VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP AS A RESIDUAL OF STATUS INCONSISTENCY

by

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Chapter I

Introduction and Literature Review

In an effort to understand the strategic role which the notion of social status plays in the lives of men, a number of sundry perspectives in the discipline of sociology have developed. Historically, theorists presumed the primary influence - in industrialized societies - to be that of economic factors - one's position in the market dictated, unquestionably, the major posture a person was to adopt with respect to other general areas in which the concept of status was operative. While it was recognized that social status, as determined by non-economic factors, was plausible, any of these variant status forms assumed a subservient position to that resolved by the market.

With an increased awareness of the decisive role played by non-economic factors in the fixing of conventions of social status, there arose a desire for a more precise instrument to ascertain the actual contributions which each particular status hierarchy made to the general conception of an individual's social status. Whereas in the past, status dimensions had been treated independently of each other, researchers now sought an indicator of the intricate relationships which bound each status dimension to all others. The prodigy of a marriage of each status hierarchy with any other would certainly not resemble either parent completely, but would incorporate a select number of the characteristics of each while displaying a "personality" of its own. What, in fact,

is suggested herein is the probability that in the interaction process involving a number of status hierarchies, the product or resultant of this process will in some manner assume characteristics and consequences which may be attributed to the product alone and not simply to one or a number of its constituents.

Attempting to produce an instrument, and incorporating the notion of an effect partially independent of the isolated causes, Gerhard Lenski (1954) proposed the concept of status crystallization as a non-vertical dimension of social status. In particular, Lenski attempted to demonstrate the utility of the concept by employing it in the task of explaining the differential political behavior of individuals characterized by dissimilar rankings on various status dimensions.

In his formulation of the concept of status crystallization, Lenski relied on some of the basic ideas set forth previously by Max Weber (1958). Initially, Weber differentiates between class situation as influenced by market situation and the socially determined condition of status. Weber posited that as economically determined segments of society, classes formed the "bases for communal action" (1958:181). In contrast, he suggested the actual community-like nature of status groups and in so doing, defined status groups in the following manner:

> ...we wish to designate as 'status situation' every typical component of the life fate of men that is determined by a specific, positive or negative, social estimation of honor. (1958:186-187)

While acknowledging the bond between status and class, Weber judiciously warns against the use of the terms synonymously. To the contrary, they are situations determined, at least to some extent, independently of each other, and the witnessing of position in one sense does not immediately imply a parallel distinction in the other.

Cognizant of the pervasive power which status honor maintains, Weber's documentary is the theoretical foundation of the status component of stratification in the United States (1958:188). In essence he maintains that, in contrast to class situation, status honor demands a particular style of life and in such a demand appears the basis of the establishment of any number of social conventions.

For Weber then, the concept of 'Stand' was of crucial importance in the assignment of an individual to a particular position in life. One could not justifiably base individual assignment on economic factors solely. In addition, typical life style or social genre was of considerable import. Implicit in Weber's treatment of the concept of 'Stand', or status group, is the notion of multidimensionality. 'Stand', as Weber employed the term, may not be considered as singularly determined, but must, instead, be utilized as a composite, encompassing innumerable social factors.

Weber himself considers the consequences of the implementation of stratification by status. For instance, he suggests that "the monopolization of ideal and material goods or opportunities" (1958:190) is a concomitant of status stratification. Addressing himself to the far-reaching consequences of status stratification, Weber recognizes

the polarity of characteristics which accrue on the basis of economic factors and those which are the consequences of status distinctions (1958:193).

Weber lists "occupational group" as an example of a status group. This is important to the extent that the milieu in which one labors contributes to and modifies the more encompassing life style. As well we may extend Weber's analysis of status groups to include educational and income groups. While the latter may be considered as consummate indicators of class situation, in contrast to that of status, economic status may be seen as contributing, at least in part, to the generalized style of life or social milieu of the individual. Following the same line of reasoning, educational attainment may assume a juxtaposition with occupation and income.

In the multidimensional approach of Max Weber we find a major precendent for the study of particular status groups. Prior to his contribution to the discipline of sociology, economic position was seen as the primary determinant of consideration of social stratification. While Weber is cognizant of the importance of economic or market factors in the placement of individuals in relative social orders, he, above all others, delivers the mandate for the careful consideration of status groups as parallel and equally important mechanisms for the stratification of individuals and aggregates. It is within the context of Weber's groundwork that any further treatment of status must lie. Realizing the importance of Weber's initial contribution, Lenski attempts to follow the dictates of that mandate.

Current Literature Review

Weber's elaborate analysis of status groups and the concomitant consequences of stratification based on such aggregates notwithstanding, few authors until recently have championed the pursuit of an investigation into the intricate mechanisms of status reactions. More succinctly, it was not until the early 1950's that any concern was displayed for the possible incongruities which might arise out of a state of status incompatibility.

As early as 1944, Emile Benoit-Smullyan noted the necessity of a distinction between status and the various other components of social position, those of situs and locus. Specifically, Benoit-Smullyan suggested that three criteria are employed in the allocation of individuals to particular social positions; status, corresponding to relative position in a hierarchy; situs, to membership in a social group; and locus, to a socially defined function in an organized group (1944:151). While this may be a useful distinction, it appears to stop abruptly in its attempts to reassess the nature of the stratification system in the United States. It is to this problem, specifically, that Gerhard Lenski addressed himself in 1954.

In response to the demand for a more effective instrument for categorizing individuals into social groups, Lenski proposed implementation of the concept of status crystallization as a non-vertical dimension of social status. Lenski argued that methods

employed previously failed to consider parallel dimensions of status. The measurement of status crystallization attempts to provide a means by which all of the various statuses which might describe an individual's rank in a given hierarchy are amalgamated into a single representative function of the consistency of each status. Lenski suggested that such a measurement would rectify some of the incongruities met in traditional explanations of the political behavior of individuals and groups.

Assuming the utility of such a technique, Lenski employed the measurement of status crystallization in an attempt to predict the political preference of his sample. Initial results indicated that the proportion of respondents supporting the Democratic candidates was greater in the low status crystallization group than in the high crystallization category. The imposition of stringent controls on both groups seemed to allow the following generalizations:

> 1. Regardless of the direction of status crystallization experienced, individuals exhibiting low status crystallization express liberal political tendencies.
>
> 2. Certain types of status inconsistency are more conducive to liberal political tendencies than are others.
>
> (Lenski:1954)

The following explanation appears to be consistent with Lenski's findings. Individuals who display a low degree of status crystallization are confronted by certain pressures in their environment. The individual who experiences a high ranking on the dimension of occupation, for example, but who is ranked low on

ethnicity, may feel frustrated by his situation. In addition, unpredictable, and at times, unfavorable, reactions of other persons toward the inconsistent individual may further contribute to such frustration. Persons experiencing such inconsistency may feel dissatisfied with the existing social order - an order which has contributed to their frustrations - and perceive opportunities which encourage social change as beneficial to them. For instance, support of a liberal political party advocating social change may be viewed by the individual as an opportunity to improve his surroundings. Failure on the part of a status inconsistent individual to support social change may be attributed to his inability to express displeasure with the existing social environment and his concomitant internalization of the blame for his present position. Bell (1968), in his study of Southern and Northern blacks, notes the greater intensity with which the Southern blacks, victims of their social circumstances, internalized the blame for their inconsistency, as compared with the reactions of Northern blacks. Lenski suggests that differential socialization may, in part, determine the ability of the individual to redirect his displeasure with the social system.

The theme of status crystallization and its effect on political behavior has been explored by a number of other authors as well. In particular, Irwin Goffman (1957) seems to logically extend the thesis purported by Lenski. Goffman argues that preference for social change may be requisite for the existence of social movements and,

in turn, status inconsistency may be a major factor related to the desire for social change. The ambiguity of reference experienced by the status inconsistent individual prevents the formation of a unified self-concept by ego, and he perceives a change in the environment as a means of reducing pressures. For example, dissolution of racial prejudice may relieve the pressure experienced by some groups. It is further postulated that one means of transforming the environment is to alter the present distribution of power. The results of his study lend credence to the hypothesis that individuals experiencing status inconsistency, in general, favor a redistribution of power in society. One qualification must be added, however. Individuals occupying the most prestigious occupational level as employed by Goffman, but who were otherwise low on status crystallization, tended to support a change in the distribution of power on the national level to a greater extent than individuals in either of the other two occupation categories employed. Goffman attributes this finding to the perception, on the part of the individual, of limited opportunities for upward vertical mobility. In so doing, he suggests that vertical social mobility is viewed as an alternative solution to releasing pressures placed on the individual by status inconsistency. To summarize, an increase in status inconsistency, coupled with a decrease in opportunities for vertical mobility, will result in an increase or strengthening of one's preference for change in the social or political climate.

The findings of a study conducted by Broom and Jones (1970) seem to parallel those of Goffman. Although absolute comparability is not possible because the former study was conducted in Australia, it seems fruitful to discuss these findings because of the interpretation afforded by the authors. The results of the Broom and Jones study indicate that individuals high on the education ladder but low in the areas of income and occupation did not support a change in the social system. In contrast, those individuals ranking high on the dimensions of occupation and income appeared to elect to change, in some way, the prevailing social environment. It is suggested that the individual who has obtained the skills offered by education, but who has failed to apply such skills attributes such a failure to personal inadequacies rather than to a dysfunctioning of the social system. On the other hand, individuals who have struggled up the occupational ladder without the advantages of education perceive the social structure as a resistant object and desire the implementation of change. The imposition of Goffman's interpretation of the perception of limited opportunity for further vertical mobility on the findings reported by Broom and Jones may strengthen the support for the former's contention that status inconsistency, accompanied by limited opportunities for vertical mobility, precipitates attitudes favorable to social change. This change is presumed to alter the environment in such a way as to relieve the pressures perceived by the individual as emanating from the existing social structure.

To this point it would appear that low status crystallization precipitates feelings of dissatisfaction with the existing social order, and that realization by the individual of such a condition catalyzes preference for some type of social change. In addition, there is some indication that the direction or nature of crystallization predetermines the strength of the individual's desire for such change.

David Segal (1969) suggests that discrepancies between achieved and ascribed statuses may be the most salient sources of pressure on the individual. In particular, Segal notes that an individual tends to think of himself in terms of his highest position of status, while significant others view him as occupying the lowest position which may be accorded him, regardless of the salience of this dimension. It is this process, maintains Segal, which creates the pressures experienced by the individual. In the political realm, pressures may stem from within the individual or may, in fact, be a consequence of a particular political issue. While Segal's interpretations may be somewhat tenuous, it is important to note his recognition of the variation in pressures resulting from achieved and ascribed statuses.

Political ideologies of status inconsistent individuals were examined by Bell (1968). His study explored the discrepancies in achieved and ascribed statuses among members of the organization CORE. In particular, he was concerned with individual acceptance or rejection of nonviolence as advocated by the organization. His

findings seem to suggest incongruence of attitudes and actions among individuals ranking high on achieved status but low on ascribed status. Radical rejection of nonviolence was voiced by black respondents residing in the North who had achieved high rankings on the dimensions of occupation and education. Their Southern counterparts, displaying a high degree of status crystallization, expressed more moderate political ideologies. Bell's interpretation of these findings suggests that Northern residents were exposed to higher expectations but, also, greater disappointments. Status inconsistent individuals exposed to such an environment favored more radical tactics in attempts to implement social change. Bell failed, however, to show that beliefs and actions were consistent. In fact, it appeared that status inconsistent individuals who ranked high on achieved status dimensions were unwilling to activate their radical tactics. In addition to status inconsistency, there also exists inconsistency of beliefs and actions.

Alternative responses to incongruent status patterns include selective participation in voluntary associations. Lenski (1956) investigated the social participation of respondents, with particular intent on demonstrating the differences in motivation for seeking membership in voluntary associations between consistent and inconsistent individuals. The results of the study indicated that status inconsistent individuals more often mentioned non-sociable reasons as precipitating their membership.

The notion of voluntary associations as instruments of response to dissatisfaction with the environment is not new. On a more general plane, we may observe voluntary associations as integrative mechanisms in a society. Babchuk and Edwards (1965) explore the integrative function of associations at the social psychological as well as the sociological level. Complementing this approach is the work of Arnold Rose (1966) which outlines three major functions performed by voluntary associations; namely, citizen acquisition of power at the community or national level; the affording of increased awareness on the part of the citizen of how the system operates; and finally, serving as mechanisms of social change, highly responsive to expressed needs within the system itself. The first two functions outlined by Rose suggest the personal quality of integration provided by associations.

It is again Weber who sets the precedent for the study of associations as possible alternative responses to incongruent status configurations. Dubbing America the "association-land par excellence" (1972:20), Weber suggests the possible influence which association membership may have on the structure of the individual's ego. More generally, he suggests the pervasiveness of associations - their seemingly unintended influence in areas not previously designated for consideration. As an example he presents the singing club of Germany and its apparent political desideratum. In addition he suggests that:

> ...the problem is that of the unconscious influencing of the whole conduct of a man by the content of the activity of the association. But there are all sorts of nuances in the manner in which associations devoted to technical and tangible objectives reach over into the field of influencing and regulating the general conduct of life. (1972:22)

To wit, association membership may serve a multitude of purposes independent of the intended origin of the association, provided the individual is cognizant of the organization's malleability. The pervasive influence of voluntary associations is borne out, empirically, in the work of Freeman and Showel (1952). Within this context we may consider association membership as a feasible alternative response to status inconsistency.

Before examining a combination of any of the aforementioned responses to status inconsistency, it is necessary to examine more closely the nature of such a state. In particular, the distinction must be made as to the combination of rankings on particular status hierarchies. That is, it is impossible to assume that all combinations of inconsistency will predispose an individual to a particular response. Instead, care must be taken to discriminate between those individuals whose inconsistency arises as a result of an incongruence of achieved and ascribed statuses and those whose inconsistency is simply a product of various configurations of achieved statuses only (Lenski; 1954; Rush:1967; Segal:1969).

With the above mentioned qualifications in mind it is possible to conceive of a given configuration of inconsistent statuses as eliciting from the individual a particular response. Rush (1967) notes that individuals experiencing a low rank on the income hierarchy and a high rank on the education hierarchy do not display a high incidence of right-wing extremism. His findings lend support to Lenski's more general contention (1954; 1956) that specific patterns of status inconsistency will provoke differential responses. However, the importance of cautious stipulation of criteria for defining a liberal or conservative ideology must be realized. That is to say, consideration of extremism must take into account the various dimensions of that concept (Kelly and Chambliss:1966). When one attempts to measure liberalism or conservatism, the various dimensions of the concepts, such as economic or non-economic aspects, must be recognized. For example, Lipset (1955) suggests that economic liberalism is correlated inversely with socioeconomic status, while non-economic liberalism is associated positively with socioeconomic status. The importance of income level in determining economic attitudes is implicit in Rush's research (1967). He suggests that individuals with low income are aware of the need for income redistribution in the country.

Kelly and Chambliss (1966) assert that their findings would lead one to believe that educational attainment is most important, among other status variables, in determining political attitudes. Specifically, they conclude that the higher one's level of education,

the greater the likelihood of expressing a liberal political doctrine. When one attempts to measure liberalism or conservatism, the various dimensions of the concepts must be recognized. While this research purports to include only two - economic and non-economic - a number of other aspects have been suggested (Kerr:1952). To this extent, when speaking of liberalism or conservatism as a reaction to status inconsistency, the reaction may, in fact, assume several dimensions.

Given the above assumption that status inconsistent individuals experience ambiguity in their social relationships and that their response to such a situation may be couched in a reaction to the pre-existing conditions of the social structure, it seems apparent that a number of possible responses may be combined. For instance, a status inconsistent individual who assumes a stance of liberalism (economic and/or non-economic) may elect membership in a voluntary association, the goals of which are congruent with his own. Or again, that inconsistent individual who assumes an ideology of conservatism may also elect membership in an association which he perceives as espousing goals compatible with his own. Rose (1966) suggests the cogency of this proposition when outlining what he considers to be the three main functions of voluntary associations (see above). Lenski (1956) implicitly states the possibility of certain patterns of response to inconsistency but fails to explore beyond speculation.

Statement of the Problem

The problem to be explored in this study is that of determining specifically the patterns of status inconsistency which dispose an individual to react to his inconsistency in terms of expressing an ideology of liberalism or conservatism. More specifically, it is necessary to determine if differences accrue on the basis of economic or non-economic liberalism (or conservatism). In addition, the question is raised as to whether or not membership in a specific voluntary association is reflective of a given ideology.

Statement of the Hypotheses

The general hypotheses to be considered are as follows:

I. Individuals displaying different configurations of status inconsistency, as measured by differential rankings on the occupation, education, and income hierarchies will differ in their expression of liberal or conservative ideologies as measured on economic and non-economic dimensions.

II. Status inconsistent individuals characterized by high education, in combination with different rankings on occupation and income, will tend to be liberal on the non-economic dimension to a greater extent than individuals characterized by low education.

III. Status inconsistent individuals characterized by high income, in combination with different rankings on occupation and education, will tend to be conservative on the economic dimension to a greater extent than individuals characterized by low income.

IV. Status inconsistent individuals are more likely than status consistent individuals to perceive their membership in voluntary associations as instrumental in nature, regardless of the actual nature of the association itself.

Chapter II

Methodology

Sampling Procedure

The population scrutinized in this study may be defined as all persons over 18 years of age residing in households that were listed as non-toll numbers in the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone directory for the Blacksburg, Christiansburg, Radford, Shawsville, Virginia area (December, 1971). Defining the population in this manner permitted the use of the telephone interview as a means of sample contact. As Ibsen and Ballweg (1972) note, to define a population as all households in a given geographic area, and then to select the sample on the basis of numbers listed in the telephone directory results in a sample which is incompatible with the population as defined. In the same context, generalizations as regards any findings generated by the study must be confined to the population as specified. It is not possible, on the basis of the present sample, to discuss findings in terms of the entire population within the geographic boundaries mentioned above. Interpretation and generalizability are restricted to populations closely resembling that of the Blacksburg area - individuals residing in rural, college towns who avail themselves of telephone service.

By use of a table of random numbers, a specific starting point was selected for each column and page of the directory. The process

was repeated for selection of a second number on each column and page. Residential numbers located at the selected lines on each page of the directory constituted the sampling frame. The sampling procedure generated 500 listings. Despite the fact that the directory was less than a month old at the time phone contacts were made, 26 numbers were reported as disconnected. An additional 19 numbers were disqualified since they were located external to the Blacksburg exchange.

At least three attempts were made to contact the 455 selected numbers. Phone contacts were attempted at various hours from 9:00 a.m. until 8:00 p.m., both during the week and on weekends. All numbers were contacted by a single interviewer.

Despite a considerable effort to contact all selected numbers, 50 residences were excluded from the sample because no answer was received after three attempts. An additional 75 contacts (18.5%) resulted in refusals to participate in all or part of the interview.

A crude analysis of the intact sample of 330 respondents revealed rather critical inadequacies of classificatory information for a number of the subjects.* This realization resulted in further attempts to recontact the respondents to secure the needed data. Consequently, an additional four subjects were excluded from the sample in question due to an inability to properly identify

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*It was necessary to recontact subjects who were students in an attempt to ascertain father's occupation as a basis for categorization into an occupational prestige level.

the individual who had granted the initial interview or to simple failure to achieve contact after repeated attempts.

In addition to sample reduction precipitated by inadequate data, nine other respondents were eliminated from the sample as a result of their refusal to reveal critical classificatory information which inhibited proper analysis. The final, working sample consisted of 317 respondents.

Interview Technique

Respondents were administered a structured interview schedule via telephone communication. Use of the telephone as a means of respondent contact was dictated by a number of considerations. Most obvious among these was the fact that the telephone offered the most convenient and expedient approach available to the researcher. While the use of the mail survey and the personal interview technique were considered, neither approach offered as viable an alternative as the telephone interview. The mailed questionnaire was dismissed as a possible technique due to its reputed low completion rate (Helmstadter: 1970). Although the personal interview proved enticing, the technique was vetoed as a consequence of the high cost involved, as well as the extended period of time which would have been demanded as a result of its use.

The decision to employ the telephone technique was influenced by substantial past evidence to the effect that the telephone

provides a viable method in particular circumstances similar to those encountered here. Stanley Payne (1956) noted that a comparatively high telephone saturation has been achieved throughout the United States, thereby significantly reducing past limitations which may have deterred researchers from employing the technique. Specifically, 92 percent of all households in the United States, excluding Alaska and Hawaii, maintain telephones on the premises (Ibsen and Ballweg: 1972). However, it is recognized that through the use of the telephone as the principal mode of contact, a unique niche of the population has been excluded, and this fact must be considered in any attempts to extend subsequent findings.

In addition to Payne's argument, further light is shed on the distinct problems encountered when employing the telephone in research. Specifically, Colombotos (1965) addressed the previous contention that telephone interviews elicit socially acceptable response patterns. In a study designed to compare responses emanating from both telephone and personal, face-to-face interviews, Colombotos revealed that, in fact, telephone responses appeared to be less biased in the direction of social acceptance than were responses elicited in the personal interviews.

Complementing the above arguments is the further contention that the telephone provides a reasonably private and efficient means of obtaining necessary information on any number of issues. In particular, it was felt that the scope of information demanded by this survey was of a relatively impersonal quality and highly

amenable to telephone contact. In summary, the advantages of the telephone interview, as enumerated above, far outweighed the implied, and often overemphasized, disadvantages, and the telephone was employed, taking into consideration the nature of necessary qualifications which may apply to the impending results.*

Interview Schedule

As mentioned above, a structured interview schedule was administered to the sample respondents. A reproduction of the schedule can be found in Appendix A. In addition to classificatory information such as age, marital status, education, occupation, and annual family income, respondents were asked a number of questions concerning membership in voluntary associations. When respondents mentioned affiliation, questions resembling Chapin's scale of social participation (in Bonjean, et al.:1967) were applied. Simple fact of membership, attendance at meetings, financial contributions to the organization, and the holding of committeeships and offices were requested of each respondent who indicated involvement in a voluntary association. Subjects were also asked to consider two statements in light of their membership in a particular association. Specifically, the respondents were offered the following two

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*For a recent summary of the pros and cons of telephone interviews, see Charles A. Ibsen and John A. Ballweg. "Telephone Interviews in Social Research: Some Methodological Considerations." 1972. Unpublished manuscript.

descriptive sets of statements adopted from the work of Jacoby and Babchuk (1963), and requested to suggest which of the two best defined the particular organization:

1. The activities of the group in which I take part are valuable in and for themselves. I do these things just for the sake of doing them. I do not expect to achieve any other purpose. (Expressive)

2. The reason why I participate in the activities of this group is that the group seeks to bring about goals which I consider to be desirable. I participate in this organization because it attempts to accomplish purposes for which I stand. (Instrumental)

By use of the above two statements it was felt that some measure of the respondent's perception of his membership in the association would be achieved. A question designed to elicit the subject's consideration of the greatest advantage which accrues as a result of his membership was also included in the schedule.

While the basic characteristics of education, occupation*, and income were employed in the creation of an index of status crystallization, it was felt that an internal measure of subjective crystallization would provide further insight into the problem under consideration. As a result, questions pertaining to ideal education, occupation, and income, as perceived by the respondent were included

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*For purposes of analysis here, occupations were translated into occupational prestige levels, employing the NORC ratings. See Albert J. Reiss, et al. Occupations and Social Status. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc. 1961.

in the interview schedule. Supplementary to this information, respondents were asked to identify that characteristic which they considered to be of greatest importance, and that of least importance, to the exclusion of all save education, occupation, and income.

As a means of tapping political and economic conservatism - liberalism, two prefabricated scales of some repute were included in the interview schedule. McClosky's scale of political conservatism (1958) was selected as most appropriate to this study. Composed of nine items to which the respondent is requested to respond dichotomously, agree or disagree, it is a simple additive model, and is in sharp contrast to previously employed techniques designed to realize the political attitudes of individuals.*

A modified version of Laumann's scale of economic liberalism (1966) was selected as the appropriate technique for identifying economic attitudes of the respondents. While the original scale was composed of six items, concern for interview length demanded exclusion of three items. Selection of the proper items was dictated by precedent. In their study of social participation and status crystallization, Laumann and Segal (1971) adapted an abbreviated version of the original scale and that modified version was employed here. Again, a simple additive model is in application.

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*For example, simple enumeration of party preference and voting record was the technique utilized by Lenski (1954). Concern for interview length rendered mandatory the selection of a direct, concise scale.

One further comment as regards the interview schedule seems appropriate. With respect to the demographic characteristics of occupation and income, where applicable, respondents were requested to report their spouse's or parent's occupation, and the income of the family unit.* Such modification would appear to shift the emphasis away from the individual in the direction of the family. Justification for this imposition, however, is claimed on the basis of the work of Talcott Parsons (1953).

Selected Respondent Characteristics

In light of the realization that all analysis and subsequent results and implications will naturally be influenced by the nature of the sample and the interview technique, a cursory view of respondent characteristics is offered. From Table I it can be seen that nearly two-thirds (61.2%; N=194) of the sample was female.

The sample was composed of a large number of respondents under 25 years of age (43.2%; N=137). This fact may be attributed to the preponderance of students in the area, as both Blacksburg and Radford share the common characteristic of being college towns. The second largest proportion of respondents (21.1%; N=67) fell into the age category 25 to 34 years. Significantly fewer individuals were of

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*In a study conducted in 1969, Ballweg finds a reasonable correlation between family members' reports of such characteristics as income and occupation. See John A. Ballweg, "Husband-Wife Response Similarities on Evaluative and Non-Evaluative Survey Questions." The Public Opinion Quarterly 33: 249-54.

TABLE I

Number and Percent of Respondents

According to Sex

N=317

Sex	Number	Percent
Male	123	38.8
Female	194	61.2
TOTAL	317	100.0

TABLE II

Number and Percent of Respondents

According to Age

N=317

Age	Number	Percent
Under 25	137	43.2
25-34	67	21.1
35-44	41	13.0
45-54	28	8.8
55-64	23	7.3
65 and over	21	6.6
TOTAL	317	100.0

retirement age (6.6%; N=21), as demonstrated in Table II. Of the remaining 92 respondents, 41 (13.0%) were between the ages of 35 and 44, while 8.8 percent (N=28) were 45 to 54 years of age and 7.3 percent (N=23) were between the ages of 55 and 64.

Classification of respondents according to marital status revealed that over one-half of the respondents, or 57.1 percent (N=181) were married, while another 36.3 percent (N=115) of the subjects were single (Table III). Divorced or widowed persons composed only 6.6 percent of the sample (N=7 and N=14, respectively).

An examination of the sample subjects according to educational attainment revealed that a large proportion of individuals (62.5%; N=198) had experienced at least minimum exposure to higher education beyond the high school level. In contrast, relatively few respondents had failed to attain at least some high school education (9.5%; N=30). Specifically, from Table IV we see that 62 respondents (19.5%) had completed high school, while over twice that number (41.0%; N=130) had encountered a college milieu for some period of time. This fact may again be explained by the collegiate atmosphere in which the study took place. In addition to those individuals reporting some college experience, 25 respondents (7.9%) noted that they had completed their college education. Those individuals who reported pursuit of education beyond the college level numbered 33, or 10.4 percent of the sample.

Examining the occupational status of the sample (Table V), we find that the greatest proportion of respondents was found in the

TABLE III

Number and Percent of Respondents

According to Marital Status

N=317

Marital Status	Number	Percent
Married	181	57.1
Single	115	36.3
Divorced	7	2.2
Widowed	14	4.4
TOTAL	317	100.0

TABLE IV

Number and Percent of Respondents

According to Education

N=317

Education	Number	Percent
Some Grade School	24	7.6
Grade School	6	1.9
Some High School	27	8.5
High School	62	19.5
Post High/Trade/Business	10	3.2
Some College	130	41.0
Graduate College	25	7.9
Post College	33	10.4
TOTAL	317	100.0

TABLE V

Number and Percent of Respondents

According to Occupational Status

N=317

Occupational Status	Number	Percent
Employed	84	26.5
Housewife	97	30.6
Student	116	36.6
Disabled	3	0.9
Retired	12	3.8
Unemployed	5	1.6
TOTAL	317	100.0

category 'student' (36.6%; N=116). Included in this category are both undergraduates and graduate students. Continuing to examine the occupational characteristics of the respondents, it is noted that 26.5 percent of the respondents (N=84) reported full-time employment. An additional 97 respondents (30.6%) were classified as housewives. The remainder of the sample was composed of disabled, retired, and presently unemployed individuals, contributing to 0.9 percent (N=3), 3.8 percent (N=12), and 1.6 percent (N=5), respectively.

Examining Table VI, it is found that the highest proportion of subjects reported an annual family income in excess of $15,000 (30.2%; N=96). In comparison, 49 individuals (15.5%) maintained an annual income under $5,000. The remaining income intervals of $5,000 to $10,000 and $10,000 to $15,000, display nearly equal distributions of respondents, with 26.5 percent or 84 individuals falling into the lower interval, and 88 individuals or 27.8 percent of the sample encountered in the higher interval.

In addition to the above basic demographic variables, the sample was examined with respect to its voluntary association membership. Somewhat consistent with the results of national surveys analyzed by Hyman and Wright (1971), slightly over one-half of the sample (54.9%; N=174) reported no memberships in voluntary associations (Table VII). Of the entire sample of 317 respondents, 143 individuals, or 45.1 percent, indicated that they maintained at

TABLE VI

Number and Percent of Respondents

According to Annual Income

N=317

Annual Income	Number	Percent
Under $5,000	49	15.5
$5,000-$10,000	84	26.5
$10,000-$15,000	88	27.8
Over $15,000	96	30.2
TOTAL	317	100.0

TABLE VII

Number and Percent of Respondents

According to Membership in Voluntary Associations

N=317

Membership in Voluntary Associations	Number	Percent
Member	143	45.1
Non-Member	174	54.9
TOTAL	317	100.0

TABLE VIII

Number and Percent of Respondents

According to Number of Memberships in Voluntary Associations

N=317

Number of Memberships	Number	Percent
None	174	54.9
One	77	24.3
Two	37	11.7
Three	22	6.9
Four	2	0.6
Five	4	1.3
Six	1	0.3
TOTAL	317	100.0

TABLE IX

Number and Percent of Respondents

Retaining Membership in Voluntary Associations

According to Number of Memberships

N=143

Number of Voluntary Association Memberships	Number	Percent
One	77	53.8
Two	37	25.9
Three	22	15.4
Four	2	1.4
Five	4	2.8
Six	1	0.7
TOTAL	143	100.0

least one membership in a voluntary association.

Of those respondents enumerating membership in an association, over one-half reported a single membership only (53.8%; N=77). From Tables VIII and IX we observe that an additional 37 respondents reported two memberships (25.9%), while 22 subjects (15.4%) elicited three affiliations. The number of respondents who belonged to more than three voluntary associations was relatively low: two subjects reported participation in four associations (1.4%), four individuals mentioned five affiliations (2.8%), and one person reported six association memberships (0.7%).

Proposed Analysis

Following the technique employed by Lenski (1954), respondents' index of status crystallization will be computed on the basis of percentile rankings in all three status hierarchies - education, occupation, and income. As some criticism has been raised as to the use of an objective measure of status inconsistency (Blalock and Blalock: 1968), in place of a subjective technique, a cross analysis of ideal compared to actual attainment in each of the status hierarchies will be carried out, employing the Pearson product moment correlation coefficient. An appropriate test of significance will be applied in examination of the hypotheses, with a mandatory level of $p \leq .05$ in effect.

As mentioned earlier, the McClosky and Laumann scales are to be

employed in the determination of political and economic conservatism - liberalism. While both scales have been utilized in previous research and scale reliabilities ascertained, reliability coefficients will be determined as well in this study, executing the familiar formula:

$$r = \frac{k\bar{r}}{1 + (k-1)\bar{r}}$$

where k is the number of items in the scale and $\bar{r}$ is the mean correlation determined from the matrix (Nunnally: 1967:193).

Anticipating the necessity to dichotomize data so as to fulfill minimum cell requirements, the correlation coefficient 'phi', a special case of the product moment correlation coefficient (Nunnally: 1967:118) will be employed in the analysis of data. Incumbent on the use of the correlation coefficient is the necessity to apply the appropriate test of significance. In this case, the statistic to be employed is the t-test. The a priori determined level of $p \leq .05$ will be in effect for acceptance of the hypotheses.

Criteria designed by Babchuk and Gordon (1962) for inclusion of voluntary associations in various typological categories (instrumental, expressive, instrumental-expressive) will be employed here in determining the nature of voluntary association membership. A comparison of consistent and inconsistent respondents' classifications of respective memberships will be carried out, again employing the phi correlation coefficient.

Chapter III

Analysis of Data

Before examining analysis of the data relating to each hypothesis, a short description of the preliminary steps necessary to complete the analysis is offered. Designation of the index of status crystallization and computation of the summated scale scores for both the McClosky and Laumann items will provide for a more precise presentation of the analysis as it was carried out.

Following the procedure employed in the past for the determination of an individual's index of status crystallization, frequency distributions were obtained for each status hierarchy in question, namely, education, occupational prestige, and income. To afford greater comparability of scores on the three hierarchies, alternative ranks were assigned on the basis of the midpoint of the percentile range for each position in a given hierarchy. On the basis of a person's deviation from the mean of his three assigned hierarchy scores, a numerical index of crystallization was computed. For purposes of semantic clarification, the computed index was subtracted from 100, enabling one to speak of persons characterized by low status crystallization as having a low index score, thus permitting a similar comparison with individuals whose statuses were highly crystallized. Realizing the limits placed on analysis conducted with minimal cell frequencies, the index scores were dichotomized. As a natural break in the data was observed at the index level of 70,

all respondents whose crystallization score fell at or below this mark were labeled 'low', or status inconsistent, and all whose score was greater than 70 were labeled 'high' or status consistent. As a result of this dichotomization the sample was divided into approximately one-third status inconsistents and two-thirds status consistents.

Originally, it was our intention to compare ideal and actual indices of status crystallization. However, failure on the part of a large number of respondents to report ideal occupations and/or family incomes rendered this task impossible. Instead, a comparison was made simply of the ideal and actual reports of education, occupation, and income separately. A product moment correlation coefficient of .49 and .44 was revealed for the hierarchies of education and income, respectively (both significant, $p \leq .01$). A modest correlation coefficient of .07 ($p \leq .129$) was found for the variables of ideal and actual occupational prestige. The modesty of this relationship may be attributed to the apparent tendency to 'dream' when asked to suggest an ideal occupation - a housewife with a high school education reported that 'physician' would be her ideal occupation; a business consultant expressed the desire to be a "capitalist peasant". On the basis of the above little may be said as regards the correspondence of the ideal and actual indices of crystallization.

As mentioned previously, the McClosky scale of political conservatism employs a simple additive model. Agreement with each

of the scale items is assigned the value of one while disagreement is alternately scored zero. Consequently, agreement with all nine of the scale items would yield a total scale score of nine, while disagreement with all nine statements, a total scale score of zero. A more detailed breakdown of scoring procedure may be found in Appendix B. Again, in the interests of dichotomization, respondents agreeing with four or fewer items were labeled 'Liberal' while those who responded affirmatively to five or more items were considered as politically 'Conservative' in the present analysis.

A similar procedure was followed for assigning total scores on the Laumann scale of economic liberalism (see Appendix B). Preliminary analysis revealed that the mean scale score for all respondents was slightly over five, and it was decided to consider all respondents whose total scale score was less than or equal to four as 'Liberals' while those who displayed a scale score greater than five were labeled 'Conservative'.

Before further analysis is considered here, some discussion must be offered of the reliability of the two scales under consideration. While both scales displayed some degree of apparent face validity, the reliability of each was somewhat questionable. The McClosky scale of political conservatism revealed a reliability coefficient of .73, based on a sample size of 309.* In contrast,

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*It was necessary to drop eight respondents from the analysis of each individual scale due to failure to respond to a sufficient number of items. In the case of the McClosky scale, total scale scores were computed for individuals completing seven or eight of

analysis of the Laumann scale indicated that the scale was not highly reliable, yielding a coefficient of .37**, again based on a sample size of 309.

With the introduction of status variables further dichotomization became necessary. As a result the variables of education, occupational prestige, and annual family income were dichotomized following the dictates of the mean for each particular status hierarchy.***

Hypothesis I

The first hypothesis to be considered in this analysis is as follows:

> Individuals displaying different configurations of status inconsistency, as measured by differential rankings on the occupation, education, and income hierarchies will differ in their expression of liberal or conservative ideologies as measured on economic and

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the nine items. Subjects who responded to two of the three items employed in the Laumann scale also received a computed scale score. In both cases, scale scores were computed on the basis of the mean response to the items actually completed.

**The low reliability of the Laumann scale and the subsequent effects which this will have on further analysis is recognized. However, it was decided that the intact scale should be employed in further analysis because of its use in prior studies. Omission of a single item would render any further hypotheses testing fruitless.

***Education (Technical school or less = Low; Some College or higher = High); Occupational Prestige (Less than 68 = Low; Greater than 68 = High); Income (Under $10,000 = Low; Over $10,000 = High)

non-economic dimensions.

A test of the above hypothesis demands a comparison and examination of the response patterns of status inconsistent individuals to each of the scales mentioned earlier, the McClosky and Laumann scales.

With reference to Tables X and XI, it may be seen that status inconsistent individuals characterized by high education in conjunction with alternate rankings on the occupation and income hierarchies exhibit, to a slightly greater extent than do inconsistents characterized by low education, a liberal response pattern on the McClosky scale of political conservatism (phi = .08). For example, of the 58 respondents in the high education category, 49 earned a liberal score on the McClosky scale, in contrast to 36 of the 46 respondents in the low education category. By way of comparison we may observe, as shown in Table XI, that highly educated status inconsistents (N=58) respond somewhat more conservatively to the Laumann scale of economic liberalism than do respondents who have had no college experience (phi = -.12). Whereas 40 of the 58 highly educated respondents were conservative according to the Laumann scale, 27 of the 47 inconsistent persons characterized by low education responded conservatively to the same scale. The respective test of significance in each case, however, fails to meet the a priori level of $p \leq .05$.

Examining the effects of occupational prestige, we find no discrepancy in response patterns of status inconsistent individuals

TABLE X

Political Ideology of Status Inconsistent Respondents According to Education

N=104

		Political Ideology	
		Liberal	Conservative
Educational Level	High	49	9
	Low	36	10

Phi = .08

t = .81 (df=102)

TABLE XI

Economic Ideology of Status Inconsistent Respondents According to Education

N=105

		Economic Ideology	
		Liberal	Conservative
Educational Level	High	18	40
	Low	20	27

Phi = -.12

t = -1.22 (df=103)

as elicited by the McClosky and Laumann scales. In both cases there exists a negligible positive relationship between occupational prestige and liberal ideology on both the economic and political dimensions (see Tables XII and XIII; phi = .07 and phi = .05, respectively). To illustrate, of those respondents characterized by high occupational prestige (N=68), 57 responded in the liberal direction on the McClosky scale. Of inconsistent persons whose occupation was of a lower prestige level (N=36), 28 were classified as liberals on the same scale.

Noting the response patterns elicited by the Laumann scale (Table XIII), we observe that 42 of the 68 subjects in the high occupational prestige category responded in a conservative direction to the scale, while 25 of those in the low prestige class (N=37) responded similarly. For both the McClosky scale and the Laumann scale, the t-test did not meet the requirement for statistical significance.

Turning to the effects of annual family income on the solicitation of political and economic ideologies, we again observe contrasting influences, although the effects are somewhat diminished (Tables XIV and XV). For status inconsistents who report an annual family income in excess of $10,000 (N=47), there is a negligible negative relationship between amount of income and the expression of a liberal political ideology (phi = -.02). That is to say, there exists only a minimal tendency for respondents high on the income hierarchy to respond conservatively to the items in the McClosky

TABLE XII

Political Ideology of Status Inconsistent Respondents According to Occupational Prestige

N=104

		Political Ideology	
		Liberal	Conservative
Occupational Prestige Level	High	57	11
	Low	28	8

Phi = .07

t = .74 (df=102)

TABLE XIII

Economic Ideology of Status Inconsistent Respondents According to Occupational Prestige

N=105

		Economic Ideology	
		Liberal	Conservative
Occupational Prestige Level	High	26	42
	Low	12	25

Phi = .05

t = .58 (df=103)

TABLE XIV

Political Ideology of Status Inconsistent Respondents According to Annual Family Income

N=104

		Political Ideology	
		Liberal	Conservative
Income Level	High	38	9
	Low	47	10

Phi = -.02

t = -.21 (df=102)

TABLE XV

Economic Ideology of Status Inconsistent Respondents According to Annual Family Income

N=105

		Economic Ideology	
		Liberal	Conservative
Income Level	High	19	29
	Low	19	38

Phi = .06

t = .66 (df=103)

scale. Of those respondents who qualify for the high income category, 38 responded liberally to the McClosky scale. In comparison, of the 57 individuals whose income was under $10,000 annually, 47 responded to the scale in a liberal manner.

Comparatively, we note (Table XV) that a slight positive association (phi = .06) is evident between the presence of high family income and the tendency to express a liberal economic ideology as measured by the Laumann scale. Persons characterized by high income who responded to the Laumann scale in a conservative sense numbered 29 of the 48 respondents in the high income bracket. Of those persons with incomes less than $10,000 annually (N=57), 38 were placed in the conservative category. Neither of the correlation coefficients reported above was statistically significant.

From the evidence cited above we may conclude that virtually no relationship exists between the particular configuration of status inconsistency and the predisposal to specific ideologies of economic and political liberalism or conservatism. Confirmation or acceptance of the first hypothesis under consideration here cannot be made as the respective tests of significance did not meet the *a priori* level of .05.

Hypothesis II

As stated in the previous chapter, the second hypothesis maintains that:

> Status inconsistent individuals characterized by high education, in combination with different rankings on occupation and income, will tend to be liberal on the non-economic dimension to a greater extent than individuals characterized by low education.

In essence, Hypothesis II suggests that status inconsistent individuals whose absence of status crystallization is in part indicated by a high ranking on the education hierarchy, in combination with incompatible rankings on the income and/or occupation hierarchies, will be predisposed to the avowal of a liberal political ideology to a greater extent than will those status inconsistent persons whose education ranking is relatively lower. Only modest support is evidenced for the acceptance of this hypothesis, as indicated by a correlation coefficient of .08 (see Table XVI).

Of the 58 inconsistent respondents with high education, 49 achieved a scale score categorized as liberal. Subjects characterized by low education and responding to the scale in a liberal fashion numbered 36, while those classified as conservative numbered ten. In light of the relative weakness of the coefficient in conjunction with the appropriate test of significance, we failed to accept the second hypothesis generated in this study.

TABLE XVI

Political Ideology of Status Inconsistent Respondents According to Education

N=104

		Political Ideology	
		Liberal	Conservative
Education Level	High	49	9
	Low	36	10

Phi = .08

t = .81 (df=102)

Hypothesis III

Similar in nature to the previous hypothesis stated, the third relationship under consideration states that:

> Status inconsistent individuals characterized by high income, in combination with different rankings on occupation and education, will tend to be conservative on the economic dimension to a greater extent than individuals characterized by low income.

Examining the association displayed in Table XVII, we find that, in fact, there is some evidence to support the converse of Hypothesis III as stated above. A correlation coefficient of -.06 suggests that status inconsistent individuals characterized by high income, in combination with different configurations of education and occupation, failed to display the tendency to express a conservative economic ideology as elicited by the Laumann scale of economic liberalism. Of the status inconsistent individuals with low annual income (N=57), 19 achieved a liberal score on the scale while 38 attained a conservative score. In contrast, of the 48 inconsistent respondents with high annual incomes, 19 were recorded as liberal on the Laumann scale while 29 responded in a conservative fashion. In summary, the correlation coefficient and its accompanying test of significance suggest that the hypothesis cannot be accepted.

TABLE XVII

Economic Ideology of Status Inconsistent Respondents

According to Annual Family Income

N=105

		Economic Ideology	
		Liberal	Conservative
Income Level	Low	19	38
	High	19	29

Phi = -.06

t = -.66 (df=103)

Hypothesis IV

> Status inconsistent individuals are more likely than status consistent individuals to perceive their membership in voluntary associations as instrumental in nature, regardless of the actual nature of the association itself.

In order to test the nature of the relationship hypothesized above, a comparison was made of the instrumental associations reported by inconsistent respondents with those mentioned by subjects who were labeled status consistent. To obtain the type of association under consideration, responses to the statements adopted from the work of Jacoby and Babchuk (1963) were used.

A preliminary analysis of association membership revealed that of the 105 respondents classified as status inconsistent, 50 percent (N=52) reported membership in at least one voluntary association, while the remaining 53 respondents reported no affiliation. In contrast, 43 percent of respondents whose index of crystallization was high reported membership in voluntary associations (N=91), while 57 percent (N=121) of the consistent persons reported no affiliation (see Table XVIII).

Due to the failure to satisfy minimum cell frequency requirements, it was necessary to collapse the respondents' categorization of instrumental or instrumental-expressive associations into one category. From Table XIX we see that little support is generated for acceptance of the hypothesis under consideration. Of the 141 voluntary association memberships enumerated by consistent respondents, 115 were classified

TABLE XVIII

Membership in Voluntary Associations

According to Index of Crystallization

N=317

		Voluntary Association Membership	
		Member	Non-Member
Index of Crystallization	Low	52 (50.0%)	53 (50.0%)
	High	91 (43.0%)	121 (57.0%)

TABLE XIX

Type of Voluntary Association Membership

According to Index of Crystallization

N=231

		Type of Voluntary Association	
		Expressive	Instrumental
Index of Crystallization	High	26	115
	Low	20	70

Phi = -.05

t = -.05 (df=229)

by the respondents as instrumental while 52 associations were perceived as expressive. Comparatively, we note that inconsistent respondents classified 70 of their total 90 memberships as instrumental and 20 as expressive. A correlation coefficient of -.05 was not statistically significant at the a priori level of .05, causing rejection of the hypothesis as stated.

Chapter IV

Summary and Interpretation of Findings

The effects of status interactions on several hierarchies of evaluation have attracted the attention of sociologists for a number of decades. Relying initially on the diagnostic power of each status dimension apart from any other status indicators, researchers sought to attribute peculiarities in behavior to the influence of, for example, educational attainment or the prestige factors associated with a particular occupation. The work of Max Weber suggests, perhaps, the undue credit which was attributed to one's economic position as the sole determinant of life style and adopted conventions. While Weber was cognizant of the considerable influence which market factors maintained in determining position in the social order, he was aware, as well, of the significance of non-economic issues. Both issues, the definition of market situation and the concept of 'Stand', were catalytic agents in the establishment of life style.

The work of Weber notwithstanding, few sociologists until recently have fully recognized the consequences of the possible interactive effects of relative position in each status hierarchy. To speak of interaction implies something greater than the summed influence of, for example, education, occupation, and income. In addition, there is thought to exist a composite influence which embraces the residual effect of positions on each status dimension. In an

attempt to incorporate this composite resultant into the research of sociologists, Gerhard Lenski (1954) proposed the concept of status crystallization. In effect, crystallization purports to encompass the interactive factor of various status positions as well as the net influence of the particular status rankings. Originally, Lenski introduced the measure of status crystallization in an attempt to elucidate the differential effects of various status positions on political behavior and, in particular, on the advocation of liberalism.

Acknowledging the capacity of the concept to adequately depict the incongruence of status dimensions, a number of authors attempted to explore the use of crystallization, anticipating the expansion of the tool's power. While some elected to continue research in the shadow of Lenski's initial work (Goffman: 1957; Rush: 1967; Segal: 1969; Broom and Jones: 1970), others employed the concept in more innovative ways (Jackson: 1962; Jackson and Burke: 1965; Eitzen and Bair: 1971).

Pursuing the primary course set by Lenski, Goffman (1957) investigated the demand on the part of status inconsistents for a redistribution of power in the social structure. Addressing himself to the contrast of ideal and actual power distributions, Goffman requested that respondents rank the existing and favored positions of state government, labor unions, big business, etc.. His findings provided further support for Lenski's initial thesis, namely, that individuals whose degree of status consistency was

slight favored a redistribution in the existing power structure. This finding was conditioned, however, by the observation that inconsistent respondents characterized by high occupational prestige displayed a greater propensity to the redistribution of power than those whose occupational prestige was lower.

A further attempt to confirm the utility of the concept of status crystallization was made by Rush (1967). Generalizing the theoretical notions offered by Lenski, Rush suggested a possible relationship between status inconsistency and political extremism, both extremism of the left and the right. While his findings supported the hypothesized relationship between inconsistency and right-wing extremism, Rush suggested a more inclusive conclusion, alluding to the attraction which any form of extremism may hold for status inconsistents.

Whereas Goffman (1957) and Rush (1967) confine their investigations to the realm of attitudes, Segal (1969) narrowed his study of status inconsistency to an examination of projected political preference. Still, he was primarily concerned with the nature of pressures which bear upon status inconsistent individuals and the alternative routes which they may select in the alleviation of such pressures.

Selecting an alternative avenue of investigation, Jackson (1962) and Jackson and Burke (1965) inspected the nature of the alleged pressures to which a status inconsistent person is subject. Employing a specially designed scale, they sought to measure the actual level

of pressure or symptoms of stress experienced by the respondents. They concluded that discrepancies between high ascribed and low achieved statuses were of particular importance as regards the manifestation of stress symptoms. More importantly, however, Jackson and his associate noted the contribution of status crystallization, independent of status ranks, to observed differences in level of stress.

Eitzen and Bair (1971) chose to explore the relationship between status inconsistency and schizophrenia. In so doing they concluded that status inconsistency may be a result of schizophrenia. Specifically, they noted that schizophrenic individuals were most frequently characterized by high education - low occupation inconsistency. While they did not examine the actual work history of their subjects, they suggested that the presence of downward social mobility (along the occupational dimension) may be a consequence of the schizophrenic condition and thus precipitate a situation of status inconsistency. More importantly, however, the nature of their findings suggests the importance of the direction of inconsistency in evoking differential response patterns.

Adopting the major tenet of Lenski's initial study (1954), namely, that status inconsistent individuals are predisposed to the expression of liberal political ideologies, the present study attempted to further specify the reactive tendencies of status inconsistent individuals in terms of the specific status configurations operative and the avowal of liberal economic and

and political ideologies. The independent work of, among others, Rush (1967), and Kelly and Chambliss (1966), who speak to the issue of the importance of education in determining political attitudes, was also incorporated into the research.

In the attempt to adequately test the relationships suggested by the above literature, the following hypotheses were generated:

I. Individuals displaying different configurations of status inconsistency, as measured by differential rankings on the occupation, education, and income hierarchies will differ in their expression of liberal or conservative ideologies as measured on economic and non-economic dimensions.

II. Status inconsistent individuals characterized by high education, in combination with different rankings on occupation and income, will tend to be liberal on the non-economic dimension to a greater extent than individuals characterized by low education.

III. Status inconsistent individuals characterized by high income, in combination with different rankings on occupation and education, will tend to be conservative on the economic dimension to a greater extent than individuals characterized by low income.

In addition to the above, further refinement of the suggested alternative response to a situation of status inconsistency - membership in voluntary associations - was examined. Specifically, if membership in voluntary associations may be assumed as a response to status inconsistency, then, it was suggested, the following hypothesis would hold:

IV. Status inconsistent individuals are more likely than status consistent individuals to

> perceive their membership in voluntary associations as instrumental in nature, regardless of the actual nature of the association itself.

To examine the above hypotheses, a sample of 317 respondents was generated employing a telephone survey to administer questionnaires. Respondents were requested to supply information concerning various status dimensions as well as any memberships which they held in voluntary associations. In addition, previously designed scales of political conservatism and economic liberalism were incorporated into the interview schedule. The former, McClosky's scale, was a nine item additive model, while the latter, Laumann's scale, consisted of three items only.

The necessity to collapse data into dichotomous categories rendered use of the phi correlation coefficient (a special modification of the Pearson product moment correlation coefficient) most convenient. The t-test of significance was utilized to ascertain the plausibility of accepting or rejecting the hypotheses as stated. Execution of the data analytic technique just described failed to show support for any of the hypothesized relationships. At best, only modest correlation coefficients were revealed, none of which were significant at the a priori designated level of .05. Such findings necessitate a reexamination of the research procedure adopted in an attempt to offer some reconciliation of past findings with present results.

Recognizing the low reliabilities of the scales employed in this study, there does exist the possibility that, in fact, the scales failed to tap the dimensions of economic liberalism and political conservatism as they have been designed to do. Researchers in the past, most notably Lenski (1954), have employed a situation specific technique to categorize individuals on the basis of political liberalism. That is, stated preference for the Democratic party, and in particular, voting records in past presidential and state elections, have constituted the major criteria for allocation of respondents into liberal and conservative categories. In contrast, the scale employed herein presumes to tap the rather diffuse nature of conservatism (McClosky: 1958), as expressed in the writings of traditionalists (for example, Edmund Burke or Andrew Hacker). The cogency of using a situation specific technique is suggested by Segal (1969) in his examination of individual political preference during the months directly preceding the presidential election of 1960. He notes the peculiarity of cross pressures incumbent upon Catholic voters during that election year and suggests, in general, the importance of relevant issues which may be situationally specific. What is suggested is the possible confusion which may accrue from attempts to expand specific feelings into the more general realm of major ideologies. The use of more general scales to tap the dimensions of political and economic liberalism may have contributed to the failure to show support for the hypotheses concerning status inconsistency and these two dimensions.

The rural setting in which the research was conducted may have contributed, to some extent, to the findings reported earlier. For the most part, the sample may be described in terms of college affiliated subjects and individuals who had no connection with either of the institutions of higher learning in the area. The large number of students sampled may have had a subtle effect on the data generated as well. The actual comparison of inconsistent and consistent individuals may, in fact, rest simply on the distinction between those respondents maintaining ties with the university or college and those who do not.

The inclusion of achieved status hierarchies only, in contrast to the conflicting states of achieved and ascribed status, may have altered the results of the study as well. In the majority of the studies conducted earlier, the status dimension of race has been included. The decision to exclude this dimension from the present study was dictated by the small black population present in the area (under 5 percent as reported in 1970 Census of the Population for Virginia). Segal (1969), Segal and Knoke (1968), Geschwender (1967), and Mitchell (1964), among others, note the importance of status visibility in determining the extent to which the effects of status inconsistency materialize. Mitchell (1964), especially, argues that, indeed, responses heretofore attributed to the interaction effects of low status crystallization may be solely the manifestation of pressures emanating from racial inequalities. This possibility, in light of the present findings, cannot be further investigated

because of failure to include questions designed to elicit this information in the interview schedule.

Geschwender (1967), recalling Homans' Theory of Distributive Justice, suggests the cogency of incongruities in investments and rewards as contributing to the manifestation of feelings of inconsistency. Isolating the variables of education and ethnicity as demonstrative of the investment system, and income and occupation, of the reward system, Geschwender posits a variation of response patterns dependent on the nature of the investment-reward pattern. Again, however, the permanency of the ethnicity dimension influences the adoption of a particular response or solution to the problem of inconsistency. For example, Geschwender notes that status inconsistent persons characterized by low status on the ethnicity dimension cannot resolve this inconsistency through channels of vertical mobility and this fact excludes mobility as a possible response to or cure for their status incongruence.

Offering an alternative explanation for the importance of status visibility, Segal and Knoke (1968) highlight the relevance of distinctions between class of destination and class of origin in an attempt to examine the role of social mobility in the lives of status inconsistents. Specifically, they contend that an individual's father's status becomes an ascribed element of one's own status configuration.

Further support for the increased salience of ascribed statuses is generated by Laumann and Segal (1971). In particular, they

conclude, on the basis of their findings, that within ethnoreligious groups there may exist differences in expression of political and economic attitudes, but that generalizations across these barriers are theoretically unsound.

The lack of association demonstrated by the test of Hypothesis IV may be attributed, to some degree, to the measure employed to ascertain type of membership, and the general nature of the associations under consideration. While the proportion of respondents participating in associations was high, a sizeable number of these associations were professional or quasi-professional in nature (by quasi-professional is implied affiliation of college students with the clubs established by their major departments, e.g., Biology Club).

While the questions employed in this study were designed to explore the respondent's perception of the nature of his organization, only one of three possible sets of questions was included. In addition to the notion of internal or external ends, the aspect explored in this study, there also exists the consideration of immediate as opposed to postponed or delayed gratification on the part of an association member. As well, there is the concern with the nature of organizational activities and the question of who the organization is attempting to satisfy or influence (Jacoby and Babchuk: 1963). As all three aspects are concerned with the individual's perception of the manner in which the association functions, inclusion of the entire scale may have permitted an internal examination of the consistency of this perception. Nevertheless, the data in this study

did not support the contention that status inconsistent individuals were more likely than consistent individuals to perceive their membership in voluntary associations as instrumental in nature.

With specific reference to the contention that voluntary association membership may function as an alternative response to the condition of status inconsistency, it must be emphasized that the findings of this study do not compose an adequate basis for the rejection of this possibility. The mere response to a set of statements does not appear to properly examine the motivation behind the decision to seek membership in an association. Moreover, only slight attention has been given to the nature of individual participation in an association.

It can be argued that further investigation of the relationships purported to exist is demanded prior to the rejection of the tenets set forth in this study. That is to say, we cannot dismiss the possibility that status inconsistent individuals express different political and economic ideologies, contingent on the nature of their status incongruities. There is some reason to suspect that specific situations may precipitate such reactions. This study, in contrast, sought to explore the more general nature of political and economic liberalism. In addition, voluntary association membership may not be excluded from the realm of possible alternative responses to status inconsistency until a more thorough investigation is made of the nature of affiliations of status consistent and inconsistent persons.

In conclusion, it may be suggested that incorporation of more reliable scales for the measurement of economic and political liberalism, as well as questions designed to insure congruity of attitudes and behavior, be mandatory revisions in future research attempts. By such inclusion conflicting findings regarding situation specific and more general attitudes may be resolved. An examination of the contrasting effects of achieved and ascribed statuses also should be made. Finally, removal of the research study from the confines of a rural setting may contribute to the clarification of a rather indeterminant situation.

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Appendix A

Interview Schedule

Status Inconsistency Survey

Interview Number ___ ___ ___

Hello, I am _____, a graduate student at VPI. We are conducting a survey on clubs and social organizations. What I'd like to know is whether or not you belong to any clubs or social groups or organizations. Now, these can be local clubs, groups organized at the state level, or even nationally organized groups.

Do you hold membership in any clubs or organizations?

___Yes

___No

___Refused

Name of the organization _____

___Does not apply

___Expressive

___Instrumental

___Instrumental-Expressive

___Refused

Do you attend their meetings?

___Does not apply

___Yes

___No

___Refused

Do you make financial contributions to the organization?

___Does not apply

___Yes

___No

___Refused

Are you a member of any of the organization's committees?

___Does not apply

___Yes

___No

___Refused

Do you hold any offices?

___Does not apply

___Yes

___No

___Refused

Which of the following two statements best represents your organization?

1. The activities of the group in which I take part are valuable in and for themselves. I do these things just for the sake of doing them. I do not expect to achieve any other purpose. (Expressive)

2. The reason why I participate in the activities of this group is that the group seeks to bring about goals which I consider to be desirable. I participate in this organization because it attempts to accomplish purposes for which I stand. (Instrumental)

3. Both of the above. (Instrumental-Expressive)

___Does not apply

___Expressive

___Instrumental

___Instrumental-Expressive

___Refused

What is the greatest advantage to you in belonging to this organization? _____

_____

___Does not apply

___Fellowship with others

___Contact with others like me

___Member benefits

___Services provided to others

___Elected member

___Refused

Total number of organizational memberships

___None

___One

___Two

___Three

___Four

___Five

___Six

Index of Participation ___ ___ ___

Now I wonder if I might get your reaction to a number of statements. I will read a sentence and then I'd like you to say whether you agree or disagree with the statement. Do you understand what I'm asking you to do?

If you start trying to change things very much, you usually make them worse.

___Agree

___Disagree

___Don't Know

___Refused

No matter how we like to talk about it, political authority comes not from us, but from some higher power.

___Agree

___Disagree

___Don't Know

___Refused

It's better to stick by what you have than to be trying new things you don't really know about.

___Agree

___Disagree

___Don't Know

___Refused

A man doesn't really get to have much wisdom until he's well along in years.

___Agree

___Disagree

___Don't Know

___Refused

I prefer the practical man any time to the man of ideas.

___Agree

___Disagree

___Don't Know

___Refused

If something grows over a long time, there will always be much wisdom in it.

___Agree

___Disagree

___Don't Know

___Refused

I'd want to know that something would really work before I'd be willing to take a chance on it.

___Agree

___Disagree

___Don't Know

___Refused

All groups can live in harmony in this country without changing the system in any way.

___Agree

___Disagree

___Don't Know

___Refused

We must respect the work of our forefathers and not think that we know better than they did.

___Agree

___Disagree

___Don't Know

___Refused

In addition, I'd like to ask you a couple of other questions.

I'm going to read to you two statements and I'd like you to tell me with which one you come closer to agreeing.

1. While they do make some mistakes, on the whole labor unions are doing more good than harm.

2. Although we need labor unionism in this country, the way they are run now they do more harm than good.

___Agree with one

___Agree with two

___Don't Know

___Refused

Again, I'd like to read two statements and then ask you to tell me with which one you come closer to agreeing.

1. The most important job for the government is to make it certain that there are good opportunities for each person to get ahead on his own.

2. The most important job for the government is to make sure every person has a decent and steady job and standard of living.

___Agree with one

___Agree with two

___Don't Know

___Refused

In strikes and disputes between working people and employers, do you usually side with the workers or with the employers?

___Workers

___Employers

___Neither

___Don't Know

___Refused

For you to gain the most from your life situation, how much education do you feel you would need?

___Don't Know

___Some grade school

___Finish grade school

___Some high school

___Finish high school

___Post high/trade/business

___Some college

___Graduate college

___Post college

___Refused

...What occupation would you choose?

_____

_____

(Transform to NORC prestige level)

___

___

...What income would you want?

___Under $5,000

___$5,000 - $10,000

___$10,000 - $15,000

___Over $15,000

___Can't put in monetary terms

___Refused

Which do you consider to be the most important to you - education, occupation, or income?

___Education

___Occupation

___Income

___Education and Occupation

___Education and Income

___Income and Occupation

___Don't Know

___Refused

Which do you consider to be the least important to you - education, occupation, or income?

___Education

___Occupation

___Income

___Education and Occupation

___Education and Income

___Income and Occupation

___Don't Know

___Refused

I'm going to ask a few questions for purposes of classification.

Are you married?

___Married

___Single

___Divorced

___Separated

___Widowed

___Refused

If married: Are there children in your family?

___Does not apply

___Yes

___No

___Refused

If so: How many?

___None

___One

___Two

___Three

___Four

___Five

___Six

___Seven or more

___Does not apply

___Refused

What is your approximate age? ARE YOU...

___Under 25

___25-34

___35-44

___45-54

___55-64

___65 or over

___Refused

What was the last grade of school you completed?

___Don't Know

___Some grade school

___Finish grade school

___Some high school

___Finish high school

___Post high/trade/business

___Some College

___Graduate college

___Post college

___Refused

Are you employed?

___Employed

___Housewife

___Student

___Disabled

___Retired

___Unemployed

What type of work do you do?_____

For what firm?_____

(Transform to NORC prestige level)

___

___

Is your husband/wife employed?

___Employed

___Housewife

___Student

___Disabled

___Retired

___Unemployed

___Deceased

___Does not apply

What type of work does he/she do?_____

For what firm?_____

(Transform to NORC prestige level)

___

___

For the past year was your (Family) income over or under $10,000?

___Over $10,000 ___Under $10,000

Was it over or under $15,000 Was it over or under $5,000

___Over $15,000

___Under $15,000

___Over $5,000

___Under $5,000

___Under $5,000

___$5,000 - $10,000

___$10,000 - $15,000

___Over $15,000

___Don't Know

___Refused

Sex of Respondent

___Male

___Female

Listing Number

___

___

___

Deck Number

1

Appendix B

McClosky's Scale of Conservatism

1. If you start trying to change things very much, you usually make them worse.

2. No matter how we like to talk about it, political authority really comes not from us, but from some higher power.

3. It's better to stick by what you have than to be trying new things you don't really know about.

4. A man doesn't really get to have much wisdom until he's well along in years.

5. I prefer the practical man any time to the man of ideas.

6. If something grows up over a long time, there will always be much wisdom in it.

7. I'd want to know that something would really work before I'd be willing to take a chance on it.

8. All groups can live in harmony in this country without changing the system in any way.

9. We must respect the work of our forefathers and not think that we know better than they did.

Respondents are asked simply to agree or disagree with each of the nine items in the scale. Rating is as follows:

Agree with 7 to 9 statements - Extreme Conservative
Agree with 5 to 6 statements - Moderate Conservative
Agree with 3 to 4 statements - Moderate Liberal
Agree with 0 to 2 statements - Extreme Liberal

SOURCE: Herbert McClosky. "Conservatism and Personality", American Political Science Review, 52 (March, 1958), 27-45.

Laumann's Scale of Economic Liberalism

1. With which of these two statements do you come closer to agreeing?

   a. While they do make some mistakes, on the whole labor unions are doing more good than harm.

   b. Although we need labor unionism in this country, the way they are run now they do more harm than good.

2. With which of these two statements do you come closer to agreeing?

   a. The most important job for the government is to make it certain that there are good opportunities for each person to get ahead on his own.

   b. The most important job for the government is to make sure every person has a decent and steady job and standard of living.

3. In strikes and disputes between working people and employers, do you usually side with the workers or with the employers?

   a. Workers

   b. Employers

Each item's answers are divided into two parts - a favorable answer and an unfavorable answer. The answers are assigned an arbitrary weighting, depending on their relationship to liberalism or conservatism.

SOURCE: Edward O. Laumann. Prestige and Association in an Urban Community, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., Indianapolis, 1966.

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VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP AS A RESIDUAL OF STATUS INCONSISTENCY

by

Susan S. Ward

(ABSTRACT)

The concept of status crystallization (Lenski: 1954) considers, simultaneously, the influence which status rankings on the education, occupation, and income hierarchies exert on the individual. Incongruent rankings on various status dimensions are thought to predispose an individual to a number of select reactions, most notably, the expression of political extremism and the desire for social change. In addition, past research suggests that voluntary association membership may serve as an integrative mechanism at both the social psychological and the sociological levels. The relationship between the nature of the status inconsistency experienced and the expression of liberal and/or conservative political and economic ideologies was examined, with the expectation that educational level would be the most crucial determinant of political ideology and income, of economic ideology. As well, the nature of the relationship between membership in instrumental voluntary associations and status inconsistency was investigated.

Structured interviews were administered to respondents via telephone communication. The McClosky scale of conservatism (1958)

and the Laumann scale of economic liberalism (1966) were employed to determine the relationship between the type of inconsistency experienced and the expression of liberal or conservative ideologies.

Analysis of the data failed to reveal statistically significant results. The relationship between inconsistency and the expression of an extreme ideology was not altered when the nature of the inconsistency was examined. As well, there was no difference between status consistent and inconsistent respondents with respect to the number of instrumental voluntary association memberships reported.