

Oberlin

Digital Commons at Oberlin

Honors Papers

Student Work

1964

Social Stratification and Political Behavior: An Emphasis upon Structural Dynamics

Christopher Bates Doob
Oberlin College

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.oberlin.edu/honors>



Part of the [Sociology Commons](#)

Repository Citation

Doob, Christopher Bates, "Social Stratification and Political Behavior: An Emphasis upon Structural Dynamics" (1964). *Honors Papers*. 764.

<https://digitalcommons.oberlin.edu/honors/764>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Work at Digital Commons at Oberlin. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Papers by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons at Oberlin. For more information, please contact megan.mitchell@oberlin.edu.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR:
AN EMPHASIS UPON STRUCTURAL DYNAMICS

by

Christopher Bates Doob

A.B., Oberlin College, 1962

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Oberlin College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Sociology

1964

Preface

There are a number of people whose assistance has made this project possible. Without their aid I literally would have been unable to complete this thesis and obtain my degree.

My profoundest acknowledgment goes to Dr. Kiyoshi Ikeda, whose knowledge of theory and methodology literally shaped this project. The influence of Professors Richard R. Myers, George E. Simpson, J. Milton Yinger, and Donald P. Warwick is also evident at various points throughout this work.

Mr. Thomas Bauer, Dr. Leonard Doob, Miss Nancy Durham, and Miss June Wright have given valuable assistance at different stages of the process.

Christopher B. Doob

Oberlin College

June 1964

Table of Contents

	Page
Preface	ii
I. Introduction	
The Problem	1
An Historical Approach to the Dynamics of Social Stratification	2
Broad Sociological Propositions Concerning Social Mobility	3
Empirical Studies	4
Status Crystallization	6
Static Structural Variables in This Study	7
Some Observations on Voting Behavior	11
The Hypotheses	12
II. Methodology	
The Sample	17
The Major Independent Variables	18
Intermediate Variables	25
The Dependent Variables	26
A Concluding Note	28
III. Description of the Findings	
The Relationship of Mobility, Class, and Intermediate Variables to Liberalism-Conservatism	30
The Intermediate Variables	31
Status Crystallization, Class, and Liberalism- Conservatism	34

III. Description of the Findings (continued)	
Social Mobility, Class, and Items of Political Opinion	35
Social Mobility and Items of Knowledge	37
Associational Measures	40
IV. Detailed Interpretation and Analysis of the Data	
The Importance of Situs	48
The Interpretation of the Mobility Variable	50
Analysis of Status Crystallization	53
Intervening Variables Related to Liberalism-Conservatism	58
Explanation of Opinion and Knowledge Relationships	59
Summary of the Findings and Interpretations	61
Some Final Remarks Concerning the Interpretation of the Data	65
V. Conclusion	
Personal Benefit from This Study	70
Questionnaire versus Interview	71
Sample Considerations	71
Refinement of the Different Variables	72
Sociological Gains from a Study of Social Mobility and Crystallization	
(a) Marginality	75
(b) Research and Theory	75
(c) The conventional variable of class	76
(d) Interdisciplinary Benefit	77
(e) Application of the Research	77
Appendixes	80
Bibliography	102

Chapter I

Introduction

The Problem

The interrelationship of social stratification factors* and political institutions is a frequent problem of interest to social scientists. In studies of the relationship between political behavior and social stratification, there are numerous analyses of location or rank in the stratification system and their effects on political behavior. There also are studies on the relationship between social mobility, status crystallization,** and political behavior. The interaction between mobility, crystallization, and politics has been alluded to throughout the literature, but there appear to be few systematic propositions or theories about this area. We can examine this problem in the works of learned men of many disciplines.

Status crystallization is an individual's consistency in rank for several status dimensions, specifically occupation, education, ethnicity, religion, and income.

* Social stratification is the relative position of ranks, and their distribution found within a society.

** Social Mobility for the purposes of this study concerns the comparative social rank between a father and his son.

An Historical Approach to the Dynamics of Social Stratification

The historical studies of extremist movements provide an interesting application of these basic concepts. An analysis of American extremism begins with Populism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This development centered about the good and pure agricultural life and bemoaned the advent of industrialism. The leaders of the Populist movement had decreased in personal prestige and power at the advent of industrialism.¹ Progressivism, which gained strength in the early twentieth century, was commanded by lawyers and clergymen whose importance had declined with the industrial revolution.

In the fifties, McCarthyism contained many of the appeals of the earlier movements. There appear to be two basic sources for its support. First, McCarthyism was joined by the insecure, mobile families who were trying to rise in status and wished to demonstrate their national loyalty. Lipset notes that immigrants coming to the United States and wanting to be Americanized have overidentified with national patriotism and become leading critics of "un-American" behavior.² Secondly, this movement gave insecure groups like the D.A.R. a chance to enhance their fading prestige by attacking a popular public enemy.³

The John Birch Movement, that currently persists, is supported by "dispossessed" individuals also. Corporation and big business men have lost much of their prestige because of labor's powerful upsurge. In addition, Birchism receives some military backing since some officers are being dispossessed of their former, prominent role in military planning.⁴

The marginal position of the leaders of these social movements illustrates the importance of the dynamic aspects of stratification in the American political process. We shall now be more specific and deal with social mobility and political attitudes.

Broad Sociological Propositions Concerning Social Mobility

Sorokin has discussed the general orientation produced by social mobility. The implication clearly seems to be that general liberality will result because of the greater flexibility of attitude produced by a large number of social contacts. His hypotheses are generally founded on the belief that the socially mobile have more relations with people, greater opportunity for observations, and thus a comparatively large number of attitudinal influences. A list of his suppositions follows: Mobility produces behavior that is more plastic and versatile, reduces narrowmindedness and idiosyncrasies, increases mental strain, facilitates inventions and discoveries, leads to an increase of mental diseases, increases superficiality, decreases sensitivity of the nervous system, favors skepticism, diminishes intimacy, increases psychosocial isolation and loneliness of individuals, increases suicide, sensual desires, restlessness, and disintegration of morals.⁵

Mannheim's discussion of marginality conveys some of the same ideas. The German sociologist feels that the perspective attained by those who are not closely affiliated with any group gives them more opportunity for creativity than most people have.⁶ Tumin, on the other

hand, has a general orientation that directly opposes the Mannheim-Sorokin view. He notes that anomie, the "diffusion of insecurity," results from rapid social mobility. Neither the time nor the opportunity exists to become absorbed in traditional responsibilities and rights. In addition, basing one's criteria of worthiness mainly on wealth is an additional cause for insecurity, since there are always wealthier people, and finances are in constant flux.⁷

Bendix corroborates Tumin's proposition with a specific example. It seems that a settled society can deal more readily with arrivistes than an unsettled one, since their higher echelons feel more secure in their respective positions. Thus consistent with this proposition, Jews are more readily accepted by British than American upper classes.⁸

Empirical Studies

Several studies suggest that social mobility will produce a conservative attitude on civil rights matters. Greenblum and his associates have done one of the few analyses on the relationship of social mobility to prejudice. The authors indicate that mobility, in either direction, leads to greater intolerance than the maintenance of a static position. Stereotyping, fear of power, and residential exclusiveness result from insecurity and a desire to widen social distance from the lower groups.⁹

Silberstein and Seeman have refined these conclusions. The

authors devised a scale of twenty items to differentiate between individuals who were motivated toward occupational mobility and those who would not direct themselves as wholeheartedly toward this goal. Their findings indicated that this distinction was a very important one. Over-all, there appeared to be no relationship between the actual state of upward social mobility and prejudices toward Negroes and Jews. However, when the distinction between the subjectively mobile and nonmobile was made, the former group was consistently more prejudiced.¹⁰

In line with his general observations that have been discussed above, Tumin gives specific documentation to the relationship between social mobility and conservatism. Thus, he found that anomie accompanying mobility as well as a sense of subjective mobility were statistically related to prejudice.¹¹

Wilensky and Edwards have observed that there is a differential maintenance of conservative ideology* among the downwardly mobile, known as "skidders." A section of their analysis is very much in line with the reference group orientation that will be used throughout the present research. The authors note that when an individual feels that he is succeeding in life, then his orientation will become very conservative. Thus one would expect that the old work-bound skidder, who sees mobility in the near future, will develop conservative values while the young

* In this case, a conservative outlook would mean support of big business and the free enterprise system, that is economic conservatism.

work-bound skidder, whose mobility is quite distant, will maintain the worker's ideology.¹²

Maccoby employs a similar reference group perspective to explain party affiliation. Generally the upwardly mobile are more likely to be Republican than the class from which they have come. Downwardly mobile subjects are more apt to be Republican than both the class which they enter and their class of origin. Thus those who move upward try to seek identification in the elevated class; on the other hand, the downwardly mobile try to retain vestiges of their past.¹³

Status Crystallization

Lenski has been concerned with what, for all respects, is the association of a compartmentalized social mobility variable to political attitudes. Status crystallization or status consistency concerns five factors, namely religion, ethnicity, occupation, education, and income. This investigator has developed careful scales for ranking these different items. He found that on such questions as party affiliation, price control, government-sponsored health insurance, and general extension of government power that individuals with low status crystallization were considerably more liberal (to .05 degree of significance or lower).¹⁴

In a later article Lenski developed the earlier theme. The author derived the idea that withdrawal will be a symptom of the low status crystallization since by such a method painful social contacts will be avoided. Low participation in voluntary organizations, high

tendency to remove oneself from the voluntary organizations to which one belongs, and participation in voluntary organizations primarily for non-social reasons are logical portions of the secondary hypothesis. These suppositions were substantiated by Lenski's data, in particular the third derivative. Thus, people with poorly crystallized status were much less likely to report sociable motivations for associational membership than those with high status crystallization. These findings were significant to the .02 level.¹⁵

Lenski seems to be pursuing the Sorokin-Mannheim theme. Diversity leads to a multiplicity of social contacts and thus a flexible, liberal approach. In addition, there is the psychological implication that people will seek status consistency, that is they will attempt to remove the dissonance produced by occupying different ranks for various statuses.

Static Structural Variables in This Study

The entire concern in this paper does not focus upon these dynamic structural categories. A number of static variables are also important in this study. These factors are significant since they indicate possible reference groups for the individual. One of these variables is situs, that is, a classification of occupations that are at a similar socio-economic level.

Murphy and Morris present a general discussion of the situs dimension. The authors believe that occupational situs, the general

socio-economic level of an occupation, is closely correlated with subjective class interpretation and party affiliation. The authors suggest that the situs factor represents a much more precise test of occupational influence than a mere social class analysis. The following statistical evidence indicates the correlation of situs to party affiliation, with class controlled. In the middle class, Republican representation is seventy-two per cent in commerce, sixty-six per cent in finance and records, fifty-six per cent in manufacturing, and forty-two per cent in building and maintenance. Among working class individuals the respective breakdowns are fifty-four, thirty-six, twenty-six, twenty, and twenty-five. The chi-square value is significant at $p < .01$.¹⁶

The authors are uncertain about structural explanations for situs differences. They supply four rather indefinite explanations: the effects of differential rates of unionization vary a great deal; a great range exists in the proportions of bureaucratic versus entrepreneurial jobs in the different situses, the survival of pre-World War I conceptions of clean and dirty jobs may have led to a separate blue and white collar stratification system; there may be differing rates of mobility within the various situses.¹⁷

There seems to be a rather distinctive intellectual situs. This category shall be discussed briefly since there are a large number of intellectuals in this sample.

Why do intellectuals as a group have strongly liberal attitudes? First, there is a constant conflict between businessmen and intellectuals,

for business is directed toward satisfying material requests while the intelligentsia generally see their world as independent of the market. Where businessmen have lots of power and pressure that can be used against intellectuals, it is quite likely that the latter group will turn to the political left, away from the support of business interests. Other factors peculiar to the American political scene make intellectuals tend toward liberalism: Politically-minded intellectuals are not likely to be reconciled to the inconsistencies that are found in most conservative tradition. Also, somewhat reminiscent of lower class protest, American intellectuals are leftist because they believe they are an underprivileged group, low in social recognition.¹⁸

Religion is another important variable in this study. In The Religious Factor, Lenski has found that upon a broad number of issues American religious affiliation is significant. Government power, and political party, civil rights, civil liberties, foreign aid are some of the subjects. He controlled his respondents for class and religious affiliation and even made some intra-religion analysis. He felt justified to conclude that

...American radicalism derives at least as much from the status group struggle as it does from the more familiar class struggle. In other words, the denial of equal honor and respect to all socio-religious groups may be as powerful a factor in stimulating political discontent as the denial of economic advantages and political authority.¹⁹

The following observation concerns ethnic group status. The general implication seems to be that minority group members will take a

liberal attitude upon issues that directly concern them, e.g., civil rights issues, only if they are being discriminated against, and economic concerns, if they will personally benefit from a change. The specialized interest of minority groups is illustrated by that fact that, with the exception of Jews, individuals with ethnic backgrounds do not vote as much in national elections but more in local elections.²⁰

Another major variable in this study is association membership. Lane notes the diffusion of influence that such organizations make possible. They clearly widen an individual's reference group scope.

(1) The pluralistic sources of political power are represented by membership in various associations.

(2) A two-way communication between the rank-and-file and élite is able to develop within these bodies.

(3) As already implied in statements one and two, associations offer an opportunity for political expression.²¹

Lane in a different context suggests another function of associations. In situations of complete structural congruence, party loyalties can conceivably rise to an intensity of feeling that could be dangerous. However, cross-cutting loyalties, many of which develop through association membership, frequently prevent such congruences.^{*22}

* One should not maintain the impression that associations generally involve their membership in politics in a formal sense. Berelson and his associates note that even in labor unions little straightforward politicking is encouraged. As in other associations, it is by general interaction with other members that political influence and information are disseminated.

Some Observations on Voting Behavior

Voting gives an opportunity for the interactions of the various reference group orientations to manifest themselves. Campbell implies the difficulty of comprehending the social bases of voters' choices when he notes that three different dimensions must be considered for adequate prediction in this area.

The interaction of the three motivating factors shows that prediction rates are quite consistent with the number and direction of the three variables. Only five per cent who are RRR (Republican-oriented for party, issue, and candidate respectively) considered voting for Stevenson, twelve per cent who were RR?, twenty-five per cent who were RRD, and twenty-three per cent who were R?D. On the Democratic side, sixteen per cent who were DDD considered voting for Ike, sixteen per cent who were DD?, twenty-nine per cent who were DDR, and thirty-five per cent who were D?R.²³

Berelson et al., conclude that those who change the most at election time are those who have been fluctuating between elections. These individuals are usually torn by cross-cutting loyalties, that is, different reference group affiliations. The campaign generally helps to polarize people into the left, right, and middle, or area of withdrawal. American campaigns represent small shifts, "that decide elections when voters cross the arbitrary cut-off points used in counting ballots officially." In general, although Americans increase their political activity and interest at election time, there is generally not a deeply internalized feeling for politics.²⁴

These observations in this last section have merely tried to indicate the complexity of predicting the bases of political choice. The last portion of this chapter contains the hypotheses that will be used to try to make predictions in this study.

The Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. Social mobility is related to a more conservative attitude toward a number of socio-political issues.

It is difficult to make a clear-cut declaration in this instance. Sorokin and Mannheim appear to be making a good point when they mention the flexibility and perspective gained by social mobility. However, Tumin, Greenblum, Seeman, et al. seem to be closer to social and economic realities when they analyze the effects of reference group affiliation and fear of status loss for the socially mobile individuals.

Hypothesis 2. Social mobility produces low knowledge of political events.

A similar problem arises when one tries to establish the relationship between social mobility and knowledge of political events. Sorokin and Mannheim imply that the perspective gained from numerous social contacts will increase knowledge. However, we shall support the implications derived from the better documented studies. That is, it seems more likely that the disruption of one's status is going to make one's interest in and consequently knowledge of politics less extensive.

Hypothesis 3. Crystallized individuals will be more conservative than noncrystallized individuals.

This hypothesis is derived from Lenski's study. However, we would emphasize that there will be a differential effect of reference groups. For example, a noncrystallized religion or ethnic status might have an important effect upon the political orientation of a particular individual. Therefore, perhaps Lenski's prediction is somewhat glib.

Hypothesis 4. Crystallized individuals will have greater knowledge of political events than uncrystallized individuals do.

Once again there is a confrontation of different viewpoints. The Sorokin-Mannheim thesis is once more applicable. However, Lenski has empirical evidence that noncrystallized individuals tend to withdraw from politics, implying that their knowledge of political events will be less extensive.

Hypothesis 5. Higher class individuals will be more inclined to liberalism than lower class individuals.

As we shall see, the class variable in this study is based upon occupation-education index. This hypothesis is limited to the sample that is employed here. The large number of academic people, all of whom will be in the upper class and be liberally oriented for reasons already noted, are going to be pretty influential in producing this effect. As we have already noted, class per se is a tangential interest for this study. It is principally being used as a control.

Hypothesis 6. Higher class individuals will have a greater knowledge of political events.

This hypothesis is based upon sample distribution also. It seems that academics will be more removed from political realities than the more conservative business men who form a large portion of this sample and for whom political activity might have a more personal and immediate meaning.

Hypothesis 7. Membership in political association and the extent of one's political activities will be related to a conservative attitude.

This hypothesis is also principally based upon the type of sample. In general, members of the sample are conservatively oriented. It seems likely that those who join in political associations, as well as those who take an active part in politics, are going to reinforce these basically conservative tendencies.

Hypothesis 8. People who are happier, more satisfied with their jobs, less lonely, and have less job aspirations will be more liberal.

These psychological hypotheses are based upon various documentations that suggest that feelings of stress accompanying mobility will produce a rather rigid, conservative outlook.²⁵

Footnotes

1. Richard H. Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R., pp. 92-93.
2. Seymour Martin Lipset and Nathan Glazer, "The Polls on Communism and Conformity," in Daniel Bell, The New American Light, pp. 172-177, et passim.
3. Ibid., pp. 193-207, et passim.
4. Daniel Bell, "Interpretations of American Politics," in Daniel Bell, The New American Right, pp. 18-24, et passim.
5. Pitrim A. Sorokin, Social Mobility, pp. 508-531, et passim.
6. Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, pp. 252-255.
7. Melvin Tumin, "Some Unapplauded Consequences of Social Mobility in a Mass Society," Social Forces, October, 1957, pp. 34-35.
8. Lipset and Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society, pp. 262-263.
9. Joseph Greenblum and Leonard I. Pearlin, "Vertical Mobility and Prejudice: A Sociopsychological Analysis," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset, Class, Status, and Power, pp. 482-489, et passim.
10. Fred B. Silberstein and Melvin Seeman, "Social Mobility and Prejudice," American Journal of Sociology, November, 1959, pp. 260-264.
11. Melvin Tumin and Ray Collins, Jr., "Status, Mobility, and Anomie: A Study in Readiness for Desegregation," in British Journal of Sociology, September, 1959, pp. 260-265.
12. Harold L. Lilensky and Hugh Edwards, "The Skidder: Ideological Adjustments of Downward Mobile Workers," in American Sociological Review, April, 1959, pp. 219-227.
13. Eleanor E. Maccoby, Richard E. Matthews, and Alton S. Morton, "Youth and Political Change," in Heinz Eulau, et al., Political Analysis, pp. 304-305.
14. Gerhard Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," in American Sociological Review, pp. 405-413.

15. Lenski, "Social Participation and Status Crystallization," American Sociological Review, pp. 458-464.
16. Raymond J. Murphy and Richard Morris, Occupational Situs, Subjective Class Identification, and Political Affiliation, American Sociological Review, pp. 390-391.
17. Seymour Lipset, Political Man, pp. 80-81.
18. Seymour Lipset, in Bell, The New American Right, p. 200.
19. Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor, p. 157.
20. Robert Lane, Political Life, Why People Get Involved in Politics, pp. 248-249.
21. Ibid., p. 79.
22. Ibid., pp. 264-265.
23. Angus Campbell, et al., The Voter Decides, pp. 160-163.
24. Bernard Berelson, et al., Voting; A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign, p. 30.
25. These scales have been derived from a subjective scale of happiness tested cross-culturally by Cantril and Free. See Appendix four, part four, questions 1-4. The source is Hadley Cantril and Lloyd A. Free, "Hopes and Fears for Self and Country," Supplement to The American Behavioral Scientist, Vol. VI, October, 1962.

Chapter II

Methodology

The Sample

The sample has been selected from the city directories of Elyria and Lorain, and contains also fifteen members of the Oberlin faculty. The subjects are all included within Hollingshead's four upper divisions of class, to be discussed presently. All informants are over thirty-five years old, for it is believed that individuals of this minimum age will be well established (or have completed) their occupational cycle, and thus social mobility will be more or less terminated. Only men have been used. This decision eliminates sex differences as a structural consideration; also, documented studies indicate that women make less rational choices and comprehend political issues less completely than men do.¹

The subjects have been chosen from two middle class sections of Elyria; the stylish, basically Republican area, as well as a less fashionable, more Democratic section.* The initial information on these matters was obtained from a political appointee in the City Auditor's Office, a young man who has campaigned door-to-door throughout the city and apparently knows the political affiliations of the residents in various areas of the city. His information has been substantiated by the questionnaire information on party affiliation. In Lorain, the area picked was a substantial middle class section within several hundred yards of Lake Erie.

* See Appendix four for a discussion of how the sample was determined.

Only middle class respondents were chosen. Lower class people are going to be less mobile and have fewer uncrystallized statuses, and thus they would not be particularly adequate subjects for this research. Secondly, lower class individuals were less willing and able to complete this type of written survey.

Next door neighbors were never used as respondents. In addition, only several subjects were chosen from the same block. Although neighborhood discussion is to some extent unavoidable, it is undesirable since it invalidates the subject's pure response.

The questionnaires were picked up two days after being passed out. Statistics were kept on the different types of questionnaire distribution. The effects of direct versus indirect presentation to the subject as well as the result of a male versus a female distributor were obtained. These findings are shown in table one, appendix two; no distinctive differences are apparent in either of these two areas.

The Major Independent Variables

We shall now examine methodological considerations concerning variables in this study. To begin, the Hollingshead scale for the determination of social position has been employed. An individual's score is obtained by calculating a combined occupation and education score. Six classifications for both occupation and education have been delineated. The highest breakdown for each variable has been designated a weight of "1," the next, "2," and so forth down to the sixth and last.

For the composite score, occupation has been weighted 7, and education 4. Social position rank is obtained by multiplying the factor weight by an individual's score for each of the two variables and then summing the two products.

For example:

If an individual were a sales manager, he would be included within the second breakdown for the occupation scale. If he had received a college degree, he would be classified 2, for education also. Then, the computation would be:

$$2 \text{ (score for education)} \times 4 \text{ (factor weight)} = 8 \text{ (total score for education)}$$

$$2 \text{ (score for occupation)} \times 7 \text{ (factor weight)} = 14 \text{ (total score for occupation)}$$

$$8 + 14 = 22 \text{ (total score for status position)}^*$$

From the composite scores for social position, Hollingshead has determined interval breakdowns for class range. A composite score of twenty-two would be within the range of social class II, which extends from eighteen to twenty-seven. The other class ranges are Class I from 11-17, Class III from 28-43, Class IV from 44-60, and Class V from 61-77. The rationale for the class breakdowns is not well developed; Hollingshead continually adjusts the factor weighting in line with his "clinical judgment."²

In Social Class and Mental Illness, Hollingshead, along with

* See Table I for a list of the various breakdowns for occupation and education.

the assistance of Jerome Myers, has developed a residential scale to be employed as a third variable. In the present research, however, such intricate techniques have been quite unfeasible.³

For present purposes we have used the results of these classifications in two capacities. To determine an individual's social class, we have accepted the appropriate breakdown into which the composite score for social position placed him. Secondly, social mobility has been obtained by computing the differences in score between father's and son's social position. Then the number of class intervals between the two social position scores was calculated and this difference used as the basis for the mobility factor.* In both cases methodological problems have presented definite difficulties for the research; in each instance it has been necessary to collapse the four initial categories into two. Thus classes I and II have been combined into an upper class conglomerate, and classes III and IV have been also placed together in a similar, lower category. For mobility, individuals who had risen two or more classes (eighteen points in composite score) above their fathers were placed in one breakdown while the remainder, the comparatively less mobile, were put in the other dichotomy. It was perhaps regrettable to make these collapses. Finer distinctions in the data, quite possibly, are obscured by such techniques. This procedure seemed particularly unfortunate for the delineation of class. Hollingshead, as already indicated, employs six

* Table I at the end of this section gives the range of mobility score used in this research.

breakdowns for class. This sample contains individuals from the upper four classifications. One hundred two or fifty-nine per cent of the sample is from classes I and II. The remaining forty-nine per cent is composed of individuals from classes III and IV; however, only eleven respondents, 6.4% of the sample, comes from the lowest class (IV). For the purposes of dichotomizing ^{at} an existing class internal, a cut between Class II and III corresponds most closely to a break at the median. This division has been unfortunate, however, since the two parts are unequal, and most of the subjects in the lower classification fall within the third class, probably minimizing to some extent the significant differences between the two, gross breakdowns of class.

Another pivotal concept in this study is status crystallization. The five variables that comprise this structural factor are education, occupation, income, ethnicity, and religion. A dichotomization of each factor was used, except for income where the distribution of the findings readily fell into a three-fold breakdown; in general, the breaks produced fairly equal dichotomies. The following splits between respective high and low status were used for these five variables:

- (1) Education: Hollingshead categories I, II versus III-VI.
- (2) Occupation: Hollingshead breakdowns I, II versus III, IV.
- (3) Income: \$11,000, 8-11,000, and less than \$8,000.
- (4) Ethnicity: English-speaking background versus non-English-speaking background.

(5) Religion: Protestant versus non-Protestant.*

If an individual were consistently high or low on all or all but one of the status items (the intermediate \$8-11,000 income position was considered an indication of "half of one factor" being non-crystallized), he would be placed in the dichotomous classification for status crystallization. If more than one of the five factors was non-crystallized in relation to the remaining four, then this person would be considered non-crystallized in terms of his status. Not only have total status crystallization scores been dichotomized, but in four of the five preparatory procedures this technique was also used. The statistical computations that have been used require breakdowns sufficiently large to necessitate these dichotomizations.

An added statistical difficulty develops when each factor composing over-all status was individually abstracted to determine whether its individual crystallization or non-crystallization was related to a particular attitudinal effect. In these situations it is apparent that the non-crystallized breakdown for the status item would be small, especially within the crystallized portion of the sample. Thus, for these calculations chi-square was ruled out, and, because of the over-all largeness of the sample, the Fisher exact probability test would have been extremely arduous. Percentage figures, in this instance, as

* Table one illustrates a number of different types of status crystallization.

throughout the data analysis, are useful for indicating trends.*

In approximately six cases, an individual had two-and-a-half uncrystallized statuses, and thus either the high or low set of statuses could statistically be considered the basic ones. In these instances the questionnaire was carefully checked to determine which set of items was implicitly more significant for the respondent, and this set of statuses was adopted as the basic one.

* Siegel notes that when there are four or more cells, chi-square can only be used if fewer than 20 per cent of the cells have an expected frequency of less than 5 and if no cell has an expected frequency of less than 1.4.⁴

Table 1

A Classification of the Independent Variables

1. Hollingshead Scale: Range for Class Ranking*

<u>Social Class</u>	<u>Range of Computed Scores</u>
I	11-17
II	18-27
III	28-43
IV	44-60

2. Hollingshead Mobility Score

Breakdowns of the Scores

Less than 11
 11-17
 18-27
 28-43
 More

3. Occupational Mobility

Classification of the Scores

Less than 7
 7-10
 10-17
 17-26
 More than 26

4. Crystallization**

Range of Status Crystallization (Most to Least)

0
 1/2
 1 1/2
 2
 2 1/2

* For these three scales computed by the Hollingshead procedure, each score represents a sum of the two factor index.

** Because of the three-part breakdown for income, an intermediate position is considered "half" uncrystallized.

Examples of CrystallizationPerfect Crystallization

(0 Uncrystallized Statuses)

Education	Occupation	Income	Religion	Ethnicity
III	II	\$11,000	Protestant	4th generation

Intermediate (1 status uncrystallized)

Education	Occupation	Income	Religion	Ethnicity
IV	I	\$11,000	Protestant	9th generation

Noncrystallization

(1 1/2 uncrystallized statuses)

Education	Occupation	Income	Religion	Ethnicity
V	III	\$9,000	Protestant	German

Intermediate Variables

Methodological facts concerning a number of other variables with important bearing upon this study shall be discussed briefly. We have adopted Woodward's index of political activity for research purposes,⁵ His scale tries to determine the amount of individual participation in four political activities: voting, word of mouth communication concerning political events, activity in one's local party, and personal contact with the legislature through letters and petitioning. Woodward considers the last two items particularly significant and weights them 2 each for participation and merely 1 each for the other two factors. The adaptation of this index concerns interest in political participation rather than actual behavior per se. A 1 is scored when the respondent feels that participation in any particular type of activity is important, 0 for indifference, and -1 for a negative reaction. The sum of the four items is totaled, and then, if it exceeds 2, the individual is classified as highly interested in political activity. To be considered highly interested, an individual must support at least one of the items that Woodward weights 2, as well as the two factors scored 1. Once again, the statistical necessity to collapse categories has meant that the effects of the total range of scores, extending theoretically from -4 to 4, are perhaps obscured.*

Several other important intermediate variables have been

* This index is reproduced in Appendix three, Part I, No. 8.

employed. Free and Cantril devised a scheme for testing happiness cross-culturally. They used a scale with equal spatial divisions ranging from 0 to 10.^{*} We have used an eleven-point happiness scale as well as other similarly-designed measures to determine attitudes toward job satisfaction, loneliness, and occupational aspirations compared to one's friends. Most of the scores fell conveniently in the middle of the eleven-point range, somewhat nearer the top of the distribution than the bottom. For the statistical reasons that have already been indicated, a dichotomization of scores was necessary. In each case the median fell between the numbers 7 and 8.

A final intermediate factor was association membership. The relationship tested was whether participation in a political association was an important influence upon attitude and knowledge. Unfortunately, for statistical purposes, the total number of individuals participating in political associations was only thirty-two. Thus chi-square calculations were untenable for a number of the breakdowns.

The Dependent Variables

The major dependent variable in this study is a measure of liberalism-conservatism. Fourteen items adapted and revised from Rokeach, The Open and Closed Mind, have been used. The different questions concerned attitudes toward a variety of subjects on which definite

* See Appendix three, Part IV, for a replication of these scales.

liberal and conservative stands can be taken.* The range of scores was obtained; then the twenty most liberal and twenty most conservative scores were extracted from the sample, and a Likert variety of the t test was applied.⁶ The results indicated a very significant difference between the two extreme ranges for every item. Thus we felt justified in using these fourteen items as a scale for general liberalism-conservatism. Each of the fourteen items contained a five-point range of response, "strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, and strongly disagree." The most conservative response for a particular question was given a score of 2, the extreme liberal -2 and the other three responses fell in between. The total range of scores was found to extend from 20 to -24. Interval breakdowns of four made it possible to transpose the entire range of items onto a single, eleven-fold column of an IBM card ($\frac{44}{4} = 11$). Although, as we shall see in the conclusion, there are a number of substantive problems with this liberalism-conservatism scale, it seems to be the most refined, or perhaps more aptly, the least crude of the various measuring techniques in this research. The sample size made it necessary to dichotomize this variable also. However, as shall be indicated in the latter part of the findings, the Yule's Q statistical technique is able to make some use of the extremes of the distribution range.

The other dependent variables are listed in Appendix three. Little explanation concerning them seems necessary. The questions

* See Appendix three, Part III, for a list of these items.

relating to the '64 campaign have been scored in the same way as the individual items in the liberalism-conservatism scale. Thus, a 2 score indicates strong support of the Republican candidate and -2 staunch backing for the Democratic incumbent on the particular issue.

A Concluding Note

A final observation should be made at the close of this chapter. The death of President Kennedy occurred during the period in which these questionnaires were being distributed. After a two-week lapse following the assassination, questionnaires were once again passed out; Kennedy's name was replaced by Johnson's throughout the relevant section. A fairly thorough analysis of the distribution of responses indicated that there were little differences in relation to the major structural categories, when Johnson's name was substituted for Kennedy's.

Footnotes

1. Lane, pp. 210-212.
2. See August Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Position, p. 9.
3. See the first Appendix of August Hollingshead and Frederick Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness.
4. Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences, p. 110.
5. Julian Woodward and Elmo Roper, "Political Activity of American Citizens," in Heinz Eulau, Political Behavior, p. 136.
6. For a comprehensive explanation concerning the application of the t test see Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics, pp. 19-20. For a discussion of the Likert scaling technique, see Calvin Schmid's description in Pauline Young, ed., Scientific Social Surveys and Research, pp. 357-361.

Chapter III

Description of the Findings

At this time, we shall discuss the principal findings in some detail. Although the results, for the most part, are not highly significant, there are some trends apparent.

The Relationship of Mobility, Class, and

Intermediate Variables to Liberalism-Conservatism

To begin, we tested the chi-square relationship between social mobility, determined by the Hollingshead method, and the liberalism-conservatism scale; an intermediate class variable was also used.¹ Mobility per se was unrelated to the respondents' attitudes, but class was correlated to $p < .05$.^{*} There was a substantially higher percentage of lower class individuals who were more conservative. As we have already suggested, social mobility and class have been correlated with liberal-conservative attitude along with a number of intermediate variables. That is, the dichotomized classifications for mobility, high and low, each contain a dual breakdown for class, high and low, each of which is delineated into the additional breakdowns of whatever intermediate variable is being used.

* See Table two at the end of this section.

The Intermediate Variables

The relationship of political interest to the liberalism-conservatism scale adds an interesting finding; as Table two illustrates, this relationship is significant to $p < .05$. When the class dimension is added, one finds that the static individuals in the upper class and the mobile people in the lower class all demonstrate a highly significant tendency to be more conservative when they have a greater interest in politics. The over-all relationship is significant at $p < .02$.

As intermediate variables, the four ten-point scales yield few findings worth reporting. Perhaps the amorphousness of the scaling, which is purely subjective and does not contain any statistical reliability, is related to the nonsignificance of the findings. Perhaps collapsing of categories has obscured some differences. The scales concerning general happiness and job satisfaction show no appreciable relationship to the liberalism-conservatism scale. Occupational aspiration, as related to liberal-conservative orientation, indicates a slight statistical relationship, namely, the lower the occupational aspiration, the greater the tendency towards conservatism.

The relationship of loneliness as an intermediate variable is somewhat more noteworthy. As Table two shows, the relationship is significant to $p < .10$. Thus, the more lonely an individual is, the more liberal he will be.

The final intermediate variable interacting with mobility and conservatism-liberalism is political association. The initial delineation

of this variable was rather fine. The five breakdowns were (1) no associational memberships, (2) membership in two or fewer associations excluding the political, (3) membership in two or more associations excluding the political, (4) membership in two or fewer associations including the political, and (5) membership in more than two associations including the political. As always, the initial breakdowns were too ambitious, too fine for the applicable statistical measures. For the collapsing of categories, two procedures seemed most operational. First, one could determine whether mere number of associational membership might be related to liberal-conservative attitude. When the association variable was consolidated according to the number of different memberships, i.e., two or less as opposed to three or more, no significant relationship with conservatism-liberalism was found. The evidence actually pointed in the opposite direction from the expected, for a small percentage of high membership individuals were more liberal than those in the lower category.

The significant relationship uncovered using this intermediate variable involved a different type of category collapsing. If the distinction is made between association membership excluding a political organization as opposed to association membership including a political organization, a significant relationship between this variable and conservatism-liberalism develops. Table two shows that there is an overall relationship of $p < .05$ between participation in political association and conservatism. The chi-square significance of this relationship is obscured when a class variable is added.

Table 2

The Major Relationships Involving the Liberalism-Conservatism Scale

(a)	<u>Static</u>	-	Mobility	-	<u>Upward*</u>	
	42				44	
Conservative	51.9%				47.8%	
	39				48	
Liberal	48.1%				52.2%	Nonsignificant**
(b)	<u>High</u>	-	Class	-	<u>Low</u>	
	45				41	
Conservative	44.1%				42.3%	
	57				30	
Liberal	55.9%				57.7%	p < .05
(c)	<u>Low</u>	-	Political Interest	-	<u>High</u>	
	18				61	
Conservative	37.5%				52.1%	
	30				56	
Liberal	62.5%				47.9%	p < .05
(d)	<u>High</u>	-	Loneliness	-	<u>Low</u>	
	18				61	
Conservative	37.5%				52.1%	
	30				56	
Liberal	62.5%				47.9%	p < .10
(e)	<u>No</u>	-	Political Association	-	<u>Yes</u>	
	65				20	
Conservative	46.8%				62.5%	
	74				12	
Liberal	53.2%				37.5%	p < .05
(f)	<u>Commercial</u>	-	Situs	-	<u>Academic</u>	
	33				8	
Conservative	61.1%				23.5%	
	21				26	
Liberal	38.9%				76.5%	p < .001

* In each case, the number is placed above the appropriate percentage figure.

** One degree of freedom employed.

Status Crystallization, Class, and Liberalism-Conservatism

Status crystallization is another principal variable tested in this study. Status crystallization shows a perfectly nonsignificant chi-square relationship to liberalism-conservatism. Thus, in the relationship of crystallization and class to mobility, it is class, already noted to have a correlation of $p < .05$ to conservatism-liberalism, that gives a definite direction to this relationship.

Interesting findings involving this variable are revealed when one analyzes the specific effects of dichotomizing the crystallized and noncrystallized aspects of a particular status item.*

For education, in the portion of the sample that exhibits overall noncrystallization (eighty-seven respondents), there were 57.8% of the crystallized and 34.8% of the noncrystallized with conservative tendencies. In several cells, among the crystallized, higher class individuals, there is a distinctive counter tendency. Thus 43.1% of the crystallized and eighty per cent of the noncrystallized are more conservative.**

Occupation, in its crystallized versus noncrystallized dichotomization, shows the highest statistical relationship with the conservatism-liberalism scale. The over-all correlation is $p < .01$.

* Table two, Appendix two, gives a detailed representation of the breakdowns for the abstracted crystallization items.

** The reader should refer back to the discussion in Chapter two if he wants to recheck the crystallization breakdowns.

Forty-five per cent of the crystallized and 72.4% of the noncrystallized showed conservative tendencies. This trend was apparent in all the breakdowns produced by the inclusion of the mobility and class variables.

A consideration of the religion variable shows no discernible over-all correlation, but some rather interesting trends. Specifically, three of the four dichotomizations of the variable show a tendency for the noncrystallized portion of the sample to be more liberal. Among lower class, uncrystallized individuals, there is a slight conservative trend among those whose religion was an uncrystallized factor.

For ethnicity, the classifications broken down by crystallization and class do not, in general, show a significant relationship. However, the higher class, noncrystallized individuals whose ethnic status is not crystallized demonstrate a very distinctive liberal tendency, to a significance level of $p < .02$, in comparison with the crystallized respondents in the same social class.

Social Mobility, Class, and Items of Political Opinion

The questions relating to opinion and knowledge found in this questionnaire have not been involved in any particularly significant relationships.* One might have expected the inquiries concerning the test ban and civil rights to have produced some statistically interesting findings. Both are liberal causes and integral parts of the Kennedy-Johnson

* See Table three, Appendix two, for a representation of these relationships.

program, and thus one might anticipate the same general trend of relationships that existed for the conservatism-liberalism scale. The test ban relationship is nonsignificant over-all, that is, when mobility and class are correlated with support versus non-support of the test ban. Interestingly, mobility itself is related substantially if not significantly to test-ban opinion. Inconsistent with the hypothesis, there is a slight tendency for mobile more than non-mobile individuals to favor the treaty. Class shows virtually no relationship with this dependent variable.

Secondly, social mobility has no statistical relationship to civil rights. Class, however, demonstrates an insignificant relationship but one consistent with the over-all data findings. That is, the lower class individuals are less pro-civil rights than the higher portion of the sample.

Two other dependent variables concerning political opinion show a more substantial correlation with mobility and class. Respondents' feelings toward the Johnson-Kennedy tax reform bill show a distinctive if not significant trend in the data. 63.3% of the static individuals as opposed to 51.7% of the mobiles are opposed to the Kennedy-Johnson position, while, in terms of class, 48.1% of the upper compared to 36% of the lower are against the presidential measure. Both relationships are significant to a probability of $p < .10$. The over-all, three-variable chi-square shows no significant tendencies, although the trend is in the direction that one would expect from the preceding discussion.

The other important relationships concerning opinion involve the difficulty of choosing a presidential candidate. Mobility is not related to this dependent variable to a significant degree, although there is a very slight tendency (48.1% to 52.2%) for the static individuals to find it more difficult than the mobiles to decide upon the candidate. Class gives a substantial correlation, significant to $p < .05$. 43.4% of the higher class individuals as opposed to 60% of the lower group find it difficult to make the decision as to which candidate to support. The over-all relationship of mobility and class to the difficulty of decision making is significant to $p < .05$.

Social Mobility and Items of Knowledge

The findings worth reporting that demonstrate a significant relationship between knowledge of specific '64 campaign issues and the independent variable, mobility, are few. Mobility shows the expected relationship with knowledge of issues, although the results are not statistically high. 61.3% of the static individuals as compared to 72% of the mobile people listed fewer than two issues concerning the Kennedy-Johnson campaign. Class demonstrates a significant tendency, $p < .05$, in the expected direction. 73.5% of the higher class compared to 57.7% of the lower had knowledge of two or fewer issues concerning the presidential campaign. The over-all relationship of mobility to knowledge of these issues was nonsignificant.

The relationship of mobility and class to number of issues re-

called concerning the Goldwater campaign and the total sum of issues (number of Goldwater issues plus Johnson-Kennedy issues) both indicate tendencies contrary to the findings disclosed above, although neither set of data produces significant results. Specifically, eighty per cent of the static subjects and eighty-four per cent of the mobiles listed one or no issues related to the Goldwater campaign. In terms of class, eighty per cent of the static and eighty-five per cent of the mobiles listed one or no issues related to this particular question. Over-all, for both sets of data combined, fifty-one per cent of the static and forty-five per cent of the mobiles, and forty-five per cent of the higher class and fifty-two per cent of the lower class individuals listed fewer than two issues.

Awareness of local political events was the other principal component among the variables relating to political knowledge. The data originally contained six different inquiries. That is, for the most recent mayoralty, senatorial, and gubernatorial races, two questions were asked concerning each election. First, the number of issues relevant to the campaign was sought. Tabulations showed so few specific issues listed that no meaningful relationships could be established. Therefore, in order to salvage something from the data, another approach was used. In the questionnaire we had also asked for any relevant factual information the respondent could recall, specifically the name and party affiliation of the candidate he supported and the name of the opponent, as well as specific issues. Respondents were more inclined to supply

facts concerning the first two areas than the third. It was decided, somewhat arbitrarily, that no knowledge of one's voting record or mere recall of party affiliation should be dichotomized as general ignorance of local politics while actual recall of a candidate's and/or opponent's name would be considered the more knowledgeable division for this variable. Crude as the results be, they do not reveal any significant findings, although some trends are discernible.

Specifically, in terms of the mayoralty race, mobility demonstrates a virtually perfect, nonsignificant relationship to knowledge of the candidates. In quantitative terms, 56.4% of the static and fifty-seven per cent of the mobile individuals recalled little knowledge of the candidates. The class variable produced a better relationship. Consistent with earlier findings concerning political knowledge, sixty-two per cent of the higher and 49.3% of the lower class individuals demonstrated poor knowledge of the mayoralty candidate.

The trend in the senatorial race was slightly in the expected direction. 62.3% of the static compared with 67.4% of the mobile individuals had poor knowledge of the candidate, while 67.3% of the higher class and 61.7% of the lower class were deficient in this particular area.

For the gubernatorial race, mobility followed the same slight trend as in the other findings. Thus 50.6% of the static and 54.8% of the mobiles supplied virtually no information concerning the candidates. On this question the class trend is reversed. 50.5% of the upper classes

and 56.3% of the lower group yielded no information upon this particular question.

The final relationship involving mobility pertains to political activity, the variable derived from the four-point inquiry about political participation and used earlier as an intermediate variable. The relationship concerning mobility and this dependent variable was consistent with earlier findings. Thus, 56.8% of the static and 57.6% of the mobiles showed low political interest. More noteworthy was the finding that fifty-two per cent of the higher and 64.8% of the lower class felt little interest in politics. This relationship was significant to $p < .10$. The over-all correlation of mobility and class to political participation interest was not statistically high.

Associational Measures

The procedure that is being used here may appear somewhat irregular. It is conventional to establish breakdowns by some method at the beginning of the research and then use those same categories throughout. The original dichotomies were made at the median and proved useful for chi-square computations, for they yielded the largest numbers for the respective boxes. However, since the data were derived from a rather select sample, dichotomizing the variables minimized the classificatory differences, that were already slight. Thus, the Yule's Q procedure, isolating in a dichotomy one or more extreme categories from the original data, is attempting to uncover findings that might have been apparent in a more random sample.²

Lipset and others have discussed the value of analyzing deviant cases. In a sense, that is what we are doing in a Yule's Q relationship. In both cases, atypical evidence is analyzed to help formulate the theoretical conclusions.

Thus, the following statement, which applies to deviant case analysis, also pertains to the use of the Yule's Q procedure. Analysis of deviant cases

can, by refining the theoretical structure of empirical studies, increase the predictive value of their findings. In other words, deviant case analysis can and should play a positive role in empirical research, rather than being merely the "tidying up" process through which exceptions to the empirical rule are given some plausibility and thus disposed of.³

To begin, we shall indicate important interrelations of the major variables. The cumbersome Pearsonian coefficient of correlation⁴ indicates that the Hollingshead and the occupational mobility scales are positively associated to a numerical value of .9356, when each scale is left in its original five categories. The same statistical process was used to ascertain the association between the Hollingshead index of mobility and the measurement of crystallization (high mobility to high crystallization). The answer here is a considerably less substantial .3896. Last and least of the Pearsonian coefficients is the relationship between the occupational scale and the index of crystallization; this association is merely .102.

The Yule's Q procedure has uncovered some interesting and seemingly important results. There are several ways to use this

statistical measurement to determine the relationship between the variables tested above by the Pearsonian coefficient. In the first place, the association between the variable dichotomizations used in the basic research work can be reexamined. It is possible that the gross divisions of the variable could obscure some of the significant differences that are present in the relationships between these variables. Thus, the two measures of mobility are associated to $-.138$, indicating that there is a slightly greater number of mobile individuals determined by the occupation index compared to the Hollingshead scale. The other two relationships show even less association, almost perfect statistical nonrelationship. Hollingshead mobility has a $.028$ correlation to crystallization while the occupation mobility index shows a $.098$ relationship.

The Yule's Q technique illustrates its inherent importance when the above variables are dichotomized differently than in the basic research. Of the three associations discussed in the preceding paragraph, only that between Hollingshead's measure of mobility and crystallization shall be pursued any further. Although the occupational mobility measurement is interesting, its concern is essential for the study.

Several of the possible relationships of these two variables yield important relationship when the appropriate dichotomizations are used.*

* Henceforth breakdowns for Yule's Q shall be represented in a numerical form expressing the number of categories in the present dichotomization; the higher breakdown will be listed first, the lower second; for example, if the three highest classes were (continued on page 43)

Specifically, when mobility, 2 by 3, is associated inversely with crystallization, 4 by 2, the relationship is .262 and the chi-statistic, $p < .10$. Thus low mobility shows some association to low crystallization. This correlation is improved if mobility, 3 by 2, is run against the same crystallization breakdowns just mentioned. This revision of the dichotomies allows the inverse relationship between high mobility and high crystallization to appear, since this association contains the two highest categories of the respective variables. The overall Yule's Q association is .412 and the chi-square value is $p < .02$.

Having completed the important aspects of the interrelations of the major variables, we can present the findings derived from the various associations with class. The research findings to this point have indicated that this variable relates significantly to the liberal-conservative scale in the dichotomized form that corresponds most closely to a splitting at the median, namely the two highest classes as opposed by the two lowest. However, by using Yule's Q, we are able to determine whether some different dichotomizations of the class factor and/or dependent variables can be more significantly related than they were in previous results.

(continued from page 42) placed in one dichotomy and the lowest in another, the form would be "Class, 3 by 1"; if the two most static breakdowns of social mobility are divided from the other three, this situation would be represented "mobility, 2 by 3"; if the three most highly crystallized divisions of social crystallization are separated from the four least crystallized, it would be "crystallization, 2 by 4."

The relationship of class to the Hollingshead mobility scale is noteworthy. With class left in its original dichotomizations, a considerably more significant relationship develops if the inverse association from mobility, 2 by 3, to class, 2 by 2, is determined, that is, high class related to high mobility. The Yule's Q association from this relationship is .453, and the chi-square significance is $p < .01$. The association is improved to .564 if the lowest category, as calculated by the Hollingshead scale is run against the fourth or lowest class. The chi-square value here is only $p < .05$. The reason it is not more significant is because a special, conservative chi-square measurement with a correction for continuity must be used because of the small numbers in one cell.⁵ No other significant relationships between class and mobility are apparent although all or virtually all of the logical possibilities to which Yule's Q is applicable were examined.

Class, however, has equal or perhaps greater over-all relationship to crystallization. A total of five important associations using Yule's Q have been uncovered by this method. Three correlations are obtained using the class variable in its original dichotomized form; an interesting progression develops from these three relationships. Two computations associate high crystallization to high class. First, crystallization, 1 by 4, is associated with class, 2 by 2, to .429; the chi-square relationship is merely $p < .10$ because of the small numbers in several boxes. If crystallization, 2 by 3, is run against the original 2 by 2 dichotomization of class, then the correlation is .431. This

time the chi-square significance is $p < .001$. The third Yule's Q association employing the same class breakdown along with crystallization, 4 by 2, indicates a high association of .574 between low crystallization and low class. Once again chi-square is $p < .001$. An outgrowth of this last finding is the relationship between crystallization, 4 by 2, and class, 1 by 3. This association is only .273, and the chi-square is non-significant. Oppositely, when crystallization, 4 by 2, is correlated inversely to class, 3 by 1, a very substantial relationship of .686 between low class and low crystallization is shown. Since the numbers in two of the cells are small, chi-square is significant to only $p < .05$.

Some new findings concerning the relation of class to the liberalism-conservatism scale are revealed when this dependent variable is broken down into the upper five by the upper six categories. The change means that conservatism now includes two more intervals on the scales continuum, from 0 to 10, than in the basic research. If one refers back to the section on methodology that discusses how this scale was coded, it should be clear that the new dichotomization means that the conservative breakdown now includes six more positive points based on the over-all range of scores and the liberal classification six fewer.

High class (class 1 by 3) shows a correlation of .641 to liberalism. This relationship is significant to $p < .001$. Oppositely, when the class breakdown is reversed to 3 by 1, the Yule's Q measurement gives a perfect association of 1.00 with liberalism and conservatism. This relationship develops because there are no lower class, liberal

individuals in the sample as determined by the present revised dichotomies. Chi-square is inapplicable here, but one can quite safely assume a distinctive difference between the samples.

The Yule's Q relationships of class to knowledge (number of issues recalled that relate to the '64 Presidential campaign) yields only one noteworthy finding. There is a .263 association when class, 3 by 1, is run respectively against low knowledge (two or fewer issues recalled) versus higher knowledge (three or more issues recalled).

The association of mobility with the dependent variables does not give very fruitful results. High mobility (4 by 1), correlated with liberalism, produces a slight .212 association. There are only ten cases in the classification for highest mobility; were there more cases the association might be rather high since eighty per cent fall within the liberalism category, even with its present enlargement. Chi-square is not significant in this instance. No other results involving mobility differ to a mentionable extent from the findings that have been discussed earlier in this paper.

The findings employing crystallization yield one more noteworthy result. A fairly substantial association of .342 is produced when low crystallization (2 by 4) is associated with liberalism in the revised dichotomized form. The chi-square relationship is $p < .10$ (almost .05). This result was sufficiently interesting, and the numbers were sufficiently large to allow a chi-square computation with class as an intermediate variable. The over-all relationship was significant to $p < .001$. Class itself was correlated to $p < .01$.

Footnotes

1. George Snedecor's Statistical Methods, pp. 188-200, discusses the chi-square partitioning process that has been used in this research.
2. Margaret Hagood and Daniel Price, Statistics for Sociologists, pp. 361-362.
3. Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin A. Trow, James S. Trow, Union Democracy, p. 12, from Patricia Kendall and Katherine Wolf, "The Analysis of Deviant Cases in Communications Research 1948-1949," in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton (eds.), Communications Research, 1948-1949, p. 153.
4. Young, Pauline, Scientific Social Surveys and Research, pp. 321-325.
5. Bernard Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences, p. 107.

Chapter IV

Detailed Interpretation and Analysis of the DataThe Importance of Situs

In this section we shall attempt to interpret the findings that have been discussed in the preceding section. In the first place, as Morris and Murphy indicated, there appears to be a considerable influence of situs upon liberalism-conservatism. As Table three suggests, a strong correspondence between class breakdowns and situs exists. Most notable in terms of the dichotomies employed (Class I-II versus Class III-IV) was that 39.2% of the higher and 80.3% of the lower classes were located in the combined finance-manufacturing categories. The other noteworthy difference was that 27.5% of the upper two classes in contrast with four per cent of the lower two classes belonged in the academic classification; the inclusion of fifteen Oberlin faculty members in the sample was partially responsible for this latter difference. Among the members of the lowest class, ninety-one per cent were in the manufacturing-commerce categories. Earlier findings have already shown that situs differences between the academic and the financial classifications in relation to the liberalism-conservatism scale were highly significant. There is no doubt that situs is an important aspect of the class differences represented in this research. It seems that this variable gives a very substantial indication, quite a bit more specific than class, of the psychological meaning of a person's present stratification rank. Most obvious, those

Table 3
Situs-Class Relationships

Situs	Class I		Class II		Class III		Class IV		Classes I-II		Classes III-IV	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None Indicated	2	3.8	2	4.1	2	3.4			4	3.9	2	2.8
Finance	6	11.3	12	24.5	29	49.2	5	45.5	18	17.6	35	49.3
Manufacturing	10	18.9	12	24.5	17	28.8	5	45.5	22	21.6	22	31.0
Academic	15	28.3	13	26.5	4	6.8			28	27.5	4	5.6
Professional	11	20.8	5	10.2	3	5.1			16	15.7	3	4.2
Religious	4	7.5							4	3.9		
Armed Forces	1	1.9	1	2.0					3	2.9		
Political	3	5.7	3	6.1	2	3.4	1	9.1	6	5.9	3	4.2
Communications	1	1.9	1	2.0	2	3.4			3	2.9	2	2.8
Total	53	100	49	100	59	100	11	100	102	102	71	100

who are devoted to an academic or professional career must spend many years preparing themselves, and thus they will adopt implicitly and explicitly the values of this group. Since this sample contains men who are thirty-five and over and, who, although they may not have finished their mobility climb, it seems likely that they are well established in a particular situs and thus have assimilated its principal guidelines.

The Interpretation of the Mobility Variable

However, this study has the dynamic mobility variable that requires its own analysis. First, the Yule's Q relationships of low class to low mobility seem important. Lower class individuals, being less mobile, will tend to have less perspective on those outside their class than the more mobile, higher ranked individuals. They will be more in-groupish, more eager to support the status quo, and thus more conservative. The only clear exception that the data suggest concerns the Johnson-Kennedy tax reform. Apparently the lower class, non-mobile individuals feel they will benefit sufficiently from the proposed changes to support these reforms.

It appears that lower class (within these sample limits) non-mobility is the epitome of conservatism, unless, as in the case of the tax bills, there is some reason for these particular individuals to have a substantial personal reason for supporting a particular issue.

It might be interesting to compare the structurally opposite group. As noted before, there is reason for a strong conservative

tendency among the higher class mobiles. Individuals who have risen in status above their fathers and have accumulated wealth and built up prestige will be in great fear of losing all and thus will tend to favor a status quo, and, in consequence, most of the conservative alternatives on the liberalism-conservatism scale. This latter tendency should apply to all mobile groups in this sample, but it will be particularly relevant for mobile people in the higher classes. In addition, they might be conservative if conservative attitudes seemed to be held by the group to which they aspired.

The two preceding interpretations present a number of possibilities as to why both high class mobile and low class nonmobile individuals may tend to be conservative. Following are a number of opposing reasons these same individuals may tend to be more liberal. As already noted, the members of the lower bracket might feel personal benefit from a liberal stand. Particularly socialized medicine, government ownership of public utilities, and guarantee of jobs would be issues they might support. Secondly, they might have a selfless desire to improve the life chances of their associates.

The high class mobiles would become liberally inclined because of their perspective upon the problems toward which these liberal issues are directed. Having personally experienced hardship and difficulty they might be willing to support humanitarian causes like civil rights, socialized medicine, slum clearance, government ownership of public utilities, rights of labor, and government guarantee of jobs.

A scanty item analysis reveals only very slight differences between the major groups. Certain general tendencies within five data breakdowns shall be mentioned.

(1) Ten non-mobile respondents from the highest class show support for labor's right to strike, strong backing of the U.N., anti-socialistic feelings, strong feelings against government support of jobs for all, and noncommitment toward Churchill's victory over the Labour Party.

(2) The individuals in Class I who have risen three or more classes above that of their fathers have a tendency to tone down race differences, to support socialized medicine, slum clearance, labor's right to strike, the U.N., and are against loyalty oaths, Russian imperialist aggression, and governmental guarantee of jobs.

(3) Class III, non-mobile individuals are against job guarantees to all and government ownership of public utilities. Also, they fear Russian imperialistic aggression and Communist infiltration; this category of individuals supports the U.N. but with less unanimity than the other groups.

(4) Mobile individuals in Class III are disturbed by imperialist aggression, government ownership of private utilities, Communist infiltration, socialism, and are in favor of Churchill's victory over the Labour Party, Congressional investigations of Communism, and the U.N.

(5) The members of the lowest class, all of whom are non-mobile, are against civil rights movements, federal slum clearance programs, socialism, government guarantees of jobs; they support loyalty oaths,

Congressional committees investigating Communism, Churchill's Conservative Party, are fearful of Russian imperialist aggression and Communist infiltration, and, like the four other groups mentioned above, support the U.N.

Thus it is apparent that slight differences do exist between the various groups considered here. Among the two upper class groups there does appear to be a slight tendency for the more mobile to tone down racial differences and to look more favorably upon socialized medicine. The mobile members of Class III support congressional investigations of Communism and the U.N. more staunchly than the non-mobile. The lowest class is consistently conservative on ten of the fourteen issues. An over-all appraisal of this crude item analysis would once more reinforce the idea that class gives a better relationship to conservatism-liberalism than mobility.

Although there are slight item differences between the high and low mobile in both the highest and also in the next to the lowest classes, no strong trend is discernible. Yet, particularly in the upper class, there is a tendency for the more mobile to be more liberal.

Analysis of Status Crystallization

Status crystallization has shown a somewhat greater relationship to liberalism-conservatism than social mobility. Before discussing this set of findings, however, we should mention the interrelation of crystallization with mobility. The Yule's Q results, we have already

observed, are basically of an inverse order. It has been noted that low crystallization has some relationship with low mobility. Why does this trend, slight as it may be, develop? It is conceivable that the non-mobile people who have ethnic as well as minority religious backgrounds and also have a high class location help establish this trend. On the other hand, the noncrystallized education, occupation, and income statuses among the individuals in the lower class seem partially responsible for this finding. This alternative appears more likely since low crystallization and low mobility are both related to low class, as determined in a number of Yule's Q computations.

The rather substantial relationship of high crystallization to high class, and oppositely, low crystallization to low class is related to sample classifications. This association should be expected. Although the sample contains a substantial number of people who have lower ranking in the five different statuses, there is, in each instance, a majority of individuals who have the higher status. Logically, since more individuals have high than low status in each case, one can presume, barring some very abnormal distribution of the different statuses concerned in status crystallization, that more high class people will be crystallized than those in the lower class.

These Yule's findings complicate the already intricate interpretation. The following propositions concerning these findings are mere conjecture; hopefully they contain some plausibility. If an individual had low crystallization and simultaneously low mobility, it is quite

likely that he would have been able to reconcile or at least ^{have} learned to abide the status discrepancies. Since he has had low mobility, it is likely that he has experienced this noncrystallized situation most, if not all, of his life. He will have had time to determine his obligations to and general orientations toward the different reference groups. On the other hand, the confusion that seems to be frequently present in the life of a mobile individual would prevent a relaxed solution to this problem. This observation says nothing specific about attitudes; these can be predicted to some extent from an examination of the individual's particular reference group(s).

The second Yule's Q finding mentioned above, that between high crystallization and high class and conversely low crystallization and low class, implies that the attitudes of the higher class individuals will be somewhat easier to predict since, at least in this sample, they appear to be confronted with fewer important reference groups.

The general trends for the different statuses that are contained within the crystallization variable are interesting. We have already noted that educational disparity (high education) has a liberalizing effect among the lower classes. This finding is very much in line with Maccoby's evidence included in the discussion of Chapter one.

The occupation findings indicate that, regardless of class, there is a tendency for those who are noncrystallized in this area to be more conservative. Interpretation should be two-fold, in order to account for this phenomenon. Among the higher class individuals, those

who have noncrystallized, i.e., low occupation ranking probably are conservative because they are afraid of becoming Wilensky-type "skidders," and losing what they have. A status quo, they hope, will at least preserve the current situation and prevent things from becoming worse. On the other hand, Class III and Class IV individuals, who have uncrystallized, high occupations are nouveau riche types who are afraid of losing their subjectively (and perhaps objectively) insecure positions. In addition, these individuals identify with the values of the higher class reference groups they are trying to join.

The variables of religion and ethnicity have virtually the effects one would expect. Among the higher classes, noncrystallized responses are related to greater liberalism and, oppositely, within the two lower class brackets, an uncrystallized religion or ethnicity is correlated with greater conservatism. The writings of Lenski and others have documented this fact for religion. Liberal inclinations are strong in both Catholic and Jewish groups. The adherents of these religions have been discriminated against in the struggle for prestige and power; thus they support liberal measures that will ameliorate this situation. For individuals with minority religious backgrounds, the liberal tendencies are often compounded by coincidence with ethnicity. People with ethnic backgrounds will frequently have extended family ties that reach into the lower classes, and they will thus be sympathetic to changes that will help their less successful relatives. However, there is an opposing interpretation that perhaps helps explain some of the deviations of the

data from this first explanation. This interpretation has already been aired in relation to the data on noncrystallized occupation. High class people with an ethnic background are going to be particularly afraid of losing their newly-won positions and therefore will tend to support the status quo. Also, they will frequently identify and even overidentify with the class to which they aspire.

We have not separated income as a noncrystallized item since its three-fold breakdown made it somewhat more difficult to compute.

Analysis by Yule's Q produced the interesting and seemingly unlikely result that high crystallization is related to a moderate degree, .342, to liberalism. From this bit of evidence there seems a clear indication that the uncrystallized statuses related to conservatism outnumber those related to liberalism.

The findings in Table four, Appendix two, show rather clearly that this over-all finding is true. Table two in this appendix suggests percentages; in Table four an idea of absolute numbers gives another perspective on the crystallization-noncrystallization differences. Although this table does not portray the same statistical situation as the Yule's Q and chi-square results discussed directly above (since it deals with crystallization and noncrystallization on four different statuses, not the composite differences between crystallized and noncrystallized individuals), it does help to give some statistical indication as to why the crystallized individuals are more liberal.

The important, substantive issue which these findings suggest

is that the specific noncrystallized statuses are crucial, not only the degree of crystallization per se. Lenski's hypothesis suggests that non-crystallization will lead to liberal tendencies. It appears very important to specify the amount of crystallization of the various status components.

Intervening Variables Related to Liberalism-Conservatism

There are several variables that have influenced substantially the relationship of mobility to liberalism-conservatism. Political interest, political association, and situs, it seems, all can be interpreted in a similar way. That is, high political participation and political association as well as commercial manufacturing situs membership will incline an individual toward conservative views. Communication theory would support these findings. People are prone to selective living; they associate, learn, and generally perceive in relation to their preexisting values. Since this sample deals with a middle and upper-middle class group that is basically Republican, one can assume that each of these three states serves to reinforce already existing conservative values.

Loneliness was the only psychological, "state of mind," variable that showed any substantial relationship with mobility. Contrary to prediction, it was related to conservatism. Lenski's conclusions, concerning the withdrawal of liberally-inclined noncrystallized individuals are consistent with this finding. In addition, it seems that this

finding might be partially explained by a "negative" reference group explanation. Loneliness is indicative of physical and/or psychological isolation from other people. Since the members of this sample have a basically conservative orientation, it seems that the lonely individuals will be confronted less frequently with conservative values and thus be somewhat less inclined to support them. The counter hypothesis, derived from marginality, is not sustained. That is, greater loneliness will produce more consideration and perspective upon the problems of others, since one is somewhat removed and aloof from the "helter-skelter" of ordinary existence.

Explanation of Opinion and Knowledge Relationships

The data relating to specific issues involving the upcoming '64 election show a few distinctive results and trends. Noteworthy was the substantial support the generally conservative lower class individuals gave the Kennedy-Johnson tax reform. It seems likely that their backing was based upon the belief that they would personally benefit from the reform. The other significant finding concerns the facility of choosing a presidential candidate. In this peculiar sample, with a substantial number of academic people, who almost by definition are liberal Democrats, it seems as though they and perhaps a number of other members of their socio-economic class will support the incumbent. The lower classes (in this sample), which undoubtedly contain a larger percentage of probable Republican supporters, are undecided as to which candidate

they will support, since their party has no obvious candidate.

From the entire mass of data included in this research, only two more relationships are worth discussing again.

The items dealing directly with knowledge of politics did not yield very fruitful results. Probably this is a result of the instrument used. A great many subjects did not respond to questions that required careful recall on their part; it apparently was a lot easier to answer the multiple choice questions in the other sections. It is possible that the somewhat more imposing knowledge questions were partially answered or ignored by some who could have done an adequate or even excellent job if they had been willing to give up the time. More tenuously, it seems possible that the busiest people are perhaps more likely to be involved in politics; thus, although they are concerned with political endeavors and knowledgeable concerning them, they will be less inclined to answer these more demanding questions than the less busy and possibly less politically knowledgeable individuals. Other hypotheses certainly can be suggested; the point is that one can not glibly assume that failure to respond to the recall questions means the respondent was ignorant of the particular subject.

In general, lower class individuals were knowledgeable about political issues concerning the '64 campaign, and, secondly, they were more interested in politics. Both of these issues seem consistent with earlier findings concerning intermediate variables like situs and political association. The lower class individuals, selectively perceiving the

political campaign, are going to have very clear-cut notions about a number of issues and be able to recall these more precisely than the higher, and in this particular study, more liberal individuals whose political support is not sufficiently definite that they will be able or care to recall a number of personally significant issues. Perhaps there is a structural inertia of the upper classes, an aloofness from the mundane world of politics; their activities are more widespread and often less practical than the lower class individuals¹, whose business and commercial interests will be immediately affected by political developments.

Mobility and crystallization had no substantial relationship with any of these dependent variables, although there was a slight tendency for the more mobile individuals to support the Democratic, liberal opinions as well as to know less about politics. However, these tendencies were very slight. The slight tendency for mobile people to know less about politics is implicit in the Yule's Q relationships that associates the lower, better informed classes with the non-mobile.

Summary of the Findings and Interpretations

It seems profitable to summarize this section since a rather complicated mass of findings and interpretations is presented.

(1) In the first place, the class variable, and, more important, a specific derivative, situs, has a significant relation to the conservatism-liberalism scale. We have seen that one's situs serves as an important reference group for determining attitudes of this sort.

(2) Mobility illustrates no over-all relationship of any significance with conservatism-liberalism. There is a Yule's Q correlation of low class to low mobility. It seems very likely that those who are both low in class and in mobility will be very in-groupish; they will only support the issues that will benefit the members of their status group. Thus, in general they will be conservative in outlook and support a liberal course of action on a particular issue, only if they will personally benefit from such a stand.

There are also dual propositions why the structural opposite, that is, the high class mobile, would support a liberal versus conservative point of view. These individuals will tend to be liberal because their rise up the status ladder has given them a greater perspective upon the various problems that liberalism supports. On the other hand, they might be more conservative if they fear that a change in the society will affect their newly-won, and seemingly precarious, positions.

At the various class levels for mobile and non-mobile individuals, reference group or anticipated reference group identifications are going to affect their liberal-conservative attitudes also.

It was suggested that a differentiation in items within the liberalism-conservatism scale might indicate the various reasons for liberal and conservative stands. However, an item analysis revealed no distinctive findings.

(3) Crystallization is clearly an important variable in the stratification analysis, for the findings derived from using it were somewhat

more substantial than those obtained using mobility. That crystallization, like mobility, will be related to class is apparent from the Yule's Q correlation of low class to low crystallization and of high class to high crystallization. More specifically, the relationship of high crystallization to liberalism seems to be based upon the situs distribution, namely the large number of academics in the higher classes.

We have proposed that if an individual has low mobility as well as low crystallization his reference group orientations will be more stabilized than one would normally expect for the uncrystallized individual. In addition, the relationships of high class to high crystallization and low class to low crystallization would suggest that the higher class individuals will have fewer reference groups.

The various crystallization components show some significant relationships to liberalism-conservatism. Noncrystallized occupation seems to be related to conservatism, regardless of the class. Individuals with high class will be afraid of becoming "skidders." And, the lower class members with high occupational status will be conservative since they are afraid of losing these positions and identify with the class or situs group to which they aspire.

When the ethnic and religious statuses are noncrystallized among higher class individuals, the data suggest that there will be an identification with liberal tradition. On the other hand, individuals in the lower class will tend to be more conservative if their ethnic and/or religious statuses are high. Lenski's explanation that there will be a

general liberal tendency accompanying status noncrystallization is not borne out in the details of this study.

(4) The intermediate variables of political interest and association are subject to the same interpretation as is situs. Thus, from a reference group perspective, individuals who have closer ties to and interest with politics are going to be more conservative if they are surrounded by a basically conservative tradition, as the members of this sample generally are.

(5) The psychological mechanism of loneliness was the only variable of that type associated to any extent with the mobility and conservatism-liberalism relationship. The findings were generally supportive of Lenski's conclusions concerning liberal noncrystallized individuals.

(6) The only opinion question that shows any significant structural relationship is the tax reform measure and its relation to class. Within these sample limitations, lower class people are more likely to support the recent tax-reform measures, apparently for selfish reasons.

(7) Lower class people have more knowledge concerning issues of the presidential campaign. The situs distribution would suggest that the lower class individuals will be more concerned with political activity, because it has immediate application to the business and commercial orientations and thus is discussed frequently within their occupational spheres. In addition, the higher class individuals, particularly those

in the academic situs, have a more widespread range of interests and consequently will be less concerned with politics.

In short, there are a number of explanations, structural as well as psychological, often somewhat contradictory, for explaining the various findings in this research.

Some Final Remarks Concerning the Interpretation of the Data

From a structural perspective, one finds several, often opposing explanations, that thread their way throughout this data. First, there is the all-important reference group concept that is included in virtually all the data interpretations. The individual desires acceptance in a particular group and will conform, or in the case of some aspirants, overconform with the values of a particular status group. The gross distinction between academicians and the members of other situs groups illustrates this structural phenomenon. This explanation also applies to class where there seems to be some conformity on liberalism-conservatism attitudes.

For mobiles it is frequently difficult to determine the reference group or groups. As we have noted already, mobile individuals frequently anticipate rising into another class while the "skidders" often cling to attitudes of the class from which they have fallen, in order to maintain an aloofness from the class into which they have dropped. A difficulty with this data is that no evidence concerning the reference group for which the respondents aspire is available. Beyond the indica-

tion of a particular group, one would have to know the relevant attitudes that the respondent believes this group maintains. Therefore, at this time, one can only imprecisely guess the extent to which various reference group memberships or aspired memberships influence socio-political attitudes among the upwardly and downwardly mobile.*

Probably the most important explanation in this study involving the reference group concept concerns crystallization. Lenski has suggested that status noncrystallization will produce a liberal attitude upon a number of issues. It seems implicit that there will be a drive for status consistency. The individual will support structural changes that will reduce the dissonance produced by having split loyalties, and such support will generally back liberal movements. Thus, in short, Lenski has predicted that there will be a blanket psychological reaction to a status inconsistency; he does go far enough to say that some non-crystallized statuses will produce greater effect than others.

However, our data have indicated that the particular, un-crystallized statuses are important. For example, high uncrystallized religion among the lower class respondents is related to conservatism and low uncrystallized ethnic status among higher class individuals is related to liberalism, compared to the respective class groups with crystallized statuses.

* Knowledge of political events would be an important derivative of reference group membership also, since it is obtained or at least more easily obtained if one's attitudes favor its acquisition.

Thus, it appears that noncrystallized status will produce a number of potential reference groups, and the influence of the one(s) that the individual believes important will affect political attitudes more than any standardized psychological effects of noncrystallization.

Other explanations both support and oppose the reference group approach. For example, fear of status loss, hypothesized to be a feature among the mobile and individuals with high, uncrystallized occupational status would seem to suggest a conservative outlook, in order to preserve newly acquired, and supposedly precarious, status positions. This interpretation would concur with the preceding reference group explanation, if the individuals were aspiring to join a group with basically conservative values. Otherwise the two explanations would be in opposition. In the latter case, there might be a reconciliation between the two divergent propositions. Possibly, reference group association would be more prominently demonstrated by responses to particular items and fear of status loss related to others. For example, the mobile individuals who have risen to Class I might feel that active support of civil rights movements was an important stand to take for acceptance by the established Class I members; these individuals would not fear status loss from the Negro groups since they felt considerably above them. On the other hand, these same mobile people might believe that supporting a socialist doctrine would greatly endanger their newly-acquired economic position; at the same time, they might observe that the reference group to which they aspired also opposed socialism. This type of interpretation

once more indicates the necessity for a greater differentiation of liberal-conservative items than was carried out in this research.

Other explanations, seemingly contradictory on the surface, might be reconciled if analysis were carried out to specific items. Thus, it has been suggested that frustration, derived from one's unachieved ambitions, or, simply, the complexity of one's socio-economic position, will lead to rigidity and thus general conservatism. One should not overlook this hypothesis; it is quite possible that it would apply in a number of areas, where an individual's position would not be damaged by such a stand. On the other hand, in general the rational individual, who has virtual control over his emotions, will not risk his position by aberrating seriously from his reference group standards.

In short, the strongest interpretative backing is being given to the reference group idea. If one puts the explanation in simple terms it becomes very clear. A man is going to support the attitudes that he believes are most prominent among his social and occupational associates. In that way, he will be the happiest and most successful. If fear of prestige, power, and income loss or personal frustrations suggest that he act against the reference group standards, he probably will do it only if his position is not endangered.¹

A refined instrument will be necessary to make such distinctions. In the conclusion a brief explanation of improved research techniques will be given.

Footnotes

1. Dr. Donald Warwick has suggested a scheme that would be useful for differentiation in this type of explanation. He notes that the various status dimensions of clarity, consistency, continuity, and social support all have psychological and sociological aspects. This type of analysis would prove useful for differentiating the various elements of status.

Chapter V

Conclusion

There are two main points to be conveyed in the conclusion; the first is personal and applies to this particular research and the second is more universal and concerns the future of research in this area. As shall be evident presently, the two considerations are somewhat overlapping, for frequently improvements in the present research techniques would have meant modest progress in the entire investigatory area of class, social mobility, crystallization, and politics.

Personal Benefit from This Study

These comments shall be presented briefly. It should be clearly understood, however, that although these observations will be terse, they are made with some feeling. Methodology-conscious readers already appreciate what is a rather recent insight to this investigator.

Organization can be mundane but clearly is essential in a study of this sort. Unless one posits well-formulated hypotheses before the study is physically begun, then he will include some or possibly a great deal of superfluous material in his instrument and omit important or even crucial inquiries. At the coding, data processing, and statistical calculation stages a great deal of time will be misdirected. Careful planning in the beginning will save time in geometric proportions at the later stages of the research process.

Questionnaire versus Interview

In the first place, it is essential to revise the entire research instrument. It seems clear that a written questionnaire is inadequate for collecting the desired information in this area. As is already indicated, respondents frequently omit the more difficult questions, and it is impossible to determine whether they have done this because they have no information or simply to save time. In addition, for various reasons, frequently because they feel the question is too personal, the subjects will by-pass a crucial inquiry. For example, questions on religion and income were often ignored; in these cases, therefore, only an incomplete index for crystallization could be obtained. An interview would provide an opportunity to badger or cajole the respondent into supplying the necessary item of information.

Quite possibly, more people would accept an interview than a questionnaire, which frequently requires more effort and gives none of the tangible satisfaction of an interview. Thus, the incalculable bias that results from the utilization of only willing respondents would be proportionately reduced.

Sample Considerations

The actual sample must be considered much more carefully than has been done. Because of sample distortions, situs is possibly a more important structural variable in this study than are the Hollingshead breakdowns for class. A representative sample would be useful but

perhaps ambitiously large for a small project. What might be more feasible would be a study with a limited age, socio-economic class, and even situs range. Then the effects of the two major independent variables, crystallization and mobility, would be more readily apparent. Of course, this technique makes it much more difficult to locate respondents.

Refinement of the Different Variables

Saburo Yasuda has made some insightful observations concerning the methodology of mobility, and two of them apply to this particular study. In the first place, there is the problem of how to make direct comparison between father's and son's social positions. Not only inter-generational but intra-generational mobility must be taken into account. Various measures have been suggested by different authors. Yasuda feels that devices such as those of Glass, Carlson, Lipset, and Lenski have all presented some sort of arbitrariness or statistical inconvenience. He feels that in order to eliminate the difficulties such measures contain, it is necessary to make status comparisons at the time independent occupational careers begin. This point marks the one time at which father's and son's statuses are most comparable. Simultaneous measurement at an earlier age would not be based upon occupation, and thus comparison at later times, such as Lenski's choice of the arbitrary age of forty, might find father and son in careers that would be difficult to compare. Unfortunately this particular article was published after this research was completed. Otherwise we might have incorporated this idea into the calculation of the mobility variable.

The other point that Yasuda makes is a documentation of Thurn and Feldman. These authors noted that birth order can be a very important determinant in mobility. For example, even in western societies a son frequently is expected to succeed his father. Also, a number of situations can arise making it impossible for two sons to be included in the same occupation.¹

In addition, the present research did not supply sufficient information about career mobility to use it as a variable. Situs has proved to be an interesting component in this research. The political attitudes related to the various reference groups produced by a mobility of occupational roles might have turned up some interesting findings.

We have already indicated the arbitrariness of the crystallization variable. Operational refinement of this concept is equally necessary for research advancement.

The dependent variables must be revised also. Had this project been more elaborate, it would have been important to pre-test the various inquiries to determine their differential effects upon the various structural categories. In the present study, the respondents' scores tended to be clustered toward the conservative end of the liberalism-conservatism scale; however, there was some differentiation for various items within the scale. A more focused scale or scales might have produced more significant results. These findings indicate only slight trends in this direction, but it would be an interesting problem to test. Perhaps a number of liberalism-conservatism scales should be constructed, possibly

one each for international affairs, domestic government, civil rights, and civil liberties.

There is another serious difficulty with this scale. Some items are considerably more clear-cut than others. Inquiries concerning racial differences (which objectively exist in a biological sense but an extreme liberal might be unwilling to concede for fear of seeming prejudiced), test ban treaties, Churchill's victory over the Labour Party, and Communist infiltration into the government are rather nebulous issues that need considerable qualification to determine whether the particular response can be labelled liberal or conservative. In fact, perhaps some of these items should be discarded entirely. Interviews, of course, would be very helpful for determining attitudes more precisely.

The same approach might apply to the items concerning opinion and knowledge. Careful pre-testing could determine what type of question differentiates more precisely among the various major, structural variables. As the written questionnaire technique failed to uncover any important results, it seems that the best type of inquiry for the two knowledge sections would have been an interview.

A better study might eliminate most or even all of the present intermediate variables. Perhaps the substitution of several items that would ascertain subjective mobility and crystallization should be made. In the present research we tried to ascertain subjective mobility; however, the results were entirely unsatisfactory, for this particular question was answered very incompletely. Once more a questionnaire technique

has proved very incomplete, and detailed probing is undoubtedly necessary.

Sociological Gains from a Study of Social

Mobility and Crystallization

(a) Marginality.

This brand of research presents a fine opportunity to test the applicability of the marginality hypotheses. There is a great deal of dispute on the question of whether marginal men actually exist. Is this concept actually useful or is it merely a fabrication that has no more psychological application to one group than any other? As already indicated in a number of instances earlier in this research, we have indicated that marginality, as represented by both mobility and crystallization, produces some distinct differences in comparison with nonmarginality, i.e., static state and uncrystallization. However, the specificity of our findings has not been carried very far in the present research.

As already indicated, the focus of the present project might be made more distinct by the elimination of all or most of the present intermediate variables, which would be replaced by indices of subjective mobility and crystallization. Marginality should be analyzed as a state of mind as well as a structural phenomenon.

(b) Research and Theory.

What is the feasibility of linking the research approach employed in this paper to a conventional body of theory? It seems that

reference group concepts, which have been applied throughout the study, are very useful here. Of course, there is a pervasive dynamic aspect that requires one to consider the interacting effects of two or more reference groups. For mobile individuals, perhaps it would be necessary to consider simultaneously one's status group at birth and, in some cases, several status classifications through which one had passed, as well as the category presently occupied. For low crystallized subjects, two, three, or more groups related to the different statuses would have to be observed.

However, for an ambitious study, a structural approach is perhaps insufficient. Perhaps, Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance would be quite applicable in this instance, because it is designed to deal with psychological conflicts, a focal concern of these two types of marginality. Certainly if such a theoretical approach were incorporated, it would be necessary to reinstate, in refined form, a number of intermediate variables such as the "ladder" questions used quite unsuccessfully in this research.

(c) The conventional variable of class.

Another objective of this type of study is that of subjugating the importance of class as a structural determinant of attitudes and indicating the importance of less conventional, more specific variables. Actually, the present research has not been particularly successful in this respect. The most important conclusion in this study which would minimize the importance of class involves the influence upon political

attitudes of situs, the differential importance of various statuses abstracted from the over-all status crystallization relationship, as well as the degree of association and interest in politics.

(d) Interdisciplinary benefit.

As an outgrowth of the above discussion on class, it should be realized that an intricate merging of politics, psychology, and sociology is possible throughout this type of study. More than the conventional voting studies, which are landmarks of empirical work in political sociology, this type of examination goes more deeply into the internalized feelings as well as the social structure related to the different political considerations. In addition, it attempts to cover a wider range of political inquiry, not just specific opinion questions such as those that predominate in the Campbell and Lazarsfeld studies. This sort of analysis could lead to a more profound empirical link between the disciplines than previously existed when simplified structural schemes were employed.

(e) Application of the research.

Are there any practical implications for this type of study? Cross-culturally, in particular, there seems to be great applicability. Crystallization and social mobility are concepts with extraordinary meaning in a great number of underdeveloped countries. The relationship of these concepts to political, social, and economic development in these countries could be intellectually interesting and of great practical importance within a coherent, organized framework for dealing with the

various problems. This type of dynamic perspective upon social stratification might help our understanding of various, important political situations like the emotional problems of mobile political leaders, the transference of local religio-ethnic ties to regional and national political loyalties, and the effects of western education upon the development of favorable attitudes among nonwesternized tribesmen toward such western institutions as unions, efficient government and commercial bureaucracies, and industrial development.

The examples given here are very naive. It is important that the reader realize that a refinement of the independent variables used in this research could be used as important guidelines for practically oriented social research in underdeveloped countries.

The concepts of mobility and crystallization have extra-political application when they are related to other variables, such as family, religion, occupation, and education. For example, Myers and Roberts suggest that Class III* individuals torn by complicated family strifes and thwarted aspirations have a greater tendency to be schizophrenic than the Class V respondents they studied. What are the emotional difficulties and/or advantages that mobility and crystallization incur? It should be clear that there is vast opportunity for theoretical and practical exploration in numerous areas related to the focal stratification variables employed in the present research.

* Myers and Roberts use the Hollingshead scale for determining social position.

Footnotes

1. Saburo Yasuda, "A Methodological Inquiry into Social Mobility," American Sociological Review, pp. 20-22.

Appendix 1

Throughout the data processing, we have also used an occupational mobility index in all situations that employed the Hollingshead mobility scale. This factor was obtained from the Hollingshead scale of occupation, and the same computational procedures were used. For the data analysis, all individuals whose occupation was less, equal to, or one level higher than their fathers' were considered static and those two or more occupational levels above their fathers' were considered mobile. This dichotomization was a division as close to the median of scores as possible.

Since this evidence contains some distinctive differences compared to the material using the Hollingshead scale, some detailed analysis will be given. However, the discussion will not be nearly as extensive as that discussed in the body of the paper since the intermediate variables will remain constant. Thus, it seems sufficient to establish occupational mobility and its difference with the Hollingshead scale. First, the occupational mobility factor, when correlated with conservative-liberalism exclusively, presents a wider range of results than the Hollingshead material. Thus, among the static individuals computed by the Hollingshead scale, 51.9% compared to 54.4% judged solely by occupational mobility were more conservative. Among the mobile, the respective conservative percentages were 49.4% and 46.8%. It is noteworthy, however, that among the occupational mobiles these more extreme

differences were obscured by the addition of a class variable. This same distinction is carried through when intermediate variables are added. Among the occupationally static, the differences for any particular breakdown are greater than with the Hollingshead scale. However, as one would expect, the ratio differences of data distinctions between the two different indices of mobility with the liberalism-conservative scale are smaller in a several-variable relationship because the class and the intermediate variables are constants, thus lessening the initial proportional differences between the two mobility scales.

The discrepancies in the two sets of scores are very easily explainable. In a very real sense, occupational mobility is a conservative measure. Education has increased at a very high rate in recent years, and thus mobility differences between a father and son are going to be greater when an educational factor is included than when it is missing. These results are borne out very clearly in these findings. Thus, there are ten more individuals in the mobile dichotomization for the Hollingshead scale than for the occupational mobility factor, six in the upper and four in the lower class breakdown as Table one in this appendix indicates. Interestingly, the differences show almost complete consistency in the transfer. In particular, six cases from the conservative category of the lower class, occupationally static individuals appear to have transferred to the lower class mobile category as determined by Hollingshead's scale. Oppositely, there are five more liberal individuals in the higher class of Hollingshead's upwardly mobile category while

there was one fewer in the appropriate static category.

After careful examination of the data, it is very clear that no discernible trend exists between the other variable relationships using occupational mobility as an independent variable. Slight percentage differences clearly do occur, but in no consistent direction.

It is important to attempt some explanation for the differences produced by the two scales. From Table one, in Appendix one, it is apparent that education, which we have already noted is the basis of transfer from the occupation static to the Hollingshead mobility classification, appears to have a distinctive effect upon liberalism-conservatism attitude, five more higher class Hollingshead-scale mobiles being liberal and six more lower class conservative than those in the comparable occupational mobility groups. It appears that educational mobility, therefore, has a differential effect related to class. If an individual's occupation is the same status as his father's, but his education is higher, then there seems to be a differential relationship to liberalism-conservatism when class is also taken into account. Thus, in the higher class those who have risen occupationally but not educationally above their fathers are more liberal, while in the lower class the trend is quite the opposite. A possible explanation is supplied by a reference group perspective. If an individual belongs to Class I or II and has been raised in a home where his father is occupationally if not educationally his equal, then his education is going to reinforce his background values and principal reference orientations. On the other

hand, if a lower class (by the limits of this sample) man's occupation is the same level as his father's but his education is higher, greater conservatism will develop in spite of his education. I suspect that either his background attitudes would overcome the liberalizing tendencies of education, and/or the education would be sufficiently different from the education of higher class individuals to preserve or even strengthen conservative tendencies. An interesting study could be made from a careful analysis of the amount and content of education for people with different degrees of mobility, in different classes. The present study suggests that education, though perhaps important, is subservient to occupation as a factor in the calculation of a mobility index. Thus, it seems roughly justifiable that the Hollingshead scale does compute the factorial weights of occupation and education in a ratio of seven to four.

Table 1

Numerical Breakdowns of Liberalism-
Conservatism x Occupational Mobility, Class*

	Static		Mobile		
	High - Class - Low	Low - Class - High	High - Class - Low	Low - Class - High	
Conservative	19	30	26	10	
Liberal	21	19	31	10	166 Total

Numerical Breakdowns of Liberalism-
Conservatism x Hollingshead Scale, Class

	Static		Mobile		
	High - Class - Low	Low - Class - High	High - Class - Low	Low - Class - High	
Conservative	18	24	27	16	
Liberal	20	19	36	8	168 Total

The Mobility Differences

	Static		Mobile	
	High - Class - Low	Low - Class - High	High - Class - Low	Low - Class - High
Conservative	-1	-6	1	6
Liberal	-1	0	5	-2

* The differences for each box are found by subtracting the number in the appropriate box of the occupational mobility from the corresponding category in the Hollingshead table. A minus score indicates a greater number contained by the occupational item in that box and a plus score, a higher Hollingshead scale total for the particular category.

Appendix 2

Table 1

Area Breakdowns for Questionnaire Distribution

	<u>Elyria Heights</u>	<u>Harwood- Washington Area</u>	<u>Lorain</u>	<u>Oberlin</u>	<u>Total</u>
Number Confronted	368	183	91	33	675
Number Accepted	157	100	47	-	364
Percentage Accepted	42.6	54.6	51.6	-	53.9
Number Filled Out	75	48	27	18	189*
Percentage Filled Out	47.7	48	57.6	54.5	51.9

Female Associate's Record
versus Personal Record

Number Confronted	45	46
Number Accepted	18	29
Number Filled Out	9	14
Percentage Filled Out	50	48.2

Questionnaires Given
Directly to Men

Number Accepted	33
Number Filled Out	20
Percentage Filled Out	60.6

* Thirty-three questionnaires were received through the mail. They are not tabulated here since the sender's address was frequently not indicated. Fourteen forms were discarded for incompleteness to make the final sample of 173.

Table 2

A Compartmentalization of the Status

Crystallization Relationships

Status Crystallization*

	Crystallized				Noncrystallized				x ²	Nonsig- nificant	p < .10**
	High - Class - Low		High - Class - Low		High - Class - Low		High - Class - Low				
	Crystal- lization	Crystal- lization	Crystal- lization	Crystal- lization	Crystal- lization	Crystal- lization	Crystal- lization	Crystal- lization			
	of	of	of	of	of	of	of	of			
Education		Education		Education		Education					
Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No				
Conservative	22	8	7	2	12	2	25	6			
	42.3%	80 %	43.8%	33.3%	41.4%	20 %	71.4%	46.2%			
Liberal	29	2	9	4	17	8.0	10	7			
	57.7%	20 %	56.2%	66.7%	58.6%	80 %	28.6%	53.8%		N = 170	

	Crystallized				Noncrystallized				x ²	Nonsig- nificant	p < .02
	High - Class - Low		High - Class - Low		High - Class - Low		High - Class - Low				
	Crystal- lization	Crystal- lization	Crystal- lization	Crystal- lization	Crystal- lization	Crystal- lization	Crystal- lization	Crystal- lization			
	of	of	of	of	of	of	of	of			
Occupation		Occupation		Occupation		Occupation					
Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No				
Conservative	28	2	8	2	10	3	17	14			
	50 %	66.7%	42.1%	50 %	30.3%	50 %	53.1%	87.5%			
Liberal	28	1	11	2	23	3	15	2			
	50 %	33.3%	57.9%	50 %	69.7%	50 %	46.9%	12.5%		N = 167	

* The computed significance for any two by two table enclosed within the over-all relationship will be indicated above the table. None of the findings produced an over-all significance.

** One degree of freedom employed.

Table 2 (continued)

		Status Crystallization								
		Crystallized				Noncrystallized				
		High - Class - Low				High - Class - Low				
		Crystal- lization of Religion		Crystal- lization of Religion		Crystal- lization of Religion		Crystal- lization of Religion		
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
χ^2		Nonsig- nificant		Nonsig- nificant		Nonsig- nificant		Nonsig- nificant		
Conser- vative		26	3	10	0	7	7	14	16	
		53.1%	37.5%	50 %	0 %	33.3%	38.9%	56 %	72.7%	
Liberal		23	5	10	2	14	11	11	6	
		46.9%	62.5%	50 %	100 %	66.7%	61.1%	44 %	27.3%	N = 165
		Crystal- lization of Ethnicity		Crystal- lization of Ethnicity		Crystal- lization of Ethnicity		Crystal- lization of Ethnicity		
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
χ^2		Nonsig- nificant		Nonsig- nificant		Nonsig- nificant		Nonsig- nificant		
Conser- vative		27	4	7	2	10	5	15	16	
		48.2%	80 %	36.8%	66.7%	47.6%	26.3%	68.2%	61.5%	
Liberal		29	1	12	1	11	14	7	10	
		51.8%	20 %	63.2%	33.3%	52.4%	73.7%	31.8%	38.5%	N = 171

Appendix 2

$$\frac{\text{Total "N"} \times^2}{x^2} = 168$$
$$\underline{\leq .10^{**}}$$

$$\underline{= 169}$$
$$\underline{\leq .05}$$

$$\underline{= 173}$$
$$\underline{\leq .05}$$

$$\underline{= 173}$$
$$\underline{\leq .10}$$

Appendix 2

ve

ve

Appendix 3

I. In this section the questions are of a very general nature. The questions in Part IV are somewhat similar while those in sections II, III, and V are more specific. It is hoped that this variety will make the questionnaire more enjoyable to answer.

1. Please check the number of years of schooling you have had:

<input type="checkbox"/> Less than seven years	<input type="checkbox"/> Some college training
<input type="checkbox"/> Junior high school	<input type="checkbox"/> College degree
<input type="checkbox"/> High school graduate	<input type="checkbox"/> Graduate professional degree

2. Please check the number of years of schooling your father had:

<input type="checkbox"/> Less than seven years	<input type="checkbox"/> Some college training
<input type="checkbox"/> Junior high school	<input type="checkbox"/> College degree
<input type="checkbox"/> High school graduate	<input type="checkbox"/> Graduate professional degree

3. List in order the different jobs you have held:

1. _____	5. _____
2. _____	6. _____
3. _____	7. _____
4. _____	8. _____

4. What was your father's last occupation? Be as specific as possible.

5. To what clubs and organizations do you belong?

	<u>name</u>	<u>hours per week</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> Religious	_____	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Union	_____	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Professional	_____	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Social	_____	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Community	_____	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Political	_____	_____

6. Which of the following were your friends when you were a child?

- Children who attended the same religious services
- Neighbors' children
- Children of your parents' friends
- School-mates
- Members of the same clubs
- Out-of-town children
- Relatives

7. Which of the following are your friends now?

- People who attend the same religious services.
- Neighbors.
- Former school-mates.
- Members of the same clubs.
- Out-of-town people.
- Relatives.

8. How strongly do you feel about participating in the following activities?a. Voting.

- Strongly for participation.
- Indifferent.
- Strongly against.

b. Political discussion.

- Strongly for participation.
- Indifferent.
- Strongly against.

c. Letter writing or petitioning politicians.

- Strongly for participation.
- Indifferent.
- Strongly against.

d. Participation in political organizations.

- Strongly for participation.
- Indifferent.
- Strongly against.

II. The following questions are trying to find out some of your political attitudes. Please check the most appropriate answer.

1. A person must not be very intelligent if he still believes in differences between the races.

Strongly agree.
 Agree.
 Neither agree nor disagree.
 Disagree.
 Strongly disagree.

2. Socialized medicine will not help solve our health problems.

Strongly agree.
 Agree.
 Neither agree nor disagree.
 Disagree.
 Strongly disagree.

3. Strong action for Civil Rights is necessary at the present time.

Strongly agree.
 Agree.
 Neither agree nor disagree.
 Disagree.
 Strongly disagree.

4. College professors should be forced to take special loyalty oaths.

Strongly agree.
 Agree.
 Neither agree nor disagree.
 Disagree.
 Strongly disagree.

5. A federal slum clearance program is very important for general American welfare.

Strongly agree.
 Agree.
 Neither agree nor disagree.
 Disagree.
 Strongly disagree.

6. Russia is pursuing a ruthless policy of imperialistic aggression.

- Strongly agree.
 Agree.
 Neither agree nor disagree.
 Disagree.
 Strongly disagree.

7. Government ownership of public utilities is desirable.

- Strongly agree.
 Agree.
 Neither agree nor disagree.
 Disagree.
 Strongly disagree.

8. Labor's right to strike is not necessarily a desirable freedom.

- Strongly agree.
 Agree.
 Neither agree nor disagree.
 Disagree.
 Strongly disagree.

9. It seems very unlikely that Communists have actually infiltrated into government and education.

- Strongly agree.
 Agree.
 Neither agree nor disagree.
 Disagree.
 Strongly disagree.

10. Our country would definitely be better off under Socialism.

- Strongly agree.
 Agree.
 Neither agree nor disagree.
 Disagree.
 Strongly disagree.

11. Security is best achieved by the government guaranteeing jobs for all.

- Strongly agree.
 Agree.
 Neither agree nor disagree.
 Disagree.
 Strongly disagree.

12. History will show that Churchill's victory over the Labour Party in 1951 was a step forward for the British people.

- Strongly agree.
 Agree.
 Neither agree nor disagree.
 Disagree.
 Strongly disagree.

13. Congressional committees which investigate Communism do more harm than good.

- Strongly agree.
 Agree.
 Neither agree nor disagree.
 Disagree.
 Strongly disagree.

14. It seems quite clear that the United Nations is a failure.

- Strongly agree.
 Agree.
 Neither agree nor disagree.
 Disagree.
 Strongly disagree.

Please make any comments concerning this section directly below.

III. The following questions concern the upcoming 1964 presidential campaign. For our purposes we have assumed that Senator Goldwater will be running against President Johnson.

1. How would Senator Goldwater do in a series of T.V. debates with President Johnson.

- Definitely would gain votes.
 Probably would gain votes.
 Would neither gain nor lose votes.
 Probably would lose votes.
 Definitely would lose votes.

2. If President Johnson were elected for another term, would he be able to get Congress to pass any useful tax reforms?

Definitely would.
 Probably would.
 Uncertain.
 Probably would not.
 Certainly would not.

3. The fact that Goldwater is a Republican means that you will vote for him.

Definitely will for this reason.
 Probably will for this reason.
 Neither will nor will not for this reason.
 Probably will not for this reason.
 Definitely will not for this reason.

4. How significant will Kennedy's death be in influencing your vote for President Johnson?

Very important.
 Important.
 Neither important nor unimportant.
 Unimportant.
 Very unimportant.

5. If Senator Goldwater were to take a generally more moderate stand on various issues would he become a more attractive candidate?

Definitely would.
 Probably would.
 Neither would nor would not.
 Probably would not.
 Definitely would not.

6. How do you feel about the strong backing Johnson gave the nuclear test ban?

Strongly approve.
 Approve.
 Neither approve nor disapprove.
 Disapprove.
 Strongly disapprove.

7. What were your feelings concerning Goldwater's criticism that the Kennedy Civil Rights legislation was too broad?

- _____ Strongly approved of Goldwater's criticism.
- _____ Approved of the criticism.
- _____ Neither approved nor disapproved.
- _____ Disapproved.
- _____ Strongly disapproved.

8. The fact that Johnson is a Democrat means that you will vote for him.

- _____ Definitely will for this reason.
- _____ Probably will for this reason.
- _____ Neither will nor will not for this reason.
- _____ Probably will not for this reason.
- _____ Definitely will not for this reason.

9. How difficult do you feel that it will be to make a choice between the candidates for president in 1964?

- _____ Very difficult.
- _____ Difficult.
- _____ Neither difficult nor easy.
- _____ Easy.
- _____ Very easy.

10. List the various factors (issues, past records, and personal qualities) that will affect your vote for and against the candidates in the '64 election.

Johnson

For

Against

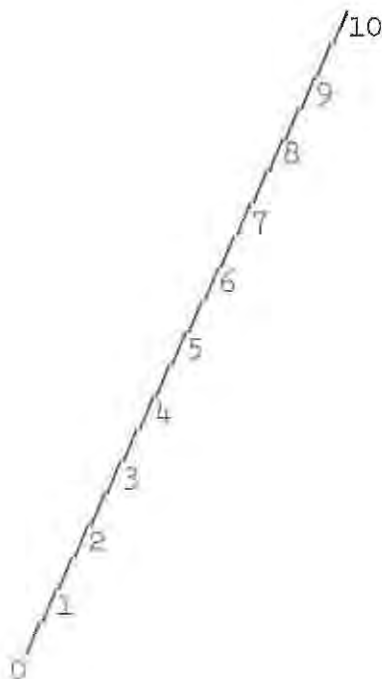
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

GoldwaterForAgainst

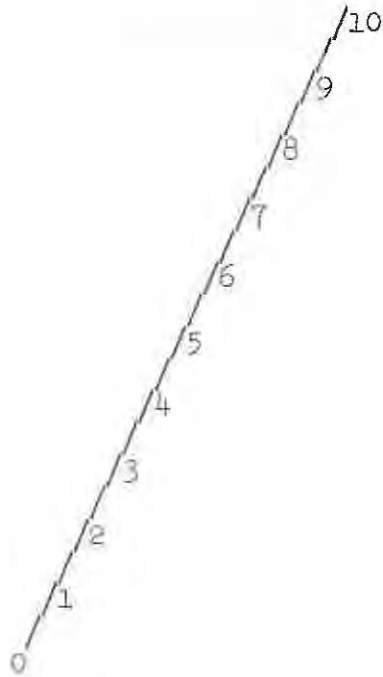
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

IV. This section contains another series of general questions.

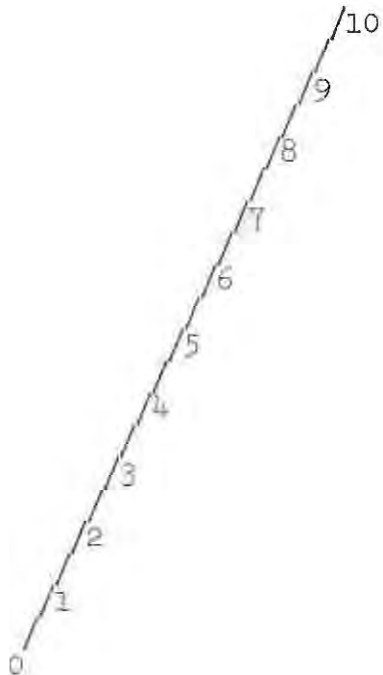
1. To answer the following question you will need to use the ladder that is shown directly below. The "0" point at the bottom of the ladder stands for the worst possible life you can imagine for yourself while the point on the top of the ladder at "10" stands for the best possible life you can imagine for yourself. Show where you feel you personally stand at the present time by circling what you feel is the right number.



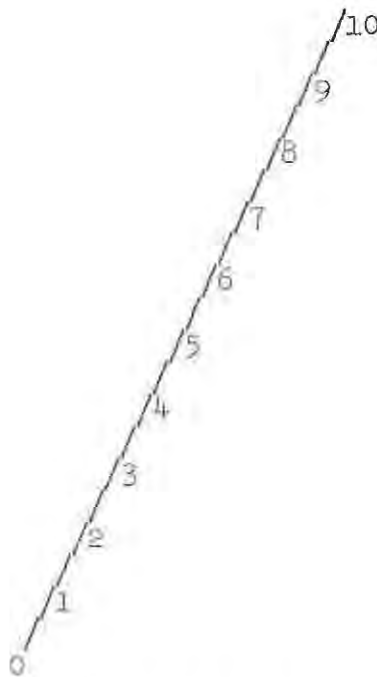
2. Using the same directions as those given in question 1, indicate your job satisfaction.



3. On the ladder directly below indicate how lonely you feel most of the time. "0" would be always lonely and "10" would be never lonely.



4. On the ladder directly below indicate how your desire "to get ahead" in your job compares with the desire of your friends. "0" would mean your desire was lower than all your friends, "5" would be average compared to your friends, and "10" would be higher than all of them.



5. To which social class do you feel you belong? _____
6. What language or languages did your grandparents speak at home when they were children?
7. What language or languages did your parents speak at home when they were children?
8. Check one of the following to indicate the approximate amount of money you earn per year.
- _____ Less than \$5,000.
_____ Between \$5,000 and \$8,000.
_____ Between \$8,000 and \$11,000.
_____ \$11,000 and over.

9. Use the space below to explain how successful in life you feel compared to your father.

10. Who, if anyone, besides you contributes to the family income?

How much per year?

- Less than \$2,000.
 Between \$2,000 and \$5,000.
 Between \$5,000 and \$8,000.
 Over \$8,000.

11. To what religion, if any, do you belong? _____

b. Did your parents belong to the same or a different religion? _____

Indicate any difference in parents' religious belief on the following line.

c. Which of the following do you consider yourself? Check one.

- Very religious.
 Religious.
 Somewhat religious.
 Not religious at all.

d. How often have you attended religious services in the last year?

- Once a week or more.
 Two or three times a month.
 Once a month.
 A few times a year or less.
 Never.

V. In the following section recall any factors such as party affiliation, candidates' personal qualities and background, and campaign issues that influenced your vote in the following local and state elections. Give the candidates' names whenever possible.

1. The last mayoralty race.

2. The last contest for the position of U.S. Senator.

3. The last gubernatorial campaign.

Thank you very much for your cooperation. The remaining space is for
general comments.

Appendix 4

An additional remark concerning the sampling process seems necessary. In general, every fourth house was chosen, if it was found that the occupation of the potential respondent was contained in the first Hollingshead classes. In the cases where the choice of the fourth house was inappropriate, the closest appropriate house was chosen and then the random order was once more pursued.

Bibliography

- ~ Bell, Daniel, "Interpretations of American Politics," in Bell, The New American Right, Criterion Books, 1955, pp. 22-34.
- ~ Bendix, Reinhard, "Social Stratification and Political Power," pp. 150-162 in Bendix and Lipset, Class, Status, and Power, The Free Press, 1954.
- Berelson, Bernard, and Paul Lazarsfeld, Voting; A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign, University of Chicago Press, 1954.
- Berelson, Bernard, "Democratic Theory and Public Opinion," pp. 107-115 in Heinz Eulau et al., Political Behavior, The Free Press, 1956.
- Campbell, Angus, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides, Row, Peterson, and Co., 1954.
- Cantril, Hadley, and Lloyd Free, "Hopes and Fears for Self and Country," Supplement to The American Behavioral Scientist, Vol. VI, October, 1962.
- Greenblum, Joseph, and Leonard I. Pearlin, "Vertical Mobility and Prejudice: A Socio-Psychological Analysis," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, Class, Status, and Power, The Free Press, 1953.
- Hagood, Margaret, and Daniel O. Price, Statistics for Sociologists, revised edition, Henry Holt and Company, 1952.
- Hofstadter, Richard, "The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt," pp. 33-55 in Bell, The New American Right.
- , The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R., Alfred A. Knopf, 1955.
- Hollingshead, August B., and Frederick C. Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness: A Community Study, Wiley, 1958.
- , Two Factor Index of Social Position, mimeographed by Yale University, 1957.
- Kornhauser, William, The Politics of Mass Society, The Free Press, 1959.

- Lane, Robert E., Political Life: Why People Get Involved in Politics, The Free Press, 1959.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F., Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice, Columbia University Press, second edition, 1948.
- Lenski, Gerhard, The Religious Factor, Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1961.
- , "Social Participation and Status Crystallization," pp. 458-464 in American Sociological Review, August, 1956.
- , "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," pp. 405-413 in American Sociological Review, August, 1954.
- Likert, Rensis, "A Technique for the Measurement of Attitudes," in Archives of Psychology, no. 140, 1932.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, "Three Decades of the Radical Right: Coughlinites, McCarthyites, and Birchers-1962," pp. 313-377 in Bell, The New Radical Right, Criterion Books, Inc., 1962.
- , Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics, Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1960.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, Martin Trow, and James S. Coleman, Union Democracy, The Free Press, 1956.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Nathan Glazer, "The Polls on Communism and Conformity," in Daniel Bell, The New American Right, 1955.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society, University of California Press, 1959.
- Maccoby, Eleanor E., Richard E. Matthews, and Alton Morton, "Youth and Political Change," in Heinz Eulau et al., Political Analysis, The Free Press, 1956.
- Mannheim, Karl, Ideology and Utopia, Trench, Trubner, and Co., 1936.
- Murphy, Raymond J., and Richard T. Morris, "Occupational Status, Subjective Class Identification, and Political Affiliation," pp. 383-392 in American Sociological Review, June, 1961.
- Rokeach, Milton, and Frank Restle, "The Measurement of Open and Closed Systems," in Rokeach, The Open and Closed Mind, Basic Books, 1960, pp. 71-100.

- Schmid, Calvin F., "Scaling Techniques in Sociological Research," in Pauline Young, ed., Scientific Social Surveys and Research, pp. 348-382, McGraw-Hill, second edition, 1949.
- Siegel, Sidney, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1956.
- Silberstein, Fred B., and Melvin Seeman, "Social Mobility and Prejudice," American Journal of Sociology, pp. 258-265, November, 1959.
- Snedecor, George W., Statistical Methods, fourth edition, The Iowa State College Press, 1953.
- Sorokin, Pitrim A., Social Mobility, Harper and Brothers, 1927.
- Tumin, Melvin M., and Roy C. Collins, "Status, Mobility and Anomie: a Study in Readiness for Desegregation," pp. 253-268 in British Journal of Sociology, September, 1959.
- Tumin, Melvin M., "Some Unappreciated Consequences of Social Mobility in a Mass Society," in Social Forces, October, 1957, pp. 32-36.
- Wilensky, Harold L., and Hugh Edwards, "The Skidder: Ideological Adjustments of Downward Mobile Workers," pp. 215-231 in American Sociological Review, April, 1959.
- Woodward, Julian L., and Elmo Roper, "Political Activity of American Citizens," in Eulau et al., Political Behavior, The Free Press, 1956.
- Yasuda, Saburo, "A Methodological Inquiry into Social Mobility," pp. 16-24, American Sociological Review, February, 1964.