

THE LOCAL-COSMOPOLITAN DIMENSION OF
INDIVIDUAL VALUE ORIENTATION
-- A STUDY --

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ABSTRACT

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by Sandra Ardah Warden

Sociological theory has suggested a continuum of social structural types, with extreme poles labeled "mechanical-organic", "Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft", etc.. Toennies' formulation of Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft, translated by Zimmerman as Local and Cosmopolitan respectively, includes a discussion of personal outlooks characteristic of individuals who are members of these types of social systems. We suggest that it is not the social structure per se but, rather, the system's ability to successfully impose conditions of action and membership upon its members that determines the "openness" or "closedness" of the system. We further suggest that the effectiveness of the social system in imposing these conditions is largely a matter of ego-involvement on the part of the individual members and, therefore, the same social system may be experienced as open by some and closed by others. Thus, we would expect to find variations of personal value orientation along a Localism-Cosmopolitanism (L-C) dimension within a single social system.

A few social scientists have utilized these concepts as

dichotomous types of individual outlook and found them useful for research analysis, but there has been no general agreement concerning the correlates of these two broad "latent roles". Our study concerns itself with a search for such correlates. We try to simultaneously take into account social structural, status, and related attitudinal variables.

Our data are drawn from a larger research project, conducted by MSU's Dr. William Faunce in a middle western community. Selecting certain questions from the original research, we utilize the responses to test three broad hypotheses and six subsidiary ones related to Localism-Cosmopolitanism. The group under study numbers 327, and represents three samples of employees of a chemical company in occupational categories which are rapidly changing as a proportion of the labor force. Dr. Faunce has shown that increasing "professionalization" has profound implications for contemporary social structure. We have given, therefore, particular emphasis to the individual value orientations, and their correlates, among the professionals in our sample.

We found that our sample, while all manifestly members of a single social system, did display a variation in latent value orientation along an L-C dimension. The individuals were divided on the basis of their responses to a series of L-C questions into four groups - Strong Locals, Intermediate Locals, Intermediate Cosmos, and Strong Cosmos - allowing for analysis of a range of responses.

We discovered a number of status and attitudinal correlates to be significantly associated with each of the L-C categories. Among these it was found that Locals were, as a group, older,

less highly educated non-professionals, who had resided many years in the community and did not plan to move. Professional Locals tended to evaluate personal "success" in terms of security and status and honor in the community, and to find reference group identification among educational categories and specific common interest groups.

Cosmos, on the other hand, were typically in their early thirties or younger, college educated professionals, who were relative newcomers to the community and had no definite plans to stay. Professional Cosmos tended to evaluate "success" in terms of high achievement in their jobs and altruistic community participation, and to find reference group identification within occupational categories or among "young People".

Locals and Cosmos were also found to differ in terms of their central life interests and on other factors. Occupation was found to be a highly significant criterion of differentiation, with professionals being characteristically more Cosmopolitan. This finding suggests that as professionalization increases there is apt to be a corresponding increase in the number of individuals whose primary concerns lie outside of the local social system.

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Table of Contents

	Page
I. Theoretical Background	1
II. Review of Related Studies	21
III. The Problem	36
IV. The Design	42
V. The Findings	47
VI. Summary and Conclusions	75
VII. Bibliography	83
VIII. Appendices	85

List of Tables

	Page
I. Localism-Cosmopolitanism Responses	47
II. Age and L-C Responses	48
III. Locals and Cosmos by Age Categories	49
IV. Length of Residence and L-C Responses	51
V. L-C Responses by Age and Length of Residence	52
VI. L-C Responses by Formal Educational Achievement	56
VII. Education and Extreme L-C Value Orientations	57
VIII. Locals and Cosmos by Educational Categories	57
IX. Occupation and L-C Responses	58
X. Locals and Cosmos by Occupation	59
XI. Locals and Cosmos by Occupation and Education	61
XII. L-C Responses by Plans to Stay in the Community	63
XIII. L-C Responses by Community Satisfaction Score	66
XIV. Locals and Cosmos by Community Satisfaction	67
XV. Central Life Interests and L-C Responses	68
XVI. Occupation, Definition of Success, and L-C Value Orientations	71
XVII. Occupation, Reference Group Identification, and L-C Value Orientations	74

I. Theoretical Background

The observation that social systems and the individual outlook of their members differ, and discussions of the ways in which they differ, is one which antedates social science by many centuries. The ancient Greeks differentiated among the structural characteristics and member personalities of their several city-states; and differing kinship structures and interaction patterns have been known and noted since Cain went out from Eden into the land of Nod. As social philosophy gave way to social science near the end of the 19th century the problem of dealing with the variety of social systems and their concomitant "personality types"* remained an intriguing one. A number of concepts have since been advanced to cope with this problem. Nearly all of them deal with social systems as they range along an ideal-typical continuum from one polar type to another.

Durkheim¹ conceptualized social structural differences in terms of mechanical and organic solidarity and their legal systems which embody repressive and restitutive sanctions respectively. In primitive society, where division of labor is rudimentary, individuals are seen as relatively homogeneous in outlook and bound together by

*We wish to eschew the term "personality" in all its definitive obtuseness. We will employ the concept "individual outlook" to denote internalized value orientations, whether these are idiosyncratic or shared by others, conscious or unconscious, etc.

¹Durkheim, Emile; The Division of Labor in Society; The Macmillan Co.; 1933; Chapters 2 and 3.

blind acquiescence to the dictates of public opinion and tradition, social solidarity is termed "mechanical". The repressive sanctions in such a system are designed to punish those who violate the collective will or offend collective sentiments and to restore, by this punishment, a moral equilibrium. In such a society moral and legal responsibility is collective, social status tends to be hereditary, and virtually all phases of human existence are ordered. This type of social system is termed "closed"* for the purposes of this discussion.

At the other end of the continuum Durkheim places complex societies, where division of labor is well developed, individuals have diverse outlooks, experiences, and functions. This type of society is seen as bound together by an "organic" solidarity based on reciprocal needs for serving among the various members. The restitutive sanctions in such a system are designed to restore to the individual that which has been wrongfully taken from him. Only such phases of human existence as are minimally necessary for the maintenance of the system are ordered. This then may be termed an "open" system.

* Similar concepts of "tight" and "loose" community structures have been independently developed in the course of systematic empirical inquiry by several groups of researchers. Bryce F. Ryan and Murray A. Strauss, in "The integration of Sinhalese society" (Research Studies of the State College of Washington; 1954; Vol. 22; pps. 179-227) employ this concept, as does Frank A. Pinner in his contribution to Paul Lazarfeld's study of high schools in relation to the value structure of the community. W. Loyd Warner has also employed the "open-closed" dichotomy in lecturing on social systems. George Simmel, as translated by Albion W. Small, in "The Persistence of Small Groups" (American Journal of Sociology; 1898; Vol. 3; pps. 662-698; 829-836; and Vol. 4 ppgs. 35-50) utilizes the concept of "rigid" and "flexible" social structures.

Toennies'² conceptualization of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, as fundamental distinctions representing opposite potentialities of concrete social groups, is another case in point. He distinguishes between those relationships which have developed naturally out of sympathetic and empathic sentiments and those which have been set up consciously and for a definite purpose. He further distinguishes three classes of norms: order, law, and morality. These norms gain validity by the consent - expressed or tacit - of the members of the system. The members may follow these regulations in a Gemeinschaft from inner conviction of their rightness, or, in a Gesellschaft merely in order to avoid the detrimental consequences of disobedience.

In a Gemeinschaft social will, through which the norms are created and maintained, is seen as a result of : (1) unanimity or concord, as a general trait of the membership; (2) custom, based upon habit; and/or (3) religion, based on faith in a supernatural authority. In a Gesellschaft social will is postulated to develop through: (1) convention; (2) legislation; and/or (3) public opinion, based on common interests.

It should be pointed out that Toennies' concepts refer to varying degrees and types of organization irrespective of the empirical referent for "social system". It is not merely a taxonomic system wherein, for example, the family

²Toennies, Ferdinand; Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft; translated by: Charles Loomis; The Michigan State University Press; 1957.

would be by definition a Gemeinschaft, and a complex society a Gesellschaft. This is an often misunderstood point, but he clearly differentiates between types of family organizations and types of societies as in concrete situations each tends toward one or the other polar extreme.

The essential feature of "belief" in a Gemeinschaft is its commonality among the members, for this aspect of belief is a defining characteristic of the whole social concept. The process of validating knowledge is based on faith, custom, and tradition. The very essence of this type of social system is to be found in commonly held conceptions of norms, folkways, and mores. Collective life is completely infused with normative elements. Religious conviction, internalized values, social consensus and tacit concord regarding norms are the validating mechanisms for beliefs. Here again this would be termed a "closed" system.

On the other hand, the cognitive aspect of a Gesellschaft is characterized by Toennies as "knowledge", as opposed to "belief", and is based on rationalism, objectivity, and relativism. For a Gesellschaft the process of validating knowledge is based on theory, reasoning, rational will, and objectives calculation. Public opinion, adaptation and application, and explicit conventions regarding rules are the validating mechanisms for beliefs in such a system. This type is, then, representative of an "open" system.

Since this study proposes to deal in a very limited

but, hopefully, cogent way with personal value orientations and how they interrelate with broader social systemic variables, it is necessary to unite psychological and sociological variables into a theoretically sound whole. Yinger has indicated the importance of considering both social structural and individual outlook variables:

"Progress has been blocked by the tendency to extend the concepts and research designs of psychology or sociology - which are abstract disciplines - to explain behavior in its full empirical manifestations. We can avoid the fallacy of 'misplaced concreteness' by specifying clearly the abstract quality of purely psychological or sociological research and, when our concern is with behavior, by developing a model that takes account simultaneously³ of individual tendencies and structural influences."

"Social system" and "social structure" are, admittedly, very broad concepts which warrant some definitive statement. One of the fundamental attributes of any social system is that it is normative. That these norms are essentially arbitrary and differ between social systems and even, over time, within the same system is clear. Nevertheless, certain uniformities tend to persist and for this reason the reciprocal and interdependent interaction of individuals over time may properly be said to constitute a social "system". Because the social system is composed of identifiable and interdependent parts it is said to possess a social "structure".* The intensity and extensity of the interaction of social

³Yinger, J.M.; "Research Implications of a Field View of Social Psychology"; American Journal of Sociology; March, 1963.

*For a fuller discussion see: Loomis, Charles P.; Social Systems; D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc.; 1960, pp. 3-4.

structural and psychological variables is always delimited, it seems to us, to the extent that the social unit is able to:

- (1) influence the socialization of the individual while value orientations are developing, and
- (2) maintain some degree of control against change, through a system of sanctions, once the individual has developed a value orientation.

In both open and closed systems we can assume the process of socialization to system-wide beliefs, goals, and values begin in the family and is strengthened by secondary contacts. While the nature of the process does not differ in the two polemic types of social structures, the content of the teaching does! Toennies has said that "the influence of a community for educating and guiding will is the most important factor determining the condition and formation of every individual habit and disposition".⁴ He notes, further, that in the "closed" Gemeinschaft socialization takes the form of "the creation of social sentiment, the stimulation of the spirit of Gemeinschaft, and the education of the conscience".⁵ In the "open" Gesellschaft, however, socialization consists of stimulation of the rational will, competitive spirit, and "education is methodical, correct thinking".⁶

In the ideal-typical closed system social control is inherent in the system. It is represented by a traditional

⁴Toennies; op.cit., pg. 47.

⁵Ibid., pg. 167.

⁶Ibid.,

and shared moral code, which is approved by religion. The members of such a system are related to each other as natural parts of an organic whole and social control is essentially the control of the whole over its parts.

In an open system social control is also inherent in the system, but differently based. Rational self-interest dictates acceptance of the conventions of the system, as established and condoned by public opinion. The members of such a system are related to each other as independent individuals on the basis of a contractual relationship and the control characteristic of this type of social system belongs, a priori, to the individual. Structurally open and closed social systems may, then, be differentiated in terms of the extent to which they attempt to, or succeed in, imposing what may be termed conditions of action on their members.

Another dimension for differentiating between the openness and closedness of social systems might be in terms of the extent to which they attempt to, or succeed in, imposing what may be termed conditions of membership. That is, membership may be: (1) voluntary or involuntary; (2) ascribed or achieved; (3) free or prejudicial; (4) inclusive or marginal. In an open system the relationship is a voluntary and marginal one of disparate individuals interacting as a means to attaining their own idiosyncratic ends. In an ideal-typical closed system is embodied the very concept of social cohesion as a generalized, unspecified,

and undefined relationship of life and common interests. It represents a "community" of interaction based on involuntary, inclusive membership and a group solidarity of values related to both means and ends.

For our purposes, a social system will be defined as being "open" the more it tends toward limiting the conditions of action imposed on its members and the more it tends toward unrestricted conditions of membership. Conversely, the more "closed" the social system the more unlimited will be the conditions of action imposed on its members and the more restricted will be the conditions of membership.

Two other structural attributes of social systems are relevant here. The first is the degree of segmentation, i.e., sheer number of interdependent parts in the system. It is assumed that the more segmented the system the less any single segment would be in position to have extensive and intensive influence on its total membership and therefore, the more open the system.

Secondly, it is necessary to briefly consider the degree of integration of the parts within a social system. It is assumed that the more integrated are the system parts the more total influence will the system have on the development of individual value orientations, and, therefore the more the system tends to be closed.

It is, perhaps, necessary to define this concept of "value orientation" before we go on. Value orientation, as used here, refers to the generalized theme which is representative of the complex of an individual's beliefs concerning

that which is to be valued and the means by which evaluation are made. It is a tacit or explicit theme which finds expression in each of the role and life-style choices an individual makes.* This leads us to a consideration of the relationship between individual psychological variables and broader social variables.

Analogous to the structure of social systems is the structure of ideas, perceptions, and values of individuals. In his classification of dichotomous ideal types of social systems, Toennies characterizes the personal outlook of a member of a *Gemeinschaft* as the turning of "his attention in-ward toward the center of the locality to which he belongs".⁷ Conversely, the members of a *Gesellschaft* "lend their attention to the outside world...and (in relationships) those other non-commercial qualities which relate men and things may be ignored".⁸ Reference group identification is seen to be closely associated with those in physical and "spiritual" proximity among members of a *Gemeinschaft*. For a member of a *Gesellschaft*, however, reference group identification is seen to be associated with special interest groups, expedient relationships, etc., and is in no way restricted to any particular locality or physically

*For further discussion of this point see: Arrow, Kenneth; Social Choice and Individual Values; New York: Wiley; 1951.

⁷Toennies; op. cit.; pg. 79.

⁸Ibid.

close group.

More recently the terms "localistic" and "cosmopolitan" respectively, have been used to refer to these fundamentally different orientations toward social relationships. Zimmerman, in his translation of Toennies, speaks of "local" and "cosmopolitan" as synonymous with *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. We shall take Local and Cosmopolitan value orientations to be the phenomenological equivalents of open and closed social structures.

The role played by the social structure in shaping and developing individual outlook may be overemphasized. In addition to the already noted differences in the content of things taught during the period of socialization, we must also consider the social system's effectiveness in imposing such teachings. Among the many factors that might influence this effectiveness is the degree of ego-involvement among the members. Ego-involvement may be a crucial factor in the differential acceptance and internalization of common social values on the part of any given individual. We must also consider the possibility that people of similar outlook and value orientation are attracted to, or remain in, a social system while those who are dissatisfied or neutral may leave it (as measured by the length of residence in the community under study, or in similar communities). Mobility patterns in contemporary America certainly indicate the acceptance of this possibility.

Theories of community organization and associated

individual outlooks have typically been focused on a fundamental conceptual dichotomy of basic and contrasting types. Of course, fully realized open and closed social systems, or Local and Cosmopolitan value orientations, have no existence as entities in time and space, but are analytical abstractions. Empirically the types are not mutually exclusive. No society is ever developed by rationality alone to the exclusion of sentiments and shared values, nor is any social system exclusively the product of emotions without reason. So too, no normal personal outlook is so restricted as to negate the existence of others and their interests, nor exclusively founded on the idiosyncratic self-interests of any given individual. Nevertheless, Localistic value orientations are reasonably associated with more closed systems, and, conversely, more Cosmopolitan value orientations are expected among members of more open systems.

However, while primary focus has been on dichotomous typologies, the theory clearly relates to a continuum. In this context an important qualification to bear in mind concerns Toennies' conception of the evolutionary process of social systems away from the *Gemeinschaft* (local) pole toward *Gesellschaft* (cosmopolitan). He repeatedly discusses and illustrates the process "in development from *Gemeinschaft* toward *Gesellschaft*. Wherever such development takes place, a certain regularity or even 'law', in the sense of a tendency toward abstract rational forms, may be observed".⁹ In

⁹Ibid., pg. 249.

this context, Faunce and Clelland, in a paper drawn from the larger research project of which this study is a part, make some important observations related to the changing distribution of occupational roles and the extent of segmentation in a modern industrial community.¹⁰ The community under study is taken to be representative of a technological development pattern which results in concomitant sequential changes in the degree and types of a division of labor. Several earlier studies have shown that increasing industrialization typically results in extensive division of labor and segmentation of community members on the basis of class, status, and power structures. The degree of industrialization is, then, an important factor in the degree of structural differentiation in a community. Faunce and Clelland go beyond this to show that a fourth factor, "professionalization", is becoming increasingly important as a determinate of the social character of contemporary communities.

"Professionalism" may be defined as an emphasis on professional skills in the form of certified competence with respect to systematically ordered, abstract knowledge; gained in most cases by advance levels of formal educational training and supported by the standards of a professional association and/or colleagues in an occupational category. "Professionalization" then, is defined as the proportional

¹⁰Faunce, W.A. and Clelland, D.A.; "Automation and the Industrial Community: The impact of Changing Distribution of Occupational Roles"; address to the American Sociological Association; Sept. 28, 1963.

increase in professionalism within the labor force. That such an increase is occurring is without question. According to the U.S. Bureau of Census' special reports on the occupational makeup of the labor force, there was a 54% increase in urban male professional and technical employees in the years between 1950 and 1960, while urban males employed as semi-skilled operatives showed only an 8% increase in the corresponding period. In other words, those urban males engaged in professional and semi-professional occupations increased at a rate almost seven times that of urban males employed as semi-skilled operatives in the last decade alone. This increasing emphasis on expertise and rationalism is very close to Toennies' conception of the ideal-typical relationship in a Gesellschaft, and we seek to show that professionalism is also an influencing factor in the development of individual value orientations. If we find a distinguishing relationship between professional/non-professional occupational status and individual value orientations, then the increasing professionalization of the labor force may have major implications for the social character of contemporary communities.

While we will be particularly concerned here with the relationship between Localism-Cosmopolitanism and professional occupational status it is possible, of course, to suggest that social status might be considered as an alternative way of ordering a population for such a study. However, we feel that ordering our population in terms of occupational

status is legitimate and even preferable for several reasons. First among these is the fact that occupational status is more clearly definable operationally and theoretically than is the broader and often ambiguous concept of social status. Secondly, a large part of any social stratification typology is usually based on occupational status and, while occupation may not be a completely perfect predictor of social status, it is usually closely associated and hence there seems to be no particular need for compounding the issue. Thirdly, and most important, is the fact that we have discussed Cosmopolitan value orientation as it relates to rationalism, expertise, and as the phenomenological equivalent of a social system in which socialization consists of stimulation of rational will, competitive spirit, and education to systematic abstract thinking. Our definition of professionalism implies these same concepts and professional training nearly always embodies one or more of these as goals. Therefore, it is logical to think of Cosmopolitanism and professionalism as sharing many common components and equally logical to study Localism-Cosmopolitanism as it relates specifically to occupational status.

An increasing emphasis on expertise and rationalism in a social system brings with it an associated emphasis on achieved status among members, based on differences in formal educational achievement levels, occupation, income, and other variables of this sort. The concomitant

"Cosmopolitan" dimension of individual value orientation is, then, seen to be associated with differential choices in central life interests, reference group identifications, and other attitudinal variables.

We would hypothesize, on the basis of our theoretical formulation, that Locals and Cosmopolitans would differ significantly on certain specific attitudinal variables. For example, these individuals who hold Cosmopolitan outlooks would be likely to evaluate personal "success" in terms of impersonal, rational, broad social criteria while those holding Localistic value orientations would be expected to evaluate "success" in terms of effective, traditional, and community-centered criteria. We would also hypothesize that there would be distinctive differences in the central life interests of Locals and Cosmopolitans - in the directions that Cosmos would be more centrally concerned with rationalistic occupational achievement while Locals would be expected to be more centrally concerned with achieving status and honor in the local community. This same sort of difference would be hypothesized to hold in relation to reference group identification - with Cosmopolitans expected to identify with "outside" groups while Locals would be expected to identify primarily with "inside" groups (with reference to commonly shared values to be found within the local community). Again, the same kinds of distinctions would be expected in their degree of satisfaction with, and commitment to, a given social system - in the direction that Cosmopolitans would

be less concerned with, and less committed to remain in, a specific local system.

Theoretical speculation permits us to suggest that even a small degree of openness in a social system, allowing for variation in behavior and belief, may have even more profound consequences on a perceptual level. The somewhat infamous cliché 'Give 'em an inch and they'll take a mile' aptly illustrates our point. The "open" attributes of a social structure allow for some variation in individual belief and behavior while variation in the perception of this openness may range even more widely.

We have postulated that the intensity and extensity of the interaction of social structural and psychological variables is delimited in part by the social unit's ability to influence the socialization of the individual while value orientations are developing. A system may be successful, in which case, because of the differences in content noted earlier, a relatively closed system should produce individuals with Localistic value orientations, and, conversely, a more open system should produce individuals with more Cosmopolitan value orientations. However, as we have suggested, even a small degree of structural openness may allow for variations in perception of societal values, and in ego-involvement with the system's goals among individual members.

We have postulated that, for full effectiveness, the social unit must maintain some degree of control against

change once the individual has developed a value orientation. However, if the system structure permits any openness the resultant variation in perception and social choice among individual members may, in turn, influence the system itself to make it more open, or risk disintegration. Individual variation in value orientation may be seen as one index of the degree of structuring of a social system.

The concept of social "choice" implies selection from among a perceived set of finite, concrete, and available alternatives. It has been suggested in other research that individual value choices change, or at least emphasis changes, with changes in age, length of residence, occupation, and educational achievement levels. Thus, individual outlook depends, to some extent, on social choice - and this choice will be one influence on an individual's value orientation.

It is postulated that Localism-Cosmopolitanism is a dimension of individual outlook, and one example of a value orientation. Furthermore, it is postulated that central life interests, as examples of social choice, reflect individual outlook.

The notion of social choice helps supply direction to a consideration of how the same social system may be experienced as an open one by some of its members and, at the same time, a closed one by other members. A modern social unit, whether the referent is a community or an organization, is assumed to have two separate, though not necessarily antithetical,

goals. (We hope that we may be forgiven the anthropomorphic phraseology here and elsewhere - which is not intended in any literal sense.) One such goal is related to security and integrity, the maintenance of the unit as a unit. This goal involves conserving its form, its membership, and its ideology so that it may meet dangerous changes with resistance and may preserve the relationships of its elements despite any changes in external conditions.

The second kind of systemic goal relates to flexibility. This goal involves seeking variability in form, membership, and ideology so that adaptation and adjustment may be easily accomplished in response to disintegrative pressures created by external changes. Thus, a social system requires, and must make room in its structure for, individuals of various value orientations who may differentially choose their response to the social unit.

It is possible, we think, to come to the purely logical conclusion that individuals within the same social unit who perceive themselves as members of a closed social system fulfill the expectations of a broad categorization as "Locals", and function toward attaining the social system's goal of security and integration. And, conversely, individuals who perceive themselves as members of an open social system fulfill the expectations of a broad categorization as "Cosmopolitans", and function toward attaining the social system's goal of flexibility.

Central to our concerns here will be the position that the same social unit may be experienced as, or perceived as,

a closed "Gemeinschaft" by some of its members and an open "Gesellschaft" by other members, depending on their individual value orientations. Thus, for the Localite, for example, we should expect a higher degree of ego-involvement in local norms and values than with the Cosmopolitan in the same social system. It is our thesis that these value orientations are, in turn, determined by a complex association of status variables, role variables, and attitudinal variables. We contend that the social-structural-deterministic positions is not alone sufficient to fully account for individual value orientations. We shall be seeking, in this study, to show that the overall static "phylogenetic"* structure of a social system does not have the most profound consequences for the personal value orientations of its members. We are postulating that the structural attributes of a social system are not necessarily determinate for, by definition, as the norms regulating a social system become less influential in "determining" individual action and belief the system becomes more open. Variations in the

*Riecken and Homans make the distinction between a static and a dynamic dimension in the relationship between social structural and psychological variables. They refer specifically to small groups, but the general form of thinking is applicable here. The static dimension is seen as relatively unchanging; relating to norms and values as constants (in the sense not of absolutes but of changing very slowly) and is referred to here as "phylogeny". The dynamic dimension is seen as the increment of role changes over a single lifetime of any individual, e.g., central life interest and value emphasis change with changes in age, education, occupation, etc., and is referred to here as "ontology". For discussion of the static and dynamic dimensions see: Riecken and Homans; "Psychological Aspects of Social Structure"; in: Lindzey Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol.II; Addison-Wesley; 1956; ppg. 786-829.

Locaslism-Cosmopolitanism dimension of individual value orientation are evidence of openness in the system, and idiosyncratic value orientations become more influential in determining individual action and belief as normative regulation becomes less. In this context emphasis must also be given to the "ontological" dynamics of role changes associated with varying levels of age, formal educational achievement, occupation, and income. Both the phylological and ontological dimensions are seen to be operative as agents of influence in the adoption of a value orientation. Thus, in a relatively small contemporary community with one principal employer, which might be expected to have a relatively Gemeinschaftliche social structure, because of its size and surface homogeneity, we nevertheless expect to find considerable variation in value orientations related to the local system's openness or closedness by its individual members.

To summarize our theoretical position briefly, we have suggested that:

- (1) Through socialization and social control the social system attempts to impose conditions of action upon its members.
- (2) The effectiveness of this attempt is affected by the degree of structural complexity within the system, by the degree of structural integration of system parts, and, to a considerable extent, by the individual member's ego-involvement

in the local system's goals and values.

- (3) The Localism-Cosmopolitanism dimension of value orientation is the phenomenological equivalent of openness and closedness in a social structure, and implies variation in the degree of ego-involvement with systemic goals and values.
- (4) The extent and range of variation in Local and Cosmopolitan (L-C) value orientations among members of a structurally identical social system are associated with the degree of perceived phylogological closedness of that system's structure; with the ontological dynamics of age, educational and occupational roles; with satisfaction with, and length of membership in and plans to stay in, the social system; and with variation in central life interests and reference group identification.

Our problem centers around the objective determinates or correlates of these differential choices in individual value orientation. It is with a search for these correlates that we will be concerned in the remainder of this thesis.

II. Review of Related Studies

Merton, in his Revere study of opinion leadership, selected the terms local and cosmopolitan to reflect differential value orientations among his "influentials", as their

characteristic patterns of response related to local and larger social structures. Merton found Localites and Cosmopolitans as polemic types with contrasting interests and reference group identifications. He says of a typical Local:

"The localite largely confines his interest~~as~~s to this community. Rovere is essentially his world. Devoting little thought or energy to the Great Society, he is preoccupied with local problems, to the virtual exclusion of the national and international scene. He is strictly speaking, a parochial." 11

At the other end of the continuum is the Cosmopolitan.

Merton says of a typical Cosmopolitan:

"He has some interest in Rovere and must, of course, maintain a minimum of relations within the community since he, too, exerts influence there. But he is also oriented significantly to the world outside Rovere, and regards himself as an integral part ~~part~~ of that world. He resides in Rovere but lives in the Great Society." 12

Merton's concern lay with the types of roles within communities and focused on the influence exerted by community members in these roles. Our concern will be with the members of a formal industrial organization rather than a total community, and our focus will be on analyzing cosmopolitan and local value orientations of individuals apart from any consideration of their specific influence. Nevertheless, Merton's findings have much to offer in relation to our concerns.

Merton found, among other things, that while both

¹¹Merton, Robert K.; "Patterns of Influence: Local and Cosmopolitan Influentials"; Social Theory and Social Structure; Free Press of Glencoe; 1963; pg. 394.

¹²Ibid.

groups were interested in "the news" there were typical differences in the foci of that interest. Locals were characteristically interested in local events and Cosmopolitans more interested in national and international events. Each selected distinctively different elements out of the flow of "the news". Furthermore, each tended to view the same event differently. Locals looked at the implications of an event for the local community and Cosmopolitans saw events in a more extended frame of reference. Communications behavior reflects the basic value orientations of Locals and Cosmopolitans.

Merton found the Locals and Cosmopolitans exhibited characteristic differences in other ways as well. Locals were more likely to have been born in Rovere (or in the immediate vicinity) or to have lived there for many years, and they did not wish to move. As a group they were older, had less formal education, and were less apt to be engaged in a professional occupation.

Cosmopolitans, conversely, were typically recent arrivals who had lived in a number of different communities and in other parts of the country, and they were willing to live elsewhere. They were, as a group, younger, had more formal education, were more apt to be engaged in a professional occupation, and they read more magazines and newspapers (and of different types) than did the Locals.

Merton also notes the logical possibility of "an Intermediate type which approached neither the local nor

the cosmopolitan pole".¹³

Other studies have also indicated the empirical import of the L-C dimension of individual value orientation as a conceptual tool in the study of the social-psychological nature of man.

Dobriner explored the usefulness of the L-C dimension among a sample of 275 residents in a suburban village on the periphery of the New York metropolitan area.¹⁴ The village had a long history, dating back to before the American Revolution. It has been a relatively isolated, homogeneous, semi-rural area until a recent and intense in-migration. Thus, his sample contained two populations - an "oldtimer" group and the "newcomer" suburbanite group. It was his hypothesis that the newcomer, "the 'suburban man' would be characterized by certain broad yet salient personality configurations more typical of urban social systems than rural".¹⁵ To test this hypothesis he drew up a 10 item Likert-type scale which was administered to a stratified sample of village residents. He found that the oldtimers were, indeed, more localistic than the newcomers, and, furthermore, the longer the length of residence the higher the localism score.

In an effort to discover what other variables might be

¹³Ibid., pg. 393.

¹⁴Dobriner, W.H.; "Local and Cosmopolitan as Contemporary Suburban Character Types"; in: Dobriner; The Suburban Community; Putnam; 1958.

¹⁵Ibid.; pg. 133.

legitimately correlated with the L-C dimension of value orientation Dobriner sought more basic differences in individual outlook and status characteristics among his sample. One such variable considered was political-economic conservatism, on the basis of the proposition that localism may be one of many possible expressions of a basic conservative predisposition. However, this hypothesis was not supported by his data.

Another set of variables which Dobriner considered was that of occupation and educational achievement levels. Because of the small sample size it was not possible to compare groups with great accuracy, but certain trends were indicated. Since his data included information on the religion of his respondents, he was able to compare between Protestant and Jewish professionals. There was found to be no relationship between professional occupation and Localism-Cosmopolitanism among the Protestant group, but among the Jewish professionals, occupation correlated positively with Cosmopolitanism in the L-C dimension of value orientation.

In his discussion of this finding he suggests that the minority group status of the Jews might prevent the adoption of a localistic value orientation. In general he found his Catholic sample tended to be more localistic than either his Protestant or Jewish samples. However, two paragraphs later he goes on to say, somewhat inexplicably:

"On the other hand, the twelve oldtime Catholic professionals scored slightly more localistic than did the twentyseven newcomers in the same category. This again may be due to the dominant position of

Protestants in the village social structure.
 The 'upper class' Catholic oldtimers may perceive the nature of Protestant dominance and find it difficult to adopt a localistic frame of reference.(?)
 The case of the Catholic and Jewish suggests that religious affiliation, or any other status that is marginal or regarded negatively in the dominant norm system, may consequently prevent the occupant of the status in identifying with the dominant social structure."¹⁶
 (Emphasis ours.)

The latter is certainly a plausible and interesting suggestion, and well worth further investigation but, unfortunately, we fail to see how it is supported by his data at all. We can only conclude that there must be a misprint in the report of his findings.

In Dobriner's study, age, sex, and income variables failed to associate highly with localism or cosmopolitanism. The educational achievement variable did, however, indicate a positive relationship with the L-C dimension of individual value orientation. As the formal educational achievement of Dobriner's sample increased, cosmopolitanism also increased.

In a more extensive and sophisticated study, Gouldner utilized the concepts of cosmopolitans and locals in an analysis of "latent" social roles.¹⁷ The utility of the role concept is well documented and the concept plays a significant part in social psychological theory. The very frequency of the use of the concept may lead to undue

¹⁶Ibid., ppg. 139-140.

¹⁷Gouldner, Alvin W.; "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles", Parts I & II; Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 2; December, 1957 and March, 1958. Bobbs-Merrill Reprint No. 101.

complacency concerning its definition - so it may be well to digress long enough to indicate how it is to be employed in this study.

The term "role" is borrowed from the theatre, but as used in the social sciences has one significant difference, i.e., the individual in a social situation is seldom conscious of the role he is playing in the same sense as is an actor on the stage. The acceptable behavior associated with rigidly defined roles is normally so internalized that such behavior seems "natural" to the individual, as well as to the social system of which he is a member. However, in roles which are not delineated adequately by custom or law the individual may become keenly aware of his role in attempting to define and structure it.

Every social system provides a set of patterns for behavior that are applicable to the positions within it. Furthermore every social system supplies institutionalized (in the broad sense) means for the socialization of individuals in these behavior patterns or roles. The social unit circumscribes acceptable role behavior through systems of sanctions, i.e., rewards and punishments. Role behavior involves these basic features: a) an identification of self; b) behavior, in prescribed situations, which is appropriate to that identification; c) a background of related roles, or counter roles, enacted by other individuals; and d) an evaluation by the individual of his success or failure in

the role.¹⁸

Any given individual must play many roles. Linton has broadly designated roles as ascribed or achieved.¹⁹ Roles which are associated with age, sex, kinship relationships, and such are ascribed roles. Ascribed roles place the individual into a given status without regard to innate differences or abilities. These types of roles are "latent" when the emphasis of a study is on achieved roles, i.e., those requiring special qualities and/or qualifications, and are open to be filled by competition and individual effort.

The term status will be used to refer to the position or location of an individual in a social structural system. A role will be defined as that set of expectations and evaluative standards which are used by the members of a social system to prescribe, proscribe, and judge the behavior of a particular individual as he occupies a status. Roles require that individuals in social status' behave with reference to consensually validated expectations.* Gouldner offers a further refinement of this basic framework:

"It is necessary to distinguish between those

¹⁸Lindesmith, A.R. and Strauss, A.L.; Social Psychology; The Dryden Press, Inc.; 1956.

¹⁹Linton, Ralph, The Study of Man; Appleton-Century, Co., Inc.; 1936.

*For further discussion see: Gross, Mason, McEachern; Explorations in Role Analysis; 1958; Chps. 1-3.

social identities of group members which are consensually regarded as relevant to them in a given setting and those which group members define as being irrelevant, inappropriate to consider, or illegitimate to take into account. The former can be called the manifest social identities, the latter, the latent social identities....Expectations..(for behavior), which are associated with the manifest social identities can be termed the manifest social roles, while expectations oriented toward the latent identities can be called the latent social roles." 20

Gouldner's concern is centered in the fact that social research characteristically focuses on what he has called manifest roles and seldom gives any attention to the fact that the subjects of any study are also males and females, young and old, etc. The assumption often seems to be that it is necessary to consider the individual outlook and the "irrelevant" roles of the individuals under study. He notes, however, that the fact appears to be that these "latent" variables do pervasively affect behavior. The concepts of latent identities and latent roles focuses attention on those patterns of interaction and individual value orientation which are not prescribed by the manifest roles of the social system under study. Gouldner indicates the analytical usefulness of the concepts when he says:

"The concept of latent roles suggests that people playing different manifest roles may be performing similar latent roles and, conversely, that those performing the same manifest role may be playing different latent roles. The concept of latent role may then aid in accounting for some of the differences

(in behavior or belief) among those in the same manifest role or for some of the similarities among those having different manifest roles." ²¹

To test the hypothesis that members of a formal organization have two latent identities - "Cosmopolitan" and "Local" - Gouldner drew a sample of 125 teaching, research, and administrative personnel from "Co-op College". Co-op College was a small, private liberal arts college with approximately 1,000 students and 130 faculty members, located in a community with a population of less than 5,000. Thus, his sample represented nearly a complete census of the college personnel.

In this study the L-C orientations were postulated to imply, in each case, a syndrome of characteristics. Locals were postulated to be characterized by high organization loyalty, low commitment to specialized skills, and by an "inner" (within the local setting) reference group orientation. Conversely, Cosmopolitans were postulated to be characterized by a combination of low organization loyalty, high commitment to specialized skills, and by an "outer" reference group orientation. Guttman scales were designed for each of the three key variables, i.e., inner-outer reference group orientation, commitment to specific role skills, and organizational loyalty.

Gouldner succeeded in distinguishing two latent identities, Locals and Cosmopolitans, and an intermediate group

²¹Ibid., pg. 286.

which did not fall into the extreme patterns. This allowed for analyzing a range of behavior as individual orientation spread along a continuum from the localistic extreme to the cosmopolitan extreme. Furthermore, he found that being a Local or a Cosmopolitan made a significant difference in the individual's organizationally relevant behavior.

In exploring the relative degree of organizational influence, in the form of involvement in policy making decisions, Gouldner's data showed that there was a tendency for influence to increase steadily along a scale from the more cosmopolitan to the more localistic orientation, until the extreme Locals were reached - who manifested a sharp decline in influence. The same pattern was found in a consideration of the degree of general community participation, in the form of committees, council activities, etc..

Another important element in organizational analysis is the degree to which the organization is "rational" and "bureaucratic", i.e., administered exclusively in terms of formal rules and regulations, and the degree to which individual members solve problems in keeping with such rules. In this area of concern Gouldner again found characteristic differences between Locals and Cosmopolitans. On a scale of "rule tropism", even when the effects of varying degrees of influence were held constant, Locals were more prone to rule tropism than were Cosmopolitans. However, while differences in influence did not affect Cosmopolitans in their orientation toward rules, it was found that Locals with low influence were more disposed toward rule tropism

than were Locals who ranked high in terms of influence.

Apart from this formal aspect of organizations, but also important, is the consideration of informal sociability patterns. Here too, Gouldner found characteristic differences between Locals and Cosmopolitans. He had hypothesized that individuals with the same L-C orientation would be more sociable with each other than with those having the opposing orientation. His findings indicated that, in general, Locals had a slightly higher sociability rating than did the Cosmopolitans, regardless of their social choices. In support of the hypothesis, Locals were found to be more apt to select other Locals for social interaction, but Cosmopolitans exhibited little or no such selective tendency. Despite the lack of conclusive evidence there were slight trends in the predicted direction.

Gouldner's study suggested that a simple and dichotomous L-C dimension was too gross for detailed analysis. In an effort to refine the concepts he ran a factor analysis on his raw data and arrived at six factors present in the L-C dimension of individual value orientation. Four of these factors related to types of Locals and the other two to types of Cosmopolitans.

For the Localite dimension he found the associated factors of individual outlook to be:

(1) "The Dedicated"; as represented by individuals who are intimately identified with, and affirm the norms and values distinctive to, their social unit; who are deeply

committed to their social unit as a whole - on the grounds that it embodies unique values which they regard as important; and who believe that community agreement is more important than the acceptance of individual differences.

(2) "The Bureaucrat"; as represented by individuals who are loyal not so much to the social unit's norms and values as to the place itself; who seek to adjust their organization's ideology to that in the immediate, but "outside" environment; who are not advocates of internal consensus but, rather, seek to avoid outside criticism - in the sense that they are less concerned with the organization's ideological integrity than with its security as an organization. They seek to accomplish this organizational security by means of authoritarian and formal rules and for this reason are termed "bureaucrats".

(3) "The Homeguard"; as represented by individuals who are neither characterized by commitment to the broad ideology of the social unit nor to that unit per se, but who exhibit a loyalty to some particularized sub-system of the larger social unit; who are more likely to be "second generation" in the social unit, i.e., their personal histories are apt to be intimately interwoven with some particular sub-group of the system. They typically employ an "inner" reference-group orientation, focused on some distinctive and idiosyncratically important part of the larger whole. This group evidenced a heavy loading on the sex

factor in favor of females.

(4) "The Elders"; as represented by individuals who are characterized by the fact that they tend to be the oldest members of the social unit, and to have been associated with it for the longest period of time; who are also characterized by a deep commitment to the social unit; and who are likely to evaluate the social unit in the present in terms of the past.

For the Cosmopolitan dimension of value orientation, the associated factors of individual outlook were found to be:

(1) "The Outsiders"; as represented by individuals who were, in a sense, "in" but not "of" the social unit; who exhibit little loyalty to either the ideology of the social system or to the system itself - in the sense that they do not plan to, or wish to, stay permanently; who are more highly committed to specialized skills; and who evaluate themselves in terms of some "outer" reference group.

(2) "The Empire Builders"; as represented by individuals who are, like other Cosmopolitans, independent of the local social system in many ways, but who are characterized by a commitment to some sub-system; who are integrated into the formal structure of a social unit but not into its informal structure; and who exhibit a commitment to particular and idiosyncratic specialized roles.

Gouldner's data lend further support to some of the findings in Merton's and Dobriner's studies, which were

reviewed earlier,. Gouldner found that the extreme Locals in his sample were decidedly older than the extreme Cosmopolitans; that Cosmopolitans had, as a group, attained a higher level of formal educational achievement than had Locals; that Cosmopolitans were apt to receive most of their intellectual stimulation from outside the local social system, and to feel that there were few people in the local social setting with whom they could share their interests. Also among his findings was the fact that Cosmopolitans were less likely than Locals to regard unions as "outside" organizations, and less likely to criticize them on that basis than were the Locals. Gouldner's findings, together with those of Merton and Dobriner, strongly indicate the usefulness of the L-C dimension of individual value orientation as a social research tool in community or organizational analysis.

III. The Problem

This study proposes to deal with some of the aspects of the relationship between social structural variables and individual outlook variables. Our aims are to develop the concepts of Cosmopolitan and Local value orientations with the use of data, as well as by logical refinement, and to provide some support for the thesis that these concepts are useful in social scientific analysis. Specifically, we seek to show that they are of value in organizational research. Manifest roles rather than value orientations are more commonly the formal criterion for assigning organizational identity. Nevertheless, it is our contention that value orientation is never totally neglected or ignored, but tends to be a basis for the assignment of latent social identities - which may have profound implications in organizational analysis.

It is assumed that man is fundamentally a social being and is inherently a continuous part of a social environment, and to that extent each man is like all other men. Thus, individual outlook depends, to some extent, on external social environmental influences. The norms and values associated with the roles he plays in the social unit of which he is a member will be one influence on an individual's value orientation.

At the same time, it is assumed, the social environment differentially influences its members, and to this extent each man is also like some other men and like no other men. Thus, individual value orientation is reflected in making

social choices.

Our theoretical position, and the research findings which we have reviewed, point the way to several factors which may be associated with individual outlook choices. The age of the individual and the length of time he has been a member of the particular social unit are fairly clearly indicated correlates of the L-C dimension of value orientation. The level of formal educational achievement has also been suggested as a possible correlate. The manifest occupational role, particularly among professionals, is another. Professionals are apt to be identified as Cosmopolitans in part because their relatively complex skills, derived from long periods of formal training, typically produce a more basic commitment to their job than to the social unit of which they are a part. Research has shown that professionals are also apt to be, in part, identified as Cosmopolitans because of their characteristic "outside" reference-group orientation.

However, it should be noted that the findings of the studies we have reviewed do not agree even on the minimal status correlates associated with the L-C dimension of individual value orientation. Merton, for example, specifically discounts the determining role of educational or occupational status:

"...These differences in occupational or educational status do not appear to determine the diverse typesWhen we compare the behavior and orientations of professionals among the locals or cosmopolitans,

their characteristic differences persist, even though they have the same types of occupation and have received the same type of education. Education and occupational differences may contribute to the differences between the two types...but they are not the source of these differences."²²

Gouldner's study suggests further, that these status and manifest role variable considerations do not fully account for the variation in the L-C dimension of individual value orientation, and that there might be different kinds of Locals and Cosmopolitans. The simple L-C dichotomy may need, then, to be modified. We will seek, in this study, to refine these concepts in terms of status and attitudinal correlates. Gouldner's findings are reported in terms of "syndromes" and "complexes" - indicating the analytic usefulness of knowledge concerning the correlates of the L-C dimension of individual value orientation.

Among other possible correlates, we will be concerned with "central life interests". Bell has utilized a similar concept of life style choices, and has defined these as "systematic preference patterns" in which norms and activities are correlated with, and symbolic of, certain specific patterns. He has delineated three basic life style choices of familism, career, and consumership - as well as combinations of these patterns.²³ Two of the questions in

²²Merton; op. cit.; pg. 402.

²³Bell, Wendall; "Social Choice, Life Styles, and Suburban Residence"; in: Dobriner; The Suburban Community; op. cit.; ppg. 225-245.

the study which provides the basis for our research asked for specific information concerning what we have termed central life interests. (See:"The Design", section to follow.) Faunce has classified the responses into a somewhat finer breakdown than did Bell. This classification of central life interests, which we will use in our subsequent analysis, includes: (1) family, (2) non-economic aspects of job, (3) standard of living, including income and material possessions, (4) health, (5) religion, (6) social relations, (7) community, and (8) leisure.

It is our thesis that individual value orientations are determined by a complex association of status variables, manifest role variables, and central life interest variables. Our central question is really in two parts. First, whether it is possible at all to distinguish between Locals and Cosmopolitans in the social unit of this study. And secondly, assuming such a distinction is possible, to determine which variables from among those of a) social status and manifest role variables, e.g., age, educational achievement, occupation, etc., and b) attitudinal variables associated with central life interests, e.g., familism, job, community, standard of living concerns, etc., have the most influence in directing the L-C dimension of individual value orientation.

The rationale for the problem selection is based on several factors. Merton has suggested that "there is reason to believe that further inquiry will find different proportions

of Locals and Cosmopolitans in different types of community structures".²⁴ Faunce, in his discussion of professionalization, has implied a basis for broader considerations when he notes that:

"Our concern, however, is not limited to change within this particular community. We are suggesting that a shift toward the patterns of division of labor and social stratification we have described is a general tendency in industrial communities...The pattern of change in labor force composition in this community, i.e., an increasing proportion of professionals and technicians, can also be easily discerned in national labor force statistics."²⁵

In contrast to earlier studies related to the impact of industrialization on communities, Faunce and Clelland have found that the division of labor tends toward a marked increase of professionals in the labor force. We will be concerned with the implications of this pattern of professionalization for the study of Local and Cosmopolitan value orientations. If professionalization is indeed increasing nationally, and Cosmopolitan value orientations are found to be significantly associated with professional status, then this is a result of some significance for other studies dealing with the direction of change in communities and organizations.

Gouldner gives the rationale for his study, and in part

²⁴Merton; op. cit.; pg. 405.

²⁵Faunce; dittoed copy of ASA address; op cit.; ppg. 14-15.

for ours, in a selected quote from Merton:

"It is our working conviction...that the greater part of sociological theory and research must be directed to the search for and the analysis of social patterns which are the unintended by-products of specifiable social forces and social structures. Should sociologists do otherwise and confine themselves merely to the empirical documentation of patterns of conformity with prescribed norms, then they become little more than glorified 'social bookkeepers', assiduously keeping the detailed records of what 'everybody knows'. Both for purposes of sociological theory and social practices, it is essential that research be focussed, not wholly of course but largely, upon the hidden and latent rather than the open and manifest functions and patterns of social life."²⁶

Our interest will lie with the members of a formal industrial organization rather than a total community, and our focus will be on searching for and analyzing the correlates of the cosmopolitan and local value orientations of these individuals. We will particularly be concerned with the relationship between the L-C dimension of individual value orientation and increasing professionalization in the division of labor pattern.

²⁶Gouldner; op.cit.; pg. 463.

IV. The Design

Since our study is drawn from a larger research project the limits of our design are dictated, to some extent, by the design of the broader study. Our research is derived from a set of questions drawn from the original questionnaire. A full listing of the questions chosen as a basis for our study is to be found in Appendix A.

The research to be reported here was conducted in a relatively small industrialized community in which there is but one principal employer. The middle western city under study has a population of slightly over 27,000. Approximately one-half of the male labor force is employed by a highly automated chemical processing company. This firm has dominated the economy of the community, and has been the principal employer, almost from the city's inception. The city is, in a sense, an atypical community. Despite its relatively small size it is completely urban in its economic base, in its form of government, and in its degree of structural differentiation and segmentation. It is also an "urbane" city, with conscious efforts made to cultivate "culture". The labor force of the community is characterized by a high proportion of professionals, who account for approximately one-third of the total.

The data were collected through interviews with employees of the chemical company who were also residents of the corporate city. Three samples were drawn from the occupational categories showing the greatest rate of change-

MIDLAND, MICH. (1)

a sample of 100 professionals (mostly chemists and engineers) and a sample of 100 laboratory and production technicians. Both of these groups are rapidly expanding as a proportion of the total labor force. A third sample of 150 skilled craftsmen and semi-skilled machine operatives, a group contracting rapidly as a proportion of the total labor force, was drawn from among hourly-rated workers. Interviews were eventually conducted with 95 of the professionals, 95 technicians, and 137 skilled and semi-skilled workers.*

In our phase of the larger study we seek to test three broad hypotheses and six subsidiary hypotheses. These are:

- A. Localism-cosmopolitanism are clearly distinguishable value orientations which may be differentiated in terms of individual responses to a set of L-C questions, and will be found to be so differentiated among the individuals under study.
- B. Localism and Cosmopolitanism will be significantly correlated with variables of status and manifest role, such that:
 - 1. - with increasing age Local value orientations will rise,
 - 2. - with increasing length of residence in this community or smaller communities, Local value orientations will rise,

*The 23 "dropouts" numbered 12 refusals, 6 who had moved away, and 4 who were ill, deceased, or could not be contacted.

- 4. - with increasing income and/or occupational status Cosmopolitan value orientations will rise,
- 5. - with increasing family size Local value orientations will rise,
- 6. - with lack of community loyalty, i.e., no definite plans to continue residing in the community, Cosmopolitan value orientations will rise,

C. Localism and Cosmopolitanism will be significantly correlated with attitudinal variables related to central life interests, community satisfaction, and the individual's personal definition of "success", and these individual outlook variables are the single most important criteria for differentiating the L-C dimension of value orientation.

Our data on Localism-Cosmopolitanism have been derived from the responses given to the following questions, selected from those used by Dobriner in his study.²⁷ (A five point check list ranging from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree" was provided for each of these statements.)

- 1. News about (the community) is generally more interesting than national or international news.
- 2. The most rewarding organizations a person can belong to are local organizations serving local needs.

²⁷Dobriner; op. cit.; ppg. 136-137.

3. Big cities have their place, but when you get right down to it, the local community is the backbone of America.
4. Meeting and knowing many people is extremely important in establishing oneself in a community.
5. National and international events are important largely because of the way they effect (the community) as a community.

It might be argues that there is no basis for assuming these particular questions are the best possible, or even a good, indicator of L-C orientations. However, Dobriner notes that his scale incorporates the qualitative distinctions between Locals and Cosmos that Merton found, so that the quantitative instrument may be said to possess at least logical validation. Dobriner also ran a primitive check of the scale's reliability by administering it comparatively to selected similar groups of college students. If we find that our subjects are differentiated in the expected ways, i.e., in keeping with our derived hypotheses, by these selected questions, then we may feel justified in claiming at least reliability, if not validity, for the questions used.

Also utilized from the original data was information related to status and role. These included questions concerning age, formal educational achievement, occupation, income, family size, length of residence in the city, plans to stay in that community, and size of the community of

longest residence.

In addition, four attitudinal responses were selected from the data of the larger study. These included a general "community satisfaction" scale (see Appendix A for questions and scoring), questions concerning the individual respondent's central life interests and his personal definition of "success", as well as responses to the open-ended question "What types of people do you group yourself with?"

Our study deals with the correlates of Localism and Cosmopolitanism from among selected status and attitudinal variables.

V. The Findings

Merton, Dobriner, and Gouldner each found that individuals could be differentiated in terms of their characteristic patterns of response as they related to local and larger social structures. We also found, as hypothesized in A, that Locals and Cosmopolitans (Cosmos) were clearly distinguishable in our sample. With Gouldner, we also found intermediate groups which did not fall into either extreme. This allows for analyzing a range of orientations from "Strong Local" to "Strong Cosmopolitan". Table I records the L-C responses of the individuals in our study.

Table I
Localism-Cosmopolitanism Responses
(in range quartiles)

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Strong Local (6-9)*	35	10.7
Intermediate Local (10-13)	159	48.6
Intermediate Cosmo (14-17)	119	36.4
Strong Cosmo (18-21)	<u>14</u>	<u>4.3</u>
Total	327	100.0

*Numbers in parentheses indicate the raw scores obtained by adding individual scores on the L-C questions and recording the sum. The lowest score thus obtained was 6 and the highest 21 (out of a theoretical range of 5 to 25).

Judging from the findings of other research related to the L-C dimension of value orientation, it may be legitimately inferred that Localism-Cosmopolitanism is determined by a complex association of status and manifest role variables,

as well as attitudinal variables. To test the correlates of L-C, hypothesis B introduces six hypothetical correlates. The first of these, the variable of age, was found to be strongly related to L-C value orientations. Table II illustrates this relationship.

In Table III chi-square analysis yields a value of 20.4, far beyond that required at the .05 level of significance. The categories in Table III were obtained, for convenience in this case, by collapsing the age categories to two cells by combining all those 36 or under and all those 37 and over; and by combining the Local and Cosmo categories to two cells. The closeness of the relationship, computed by the coefficient of mean square contingency, yields a value of $C_{.24}$.

Table II
Age and L-C Responses
(percentages)

Age	SL	IL	IC	SC	% of sample in this age category
19-27	11.4	15.1	21.0	21.4	17.1
28-36	20.0	18.9	37.0	50.0	26.9
37-45	31.4	26.4	26.9	28.6	27.2
46-54	31.4	27.0	8.4		19.6
55-64	<u>5.7</u>	<u>12.6</u>	<u>6.7</u>	<u> </u>	<u>9.2</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	n=35	n=159	n=119	n=14	n=327

Since, in this instance, the general relationship holds in the intermediate L-C categories also we feel justified in dichotomizing the table for analysis. The null hypothesis

of independence of age and L-C dimension of individual value orientation must be rejected.

Table III
Locals and Cosmos by Age Categories
(theoretical frequencies in parentheses)

Age	L	C	Total
19-36	65 (85.4)	79 (58.6)	144
37-64	129 (108.6)	54 (74.4)	183
Total	194	133	327

$$(\chi^2_{.95} = 3.84, \text{ d.f.} = 1)$$

$$\chi^2 = 20.4$$

$$C = .24$$

All of the variables hypothesized to correlate with the L-C dimension of value orientation were analyzed in this general way, although in the instances where relationships were not as readily apparent as in the case of the age variable, the cells were not always combined. While it is currently in vogue in the social sciences to profusely illustrate research reports with the statistical evidence of the author's scientific ability, it is our firm conviction that the reader is more apt to be interested only in the conclusions. In keeping with this conviction subsequent tables will be limited to those which truly summarize the results of the experiment in convenient form. Chi-square and C values will be appended to each table, and explanations of combined categories will also be included, if pertinent. In order to assure greater accuracy it was

sometimes necessary to combine categories so that no cell contained fewer than 5 frequencies. Also in the interests of accuracy, in 2 x 2 tables the absolute value of each difference was reduced by .5 before it was squared. These latter two procedures are in keeping with Dixon and Massey's discussion of chi-square analysis.²⁸

A word of caution is indicated. Coefficient of mean square contingency (C) values are not comparable between variables since its maximum value varies with the number of cells in the table. However, Appendix B provides a table of C values for rough comparison of variables found to be significant in our study. For the purposes of that table the dependent variable of the L-C response range was combined into just the two (Local and Cosmo) categories, and the independent variables were also dichotomized as noted in each case. Chi-square values needed for significance also vary with the number of cells in the table and obtained values may not be directly compared between variables unless the tables contain the same number of cells.

In testing the hypothetical correlate B-2, it was found that the relationship between length of residence in the community and the L-C dimension of value orientation is in the predicted direction and is large enough to make it extremely unlikely that it would occur by chance. Table IV presents this relationship between length of residence and Localistic and Cosmopolitan value orientations. The chi-square value given for this table has combined the strong

²⁸Dixon and Massey; Introduction to Statistical Analysis; McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.; 1957; ppgs. 224-226.

and intermediate categories in order to assure 5 frequencies in each cell.

It is obvious, of course, that the older the respondent the greater his opportunity to have resided longer in the community. To test the independence of the relationship of both age and length of residence, each was held constant while

Table IV
Length of Residence and L-C Responses
(percentages)

Length of residence (years)	SL	IL	IC	SC	% of sample in this category
0 to 5	5.7	19.5	33.6	42.9	24.2
6 to 20	42.9	29.6	33.6	35.7	32.7
21 or more	37.1	30.8	20.2	7.1	26.6
Whole life	14.3	20.1	12.6	14.3	16.5
Total	100.0 n=35	100.0 n=159	100.0 n=119	100.0 n=14	100.0 n=327

$$x^2 = 17.30$$

$$C = .22$$

the other was varied. It was found that age is correlated with L-C regardless of length of residence ($x^2=20.4$, $P>.05$). Conversely, length of residence was found to be associated significantly with L-C in the predicted direction regardless of age ($x^2 = 17.3$, $P>.05$). In other words, the older the respondent the more local he was apt to be, independent of how long he had resided in the community, and the longer a respondent had lived in the community the more Local he was. Of the two variables, age was clearly most strongly related to the L-C dimension of value orientation. Table V indicates

the relationship between length of residence and L-C value orientations when age is held constant.

Hypothesis B-2 also postulates a relationship between the L-C dimension of value orientation and length of residence in communities similar to or smaller than the one under study. The original data asked of all respondents who

Table V
L-C Responses by Age and Length of Residence
(percentages)

Age	SL	IL	IC	SC
19-36				
20 yrs. or less	63.6	81.5	73.9	90.0
21 yrs. or more	36.4	18.5	26.1	10.0

Total	100.0 n=11	100.0 n=54	100.0 n=69	100.0 n=10
37-64				
20 yrs. or less	41.7	32.4	58.0	50.0
21 yrs. or more	58.3	67.6	42.0	50.0

Total	100.0 n=24	100.0 n=105	100.0 n=50	100.0 n=4

had not lived in the community for their whole lives, "Would you say that most of your life has been spent: 1) on a farm; 2) in a small town; 3) in a medium-sized city; or 4) in a big city?". It might appear reasonable, in light of social structural theory, to suggest that these individuals who have the majority of their lived on a farm or in a small town would be more Local than those who have spent the majority of their lives in larger cities, but no such

relationship was found in our study. As we have postulated earlier, an explanation for this finding lies in the quite logical possibility that individuals may be more or less ego-involved with a community and in its values; and the high mobility patterns found in our contemporary society indicate that people with similar value orientations are attracted to, or remain in, the social system which appeals most to their own interests. Thus, the individual who holds a Cosmopolitan value orientation, and is neutral to or dissatisfied with a local community with a relatively closed structure, may simply move. Conversely, an individual who holds a Localistic value orientation, and is dissatisfied with a larger or more open social system, may seek out a smaller community of which he may come to feel more an integral part. In a medium sized community of the sort in which this study was conducted, both of these processes may occur. The size of the community per se, of which an individual has longest been a member, apparently has no significant bearing on his propensity toward Local or Cosmopolitan value orientations, at least among these like our respondents who have left one community for another.

This finding, and the previous one concerning length of residence and L-C value orientations, lend at least oblique support to our theoretical consideration that without ego-involvement on the part of individual members, the social system is powerless to impose what we have called conditions of action. Thus, a relatively undifferentiated

and structurally closed social system, such as a farm community or small town, may nevertheless be experienced as an open system by any given individual who resides there. We have shown that age is far more important in determining L-C value orientations than is any consideration of how long an individual has been a resident of a particular sized community or social system.

It was suggested earlier in this discussion that the ontological dynamics of changes in latent roles associated with varying levels of age, educational achievement, income, and occupation must be considered as agents of influence in the development of an individual's value orientations. Hypothesis B-3 postulates as a significant difference among Locals and Cosmos on the latent role variable of level of formal educational achievement. Both Merton and Dobriner found no significant relationship between level of educational achievement and L-C value orientations. However, such was definitely not the case in our study. It should be noted, in weighing this discrepancy, that both Merton and Dobriner were concerned with different types of populations than is our study. Merton's research is limited to 30 individuals who ranked as community "influentials" while Dobriner's sample of 275 residents of a suburban New York village were selected only on the basis of Newcomes vs. Old-timers. Our sample, divided into occupational categories, quite naturally provides for greater emphasis on differences

in levels of educational achievement.

Our theoretical position suggests the importance of the ontological dynamics of changes in levels of formal educational achievement. We have postulated also that the intensity and extensity of the relationship between member's psychological value orientation and a given social system's structure is delimited in part by the social unit's ability to influence the socialization of the individual. In the years since Merton's original study, there has developed a sharply increased and continuing emphasis on formal educational achievement, on commitment to specialized skills, and to a concern for the larger social sphere. In practice this emphasis means college training received, in most cases, elsewhere than in the social unit of which the individual is a member, and exposure to differing ideas and values - thus reducing the direct influence of any social unit on the socialization and value orientations of its college trained members. Considering, for the moment, only the extreme groups, we found that only 28.6% of the Strong Locals had been to college, while 64.3% of the Strong Cosmopolitans had had at least some college training. Among the Strong Locals only 8.6% held advanced degrees, while among the Strong Cosmos 28.6% held such degrees.

Even when the full range of the L-C dimension is taken into account there is a clear and significant relationship between the level of formal educational achievement and L-C value orientations, and in the predicted direction.

In short, the more highly educated the individual the more apt he is to be Cosmopolitan in personal outlook. Table VI illustrates this relationship.

Table VI
L-C Responses by Formal Educational Achievement*
(percentages)

Education	SL	IL	IC	SC	% of sample in this category
8th or less	28.6	13.8	7.6	0.0	12.5
Some high school	8.6	15.7	7.6	7.1	11.6
High school graduate	34.3	34.0	25.2	28.6	30.6
Some college	8.6	16.4	17.6	14.3	15.9
College grad	11.4	17.6	26.9	21.4	20.5
M.S., M.A., or Ph.D.	8.6	2.5	15.1	28.6	8.9
Total	100.0 n=35	100.0 n=159	100.0 n=119	100.0 n=14	100.0 n=327

* Significant beyond the .05 level

When formal educational achievement levels are considered in relation to either the extreme groups only, or to the whole L-C range, the degree of the relationship is high. Tables VII and VIII graphically illustrate the strong relationship between educational achievement and L-C value orientations.

Merton also disclaimed the determining role of occupational status in its relationship to L-C value orientations. Dobriner, in his study, found that at least among his Jewish sample professionals tended to be more Cosmopolitan than did non-professionals. Our study offers refutation of the former and much stronger evidence for the latter. Faunce's

Table VII
Education and Extreme L-C Value
Orientations
)percentages(

	SL	SC
High school or less	71.4	35.7
Some college or more	28.6	64.3
Total	100.0 n=35	100.0 n=14

$$(\chi^2_{.95} = 3.84; \text{d.f.}=1)$$

$$\chi^2 = 3.96$$

$$C = .275$$

Table VIII
Locals and Cosmos by Educational Categories
(percentages)

	Locals	Cosmos
High school or less	64.9	39.8
Some college or more	35.1	60.2
Total	100.0 n=194	100.0 n=133

$$(\chi^2_{.95} = 3.84, \text{d.f.} = 1)$$

$$\chi^2 = 19.01$$

$$C = .235$$

emphasis on professionalization as an important influence on the character of contemporary social structures, suggests that the latent value orientations associated with occupational status are an area worthy of attention. While the subjects in Gouldner's study were all professionals in a technical sense, he found nevertheless that they varied in

their degree of commitment to specialized skills - with Cosmos being the most highly committed.

Our research shows significant differences between the three occupational categories in the L-C dimension of value orientation. Furthermore, the differences were in the direction hypothesized in B-4. Table IX summarized the relationship between occupational status and the full range of the L-C dimension of value orientation.

These relationships are even more apparent when categories are collapsed. The fact of professional status, as opposed to non-professional, clearly distinguishes between Locals and Cosmos at a statistically significant level.

Table IX
Occupation and L-C Responses*
(percentages)

Occupation	SL	IL	IC	SC	%of sample in this category
Professional	28.6	19.5	40.3	42.9	29.1
Technician	14.3	27.0	34.5	42.9	29.1
Hourly-paid Worker	57.1	53.5	25.2	14.3	41.9
Total	100.0 n=35	100.0 n=159	100.0 n=119	100.0 n=14	100.0 n=327

*Statistically significant
beyond the .05 level

Among the variables considered in this study, occupational status is one of those most highly correlated with L-C value orientations. This correlation lies in the expected direction, that is, the higher the individual's occupational status, the more Cosmopolitan he is apt to be. Table X presents

further evidence of this relationship.

Of course, not all professionals are Cosmos nor all non-professionals Locals. An individual's occupational status does not perfectly predict his value orientations. This is true, in part, for reasons of differences in what Gouldner calls "commitment", and we have termed ego-involvement, in value orientations usually associated with a particular occupational status. Nevertheless, occupational status was found to be a highly important determinate of I-C value orientations among the individuals in our sample.

Table X
Locals and Cosmos by Occupation
(percentages)

	Locals (SL and IL)	Cosmos (IC and SL)
Professionals	21.1	40.6
Technicians	24.7	35.3
Hourly-paid Workers	54.2	24.1
Total	100.0 n=194	100.0 n=133

$$\begin{aligned}
 & (\chi^2 = 5.99, \text{d.f.} = 2) \\
 & \quad .95 \chi^2 = 30.24 \\
 & \quad \quad C = .30
 \end{aligned}$$

It is true, of course, that the level of formal educational achievement and occupational status of an individual in contemporary United States are apt to be closely correlated. This relationship was very **apparent** in our study. Out of a

sample of 327, no single professional was less than a high school graduate and 80% of the professionals had had at least some college training. Conversely, no single hourly-paid-production worker was a college graduate and only 10% had had any college training at all. The technicians, as might be expected, fell into the middle range, with none holding advanced college degrees while only one individual had not graduated from high school.

It was found, however, that even with occupation held constant the L-C dimension of value orientation varied significantly in the expected direction with the level of formal educational achievement. The reverse was also indicated, i.e. with educational achievement level held constant, where possible (in the "high school graduate" and "some college categories), the L-C dimension of value orientation tended to vary with occupational status. The latter could not be tested for statistical significance because of the small numbers involved in the comparable categories. Table XI presents the data on the combined relationship of occupational status, level of educational achievement, and the L-C dimension of individual value orientation.

Our data indicates that professionals are apt to be Cosmopolitans in value orientation regardless of educational achievement level and, conversely, hourly-paid workers are more apt to be Locals regardless of educational level. For technicians there is a tendency for education to be the decisive factor, i.e., those who have had some college

training are somewhat more Cosmopolitan than those technicians who have not been to college.

Income is another variable generally found to be closely related with both occupational status and the level of educational achievement. However, in our sample, 90% of all the individuals had incomes of \$6,000 or more, regardless of occupation, and more than 50% of each L-C category fell within the \$6,000 to \$7,999 range. Thus, incomes were not highly related to occupational status in our sample. Although this may be a result of the broad occupational categories used.

Table XI
Locals and Cosmos by Occupation and Education
(percentages)

	Locals in this group		Cosmos in this group	
	(% of sample)		(% of sample)	
Professionals		21.1		40.5
High school or less	4.9		1.9	
Some college or more	95.1		98.1	

Total	100.0		100.0	
	n=41		n=54	
Technicians		24.8		35.4
High school or less	56.2		48.9	
Some college or more	43.8		51.1	

Total	100.0		100.0	
	n=48		n=47	
Hourly-paid Workers		54.1		24.1
High school or less	92.4		90.6	
Some college or more	7.6		9.4	

Total	100.0		100.0	
	n=105		n=32	
Sample Total		100.0		100.0
		n=194		n=133

We have hypothesized in B-4 that Cosmopolitan value orientations will rise with the level of income, but this was not borne out by our study ($\chi^2 = 1.10$, $P < .05$). While individuals with incomes of less than \$8,000 tended to be relatively more Localistic than did those with higher incomes, there was no statistical support for this hypothesis. Level of income, at least for our sample, bears no significant relationship to L-C value orientations.

We suggest, in hypothesis B-5, that family size might play an important part in determining an individual's value orientations. Since more than twice as many individuals responded "family" than to any other category of central life interest, it was assumed that family related concerns were important. We theorized that the larger the family the more the individual concerned with them would be Local in his value orientation; on the assumption that in his role as "interested father" the larger the family the more apt was he to be directly involved in local issues of one sort or another. Furthermore, since more than 95% of our total samples were married at the time of the study, we presumed "number of children" to be the deciding factor. We found that while 62.9% of the Strong Locals had 3 or more children only 35.7% of the Strong Cosmos had families of that size. However, when the Strong and Intermediate categories of both Locals and Cosmos are combined there is no significant support for our hypothesis that Cosmos would tend to have smaller families. While it is true that

there is a slight tendency in that direction, it is also true that Cosmos tend to be significantly younger than Locals and this fact may account for the relatively smaller number of children among Cosmos.

Merton found, in his study, that Locals characteristically did not wish to move from Revere, whereas Cosmopolitans typically had no such feelings of "loyalty" to or "rootedness" in the community. One of the questions in the study which forms the basis for our research concerned the individual's plans to stay in that community at least until retirement. Taking a "Yes" answer as a rough measure of community loyalty and a "No" or "Don't Know" as a lack of such commitment to the particular community, we hypothesized in B-6 that Locals would be more apt to have definite plans to stay than would Cosmos. This was shown to be supported by our data at well above the .05 level of significance. Table XII illustrates graphically the relationship between L-C and plans to stay in the community.

Table XII
L-C Responses by Plans to Stay in the Community
(percentages)

Plans to stay	SL	IL	IC	SC	% of sample in this category
Yes	91.4	76.1	58.8	50.0	70.3
No or Don't know	<u>8.6</u>	<u>23.9</u>	<u>41.2</u>	<u>50.0</u>	<u>29.7</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	n=35	n=159	n=119	n=14	n=327

When the Local and Cosmo categories are combined,

chi-square value of 18.71 is obtained, with a C value of .23. It seems apparent that, whatever degree of loyalty Locals hold, it is directed toward the particular community in which they reside and not toward communities of similar types. This finding is in keeping with our earlier one that length of residence in smaller or similar communities did not differentiate between Locals and Cosmos. This brings us to a more direct consideration of attitudes as they correlate with the L-C dimension of value orientations. We say "more direct" because, of course, it is assumed that each of the latent roles that we have discussed has an associated syndrome of attitudes that are typically held by persons playing them.

In hypothesis C we have postulated that individual outlook, as reflected in attitudinal variables, is the single most important criterion for differentiating between the Local and Cosmopolitan dimension of value orientation. In all of the foregoing discussion of our findings we have been showing, of course, that Localism and Cosmopolitanism are, in themselves, outlooks or attitudes of individuals to the extent that "value orientation" implies, as one of its dimensions, a tendency to respond positively or negatively to specific situations, ideas, etc.. However, we see "value orientation" as a more generic term than "attitude" since it also implies a generalized and pervasive orientation involving criteria or evaluation. Our concern to this point has been with the status correlates of these

two broad value orientations. In short, we have seen that the value orientations of Localism and Cosmopolitanism are closely associated with an individual's occupation, educational achievement level, loyalty to community, etc.. We have shown that the ontological dynamics of latent roles, such as age, do pervasively affect value orientations and, presumably, behavior. The latter is, of course, an empirical question which merits further study. The question of the relationship between attitudes and behavior is often difficult to test and predict. However, in support of this view Gouldner found that being a Local or a Cosmopolitan made a significant difference in the individual's organizationally relevant behavior - and we are concerned with the implications of our study for organizational research.

Having found a number of statistically significant status correlates, we now turn to an attempt to analyze attitudes which might reasonably be expected to correlate with the value orientations of Localism and Cosmopolitanism.

One such attitude we presumed to be correlated with L-C was that of general "community satisfaction". The original questionnaire included a series of Likert-type questions (see Appendix A) concerning how well particular things in the community were liked, e.g., schools, health facilities, cultural facilities, etc. Possible low score was 22 (for "very dissatisfied" responses to each question), and the highest possible score was 55 (for a "very satisfied"

response to each question). Other responses included "somewhat satisfied" and "somewhat dissatisfied". No effort was made to assign different weights to particular questions. Distribution quartiles and their relationship to the L-C dimension of value orientation are presented in Table XIII. We expected that the higher the community satisfaction score the more Local the individual would be, and this was generally supported by our data-particularly among the Strong Cosmos. It should be noted that there was a general trend among all the respondents to avoid the extreme responses and, particularly, expressions of dissatisfaction. The median score obtained was well above the midpoint (37) of the possible range of scores on this measure.

Table XIII
L-C Responses by Community Satisfaction Score
(percentages)

Community Satisfaction score	SL	IL	IC	SC	% of sample in this group
(49 or more)	31.4	19.5	18.5	7.1	19.9
(46-48)	11.4	30.8	19.3	21.4	24.1
(43-45)	34.3	22.6	34.5	50.0	29.4
(42 or less)	22.9	26.4	26.9	21.4	26.0
No answer		.6	.8		.6
<hr/>					
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	n=35	n=159	n=119	n=14	n=327

Among the Strong Locals 42.8% were satisfied with the community at least to some degree, while only 28.5% of the Strong Cosmos fell into either of the upper quartiles. When

the distribution was dichotomized and correlated with the combined Local and Cosmo categories for chi-square analysis, the relationship was found to be significant, in the expected direction, at more than the .05 level. Table XIV presents this data.

The original data included an open question concerning the individual's central life interests. It was felt that

Table XIV
Locals and Cosmos by Community Satisfaction
(percentages)

	Locals	Cosmos
More satisfied (46 or more)	48.2	57.1
Less satisfied (45 or less)	51.8	62.9
Total	100.0 n=193	100.0 n=132

$$(x^2 \text{ .95} = 3.84, \text{ d.f.} = 1)$$

$$x^2 = 4.17$$

$$C = .10$$

the responses to this question would differ significantly between Locals and Cosmos. However, this was not supported by our data since we found no differences that were statistically significant. Only in one response category (non-economic aspects of job) did we find a difference greater than 2% between the combined Local and Cosmo categories, and this difference was only 2.7% ($P < .05$). Nevertheless, Table XV suggests certain tendencies toward differences in attitudes related to central life interests between Locals

and Cosmos.

Table XV
Central Life Interests and L-C Responses
(percentages)

	SL	IL	IC	SC	%of sample in this group
Family	35.3	37.6	36.6	30.6	36.5
Job-non-economic	20.0	15.8	18.9	22.2	17.7
Standard of Living	15.3	17.0	14.3	19.4	15.9
Health	11.8	6.4	7.7	5.6	7.5
Religion	8.2	7.9	7.7	11.1	8.0
Social Rltns.	2.4	3.9	3.9		3.5
Community	3.5	3.9	3.9	2.8	3.8
Leisure	3.5	7.6	7.3	8.3	7.0
Total	100.0 n=85	100.0 n=330	100.0 n=259	100.0 n=36	100.0 n=710*

*Totals to more than sample N=327
because first three responses were
tabulated.

Our data indicates that Cosmos were somewhat more likely to be centrally concerned with their jobs (non-economic aspects) than were Locals in our sample. It is also indicated that Locals were somewhat more likely to be centrally concerned with their families than were Cosmos. Strong Cosmos were also inclined to be more interested in their standard of living, including income and material possessions than were Strong Locals - although there was virtually no difference between Locals and Cosmos generally on this variable.

Strong Cosmos were also somewhat interested in leisure, including recreational and cultural activities than were Strong Locals, while the Strong Locals tended to be more

interested in their health. It may be worthy of note that not a single Strong Cosmo considered social relations to be a central life interest!

It was also presumed that an individual's definition of "success" is an attitude closely associated with his central life interests - on the assumption that most contemporary Americans are concerned with success, however they define it. The original data included the responses to the open question "What would you have to do to feel that you had gotten ahead or were a success?" The responses to this question were hypothesized to be correlated with Local and Cosmopolitan value orientations. It was further hypothesized, in keeping with known research findings, that an individual's definition of success was also apt to be closely associated with his occupational status. Table XVI presents our findings of the relationship between occupational status, definition of success, and the L-C dimension of value orientation. While we found a significant relationship between occupational status and the definition of success, we also found a statistically significant (beyond the .05 level) relationship between definitions of success and the L-C dimension of value orientation even when occupational status was held constant.

With occupational status held constant, Locals were significantly more apt to evaluate success in terms of security than were Cosmos. Professional Cosmos significantly more often evaluated success in terms of high achievement in

job or field than did professional Locals. Gouldner's findings, as noted earlier, concerning differences in commitment to specialized skills and "outside" reference groups among Local and Cosmopolitan professionals suggests an explanation for our findings.

Holding occupational status constant, both professional and technical Cosmos more often evaluated success in terms of a better position or promotion than did professional and technical Locals.

While professionals were considerably more altruistic and more interested generally in status and honor in the community than were either technicians or hourly-paid workers, it was found that professional Locals and Cosmos differed. Professional Cosmos who responded in these categories most often evaluated success in terms of altruistic motives while professional Locals more often evaluated success in terms of status and honor in the community.

Gouldner's study pointed to the influence of reference groups on Local and Cosmopolitan value orientations, and Dobriner's analysis suggested much the same thing. Our study included the question "What types of people do you group yourself with?" It was hypothesized that reference group identification would be significantly different between individuals who held Local value orientations and those who held Cosmopolitan outlooks. None of the categories of responses successfully differentiated between the total sample of Locals and Cosmos at the .05 level of significance

TABLE XVI
Occupation, Definition of Success, and L-C Value Orientations
(percentages)

High achieve- ment in job or field		Better position or promotion		Security		Living		Standard of economic aspects		Job, non- family		Altruistic		Social Status or honor		Totals	
Profession	20.6	11.8	22.1	14.7	5.9	13.2	4.4	7.3	100.0n=68								
BL-IL	24.6	14.0	13.5	14.1	23.5	13.0	23.1	29.4	16.5								
CC-SC	31.2	14.3	5.2	15.6	7.8	18.2	5.2	2.6	100.0n=77								
	42.1	19.3	3.6	16.9	35.3	20.3	30.8	11.8	18.7								
Technician	16.7	11.1	18.5	22.2	1.9	22.2	1.9	5.5	100.0n=54								
BL-IL	15.8	10.5	9.0	16.9	5.9	17.4	7.7	17.6	13.1								
CC-SC	10.0	26.7	25.0	15.0	1.7	11.7	3.3	6.6	100.0n=60								
	10.5	28.1	13.5	12.7	5.9	10.1	15.4	23.5	14.6								
Hourly Wkr.	1.7	11.3	46.1	18.3	3.5	15.7	1.7	1.7	100.0n=115								
BL-IL	3.5	22.8	47.7	29.6	23.5	26.1	15.4	11.8	27.9								
CC-SC	5.3	7.9	36.8	18.4	2.6	23.7	2.6	2.6	100.0n=38								
	3.5	5.3	12.6	9.8	5.9	13.0	7.7	5.9	9.2								
Totals	100.0 n=57	100.0 n=111	100.0 n=71	100.0 n=17	100.0 n=69	100.0 n=13	100.0 n=17	100.0 n=17	100.0 n=412								
% of responses in this category	13.8	13.8	26.9	17.2	4.1	16.8	3.2	4.1	100.0								

but three response categories did indicate trends, i.e., "young people" ($\chi^2 = 2.27$), "social class" ($\chi^2 = 2.02$), and "specific common interest groups" ($\chi^2 = 1.84$). However, again it was assumed that occupational status would also be influential in determining reference group attitudes and in an effort to control for this variable Table XVII was prepared. Our data indicate some significant differences among Locals and Cosmos when occupational status is held constant.

The most frequent responses given among the total sample were, in order, occupational categories (38.8%), "average person", (15.1%), and class categories (12.0%). Less than 10% of the total sample responded with any other single reference group identification. The least frequent response regarding reference group identification was "young people".

The least frequent response among professionals was "average person". The three most frequent response categories for professionals were occupational categories, educational categories, and categories or groups having specific common interests or values. Each showed significant differences between Locals and Cosmos. Cosmos were less likely to refer to educational categories than were Locals in the same status. However, Locals significantly more often identified with specific common interest groups than did Cosmos. Among professional Locals and Cosmos the greatest difference was found among those who identified themselves

with "young people". Professional Cosmos referred to themselves in this manner twice as often as did professional Locals. Of course, it must be remembered that Cosmos are significantly younger than Locals - though we doubt that the difference is large enough to fully account for this propensity of professional Cosmos to hold "young people" as a reference group. We can only guess that perhaps "young people" has connotations of young ideas, up-and-coming, even-brighter-future, or some such thing for the professional Cosmo. Since only 3.5% of the total responses fell into this category, we do not feel however, that the finding has much overall significance.

For technicians the least frequently mentioned response was in educational categories. The three most frequent responses for this group were occupational categories, "average person", and broad reference groups (other than those specified in separate categories). Only within the group of technicians whose identification was with broad reference groups was there a significant difference between Locals and Cosmos, in the direction that Cosmos were more apt to give this response than were Locals.

For hourly-paid workers the least frequently given response was "young people" - no single hourly worker responded in that category! The three most frequently given responses among the hourly workers were occupational categories, "average worker", and social class categories. Since 54.2% (see Table X) of all Locals are hourly production

TABLE XVII
Occupation, Reference Group Identification, and L-C
value orientations
(percentages)

Occupation category		Income category	Social Class	Average person	Young people	Common Interest Group	Broad reference groups	Education categories	Totals
Profession	43.9	9.1	4.5	1.5	6.1	13.6	9.1	12.1	100.0n=66
SL-IL	15.4	16.7	5.2	1.4	23.5	20.9	12.5	38.1	13.6
IC-SC	52.0	6.7	4.0	2.7	10.7	6.7	9.3	8.0	100.0n=75
20.7	13.9	5.2	2.7	47.1	11.6	14.6	28.6	15.5	
Technician	29.0	7.9	15.8	19.7	4.0	9.2	11.8	2.6	100.0n=76
SL-IL	11.7	16.7	20.7	20.5	17.6	16.3	18.7	9.5	15.7
IC-SC	28.8	8.8	8.7	18.7	2.5	15.0	16.3	1.2	100.0n=80
12.2	19.4	12.1	20.5	11.8	27.9	27.1	4.8	16.5	
Hourly worker	43.7	4.9	16.9	20.4		3.5	8.5	2.1	100.0n=142
SL-IL	33.0	19.4	41.4	39.7		11.6	25.0	14.3	29.3
IC-SC	28.9	11.1	20.0	24.4		11.1		2.2	100.0n=
6.9	13.9	15.5	15.1			11.6	2.1	4.8	9.3
Totals	100.0 n=188	100.0 n=36	100.0 n=58	100.0 n=73	100.0 n=17	100.0 n=43	100.0 n=48	100.0 n=21	100.0 n=484*
% of responses in this category	38.8	7.4	12.0	15.1	3.5	8.9	9.9	4.3	100.0

*More than one response was given in some cases.

workers, the number of hourly workers who were Cosmopolitan in value orientation was so small as to make it impossible to test for statistical significance between Locals and Cosmos in this occupational status. It is interesting to note, however, that of the 58 social class preference group responses, 33 (56.9%) of them were made by hourly workers. Within this group there is a significant difference between Locals and Cosmos, in that nearly three times as many hourly-paid Locals responded that they identified with social class as did hourly-paid Cosmos.

The overall direct support for hypothesis C is somewhat in doubt. However, we have seen in this consideration of the role played by attitudes and individual outlook, that attitudinal variables can and do correlate significantly with Localism and Cosmopolitanism in some cases, even when social structural and status variables have held constant. And, furthermore, we have postulated syndromes of typical attitudes to be associated with these structural and status variables - as witness the association of Localistic and Cosmopolitan attitudinal outlooks themselves to status and role! Certainly these latent attitudes combined with differential central life interests, and differential reference group identification are clearly associated with individual L-C value orientations.

VI. Summary and Conclusions

Sociological theory has suggested a continuum of social

structural types, with extreme poles labeled "machanical-organic", "Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft", and similar terms. Toennies' formulation of Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft, translated by Zimmerman as Local and Cosmopolitan respectively, includes a discussion of personal outlooks characteristic of individuals who are members of these types of social systems. We have postulated that as social systems become more complex, or evolve from a relatively closed toward a more open structure, concomitant changes will occur in the perception of the system's openness by members of that social unit. We suggest that it is not the social structure per se but, rather, the system's ability to successfully impose conditions of action and membership upon its members that determines the "openness" or "closedness" of the system. We further suggest that the effectiveness of the social system in imposing these conditions is largely a matter of ego-involvement on the part of the individual members and, therefore, the same social system may be perceived as open by some and closed by others.

A variation in perception of, and ego-involvement with, the goals and values of the system implies variation in value sub-systems - Localistic and Cosmopolitan value orientations being the phenomenological equivalents of closed and open social structures respectively. Thus, we would expect to find variations of personal value orientation along a Localism-Cosmopolitanism (L-C) dimension within

a single social system.

Furthermore, we have postulated that variations in the L-C dimension of individual value orientation implies, in each case, a syndrome of characteristics. A few social scientists have utilized the concepts of Localism and Cosmopolitanism as dichotomous types of individual outlook and found them useful for research analysis, but there has been no general agreement concerning the correlates of these two broad "latent roles". Our study has concerned itself with a search for such correlates. We have tried to simultaneously take into account social structural, status and role, and related attitudinal variables.

Our data are drawn from a larger research project, conducted by William Faunce in a middle western community. Selecting certain questions from the original research, we utilize the responses to test three broad hypotheses and six subsidiary ones related to Localism-Cosmopolitanism. The group under study numbers 327, and represents three samples of employees of a chemical company in occupational categories which are rapidly changing as to proportion of the labor force. In his larger study, Faunce has shown that increasing "professionalization" has profound implications for contemporary social structural change. We have given, therefore, particular emphasis to the individual value orientations, and their correlates, among the professionals in our sample.

We found that our sample, while all manifestly members

of a single social system, did display a variation in latent value orientation along an L-C dimension. The individuals were divided on the basis of their responses to a series of L-C questions into four groups - Strong Locals, Intermediate Locals, Intermediate Cosmos, and Strong Cosmos - allowing for analysis of a range of responses.

To briefly summarize, our data have shown that Locals and Cosmos may be clearly differentiated in terms of their characteristic value orientations. In seeking those factors, both social structural and attitudinal, which correlate specifically with Localism and Cosmopolitanism we have found significant differences between individuals holding these value orientations.

Many of our findings are at odds with Merton's original work with Localism-Cosmopolitanism, while others support his findings. Perhaps this is explained, at least in part, by the years that have elapsed since his study was conducted. These years have brought increased emphasis on formal educational achievement, on commitment to specialized skills, and to a concern for the larger social sphere.

Our research has shown that the individual who is in his late thirties or older, has never been to college, has resided in a particular community for five or more years, is satisfied with that community and plans to stay at least until he retires, and is employed in a non-professional occupation is most apt to be Local in value orientation. Furthermore, a Local has a somewhat greater tendency to

consider his family and health to be among his central life interests.

The Local who is employed in a professional occupation is inclined to evaluate his own "success" in terms of security and status and honor in the community. He is also more apt to find reference group identification among educational categories and specific common interest groups than is his Cosmopolitan counterpart.

On the other hand, the individual who is no older than his middle thirties, has had at least some college training, is a relative newcomer to the community, is not particularly satisfied with the community and has no definite plans to stay, and is employed as a professional is most apt to be Cosmopolitan in value orientation. As a Cosmo he has a somewhat greater tendency to consider the non-economic aspects of his job and leisure, including recreational and cultural activities, to be among his central life interests.

The professional Cosmo is inclined to evaluate personal "success" in terms of high achievement in his job, a better position or promotion, and altruistic participation in the community. He is more apt to find reference group identification within his occupational status or among "young people", than is the professional man who holds Local value orientations.

In keeping with Yinger's exhortation we have tried to simultaneously take into account individual attitudes and outlook as well as social structural influences on the L-C

dimension of value orientation. We have found the relationship to be a highly complex one, with many variables closely associated with each other. We have postulated that individual outlook, as reflected in attitudinal variables, is the single most important criterion for differentiating between Locals and Cosmos, and have found only scant evidence to support such a hypothesis. While we have found no significant support for our hypothesis that attitudinal variables are of relatively greater importance than are social structural variables in their association with value orientation, we cannot conclude that psychological variables are of little or no importance. Some indirect substantiation for the importance of individual outlook variables may be found in the fact that one dimension of an L-C value orientation itself may be termed attitudinal insofar as it reflects decisions made toward specific ideas and situations. Furthermore, it is assumed that each of the status and role variables we have discussed has a syndrome of attitudes that are typically associated with it. As evidence for this assumption we have shown that the ontological dynamics of latent roles, such as age, do pervasively affect value orientations. So, too, do status' such as those of professional occupation and "highly educated man". These latent attitudes, combined with the more directly evident attitudes of central life interest, community satisfactions, and reference group identification, are clearly associated with L-C value orientations.

Our data have yielded support for Gouldner's contention that individuals performing the same manifest role may hold distinctly different latent roles and, conversely, individuals in similar latent roles may be playing different manifest roles. We believe, with him, that these concepts may help to account for some of the observed differences in behavior and attitude among individuals in similar roles, or for explaining some of the similarities among those in differing community or organizational roles. Our findings would appear to have significant value in future organizational analysis or in analysis of communities in which the direction of social change, particularly increasing professionalization of the labor force, is an important factor. Seldom is any systematic attention given to the functioning of either latent status' or roles, such as those of Locals and Cosmos. Focus is more often limited to the more evident formal and manifest status' and roles assigned by the organization or community. The assumption appears to be that latent roles, and their associated syndromes of characteristic value orientations, are irrelevant to the purposes of the study. The fact seems to be, however, that individuals playing these latent roles do differ, and knowledge of the variation in value orientation associated with them might well prove valuable if taken into account when studying behavior.

The implications of our findings for the relationship

between individual value orientation and the division of labor in contemporary society is clear - increasing professionalization is apt to result in increasing Cosmopolitan value orientations and a decrease in individuals whose primary concerns are directly related to those of the local social system of which they are members. This would suggest an increasing emphasis on flexibility and openness in communities and organizations, with concomitant decline in the system's ability to impose conditions of action or membership and to conserve its form and ideology as a closed unit.

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Appendix A

The following are the questions selected from the original Midland Community Study questionnaire for the purposes of our research.

1. First of all, we would like to know how many years altogether you have lived in (the community)
1) Whole life_____ 2) Years here_____
2. Would you say that most of your life has been spent:
1) on a farm, 2) in a small town, 3) in a medium-sized city 4) or in a big city?
6. Do you plan to stay here in (the community) at least until you retire?
1) yes 2) no 3) Don't know or "that depends"
8. Now we would like to know how you rate some particular things about (the community) which of these five statements (NI, VD, SD, SS, VS) best describes how you feel about:
(a) (The community's) schools.
(b) Sewage disposal in (thecommunity) right now.
(c) The efficiency of (the community's) city government - that is, how well run is it.
(d) The responsiveness of (the community's) city government to public opinion - that is, whether they do what the people want.
(e) The amount and the fairness of city taxes.
(f) Goods and services offered by local merchants.

- (g) Relations between labor and management in (the community).
 - (h) Health facilities (like doctors, dentists and hospitals) in (the community).
 - (i) Playgrounds, parks, sports and other recreational facilities in (the community).
 - (j) Libraries, music, theatre or other cultural facilities in (the community).
 - (k) Welfare facilities in (the community).
22. We have just asked you some questions about people like yourself. What types of people would you group yourself with? (PROBE: What would you mean by the phrase "people like yourself"?)
44. Now I would like to shift to another kind of question. Different people regard different kinds of things as important in life. When you think about what really matters to you, what would you say are the central interests in your life? (PROBE: What else is important to you?)
45. The phrase "getting ahead in the world" means different things to different people. What would you have to do to feel that you had gotten ahead or were a success.
49. Now I would like to know a little something about your work. First, what is your occupation?
56. Now I have just a few more quick answer questions which we can go over quite fast. As I ask these questions, just pick out the answer listed on this card (SA, A, NAD, D, SD) which most nearly expresses

your opinion.

- 1) News about (the community) is generally more interesting than national or international news.
- 2) The most rewarding organizations a person can belong to are local organizations serving local needs.
- 3) Big-cities may have their place, but when you get right down to it, the local community is the backbone of America.
- 4) Meeting and knowing many people is extremely important in establishing oneself in a community.
- 5) National and international events are important largely because of the way they effect (the community) as a community.

57. Now, to finish up, we need a little more information about you.

- 1) Are you married?
(a) yes (b) no (IF NO) Have you ever been married?
- 2) (IF EVER MARRIED) How many children do you have?
- 3) What was the highest grade in school that you completed? What is the highest degree you have completed?
- 4) What was your total personal income before taxes in 1961?
- 5) What is your age?

Appendix B

Comparison of C Values Among Significant Variables Associated with Localism-Cosmopolitanism.

(Rank order for 2x2 tables)*

<u>All Locals and Cosmos by:</u>	<u>C Value</u>
Age	
19-36 and 37-64	.24
Education	
High school or less and some college or more	.235
Plans to stay in the community	
Yes and No or Don't Know	.215
Occupation	
Professional and non-professional	.20
Length of residence in the community	
20 years or less and 21 years or more or whole life	.19
Definition of success	
"Security" mentioned and not mentioned	.17
"Achievement in Job" mentioned and not mentioned	.10
Community satisfaction score	
More satisfied (46 or above) and Less satisfied (45 or below)	.10

* It must be noted that much is lost by dichotomizing some of these variables and due caution must be exercised in comparing them in this manner. This table, at best, offers a rough means of comparison of the relative importance of the variables found to be associated with L-C.

