an ultimate goal can be incorporated in a separationist ideology more readily than the former. Residential segregation would seem to be most essential for the maintenance of group identity. Responses to two questions concerning the selection of a problem area for attack were combined to form a continuum with the selection of residential discrimination in answer to both questions forming one end, and at the other end neither occupational or residential discrimination are selected as areas of greatest concern. Points along the continuum were filled in by regarding each selection of occupational discrimination as a tendency toward a separate but equal position and each selection of residential discrimination as a tendency toward the acceptance of an assimilationist position. This attempt to delineate a continuum of goal selection reflecting assimilationist versus separationist positions failed to indicate differences between status consistent and inconsistent respondents.¹⁸

¹⁸ See Appendix A, Table 3.

Slightly more than one-third of the respondents (46) selected residential discrimination at least once in response to two different questions. More than half selected occupational discrimination at least once as a most serious problem area. As many as one-fourth selected some problem area other than occupational or residential discrimination in both cases. The selection of residential discrimination is here being regarded as the most militant response. Thus, although the general population tend toward the selection of occupational discrimination as a problem area, status inconsistency does not lead clearly to a more extremist position. The status inconsistent respondents do perceive more occupational discrimination than other respondents, but this may be viewed as a tendency to focus their attention upon less controversial problem areas.

Once again the question is raised whether or not status inconsistency leads more directly toward an assimilationist or separationist position. It is very likely that the variable of goal selection as it has here been defined does not adequately serve the purpose assigned to it. Still, we have already observed that status inconsistent respondents do not perceive more residential discrimination than status consistent, while, on the other hand, the former do tend to perceive more occupational discrimination than the

latter. This could be interpreted as meaning status inconsistency leads to desire for change, but for social changes that are not of the most widespread and fundamental sort.

Consistent and inconsistent respondents both agree that there is more residential discrimination than occupational discrimination, yet they both also tend to select occupational discrimination as the problem area in which most attention is needed. The only difference between the two groups is that the inconsistent are less ready to assert there is very little occupational discrimination in Lansing. Could it be that the status inconsistent respondents who are most desirous of social change, are in fact most concerned about gaining status in areas that are not so clearly defined as battle lines as the borders between Negro and white neighborhoods?

One additional aspect of this desire for change bears upon this subject. The question of ideological position is more decisively put in a series of interview items pertaining to the recognition and acceptance of a Negro culture. Table 10 indicates there is considerable acceptance of a Negro way of life as a positive attribute of being a Negro. Almost 40 per cent of the respondents felt Negroes had a way of life all their own that should be maintained.

Most of the respondents who rejected this positive view of a Negro culture, rejected the very idea that Negroes had a way of life all their own. Of those respondents who felt Negroes do not constitute a subculture, about two-thirds of them also expressed opposition to the construction of an all-Negro housing project in Lansing. And almost one-third of those opposing the housing project went the last step in this series of items to also oppose the idea that Negroes should greet each other on the street even when they do not know one another.

Table 10. Status inconsistency and ideological position.

Ideological Position	Status Inconsistency		
	Low (0-3)	High (8-16)	Total
Negroes should maintain their way of life	18	14	32
Negroes should not maintain their way of life	7	9	16
Negroes do not have a distinct way of life	3	6	9
Opposed to all-Negro housing project	9	7	16
Negroes should not greet each other when they are strangers	3	6	9
TOTAL	40	42	82

Table 10 again suggests although we have, in general, found that as status inconsistency increases, so does the desire for change, this desire cannot be specifically pinpointed in terms of direction. Highly status inconsistent respondents seem as willing to maintain a separate Negro subculture as do the status consistent respondents. One cannot even argue from the data at hand that success leads Negroes to develop vested interests in the status quo, that is the maintenance of those conditions permitting them to become successful. Status inconsistency has been found to increase with desires for social change, but a closer look at the data has not borne out the expectation that this change desired would be for assimilation; in fact we are left without any indication of what position if any, status inconsistency might lead Negroes to take.

It may be that status inconsistency simply produces desires for change, that status inconsistent individuals are the kind of people Eric Hoffer considers ripe for mass movements. "When people are ripe for a mass movement," Hoffer states, "they are usually ripe for any effective movement, and not solely for one with a particular doctrine or program."¹⁹ Also status inconsistent respondents may

¹⁹Eric Hoffer, The True Believer (New York: Mentor Books, 1958), p. 25.

not be clearly assimilationists or separationists because such positions are not being made explicit by Negro protest groups, except in the case of the Black Muslims. The latter would seem to be the more likely explanation for one would still expect the "ripe" dissenter to express the position of whatever movement he happened to be following at the moment.

Status inconsistent respondents are significantly more involved in collective protest groups than status consistent respondents. A chi-square value of 6.52 was obtained in this instance which is great enough to be significant at 5 per cent level of significance with 2 degrees of freedom. Table 11 shows a definite tendency for status consistent respondents to be unaware of the existence of protest groups in the local community and not to be members of groups they are familiar with. Less than a fourth of the status inconsistent respondents were unaware of the presence of local protest groups, and half of them report actually belonging to such a group. About a fourth of the status consistent claim membership in protest organizations. In Table 11 notice also that the shift toward involvement in collective action occurs in the highly status inconsistent category, the moderate and low inconsistent are both unlikely to be members of protest groups.

Table 11. Status inconsistency and participation in collective action.

Collective Participation	Status Inconsistency		
	Low (0-3)	Middle* (4-7)	High (8-16)
Does not know of any local pro- test groups	14	(15)	8
Familiar with such groups	15	(17)	11
Member of group other than NAACP	3	(6)	11
NAACP member	8	(9)	12
TOTAL	40	(47)	42

*Not used in calculation of chi-square value.

Status inconsistent respondents have been found to differ significantly from consistent respondents in terms of the general variable desire for change, and in terms of two subvariables--perception of the amount of occupational discrimination and participation in collective action. The two groups differ most significantly when general desire for change is involved. The differences between the two groups in each case, are in the direction expected. Status inconsistency of the type that refers to overachievement does seem to be associated with desire for social change. Rather than being definitely more "radical" than the general population, however, status inconsistent respondents in this

instance might be best described as simply less "conservative" than status consistent respondents. When the desire for social change variable is divided into component parts we find that status inconsistencies are more likely to participate in collective action (also somewhat more likely to approve of militant action), but do not appear to be firmly committed to an extremist ideological position any more than is the general population.²⁰

Achieved Status and Desire for Change

Status inconsistency in the present study is being interpreted as referring to degree of overachievement. In order to increase the intensity of this measure of status inconsistency, ascribed statuses were introduced that were expected to have an effect upon a respondent's chance of achieving occupational, economic, and educational status. Attention will now be given to the interpretation of status inconsistency as solely a question concerning level of achievement given a single low or high ascribed status.

Status achievement scores range from 0 to 6. Three dimensions of status are involved--occupation, education, and income. Each dimension is divided into three levels; low, middle, and high assigned scores 0, 1, 2 respectively.

²⁰ See Appendix A, Table 2, item 2, and Table 6.

A total achievement score of 6, then, refers to high achievement in three dimensions, and a total score of 0 means the individual has not made any status achievements. The shift to status achievement as a measure of status inconsistency will have the immediate effect of increasing the difference between the consistent and inconsistent groups as far as mean level of achievement is concerned. When the over-achievement interpretation of status inconsistent is pursued (a number of ascribed statuses are taken into account), the mean level of status achievement of high status inconsistency (8-16) is 3.3, and the mean for low status inconsistency (0-3) is 1.0, a difference of 2.3.

The number of cases had to be reduced to 56 in order to statistically compare respondents with low and high levels of status achievement. These two groups are also not as equal in size (34 and 22) as the nonachieving and over-achieving groups (40-42). Still, these differences do not appear great enough to prevent comparing the results of these two approaches. In comparing these two approaches we are concerned with ascertaining whether there is more or less predictive power gained by interpreting status inconsistency as fundamentally a question of degree of over-achievement, or a question of the number of status levels

that can be distinguished between a person's highest and lowest statuses. The mean achieved status levels of the non-achievers (10-3) and overachievers (8-16) differ slightly more than 2 levels. The mean level of status achievement for the group with high absolute status (4-6) is 4.69, and for the low status group (0-1) the mean is only .61. The difference between these two means is 4.07, twice that obtained with the overachievement interpretation of status inconsistency. Thus, the overachievement approach resulted in significant findings despite considerable similarity between the groups compared as far as absolute level of status achievement is concerned.

In Table 12 we see that individuals who have achieved high status desire social change more so than those with low status. The chi-square value (10.39) is significant at the 2.5 per cent level. Thus, a doubling of the number of status levels between high and low mean achieved status does not in this instance result in a difference of increased statistical significance. The overachievement approach to status inconsistency also resulted in a chi-square value that is significant at the 2.5 per cent level. Both approaches, therefore, produce differences that attain a level of significance greater than that usually regarded by sociologists as statistically significant. The distribution

of data in Tables 8 and 12 also forms essentially the same pattern, the high status achievers and overachievers are concentrated in the category of greatest desire for social change, while the low statused and non-achievers are almost evenly distributed along the continuum from low to high desire for social change.

Table 12. Achieved status and desire for social change.

Desire for Social Change		Achieved Status Level		
		Low (1-0)	Middle* (2-3)	High (4-6)
Low	(4-10)	11	(17)	3
	(11-12)	8	(14)	4
	(13-14)	10	(17)	3
High	(15-23)	5	(25)	12
TOTAL		34	(73)	22

*Not used in calculation of chi-square value.

Only two of the component variables of desire for change were found to be significantly associated with status inconsistency when overachievement is the meaning ascribed to this concept. These two variables pertained to amount of occupational discrimination perceived, and extent of participation in collective action, and when absolute status achievements alone are used in measuring status

inconsistency, the outcome is essentially the same. Perception of occupational discrimination, however, does not quite distinguish the high and low status levels at the 5 per cent level. Thus, conclusions concerning the relationship between desire for change and status inconsistency are the same whether an absolute measure of status achievement is used or one that took into account advantages and disadvantages of a number of ascribed statuses as well. In both cases status inconsistency and desire for social change are associated, and in both cases it is difficult to describe the structure of this desire for change. For the most part the desires of the status inconsistent respondents seem to follow those of the general population, i.e., participation in protest groups, perception of considerable amounts of discrimination, but without firm commitment to an assimilationist ideology.

The overachievement approach to status inconsistency was expected to have the greatest predictive power. The fact that both approaches turned out to be capable of producing pretty much the same levels of statistical significance requires some comment. The general implication of these findings would seem to be that a Negro can feel just as belittled with the rewards he receives for a high school education, if he is from the south and has a dark skin

color, as a northern Negro with light colored skin with a college education. The question may be raised, then, concerning the extent to which the simple fact of being a Negro will remain enough of a negative attribute to give rise to status inconsistency with full strength. As far as the present study is concerned, the overachievement approach to status inconsistency can be expected to have greater predictive power to the extent that being a Negro is not in itself the crucial fact in determining one's low status. Attention will be given to this point in the next chapter where an attempt will be made to present a description of how ascribed and achieved statuses might be combined to described changes taking place in the American caste system.

Overachievers with High Absolute Status

The effects of status inconsistency should be most strongly felt by those respondents who have overachieved, and who in the process have actually reached the highest levels of status achievement. There are 12 respondents who have overachieved (to the extent of 8-16 points), and who also reached high levels of status achievement (levels 4-6). These respondents, then, may be regarded as the most sharply status inconsistent subjects interviewed for this study.

For comparison, those subjects who have low status in all three dimensions of achieved status will be regarded as the respondents with the greatest status consistency. Ideally, this group would be restricted to at least those subjects with dark skin and a southern region of origin. In Table 13 we see the 13 respondents with all low achieved statuses (achieved pattern 000) are for the most part older, of northern origin, and dark skinned. The 12 sharply status inconsistent respondents are also mostly of northern origin. More than half of the latter respondents are young men and have light skin color. It is interesting, indeed, that here skin color and age appear to be factors of greater importance than region of origin as determinants of status achievement.

Comparing overachievers who have in fact attained the highest status levels with non-achievers, respondents with all low statuses, may be viewed as providing some indication of what to expect if, in a study such as the present one, respondents were included who had achieved very high occupational, economic, or educational status. It could be argued that the reason why analysis of the various components of the general desire for social change variable has not resulted in more significant findings is that even though attempts were made to distinguish status inconsistent

Negroes, this could not be accomplished because none of the respondents have in fact achieved high enough status to be strongly affected by status inconsistency.

Table 13. Patterns of status achievement and ascription held by both sharply status inconsistent and consistent respondents.

	<u>Achieved Status Patterns</u>			<u>Ascribed Status Patterns</u>	
	Inconsistent	Consistent		Inconsistent	Consistent
222*	3		Old	4	9
221	3		Young	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>
212	2		Total	12	13
211	1		North	9	9
112	1		South	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
121	1		Total	12	13
202	1		Light	7	4
000		<u>13</u>	Dark	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>
Total	12	13		12	13

*See Table 7 for a description of each of these patterns of status achievement.

Examination of Table 14 suggests that the inclusion of Negroes with levels of status achievement higher than those earned by the men interviewed for this study would have increased the significance of the attitudinal differences

between status consistent and inconsistent respondents. The number of subjects upon which Table 14 is based is, unfortunately, quite small, but the distributions are such that there is little doubt as to the meaning of the table.

Not only is there an obvious difference between the status consistent and sharply status inconsistent as far as the general dependent variable is concerned, but now, for the first time, each of the components of desire for social change is distinguishable in terms of two categories of consistency and inconsistency. And in each instance the differences are as expected. The sharply status inconsistent respondents are much more likely to state (1) Negroes do not have a way of life they should maintain; (2) Residential and occupational discrimination are problem areas; (3) That they are familiar with and are members of local protest groups; (4) The sit-in demonstrations do not go too far, and (5) That there is at least "quite a bit" of occupational and residential discrimination in Lansing. In fact, the sharply status inconsistent respondents are practically unanimous on each of the foregoing points, while the status consistent respondents tend to be evenly divided.

Thus, it appears as though not only is a general and somewhat amorphous desire for social change associated with status inconsistency, each of the components of this desire

Table 14. Status consistency, sharp status inconsistency, and desire for social change.

Desire for Social Change		Status Consistency	
		Status Consistent	Sharp Status Inconsistency
Low	4-12	10	2
High	13-23	<u>3</u>	<u>10</u>
		13	12

Component Variables:

1. Ideology

Negroes should:

(a) Maintain their way of life	8	1
(b) Not maintain a way of life, or do not have a way of life	<u>5</u>	<u>11</u>
	13	12

2. Selection of Problem Area:*

(a) Neither housing nor occupational discrimination	5	1
(b) Occupational, but not housing	4	4
(c) Occupational, and/or housing	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>
	13	12

3. Participation in Collective Action

(a) Unaware of local protest groups	7	0
(b) Familiar with and/or belongs to local protest groups	4	3
(c) Belongs to NAACP	<u>2</u>	<u>9</u>
	13	12

Table 14.--Continued

Desire for Social Change	Status Consistency	
	Status Consistent	Sharp Status Inconsistency
Component Variables:		
4. Action Orientation		
(a) Sit-in demonstrations go too far, or had not heard of sit-ins	6	2
(b) Sit-ins do not go too far	<u>7</u> 13	<u>10</u> 12
5. Amount of Discrimination Perceived:		
Occupational		
(a) Less than "quite a bit."	8	1
(b) "Quite a bit." or more	<u>5</u> 13	<u>11</u> 12
Residential		
(a) Less than "quite a bit."	5	0
(b) "Quite a bit." or more	<u>8</u> 13	<u>12</u> 12

*See Appendix B, questions 4b and 5a.

that were selected for this study may also be related to status inconsistency. The latter relationships may be expected to emerge with the inclusion of Negroes who have achieved considerably higher statuses than is usual for Negroes to have attained in Lansing. These findings suggest furthermore, that not only is it possible that the effects of status inconsistency only become apparent when there are sharp differences between highest and lowest statuses, but also it may be possible to distinguish the level of status inconsistency at which a general desire for change first emerges from levels required to give structure to these desires. One would expect organized collective action to appear as members of a given population begin to reach the latter levels of status inconsistency. Up to this level, status inconsistency involving low ascribed statuses may lead only to disorganized, or at best moderate forms of protest. Still, it is difficult to really discuss status inconsistency in this manner for it leaves out completely considerations of social trends and events external to the ascribed status group. For example, it would seem overly simple to predict increases in the extent and intensity of Negro protest solely on the basis of evidence that Negroes are making significant gains in widely recognized status dimensions.

Single Dimensions of Status and Desires for
Social Change

Thus far desire for social change has been related to various combinations of statuses. This is in accord with the expectation that the inclusion of a number of carefully selected statuses will result in greater problems of status inconsistency than would any of the statuses taken alone. Using statuses in various combinations is the basic theoretical contribution of the concept of status consistency. The value of the status consistency concept lies in the contention that predictive power can be increased through the proper use of multiple rather than single status dimensions. Should any of the status dimensions selected for this study turn out to equal the predictive power of the various approaches to status inconsistency that have thus far been discussed, then, the value of the concept of status consistency may be questioned on the grounds of theoretical simplicity.

Three ascribed statuses were selected to develop a variable of status overachievement. These three ascribed statuses were found to have an effect upon status achievement. Table 15, however, presents data showing similar distributions as far as desire for social change is concerned for each of the ascribed statuses.

Table 15. Ascribed statuses and desire for social change.

Desire for Social Change	Ascribed Status					
	Region of Origin		Skin Color		Age	
	South	North	Dark	Light	Old	Young
Low (4-10)	10	21	16	15	19	12
(11-12)	10	16	18	8	12	14
(13-14)	12	18	12	18	11	19
High (15-23)	14	28	21	21	21	21
	46	83	67	62	63	66

Skin color is probably the only one of the three dimensions that might be considered capable of producing an inconsistent combination. That is, one could make the argument that the combination of light skin color and Negro status is inconsistent, inasmuch as such a person may be viewed as having "blood" in his veins from both superior and inferior races, he is biologically inconsistent, and inasmuch as race is a criterion of status, he is, therefore, status inconsistent. However, in Table 15 we see that youth is the ascribed status that is somewhat more closely associated with desire for social change than light skin color. This is the only one of the ascribed statuses with almost twice as many having high desires for social change

as low. Being from the north and having a light skin color might be discussed in status inconsistency terms, but certainly, there is nothing status inconsistent about being a young Negro. Younger Negroes, however, might have greater desire for social change because they have grown up in an atmosphere in which greater changes are expected. It is difficult to surmise whether the north or the south would best qualify as the region breeding the greatest optimism in Negroes. Table 15 does not provide an answer to this question, even though most people, social theorists included, would probably select the north as the region in which the festering of desires for social change would be most likely among Negroes, since in the north such desires may be expressed somewhat more freely.

Three dimensions of achieved status, occupation, income, and education, were selected for this study because they are widely used in this society in the evaluation of an individual's general status. The attainment of high status in each of these dimensions should result in greater inconsistency than any of the categories of ascribed status discussed above. Table 16 presents data relating each of the dimensions of achieved status to desire for social change.

Table 16. Occupational, economic, and educational status by desire for social change.

Desire for Social Change		Achieved Status					
		Occupation		Income		Education	
		Low(0)	High(2)	Low(0)	High(2)	Low(0)	High(1,2)*
Low	(4-10)	13	2	8	8	25	6
	(11-12)	8	3	7	7	20	6
	(13-14)	12	5	10	6	21	9
High	(15-23)	14	9	5	18	18	24
		<u>47</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>45</u>

*To attain high educational status here, respondents have only to be high school graduates.

Respondents with high occupational status do not differ significantly from those with low occupational status as far as desire for social change is concerned. The difference between low and high income respondents almost reaches the 5 per cent level of significance ($\chi^2 = 7.54$). Whether a respondent has graduated from high school or not, however, is significant, even more significant than any of the independent variables that have thus far been developed and discussed. High school graduates differ enough from non-graduates in their desires for social change to result in a chi-square value (14.67) that is significant at the .005 level.

If education is the most powerful independent variable employed in this study, then, some factor other than status inconsistency must be operating as a determinant of desires for social change. We noted in the formation of the achieved dimension of status that none of the respondents had attained very high status levels as far as the general society (or the community of Lansing, for that matter) is concerned. And now by simply distinguishing high school graduates from non-graduates, the most significant, perhaps theoretically as well as statistically, finding of the study is made.

We saw that the ascribed status category which appeared to be most closely associated with desire for change was that of youth, being less than 42 years of age. And we noted that being a young Negro was certainly not an inconsistent combination of ascribed statuses. Now we see that being a high school graduate, probably one of the least inconsistent achievements of status for a Negro to make, is associated with desire for social change. Being a high school graduate is coming to be expected of everyone in the society, Negroes included, for education up to this level is "free" for everyone and necessary for many jobs.

One of the difficulties that arises here in asserting the least status inconsistent combination has produced the most significant finding is that it is impossible to really

justify such an assertion short of evidence to the effect that a high school education is given greater weight in the evaluation of status than an income of over \$5,000, or a white collar occupation. Still, in the statistical analysis of the effect of occupational and economic status achievement upon desire for social change in both cases the middle status categories were not used, while all 129 cases were used in the analysis of the effects of educational attainment. Besides this, the simple fact of being a high school graduate or not has resulted in differences more significant than when all three dimensions of achieved status are combined. Finally, note that 19 respondents achieved high occupational status, 39 high economic status, and 45 graduated from high school (only 14 of the latter went beyond high school). Thus, being a high school graduate, at least objectively speaking, is a more frequent achievement than high occupational or economic achievement. If frequency of occurrence is any indication of difficulty, then graduating from high school is least difficult and, therefore, should result in less status inconsistency.

When being young was found to be the ascribed status which seemed most closely associated with desire for social change, it was suggested this may be due to a difference in the atmosphere in which the younger respondents were

introduced to the problem of race and caste. The same line of argument would seem to apply in explaining why educational achievement should be more closely related to desire for social change than occupational or economic achievement. We have in mind here the increased awareness of one's social position, and the increased readiness and capacity to approach problems analytically that is likely to follow from educational achievement more so than most other dimensions of status achievement.

These findings, however, also raise the question to what extent do Negroes desire social change because of the feeling that a void exists between their high achieved status and their low ascribed status, rather than a feeling that a void exists between being accepted as a Negro and simply as a human being. It would seem that awareness of the first void does not necessarily imply awareness of the second. But certainly awareness of the second is likely to be associated with desire for social change. And so we once again approach the problems that arise when the question is asked what distinguishes those Negroes who want to raise the status of Negroes (pluralists) from those Negroes who want to eliminate the use of race as a criterion of status, equal or otherwise (assimilationists).

The general hypothesis being tested is that Negroes who overachieve are status inconsistent and that this type of status inconsistency is associated with desire for social change. It has been assumed that the change desired will be that of assimilation. The findings have suggested a more specific set of hypotheses, that is, what types of overachievement will lead to a pluralistic orientation and which to an assimilationist position.

Status achievements in areas where the fact of status is itself of prime importance are likely to lead to a concern with difficulties in adjusting high and low status combinations, and for Negroes this would mean a separate but equal position with respect to race relations. Status achievements in areas where emphasis is upon increased awareness of the operation of the social order are likely to result in desires to alter the social order, and in the case of Negroes this could mean racial assimilation. In other words, achievement in certain status areas are more likely to influence Negroes to view their status problems from the point of view of being a Negro, while achievement in other areas will facilitate their being able to see their status problems from the point of view of the operation of the social order.

Inasmuch as educational achievement is likely to

lead to either occupational or economic status achievement, or both, it will often be quite difficult to predict toward which position a person will lean, if he leans at all. One consequence of this would seem to be, given the general emphasis on status in this society, that the emergence of an assimilationist ideology among Negroes is much less likely than a pluralist one. It is interesting to note that since the 1920's a leading force in organized Negro protest has been the National Association for the Advancement (not assimilation) of Colored People, while the more recent Black Muslims are explicit and dedicated pluralists.

Summary Statement of Findings

In general, the findings confirm the central hypothesis of the study. By distinguishing Negroes who over-achieved from those who did not, a significant difference was produced in terms of amount of desire for social change. This difference was maintained when the emphasis was shifted from degree of overachievement to level of achievement irrespective of any status barriers. The difference seemed to increase when overachievers with high levels of achievement were compared with low achievers.

Various ascribed statuses were seen to be unrelated to desire for social change. Youth, and perhaps light skin

color, may be to some extent associated with such a desire. Occupational achievement seems unrelated to this desire for change, economic achievement appears to have some association, and educational achievement is definitely associated with desire for social change.

As many as six status attributes (seven if the status of Negro is included) were used to ascertain degree of status overachievement. This approach to status inconsistency placed an emphasis upon the amount of effort exerted in the process of upward status striving. Three ascriptive status dimensions, age, skin color, and region of origin, were selected as factors affecting opportunities for upward status mobility. Data were presented showing that these ascriptive statuses were indeed related to level of status achievement.

Status achievement dimensions were selected that had been employed in previous studies of status inconsistency, and that seemed to have wide cultural significance in the evaluation of individual general status. The three dimensions selected were income, education, and occupation. When these three dimensions of status achievement are combined with the three dimensions of ascribed status mentioned above to form a measure of degree of status overachievement the result is a variable that is associated

with desire for social change.

The variable of overachievement was divided into upper and lower thirds for the application of statistical tests. These two groups differed in terms of general status achievement, but only half as much as when ascribed statuses are ignored and an alternate variable was developed in which emphasis was placed upon the number of status levels between highest and lowest statuses. This alternate approach to status inconsistency simply compared those respondents who had achieved high status with those who had not. The results were essentially the same as those obtained when degree of overachievement was the focus of attention. Significant associations were found between each of these two approaches to status inconsistency and desire for social change. However, both these approaches failed to produce significant results when attention was turned to the specific components of the desire for change variable except for the component referring to participation in collective action.

The number of respondents involved is small (25), but when those respondents who had overachieved greatly and who in fact had achieved high status were compared with those who had failed to make any status achievements at all, the differences between the two groups seemed to

remain significant even with respect to the specific components of the variable desire for social change.

Probably the most interesting findings, however, has been the significant differences found between those respondents who graduated from high school and those who did not receive this much formal education. The difference between these two educational groups was greater than the differences produced by either of the two approaches to status inconsistency pursued in this study. This is significant because it questions the value of the use of the status inconsistency concept in the prediction of desires for social change. The increased complexity of the approaches to status inconsistency should have resulted in findings of greater significance than the mere comparison of two contiguous educational groups.

This study has given additional confirmation to the hypothesis that at least certain types of status inconsistency are associated with desires for changes in the social order. In fact, by selecting a group such as American Negroes, and relating their status achievements to desires to bring about changes in race relations, this study is probably the most stringent test of this particular hypothesis to date. It must be concluded, however, that the hypothesis has only been partially confirmed, for

educational status alone has been found to be a better predictor of desire for social change than either a combination of achieved statuses, or a combination of achieved status and ascribed status. A tentative conclusion that will be developed in the following chapter is that status inconsistency leads to desires for social change, but more specifically it will first lead to desires to raise the lower statuses, achieved or ascribed, and then when it is even more sharply felt, desires may emerge for the elimination of the lower statuses, ascribed or achieved, as dimensions of status. These latter desires, however, seem to follow more directly when status achievements are in areas that lead to taking the operation of the social order as a whole as the focus of one's attention. If this is the case, it is not so much that educational achievement results in status inconsistency for Negroes, which in turn leads them to take an assimilationist position, it is rather that being Negro is a problem for any Negro, and that educational achievement is likely to develop a tendency to approach being Negro from a broader perspective, at least one broad enough to seriously question the use of race as a criterion of status.

CHAPTER V

STATUS INCONSISTENCY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Introduction

During its brief period of development the concept of status inconsistency has focused attention upon gaps that may exist between a person's levels of status achievement. The general expectation is that when such gaps exist they produce status problems which in turn lead to efforts to achieve uniform levels of status. One particular hypothesis is that when the low end of the status gap is ascribed this will lead to desires for widespread changes in the social order. The rationale underlying this hypothesis is that status achievement increases the individual's awareness of the operation of the social order, and therefore recognition of the fact that social change, not personal effort, will be required to alter an ascribed status.¹

In the case of the American Negro this line of reasoning does not give due allowance for the possibility

¹See Chapter I.

that as Negroes come to develop numerically substantial middle and upper classes the status of being Negro may change accordingly. To the extent to which this happens, Negroes should be less concerned with instituting widespread social changes. In other words, as more and more Negroes achieve high occupational status, the status of being Negro will also come to contain more positive ascriptions. This being the case, it would seem there are factors operating to inhibit the development of Negro protest as a direct consequence of general gains in status achievement.

Even a sudden increase in status on the part of a large number of Negroes need not lead to a great concern with closing the gap between high achieved and low ascribed status. For just as suddenly a new positive conception of what it means to be Negro could be developed and come to be accepted, particularly among the Negroes themselves. If gains in status, then, are to result in status inconsistency for Negroes, there have to be factors operating to keep their status as Negroes low even though they are at the same time making significant status achievements.

Research Findings

The concept of status inconsistency leads, in the present study, to the expectation that Negroes who achieved

high status despite barriers of ascribed statuses would be most desirous of social change. This expectation was confirmed, but not in a manner that permits a simple conclusion. First it was found that by taking into account a number of ascribed statuses besides race (age, region of origin, skin color), it was possible to obtain significant differences between groups that differed only moderately in terms of their average level of status achievement. Yet when respondents were further divided into two groups that differed twice as much as far as their mean level of status achievement was concerned, there was not a comparable increase in differences between these two groups with regard to desires for social change.

When ascribed statuses other than race are included in the status inconsistency variable the hypothesis that status achievement among Negroes is associated with desire for social change was confirmed. When these additional ascribed statuses are ignored and full attention is given to comparing Negroes who have achieved high statuses with those who have not, nothing seems to be lost or gained in predictive power. It appears, then, that moderate levels of status achievement coupled with a number of barriers to status achievement has the same effect as high levels of status achievement coupled with a single barrier to

status achievement. The general implication is that status inconsistency should not be viewed simply as a question of differences between levels of status achievement, but rather in terms of the difficulty implied in the attainment of any combination of high and low statuses. Is it more difficult for a Negro to become a college graduate or a member of an all-white trade union?

It is reasonable to expect individuals to desire change when there are inconsistencies in the manner in which they are being treated by others. However, it is more reasonable to expect desires for social change among people who believe the treatment they are receiving from others is in contradiction with some image they have of themselves, particularly if the others also profess to share this same image. That is, it is one thing for a Negro professional to be disturbed when his professional status is ignored and he is treated simply as a Negro. And it is another matter entirely for a person in the same position to be disturbed because the values of the society or his own value system denies the validity of race as a status ascription. In the first instance the individual is disturbed by inconsistencies in how he is being treated from one situation to the next, in the second instance the individual is disturbed by an inconsistency in how he feels he should be

treated based on personal beliefs, or cultural ideals, and how he actually is being treated. The first individual may reduce his frustration by avoiding situations in which he is treated simply as a Negro, or simply as a professional, or perhaps better restrict himself to situations in which he is regarded as a Negro professional.

When a person is conscious of an inconsistency between what he believes should be the state of affairs and the actual state of affairs it is difficult to reduce frustration through any kind of avoidance behavior. The frustration may be kept to a minimum, however, by avoiding situations in which one's beliefs are made salient.

Who, for example, is the most status inconsistent--Ralph Bunche or James Meredith? This is a question that involves more than ascertaining levels of status achievement.

If the foregoing is correct then those Negroes who had to overcome status barriers besides that of being Negro, and who did in fact achieve high status should have the most intense desire for social change. There is some evidence that this is the case. The finding of this study that commands the most attention, however, is that educational achievement alone emerged as a better predictor of desires for social change than the most elaborate variable of status inconsistency. This finding, along with the fact that few

of the respondents in this study achieved status levels that would be considered high in terms of community-wide standards suggests that factors of considerable importance besides the problem of coordinating high and low status may be operating to produce desires for social change. This chapter will be devoted to expanding the concept of status inconsistency to include what seem to be important antecedent conditions to individual participation in collective protest.

Professional Negro or Negro Professional

One of the first problems that needs clarification concerns the type of behavior that can be viewed as causing a person to become concerned with closing gaps between certain of his high and low statuses which, in the case of the Negro professional, means he may try to restrict himself to situations in which his being Negro does not become the focus of attention.

Types of Inconsistency

In the first chapter the point was made that in order for the status inconsistency concept to serve as a predictor of social change it would be necessary to specify the value placed upon success in the society being studied. It was suggested overachievement, i.e., achievement beyond

the expectations of others, would be rewarded in a society that values success, but may go unrewarded if there are also other values which deny the right to success to certain segments of the society. This line of reasoning raised the discussion of status inconsistency from the level of interpersonal relationships to the level of relationships between cultural values.

A similar shift in position now seems appropriate when dealing with the treatment of others that is supposed to lead to desires to close gaps between high and low statuses, i.e., a shift from concern with treatment to expectation. That is, certain advantages seem to follow from the introduction of personal beliefs as a factor of theoretical importance. Instead of viewing the status inconsistent person as being faced simply with differential treatment from one situation to the next, the stronger approach would seem to be one in which the emphasis is placed upon differences between how he is being treated and the treatment he thinks he deserves. This latter approach would involve ascertaining the individual's primary sources of self-esteem, what treatment from others would support his self-esteem, and finally under what conditions the treatment he receives from others would

result in a lowering of his self-esteem.²

There are essentially two types of inconsistent treatment then that a person may receive from others. First, treatment may differ from one situation to the next so much so that the person is unable to establish a consistent connection between situations. The second type of inconsistency involves relating the treatment one receives from others to beliefs he has concerning how he should be treated.

Significant Others and Personal Integrity

Additional theoretical importance may be given to the concept of status inconsistency if it is used in conjunction with a theory of interpersonal relationships and a theory of human thought processes. If we are going to predict individual reactions to treatment that conflicts with personal beliefs, it will be necessary to specify how individuals are interrelated and how their belief systems

²Landecker has recently found it necessary to introduce cultural values concerning equal opportunity and problems in achieving positive self-evaluations as variables to explain differences in response patterns believed to be associated with degree of class crystallization (a variable that is quite similar to status inconsistency as it is used in this study, but lacking in concern with developing socially meaningful categories). Werner S. Landecker, "Class Crystallization and Class Consciousness," American Sociological Review, XXVII (1963), pp. 227-28.

operate. Implicit in the hypothesis that a person will seek status consistency to avoid the psychological shock of inappropriate treatment by others seems to be the assumption of a symbolic interactionist position. That is, a person views himself through the eyes of others; our self-image is determined by the way others treat us.³ These are assumptions that should be looked at more closely in connection with the concept of status inconsistency.

Similarly, assumptions must be made having to do with how individual belief systems operate. There seems to be such an assumption implied in the prediction that a person will try to raise his lower statuses to a level that is comparable with his other statuses. The assumption seems to be that a person will try to establish the best possible image of himself, and here it seems to be taken for granted that the best image will be obtained through a general increase in personal status. A more general assumption, one that is less openly in favor of upward mobility striving as a means of securing a favorable self-image, may have more heuristic value at this stage of theoretical development. A more general assumption would be that people select alternatives

³Anslem Strauss (ed.), The Social Psychology of George Herbert Mead (Chicago: Phoenix Books, 1956), pp. 212-16.

that promise to give the greatest support to their belief systems.⁴ The more important the belief to the maintenance of the system, the more likely the person will act to protect it from damaging evidence.

Given the assumption that a person's image of himself is a reflection of how he is treated by others, and that a person will try to establish a self-image, the validity of which will not be constantly challenged by the treatment he receives from others, it is possible to trace in some detail the relationship between status inconsistency and desires for social change. The leap from status inconsistency to desires for social change become less precarious. In fact in the case of the Negro it turns out not to be a leap at all but rather a bitter struggle to maintain a certain amount of personal integrity in the face of social abuse.

From Treatment to Response

The transition from status inconsistency to desires for social change may be accomplished by relating the treatment received from others to the belief systems of individuals. As we have noted the treatment a person receives from others

⁴See George A. Kelly, "Man's Construction of His Alternatives" in Gardner Lindzey (ed.), Assessment of Human Motives (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1958), pp. 33-64.

may be inconsistent in essentially two ways. A person may be treated so differently from one situation to the next that it is difficult to establish a reasonably clear self-concept, or the treatment a person receives from others may also be inconsistent with an established self-concept.

Status inconsistent Negroes, those with high achieved status, are viewed as being more likely to desire social change. The question that must be answered now is what type of status inconsistency is operating in this instance. It would seem there is only one possible choice, i.e., treatment by others that is inconsistent with established self-concepts.¹ A person who is treated so inconsistently from one situation to the next that he is unable to clearly ascertain his own status would not seem prone to concern himself with questions of social justice.²

The question may be raised how does an individual ever establish a self-concept if he is being treated by others in a manner that denies the validity of any self-concept. The individual may simply have acquired his self-concept before coming into contact with such inconsistent treatment. In the case of the American Negro it is probably more complicated. American Negroes are likely to acquire self-identities that are filled with uncertainties, they are likely to suffer the consequences of being treated quite differently from

situation to situation. They are also likely to come to recognize patterns in the treatment they receive in each situation, so that eventually they are able to predict how they will be treated in most situations. In the south these lessons are learned fairly early in life, for there situations involving Negroes are more explicitly defined. This learning process is apparent when Negroes from the south say they are unable to tell how far they should go when interacting with whites in the north.

From Status Inconsistency to Desire for
Social Change

We have been discussing two basic types of inconsistent treatment that a person may receive from others, one involving inconsistent treatment from one situation to the next, and the other involving treatment that is inconsistent with personal beliefs. Previous formulations of the status inconsistency concept have not clearly focused attention upon either type of inconsistent treatment. It is presently being suggested that treatment inconsistent with one's self-image is more likely to lead to goal directed action. It is hypothesized that participation in a series of inherently inconsistent social interactions is more likely to result simply in confusion rather than goal directed behavior.

By the time persons have been socialized enough to become engaged in mobility striving or social movements they are likely to be concerned with maintaining a certain image of themselves. In fact, adults who are greatly disturbed by what appears to be inherently inconsistent behavior on the part of significant others might be expected to have problems of mental adjustment. These people might also be the status inconsistent types who are most likely to be social isolates. Lenski found status inconsistent persons were less frequently members of voluntary associations, but this may be because they are selecting out only those associations which sustain a self-image that is being called into question.⁵

One of the first problems then in discovering the effects of status inconsistency is to ascertain what status or statuses are of prime importance to the individual. We then ask whether these focal statuses are ascribed or achieved. We also ask in what areas of status achievement will self-images based upon the focal status most likely be disrupted.

⁵Lenski, "Status Crystallization, . . ." op. cit., pp. 405-13. This point is also made by Broom, op. cit., p. 432.

In the present study we looked to widely used dimensions of status achievement as sources of experiences that could disrupt self-images based upon low ascribed status. We also assumed that Negroes would have centered their life interests around their ascribed status, that being Negro would be the status foremost in their minds; influencing most of the significant decisions they make.

/Following the line of development appropriate to the present study it then becomes necessary to specify in what way status achievement may disrupt the self-image of persons with low ascribed status. We have referred mainly to the possibility that the person will come to completely resent his ascribed status, or he may resent only that it is a low ascribed status, and not the fact that it is ascriptive. Somewhere between these possibilities are the individuals who resent that they personally are not rewarded as highly as they deem is consonant with their level of achievement./ The latter are likely to have a more refined definition of the low ascribed status group than is commonly used, i.e., a redefinition that permits distinguishing themselves from the majority of the members of the status group.

For the moment we are simply assuming that people will act in ways that seem most likely to provide the greatest support to their belief system. Given this

assumption we must turn to the larger social context to find the direction in which status inconsistent persons will most probably turn. We turn to an analysis of the social order since it is what happens at this level that determines what beliefs are likely to be supported or rejected in specific situations.⁶

Again following only the line of development most appropriate to the present study attention will be turned specifically to relationships between social classes and castes. In general, it may be said prior to interclass conflict class positions become increasingly well defined, while prior to intercaste conflict caste positions begin to lose their status significance. In the first instance barriers to further status achievement are erected, and in the second, already existing barriers to status achievement are beginning to crumble. In one instance a significant ascribed status is being formed, while in the other achieved statuses are beginning to take precedence over ascribed statuses. In both cases, however, it is possible that a theory of social protest such as that proposed by Davies may be confirmed.⁷ That is, in both cases protest groups

⁶Nothing more is meant here other than being aware of cultural and sub-cultural differences.

⁷Davies, op. cit., pp. 5-19.

may be more likely to appear following a sharp restriction of upward mobility in areas that had otherwise been offering expanding opportunities.

Brinton suggested the revolutions he studies occurred during periods of economic gains, but he also suggests the revolutionists tended to be those who were not satisfied with the opportunities for status open to them in non-economic affairs.⁸ In the case of the American Negro we can expect then increased efforts to gain equality when the gains that have already been made become threatened. And here we come upon an interesting aspect of Negro protest. Negroes have been making gains steadily since the Civil War so it is difficult to specify any period in which rights were taken from them other than immediately following the period of reconstruction in the south. Davies' theory may be modified to account for increases in Negro protest by simply recognizing that a people may become dissatisfied solely with the rate at which their status is being improved. Southern Negro college students expected great changes to follow the Supreme Court decision of 1954, and particularly after the "deliberate speed" ruling of 1955. These changes did not come fast enough so they became more aggressive in

⁸ Brinton, op. cit., pp. 65-67.

their demands. It is interesting that the demands of the students involved much more than school integration for their demands serve as an indication of the extent of their disappointment with what these court decisions have thus far actually accomplished.

Even though the present study has found Negroes with higher achieved statuses have a greater desire for social change, there is also evidence that this desire is not simply a result of problems stemming from attempts to coordinate high achieved and low ascribed statuses. Persons with low ascribed statuses may also be expected to desire social changes when status achievements of any amount, small or great, cause them to question the validity of their ascribed status, or of the existing state of affairs regarding the improvement of their condition. That educational achievement turns out to be of great importance in the present study lends support to this alternative, or extended, view of status inconsistency.

The fact that educational achievement appears to have the greatest predictive power suggests educational achievement and low ascribed status may be a particularly explosive combination. For this combination of statuses to have this explosive quality the individual's attention must be focused upon the low ascribed status, the fact that

it is a status shared by others must be emphasized, and the individual's attention must be turned as well to questions of the legitimacy of the ascribed social status. Educational advancement in a society that openly claims to value freedom, equality, and opportunities for success is the sort of ingredient that when mixed well with low ascribed status is likely to prove tumultuous.

Social Stratification in a Pluralistic Society

The concept of the plural society provides a basis for an integrative statement of the findings and theoretical discussions of this study. When the concept of status inconsistency is used to relate ascribed to achieved statuses it is essentially another approach to the study of the relationship between class and caste distinctions, or, in other words, social stratification in a pluralistic society. In these terms the general hypothesis of this study may be restated to read: As the differences in achieved statuses that characterize ascribed status groups begin to disappear, the ascribed status itself will at the same time begin to decline in significance. More specifically, as Negroes come to share status achievements comparable with whites race will lose its significance as a criteria of status. At least, Negroes who achieve high status will engage in

collective protest until race loses its status significance.

This particular study is an investigation into the processes whereby a breakdown in ascribed status distinctions follows a breakdown in associated distinctions of achieved status. Recognition is also given to the fact that status achievement by members of groups with low ascribed status may lead to increased identification with their ascriptive status as well as assimilation. The assumption was made that as status inconsistency of this type increases it will be more closely associated with assimilation. Our findings tend to support the correctness of this assumption, status achievement among Negroes does seem to be associated with desire for assimilation. It would probably be more accurate to say, however, that this study has shown status achievement among Negroes leads to desires for change, but these desires are not in fact grounded upon firm ideological commitment.

Two central theoretical problems have constantly reappeared in this study. They are, first, the nature of the connection between status inconsistency and desire for social change, and, second, whether a group with low ascribed status will seek to eliminate their ascribed status altogether, or to raise it to a level worthy of pride. The first problem has been to some extent reduced by utilizing symbolic interactionist theory, a notion of focal

status orientation, and a theory of the operation of belief systems. It is believed that the second major theoretical problem can best be handled through analysis at the level of the social order, more specifically by relating the variables of economic growth, social stratification, and societal pluralism.

During periods of economic growth upward status mobility is facilitated, particularly in those areas most responsible for the society's economic growth.⁹ It is more difficult to maintain caste distinctions under these conditions because of shortages in labor supply. The absolute status differences between castes may be maintained, however, by a general movement of high-caste individuals into higher status occupations while low-caste individuals are moved into the resulting vacancies. This transition, however, usually cannot be accomplished in one swift occupational redistribution, and herein lies the source of activities that may ultimately lead to the elimination of ascribed status distinctions.

As Hughes has suggested, the crucial point in the relationship between achieved and ascribed status groups is

⁹ Handlin, The Newcomers, op. cit., pp. 47-49.

the reception given persons with low ascribed status when they enter social situations from which they have traditionally been excluded.¹⁰ / Hughes saw ascribed status distinctions becoming more refined at higher levels of status achievement as a very real possibility. The question of which ideological position members of an ascribed status group will take as they move into areas that have previously been beyond their reach would seem to hinge upon the nature of their acceptance in these areas, which in turn is probably influenced by how much others feel they are restricted in being able to move into still more prestigious positions //

Thus, the interesting result is that Negroes will probably get along better with whites when they interact with whites who do not feel compelled to remain in the situation because of inabilities on their part to move elsewhere.¹¹ It is when whites feel they have reached the limits of their ability to rise socially that contact with Negroes become a matter of great concern to them. From

¹⁰ See the Appendix in Everett C. Hughes and Helen M. Hughes, Where Peoples Meet (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952), pp. 145-99.

¹¹ This is simply another way of saying in an open class society with opportunities for upward mobility there will be less emphasis upon ascriptive statuses. Of course, bearing in mind the necessity also for a positive value being placed on efforts to become successful.

these considerations it follows that during periods of economic growth there will be a greater tendency toward racial assimilation and during periods of economic decline, or stability, the tendency will be toward racial separation, i.e., cultural pluralism.¹²

The responsibility for racial discrimination has been placed upon the calculated greediness of capitalists.¹³ It has been suggested race is used by the capitalists as a weapon to keep the labor movement from becoming a unified force directed against them. The present analysis would suggest it is not capitalism as such that gives rise to racial discrimination; rather it is that ascribed statuses distinctions are likely to become significant in any society that is relatively stable economically.

The industrial revolution brought new freedoms to Europeans. They had to suffer through a period of almost complete degradation, however, as payment in advance for the removal of their feudal yokes. Black Africans were also

¹²E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (New York: Collier Books, 1962), pp. 42-45. Frazier suggests the occupational differentiation among Negroes that began to take place around 1915 was slowed up but not stopped by the Depression.

¹³For an analysis of significant writing on this point, see Oscar Handlin, Race and Nationality in American Life (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957), pp. 40-53.

called upon to help in this great transformation.¹⁴ During this period Negroes in America became slaves to the plantation owners, whites in Europe became the property of the industrialists, and whites in America tried to avoid the fate of both by moving West. Had whites in the United States been forced to go through this period of industrial growth to the same degree as say those in England, the differences between Negroes and whites would probably be less noticeable today. The open West and the slave-run plantation helped to protect the white population of this country from the industrial revolution.

The fact that feudalism had existed in Europe for centuries meant that when the great transformation had ended there would be more evidence of its existence there than in the United States. Lacking a background of established class distinctions Americans became quite adept in the art of developing and applying criteria of achieved and ascribed status. Naturally, the Negro would be singled out as a distinct status group. The fact, however, that it is now

¹⁴Polanyi notes "Several authors have insisted on the similarity between colonial problems and those of early capitalism. But they failed to follow up the analogy the other way, that is, to throw light on the conditions of the poorer classes of England a century ago by picturing them as what they were--the detribalized, degraded natives of their time." Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), p. 290.

possible to talk of a Black Bourgeoisie is proof that in a growing economy it is difficult to maintain clear cut caste distinctions. The fact that it is not possible to write about significant increases in the rate of interracial marriage is also proof that cultural pluralism can still persist in the face of economic growth.

Present day racial discrimination, then, is not the direct consequence of the operation of a capitalistic economic system so much as it has been the result of a need for a large supply of unskilled labor during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Europeans provided as much of this labor as was humanly possible, but neither through their efforts nor increase in numbers could they keep up with the mushrooming market system. So employers came to use any supply of labor they could find, sometimes moving to the sources of labor and at other times shipping labor to where it was needed. It may be noted that labor supply becomes a problem in any expanding economy, whether the basis for this expansion is a five year plan or the expectation of personal profit.

The industrial revolution, a period of significant economic growth, brought to a close the use of a number of ascribed statuses. It also introduced to the world the belief that cultural pluralism, when associated with racial

differences, must be maintained at all costs.¹⁵ When it is necessary to exploit an available source of labor supply to achieve desired material gains ascribed status distinctions may be introduced along with economic growth. In order to achieve material gains when no surplus of labor exists it may be necessary to eliminate ascribed statuses to assure a more mellifluous flow of labor into new industries at all levels.

The crucial variables here are rate of economic growth and amount of available labor supply. It is suggested economic growth requires changes in the distribution of the labor force, changes that may be best measured in terms of spatial location or technical skills. That is economic growth may necessitate relocating or retraining segments

¹⁵Hughes and Hughes present a series of propositions concerning the relationship between industrialization and ethnic relations, op. cit., pp. 63-65.

Three sweeping statements may be made which are germane to the whole problem of ethnic relations in industrial economies.

The first is that industry is always and everywhere a grand mixer of peoples. . . . The second sweeping statement is that modern industry, by virtue of being the great mixer, has inevitably been a colossal agent of racial, ethnic, and religious segregation. . . . Industry brings people together and sorts them out for various kinds of work; the sorting will, where the mixture is new, of necessity follow racial and ethnic lines. For cultures (and when races first meet they are always unlike in culture) differ in nothing more than in the skills, work habits, and goals which they instil into the individual. . . . The third of the sweeping statements is that industry

of the labor force. The greater the economic growth the greater the changes in the labor force.

When sufficient labor is available in the locality itself to supply industry, then the tendency will be for the local labor force to change in response to the new demands. Allowance must be made for factors inhibiting changes in the structure of the labor force as well as the intensity of forces directed toward bringing about social change.¹⁶ If there are processes forcing labor to abandon traditional occupations while opportunities are being made available in new areas this will facilitate the social change.

If the social change required to meet the new industrial demands is great, and if only local supplies of labor are used, then it is hypothesized that one of the social changes that will take place should the demands of industry be met, is a breakdown of ascribed status distinctions. The more rapid the social change that takes place the more significant will be the elimination of ascribed statuses. These

is almost universally an agent of racial and ethnic discrimination . . . if we take the word discrimination in its basic sense of the action of making distinctions.

¹⁶"In a sense, when industry brings in some new ethnic group it has to do it in opposition to the present workers. The actual ethnic composition and changes therein seem then to be a resultant of the operation of demand for new help against the exclusive tendencies of the various segments of the existing working organization," ibid., p. 81.

propositions are based upon the simple assumption that traditionalism is difficult to maintain under conditions of social change, that ascribed status distinctions will decline in significance when emphasis is placed upon developing a spatially or socially mobile labor force.

Upward occupational mobility does not by itself penetrate ethnic barriers. It is only when more emphasis is placed upon occupational mobility as a central cultural value than ethnicity that penetration is achieved. When a non-local labor supply is utilized it may be that industrial demands will be met while ascribed status distinctions become entrenched. This seems to have been the case with the American Negro.

Negroes came to hold slave status in the United States for essentially the same reasons that in England laws had to be passed to protect the very physical being of women and children as members of the labor force.¹⁷ Both groups were being molded to the demands of economic growth,

¹⁷"At first no one quite knew what to do with the slaves and they were treated like white servants, with the same opportunity of becoming free after a given period of service. . . . Maryland recognized slavery in 1664, but there were still doubts as to whether conversion did not automatically make a slave a free man." J. W. Schulte Nordholt, The People That Walk in Darkness (New York: Ballantine Books, 1960), pp. 15-16.

demands fostered by the desires of merchants and industrialists for greater wealth. Negroes were a non-local group brought to the Americas to perform in ways that local labor would not, or could not. Their status as a non-local group became entrenched, and gradually racial overtones were added to increase the distinctiveness of their position. Negroes were not made slaves because they were Negroes; slaves were made Negroes because they were slaves. Race was used to legitimize social conditions then just as it was centuries before when Aristotle came to the conclusion that some men were by nature slaves and others free.

And herein lies the reason for the position of Negroes in the United States today. The use of the Negro as a part of the local labor force since the end of the Civil War has not been significant enough to break down the barriers that were built around him prior to that date. The Negro has been a part of the labor force, but the demand for labor has not been great enough in this country to result in racial purity being less valued than industrial growth.¹⁸

¹⁸In a recent study by Glenn of the occupation structure and gains of Negroes it is found that little change took place from 1890 to 1940 as far as the differentiation of occupations held by Negroes was concerned. During the 1940's Negroes made occupational gains, but primarily only in those areas that were becoming less desirable to whites. These gains were not continued into the 1950's. Norvall D. Glenn, "Changes in the American Occupational Structure and

The demand for labor in the United States has been met in the past by European immigrants, a growing population, and a public educational system. Immigration laws have reduced one source of labor; however, increased population growth and intensified educational programs may make up for this loss. On the other side the European Common Market will also probably result in a diminishing of the significance of the image of the United States as the land of plenty. Given these conditions, the question now becomes whether or not the United States will continue to be a pluralistic society while at the same time there is an attempt to expand economically. The question turns thus to the problem introduced in the opening chapter of this study. What is the nature of the value placed upon success in the United States? Is it a rationalistic, universalistic value, or is it a traditionalistic and particularistic value? Can Negroes be as successful as whites, or must their status as Negroes continue to depreciate their general status regardless of the level of their achievements?¹⁹

Occupational Gains of Negroes During the 1940's," Social Forces, XLI (1962), 188-95.

¹⁹ "Industry encourages ambition, and complains a good deal about the lack of it. On the other hand, it praises some people for not having it, and complains of others who do. Just how much ambition does an industrial organization want,

Answers to these questions are being forced into the open by changes in industry. Automation and renewed emphasis upon skilled labor is resulting gradually in a return to apprenticeship programs reminiscent of the guilds of the Middle Ages. In order to obtain a job now it is not enough to offer to work for lower wages. On the other side it is also becoming more difficult to use the threat of bringing in unemployed workers to replace ones demanding higher wages. In other words getting a job is increasingly no longer contingent upon willingness to work, it is contingent upon having skills which in turn means being able to enter apprenticeship or retraining programs.

Public education has been extended to Negroes in the United States in both the north and south. In both regions Negroes have for the most part attended schools operated especially for them. Thus, when being able to read and write, or having a high school education were prerequisites to being hired, Negroes were given the opportunities to meet these prerequisites. The question now is will Negroes be given the opportunities to meet new occupational prerequisites, and if so will training programs be developed especially for

and in how many people, and in what kinds of people does it want it?" Hughes and Hughes, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

them as they have in the past.

We have seen in the past that Negroes were not needed as participants in the labor market with equal rights. Present conditions, however, places the problem of employing Negroes in a new light for there are only two alternatives. Negroes are going to have to be trained to fill the newly emerging skilled occupations or they are going to constitute a class of paupers. Present national concern with school integration in the south thus seems to be a somewhat misplaced effort. Whether Negroes go to school with whites or not is of little significance when it comes to having the skills necessary to participate in the labor market today. Access to these skills is under the control of labor unions and industry in the form of apprenticeship programs. Even where schools are involved in such programs, they cannot guarantee employment. In modern society without the right to work all other rights become meaningless, because without the right to work the right to live itself is lost.

It is not immediately obvious that the demand for labor is great enough that race will be eliminated in the near future as a factor determining employment opportunities. Negroes are dissatisfied with their lot and there are movements among them that express this dissatisfaction. This study is concerned with the significance of social protest

in a pluralistic society. The underlying theme has been that economic growth may result in status achievement for low statused groups which facilitates their protesting against the use of ascribed statuses. In the past status achievement seems to have led Negroes to protest for additional opportunities for themselves with less emphasis upon the legitimacy of race as a criteria of status. In a society where success is highly valued it is probably too much to expect minority groups to turn their attention away from the possibility of additional success to the question of the legitimacy of the stratification system itself.²⁰ Particularly when even as Negroes they can still experience a certain amount of success.

²⁰ Some writers look with surprise at the Black Muslims and their desire for a separate state. This would seem to be because they fail to see that desires for separation may be viewed as having as much a part in Negro protest as any other desires. Marcus Garvey came along at about the same time as the NAACP and while Garvey with his back to Africa movement did not appeal to the better classes of Negroes, they themselves were involved in the Harlem Renaissance, a search for beauty in their African ancestry, a movement that was to some extent centered around the wealth accumulated by Madame C. J. Walker, a ". . . specialist in the straightening of 'kinky' Negro hair. . ." Nordholt, *op. cit.*, p. 259. No one can be sure either about what the term Advancement of Colored People meant to most of its members. With the backdrop of the Renaissance in Harlem, it is not unlikely that the NAACP members would also come to see some positive significance in their racial identity.

The foregoing brief analysis of the influence of economic growth upon cultural pluralism in the United States, plus the findings of this study lead the writer to conclude that the use of race as a status criteria will not be eliminated through Negro protest. In fact it may very likely have just the opposite effect. To the extent that pressure must be used to obtain occupational and educational opportunities for Negroes, the fact of their being Negroes cannot help but be emphasized simultaneously.²¹ Rejection of racial assimilation as a goal cannot be seriously discussed

²¹ A recent study provides evidence for the correctness of this point. The concluding paragraph is worth quoting in its entirety.

The minority "defense agencies" often seem to base their policies (quite understandably) on the assumption that the roots of prejudice lie in minority pathology or majority ignorance. A favorite technique for striving for better treatment for a minority is to publicize its virtues and accomplishments, to prove that it is not inferior to the majority at whose hands it suffers discrimination. However true such publicity may be, the present study suggests that its impact on majority attitudes may often be just the opposite of what is intended. If such publicity creates the impression that the minority being defended is ethnocentric, this impression might actually aggravate majority antipathy. The further possibility that such publicity might tend to increase the "actual" ethnocentrism of the minority in question, as well as its apparent ethnocentrism, deserves investigation too. The "self-fulfilling prophecy" may cut both ways. William R. Catton, Jr., and Sung Chick Hong, "Apparent Minority Ethnocentrism and Majority Antipathy," American Sociological Review, XXVII (1962), p. 191.

except in terms that recognize biological superiority, inferiority as distinctions among races, or in terms that emphasize the importance of cultural heritage. To the extent to which Negroes feel they must fight for equal rights, one can expect them to seek support for their protest in terms of their cultural heritage. The Black Muslims are not in opposition to Negro integrationists in these terms, they are simply more bold in their glorification of the Negro, or perhaps more to their liking the Black Man.

The foregoing has what may seem to some the makings of a segregationist position. It has, and it also has for those who care to look an assimilationist position more extreme than one finds commonly expressed. For what is accomplished here is that the issue of race is put in a position of little significance. For if one accepts the proposition that Negroes are at least members of the species Homo sapiens and that whatever inherent differences there may be among members of this species they all have pretty much the same capacity for learning and for cultural participation, then, any argument for cultural pluralism must be based upon an inherent value in cultural, not racial, differences. Thus, not only the segregationist, but the cultural pluralist as well must defend the perpetuation of cultural differences following racial lines, an association

that is left without intrinsic meaning.

Of much more importance than whether the writer's conclusion may be taken as a racist or assimilationist position is that it argues cultural pluralism is to be expected in a society that contains distinct racial groups that are also occupationally distinct, even if the society continues to undergo gradual industrial change and expansion. Beyond this it is being suggested that to the extent to which ethnic or racial groups must form into homogeneous protest groups to insure a respectable position for themselves in society, the result will be the perpetuation of cultural pluralism.

Thus, the issue of race is removed from a position of significance if one is concerned with bringing about racial assimilation. In fact race cannot afford to be made significant if this is the desired end. Race must also be made of little significance if the concern is to eliminate cultural differences that correspond with racial differences. For as long as racial groups are able to make references to cultural heritage in connection with protests to gain what they feel rightfully is theirs, race will continue to have social significance.

We have seen in this study that educational achievement alone was more significantly related to desire for social

change among Negroes than various combinations of education, occupational, and economic levels of achievement. This may be taken as supporting the conclusion of this study. The findings of this study suggest that in certain areas status achievement may foster desires for integration, but inasmuch as Negroes are involved in other dimensions of status where such desires are inhibited, or in fact reversed, the result is that most Negroes are not firmly committed to any ideological position as a consequence of status achievement. When Negroes are not consciously competing with whites for status then their achievements are more likely to be a source of desires for racial assimilation, at least more so than in instances where the fact that they are Negroes in a white world is the primary message they receive.

Thus, the paradox is that it may be because being a high school graduate is a significant status achievement for Negroes, but one that does not in fact produce feelings of status inconsistency which makes educational achievement a significant variable in this study.²² Our conclusions have

²²Frazier suggests going to college has become an opportunity for many Negro students to engage in college social life and not a question of breaking racial barriers, op. cit., pp. 56-76. Bardolph states that tests have shown Negro college students tend not to know who are the foremost members of their race. Richard Bardolph, The Negro Vanguard (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), p. 327. This might be all

led then to the need for a serious look at the central hypothesis of this study. It was hypothesized that increased status inconsistency would be accompanied with increased desires for social change. We were primarily concerned with predicting desires for assimilation of the races. It is now being suggested that increases in status inconsistency does not in fact lead to desires for assimilation so much as it leads to desires for cultural pluralism or racism. Increases in status inconsistency imply increases in the social significance of the low status of the status combination. For Negroes this would mean giving increased significance to being Negro.

The final conclusion of this study then must be that when the concern is to locate desires to eliminate the use of ascribed statuses attention should be focused upon dimensions of status achievement where these ascribed statuses have lost their significance. Desires for the elimination of cultural pluralism must follow events leading to the loss of significance of racial or ethnic differences. Once these differences have begun to lose their significance,

for the better in that it implies Negroes are being assimilated on the college campus. Such an implication, however, is probably far from being true. Frazier suggests the Negro Greek letter fraternity is of utmost importance to the Negro college student and the central concern of these societies is bigger and better Negro businesses, ibid., pp. 83-84.

desires for assimilation may in turn stimulate the process. It does not seem reasonable, however, to expect such desires to be of much consequence in bringing about change when the actual social conditions themselves emphasize the importance of ethnic and racially differences. The Jews in Israel attest to how far a people will go in the direction of cultural separation in their search for equality. Is it too unreasonable to expect Negroes to want to go as far? Of much more importance, is it too unreasonable to expect that American Negroes may have to go this far before they will be satisfied?

APPENDIX A

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Table 1. Presentation of research findings.

1. Selection of problems Negroes face living in Lansing.

<u>Spontaneous</u>		<u>Forced Choice</u>	
<u>N</u>	<u>Problem</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Problems</u>
6	Police	1	Hospitals
12	Negroes themselves	3	Churches
19	Public places	3	Schools
22	Housing	4	Unable to decide
54	Occupational	7	Public places
15	None	8	None are serious
<u>22</u>	Others, DK	35	Police
150		40	Jobs
		<u>49</u>	Housing
		150	

2. Perceptions of desirability of a Negro way of life.

(a) Do Negroes have a way of life all their own?

No-63 Yes-83 DK-4

(b) Should Negroes maintain their own way of life?

No-31 Yes-52

(c) Even if it means living in segregated neighborhoods?

No-20 Yes-32

(d) Would you be against an all-Negro housing project in Lansing?

No-67 Yes-82 DK-1

(e) Should Negroes greet each other when they do not know one another?

No-38 Yes-107 DK-5

3. Orientation toward protest action.

(a) Individual versus group action as the most effective.

<u>N</u>	<u>Technique</u>
3	DK
23	Individuals
73	Groups
<u>45</u>	Groups because they have power
150	

Table 1.--Continued.

(b) Do the sit-in demonstrations go too far?		
No-106	Yes-31	DK-13
(c) Is being a good Christian one of the surest ways to obtain equality?		
4	DK	
86	Strongly agree	
13	Agree	
4	Not sure	
17	Disagree	
26	Strongly disagree	

4. Personal information.

(a) Date moved to Lansing.

<u>N</u>	<u>Date</u>
17	1956-61
28	1952-55 (Korean War)
15	1948-51
27	1945-47 (Immediate post-war)
19	1941-44 (World War II)
14	1930-40 (Depression)
19	1920-29 (Roaring Twenties)
<u>11</u>	1919 or earlier
150	

(b) Birthplace

<u>N</u>	<u>State</u>
50	Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia
30	Midwestern states
22	Tennessee, Kentucky
15	Missouri, Arkansas
13	Virginias, and Carolinas
10	Louisiana, Texas
3	Northeastern states
3	Foreign born
2	Florida
<u>2</u>	Western states
150	

Table 1.--Continued.

(c) Occupational status.

<u>Low</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>N</u>
Janitor	28	Machine		Supervisory	9
Laborer	23	operator	19	Clerk	3
Service	<u>6</u>	Welder	7	Technician	3
	57	Masonry	7	Teacher	2
		Body		Factory	
		assembly	5	inspector	2
		Truck driver	5	Other	<u>4</u>
		Heat treat	3		23
		Metal finisher	3		
		Spray painter	2		
		Carpenter	2		
		Other factory	9		
		Other	<u>8</u>		
			70		

(d) Education

6	None
27	1-5 years
34	6-8 years
40	9-11 years
28	12 years
8	13-15 years
<u>7</u>	16 or more years
150	

(e) Respondent's estimate of average income for past five years.

13	\$0-\$2,000
16	\$2,001-\$3,000
25	\$3,001-\$4,000
36	\$4,001-\$5,000
35	\$5,001-\$7,000
3	Over \$7,000
<u>22</u>	Refusal or unable to estimate
150	

(f) Interviewer's estimate of skin color of respondent.

76	Very dark
18	Dark
23	Medium
21	Light
12	Very light

Table 2. Status inconsistency and desire for social change.

Desire for Social Change (high score = high desire)	Status Inconsistency (high score = high inconsistency)																Total	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		16
4							1		1									2
5		1						1					1					3
6		2																2
7		2		1				1										4
8		1	1		1													3
9		1				1	2	1		1								6
10			2	1	4		1			2	1							11
11		3	2	2	1		1	1		1	4		2					17
12			1		1	2		2	1							1	1	9
13				2	5		2	3		1	1		1					15
14		2		2	1	1	1	2	2	1			2	1				15
15				2	1		1	1	1								1	7
16				1			1			4	2	1				1		10
17					1	4	1	2	1		1		1	2				13
18					1				1	1					1			4
19								1		2								3
20											1		1					2
21								1			1							2
22																		0
23		1																1
TOTAL	13	1	12	14	13	7	18	9	10	10	6	2	8	2	0	2	2	129

Table 3. Status inconsistency and selection of problem area.

<u>Problem Areas*</u>		Status Inconsistency (high score = high inconsistency)																	
Occupations	Housing	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Total
0	0	5		3	3	3	1	2	3	2	2	2	4						30
XX	0	1		1	2	6	1	3	1		1	1	2					2	21
X	0	3	1	4	5	2	2	5	2	1	3	2	1			1			32
X	X	3		2	1	1	1		2	2	2		1	1		1			17
0	X			2	3	1	2	3	1	3	1		1	1					18
0	XX	1						5		2	1	1			1				11
		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	13	1	1	12	14	13	7	18	9	10	10	6	2	8	2	0	2	2	129

*0 = not mentioned first

X = mentioned first

XX = mentioned first on both items

Table 4. Status inconsistency and participation in collective action.

Participation in Collective Action	Status Inconsistency (high score = high inconsistency)																	Total
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
Does not know of any group working to reduce dis- crimination in Lansing	7		4	3	6		6	3	1	3	2		2					37
Familiar with such groups	4	1	5	5	4	5	5	3	4	1	3		1	1	1			43
Belongs to such group(s) but not to NAACP				3	1	1	3	1	3		1	2	1	1	1	1	2	20
NAACP member	2		3	3	2	1	4	2	2	6			4					29
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	13	1	12	14	13	7	18	9	10	10	6	2	8	2	0	2	2	129

Table 5. Status inconsistency and action orientation.

Action Orientation	Status Inconsistency (high score = high inconsistency)																Total	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		16
Sit-in demonstra- tions go too far; had not heard of sit-in demon- strations	6	1	3	4	2	3	4	3	1	1	2		3	1		1		36
Sit-in demonstra- tions do not go too far	5		5	10	4	4	8	4	6	6	3	1	3		1		2	62
Selects group over individual forms of protest because there is power in groups	1		2		6		4	2	3	2	1		2					23
Disagrees strong- ly with idea that being a good Christian is one of the surest ways to achieve equal rights	1		2		1		1		1			1		1				8
TOTAL	13	1	12	14	13	7	18	9	10	10	6	2	8	2	0	2	2	129

Table 6. Status inconsistency and ideological position.

Ideological Position	Status Inconsistency (high score = high inconsistency)																	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Total
Negroes have a way of life that should be maintained.	8		4	6	3	2	10	2	4	3	1		4	1		1		49
Negroes have a way of life, but it should not be maintained	1		4	2	3	2	1	2	2	2	2		2				1	24
Negroes do not have a way of life all their own	1			1	1	3		3	2	1	3		1	1				17
An all-Negro housing project should not be built in Lansing	2	1	2	4	4	1	2	1	1	4			1				1	24
Negroes who do not know one another should not greet each other	1		1	1		2	2	2	3			2				1		15
TOTAL	13	1	12	14	13	7	18	9	10	10	6	2	8	2	0	2	2	129

Table 7. Status inconsistency and amount of occupational discrimination.

Perceived Occupational Discrimination	Status Inconsistency (high score = high inconsistency)																	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Total
Complete		1				1	1	1	1		1		1					7
Severe	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	2			2				1	18
Quite a bit	3	6	6	3	3	5	4	2	4	4	5	1	4	2		2	1	52
Some, but not much	3	2	6	6		8	4	2	3			1						35
None	5	2	1	1	1	4	1	1	1				1					17
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	13	1	12	14	13	7	18	9	10	10	6	2	8	2	0	2	2	129

Table 8. Status inconsistency and amount of housing discrimination.

Perceived Housing Discrimination	Status Inconsistency (high score = high inconsistency)																	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Total
Complete	2		2	3	4	1	3		2	3			3	1				24
Severe	3		2	7	6	2	3	6	4	4	2	1	1			1		42
Quite a bit	3		4	3		2	9	1	3			1	4	1		1	2	34
Some, but not much	1		3	1	2	2	1	2		2	3							17
None	4	1	1		1		2		1	1	1							12
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	13	1	12	14	13	7	18	9	10	10	6	2	8	2	0	2	2	129

Table 9. Achieved status and desire for social change.

Desire for Social change (high score = high desire)	Achieved Status (high score = high achieved status)							Total
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
4			1	1				2
5	1			1		1		3
6	2							2
7	2		1			1		4
8	1	2						3
9	1		3	1	1			6
10		4	4	3				11
11	3	3	5	4	2			17
12		2	3	2	2			9
13		5	5	3	1	1		15
14	2	3	6	3	1			15
15		2	3		1		1	7
16	1	3	2	2			2	10
17		1	4	6	2			13
18			2	1		1		4
19			1	1		1		3
20				1		1		2
21				1		1		2
22								0
23	1							1
TOTAL	13	21	43	30	12	7	3	129

Table 10. Achieved status and ideological position.

Ideological Position	Achieved Status (high score = high achieved status)							Total
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Negroes have a way of life that should be maintained	8	7	18	11	3	2		49
Negroes have a way of life, but it should not be maintained	1	5	7	6	3	1	1	24
Negroes do not have a way of life all their own	1	1	8	2	3	1	1	17
An all-Negro housing project should not be built in Lansing	2	6	7	6	1	1	1	24
Negroes who do not know one another should not greet each other	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>15</u>
TOTAL	13	21	43	30	12	7	3	129

Table 11. Achieved status and selection of problem area.

<u>Problem Areas*</u>		<u>Achieved Status</u> <u>(high score = high achieved status)</u>							
Occupation	Housing	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
0	0	5	5	9	8	2	1		30
XX	0	1	2	9	5	2	1	1	21
X	0	3	8	12	4	4	4		32
X	X	3	4	3	5	1	1		17
0	X		2	7	6	2		1	18
0	XX	1		3	2	1	3	1	11
		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	TOTAL	13	21	43	30	12	7	3	129

* 0 = not mentioned first

X = mentioned first

XX = mentioned first on both items

Table 12. Achieved status and amount of occupational discrimination perceived.

<u>Perceived Occupational Discrimination</u>	<u>Achieved Status</u> <u>(high score = high achieved status)</u>							
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Complete		1	5	1				7
Severe	2	3	7	4	1		1	18
Quite a bit	3	11	15	11	6	4	2	52
Some, but not much	3	6	10	10	4	2		35
None	5		6	4	1	1		17
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	13	21	43	30	12	7	3	129

Table 13. Achieved status and action orientation.

<u>Action Orientation</u>	<u>Achieved Status</u> <u>(high score = high achieved status)</u>							<u>Total</u>
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Sit-in demon- strations go too far; had not heard of sit-in demon- strations	6	6	10	9	2	2	1	36
Sit-in demon- strations do not go too far	5	11	20	13	8	3	2	62
Selects group over individual forms of protest because there is power in groups	1	4	11	6	1			23
Disagrees strong- ly with idea that being a good Christian is one of the surest ways to achieve equal rights	<u>1</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>8</u>
TOTAL	13	21	43	30	12	7	3	129

Table 14. Achieved status and collective participation.

<u>Collective Participation</u>	<u>Achieved Status</u> <u>(high score = high achieved status)</u>							<u>Total</u>
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Does not know of any group working to re- duce discrimi- nation in Lansing	7	6	14	6	2	2		37
Familiar with such groups	4	9	17	7	3	2	1	43
Belongs to such group(s) but not to NAACP		1	5	6	5	1	2	20
NAACP member	2	5	7	11	2	2		29
TOTAL	<u>13</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>129</u>

Table 15. Achieved status and amount of housing discrimination perceived.

<u>Perceived Housing Discrimination</u>	<u>Achieved Status (high score = high achieved status)</u>							<u>Total</u>
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Complete	2	4	7	9	1	1		24
Severe	3	5	16	8	5	3	2	42
Quite a bit	3	6	9	8	5	2	1	34
Some, but not much	1	4	8	2	1	1		17
None	4	2	3	3				12
TOTAL	13	21	43	30	12	7	3	129

Table 16. Ascribed status and desire for social change.

Desire for Social Change (high score= high desire)	Ascribed Statuses								
	Old	Young	Old	Young	Old	Young	Old	Young	
	S'ern Dark	S'ern Dark	N'ern Dark	N'ern Dark	S'ern Light	S'ern Light	N'ern Light	N'ern Light	
Score Total									
4	2				1	1			
5	3	2						1	
6	2	1		1					
7	4			1	1			1	1
8	3							2	1
9	6				3	1		1	1
10	11	2	1	2	1	2		1	2
11	17	1	4	4	2		1	2	2
12	9	1	2	2	1			1	2
13	15	1	1	4		1	2	1	5
14	15	1	2		3	1	3	2	3
15	7			1	3	1		2	
16	10	3		1	1	1	1	2	1
17	13	1		1	3	3	1	1	3
18	4	1		1	1				1
19	3				1	1			1
20	2			1	1				
21	2								2
22	0								
23	1		1						
TOTAL	129	15	11	19	22	12	8	17	25

Table 17. Non-white households, 1960, City of Lansing and Lansing Township.

Sample				Universe		
<u>Tract</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
15, 16, 18	128	88.9	85.3	1480	83.1	80.6
5	6	4.2	4.0	69	3.9	3.8
21	2	1.4	1.3	25	1.4	1.4
24	2	1.4	1.3	10	0.6	0.5
8	2	1.4	1.3	54	3.0	2.9
17	1	.7	0.7	5	0.3	0.3
3	1	.7	0.7	31	1.7	1.7
12	1	.7	0.7	31	1.7	1.7
13	1	.7	0.7	<u>10</u>	0.6	0.5
				(1691)		
All others within city	0	.0	0.0	89	5.0	4.8
	<u>144</u>	<u>100.0</u>		<u>1780</u>	<u>100.0</u>	
Lansing Township	<u>6</u>		<u>4.0</u>	<u>57</u>		<u>3.1</u>
	150		100.0	1837		100.0

In the sample the (1) Main Negro area is over-represented, while (2) Tracts 8 and 12 are slightly underrepresented, and (3) Scattered tracts within the city are also underrepresented.

However, it appears reasonable to assume that many of the scattered non-white are non-Negro, which would tend to increase the representativeness of the sample.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

Lansing Community Study - 1 - Spring 1961

Institute for Community Development
Michigan State University

Address

Date of Interview

1. How long have you lived in Lansing? ____ years ____ months
2. (If not born in Lansing) Where did you live before coming to Lansing? _____ State _____ Town
3. What do you think of Lansing as a place to live?

Favorable

Unfavorable

4. a. What are some of the main **problems** you have had while living in Lansing?
- b. What are some of the main problems that Negroes in general face in Lansing?

Hand Card (listed; Housing; Churches; Jobs; Public Places; Schools; Police; Hospitals)

5. a. Please read through the list of things on this card. Which one of them presents the most serious problems of discrimination for Negroes in Lansing? _____; Next most serious _____; Next _____; Next _____; Next _____; Next _____; Next _____.
- b. Have you yourself ever met with discrimination in Lansing with regard to: (number of times) Housing ____ Churches ____ Jobs ____ Public places ____ Schools ____ Police ____ Hospitals _____

Hand card (Contains: number scale, from very great amount of discrimination (high no.) to no discrimination (0).)

6. a. Which number on this card indicates the amount of job discrimination that occurs in Lansing? _____
- b. Which number would most Lansing Negroes choose in estimating job discrimination in Lansing?
- c. Which number indicates the amount of job discrimination that most whites would want to have in Lansing?
- d. In, say 15 years from now, how much job discrimination do you think there will be in Lansing? Which number on the card? _____
7. a. Now, using the same numbers, I want to ask you the same questions about housing discrimination in Lansing. Which number indicates the amount of housing discrimination in Lansing?
- b. Which number would most Lansing Negroes choose? _____
- c. What amount of housing discrimination would most whites want to have in Lansing? _____
- d. In, say 15 years from now, how much housing discrimination will there be in Lansing? _____
8. a. Now I would like you to think about discrimination in the whole country rather than just in Lansing. Over the past few years, do you think that, in general, discrimination has gotten better or worse in this country, or is it about the same?
 better_____ worse_____ same _____
- b. Apart from how you yourself feel, do most Negroes seem to think that discrimination has gotten better or worse or remain the same in this country over the past few years?
 better_____ worse_____ same _____
9. How long do you think it will be before Negroes receive equal treatment in this country? _____ years

10.
 - a. Do you think Negro parents should bring up their children to be proud of being Negro? Yes___ No___
 - b. When a Negro makes an outstanding achievement, should the fact that he is a Negro be emphasized? Yes___ No___
 - c. Do you think most Negroes are really ashamed of being Negro? Yes ___ No ___
 - d. Do you think Negroes have a way of life all their own? Yes ___ No ___. Should Negroes try to maintain this way of life? Yes ___ No ___. Should it be maintained even if it means having to live in segregated neighborhoods? Yes ___ No ___.
11.
 - a. Would you be against a new housing development for Negroes only in the Lansing area? Yes ___ No ___
 - b. Should Negroes greet each other on the street even if they don't know one another? Yes ___ No ___
 - c. Do you think it is possible for a Negro to really be close friends with a white person? Yes ___ No ___
 - d. Do you think Negroes should make every effort to maintain separate churches? Yes ___ No ___
 - e. What about separate Negro colleges? Yes ___ No ___
 - f. What about organizations such as the Masons and Elks and so on? Yes ___ No ___
12.
 - a. What can an individual Negro do to reduce discrimination in Lansing?
 - b. What groups, organizations, or clubs are working to reduce discrimination in Lansing?
 - c. Does it seem to you that Negroes can do more to reduce discrimination as individuals than by working together? As individuals_____ As groups _____
Why do you say this?

- d. Are you a member of any groups, organizations, or clubs working toward reducing discrimination in Lansing? If yes: Which one or ones?

If no: Are there any groups you would be willing to join? If yes: Which one or ones? If no: What kind of group would you be willing to join?

13. a. What percentage of the Lansing Negro population would you estimate are members of the NAACP? _____
- b. What kinds of things does the NAACP do to help the Negro?
14. a. Have you heard of the Muslim movement in the U.S.?
Yes _____ No _____
- b. What percentage of the Lansing Negro population would you estimate are Muslims? _____
- c. What seems to attract people to this movement?
15. a. Have you heard or read anything about the sit-in demonstrations? Yes _____ No _____
- b. Do you think these demonstrations go too far in pushing for equal rights? Yes _____ No _____
16. a. What percentage of the Lansing Negro population would you estimate go to church regularly? _____
- b. Do the Negro churches in Lansing work at reducing discrimination? Yes _____ No _____

- c. Would you say being a good Christian is one of the surest ways a Negro has of receiving equal treatment in the future?

Strongly agree _____ Agree _____ Not sure _____
Disagree _____ Strongly disagree _____

17. a. Which one of the following is most effective in reducing discrimination in Lansing? (Hand card containing: Labor Unions _____ Churches _____ Muslims _____ NAACP _____ Republican Party _____ Democratic Party _____) Others: _____

- b. Which one is the next most effective? _____
- c. Which one has the least effect on discrimination in Lansing? _____
18. a. Are you working at present? Yes _____ No _____
- b. If no: How long have you been unemployed? _____ months
- c. Where was your last job? _____ city and _____ plant
- d. How long did you work there? _____ years _____ months.
- e. What job did you hold there? _____
- f. How long did you hold this job while working there? _____ years _____ months
- g. Did you have any other jobs while working at this place? Yes _____ No _____
- h. What were they? _____
- i. Where did you work before you came to _____? _____ city and _____ plant? What was the main job you had there? _____

- j. (If yes to 18a) Where are you working? _____ plant
 - k. How long have you worked there? _____ years _____ months
 - l. What job do you hold there? _____
 - m. How long have you held this job? _____ years _____ months
 - n. Have you had any other jobs while working at this place? Yes _____ No _____ What were they?

 - o. Where did you work before you came to _____? _____ city and _____ plant. What was the main job you had there? _____
19. a. Where were you born? _____ state
_____ town
- b. In what year were you born? _____
 - c. How long did you live there? _____ years _____ months
 - d. Where did you live before coming to Lansing? _____ state _____ town
 - e. How long did you live there? _____ years _____ months
 - f. How long have you lived in this house? _____ years
_____ months
 - g. How often have you changed houses while living in Lansing? _____
20. a. What was the highest grade you completed in school?

- b. Since you left school have you had any technical training or special job training? Yes _____ No _____
 - c. What kinds and where?

- d. What newspapers or magazines do you read rather regularly?
- e. About how long per day do you watch TV, on the average? _____
- f. What are your favorite programs?
21. a. Do you belong to a church? Yes ____ No ____
- b. Which one? _____
- c. About how often do you go? _____
- d. When you go, whom do you go with? _____
- e. About how often did you go to church when you were a child? _____
- f. Do you now belong to any church groups? Yes ____
No ____ Which ones?
22. a. Are you married? Yes ____ No ____
- b. For how long? _____ years _____ months
- c. If no: Were you ever married? Yes ____ No ____
- d. For how long? _____ years _____ months
- e. Do you have any children? Yes ____ No ____
- f. What are their ages and sex?
- g. Number of children _____
- h. Do you have any (other) dependents? Yes ____ No ____
- i. What are their relations to you?

- j. Number of dependents besides children. _____
23. a. Does your wife work? Yes ____ No ____
- b. What job does she have? _____plant _____job
- c. Does anyone else in the family work? Yes ____ No ____
- d. Who else works and what jobs do they have?
24. Select three of your closest friends and just tell where they each work and what jobs they have.

PlantsJobsRelationship

25. a. Are any of these friends also relatives of yours?
Yes ____ No ____
- b. What is their relationship to you? _____
- c. Do any of your relatives live in Lansing? Yes ____
No ____
26. a. How many times have you been unemployed in the
past 5 years? _____
- b. What was the longest period? From ____ to ____;
or weeks _____
- c. What would you estimate your average yearly income
has been for the past five years? _____

Now I would like to ask a couple of general questions and have you answer with whatever comes into your mind, anything whatever.

27. a. First, what are some things you enjoy doing?

b. Which do you enjoy most?

c. Next?

d. Now, what are some things you don't like doing?

e. Which one do you dislike most?

28. a. (If not mentioned) Do you find your job enjoyable or do you dislike it?

Enjoyable _____ Dislike _____ Neutral _____

29. a. What are some things about your job that you like?

b. What are some things about your job you dislike?

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