A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF MIGRANTS AND LONG TERM RESIDENTS IN NONMETROPOLITAN AREAS

by

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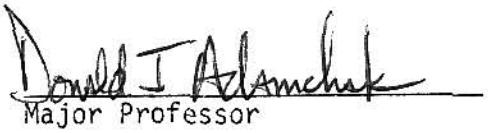

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When Alexis de Tocqueville visited America early in the nineteenth century he made repeated reference to the lack of public interest in the philosophies or the debate of ideas of the times (1959). In general he found local community members so preoccupied with the immediate demands of their employment, or a suggested devotion to their employment, that they had little time to entertain something as non-productive as philosophic or political thought. Being such intuitive pragmatists toward their occupations, and furthermore, lending themselves to no more than gossip of politicians and their politics, Tocqueville concluded that Americans were simply incapable of any grand ideological speculation.

> I think that it is extremely difficult to excite the enthusiasm of a democratic people for any theory which has not a palpable, direct, and immediate connection with the daily occupations of life..... They (Americans) are always in action, and each of their actions absorbs their faculties: the zeal which they display in business puts out the enthusiasm they might otherwise entertain for ideas (Tocqueville, 1959:274).

The conclusions drawn by Tocqueville focus on the significance of individual productivity for the vast majority of Americans. As with Max Weber (1958) these conceptualizations defined the central aspects of the American capitalist ideology, and thus its philosophical world view, in terms of personal enterprise or employment opportunities and a ubiquitous work ethic.

With this general recognition of the influence of employment on the American consciousness, it is not surprising to find a great deal of

sociological research dependent on the relationship of a population and its employment status. Similar to a variety of analysis concerning economic related variables (i.e., occupation, income) as they impact on specific actions or behaviors, theoretical constructions in the area of migration research have also been basically employment related. A predominant consideration in past migration research, in fact, has been the interrelation of employment motivations (i.e., labor mobility, opportunities models) with the decisions of both migration and subsequent destination (Ritchey, 1976; Shaw, 1975; Greenwood, 1975). As with the general structural perceptions of Tocqueville and Weber the migration researcher has had a tendency to focus on the economic and structural characteristics of the subject under study.

The combination of these economic perceptions and the generally consistent results in the research area have until recently provided support for such a method of investigation. Sofranko and Williams (1980:45) have pointed out that through use of "secondary analysis of attributes of areas of origin and destination as predictors of in- and outmigration.... analysis of the composition of migration streams and.... reasons provided by migrants in surveys," there has been a direct inference from structural (economic) characteristics to migrant motives. In following basic economic perceptions through to the relatively easy acquisition of objective economic and employment data, one can understand the persistence of economic motivations as explanatory factors in the migration process (Shaw, 1975:57).

This method of research, which has been extensively reviewed by Ritchey (1975) and Shaw (1975), apparently still applies to some works currently concerned with both urban and rural migration. In a recent U.S. housing survey of a migrant population, approximately half of the respondents placed employment related reasons above any other factors in their

migration decisions (Long and Hansen, 1979; Price and Sikes, 1975). These responses would support the relationships uncovered in much of past labor mobility and opportunities model migration research. However, in the use of instruments which analyze through "reasons for moving" type inquiries, such surveys seemingly restrict a respondent to explanations of why they decided or were forced to leave a particular location (Williams and McMillen, 1980). The decision to leave a location is necessarily influenced by the prospects of immediate income (and increased income) for simple survival and status reasons. Obviously, other conditions and motivations would enter into the decisions of a migration process. It is then, more than an economic and employment related process by which the migration decision occurs. And there are necessarily more than the multitude of socioeconomic and demographic factors (i.e. age, social status, occupation, race, sex, home ownership; Peterson, 1975) influencing any migration decision. Williams and McMillen (1980) suggest that destination selections, impacted by such factors as location contacts, past experience, social ties and expectations, are vital to consideration of the individual decision-making process. Furthermore, they conclude that the individual migrant must be recognized as working within all of these factors if research is to derive more complete explanations. Essentially, "migration does not involve one decision, but rather includes at least two and, for some migrants, probably several decisions" (Williams and McMillen, 1980:193).

Population Turnaround as an Exception

No previous migration phenomenon supports the above argument better than that which is currently being documented in the United States. Over the past decade population estimates of rural and nonmetropolitan counties have revealed significant increases in these areas relative to their urban

or metropolitan counterparts (Beale, 1975; Fuguitt and Beale, 1976; Morrison and Wheeler, 1976; Tucker, 1976; Sofranko and Williams, 1980; Brown and Wardwell, 1980). This "population turnaround" (also sometimes called a "new migration," "rural renaissance" or "rural resurgence") is established by increasing national evidence that outmigration from metropolitan areas has risen sharply, while that of nonmetropolitan counties has declined, and in turn, migration to nonmetropolitan areas has become significantly greater than that to metropolitan areas.

Historically the rural to urban migration, due to technological change in agriculture and the urban industrial base, has been the dominant flow of the American population. From 1960 to 1970 metropolitan areas increased 17 percent compared to 4.4 percent in nonmetropolitan areas. However, in the 1970 to 1980 census period nonmetropolitan areas grew more rapidly than metropolitan areas, 15.4 to 9.1 percent respectively. This nonmetropolitan "turnaround" provides an example of the necessity for more complete explanations of population migration. Past economic and employment frameworks useful for examining migration during the process of industrialization, no longer sufficiently explains the population movements of today. Wardwell (1980:108) probably best describes the condition of migration theory with his statement that: "the nonmetropolitan migration turnaround in the United States and in the developed world caught nearly everyone by surprise."

Current Turnaround Migration Explanations

A variety of explanations for the population turnaround have accumulated since first recognition of the phenomena in the mid 1970's (Schwarzweller, 1979; Williams and Sofranko, 1979; Dillman, 1979). Through a complicated twist on earlier economic explanations, Carpenter (1977a) for example, attempts to establish the increase or excess of American disposible

incomes as a primary influence in the current change of migration patterns. The supposition is that the average family income has risen to a point where Americans may now "live out their preferences," as they are finally secure enough to venture their futures with a home in the country. This argument simply overlooks the importance of the ideals and values present in such assumptions. If there was actually a relative increase in income available to the family unit (the U.S. economic index indicates a relative stability for more than a decade) this would have curiously occured at the same time as changes in preferences for rural living. Dillman (1979) for example, provides evidence that Americans did not always desire the recently re-discovered advantages of the rural lifestyle, though the opportunity for migration to rural areas with a lower cost of living and, more specifically a greater degree of self-sufficiency, has always been an available option. Furthermore, within a consumerist society there probably have been previous instances of excess income to follow preferences but, middle class America has apparently fulfilled other aspirations. So one would assume something more significant than increased financial security is relevant to such an historic turnaround.

Significantly, research concerning the characteristics of an important portion of the turnaround migration stream, that of metropolitan migrants, suggests that economic determinants are probably less applicable in these circumstances (DeJong and Humphrey, 1976; Graber, 1974). There is also recent evidence by Lichter and Fuguitt (1982) that on a national level, very few of the rural growth phenomena appear directly accountable to a basic economic function. When examining the aspect of nonmetropolitan growth through a population deconcentration analysis they found that in turnaround areas the traditional ecological location and economic function models of explanation did not provide significant evidence to justify such an

occurrence. Yet there continues to be, in both a relative and absolute sense, a population deconcentration which is primarily impacting on those nonmetro counties. In a final and more forceful analysis Wilbur Zelinsky attempts to divert attention to the growing recreational, retirement, and environmental amenity attractions which are recognized as part of the turnaround, by stating that:

> .... the economic - cum - metropolitan sprawl explanatory strategy collapses when we confront those hundreds of remote, thinly settled, and emphatically bucolic counties for whose recent demographic resurgence there is no half-way plausible economic rationale (1977:176).

Given the documented evidence of the "population turnaround" in those "emphatically bucolic counties," there have to this date been a number of explanations emphasizing other realms of migration behavior. The interaction of economic and employment dimensions are thus being accepted as more influential variables of condition than of cause. What appears to be required are reasons that transcend traditional explanations, without reducing the importance of economics or economic explanations. Therefore, the economic element may be classified as a necessary condition, as the poverty strickened seldom have choices in migration, but certainly not a sufficient set of circumstances to predict or describe current motivations for migration.

The other realms of interpretation include some partial economic dependencies, but a few delve into the terrain of ideas and philosophic world view. In general, discussion surrounding the topic supplies a sense that there are changes at the philosophic or ideological level involved. The term "rural renaissance" itself certainly denotes something of greater depth than an elemental concern for earning a living. A number of the following categories could be interacting in the decision-making processes which are creating the new migration pattern: (a) decentralization of manufacturing in pursuit of lower land and wage costs; (b) increases in service occupations;

(c) early retirement coupled with higher retirement incomes; (d) increased pursuit of leisure activities and a resultant development of recreation areas; (e) increased enrollment in nonmetro colleges and universities; (f) growth of state government; (g) youth revolution with anti-materialistic movement, anti-urbanism and an increase in alternative lifestyles; (h) narrowing of traditional gaps in urban and rural lifestyles; (i) lower cost of living in rural areas; (j) increased fear of crime and concern with urban disamenities such as congestion and pollution; (k) changing residential preferences with greater emphasis on quality of life and life satisfaction factors; (l) leveling off of loses in the population involved in farming (Morrison and Wheeler, 1976; Fuguitt and Beale, 1978; Blackwood and Carpenter, 1978; Williams and Sofranko, 1979; Dillman, 1979).

Such a diversity of factors as that listed above indicates the present state of speculation as to the exact foundations of the turnaround. Though some of these explanations appear to be quite specific in origin, others vaguely define a change of ideals or values, and none seem to be mutually exclusive. Dillman (1979:961) suggests that "a multitude of factors are contributing; a single explanation of the turnaround does not seem possible." Perhaps there is some confusion created by various theoretical attempts to encompass many instances of rural growth within a universal migration explanation. On this point Campbell (1981) recognizes the level of disagreement and claims that rather than a single event there are actually a number of 'turnarounds', and that each should be considered separately. In terms of empirical research at least, most of these turnaround ideas are being approached from significantly divergent directions.

Research on the social and demographic characteristics representative of the turnaround migration indicates, with a general consensus, that there is a disproportionate share of young adults and high socioeconomic status

individuals involved (Lichter, et al., 1979; Wardwell, 1977; Tucker, 1976). These particular individuals may exemplify the factors of increased growth in higher education, increased use of recreation, increases in service occupations, or possibly of the abstract preference for rural lifestyles. In turn, another associated analysis specifically indentified with research of the Ozarks growth area, indicates that 43 percent of the in-migrants surveyed were returnees to the area (Campbell, et al., 1977). Among the frequently cited reasons for this migration were social ties, suggesting possible cost of living or retirement motives for moving, and once again an attraction to rural origins.

Experiments in Rural Origins

The essence of the rural origin resides in the history of America as a totally undeveloped country with a predominantly rural population. Less than a century ago the majority of Americans were living in rural agricultural areas with little reference to the industrializing world. Overall, this location of residence determined not only the individual orientation to the natural environment, but also, by a function of size and homogeneity, the basic community of human relationships. Currently there appear to be attempts to recapture the time when immediate community relations were as primary to ones lifestyle, as the natural environment in which one lived. Extreme (although numerically insignificant) examples of this behavior include counter-cultural movements such as those based in "voluntary simplicity." Elgin and Mitchell (1977:4) for example, examine what they define as potentially a major social movement, through a description of "voluntary simplicity" as "a way of life marked by a new balance between inner and outer growth." They find two points are of vital concern to those interested in this lifestyle. First, is the necessity of an environment based on the human scale such that people can easily relate to those social institutions

effecting there lives. Secondly, is the aspect that if one is allowed more time away from the confusions of the material world, they can indeed experience a greater degree of inner personal growth. Both of these ideals are seen to arise from the context of an incomprehensible and uncontrollable social structure founded in reified assumptions which are continually being exposed as false. They are also both in direct opposition to the consumerist and industrial ideology dominant in the United States. Within "voluntary simplicity" the alternative to the massive task of revolutionizing the outer social system is to turn inward toward a less formidable reorganization task. Regardless of the social implications for individuals within such movements, here again we identify a resurgence of human actions directed singularly toward personal quality of life factors.

Another less extreme example of a search for rural origins may involve that segment of the mainstream turnaround composed of the socioeconomically advantaged. While researching the migration reversal in Maine, Ploch (1978: 293) concluded "one of the salient features of the migration flow is that it is quality of life oriented." Principally among his findings were the demographic dimensions of relatively young, highly educated professional and managerial occupations intentionally leaving urbanized areas. A complex of quality of life related push and pull forces generally describe the motivations behind this migration. "The primary push factors were crime, cost of living, 'people' deficiencies, air and water pollution, and taxes.... The primary pull factors were simple lifestyle - slow pace of life, peacefulness - serenity, friends, relatives in Maine, qualities of people, environmental quality, lack of pollution, natural beauty and ocean coast" (Ploch, 1978:300). These research findings are particularly representative of the turnaround population involved in migration to areas of reputed esthetic quality (generally metropolitan migrants). However, most of the cited

characteristics seem to hold validity for migrants to all geographic areas and for the majority of each migration stream (Dillman, 1979; Dillman and Tremblay, 1977).

Ideological Influences of Rural Values

In the search for quality of life through rural origins a theme of ideological contradiction appears to be emerging. As we have seen, the vast majority of the individuals involved in this movement express desires for life quality and personal satisfaction factors, while simultaneously attempting to maintain a respectable socioeconomic status. In fact, many of these individuals are achieving that aim (Williams and Sofranko, 1979; Ploch, 1978). (Residential preference and community satisfaction research indicate that a location with access to the best of both rural and urban worlds is generally preferred, as we will discuss in Chapter II). Contradictions occur though, when an analysis of migration attempts to identify the value and belief orientations or ideological structure of these migration participants.

American ideology, probably more so than many other cultures, is a formulation of two completely disparate ideological frameworks based in both past and present economic and cultural circumstances. It is at once as representative of an agrarian past as it is of an industrial dominance in the present. In researching the effects of agrarian values on the American social order, Buttel and Flinn (1975) suggest that the confusion of holding these values within an urban industrial lifestyle tends to create anomie and discontent. Specifically, this discontent is found to be stronger among urban dwellers than in those from a more rural setting. Through a discussion of stratification preceding the above findings, Taylor and Jones very clearly articulate the interplay of ideological elements that may be creating such

circumstances of discontent:

> In the urbanized social organization of the United States, suburbs, rural - urban fringe areas, and small hamlets indirectly and sometimes directly stand as indexes of the bucolic values which have never been obliterated by the urbanization process. Land outside the central cities is perhaps the most economically inefficient that man can imagine. But the meaning of land in America is a matter of more than efficiency. It originally entailed a love for nature, later a symbol of political right and economic well-being, and more recently a combination of these in urbanized society's prestige and status.... Studies of human behavior and value orientations of individuals in the suburbs and fringe areas reveal the intricate relationship of rural and urban values contained within them (1964:103).

The relationship of these values may indeed be intricate, but they are also quite probably the sources of contradiction and confusion in the American ideological framework. Buttel and Flinn (1975:135) speculated that "agrarian values have provided an ideological underpinning for discontent with the American social order." Actually, agrarian ideological elements have undergone such transition within the urban industrial society, that they may be locked into an interchangeable confusion of values in the present social order. While the quest for rural origins continues, the reliance on and expressed necessity for urban oriented conveniences remains persistently in the forefront of the American consciousness. Much of what quality of life definitions presently entail are not simply the rural amenities previously mentioned, but as importantly, all of the services and advantages now associated with the urban world. Quite possibly the totality of those participating in the turnaround migration hold faint elements of "voluntary simplicity" ideals. This would not be surprising when one considers the strength of agrarian values in the structure. But the dominance of the industrial - consumerist society makes it difficult, if not impossible, to attempt a commitment to such an ascetic lifestyle. Therefore, the interactive relationship of these ideological elements should necessarily

correlate to both contradiction and discontent within the American social order. Even more specifically though, the agrarian - industrial ideology of America should directly apply to an investigation of the "population turnaround."

Ideals and Values in Migration Theory

As was discussed earlier, migration theory has been somewhat limited and contradictory (economic vs. quality of life) in its explanation of the turnaround phenomena. However, after early evidence of non-employment related considerations, nonmetropolitan growth was tentatively placed in the context of structural (therefore ideological) change (Beale, 1976; Zelinsky, 1977). A migration thesis put forward by Shaw (1975:101) states: "that as an economy progresses toward an urban - industrial state, the role of pecuniary considerations.... decline(s) in importance as motive to migrate." This is obviously far from commitment to a theory of changing ideas and ideals, but it essentially recognizes the importance of structural change to the turnaround. Further movement toward a perspective of ideological or structural change is found in a summerization of migration research by Goldstein, (1976:424) with his argument that:

> (an) emphasis on quality of life as opposed to more strictly economic considerations seems to be assuming an increasing importance as a motivation both in the decision to move and in the choice of residence.

Also, we find an indication that throughout the field of demographic research, there is a convergence on the turnaround trend as an identifiable macro-structural phenomenon; this must necessarily be dealt with in the area of social values:

> Thus, one can infer from recent data and the literature on residential preferences that a discernible attitudinal (or normative) 'pressure' prevails which would tend to reinforce the reversal trend.... The idealization of rural life continues to persist in American society - gaining a bit of

> momentum, perhaps, from the new emphasis on quality of life (Schwarzweller, 1979:14). (emphasis mine).

So at minimum, there is an emerging receptivity to the assumptions of changing structural elements effecting the whole of the turnaround process. Furthermore, recognition of shortcomings in economic models and the initial attempts at examining quality of life and satisfaction elements, are encouraging other areas of development. One recent study, in fact, provides a foundation for additional attempts to document the noneconomic motivations previously discussed. Williams and Sofranko (1979:254) found through surveying high growth nonmetropolitan counties in the midwest that: "data suggest rather strongly that inmigrants, especially those coming from metropolitan areas, tend to view their behavior in the context of the relative merits of rural versus urban living." These conclusions were drawn from a data base of the largest number of 'push' and 'pull' environmental factors ever assembled for this type of research. Such initially strong findings certainly assured the authors of their original arguments. Their contention was that the: "major challenge facing current research is to document the distinctiveness of motivations underlying the growing metro - nonmetro migration stream" (1979:241). In view of the earlier discussion of ideological contradictions in America, such a suggestion seems to be an accurate assessment of the circumstances.

However, as different elements of ideology survive long after their historical origin, it is sometimes difficult to determine motivations within present interests. To distinguish between motivations one must first establish the differences of values and beliefs. In studying the role of ideas in social actions, Weber (1946) speculated that value-myths and ideas often generate totally independent causal forces within themselves. It would seem that underlying migration motives are the disparate segments

of America's ideological base. Migration must, in the first instance then, be understood in terms of the individual participants world-view. Petersen (1975:301) makes the most forceful demographic statement of this, by arguing that: "migrants must be expected to reflect, in their characteristics, the social and economic changes that are taking place." Thus, ideological transitions through society's changing circumstances, would impact significantly on each migrant as an alteration of world view.

A Macro-Structural Thesis of Migration

As we have seen, the literature accumulated on the turnaround thus far, confines itself to the measurement of either quantitative demographic dimensions or qualitative opinions. Although the macro-structural level of ideas and ideals are suggested, very little in the way of a theoretical framework has been presented for examination of this phenomenon. Again, what previous migration frameworks lack, are ideologically based reasons that transcend traditional explanations, without reducing the importance of economic considerations. These economic considerations should be viewed as basic component parts of a larger idea dialectic that is influenced by not only the material world, but the world of values and ideas. Such an ideological transformation process necessarily weighs in the balance of the population turnaround phenomena.

A single theory of such transformation, advanced by Adamchak and Flint (1982), concerns the influences of social scarcity as if effects ideology. By correlation of the approximate time period when nonmetro migration began, to the increasingly acknowledged changes occuring in migrant values, (i.e., quality of life, community satisfaction) these authors advanced an idea of the importance social scarcity and ideology have on migration behaviors. Basically, ideological transition occurred due to the inability of society's

members to obtain the degree of life satisfaction they desired (social scarcity). From that transition, recognizable as a shift from emphasis on economic materialism to more life quality oriented values, the initial stages of the turnaround phenomena become apparent. This gradual transition, in turn, seems to have had a significant interactional effect on the remainder of American ideology.

The entire turnaround phenomenon seems to be part of a larger ideological rearticulation of historic and somewhat modern ideological elements. The idea of turnaround specifically has been associated with other elements of re-emphasis, such as agrarian values, organic and natural products, and a rural lifestyle in general. We will attempt to further discuss the process by which ideological transformation occurs in Chapter III, keeping in mind all of the arguments given above.

Theoretical Objective

The purpose of this thesis is not to set forth a macro-structural model of ideological explanation for the population turnaround presently being experienced. The Adamchak and Flint hypothesis discussed above, albeit somewhat vague, is certainly functional in its description of transitional structure as it impacts on migration. It is rather, to define some simple distinctions on an ideological level between two types of migrants to nonmetropolitan areas, and on a third dimension, the long term residents of those areas. The nonmetro and metropolitan migrants found within nonmetropolitan counties provide the basis for a migrant population sampling, by which we can identify these suggested distinctions. The uniqueness of response patterns to a number of social - psychological and political - ideological inquiries will, in turn, provide comparative value dimensions for each of the three sample groups.

Composition of the value orientation measurement instruments includes several basic social indicator scales. The use of quality of life indicator questions, for example, will ask respondents about such dimensions as levels of personal satisfaction. These and other inquiries into political philosophy will then be scaled within a Likert-type format. Comparison of two community satisfaction scales, a powerlessness (political cynicism) scale, and three scales of political - ideological perceptions, should outline evidence of the purposed ideological distinctions.

The argument within this thesis is that social - psychological and political - ideological indicators embody a significant component of respondents predisposition toward their community and American society. More specifically, individual satisfaction perceptions with life or community of residence in general, are associated with perceptions of the larger social order. Therefore, both community satisfaction and political orientations can be useful in determining any difference within the sampled population, and thus the population as a whole. At this point, I submit two general statements: (1) This research hypothesizes that residents and nonmetropolitan migrants will indicate a greater degree of political - ideological acceptance (consistency) of the dominant structure and will be more politically conservative as a causal effect. These individuals being, in a relative sense, isolated from the impact of contradictions of American ideology, will perceive the system as functioning at a more idealized level. (2) The satisfaction of long term residents within the general community will be greater than both nonmetro and metropolitan migrants as a function of, not only term of integration into the local system, but the effects of ideological consistency and the lack of ideological integration on the part of metropolitan migrants. The perception of contradictions within the dominant belief and value system should preclude metro migrants from a

level of satisfaction indicated by the long term resident population.

Conclusions and Procedure

In part, this research evolved from a preceived relationship between 'global' indicators of well-being (subjective quality of life) and growing preferences for a rural lifestyle (Dillman, 1979; Dillman and Tremblay, 1977). Such a relationship is now being documented by various forms of survey research in regional and state level studies (Williams and Sofranko, 1979; Ploch, 1978; Steahr and Brown, 1980). Additionally, previous research on the correlation of socio-demographic variables and subjective quality of life indicators, generated an interest in divergent individual perceptions of the larger social order. Variables such as income, education and occupation have earlier been shown to be positively related to quality of life type indicators (Campbell and Converse, 1972; Marans and Rodgers, 1975; Rojek, et al., 1975). The above elements then, in combination with an intriguing analysis of ideology and social indicators by Buttel (et al., 1977), provide the components of a framework for examining a new dimension of the "population turnaround."

The search for this framework originally arose from two theoretically separate, but very similar suggestions of needed research in the area of turnaround. Schwarzweller (1979) among others, advocated that researchers direct their attention to the decision making processes, or social - psychological dimensions, which are affecting factors in turnaround outcome. Correspondingly, Zelinsky (1977) is concerned with macro-theoretical structures as they relate local ideas to the larger social order of ideas. He, in fact, implies that theory must necessarily integrate social, economic, political, cultural and historical levels of migration within a single pliable framework. So each of these propositions directly indentify the

interrelation of subjective perceptions as they function within the macro-level structure. Moreover, approaching a theory from either the subjective perception or the objective framework should result in a similar understanding. Where Schwarzweller looks for ideas on the "why" of the turnaround, Zelinsky more broadly questions why there are not more macro "ideas" about the turnaround. This thesis will attempt to contribute to each proposal of the search for ideas. Seemingly, the identification of ideological or social order perception differences in the turnaround should contribute to both the perceived "why" of migration and dimensions of the framework within which such a decision is based.

This chapter (Chapter I) attempts to introduce and outline the area of migration motivations and decisions as they have been defined in the research literature. The idea of tying the individual decision to the larger framework of ideas and values (i.e., ideology) appears to be disposed to past research as was discussed.

Chapter II will introduce basic component parts of the research involving the area of political - ideological and community satisfaction scales. Social indicators (i.e., quality of life, community satisfaction) are presented as they have been used in past research concerning perceptions of both subjective and objective elements.

Chapter III presents a theoretical conception of ideology as a structural idea framework in transition. Such a framework provided a viable process by which ideological change could influence a demographic phenomenon.

Chapter IV concerns the methodology employed in the whole of the research project. The basic elements of the data collection process, the strategy for scaling of responses and the statistical analysis will be presented.

Finally, Chapter V will examine the findings and attempt to present

them in a workable fashion, while Chapter VI provides a discussion of implications and conclusions to be drawn from this research endeavor.

CHAPTER II

MEASUREMENT OF PERSONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS THROUGH SOCIAL INDICATORS

Residents of the United States have long assumed themselves to have the highest quality of life in the world. It is a part of their ideological and cultural heritage, that the lives they pursue are second to no other. A general definition of "quality of life" to most Americans centers on physical comfort, possessions and an unsurpassed material standard of living. The industrial economy and technology so proudly proclaimed is considered to be the final solution to all of society's needs.

Though this may be predominant in the rhetoric of the economic and political sectors of American society, there appear to be growing reservations on the part of the general public. Recognition of what an industrial society produces in terms of both physical and social environmental consequences, has introduced a new dimension to the meaning of "quality" in human life. Public polling (i.e., Harris and Gallup) of the American population over the past 15 years shows new and changing attitudes toward the nations prospects of providing a better life for generations to come; there is growing cognizance of the significance personal satisfaction and life "quality" has for each individual member of society (Campbell, et al., 1976).

The decay of the physical environment has obvious implications for public health, and social well-being. "Air pollution causes or aggravates a host of diseases.... Water pollution has sparked bacterial epidemics as well as heavy

metal and chemical poisoning.... Noise pollution is connected with various nervous disorders.... The number of lives shortened or burdened with suffering is difficult to estimate, but it must be considerable, and a large segment of the American public is aware of a relationship between illness and poor environmental quality" (Kelly, et al., 1976:114). It is apparent that the complex process of industrialization continuously interacts with both the physical and social environments of a society. Public perception of the social implications of present economic development policies also demonstrate a growing awareness for there effects on "quality of life" (Gowan, et al., 1976). Campbell and Converse (1972) point out that along with 25 years of unprecedented rise in national income, there have been similar changes in rates of public disorder, violence, crime, and drug use, making it clear that affluence is not the total answer to society's problems.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to separate the interacting effects of the social and physical environment when considering the dimensions of both public and personal "quality of life." The existence of economic growth and stagnation; material abundance and scarcity; personal prosperity and poverty; all are influencial in the importance a society places on life quality problems. Moreover, with an increasing number of individuals questioning the order of society's priorities, concern for both personal and group solutions for these problems becomes apparent. Recognition on an institutional level by specific research interests and in the everyday interactions (i.e., migration) of society implies that all of these aspects are increasingly part of the American consciousness. Thus, "quality of life" is viewed not only as it is effected by the environment, but as a component of both structural and interpersonal satisfaction dimensions with processual interaction of all subjective and objective elements (Campbell, et al., 1976).

This chapter will outline the more influencial perspectives pertaining to "quality of life" research in America to the present. It will also present a number of research areas of importance to both national and community levels of society. The salience of quality of life as a factor in the population turnaround provides an element for analysis with implicit social order connotations. Such life quality/community satisfaction variables essentially supplement any political-ideological distinctions detectable through a survey of individual perceptions. Furthermore, past research necessitates the acknowledgement of life quality decisions in any current examination of migration behavior. The cummulative effects on "quality of life" decisions of Americans, from the various interpersonal, social, political, economic, demographic, cultural and environmental influences, then, must be recognized as ascendent components in future transitions of American society.

Indications of American Aspirations

The aspirations of Americans to acquire and maintain a certain level of living have undergone considerable evaluation in recent years. As was stated earlier, the public attitudes toward obtaining a specific "quality of life" are being redefined; but this is not our only evidence of change. With growing numbers of the population moving to rural and nonmetropolitan areas and a significant percentage of these migrants moving for what may be termed "quality of life" reasons, certain experiences of individual migrants interact with the community of ideas. Other than pursuing the widely accepted agrarian ideology that persists in America, extolling the virtues of hard working and clean living country life, there appears to be evidence that life in rural areas may provide some increasingly valued advantages. Lower rates of crime and accidents for people of all ages, less pollution of all

types, and fewer encounters with human congestion, all seem to be enticing reasons for leaving the urban areas (Blackwood and Carpenter, 1978). Some recent research indicates there may even be advantages in the early stages of parenting, as there are apparently lower infant mortality rates in rural areas of some midwestern agricultural states (Adamchak and Flint, 1981).

If migration to rural and nonmetropolitan areas is becoming more important to individuals, essentially as a "quality of life" decision factor, this will have important implications throughout the society. Frequently, the group of individuals known as "early adopters," being the younger, educated, affluent and more cosmopolitan segment of the population, have shown interest in this migration pattern (Morrison and Wheeler, 1976). These are the first of a population to make adjustments and show new direction, as change is more easily accepted. In this case, however, complimentary circumstances appear to play a significant role. It is hypothesized that the more affluent of the urban elderly are making escape and retirement moves, and similarly, that there is a significant reaction by individuals and families to the problems associated with urban life (Fuguitt and Beale, 1978).

It would certainly be an advantage to policy makers of destination areas, to understand something of the preferences of these highly mobile Americans. In fact, many policy groups, such as the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, have begun in influence policy according to some of the above mentioned findings (Fuguitt and Zuiches, 1975). However, Fuguitt and Zuiches (1975) suggest that following the public opinion changes of the past 10 years (being the desire to live in small towns and rural areas) may itself not be the correct analysis for a population distribution policy. Their research indicates that the desire for a more rural residence is especially significant with a preference of being within a short distance (e.g., 30 miles)

of a large urban area (metropolitan benefits). This description of urban adjacency preferences suggests an attempt by the middle levels of society to obtain the best of both rural and urban worlds. Such would implicate a variety of problems for attempts to define quality of life differences. It would also seem to indicate some difficulty in discovering the specific basis of life quality decisions, as they effect migration. Regardless, if this contradiction of expressed opinions and actual migration patterns of the public can be proven, "quality of life" implications once more come into the forefront.

Development of Quality of Life Indicators

The use of "quality of life" indicators to help uncover the preferences and aspirations of this highly mobile society, has seen a steady progression over the past fifty years. As early as the Hoover Administration a study of the merits of a national survey of social trends within the United States was undertaken. In its report, Recent Social Trends, the Presidents Research Committee on Social Trends (1933) concluded that the assessment of societal conditions would require inputs from several scientific disciplines and as a result, created the present National Council of Economic Advisors (Wilcox, 1972; Ladewig, 1979). The pursuit of "quality of life" research has centered on the use of what are now labeled "social indicators." Actually, use of the term "quality of life" referring to "the measurement of the social conditions of human existence" has become virtually identified as the rationale for social indicators (Land and Spilerman, 1975). Past interest in the establishment of social indicators was to supplement the economic index of the above council, and to provide a multi-discipline approach to national problems. Some question as to the early contributions of social indicators is expressed by Gross (1971:154): "One of the reasons we succeeded with the

development of economic growth as a fundamental part of policy is that we did not pay much attention to the social aspects and social costs of growth." Evidence of some of the questionable social cost of economic development policies has been previously discussed.

Social indicators have been discussed for a wide range of applications and research, from the broad scope of complete social accounting systems (Gross, 1966) to the detailed examinations of conceptual and measurement issues in specific areas of inquiry (Sheldon and Moore, 1968). Throughout the development period of social indicators there have been obvious biases as to exactly what indications should be accumulated.

Divergent perspectives all perceive differing aspects of social reality as necessary to the precise measurement of the "social conditions of human existence." Most of the early indicators purposed or reported on more objective facts about a particular population or subgroup. These conditions ranged from objective materials (i.e., income), to the more objective consequences (i.e., unemployment). Other recent research has concentrated on the subjective dimensions of society, dealing with feelings of personal and community satisfaction (Rodgers and Converse, 1975).

State Uses of Objective Indicators

The process of industrialization/modernization is considered to be the major causal force in modern day societies, with any political variations being lower order outcomes of the interaction of a particular culture and this process. The importance of industrialization in terms of its effect on a "quality of life" dimension has been tremendous, as was mentioned earlier. The effects however, are not confined to any particular cultural or political systems. Individual lives in a variety of societies have undergone very similar changes throughout the industrialized world. Changes produced by

modernization and industrialization, have probably created the greatest pressures and social disorganization known to modern man. The stress of the modern value system is on individualism, universalism, and the right of the individual to pursue his desired life within the available means of the social system. This has created not only structural differentiation, but unfortunately a stratified society with an unequal distribution of life's necessities. Such an approach follows, that uncontrolled individualism may be the result of the society's emphasis on abundance and economic growth. Bringing individualism and self-interest back into line with the functional necessities of the total society would be required to regain social order. Creating a balance between an individuals rights and the redistribution of society's necessities where they are absent, is the crux of the problem. Herein lies the early stages of social indicators research with the equation of economic well-being and a desired "quality of life."

If there is an unequal distribution of material goods and services within society and there appears to be a stratified "quality of life," the social system is probably not functioning properly. This was the assumption of numerous social scientists and governmental agencies in the early stages of social indicators research (Campbell, et al., 1976). It followed that any attempt to alleviate problem areas within America would require certain types of objective indicators of economic well-being. Reasonably enough, the ability to acquire certain goods and services within a growing economy was equated with a certain "quality of life." Thus, objective indicators would apparently point to imbalances in the social system and therefore allow necessary adjustments.

Objective indicators range from broad programs of social statistics, such as the decennial census report, to collections of data on specific subgroups. Within recent years there have been suggestions of a "social

report" equal to the "Economic Report to the President" (Campbell, et al., 1976). Other indicators include various types of demographic analysis, such as the growth and movement of populations. Marital status, housing, labor-force participation and education would all contribute to the informed analysis of problem areas for economic growth. This was the initial concern in use of social indicators; bringing all segments of society to economic prosperity.

Dillman and Tremblay (1977), and others have discussed the public conviction that rural residents in most of the United States were suffering a deprivation beyond comparison to the urban life. The post war migration to urban areas was undeniable evidence. The need for economic development in rural America was beyond question, and measures of rural "quality of life" were of primary importance. Methods of evaluating rural communities emerged, concerned with the degree of development of utility systems, transportation facilities and financial institutions. All of American society was to be brought to a definable level of living.

Regardless of what objective measures were taken or what social indicators were used, they unquestionably had made an impact on the early perceptions of American "quality of life." Although a great portion of the statistical research done at this time was within governmental agencies, other efforts were concentrated on systems of social indicators (Campbell, et al., 1976). Monitoring social change or social movement to coordinate programs of economic and social development became important extentions of the research area (Duncan, 1969; Sheldon and Moore, 1968; Wilcox, 1972). The primary concern for most of the objective measurement devices was that they also be system performance indicators, useful to the analysis of the quality or quantity of resources available.

Objective Measurements of American Life

Social indicators research, through objective measures so widely disseminated, soon began a move toward more thorough and complex analysis of the community. Even with the large amounts of data available by the 1960's, there were tremendous problems of comparison and organization. Hadden and Borgatta (1965) made one of the earliest attempts at classifying and differentiating a large number of indicators on various dimensions of communities. These indicators though, were considered to be only aspects of community composition rather than indicators of the social structure.

Tropman (1976) explains that a significant contribution with the use of objective indicators came through the work of Hodge and Treiman (1968). Seeking indicators on structure, these authors concluded that their assumptions of a class identification through income, educational and occupational dimensions did not provide the basis for a framework. Rather than viewing the social system as a unidimensional class structure, the obvious alternative appeared to be the multidimensional stratification system. The interaction of indicators for several dimensions of society would provide a more complete analysis of the potential outcomes. In fact, Tropman states that the literature suggests there are five basic stratification dimensions: the original class, status and power of Weber, plus occupation (Blau and Duncan, 1976) and information (Svalastoga, 1965). A great deal of research has since followed these stratification dimensions for social indicators in community.

Applying social meaning to the results of any social indicators research appears to be one final solution to the problem of comprehending the objective indicator. Tropman (1976) attempts to re-engage the meaning of empirical work to the theoretical construct and the social structure itself. The necessity of using concepts (i.e., size, class, race and maturity/growth) to describe dimensions of the community was found to be acceptable if social

meaning was applied. For example, size could be considered as an imperfect indicator of system complexity; percent non-white as an indicator of the slower mobility process and social metabolism.

Some advantages of using objective indicators in analyzing political or geographic units are presented in the work of Young and MacCannell (1977). Their use of multidimensional research consists of examining state by state differences, with the separate economic, political and social structures each represents. By using aspects of each state structure, (i.e., structural degree of differentiation, flexibility of political and social structure, progressiveness of economic structure, and various population measures) some explanation of state differences in socioeconomic well-being and social pathology is derived. Structural dimensions, represented by the above variables, are factored for the influence of each upon these social components. "The hypothesis is that more differentiated, politically and socially more flexible and economically more progressive states have a better quality of life" (Young and MacCannell, 1977:25). The four variables they examine account for a high percentage of variance for both well-being and pathology. From that positive association of social well-being and social pathology, conclusions are drawn as to some implications of modern society:

> Our United States form of urban industrialization and the rapid change that has gone with it has brought benefits to the society and it has also brought disastrous social problems by the population shifts and the population concentrations it has required without developing new social structures and social controls accompanying them (Young and MacCannell, 1977:38).

They further state the need for industrial society to create new "social forms" and "new social institutions" such that a more balanced and distributed "quality of life" is achievable. Suggestions of social manipulations to replace former "primary ties" imply the necessity and ability to reduce conflict within the present system.

Subjective Foundations to Social Indicators

Along side the apparent advantages of economic progress have been some afflictions for our surrounding natural environment. With this point there seems to be universal agreement. Some individuals argue that a price must be paid for the standard of living in the United States. Included in the package with continuous economic growth, are diminished "quality of life" factors that may also be part of that price.

The growth of America's economy provided individuals from most levels of society with an unpresidented increase in their consumption, therefore their well-being. Remembering that "quality of life" was equated with economic well-being, it is easily assumed that some constant level of satisfaction had been achieved. The acquisition of material goods and services could attest to that fact. Unfortunately, economic prosperity brought more than environmental consequences. It seemed to be accompanied by an insatiable desire for a continually improving life situation (Dillman and Tremblay, 1977). While affluence had raised the American standard of living, it has also raised the society's aspirations for a greater "social harmony" and "personal fulfillment" (Campbell, et al., 1976).

Following the work's of Maslow (1954), indications are that the more basic needs of man (i.e., physical) have been fulfilled such that human energies are being directed toward more personal needs (i.e., social recognition and self-actualization). Man's activities have evolved from concentration on the immediate, specific and concrete goals to the more abstract and self-satisfying experiences. There are certainly some questions as to the cultural influences of these desires. Within American society there are no rational convictions as to when someone obtains their share. Dominant values of individualism and competition dictate the absense of the conception that one has "enough."

Assuming that society has reached a point where concerns of life quality are turning toward self-satisfaction, (such an idea could lead toward the development of a noneconomic migration theory) this introduces more problems with objective indicators. The degree or amount of something one must obtain is to an extent a personal decision. By using economic and objective standards for measuring "quality of life," there are confounding elements of a "value judgment" in social policy. In applying those indicators for policy, Dillman and Tremblay (1977:119) state, "the question arose concerning which direction for change was most desirable." Should for example, state policy discourage divorce in support of the family at the expense of individual freedoms? Such aspects can many times by determined only through negotiation and concession. This points us to the complications of a heterogenous, culturally diverse society. The objective indicators movement lacks "a commonly accepted social welfare or value system whose existence is a necessary condition of an efficient indicator of quality of life, meaningful to all people" (Liu, 1974:188). Though there are a great variety of uses for the longitudinal collection of objective indicators, some disadvantages have become apparent.

"Society is not an objectifiable 'thing' but is rather what people agree that it is at any given time" (Sullivan, et al., 1980:144). These assumptions are particularly applicable to research on "quality of life." Most aspects of a social problem involve the definition of an influential segment of society, for affirmation that the problem actually exists. Thus, if certain elements of society proclaim that we are polluting our environment, some agreement is probably forthcoming. However, if other more powerful or influential class elements of that society announce that this is a worthwhile sacrifice, there will be an agreement which will equal that influence (Etzioni, 1976). Only at a personal level can decisions of support be

determined. Following the interactionist approach, only through a concensus on the construction of a specific reality (value system) will the individual be enabled to perceive their "quality of life" (Etzioni, 1976). It is the ongoing social definition process which has informed Americans of the failure of affluence to supply all of their necessities. Furthermore, it is that definition process which complicates perceptions of community satisfaction.

Community Satisfaction as an Indicator

Regardless of the sociological perspective used for analysis, "quality of life" research has been primarily concerned with aspects of social environment and provided services. Each representative society exists as a result of social cooperation and the demand of producing necessities. For a general assessment of the completion of that task, both objective and subjective dimensions would be useful. If the interest in that task is closer to the individual level, some form of investigating a personal satisfaction is required (Ladewig, 1979; Deseran, 1978). How better could research assess the personal satisfaction of members of society than to simply ask them. Though there are suspicions of such procedures, with potential differences between individual perception and the objective reality, and the relative value element by which one is satisfied, the difficulties of measuring "quality of life" in any manner must be confronted.

Andrews and Withey (1976) suggest that the insight gained through a 'subjective' indicator provides a generalized perception at least as valuable as the assessment of an 'objective' indicator. This generalized perception then, has been an important basis for most research using subjective indicators. Accounting for the meanings of society's continually changing perception is the increasingly influential literature in "community satisfaction" (Campbell and Converse, 1972).

Research in "community satisfaction" is the most recent addition to "quality of life" measurements. Foundations for this conception come from an abundance of definitional research concerning "community" as an important social unit (Knop, 1976). Furthermore, "Community can be viewed as an area in which policy issues, major life events, and general environmental factors become linked to individual perceptions" (Deseran, 1978:239). "In the final analysis, social trends and social policy have their direct impacts upon individuals in the form of 'local' manifestations" (Rossi, 1972:88).

As has been discussed, subjective indicators are useful in reaching the basic levels of human interaction. It is for a great part of our society that interaction takes place in the "community" social unit. Individuals and family units nearly always reside within a local community of some fashion, and through that, are continuously shaped by their experiences (Rossi, 1972). Outside of the family, it is the community, Suttles (1975) concludes, which is most influential in socializing human thought, actions and ambitions. Determining community characteristics has been on important area in the use of objective indicators to determine individual satisfactions with that community.

The earliest recognized work in the measurement of community satisfaction was that of Davies (1945) with the development of a 40 item Likert scale. Residents of village trade centers and nearby farm populations represented their attitudes toward their local community by a standardized unidimensional scaling. Although there were assumptions of a certain community consciousness and satisfaction, the work contained little theoretical framework.

Similar research followed that of Davies, using certain aspects of his original instrument. Schulze (1963) operationalized "community satisfaction" by use of Davies' scale in a scalogram analysis. It was hypothesized and supported that high school students desire to migrate would relate inversely

to the degree to which they were satisfied with their home community. Jesser (1967) similarly uses scalogram analysis to differentiate professions by the degree to which each was satisfied with their community. Findings included a positive association between each: (1) frequency of migration, (2) social participation, (3) community size, and the professions level of community satisfaction. Interestingly enough, the socially oriented occupations (i.e., teachers, clergy) scored lower on community satisfaction than the technically oriented (i.e., lawyers, doctors). Still, there were no theoretical attempts at explaining community satisfaction.

Johnson and Knop (1970), through the use of factor analysis, began to uncover the complexity of "community satisfaction" as a multidimensional concept. Although focusing on this aspect, research findings were not complete, and argument was made for studying the determinates of satisfaction.

Further multidimensional analysis came through the investigation of satisfaction with services in rural areas (Rojek, et al., 1975). Implied in the specificity of this particular project is the increased understanding of the capacity of subjective social indicators. The specific measurement of "services" denotes the generality of the "community satisfaction" concept. These authors concentration on the service satisfaction aspect produced four specific areas into which services could be categorized: medical, public, commercial and educational. First, using analysis of variance, conclusions were drawn that satisfaction with services is not a linear function of the availability of those services. Secondly, that the relationship of satisfaction and objective indicators did not differ by residential strata. Finally, that objective indicators do not measure the social conditions as intended, and that indicators based on attitudes toward the conditions in each environment were a necessity for future indicator development (Rojek, et al., 1975). The implications of these conclusions will be discussed in later comments.

Recent research by Marans and Rodgers (1975) is the most advanced argument for the direct influence of subjective indicators. Through the use of a complex conceptual model of community satisfaction, their work begins to define the importance of individual perceptions. They explain that perceptions of attributes of the environment are primarily dependent on two abstractions: the individual perception of the attributes and the standards against which those attributes are judged. To balance the common problem of an objective environment being subjectively interpreted, the model accounts for a variety of interacting and intervening factors, including personal characteristics. Also appropriately useful is the notion of a value-added model of satisfaction, where environmental aspects lose importance as they become less central to the individual. Findings were supportive of other service oriented research, where attitudes toward services and facilities were positively associated to community satisfaction. Importance is placed on the fact that personal characteristics were of little influence on the level of satisfaction, but community size appeared to be vital to the individual disposition (Marans and Rodgers, 1975). Later comments concerning the implications of these findings for nonmetropolitan migration will be interjected into some generalizations about "quality of life" research.

In relating "community satisfaction" to the very existence of individual activity, Deseran (1978) used "definitions of the situation" to explain and recognize the presence of satisfaction. Selecting three essential elements from attitudinal theorists: (1) factual beliefs, (2) evaluations, and (3) relevance; dimensions of definitions of the situation are presented. Those dimensions are not treated as attitudes, but rather "definitions of the situation are treated as situation-bound cognitive assessments rather than underlying and enduring predispositions" (Deseran, 1978:243). Through the

importance placed on assessments, the assertion is that "community satisfaction" is more than a dependent variable, simply "describing residents evaluations of living circumstances" (1978:245). It is potentially, "treated as a subjective indicator of human behaviors and interactions associated with the ongoing processes and forms sociologically labeled community" (1978:245). Deseran further explains, this is but a simple dimension of community and must be placed in the larger context, but that it is useful in constructing a theoretical framework of the concept "community."

It is possible that through this conception some observable or definable behavior may be an indicator of a decision concerning "quality of life" factors in a community. That defined behavior may be as complicated as migration or as commonplace as complaint. Assessment of that behavior or interaction would be invaluable as an informative indicator for community research. The combination of this and other methods of social indicators would begin to organize an approach for researching "community satisfaction" in a most comprehensive and informative manner.

Macro-Structural Perceptions Through Social Indicators

Sociological research in the area of "quality of life" has been primarily concerned with objective aspects of the social environment and the services provided by the representative society. Although, as we have seen, much of the early indicator research dealt with objective information, a large part of the more recent work has been a subjective evaluation by the subject of concern. There are some indications that this method of social indicators is not as unreliable as has been assumed and that in fact, many perceptions are surprisingly accurate concerning the objective circumstances (Dillman and Tremblay, 1977).

Andrews and Withey (1976) presented results from nationally representative

samples on a variety of global measures of well-being. Significant responses ranged from very specific aspects of daily living to the perceptions of Americans toward life-as-a-whole. With only a small percentage of the population feeling either very positive or negative about their life's circumstances, the vast majority replied that they perceived at least a few shortcomings in the quality of their lives. Nearly equal thirds of the respondents experienced either improved, declining or very similar well-being as compared to a period five years before. Populations differed by socioeconomic status, with the upper levels feeling a greater general well-being and more progress overall, and families divided depending on the presence of both parents, with the single parent family scoring especially low. The racial division had whites rated with a higher general sense of well-being, but no differences when perceptions of five year improvements were reported, and Blacks perceiving greater prospects for improvements in the future. Of particular importance were conclusions on adaptation and coping mechanisms, "psychological processes that may influence how people evaluate their lives." Apparently, optimism about the future and a positive bias about the present, allowed people to justify their present level of well-being to themselves.

The importance of individual perceptions was further supported by a life quality study carried out in the rural south. Ladewig and McCann (1979:24) applied path analysis "to measure the magnitude of the direct and indirect effects of selected objective conditions and subjective experiences on community satisfaction." Based on community satisfaction research earlier discussed, plus consideration of the adaptation-level phenomenon and a theory on interaction outcomes, they hypothesized that levels of satisfaction would reflect the amount of control an individual experiences in the outcomes of his community. Further, through this analysis, they speculate that the "objective conditions which influence the individuals evaluation of his

circumstances reflect, to a large extent, his social and economic ability to control outcomes affecting his circumstances within the community" (1979:11).

Findings were substantiated and implications followed that consideration should be given to the importance of peoples ability to control their own experiences or the effects of expected experiences. Though the authors (Ladewig and McCann, 1979) support the intentions of the Rural Development Act of 1972, concern is expressed for its practical application. Emphasis should be placed on the individual level of judgment, on the importance of local involvement for influence of local decisions, and on stronger access to positions of authority. All of these were considered manifest for the influence of perceived change. Rural development legislation must necessarily allow the active role of various local associations, at least in the conclusion of this rural southern research.

An extention of these findings was not mentioned in the manuscript, but the implication for urban residents being both highly dependent and isolated is important. What possible alternatives are there for the urban and even suburban residents to control the outcomes of their experiences in such large communities?

Many explanations of community satisfaction have been researched in rural locations, but the implications appear applicable to all Americans regardless of where they reside. The study of service and opportunity in local community research also applies across a wide selection of community size (Campbell, et al., 1976). Only the extremely rural or the larger urban areas show disapproval of the services that are locally available. The social aspects of an environment though, apparently alter the perceptions significantly. Comparisons of satisfaction when interjecting social factors seems to relegate service and opportunity dimensions to a less important role. Goudy (1977:380) for example, speaking about resident evaluations of nonmetropolitan areas states:

> Social dimensions assume greater importance than previous studies acknowledged, suggesting that residents find most satisfying those communities in which they think they have strong primary group relationships, where local people participate and take pride in civic affairs, where decision-making is shared, where residents are heterogenous, and where people are committed to the community and its upkeep.

In using relatively personal variables, Goudy has uncovered important differences in perceived life satisfaction. By bringing the evaluation of their environment to a personal level, "the importance of social attachments through friends and organizations," becomes foremost in the individuals assessment of their present "quality of life."

Perhaps the most comprehensive work comparing the rural-urban dimension through the use of social indicators, is that of Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers (1976). The relationship of objective elements to social environments and the individual subjective evaluation, actually provides a framework or organization to much of the previously mentioned research. Similar to Andrews and Withey (1976), the authors conclusions surround dependable evidence that through a composite arrangement of satisfactions and dissatisfactions, the majority of Americans report a global sense of well-being.

Certain aspects of Campbell's (et al., 1976) research could be considered quite influential in migration theory of the years ahead. One of these aspects supports a great deal of research which has suggested the individual sense of well-being increases at a consistent rate as one moves from large cities to rural areas. It is important to recognize that this is not an indication that people living in urban areas are unsatisfied with their lives. Generally speaking, the urban resident has a sense of well-being. The urban, suburban and small cities tendency is to be satisfied with parts of the environment such as services (i.e., schools, roads, and police relationships) and opportunities (i.e., employment and recreation), but possibly

not with the composite whole. As people are confronted with the urbanized and industrial environment, the overall sense of well-being decreases rapidly to a low point in the total urban area.

Even as the rural resident is denied of many services, as was previously mentioned, they seem to emphasize the intangible elements of social life for the high level of community satisfaction. Air quality, safety from crime and violence, and an environment for children are all of high priority to the rural resident (Dillman, et al., 1980). The large majority of rural residents perceive their location as improving and have no intention of migration, whereas the urban resident in general feels just the opposite (Elgin, et al., 1974).

An important point of relevance to research should be made. As a research note, Campbell (et al., 1976) explains that because of measurement error, limited reliability of measures, and failure to assess certain aspects of satisfaction, a part of the variance in community satisfaction is unaccountable.

Apparent implications of the above research note would seem to be applicable to both objective and subjective social indicators. Unaccountable influences should exist in all indicator research, from personal evaluation to to the analysis of multidimensional stratification. This was possibly the concern of Buttel (et al., 1977) when they began research concerning the ideological relationship of social indicators to "quality of life."

Working on the assumption that subjective measures of social well-being/ quality of life, may in fact contain unintended psychological elements, they hypothesized that a portion of these evaluations are a result of compatible orientations to social institutions (e.g., ideology).

Through factor analysis of four dependent measures of life quality attitudes (e.g., overall life satisfaction, service satisfaction, community

satisfaction, and powerlessness) a significant association between indicator evaluation and a political-economic ideology became apparent. Adjustment for socio-demographic background variables also derived significant positive associations. It is probably impossible to separate satisfactions at the local and personal level from that with the larger institutions and society (ideology). Those disenchanted with society because of job dissatisfaction or discrimination, are most likely to have developed these perceptions from local and personal experiences. Interpretation of the research will "show that perceptions of the legitimacy of the stratification system are related consistently to all global well-being indicators treated in the study" (Buttel, et al., 1977).

Going back to the research findings of two major studies on global well-being (Andrews and Withey, 1976 and Campbell, et al., 1976) the implications for the power of American ideology are significant. All but a small percentage of Americans have a general sense of well-being, and nearly all are in agreement with the values of the present system.

The prevailing political belief systems of the American public are most closely associated to the powerlessness (political ineffectiveness) variable through the ideological component. As with the earlier research, this probably indicates a desire by the individual to control and effect more experiences of their lives. Even without that control though, (there are ideological contradictions that every individual controls their own destiny) with present standards of living, the average individual appears to be satisfied with his life situation. This necessarily suggests the importance that should be placed on ideological influences in the future use of social indicators.

In a final article, concerned with social change in America, ideological influences may be considered basic to future "quality of life." Rohrer (1980) discusses three articles which would contribute to constructing a sociological

perspective of social change in quality of life. The concern of each article is centered on some dimension of the necessity for value or ideological change. The first salient dimension is that of global scarcity, with its influence on consumption values and a needed redistribution of the worlds resources. The second concerns equity and the zerosum aspect of social problem solving, with the effects on values of equality and the abilities of our society to cooperate. Finally, an article previously discussed, (Young and MacCannell, 1979) analyzes industrial society and its influences on social well-being and pathology, which are supported by the present ideology of our institutions, through inaction.

Stressed in all of these articles are social change and social conflict, but primarily the need for entirely new social policies (or values.) Rohrer (1980:484) assembles all of these aspects plus the influence of several sociological and historical influences, into "five identifiable shifts in the domestic way of life." He informs us that the ideological value system and our society's way of thinking,

> "....will shift toward more consideration of future needs; toward working with nature instead of attempting to control nature; toward reducing expenses instead of increasing incomes; toward reducing risks instead of risk-taking; toward emphasizing social benefits of production or services instead of emphasizing individual benefits to be gained from producing or distributing goods or services" (1980:484).

This article is a very perceptive outline of many of the value changes, already occuring through people's concern for "quality of life." Many Americans now desire to return to previous manners of living and through a growing nonmetropolitan migration are returning to more natural environments. Perhaps implied by this population shift are greater considerations of future lifestyle, and introspection of personal aspirations. Escape from the stresses of urban industrial areas, therefore reducing expenses and risk, also indicate interest in a residential atmosphere of physical healthfulness

and psychological well-being. Furthermore, the individual rediscovery of social benefits (community integration) may encourage the complete transition to rural life.

Obviously, migration is an essential outlet for part of the population, although it is an alternative not available to everyone. If important changes now occuring through limitations of the natural environment are influential in the discontinuation of these migrational shifts, both ideological contradictions and conflicts will unquestionably follow.

There is increasing acknowledgement of the dangers of industrial economies and the need for new social institutions. For a growing segment of the population, America must attempt to reconstruct a society that works for people. Only through a value "shift" or major ideological reorientation, is there a possibility for that society to ever exist. From that, a great deal of consideration should be given to the future role of social indicators. Should they be used to balance the inequities of the present institutional system, or should they be used to create support policies for reordering society altogether? Within this research, social indicators will determine certain ideological distinctions among a migration (possibly quality of life oriented) population. These findings, may in turn indicate, that through the use of subjective social indicators, a value "shift" is already taking place.

Discussion

The problem of achieving desired qualities of life in America is as C. Wright Mills stated, the same as all other problems in American society, totally those of the individual. American institutional support for the individual is to encourage the individual to support the institutions. The ideological dominance of present American institutions is so nearly absolute, there is little within that belief system which provides the individual with

personal satisfaction. Individualism, universalism, mass communication, and consumerism all have tendencies to place people last. The values of profits and accumulation, and continued growth through industrialization, are all lacking the individual human element.

Possibly through the contradiction of industrial society, (that of economic prosperity and personal anomie) there has been a rediscovery of a need for the personal satisfactions of life. The population is turning back to the rural environments and attempting to reorganize their personal lives. The "shift" in personal values is from pursuing materials, to pursuit of happiness. There is growing evidence that community satisfaction derives from social factors rather than material standards. These are but a few dimensions of the value reorientation and evaluation taking place in America.

Research has shown preferences for maintaining the best of both the rural and urban environments. Indications are though, that the natural environment can not bear the pressure of those consumption habits by such a massive population. Most people will not be able to enjoy the best of both worlds, to say nothing of the population of the rest of the planet. Some suggest that equity questions will create further conflict and shortage for those desiring more rural and less urban industrial lifestyles. This may well be America's greatest problem of the future. It essentially goes directly to the base of our economic and social structure and the center of American ideology.

Improvements in future life quality will require some sacrifice of material and consumer items. This may not be that difficult, as those with lives of the greatest satisfaction are already living on limited resources (rural residents). The contradiction arises from the prospect that this modified lifestyle, values the antithesis of American ideology. While a growing number of people acknowledge a desire to simplify priorities and reduce necessities, American ideology pronounces the need for more growth,

production, and consumerism. Appropriately, the contradiction of America is best symbolized by the recent Presidential election. Massive numbers of supporters brought capitalist ideology to power, to solve new problems with old solutions. At the same time, in their personal lives, they desire to escape the disorienting and alienating effects created by that same system.

The future of America's material standard of living appears dubious at the present. Although recent historical events imply the attempt to insure a growing productive America, that may not be possible. There are certainly many questions as to what is possible at this point. From a sociological perspective, the prospect of a return to "rural America" is becoming increasingly attractive. However, from a dominant American ideological perspective, the reduced consumption of rural Americans may not be considered an alternative.

CHAPTER III

A THEORETICAL CONCEPTION OF TRANSITIONAL IDEOLOGY

The popular conception of ideology stems from the philosophy of the latter stages of Enlightment period France. First recognition of the concept, though not necessarily the term, dealt with "ideas as the necessary consequences of the societies in which we live" (Rude, 1980; Lichtheim, 1967). These foundations entered the realm of philosophy at least a half century before either idealist or marxist philosophies began to have an impact on the intellectual discourse of western societies. The word ideology itself, was soon after given expression as it applies to the theory of ideas in general (Lichtheim, 1967).

Following this initial conception of ideology both philosophical and scientific expressions of the implications of ideas obviously underwent a variety of applications, reinterpretations and definitions. Within the context of this discussion the term "ideology," which is now representative of that long intellectual process, will be most commonly used to indicate the presence of three factors:

> First, it has to do with a system of ideas by which the world, or some significant aspect of life in the world, is interpreted. In this sense "ideology" is a theoretical system of concepts which is believed to accord with "reality." Second, "ideology" is also practical in that the theoretical system of ideas are urged upon people as leading to a way of life which should be followed. Thus, "ideology" seems directed to the translation of theory into practice. Third, and consequently, there is a tendency in all ideologies to become "closed systems." This is their exclusivity. Other ways of understanding the world and living in it are at best

> suspect and are usually ignored, dismissed or countered. "Ideology," in its most fundamental use, might be described as an operational metaphysic. Its aim is a comprehensive, unconditional and certain system of belief and practice (Boyd, 1979:19).

As the concept of ideology was reintroduced through the philosophy of Hegel it became embodied in a philosophical conception of universal mind:

> To Hegel mind was the 'universal agent' of history and (in his words) 'what manifests itself to philosophic thought is the history of mind - veiled by its embodiment in matter, but still plainly discernible as the motive force of the universal process.' Ideology, in this context, was a direct projection of mind (objective mind as he wrote) without any separate identity. Moreover, as 'ideology' was a universal concept, there was no question of its being seen to serve the purpose of any particular class or group, let alone of the masses who, to the idealist philosophers, were a matter of small concern (Rude, 1980:15).

Marx and Engels, through an apprenticeship in Hegelian philosophy, acquired not only a belief in the universality of truth, but the basic elements of the dialectical method of history, with its process of conflicting opposites (thesis and antithesis), such that similar investigation of historical process was possible. From these elements evolved an inversion of the Hegelian philosophical treatise. Rather than ideals being the central guiding force that continually shapes the material world, the Marxian notion of historical materialism explained that all elements of the social world are necessarily derived from a material base (Marx and Engels, 1974). It was only through class interest, as Marx explains, that the idealist philosophers saw the structure of ideas or consciousness as the primary force of nature, and that in actuality this version of ideology was nothing more than a false consciousness created to maintain a hegemony of ideas for their ruling class (Marx and Engels, 1974). Obviously, the concept of ideology had become a philosophical issue of conflict by this time, and the conceptual process of sociohistorical change was to be forever a part of this dialectic.

Though Marx conception of 'historical materialism' would appear to justify a great deal of the criticism exclaiming its determinist connotations, later in his writings there are attempts to clarify his position on the imperative of ideas being a mere reflection of a material base. Analyzing the marxian theory of class struggle and the necessity of a proletarian class consciousness coming into direct influence, one can conceive of why Marx was somewhat open to an independence of certain ideas or ideologies (Ashford, 1972). Marx and other Marxist theorists have similarly suggested "that ideas and ideology, while in the first instance owing their existence to man's material being, can at crucial moments in history, assume, temporarily at least, an almost independent role" (Rude, 1980:19). If the social theorist could only isolate these 'crucial moments in history' he would probably be taking the pulse of sociohistorical change.

The use of ideology in this discussion begins, not historically with the popular conceptions put forth in philosophical treatise, but rather as the dynamic conception reflecting the character of man as social being after satisfying natural and then social needs. For it is with Marx that the concept of ideology is first related to human consciousness as both part of and outside of history itself. It is this general Marxian commitment to a materialist base which initiates the use of ideology as a superstructural consequence:

> In direct contrast to German philosophy, which descends from heaven to earth, here we ascend from earth to heaven. That is to say, we do not set out from what men say, imagine, conceive, nor from men as narrated, thought of, imagined, conceived, in order to arrive at men in the flesh. We set out from real, active men, and on the basis of their real life process we demonstrate the development of the ideological reflexes and echoes of this life process.... Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life (Marx and Engels, 1974:47).

At least within this description it is easy to recognize an absolute commitment

to a material necessity which essentially abandons an ideological complement in the process of the dialectic. Though this introduction interjects the concept of ideology into the long term explanation of social history, it also severely limits the capacity of marxist theory to examine the material influence of ideas on men. It is necessary, now that we find ideology in relation to social structure, to further investigate conceptual constructs of ideology in the process of social change.

Ideology in Theory on Revolution

Through Marx, ideology is transformed from a philosophical conception to a rudimentary element of revolutionary theory. What developed into perpetual debate of the status of ideology in the theoretical superstructure, was obviously not going to inhibit the use of ideology as a dimension in evolving theories of social change (Rude, 1980). Marx original applications of the dialectic to class struggle and ideological formation, though not philosophically complete, were further employed by twentieth century revolutionary philosophers for the express purpose of exploiting the concept of social consciousness. Ideology and social consciousness were at this point, in numerous revolutionary theories, necessarily consolidated into a single structural framework (Benton, 1977).

When speaking of social movements or social change in a structural sense the ideological polarization of society was, following Marxian methods of practical critical activity, the only method for pragmatic development of social consciousness. For example, Lenin (1902) believed that through use of an outside influence, such as the revolutionary vanguard, one could create a mass party from which a socially conscious class may arise. This vanguard, though necessarily an intellectual elite, would attempt to conceal its bourgeois origins while at the same time moving a proletariat political consciousness into direct opposition of the dominant bourgeois ideology

(Gouldner, 1979). Only through direct ideological conflict, by two separate and distinct classes, did Lenin foresee any possibility of working class interests attaining a knowledge or awareness equivalent to class consciousness (Lenin, 1902).

Later into the century western Marxism turned toward a more philosophical analysis of a potential working class revolutionary ideology (Anderson, 1973). At this time Marxist theorists (Lukacs, 1971; Gramsci, 1971) began to ponder the notion that ideology play the essential role in bringing certain segments of society into positions of conflict and therefore social change. Speculation by Lukacs, on the potential of a revolutionary ideology, arrived at similar conclusions to those of Marx and Lenin, in that, only the process of industrialization with the probability of creating a polarized society would position the proletariat for class struggle, and through that, access to the reality or knowledge of their oppression. As with earlier theory, here is the necessity that an absolute division of society into two opposing classes occur, so in turn, the larger working class is enabled to move beyond the false consciousness of the dominant ideology. Lukacs emphasis, similar to Lenins, on the unison of the political and economic struggle, and on the necessity of direct opposition for a proletariat class consciousness, leaves two major problems in using this framework for ideological change (Rude, 1980:22). First, in a totally polarized society vast segments of that society are of little importance to any revolutionary development and will probably never interact with significant influence towards that end. The masses of society, therefore, experience little if any ideological transformation themselves, especially in their daily lives. Most of these individuals maintain an accumulation of traditional religious, political, and mythical ideological notions, which would be unaltered by their participation in any new form of society or political economy. Secondly, there

is little indication as to how a proletariat class arrives at a level of awareness or consciousness such that it can attain a hegemony of ideology, and thus revolution. Apparently, working class interests are left to stand in waiting until the inevitable crisis of capitalism takes place and at that time be informed by an intellectual elite that they are now the class of hegemony.

Gramsci's Contribution to Ideological Transition

Actually, most theory of ideological transformation deals with the actions of political and economic revolution and has its roots in earlier marxist theory. As we have seen to this point, ideology has generally been used as an element of manipulation rather than a part of process. Through time the significance of ideology and its relationship to the process of social change was developed, by an assortment of analysis, into a framework of ideological transition. Those general conceptions of social change through ideology are of primary interest for this study.

From here it is necessary to transcend the preceding analysis and introduce a conception of ideology, by Antonio Gramsci, which will provide an acceptable framework for dealing with the impact of ideas and values on specific present day actions. The contribution of Gramsci involves a study of social history in the form of class hegemony of ideology, which through its systematic nature provides a flexible theory of the transformation of hegemony from one social grouping to another (Adamson, 1980; Rude, 1980; Mouffe, 1979; Hoare and Smith, 1971).

Ideology as a Determinant of the Subject

Gramsci attempted to move beyond previously defined notions of 'false consciousness' and to disspell the assumed necessity of separate and conflicting ideologies creating total class opposition. His first concern is

expressed with the assumption that ideology is 'false consciousness' and merely an illusion or epiphenomenon of the material structure. For Gramsci ideology is the very foundation in which people become socially active and the basis by which individuals acquire consciousness. Essentially he "posits consciousness not as originally given but as the effect of the system of ideological relations into which the individual is inserted..... thus it is ideology which creates subjects and makes them act" (Mouffe, 1979:186).

Furthermore, Gramsci discounts the supposition that individuals may attain social consciousness through some forms of introspection (Adamson, 1980). He in fact indicates that the only individual acquisition of consciousness is that made possible through an ideological formation in social practice, such that all individuals are 'mass-man' or 'collective man':

> One finds here, in fact, the idea that the subjects are not originally given but are always produced by ideology through a socially determined ideological field, so that subjectivity is always the product of social practice. This implies that ideology has a material existence and that far from consisting in an ensemble of spiritual realities, it is always materialized in practices..... In effect Gramsci considers that a world view is manifest in all action and that this expresses itself in a very elaborate form at a high level of abstraction - as is the case with philosophy - or else it is expressed in much simpler forms as the expression of 'common sense'..... which is the popular expression of higher philosophies..... These world views are never individual facts but the expression of the 'communal life of a social bloc', which is why Gramsci calls them 'organic ideologies' (Mouffe, 1979:86).

Then it is important, within the Gramscian conception of ideology, to recognize the 'material and institutional nature of ideological practice' in order to understand the process by which some form of ideological transformation may take place (Mouffe, 1979).

The value of 'organic ideologies' as the expression of a 'communal life of the social bloc', is to establish an understanding that all human strata live within a single organization. The impact of such an ideology as an

informative principle, is actually to orient both the individual and collective activities of men through which they "acquire all their forms of consciousness" (Mouffe, 1979:186). Herein, Gramsci has presented an intuitive transition for all of political philosophy. If men acquire consciousness through 'organic ideologies' and these constructs are actually world-views of their respective social blocs, then all forms of consciousness are necessarily the political statements of those social blocs. In fact, Gramsci directly derives that equation: philosophy=ideology=politics. Simply stated, social consciousness necessitates political activities. Mouffe (1979) explains that what has indeed been done is the placement of subjectivity in relation to the social process without directly injecting individual consciousness into the formation of social history. Rather, the individual is directly related to the structure, through their ideological composition as a product of the structure and as they interrelate with other individual elements. Thus, all individual input is collectively a part of the ideological and political process of social history.

Hegemony of Ideology

Following this conception of 'organic ideologies', with its emphasis on the collective nature of all ideological elements, it is possible to arrive at an understanding of certain class structures maintaining a dominant (hegemonic) ideology. For each hegemonic class maintains and perpetuates itself within a 'collective will' of all class strata; a "common world-view which will serve as a unifying principle" (Mouffe, 1979:191). Gramsci states:

> From this one can deduce the importance of the 'cultural aspect' even in practical (collective) activity. An historical act can only be performed by 'collective man', and this presupposes the attainment of a cultural-social unity through which a multiplicity of dispersed wills, with heterogeneous aims, are welded together with a single aim, on the basis of an equal and common conception of the world (Hoare and Smith, 1971:349).

Implications of this theoretical framework therefore surpass any previous conception of ideology as 'class consciousness', especially in relation to the process of social and ideological change. In order for new hegemony to arise, alteration or transformation of the ideological framework by the creation of a new 'world-view' must be accomplished. To reorganize the ideological framework some process of redefining old ideas or placing emphasis on different ideas is necessary. According to Gramsci this process involves an 'intellectual and moral reform' (Mouffe, 1979).

Of primary importance here is the absense of necessity for 'intellectual and moral reform' to completely alter or eliminate existing 'world-views' or to replace any past ideology with totally new constructs. Rather, this reform:

> consists in a process of transformation (aimed at producing new form) and of rearticulation of existing ideological elements to which a certain 'relative weight' is attributed. The object of ideological struggle is not to reject the system and all its elements but to rearticulate it, to break it down to its basic elements and then to sift through past conceptions to see which ones, with some changes of content, can serve to express the new situation. Once this is done the chosen elements are finally rearticulated into another system (Mouffe, 1979:192).

The fact that elements of ideology can be rearticulated expresses the tenative state in which the political, intellectual and moral leadership maintains a hegemonic system, from an historical point of view. Essentially, potential rearticulation is always present as the primary stages of the next historical phase. This potential is based in a prevailing criticism of the ideological complex, as it makes possible a recurrent process of rearticulation, elemental differentiation, and thus change. Elements of old established ideologies, then, will always dissolve into part and partial of the once secondary or subordinate segments of the ideological 'collective will'. The gradual dialectic of this process could be totally obscured to the

individual observation.

These circumstances exist without alternative, as Gramsci insists, because the hegemonic relation is necessarily "pedagogic and occurs amongst the different forces of which it is composed" (Hoare and Smith, 1971:350). It is a relationship which by implication, is a democracy of necessity, in that, the "common world-view unifying the hegemonic bloc is really the organic expression of the whole bloc" (Mouffe, 1979:193). An explanation of the capacity for organization of this unified 'world-view' lies within the idea of the articulating priniple, which Gramsci labels the hegemonic principle. Expression of this hegemonic principle is the difficulty defined mechanism by which the many diverse elements of the structure coalesce into the hegemonic ideology. It seems that the systematic acceptance of a set of values by the whole of society is dependent upon the ability of the presently dominant class at the level of relationships in common social production, to articulate the solidarity of all strata in the ideology. A hegemonic class unable to control all facets of an ongoing sociohistorical process obviously cannot dictate the consciousness of all people through time, but rather must attempt to direct the movement of ideology, such that its interests are advanced.

> Thus the intellectual and moral direction exercised by a fundamental class* in a hegemonic system consists in providing the articulating principle of the common world view, the value system to which the ideological elements coming from other groups will be articulated in order to form a unified ideological system, that is to say an 'organic ideology' (Mouffe, 1979:193).

The sociohistorical nature of elements in interaction both past and present and coming from all groups of the society, thus continually effect

*Gramsci generally referred to the class of hegemony as the fundamental class.

the struggle to determine the direction of history at any particular moment. Perhaps, the encounters of such diverse ideological elements as high philosophic principle and simple common sense, frame an image of chaos rather than struggle. Even more so, an image of common men influencing historic social structures appears, if not improbable, at least pragmatically unacceptable. It is through this variety of ideological elements though, that interaction results in a systematic world view, and that a fundamental class provides the articulating (hegemonic) principle which creates unity. Class formation is not necessarily born of confrontation, but simply through the dialectical imposition of one's ideas:

> It is, therefore, by their articulations to a hegemonic principle that the ideological elements acquire their class character which is not intrinsic to them..... Ideological struggle in fact consists of a process of disarticulation-rearticulation of given ideological elements in a struggle between two hegemonic principles to appropriate these elements; it does not consist of the confrontation of two already elaborated, closed world views (Mouffe, 1979:193).

Ideologies in Contradiction

It would appear obvious that a fundamental (hegemonic) class has an advantage in the appropriation of ideological elements. But the reasons behind this are not totally grounded in their position of structural superiority. The elements of ideology which are most often maintained by the common man of mass industrial society probably consist of a combination of those impressed by the dominant class of articulation, and those of past forms of thought. For Gramsci the less structured forms of thought relied upon by most of mass society, are often confusing and contradictory constructions compounded by folklore, mystification, and popular experience; such thought forms are among the 'non-organic ideologies' for Gramsci (Rude, 1980:23); these in turn greatly inhibit men from comprehending or transcending their positions to a level where ideological elements are manipulated. Common man is constrained by the fact that he adheres to a philosophy of

common sense.

Through these circumstances common men seem to be incapable of constructing a coherent philosophy, and as a result are confused by their disjointed view of the world (Adamson, 1980). A common sense accumulated from such a diversity of ideological elements quite completely neutralized any activities for change by the majority, and remarkably disorients even behaviors of self-interest:

> The active man-in-the-mass has a practical activity, but has no clear theoretical consciousness of this practical activity, which nonetheless involves understanding the world in so far as he transforms it. His theoretical consciousness can indeed be historically in opposition to his activity. One might almost say that he has two consciousnessess (or one contradictory consciousness): one which is implicit in his activity and which in reality unites him with all his fellow-workers in the practical transformation of the real world; and one superficially explicit or verbal, which he inherited from the past and uncritically absorbed (Hoare and Smith, 1977:333).

Here we see the developmental basis of an ideological conception consisting of two potentially separate constructs residing on the same ideological terrain; not only does this theoretical system provide for dual or contradictory ideologies but one can invision a continuum of ideology on which various stages of elemental articulation, reorientation and acceptance may be found; prospects of a continuum of ideology are further enhanced by the interrelation of such a conception with a theory of dialectical change. We will necessarily return to the latter idea further along in the discussion. First, however, it is necessary to touch upon another subjective quality of the dual or contradictory concept of ideology.

Dual Qualities of Ideology

In considering ideology beyond the merely subjective and individualistic, Gramsci precedes recent theoretical explanations which similarly place the human cognitive process in the ongoing practices and interactions of social

systems (Lichtheim, 1967; Habermas, 1971; Althusser, 1971). By exposing the 'material nature of ideological practice' he allows conceptualizations of ideology beyond the limitations of distortion and appearances as reality, which are translated as 'false consciousness.' The theoretical framework is conceivably expanded such that an ideology also represents an accurate description of the consciousness of an individual, group or epoch (Lichtheim, 1967). A conception of ideology as only 'false consciousness' is actually no longer of substance. As with the common man in mass society two or more characteristically different ideologies may occupy the thought forms of a single individual at one time. Whether either or both of these ideological constructions are in his interests is not of question to this theory.

This ideological conception opens other previously unacknowledged dimensions in an evolving social framework. Ideology, as such, may very accurately reflect the commitment of a hegemonic class to a universal set of principles within their particular sociohistorical context. The existence of their rights and principles is assumed to be a basic part of those universal principles. Accordingly, ideology may be both real in terms of a class or strata commitment and distorted in terms of resultant hegemonic relations with other strata. Significantly, the dual qualities of the concept suggest, rather than the necessity of two ideologies being separate and in opposition, a single ideological terrain may contain both real (true) and distorted (false) dimensions (Sampson, 1981). One dimension of the falseness of ideology resides in an absolute historic distortion of certain elements on a common ideological terrain:

> At minimum, falseness exists whenever the given sociohistorical moment, with its particular practices, institutions, and structures and the consciousness that derives therefrom, is reified and treated as though its forms were necessary, invariant, or natural (Sampson, 1981:731).

This other dual quality of the ideological terrain, then, conceivably reflects both, aspects of the subjective world as experienced in society, and more importantly the sociohistorical context in which that ideology is constructed. Similarly for Mannheim (1936) ideology should be understood as an objective social construct impacting on, and therefore being established within the subjective perception and experience, while at the same time being transformed by the subjects (collective) active consciousness. This conceptualization of ideology emphasizes the function of subjective and objective elements of society in interaction. Within this framework, when addressing the concept of an ideological continuum, one could potentially delinate the subjective and objective levels of ideological awareness or consciousness.

Political Education as a Part of the Dialectic

Presently, it is necessary to examine the abstract Gramscian conception of the dialectic force which lies behind ideological change, that being an intellectual and moral reform. Of concern here is speculation not as to how revolutionary change would occur during the early decades of this century when his works were circulating, but rather how a gradual transformation of ideology occurs in the complexity of present day mass society.

Gramsci's works probably represent the best explanations of the necessary processes for the planned disengagement of a segment of society from the dominant ideology; an ideology it is assumed encompasses most segments of society. He begins with an assumption that any individual subject must occupy a particular sociohistorical environment of ideology. This basic framework places emphasis on the necessity of subjective ideological change rather than alteration of objective circumstances. At no time is analysis dependent on a set of objective social or economic conditions. Gramsci apparently was never impressed by the radicalizing potential of economic

crisis or that of instability in political leadership (Adamson, 1980). Obviously, an economic depression, for example, would probably not sufficiently impact an unorganized mass to reject many ideological values of a lifetime of socialization. When Gramsci speaks of social change by revolution and use of an organized opposition class (somewhat similar to Marx and Lenin) as the basis of such change, of primary importance to this movement is political education. For him, this is education not found within the confines of an institutional process, it is however an education of the institutions; moreover it is a preparation for understanding political alternatives within changing institutions:

> Mass ideological factors always lag behind mass economic factors and therefore, at certain moments the automatic thrust due to the economic factor can be slowed down, obstructed or even temporarily broken by traditional ideological elements. This means that there must be a conscious, planned struggle to insure that the exigencies of the economic position of the masses, which may conflict with the traditional leadership's policies, are understood. An appropriate political initiative is always necessary to liberate the economic thrust from the dead weight of traditional policies (Hoare and Smith, 1971:168).

These ideas represent the collective perspective with which Gramsci views the political education process. In theoretical terms, this passage describes a necessary process of moving the opposition on an ideological continuum, away from the class of hegemony by the rearticulation of primary ideological elements. Two factors of importance need to be pointed out. First, Gramsci recognizes the 'lag time' aspect in movement of ideological elements and thereby the probability that any potential redirection of a 'collective will' is going to follow a change of objective conditions. Second, he does not place great enough emphasis on the fact that a conscious, planned struggle may be in partial contradiction of the first factor. It is apparently easy to ignore the time differential that always exists with the alteration of a structural consciousness dimension such as ideology. Within

the conception of a delay or lag period resides the possibility that a mass or working class consciousness may never reach a preparedness beyond the planning stages. These aspects appear to be held over from earlier reconstructions of Marxist theory. We will further analyze those theoretical lapses after introducing the culturally based actors of Gramsci's revolutionary framework.

The planned struggle so frequently suggested for revolutionary change involves a process of political education and information dissemination, such that, the masses of society develop into an opposition class in search of historic opportunity. As with Marx and Lukacs, and the vanguard of Lenin, Gramsci relies on the intellectual, in this case the 'organic intellectual,' to provide the educational experiences the uninformed masses lack. Similar to Gouldner, (1979) he portrays the 'culture industry' (management and industrial organization, technicians, professionals, bureaucrats, journalists, media personnel) as the specialists of knowledge in the foundation of dominant ideology. However, within the emerging proletarian culture he speculates that another group of 'organic intellectuals' should eventually develop, that of shop foremen, machine technicians, and trade union organizers (Adamson, 1980). This is where his educational interaction involves a fundamentally different cultural experience than those predicted by other Marxist theorists. As conceived by Gramsci, an intellectual/moral bloc based in a concrete institutional context, such as political parties, unions, or factory councils, provides a sustainable organizational form in which ideas interact and are exchanged rather than imposed (Adamson, 1980). Unlike past reductionist theory where ideology is figuratively impressed upon the thought of mass society, an alternative dialectical learning process is suggested, where self-education integrates with intellectual explanation:

The process of development (of organic intellectuals) is tied

> to a dialectic between the intellectuals and the masses. The intellectuals stratum develops both quantitatively and qualitatively, but every leap forward towards a new breadth and complexity of the intellectual stratum is tied to an analogous movement on the part of the mass of the "single," who raise themselves to higher levels of culture and at the same time extend their circle of influence towards the stratum of specialized intellectuals, producing outstanding individuals and groups of greater or lesser importance (Hoare and Smith, 1971:334).

The dialectical view of political education held by Gransci, essentially transcends previous conceptions of an enlightment process. Potentially, the masses of society could acquire a higher philosophical conception of their circumstances than their present indiscriminate accumulation of common sense. It would appear though, that the levels of organization and participation required for such planned ideological transformation are beyond probability within the context of American society. Given the position of shop foremen, machine technicians, and unionism in this country both Gramscian conceptions and most marxist theory seems somewhat wanting in their definitions. It is difficult to imagine under the circumstances of abundance in this country, generally at great sacrifice by the third world, a laboring class that could produce an intellectual force for organized change. The age of mass media and computer communication may have rendered obsolete any ideals of such an endeavor.

Formation of Subjective Ideological Structure

From here we should attempt to examine the implications of some major Gramscian conceptions within our present post-industrial society. A world of science and technology compounded by an ideology of mass society and mass communications may integrate surprisingly well with such a dialectic of ideological transformation. Attempts at conscious political education would border on the absurd for the structural conditions of modern America, but the theoretical construction of material interactions influencing an ideological level offers an impressive framework for other developmental

analysis. It is necessary that we keep in mind the theoretical process by which ideological elements are continually rearticulated and ideology thereby transformed. Furthermore, integrating that process into the framework of a continuum of ideologies potentially containing numerous collectives of ideological elements, provides us with a theory capable of explaining complex change. The ideology of individuals and thus collectives is slow and subtle in transition, but an individual subject always evolves by the simple accumulation of ideas, and therefore is necessarily an active part of process. As Habermas (1971:40) stated in his discussion of a very similar theoretical conception of ideological dissemination: "superiority of those who do the enlightening over those who are to be enlightened is theoretically unavoidable but at the same time it is fictive and requires self-correction; in a process of enlightenment there can only be participants."

Both Althusser (1971) and Szymanski (1978) have developed theories of the mechanisms by which modern states maintain an hegemony of ideology. In essense these authors describe the frameworks of specific social units and institutions enmeshed in the implementation of ideological formation. These descriptions basically outline a very similar theoretical construction to that of Gramsci, with essential differences dependent on scope or location in the superstructure rather than substance of process.

While Szymanski (1978:238) focuses on the "control (of) the major means of mental production" involving detailed analysis of three important intellectual production institutions - communications, education, religion - the substance of his discussion is less theoretical and more content oriented. Although this is a necessary contribution, one finds himself easily sidetracted with concerns of specific case studies and repetition of special circumstances. A need for greater freedom in generalization exists when attempting to define a process of macro-structural concept interaction at

the subjective level. It is in Althusser (1971) that one discovers a sufficient abstraction of theory, such that, a flexibility of application is available. There is detail of process without limitation of analysis. Subtle changes in institutional practices and circumstances do not so easily defy identification. And as with Gramsci, Althusserian theory secures itself in the reality of human activities, as stated: "it is through participation in material practices governed by material ideological apparatus that each individual becomes constituted as a subject" (Benton, 1977:175).

Basically, two collective terms define the structure and substance of the Althusser theory of ideological domination - "Repressive state apparatuses" and "Ideological state apparatuses." The former deals with the bureaucratically mechanical elements of repression, including legal (courts, police), military, and political or economic administration apparatuses. Nothing is especially uncommon or distinctive of these structures as they function specifically to maintain political order. This order, in turn, provides an environment for the second collection of apparatuses to operate; these being of primary importance for this discussion.

Althusser designates the educational system, the media of mass communications, the family, the trade unions, political parties and religious institutions as fundamental 'ideological state apparatuses.' Essentially, these apparatuses embody the more intricate process of persuasion by participation, something that would obviously simplify the functioning of the repressive apparatuses. Through the process of interactive persuasion or socialization the ideological apparatuses function to perpetuate the present conditions. The functional principle is not, as such, a system which provides the necessary conditions for society to exist, it is rather a set of circumstances which insure that a specific form of class-domination (ideology) will

continue. For Althusser an explanation of this process of perpetuation lies in a theory of the distinctions and relationships between the material base and superstructure of society. This necessarily entails an examination of the role of superstructural elements in what marxist theory terms 'reproduction.'*

A comparative analysis of the Gramscian theoretical conception of ideological transformation and the methodical process of systems reproduction, which Althusser indicates is a result of 'ideological state apparatuses,' reveals the complimentary nature of these dialectic ideology formations. With the Gramscian conception we examined a process by which structural elements are directed through a cultural emphasis on the practical (collective) activities of men's lives. It is also implied that the individual subject is determined by a cultural accumulation of idea and belief (ideology) elements being shaped (articulated) into a collective world view which performs as a self-perpetuating dynamic; at least until ideological dimensions are somehow altered. The fact that nothing remains consistent across time, especially in the context of a scientific society, indicates that certain of these elements will probably come into contradiction. Therefore, we must assume that ideological dimensions are constantly being altered, but that the cultural transitions are so subtle as to nearly escape observation. So it is comprehension of the capacity of hegemonic culture to maintain a reasonable consistency of ideology across time, that appears as the necessary pursuit. At this point Althusserian theory provides a complimentary micro-structural extention for Gramsci.

*Benton (1977:174) defines 'reproduction' as "the necessity, if economic production is to be a continuous process through time, for the raw materials of production, the instruments of production, labor-power itself and, finally, the relations in which production takes place to be replaced or replenished as they are used up, or worn out, or when the social agents themselves die."

To the general structural arguments of Gramsci's ideological transformation, Althusser supplements the particular activities of the continuous operations of a culture. For Althusser, as the repressive aparatuses of the state maintain order, the ideological state aparatuses create organization of human interaction. The operational function of these ideological apparatuses, then, embodies the complete 'reproduction' of both social and material relations of production; thereby perpetuation of the hegemonic class (i.e., the capitalist class in the capitalist mode of production). Herein lies the interpersonal aspect with which Althusser compliments the Gramscian theory. Ultimately, this process involves the direct reproduction of social relations through the 'constitution' into positions within the social system (Althusser, 1971). As it is functionally applied:

> .... each individual becomes constituted as a 'subject' with certain practical attitudes, dispositions, customary habits and, in short, beliefs and ideas about himself and his relationship to the social system. This ideological formation of individual subjects will involve different apparatuses, rituals and practices, therefore, for individuals destined for different places (tasks, functions) in the system of social relations (cf. segregated educational systems.... sexual division of labour in the family, schools, political parties, etc.).... ideological state apparatuses also play a key role in actually distributing social agents to these places (admissions, promotions, qualifications) (Benton, 1977:175).

The direct relationship between these theoretical frameworks, then, avails them to the possibility of combination into a single theoretical structure. Such a structure would certainly be useful in analyzing the process and relationships of elements maintaining long term stability within an ideological framework. As an example, one can place the ideological element 'free enterprise' in the realm of Gramscian structure at an objective conceptual level as it relates to other elements in American ideology (i.e., Jeffersonian liberalism, private property) and, also, as it is credited with the standard of living provided for its practitioners and the population as a whole. Obviously, this element is integrated into a network with other ideological

elements, by repetition, to construct a single cohesive thought form though there exists little substance of support to any aspect of such an abstract conception. And by extention, it is through the accumulation of several such thought forms that a class of hegemony formulates the final collection of objective world view, again without much valid evidence of such a conception in the world of practical activity. There are many proponents of 'free enterprise' but few actually experience the benefits of such a conception in application. In comparison, the ideological apparatuses of the Althusser theory relate to the 'free enterprise' element as a subjective foundation for structure, as the individual is being socialized from an early age to the rituals and practices of competition or concern for financial accumulation. Here we find one can easily identify the process of interpersonal practice as it guides the individual toward the given structure and its accompanying commitment to a reality construction compatible with hegemonic ideology.

This formulation of superstructure through interpersonal practice furnishes a symmetry unattainable by examining either level of the dialectic separately. Commitment of the analysis, then, is to the interaction of the complete dialectic.

Transitional Ideology in Modern Industrial Society

For our purposes the theoretical construct discussed above will be applied for an abbreviated look at the present ideological framework of America. It appears that such a theory can provide at least as accurate an examination of ideological transition as that introduced through other sociological perspectives. The current complexity of ideology in America is such that confusion seems to remain the dominant perspective of ideological analysis. Certain of these perspectives have even debated the demise of ideology as a viable conception in the sociological analysis of modern

rational (scientific) societies (Bell, 1962; Lipset, 1960). However, these speculations can necessarily be dismissed as the ideology of the 'end of ideology.'

It is the result of the increasing complexity of ideology in America, that a conception of ideology should become a more viable descriptive tool for sociological analysis. Assuming that there are no substantial conscious efforts at ideological change (revolution) in American society today (it would seem the opposite to be the case) but, that slight changes are occuring in the form of a diversification of ideology, it is productive to speculate as to what could be the elements of rearticulation creating this change. At a time when the apparatuses (mass society technology both repressive and ideological) for maintaining a consistent articulation of ideology appear to be more efficient and pervasive, there are also apparently counter-effects producing imbalance or even various progressions away from the dominant ideology. As a greater diversity of ideas are introduced, a larger quantity of and access to information becomes available, and there are particularly more alternative styles of living seen as acceptable, the hegemony of ideology appears to be loosening its grip at the individual level. Though a dominant set of ideological elements (i.e. freedom in economic pursuit, Jeffersonian liberalism, private property rights, ethnocentric and nationalistic values) are still strongly embraced by the majority of society, the influences of rationalistic science and technology and the standardization of bureaucratic society, seem to be creating dissention of various forms among both mainstream and peripheral populations. One would speculate that ideological change consists of both, articulation of once abandoned elements and transition to elements not within the realm of hegemony. We need to examine a contemporary theory of ideology in transition and draw some conslusions on the potential effects of a destabilizing ideological

framework.

Gouldner's Dialectic of Ideology and Technology

Since the debate of the 'end of ideology' in the 1950's, science and technology, based in a rational-pragmatic mode of consciousness, has been considered the focus of conflict within modern ideological struggle (or non-ideological struggle). It was suggested back then, that, a higher level of consciousness, that of the rational mode, had extended to a position of dominance in western thought and not only the academic and technocratic elite were of that mode, but so to would be the masses of society (Bell, 1962; Lipset, 1960). Soon after presentation of that thesis a dependence developed on rational-pragmatic thought among the masses as the explanatory ideological element for social change in industrial society. The blatantly democratic functionalist overtones to such an argument where probably acceptable to most of American sociology at the time but criticism immediately emerged as a counterbalance to this position.

Apter (1964), for example, developed a theory of 'bifurcation in the community' due to the growing significance of status competition and differentiation in complex societies. As a result of the increasing importance of knowledge in the economic sphere, he suggested a division was taking place between a scientific elite with bureaucratic management as controllers of knowledge, and the masses of society. Through this, involvement in the decision-making processes becomes a conflict of interests, but only between those capable of presenting sound argumentation. These circumstances obviously limit laymen in every capacity except that of absorbing expert advice or completely withdrawing from the process in a state of confusion. Therefore, conclusions drawn from this theoretical perspective suggest a composition of educated, sophisticated, technically trained participant citizens in

a small political and ideological elite, in opposition to the remainder of the masses, which are identified as scientifically illiterate (Apter, 1964: 31).

Advancing the theme of an expanding division in developed industrial societies, Gouldner (1976) proposes how such social bifurcation may have been initiated and speculated on the consequences for ideology under such circumstances.

The division Apter speaks of is outlined and defined in its origins by Gouldner's analysis of a growing mass media as it impacts on major segments of the population. Where once the written word as printed communication was the basis of ideology reproduction and dissemination, with the largest portion of society given the opportunity to participate or at least acknowledge and support the reproduction of dominant ideals, the massive middle and lower echelon is now excluded. The normally gradual development of an individual ideological perception through social participation and life experience, is now distorted or reoriented by the consciousness creation process of the mass media (i.e., television, radio, cinema; Gouldner, 1976). As ideology and social history was in the past connected in the individual's life experience and each was a part of the idea and material dialectic, an effective mass media now separates the manifest connection between ideologies and history (Gouldner, 1976:168). The majority of the population experiences a decline in the relationship between their social position in the historical process, and the ideologies that completely tied them to that process. We see the ideological embodiment of practical experience (man's action as social history) in Gramsci, broken apart by a modern media device, and the reproduction process of Althusser replaced by a similar electronic extension. Only among certain elites and directors of the consciousness production process does ideology remain a dominant form of consciousness; ideology

becomes lost to the masses of lower strata.

Such speculation by Gouldner is explained by his assumption that mass media has acquired control of and separated the manifest connection between ideology and history. The process of personal experience is now 'technologically amplified' through mass media devices which by their provision of activity necessarily eliminates the need for an individual to actively experience or participate in history. By this process Gouldner (1976:168) describes the absense of an active social position in history as probably "the end of ideology, or as the irrelevance of ideology or the meaninglessness or absurdity of life, of society, and culture."

From this point Gouldner's reductionist assumptions are in turn based in what the present interpersonal experience actually involves. He implies that when an individual's activities are embodied in the participation in and creation of social history they are ideological; however, the same individuals experience in a culture of mass media (i.e., television, videotape, videophones, microfiches, computer data banks, laser communications) is more aptly described as 'dramaturgical.' This implicitly indicates that the consumer of mass media is more accurately a viewer or observer of objects outside of and not effecting themselves. While the individual continues to experience or view the social action in their presence, they are confined to the interpersonal behavior of simple criticism or opinion of such objects. Thus, 'dramaturgical' viewing as a participatory experience activates a personal opinion or appreciation of ongoing social processes but does not induce the viewer to act, to do something or to attempt any change. Gouldner (1976:169) states that:

> Ideology implies rational criticism as a preparation for action; dramaturgy implies the cultivation of the viewers sensibility as the passive spectator of events as presented.

The 'end of ideology' thesis still maintains, then, an element of confusion

within this framework. The fact that the majority of society becomes isolated non-participants in social process, does not hold that ideology in general has been eliminated as a social component. With Gouldner ideology simply ceases to be an important mode of consciousness for the masses while it continues to be a dominant form of consciousness among a significant portion of elites.

From this context he separates the strata of elite for purposes of explanatory efficiency, categorizing those shapers of mass media as the 'consciousness industry' and the producers of ideas and ideology as the 'cultural apparatus.' Although one detects as similarity to Althusser with ideological apparatuses as the determinants of hegemonic ideology, Gouldner creates these distinctions for the express purpose of defining the economic importance in modern ideological struggle. Such a scenario is the foundation of a tension between the 'cultural apparatus' as influenced by the intelligentsia and academicians, and a 'consciousness industry' as product of profit-maximizing technicians and sympathetic political functionaries of the state apparatus (Gouldner, 1976:170). Ideology, then, becomes a particular possession of the intellectual 'cultural apparatus' as it is a necessary element in distributing ideas and information to the masses; while the concerns of the hegemonic 'consciousness industry' are dependent on markets and profit with their only obligation to consistent ideology being that of maintenance of order and access to a consumer environment. The position of the 'consciousness industry' is such that retaining a hegemony of ideology is a relatively unimportant after effect of returning the maximum profit on an investment. This is not a class of hegemonic ideology producers, but yet is an elite of ideological hegemony.

Though Gouldner identifies the situation in which the 'cultural apparatus' exists, and acknowledges such a condition as that of maintenance of ideologies, he contains their influence of ideology to their immediate circumstances of

intellectual communication. In such a condition his formulation limits any access to the actual masses of middle America. The members of the 'cultural apparatus' are predominantly confined to the modern university and its support structures, with a semblance of control over certain publications, printed matter and possibly radio stations. Correspondingly, any other distension of ideas is a movement beyond an accorded area of influence:

> (this) distinction is to indicate systematically that the producers of 'culture' in modern society cannot communicate their work to mass audiences except by passing through a route controlled by media, and those who control the mass media, the consciousness industry (Gouldner, 1976:170).

Therefore, Gouldner feels the once diverse symbolic environment of practical ideological experience is being both revolutionized and redirected by the massive electronic communications industry through a generally valueless profit mechanism. Furthermore, the cultural apparatus which is the ideology production device for the entire society has access to only a small portion of the public for which it operates. He observes that, from this combination comes the "schismatic characters of modern consciousness: its highly unstable mixture of cultural pessimism and technological optimism" (Gouldner, 1976:172). Thus, the potential of the cultural apparatus is negated by its state of isolation and political impotence, and the purveyors of the consciousness industry are inundated by a geometrically advancing technological good fortune.

While we recognize the abundance of optimism on the part of our technological consciousness industry, Gouldner mistakenly plays down the interjection of pessimism or 'bad news' by the cultural apparatus. He simply does not specify the importance of certain ideological elements which this apparatus may emphasize. Throughout the society information emerges as the state of culture and ideology deteriorates; for example, ecological crisis,

political corruption and social alienation. Thus a great deal of politically detrimental information eventually becomes public knowledge. His theory simply does not accommodate the filtration system by which these ideological elements are disseminated to the masses, or impact the subjects of the dialectic. Here it is necessary to return to Gramsci, for his specific attention to the articulation and rearticulation of ideological elements. There can be no 'end to ideology' as with Gouldners masses of technologically controlled or his elite of disinterested in the consciousness industry. Certain ideological elements of particular importance, though currently isolated, or more correctly undergoing a gradual and somewhat obscure rearticulation, will eventually emerge as part of the idea framework for social change.

Though a critical perspective may suggest that Gouldner is correct, in that, the hegemonic ideology is presently the class of articulation, (as the consciousness industry dominates through the mass media) they pessimistically overlook the corresponding weight of the dialectic. It is possible with a disoriented ideology, such as that maintained by the consciousness industry, that their economic concerns may eventually work to their disadvantage. Gouldner himself suggests that the totally profit oriented consciousness industry:

> sometimes generates a counter-culture that unwillingly undermines the very characterological and cultural requisites of the hegemonic class and the institutions that sustain it. It does so, of course, not because its personnel harbor a deliberate intent to sabotage, but from the most respectable of motives - to produce and sell whatever turns a profit - regardless of the consequences (Gouldner, 1976:173).

We must acknowledge the insight of Gouldner as his comprehension of the growing technological community enables sociology to explore the potentially immobilized masses in industrial societies. The limitations of disseminating ideological discourse, as he examined, are obviously of a dimension

previously unknown in social history. Human beings may be disconnected from the process of social history, then, by their total disinvolvement or regimented indifference to the institutional structures of their culture (i.e., political, familial, economic). And his observation that ideology as political persuasion is severely constrained in modern society, indicates the prevalent social incoherence of class conditions as influenced by mass media. In describing past theories of class conflict and opposition he recognizes the inability of conscious revolutionary movements to penetrate such an interconnected network:

> It no longer seems merely mistaken, but is more nearly archaic, to think of the proletariat as an 'historical agent' with true political initiatives in societal transformation (Gouldner, 1976:173).

Gouldner therefore, represents a reasonably accurate theoretical construction of social and political relationships in modern industrial society. Certainly more so than Gramsci when referring to the potential of class opposition and revolution by a uniform proletariat class. Gramsci, however, could not have predicted the impact of such technical innovations as the mass media from his point in history. And the economic abundance obtained by the modern industrial state would have seemed improbable earlier in this century. Still, application of the Gramsci theory in the social conditions of Gouldner may allow a level of analysis as yet unexamined.

It would be most productive to apply Gramscian theory to an analysis of industrial America where the precipice of the dialectic occurs; based in the process of ideological transformation. The theory of a dialectic articulation of ideological elements precludes the possibility of ideology being non-existent or even static. Ideological elements may be articulated with such an emphasis that movements of world philosophy are not apparent or that little social change is occuring, but never-the-less ideology remains. A theory of ideological dormancy has even been expressed in explanation

of such circumstances (Bendix, 1964; Schulze, 1964). But, it is necessaryily impossible for the transformation of ideology to discontinue; most obviously the processes of thought, and therefore social history, reach no ultimate conclusions.

By returning to Mannheim (1936) we discover the foundations of ideology as a superstructural dimension in continuous flux. In his analysis of scientific and industrial societies he soon came to the conclusion that the release of thought from the bondage of traditional cultures had in turn created the conditions for a rapid or at least continuous social change: "Social Mobility.... destroys the earlier illusion, prevalent in a static society, that all things *can change*, but thought remains eternally the same" (Mannheim, 1936:7). From these conclusions he identified the existence of continuous social transformation as it is based in this flexibility of thought. Here, in what Gramsci also identified and Gouldner theoretically denied, Mannheim placed the individual human subject in the basis of all ideological investigations: "the process of individual self-clarification" (Mannheim, 1936:47). Therefore, with Gramsci the capacity for an ideological transformation remains possible if not probable in the dialectic of the subjective and inter-subjective, through the practice of everyday personal experience. As with Mannheim, the Gramscian theory maintains the *potential* for a process of "self-clarification" and thereby an inevitable ideological transformation in the world view. Stated very simply, regardless of the excesses of hegemonic mass media, people still have the opportunity for individual and collective thought and creativity. Social transformation through ideology will perpetually be a part of the process of creating social history.

Discussion and Conclusions

Finally, the dialectic theory of ideology should be applied to the mass media or consciousness industry to exemplify the interactive social process by which gradual change occurs in the present.

The prospect of the Gramsci conception of ideology is that significant ideological elements, being rearticulated by certain segments of the society, (cultural apparatus; counter-cultures) may enable or even encourage individuals to pursue previously unacknowledged lifestyles. The process or rearticulation itself may in fact be the expression of actions which were considered uncharacteristic of individuals at a certain time within certain strata of society. For example, in the past decade an emphasis on a more natural and organic environment in America, has been represented as the solution to a multitude of both personal and social problems. By this emphasis one can realize the rearticulation of ideological elements previously unrecognized and probably even contradictory to some commonly accepted aspects of the hegemonic ideology. It is however, from this new recognition or rearticulation that the possibility of gradual social change has emerged. People may be relocating through this rearticulation of ideology in both their philosophical world-view and in their everyday physical environment. Social groups as diverse as the counter-cultural strains of voluntary simplicity and the General Foods Corporation are probably influencing a new emphasis of ideological elements. Both the processes of growing subsistence organic gardens and advertising and marketing the latest naturally organic consumer items, lead to a similar rearticulation of the ideologies held by all members of the society. Regardless of where they began or by whom they are held, ideological definitions of organic will generally be altered to some degree.

The changes occuring within the realm of the American belief and value

system represent not so much a release from old hegemonic capitalist ideology as a shifting (on a *continuum*) toward new elements of ideology, or the re-emergence of past elements of emphasis. These changes will not necessarily disassemble the hegemonic ideology of America so much as they will alter its content slightly by emphasis on other elements (i.e., organic products). It would obviously be productive to recognize any significant differences in the changing ideologies of the American populace, but it would probably be easier to identify the ideological differences of specific demographic groups currently involved in change.

One currently recognizible group that may be a part of not only an ideological transition, but an environmental transition through migration, is that segment of society involved in the population turnaround. This group, often times from metropolitan areas, could possibly be undergoing an ideological transition or rearticulation which displays elements of a counter-cultural or peripheral culture behavior. Following the earlier discussions of Gouldner, and that of previous migration research, these particular individuals would appear to be both socioeconomically advantaged, and probably in an advantaged position for access to the elite 'cultural apparatus'. It is necessarily appropriate, then, to speculate on the interactive framework or connection of the information disseminating 'cultural apparatus' and the majority of the population turnaround.

Certain segments of the population turnaround group may be in ideological transition as a direct result of access to cultural apparatus information. Perhaps a quality of life oriented movement (part of the turnaround) is an outgrowth of the information made available on the disastrous effect that modern industrial technology is having on the environment. If the Gouldner analysis is correct, the consciousness industry would dominate the masses of society, but a few elite, intellectual or professionally

oriented individuals would perceive and appreciate the potential of a healthier lifestyle in rural areas. Only the advantaged, then, may be financially capable and ideologically informed such that they can take advantage of transition to a rural lifestyle. These individuals are in a position by which they may choose the ideological and environmental elements they wish to maintain.

In addition to these assumptions, the possibility of ideological transition into opposition of the dominant system may create an intellectually advantaged political force. Movement to a more rural lifestyle and self-sufficient environment could necessarily provide a foundation for a more internally consistent force for ideological change. Any group that rejects an urban industrial environment is in a sense rejecting, at least partially, the consumerist mentality put forward by the consciousness industry. This is obviously one alternative for ideological transition which Gouldner and other theorists have not taken into consideration.

In the process of ideological transformation the emphasis on certain elements, possibly in contradiction to the dominant ideology, places new information in the presence of the general public. The ability of the consciousness industry to manipulate that information to its advantage, such as the recent exploitation of the term organic, will determine the extent to which the masses of society continue to follow the suggested desires (material pursuits). However, given the profit oriented disposition of the consciousness industry, elements of ideological change could slide through a network of item and idea manipulation. Further, some of those changing and unmanipulated ideas, and therefore values, may be essential to the present population turnaround phenomenon. It is possible that the idea of a nonmetropolitan lifestyle will spread beyond those who have direct access to the cultural apparatus. Perhaps even the masses of society could become

more aware of distinctions being made between the pursuit of economic materialism and an interpersonal quality of life factor found in more rural areas. Regardless, the population turnaround should present a specific instance of ideological transition which may manifest itself as an isolated phenomenon or as a larger social movement. It seems particularly important then, that certain dimensions of ideology or ideological distinctions, be immediately determined for a transitional turnaround population.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

In examining recent advances in political science McClosky (1967:65) describes the survey method of research as "the most important procedure in the behavioral study of politics." Such an awesome statement is in turn surpassed by the suggestion that a handful of surveys has "taught us more about the act of voting than was learned in all previous history" (1967:71). Perhaps the individual judgment of these circumstances would appear somewhat prejudice without a careful reading of his substantiation. Within that discussion, though, is a well documented treatise on the illuminating capacity of survey research toward modern problems in the political realm.

The determination of collective motives for migration, as with much migration research, is also currently being approached through the sample survey process. As we have seen in the previous chapters, social indicators of a personal preference and quality of life nature are both being extensively used, especially in the growing field of community satisfaction research. Only very recently have such indicators been applied to the specific noneconomic behaviors of migration. Through a combination of elements from both the established political realm and the highly active quality of life survey area, then, one is provided with an excellent reference for conceptualizing further research on such behaviors. The survey research process, although never applied in the direct relation of political-ideological and satisfaction oriented variables within nonmetropolitan

counties, thus, should be widely accepted as a method of approach to the area.

The present chapter will outline the basic methodological approach being used to identify ideological distinctions in a nonmetropolitan population. A brief examination of the mail questionnaire survey process will necessarily be followed by the general framework of the quality of life survey conducted to obtain data for this project. This will in turn be followed by a presentation of the indicators employed for collection of each specific dimension of this analysis and the method by which responses are categorized. An analysis of statistical applications for determination of the findings to be presented in the next chapter will complete this examination.

Mail Questionnaire Survey Research

Numerous reasons have been given for avoiding the mail questionnaire method of data collection. Typically, research texts have suggested the use of any other methods if at all possible (Leik, 1972:36; Helmstadter, 1970:70). In an extensive review of methodology articles concerning this type of research, Dillman (1978:6) lists a variety of ways to deal with the basic mail questionnaire problems; specifically poor data quality, the limitations of questions and most importantly, low response rates. (Response rates of less than fifty percent have been one of the most commonly cited disadvantages; Nachmias and Nachmias, 1976:107; Kerlinger, 1973:414). Herein, the shortcomings of the mail questionnaire are recognized, while in turn, the amount of valuable research based on such a method and the significant effort to improve this process, are also identified. With the above bias acknowledged, important design and implementation procedures are seen as necessarily coming into practice. It is suggested that the reasons for

avoiding mail questionnaires are being reduced and therefore the disadvantages being equalized in comparison to other types of survey research.

Recent developments influencing the changing status of mail questionnaires were initiated through attempts at increasing total response rates. In combination with refined procedures of administration, methods of involving respondents and offering incentives have developed as factors in participation. A number of recent projects have been introduced to the respondent as a request for a favor, a socially useful study, the necessity for the respondent to participate for a successful study, or simply a plea for assistance (Watson, 1965; Francel, 1966; Robin, 1965; Linskey, 1965). As can be seen with this list, a variety of ideas are evolving to increase the return of useful data by the mail questionnaire method.

The Kansas Quality of Life Survey through which data were collected for this research project made use, in one way or another, of all the above mentioned methods. By requesting Kansas residents to participate in a generalized life quality survey, the research unit undertaking this project called upon all responsible citizens for not only their assistance, but for the necessity of their participation in the collection of valuable state level data. Underlying this approach was the use of recently developed methods to enhance the total response rate in this type of survey; by carefully monitoring the whole of the mail questionnaire technique. Dillman (1974; 1978) and others (Heberlein and Baumgartner, 1978) have provided a resource for such a methodology, as they have analyzed the complete mail survey procedure from the point of beginning conceptualizations, through questionnaire construction, distribution, surveyor appeals and follow-up mailings. In fact, Dillman's (1978) 'Total Design Method' (TDM) has proven to be such a comprehensive approach, that in essense, the Kansas Quality of Life Survey was completely patterned around the suggested methods for survey

research:

> The TDM consists of two parts. The first is to identify each aspect of the survey process that may affect either the quality or quantity of response and to shape each of them in such a way that the best possible responses are obtained. The second is to organize the survey efforts so that the design intentions are carried out in complete detail. The first step is guided by a theoretical view about why people respond to questionnaires. It provides the rationale for deciding how each aspect, even the seemingly minute ones, should be shaped. The second step is guided by an administration plan, the purpose of which is to ensure implementation of the survey in accordance with design intentions (Dillman, 1978:12)

Before further examination of the TDM it is necessary to make note of certain results attained through use of this methodology. The general public is acknowledged to be the most difficult of populations in which to gain high levels of mail questionnaire response (Dillman, et al., 1974). As with the Kansas Quality of Life Survey, several other recent general public surveys have applied the TDM approach because of this specific problem. Of great importance to the present research are two factors established within the findings of a comparison of those other public surveys. Dillman (et al., 1974) found as point one, that regardless of the geographic location or socioeconomic rankings of a diversity of states, a response rate of 72.4 percent on average was attainable in a general public survey. Secondly, and essential to the Kansas survey as it involved only nonmetropolitan counties, is that "examination of response rates by the size of county (as measured by population of its largest city) shows no consistent differences" (Dillman, et al., 1974:747). Therefore, such a survey methodology proves to be adequate for use within the turnaround population being examined in nonmetropolitan Kansas counties.

Theoretically Dillman's 'Total Design Method' attacks and essentially resolves nearly all of the shortcomings suggested in Deming's (1944) classic article on the problems of survey research. Through the complete application

of format procedures and survey administration, and a monitoring by researchers of the common bias of leading questions and sampling or processing errors, the Dillman method should actually provide the most up-to-date procedure for survey research available.

The point at which TDM is especially valuable probably resides in the theoretical framework by which it significantly increases the total response rate. A basic assumption by Dillman is that the completion and return of a questionnaire is "a special case of social exchange" (1978:12). Following the theory of social exchange, most notably developed by Homans (1961) Blau (1964), and Thibaut and Kelly (1959), the assertion that individual actions are motivated by the expected return of these actions directly applies to the area of questionnaire response. This approach appears to create a relationship between the individual respondent and those involved in the specific research of concern. As was previously mentioned, an appeal to the respondent as a Kansas resident (especially by a well established and valued educational institution such as Kansas State University) necessarily induces some sense of obligation for individual level participation. Dillman (1978:12) defines this process as an attempt: "to minimize the costs of responding, maximize the rewards for doing so, and establish trust that those rewards will be delivered." In fact, the entire procedure outlines these principles from the initial cover letter with guaranteed anonymity and personalized communications, to other emphasis on reduction of complexity of questions and instructions, and a priority on minimal time expediture with specific concerns for the treatment of personal or embarrassing information. Even the expressed tangible commitment of a copy of the final results (on the original cover letter) probably does not maintain the value of most of the above mentioned guidelines for building a constructive survey (exchange) relationship. It is this relationship of commitment and dignity,

along with the altruistic regional appeal, which creates the circumstances for a useful data collection. For significant response from the general public, it appears that all steps of the procedure are necessary.

Kansas Quality of Life Survey

The questionnaire used in the Kansas Quality of Life Survey basically followed Dillman's (1978:121) recommendations for an attractive and concise procedure of presentation with the overall appearance being that of a finished product (Dillman, 1978:120-2). This was accomplished by use of standard 8½ x 11 paper folded in half to produce a booklet type format, with a printed cover page containing, symbolically, a map of the state of Kansas and the basic set of instructions for the questionnaire. Accompanying this booklet originally was a cover letter of explanation for the study with, as was discussed, a convincing argument on the value of the study to the individual respondent. All of the questionnaires were organized in the proscribed (Dillman, 1978:123-150) fashion of development and transition with a certain ordering of questions to set the general tone of the surveying process; basically, questions for general information on the respondents current life circumstances were placed on the beginning pages, followed by community opinion questions, attitude and belief type inquiries, migration behavior information, and finally socioeconomic and demographic background data.

The population to be surveyed in the Kansas Quality of Life Study was obtained through a random sampling of residents and migrants of thirteen nonmetropolitan counties in the state. These thirteen counties were identified as those which experienced the greatest increase in population from the 1970 to 1980 census periods as a result of migration. The percentage of increase within counties due to migration ranged from 6.4 percent

to 26.7 percent, with an average increase of 11.2 percent.

Specifically, migrants were defined as inhabitants of the county who had moved to the area after the April 1, 1970 census. Residents in turn, were operationally defined as those members of the area who had resided in the county at least ten years and previous to that point in time. The sample was obtained by comparing circa 1970 and 1980 telephone directories for all of the telephone districts within these thirteen counties. Household listings in the 1980 directories but not in the 1970 listings were presumed to be of the migrant population. Individual listings with common surnames for the district were assumed to be direct relatives (sons and daughters) of the residents and were excluded from the migrant sample. Approximately one in every eighty names listed in the 1980 period directories and not in the 1970 directories were selected for the migrant portion of the survey. Residents were randomly drawn from those households listed in the directories of both periods, producing a sample of approximately one of every one hundred sixty names listed.

In order to obtain greater information concerning migrants, the total sample of 1,303 randomly selected households contained 847 migrants and 456 residents (65 to 35 percent respectively). Continuing to follow Dillman's (1978) 'Total Design Method,' all 1,303 households were sent a questionnaire in the fall of 1981. Each questionnaire contained an identification number to avoid mailing follow-up questionnaires to respondents who had completed and returned the original questionnaire. A follow-up postcard used as a reminder was then sent to the entire sample population one week after the initial mailing. Subsequent second and third mailings were administered three and eight weeks after the initial mailing with similar but more insistent cover letters included for the remaining nonrespondents

From a 60% return overall, a total of 727 (55.8%) useable questionnaires

were identified. Of these 321 were residents (70.4% of the resident sample) and 406 were migrants (47.9% of the migrant sample). Migrants were further classified according to the status of their prior residence county in relation to its designation as a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). If that county was within a designated SMSA they were classified as metropolitan migrants; if that residence was not an SMSA county they were classified as nonmetropolitan migrants. These two categories were composed of 166 and 228 respondents respectively in the final analysis. The data collected through the survey process is generally a representative sample of the larger Kansas population. In fact, most socioeconomic characteristics show no significant differences.

Attitude Measurement in Survey Research

Data used in this thesis, taken from the larger quality of life study, come primarily from those sections concerning community opinions or attitudes and the areas of inquiry into political-ideological attitudes and beliefs. In discussing the process of obtaining such data, Dillman (1978:80) identifies four specific types of questions based on their potential to elicit different types of information: attitudes, beliefs, attributes, and behavior. Only the first two of these measures are of specific interest to this study. Attributes, for example, are useful only in the sense that they provide some dependent control by which to create comparison of other elicited responses; these are basically personal or demographic characteristics used in a classification sense (e.g., age, education, occupation income, sex, race, religion and so on). The primary use of behavior information for this research only involves those variables useful for identification of specific types of behavior; in this case the behavior of migration is of particular importance.

Fundamentally, then, the questions of consequence to this research entail the area of attitudes and beliefs; action or reaction in a certain manner to a confrontation with certain conditions or stimuli (Fishbein, 1967). The recorded stimulus reaction is actually a more generalized definition of what questions on attitudes and certain beliefs may elicit. For Dillman (1978:80-2) the importance of questions of attitude lies specifically in the area of feelings, either positive or negative, which elicit the above mentioned reaction toward an "attitude object." Attitudes in this sense involve an evaluation or view point of some level of desirability toward some outside object. Certain belief questions, in turn, elicit a reaction or response of perceptions for some past, present or future reality, implicating no specific values, but reporting only if someone reacts toward or acknowledges the existence of something. The present research does not require that distinctions between these responses be possible, as both Dillman (1978) and Fishbein (1967) make note, the differences between attitudes and beliefs are generally vague and it is often difficult to separate certain responses anyway. What is of importance to the present study are the reactions or responses of the survey population to the political-ideological dimensions within which they function as a daily routine; be they attitudes or beliefs. It is necessary that such responses be distinguishable by some identifiable characteristic; these being demographic, socioeconomic, and specifically, migration status characteristics.

In addition to the previously mentioned problems of mail questionnaire research, four other unalterable limitations are inherent in this methodology. However, the use of attitude measurement dimensions provides one of the more efficient methods of surveying through these following limitations:

> (1) They can be used only when questions are simple and straight forward enough to be comprehended with the help of printed

> instructions and definitions; (2) the answers have to be accepted as final; there is no opportunity to probe beyond the given answer, to clarify ambiguous answers, or to appraise nonverbal behavior; (3) the researcher cannot be sure that the right person completes the questionnaire; (4) the respondent can see all of the questions before answering any one of them, so the various answers cannot be regarded as independent (Moser and Kalton, 1971).

Concerning the first limitation Dillman (1978:84-90) addresses the problem of understandable questions, and the necessity of precision in format. Through the use of close-ended questions in attitude measurement a great deal of the ambiguity is directly eliminated, as they are straightforward inquiries about a presently held opinion. The second problem is similarly less troublesome as the question is simply attempting to distinguish an attitude held at a specific point in time. All that is necessary within this framework is that the respondent either agree or disagree with the question as it is stated. Carpenter (1977b) provides evidence that the third limitation may not greatly effect mail questionnaire data with recent research showing that most characteristics of the responding household are similar regardless of which individual actually responds. And finally the last limitation of those listed, essentially supports this particular project in attitude measurement. The probability that attitudes are not independent, especially on a political-ideological level, enhances the validity of this attempt at defining such wholistic view distinctions.

Attitude measurement as a whole is a vital method by which one can determine the basic social characteristics of certain demographic groups and individual or interpersonal behavior motivations. In applying attitude measurement to migration motives specifically, potential explanations for the population turnaround are not only being outlined but will hopefully be enhanced.

Operationalization of Variables

A method of scale construction generally referred to as the "technique of summated rating" or the Likert technique, was used to manipulate variables for the present research (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1976). This technique, which is widely used in professional literature, is easily distinguishable by the process in which multiple items (questions) are organized into a single measurement and thus, the respondent has input on several separate dimensions. Such a multi-dimensional measurement approach is necessary to avoid the potentially unreliable results of a single question approaching a complex attitude (Oppenheim, 1966).

Basically, the process of scale construction consists of the researcher compiling a series of questions which express a variety of attitudinal dimensions. Reactions to these attitude items usually range from extremely positive to extremely negative. Each item may be responded to through a set of fixed-alternative expressions on a continuum from strongly agree to strongly disagree; this research offered four alternatives with no undecided category available. Next, after measurement of a large number of randomly selected respondents, a total score for each respondent is calculated (scaled) by a summation of the value of each marked item. Items are given a point value from high to low according to the relative degree of agreement or disagreement indicated by each respondent. To correct for any problem of missing data at least one-half of the items within any particular scale grouping must indicate a response before a scale is created for that individual respondent. This is in turn followed by a process of determining internal consistency of the scaled items by either correlating each item to the total score or through use of 'item analysis' which measures the ability of each item to separate high and low responses. The items used in this research are accepted for internal consistency as they were taken with little

variation from the widely used source, "Measures of Political Attitudes" by Robinson (et al., 1969) and other previously published research; community satisfaction scales were constructed from similar survey research items (Buttel, et al., 1977; Goudy, 1977; Voss and Fuguitt, 1979).

The totality of the summated rating process provides a relatively accurate measurement of the continuum of attitudes within the population under study. In this case the independent measures of personal satisfaction and a perception of the larger social order should reflect specific attitudes dependent upon the migration status of the respondent.

As was defined in the introduction and earlier in this chapter, the dependent measures of this research involve the status of the respondent in terms of their time of residence in the local area and the place of origin from which they migrated. This was established through the use of two questions in the migration section of the larger quality of life survey. The first inquiry involved the period of time in residence: "In what year did you move into this county?", and the second, the point of origin "Where did you live before you moved here?", (city/town, county, state). These questions plus two verifying questions, concerning the approximate population of the previous residence and the distance of migration, establish with relative certainty the migration status of each individual respondent. Those respondents who had not moved within the specified period did not fill out this section and were obviously classified as long term residents.

The independent controls for this study involve measures of age, education, and total family income, which were derived through direct questions to the individual respondent. These included the exact age in years, the highest level of education attained by years, and the total household income for the previous year (1980) in twelve ascending categories by dollar amount.

Operationalizing the independent variables for the study began with the

measurement of two dimensions of an *individual* assessment of community satisfaction. The first dimension involves a ten item scale of attitudes through social indicators of how satisfied each respondent is with certain properties and services of their county or residence. A second dimension of community satisfaction is added by a seven item scale dealing with the respondents attitude as a whole toward certain aspects or prospects of their community/local area. Both of these item sets, as represented in Table 4.1, provide an interpersonal level of satisfaction analysis as a counterpart to perceptions of the larger social order. As stated earlier, each should vary in relation to the migration status of respondents, as that status represents a cumulative group.

Four other independent measures of political-ideological dimensions similarly distinguish the variability of respondents in the surveyed population. Each of these dimensions is representative, as part of a larger wholistic perception, of an ideological make-up or understanding of the total social order. These specific dimensions certainly do not contain all elements of ideology as defined in earlier theoretical discussion. However, it appears that these basic political and ideal oriented concepts can outline the fundamental distinctions this research intends to examine.

One political-ideological dimension measured to analyze *resident* status differences involves a perception of stratification illegitimacy. This two-item scale will record respondent evaluations of how well the mobility system works throughout the generalized social system. The scale components were: "Now days luck and "pull" are more important in determining who gets ahead than ability or hard work," and "America is a country where any man or woman with ambition can get ahead, no matter if he/she came from a poor family or a rich family." A scale was created if one or both of these items

TABLE 4.1

COMMUNITY SATISFACTION SCALE ITEMS*

Community Satisfaction I
Item
a. Availability of employment opportunities for people with job skills like yours.
b. Quality of the public school system.
c. Availability of medical care.
d. Programs available for senior citizens.
e. Shopping facilities.
f. Availability of public transportation facilities; like buses, etc.
g. Friendliness of your neighbors.
h. Outdoor recreational opportunities.
i. Maintenence of streets and roads.
j. Local tax rates.

Community Satisfaction II
Item
a. The future of this community looks bright.
b. This community has good leaders.
c. Residents of this community look for new solutions rather than being satisfied with the way things are.
d. Over the past few years this community has become better.
e. Residents of this community get along well with each other.
f. People want to work together to get things done in this community.
g. Not much can be said for this community.

*Items in scale I are answered according to respondent satisfaction with those elements listed; those of scale II are answered as they relate to the community/local area. All of the above items were scored with the following semantic differential format: Strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree. The equivalent of high community satisfaction was given a high score on all items.

was answered, as the questions were aligned to tap both opposing sides of the same system perception. A second dimension concerning political cynicism or attitudes toward the conduct of the American political process was operationalized as a four-item summated scale. Here we are approaching an aspect of ideology as a direct perception of an individual as they place themselves in relation to the political process; component items of this scale and of the third and fourth political-ideological measures are found in Table 4.2. Measures of a dimension of ideological discrimination make up the third scale, as these items determine the degree to which each respondent implies they are at variation with the dominant ideological percepts. Such a component identifies attempts at value discrimination beyond the given normative system. Finally, the constituent parts of the last dimension measured involves a political-ideological discrimination of social order and state related value questions. Contained within this conservatism-radicalism battery are inquiries into the perceptions of the proper position of government and society as they relate to individual human necessities. The individual ideology obviously determines to a great extent, the position one maintains on the continuum of these political opinions.

In all, sixteen political-ideological items and seventeen community satisfaction items will be used to determine migration status distinctions. Each of the independent variable scales will be applied as separate and interacting variables. In this sense, the value of the multiple measure approach resides in an ability to account for diverse aspects of the hypothesized relationship.

Statistical Analysis

An examination of the scaled variables in this study requires both

TABLE 4.2

POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL SCALE ITEMS*

Political Cynicism (Powerlessness)
Item
1. The country is run by a few people in power, and there is not much the little man can do about it.
2. The big businesses in this country have too much power.
3. The laws of this country are supposed to benefit all of us equally, but the fact is they are almost all "rich man's laws."
4. True democracy is limited in the U.S. because of the special privileges enjoyed by business and industry.
5. Money is the most important factor influencing American politics.

Ideological Discrimination
Item
1. There is no truth in what liberals and socialists say because they always overstate the way things are in our country.
2. If we could control the selfish big businessmen and give everyone a chance we would all live better.
3. People's greatest needs, such as energy, medical care and mass transportation should be available at cost instead of corporations making huge profits.
4. The money spent by the United States for military buildup has a positive effect on how well people live in today's world.

Conservatism-Radicalism Battery
Item
1. Everybody would be happier, more secure and more prosperous if the working people were given more power and influence in government and business.
2. The most important job for government is to guarantee every person a decent and steady job and standard of living.
3. All banks and insurance companies should be run on a non-profit basis like the schools.
4. The federal government should provide to all classes of people opportunity for complete insurance against accidents, sickness, unemployment and old age.
5. If the American traditions of freedom and equality are to continue, a social order different from private capitalism must emerge.

*All of the items were scored with the following semantic differential format: strongly agree, agree, disagree, stronly disagree. The equivalence of an extremely conservative attitude was given a high score on all items.

bivariate and multivariate level analysis. For this reason a crosstabs classification procedure, the Pearson correlation coefficient (r) and measures of partial correlation are used in determining direct and interactive effects on each relationship.

For a basic understanding of variable relationships the crosstabs procedure provides comparison through a table display of distribution percentages and total number of cases. This is particularly important to the present research when considering the nominal level resident status variable as it directly associates with independent variables. Crosstabulation essentially, "is a joint frequency distribution of cases according to two or more classificatory variables" (Nie, et al., 1975:218). Statistics useful in the analysis of these frequency distributions involve either tests of significance to determine the independence of certain variables or measures of association which describe the variance and prediction value of a set of related variables. The chi-square statistic as a test of significance, then, gives a reliable indication of what the probabilities are for resident status being related to some political-ideological dimensions by chance occurrence. In turn, the Kendall Tau c association determines if resident status varies with the independent variation of any of the scaled variables of this study. Such statistical indicators accordingly, provide substantiation for what may appear as a relationship between variables in the simple case distribution of a crosstabs table.

While the measures of association in crosstabs summerize the strength of multivariate relationships, two other correlation coefficients available determine such interaction outside of crosstabulation comparisons. The Pearson correlation coefficient (r) and a partial correlation coefficient, both indicate the strength of associations within individual bivariate and therefore elements of interactive multivariate relationships. With the Pearson

correlation procedure one can define the measure of how well two variables maintain a relationship throughout a comparison of all cases. Thus, with many cases compared, a spread or scatter of the data about a linear least squares equation (regression line) determines the degree to which a positive or negative (inverse) association exists (Blalock, 1979). Correlation analysis essentially, then, determines the extent to which a variation (scatter) by one variable is tied to certain variation in another variable (Nie, et al., 1975:279). A problem with bivariate correlation of this type is the inability to account for the effects of other intervening independent variables. Therefore, some procedure to control the influence of other variables is useful.

The importance of partial correlation (pr) to any comparison of variables resides in its ability to remove the effects of single or numerous control variables for a more clear understanding of the bivarate relationship. Statistically the variation created by outside or intervening variables is accounted for by uncovering their spurious influences, such that, only the variation of direct (bivariate) interaction is detected (Blalock, 1979). The partial correlation is interpreted in a similar manner to Pearson (r) with a necessary recognition of each outside influence being controlled.

Comparison of the diverse variables used in this research is primarily dependent upon the relative distribution of cases in crosstabulation. Through this statistical analysis we will attempt to outline the simple relationships between a particular resident status and either a dimension of community satisfaction or of a political-ideological attitude, where such may exist. The use of independent variables gathered through the summated rating scale technique provides direct access to attitudes which should relate to recent migration behaviors and thus, the resident status

variable. It would seem that any information uncovered concerning these diverse and seldom associated concepts would be beneficial. Furthermore, considering the limited amount of research performed in this particular area, even a rudimentary knowledge or finding of association with these measures must be of importance to future examinations.

CHAPTER V

RESEARCH FINDINGS IN THE INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNITY SATISFACTION AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS WITHIN RESPONDENT STATUS

Results of the investigation into the relationship of social-psychological (community satisfaction) and political-ideological dimensions as they relate to migrants and residents in nonmetropolitan counties, are presented in this chapter. Of priority to this presentation is a restatement of the initial assumptions and general hypotheses upon which this research effort is based. This will be followed by a statistical comparison of the basic component characteristics involved in this research, and further, an examination of zero-order correlations of all independent and control variables. Finally, complete crosstabulation comparisons will be presented, with component percentages and numbers per response category being analyzed through a test of significance (chi-square: X^2) and a measure of association (Kendall's Tau c: Tc).

As was stated earlier in this thesis, the primary objective of the present research is to define some simple distinctions on an ideological level between two types of migrants, and a third category of long term residents, in thirteen high net inmigration nonmetropolitan counties in Kansas. It is recognized that results from research into the Kansas area may not apply or generalize to other parts of the country. The geographic, environmental and socioeconomic location of this data base present significantly different, if not adverse, conditions for research into the

nonmetropolitan turnaround phenomenon. Most of the retirement, recreational, industrial, educational, and environmental factors influencing this phenomenon are not of the magnitude in Kansas that they may be in other locations. Primarily then, the conception of this investigation came through analysis of other attempts to explain similar migration and community satisfaction motivations toward nonmetropolitan areas. One would speculate that significant evidence of certain relationships in this population, may indicate a greater potential for such findings in areas where the above mentioned factors are of more importance.

These aspects and the literature previously discussed lead to one conclusion. Research such as the present is in the early stages of investigation into the turnaround phenomenon, therefore, it is necessarily working without distinct parameters. The instruments and statistical methodology used within this research area will be continuously refined to approach the subject matter more effectively. Correspondingly, it is necessary to initiate the collection of data concerning characteristics of this phenomenon such that the area may be generally defined. So the findings presented herein will include all useful information available and measures of association regardless of the levels of significance found in the relationships.

In the general statement of hypothesis in the introduction chapter, community satisfaction and political-ideological indicators are considered to embody a significant component of respondents predispositions toward their immediate and larger social orders (Buttel, et al., 1977). These two dimensions will be used to define any differences present within the sampled population. It was suggested that metropolitan migrants will socre higher (i.e., more politically cynical) on the political-ideological scales and that long term residents will score higher on the community satisfaction

scales (i.e., more satisfied with their local environment). Speculation involved clear distinctions between two types of migrants and residents. The following presentation of data includes respondent status categories of migrants from two distinct origins, and of all migrants combined as a group, plus the long term resident population.

Characteristics of the Data

A complete examination of the relationships in this study requires an outline of the population characteristics and some definitive starting point for an analysis of the attitude measurement instruments. Through a comparison of the respondent status categories as represented within each control variable, Table 5.1 provides relative parameters for the characteristics of this sample population. For example, the essential age distinction of the sample resides between the migrant and resident categories, 40.9 and 52.7 respectively, as the migrant sample shows virtually no internal differences. Similarly, the education control variable provides significant variation between the total migrant and resident categories with 1½ years difference. These two factors combined would appear to be the primary influence of the control variables when considering only mean variation as it applies to respondent status through attitude measurements. The income characteristic does show some variance within the migrant status categories, particularly if one considers the factor of nearly identical age and education characteristics, however, in the overall group comparison it appears that income is the lease useful as a control. Among all respondent status categories there is less than a ten percent variation in income and none between the total migrant and resident populations.

In the lower panel of Table 5.1 mean scores for all of the attitude measurement instruments for the total sample are presented. As generalized from the entire population it appears that there is an overall high level of

TABLE 5.1

Means for Each Respondent Status By Socioeconomic Control Characteristics and Mean Scores on All Political-Ideological Scales for the Total Sample

Respondent Status	Age $\bar{X}$	Education $\bar{X}$	Income $\bar{X}$ *
Metropolitan Migrants (N=166)	41.0	13.72	20,400
Nonmetropolitan Migrants (N=228)	40.7	13.58	17,200
Total Migrants (N=394)	40.9	13.65	18,400
Residents (N=321)	52.7	12.18	18,400
Total Sample (N=715)	46.0	12.98	18,400

Political-Ideological Scales	Scale Score $\bar{X}$ **
Community Satisfaction I (10 items)	1.887
Community Satisfaction II (7 items)	1.773
Stratification System Illegitimacy (2 items)	1.767
Political Cynicism (5 items)	.998
Conservatism-Radicalism (5 items)	1.725
Ideological Discrimination (4 items)	1.412

*Socioeconomic characteristics represent age and education by years, and income by dollars per household unit.

**Potential scores on the fixed-alternative response format range from 0.0 to 3.0 relative to agreement or disagreement with each item. A score of 3.0 means high on Community Satisfaction scales; a score of 0.0 means high on Political-Ideological scales.

community satisfaction; 3.0 being the maximum potential score. The Community Satisfaction Scale I items dealing with specific concrete services (objective) and local opportunities indicate a greater level of satisfaction than the more abstract conceptions (subjective) dealt with in Community Satisfaction Scale II (refer to Chapter IV). These mean scores in general, though, show little variation in the total sample between the two scales.

Among the political-ideological scales the mean score is read in reverse order to those of the community satisfaction scales. The minimum score (0.0) in this case means the most extreme possible opposition response in each particular ideological measurement. In the case of stratification illegitimacy the mean score tends to indicate a population which views the system as essentially legitimate, at a score of 1.767; approaching 0.0 would indicate a perception of high stratification illegitimacy. A score of 1.725 with a 1.5 median scoring format, therefore, implies that within the conservative-radical continuum we have a generally conservative sample, or at least a conservative tendency; radical being a 0.0 score. And, in turn, the total sample appears to indicate only a slight discrimination (1.412) or disagreement with the value statement items of the ideological discrimination scale, as 0.0 indicates the highest level of discrimination or conscious disagreement; probably not a significant indication but interesting in light of the conservative orientation of the sample. As shown in Table 5.1 the above mentioned political-ideological mean scores all cumulate around or above the 1.5 median, signifying a tendency of agreement with the dominant ideological order of society. Therefore, with a measurement of less than 1.0 on the four point scale it seems necessary to assume that in general the sampled population differs on a single scale, and thus, is substantially politically cynical (otherwise interpreted as a perception of powerlessness) as a group. A score of 0.998 on the five

item scale signifies that the respondents as a group react with a high level of political cynicism, and therefore, perceive the conduct of the American political process with a great deal of suspicion. Further discussion of these characteristics requires application of socioeconomic controls, by which a more in depth analysis of the variable associations will be possible.

In general, the socioeconomic characteristics outlined seem to hold true to the findings of Ploch (1978) and Dillman (1979) in their research on quality of life turnaround migration streams. As with other populations, the Kansas migration sample is a younger than average, more highly educated, and probably a professionally oriented group (considering nearly 14 years of average education); the larger quality of life study indicates a mostly white, middle class and conservative group of migrants. Whether there is a specific attraction to the quality of life factors in rural areas previously mentioned will not be determined by this research. It appears, from this simple inspection however, that a similar population is involved in the Kansas migration, therefore, the analysis of the ideological dimensions we have undertaken should have important implications for this field of research.

Correlation of the Independent and Control Variables

To determine the basic relationships of the independent and control variables correlation analysis was applied while withholding the specific respondent status categories. Beginning at the top of Table 5.2 we find associations consistent to those found in the comparison of mean scores. Primarily, the age variable is inversely related to both education and income. Only the age and income relationship shows an acceptable level of significance. Considering the age and education differences between the migrant and resident sample populations this is an expected outcome. Those

TABLE 5.2

Zero-order Correlation Coefficients for the Relationships Between Community Satisfaction Scales, Political-Ideological Scales and Control Characteristics for the Total Sample*

	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	X_6	X_7	X_8	X_9
X_1 = Education	--								
X_2 = Age	-.035	--							
X_3 = Income	.318	-.166	--						
X_4 = Community Satisfaction I	-.078	.270	.043	--					
X_5 = Community Satisfaction II	-.054	.159	.070	.599	--				
X_6 = Stratification Illegitimacy	.089	.099	.153	.196	.233	--			
X_7 = Political Cynicism	.294	-.032	.274	.217	.206	.483	--		
X_8 = Ideological Discrimination	.084	.012	.244	.091	.060	.283	.443	--	
X_9 = Conservatism-Radicalism	.272	-.048	.328	.183	.115	.329	.529	.505	--

*A zero-order correlation coefficient of $\pm$ .068 is significant at the .05 level; $\pm$ .090 is significant at the .01 level.

long term residents sampled have probably not been prepared for professional occupations and correspondingly make up the vast middle level of the community membership in both education and income. Further, the direct association of education and income provides strong evidence of the socioeconomically advantaged position of the total migrant population as suggested in Table 5.1.

Through a simple inspection, the significant inverse association of education and Community Satisfaction I in Table 5.2 would indicate a tentative acceptance of the hypothesized lower satisfaction for the more highly educated migrants, especially the metropolitan migrants. This may also be supported by the positive relationship between age and Community Satisfaction I and II, as residents are an average of 12 years older. As was suggested earlier, the income control variable shows a slight relationship with the Community Satisfaction II scale (subjective satisfaction), but is of less consequence in determining any specific definable associations. The income level of both migrants and residents is so similar (by comparison of the mean characteristics) that it would be unreliable for determining what effects it had toward community satisfaction. Community satisfaction therefore seems largely dependent on variations of the age and education factors for the total sample. This will be better understood following the next section.

The examination of the political-ideological scales by each control element further supports conclusions on the importance of age and education to this analysis. Within all four scale associations to education a positive correlation coefficient indicated significant levels of acceptance of the dominant ideological values. In the stratification illegitimacy scale the positive relationship signifies that as education increases the system of stratification is seen as more legitimate. Obviously, rising education associated to higher incomes provides some understanding of this value

orientation. Similarly, as education increases, cynicism or powerlessness decreases through this inverse indicator, probably for no more complicated reasoning than that of an individual having more control over his/her position in society (inverse indicators function through a relationship opposite to the sign direction of the correlation coefficients; the positive relationship indicates that as education increases, the political cynicism score increases approaching 3.0, meaning there is less cynicism overall; 0.0 means high political cynicism).

Following down the X_1 column, the measures of association for ideological discrimination and conservative-radicalism appear to be predictably supportive of each other, as the ideological value statements of the discrimination scale are in agreement with the high level conservatism found in the total population sample. While the education-conservatism relationship is both positive and strong, (3.0 equals high conservatism) the ideological discrimination scale also is positively associated, though at a lesser level (3.0 equals low discrimination). Quite possibly, the strong positive correlation of conservatism and education dictates the relationships of the other political-ideological scales. Interestingly though, the education variable is not as closely related to the ideological scales dealing with social system value judgments, such as that of stratification or the value statements in the discrimination scale.

It appears that when accessing the importance of the education control variable the political-ideological scales show only small variability. All education and political-ideological scale relationships show a significant positive correlation. Perhaps the above discussion of education and community satisfaction, then, best outlines the necessity for further analysis. Such isolated inverse relationships (in opposition to those of the ideology scales) definitely point toward important differences in the community

perceptions by education and the correspondent perceptions of the larger social order. The education variable will therefore be useful in the scale analysis undertaken for specific respondent categories.

Although controlling for age in the community satisfaction-respondent status relationship would appear to support the research predictions in the analysis thus far, the degree of variation in the age and political-ideology scale associations elicits even greater interest. Both political cynicism and the conservative-radical continuum indicate inverse relationships with age. As age increases in this association, both cynicism (or powerlessness) and radicalism increase very slightly (move toward 0.0). Accordingly, though age and community satisfaction show strong positive coefficients, this weaker and unpredicted age and political ideology relationship could be of more importance. While ideological discrimination remains relatively unrelated to age, the perception that the stratification system is legitimate correlated significantly to an increase in age. These political-ideological measurements, then, create obvious contradictions among the population sample as a whole. It seems that even though the older segment of the sample is somewhat cynical and more so radical, it still perceives the social strata as legitimate. The age control variable must necessarily be applied to each specific respondent status for further understanding of these contradictions.

The following section will examine each specific respondent status in relation to all six attitude measurement scales while controlling for age and education. Although strong positive correlations exist between income and the political-ideological scales (Table 5.2), the lack of variation in income among the respondent categories (Table 5.1) indicates that few distinctions between those categories can be explained by income. Given the nominal level status of the respondent categories variable a partial

correlation coefficient can not be measured to control for income while correlating the respondent categories with each scale (similarly age and education cannot be used as controls in partial-correlation, thus, this method of analysis will be omitted in favor of a complete crosstabulation analysis). However, the strong relationship between education and income would seem to imply (given the small income variation) that the education control variable is explaining the predominant portion of this interacting relationship.

Further measures of association applied through three-way crosstabulation procedures are the next statistical methods to focus upon. A look at the internal intervals of the age and education control variables should explain more of the dependent respondent status relationship within each of the attitude measurement scales.

Crosstabulation Analysis

The unique ability of the crosstabulation procedure is to allow the researcher to view each part of a relationship by both number and percent distributions. For this particular analysis the percentage distribution of respondent status categories by attitude scales will be controlled by four levels of education and four levels of age, respectively. A four part division of the education component was dependent on the number of years of accumulated education with specific emphasis on a degree attained. For example, the lowest segmented level of education attained was dependent on graduation from high school. All of the population sample not receiving this degree were combined in the group with less than a high school education. Similarly, all high school graduates, all of those attending college or attaining a undergraduate degree, and all of those with more than a four year degree were organized as control variable groups. Basically, each

educational group represents a socially acknowledged level of educational status and accordingly a correspondent level of attitudinal variation. The third educational group, that of college attendance or an undergraduate degree, is probably a significant example of this concept. This group is specifically defined for the nonmetropolitan survey on the basis that attendance or graduation from college has probably required the individual respondent to leave the local area, and therefore, experience other elements of society.

For the age variable groups, less specific guidelines were used to determine the four divisions. Actual generational cohorts would be difficult to assume among such a diverse general public sample. Essentially, then, the groupings were defined by the distribution of the sample itself with the median age and percentage distributions providing the final divisions. The under 30 age group and the over 60 groupings represent both approximate quartiles of the sample and a vague social distinction of the young adult and the senior citizen. The middle half of the sample is then divided at age 44 producing two central quartiles. Obviously, only history and age cohort determine attitude variation among these groups, which when considering the time period involved, probably provides significant rationale for these divisions.

Attitude Measurements by Education

In viewing Tables 5.3 and 5.4 we see the internal distribution of the community satisfaction-respondent category relationships controlled by the four educational factors. As was suggested previously, most of the tests of significance and measures of association did not attain probability levels at which any statements of certainty would be acceptable. Within Community Satisfaction Scale I some vague association of the residents with a high school or college level education and a higher level of satisfaction

TABLE 5.3

Community Satisfaction Scale I By Education
Within Respondent Status Categories*

	Less Than a High School Education				High School Education			
	Low		High		Low		High	
Respondent Status:	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	21	(3)	79	(11)	34	(20)	66	(39)
Nonmetro Migrants	33	(8)	67	(16)	24	(18)	76	(56)
Residents	21	(13)	79	(49)	21	(32)	79	(119)
	N=100 $X^2 > .47$ Tc=.08; p < .18				N=284 $X^2 > .16$ Tc=.09; p < .04			
Total Migrants	29	(11)	71	(27)	29	(38)	71	(95)
Residents	21	(13)	79	(49)	21	(32)	79	(119)
	N=100 $X^2 > .50$ Tc=.08; p < .18				N=284 $X^2 > .19$ Tc=.07; p < .08			

	Some College or a College Education				More Than 4 Years College Education			
	Low		High		Low		High	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	35	(18)	65	(34)	20	(8)	80	(32)
Nonmetro Migrants	23	(17)	77	(58)	21	(10)	79	(37)
Residents	16	(12)	84	(61)	22	(4)	78	(14)
	N=200 $X^2 > .06$ Tc=.15; p < .01				N=105 $X^2 > .97$ Tc=.02; p < .42			
Total Migrants	28	(35)	72	(92)	21	(8)	79	(69)
Residents	16	(12)	84	(16)	22	(4)	78	(14)
	N=200 $X^2 > .11$ Tc=.10; p < .04				N=105 $X^2 > 1.0$ Tc=-.01; p < .44			

*On the Community Satisfaction Scale high indicates a high level of satisfaction.

TABLE 5.4

Community Satisfaction Scale II By Education
Within Respondent Status Categories*

	Less Than a High School Education				High School Education			
	Low		High		Low		High	
Respondent Status:	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	36	(5)	64	(9)	32	(19)	68	(40)
Nonmetro Migrants	40	(10)	60	(15)	37	(27)	64	(47)
Residents	19	(11)	81	(48)	32	(48)	68	(103)
	N=98 $X^2 > .09$ Tc=.18; p < .02				N=284 $X^2 > .77$ Tc=.02; p < .38			
Total Migrants	39	(15)	62	(24)	35	(46)	65	(87)
Residents	19	(11)	81	(48)	32	(48)	68	(103)
	N=98 $X^2 > .05$ Tc=.19; p < .02				N=284 $X^2 > .70$ Tc=.03; p < .31			

	Some College or a College Education				More Than 4 Years College Education			
	Low		High		Low		High	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	42	(22)	58	(30)	35	(14)	65	(26)
Nonmetro Migrants	38	(29)	62	(47)	26	(12)	75	(35)
Residents	28	(21)	72	(53)	44	(8)	56	(10)
	N=202 $X^2 > .23$ Tc=.12; p < .05				N=105 $X^2 > .31$ Tc=-.02; p < .43			
Total Migrants	40	(51)	60	(77)	30	(26)	70	(61)
Residents	28	(21)	72	(53)	44	(8)	56	(10)
	N=202 $X^2 > .14$ Tc=.11; p < .05				N=105 $X^2 > .35$ Tc=-.08; p < .12			

*On the Community Satisfaction Scale high indicates a high level of satisfaction.

can be found. These chi-square (X^2) tests though, range at the 10 to 20 percent probability of chance occurrence level. In the second scale of community satisfaction only the population sample with less than a high school education shows an acceptable level of significance. This association resides mainly in the two-way division along total migrant and resident lines. In the lower part of the top panel a X^2 of .05 and a Tau c measurement of .02 indicates the resident population scores significantly higher on Community Satisfaction II than that of the total migrant category. One analysis of this distribution may depend more on historic period, and therefore age, than education. It is probable that those highly satisfied without a high school education are of an age when school attendance was much more difficult. This would place the resident respondent in the category of a long term community relationship, a low level of education and a high satisfaction perception. The age control variable should apply to this particular set of circumstances. Looking above that to the section dividing the migrant sample we see the metropolitan migrants also respond slightly higher than those of the nonmetro migration. Still, the majority of respondent categories indicate a higher level of satisfaction, with all differences considered. It should be kept in mind that these comparisons are for a total number (N) of less than 100.

Turning to an examination of the political-ideological scales controlled by education we find even fewer significant relationships and greater inconsistency than in the previous analysis. Beginning with the attitude measurement of stratification system illegitimacy (Table 5.5) some general, if not significant, conclusions can be drawn. By following an increase in education across the top panel and then the bottom there appears to be a curvilinear (across crosstabulation cells) relationship in the direction of the Tau c measures of association. In the lowest education group and the highest level group there are inverse relationships indicating a resident perception

TABLE 5.5

Stratification System Illegitimacy By Education
Within Respondent Status Categories*

	Less Than a High School Education				High School Education			
	High		Low		High		Low	
Respondent Status:	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	54	(7)	46	(6)	58	(33)	42	(24)
Nonmetro Migrants	44	(10)	56	(13)	55	(39)	45	(32)
Residents	65	(35)	35	(19)	53	(77)	47	(67)
	N=90 $X^2 > .21$ Tc=-.15; p < .07				N=273 $X^2 > .87$ Tc=.04; p < .26			
Total Migrants	47	(17)	53	(19)	56	(72)	44	(56)
Residents	65	(35)	35	(19)	53	(77)	46	(67)
	N=90 $X^2 > .15$ Tc=-.17; p < .05				N=273 $X^2 > .58$ Tc=.03; p < .28			

	Some College or a College Education				More Than 4 Years College Education			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	41	(20)	58	(30)	30	(12)	70	(28)
Nonmetro Migrants	49	(37)	51	(37)	42	(19)	58	(26)
Residents	28	(20)	71	(50)	41	(7)	59	(10)
	N=199 $X^2 > .12$ Tc=.08; p < .07				N=102 $X^2 > .48$ Tc=-.11; p < .14			
Total Migrants	45	(57)	55	(70)	37	(31)	64	(54)
Residents	28	(20)	71	(52)	41	(7)	59	(10)
	N=199 $X^2 > .05$ Tc=.16; p < .01				N=102 $X^2 > .92$ Tc=-.03; p < .36			

*On the Stratification System Illegitimacy Scale high indicates a high perception of system illegitimacy.

of system illegitimacy. Upon closer inspection however, it can be seen that there is actually only a slight variation among the resident category of the high education group and that this relationship generally changes the direction of that single association. Actually, the most dominant aspect of this entire table does not relate to the respondent status categories. Though there are some differences between the two migrant types, with the nonmetro migrants viewing the system as more illegitimate, the education control variable really determines the significance. By percentage it is directly apparent that the higher the level of education the more legitimate the strata are seen to be. The two lower education groups generally see the system as illegitimate, while in turn, a college experience (or social position) significantly increases a perception of legitimacy. At the higher levels of education, then, both metro migrants and residents have a greater conviction than the nonmetro migrant that the class system is appropriate.

Moving on to Table 5.6, limited analysis is required of the educationally controlled political cynicism scale among any of the respondent status categories. As was clear in the mean score for this scale shown earlier, the entire population sample indicates a high level of political cynicism. With a somewhat less cynical or powerlessness perception in the upper education groups, there still remains a strong percentage distribution in that direction in resident and nonmetro samples, while metro migrants of the highest group seem to be balancing in that attitude. The perception of the American political process in general, then, is such that only those in power must view themselves as providing an acceptable form of government. Probably the present anti-government phase is contributing significantly to these indicators.

The value statement items of the ideological discrimination scale are intended to determine if the individual respondent perceives the dominant

TABLE 5.6

Political Cynicism By Education
Within Respondent Status Categories*

	Less Than a High School Education				High School Education			
	High		Low		High		Low	
Respondent Status:	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	69	(9)	31	(4)	93	(53)	7	(4)
Nonmetro Migrants	87	(20)	13	(3)	82	(59)	18	(13)
Residents	81	(42)	19	(10)	84	(121)	16	(23)
	N=88 $X^2 > .43$ Tc=-.03; p < .37				N=273 $X^2 > .17$ Tc=.05; p < .12			
Total Migrants	81	(29)	19	(7)	87	(112)	13	(17)
Residents	81	(42)	19	(10)	84	(121)	16	(23)
	N=88 $X^2 > 1.0$ Tc=-.002; p < .49				N=273 $X^2 > .63$ Tc=.03; p < .26			

	Some College or a College Education				More Than 4 Years College Education			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	69	(34)	31	(15)	55	(22)	45	(18)
Nonmetro Migrants	77	(58)	23	(17)	66	(29)	34	(15)
Residents	70	(50)	30	(21)	69	(11)	31	(5)
	N=195 $X^2 > .53$ Tc=.01; p < .48				N=100 $X^2 > .49$ Tc=-.12; p < .12			
Total Migrants	74	(92)	26	(32)	61	(51)	39	(33)
Residents	70	(50)	30	(21)	69	(11)	31	(5)
	N=195 $X^2 > .69$ Tc=.03; p < .29				N=100 $X^2 > .74$ Tc=-.04; p < .27			

*On the Political Cynicism Scale high indicates a high level of cynicism.

American ideological values as a supportable normative system. In Table 5.7 the education control reveals fewer consistencies than in the two previous political-ideological scales. It is apparent that the majority of this survey sample makes some distinction between given statements of ideology and what may actually be the case. The percentage distribution of this view weakens somewhat with advanced years of education, especially in the resident status category. At that point we find a significant (Tc at $p < .02$) difference between the total migrant and resident categories though both are less discriminatory than those with lower levels of education. In essense, one could surmise from these findings that most segments of this population are aware of the discrepencies in their value structure and may even consider some change.

Possibly the best and most consistent indication of where the public actually stands politically is found in Table 5.8 in the conservatism-radical continuum which is controlled by education groups. In near total contradiction of the above scale of ideological discrimination a near linear relationship across the panels directly indicates that without any respondent status differences the increase in education alines with an increase in conservatism. Following from the radical position of the lowest education group to the spurious relations in the high school graduate group, the conservative tendency steadily increases into both the college and advanced college level respondent groups. This is of particular interest when looking back at the previous table as only two conclusions could reasonably be drawn from the contradictions of these indicators. Either the measurement system with one of these scales is totally inaccurate, which is unlikely given the internal consistency of both throughout, or the sampled population maintains two separate and distinct perceptions of what America's value system should uphold.

A short summation actually follows the findings of the last analysis.

TABLE 5.7

Ideological Discrimination By Education
Within Respondent Status Categories*

	Less Than a High School Education				High School Education			
	High		Low		High		Low	
Respondent Status:	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	69	(9)	31	(4)	77	(44)	23	(13)
Nonmetro Migrants	82	(18)	18	(4)	72	(51)	28	(20)
Residents	83	(44)	17	(9)	72	(104)	28	(40)
	N=88 $X^2 > .52$ Tc=-.07; p < .19				N=272 $X^2 > .74$ Tc=.03; p < .28			
Total Migrants	77	(27)	23	(8)	74	(95)	26	(33)
Residents	83	(44)	17	(9)	72	(104)	28	(40)
	N=88 $X^2 > .68$ Tc=-.06; p < .25				N=272 $X^2 > .81$ Tc=.02;p < .36			

	Some College or a College Education				More Than 4 Years College Education			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	48	(25)	52	(27)	65	(26)	35	(14)
Nonmetro Migrants	72	(54)	28	(21)	69	(31)	31	(14)
Residents	59	(41)	41	(28)	41	(7)	59	(10)
	N=196 $X^2 > .02$ Tc=-.07; p < .17				N=102 $X^2 > .12$ Tc=.12; p < .13			
Total Migrants	62	(79)	38	(48)	67	(57)	33	(28)
Residents	59	(41)	41	(28)	41	(7)	59	(10)
	N=196 $X^2 > .81$ Tc=.03: p < .35				N=102 $X^2 > .08$ Tc=.14; p < .02			

*On the Ideological Discrimination Scale high indicates a high level of value system discrimination.

TABLE 5.8

Conservatism-Radicalism Scale By Education
Within Respondent Status Categories*

	Less Than a High School Education				High School Education			
	High		Low		High		Low	
Respondent Status:	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	71	(10)	29	(4)	48	(28)	52	(30)
Nonmetro Migrants	71	(17)	29	(7)	40	(29)	60	(44)
Residents	61	(35)	39	(22)	44	(64)	56	(82)
	N=95 $X^2 > .63$ Tc=.09; p <.17				N=277 $X^2 > .61$ Tc=.02; p <.40			
Total Migrants	71	(27)	29	(11)	43	(57)	57	(74)
Residents	61	(35)	39	(22)	44	(64)	56	(82)
	N=95 $X^2 > .45$ Tc=.09; p <.17				N=277 $X^2 > .95$ Tc=-.003; p <.48			

	Some College or a College Education				More Than 4 Years College Education			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	20	(10)	80	(41)	28	(11)	73	(29)
Nonmetro Migrants	35	(26)	65	(49)	36	(17)	64	(30)
Residents	28	(20)	72	(51)	24	(4)	77	(13)
	N=197 $X^2 > .18$ Tc=-.06; p <.21				N=104 $X^2 > .53$ Tc=-.01; p <.45			
Total Migrants	29	(36)	71	(90)	32	(28)	68	(59)
Residents	28	(20)	72	(51)	24	(24)	76	(13)
	N=197 $X^2 > .95$ Tc=.003; p <.47				N=104 $X^2 > .67$ Tc=.05; p <.24			

*On the Conservatism-Radicalism Scale high indicates radicalism.

Only the education control variable determines a consistent relationship across all political-ideological measurements. The category including all respondents with less than a high school education, is in essense, the only radical, cynical, discriminatory group with a perception of system illegitimacy. Otherwise, what has been uncovered so far entails a variety of contradictory, or at least intellectually inconsistent, value orientations throughout the sampled population. There could be an inherent explanation in the particular population sampling of a nonmetropolitan area, but that is doubtful. Rather, this examination probably indicates similar results to those of other surveys of the American political consciousness. So what we have is a cynical, anti-government, somewhat confused and conservative general public, partially aware of the class dominance and privilege associated with capitalism but also afraid to equalize opportunities such that all individuals could participate as the advantaged do in this society.

Attitude Measurements by Age

Though education is as representative as any socioeconomic characterisic in this society, the factor of age probably cuts across as many ideological elements in an historical sense as is possible in survey research. Both the historical and cohort factors of the age control variable extent this analysis into another dimension of the attitude-respondent relationship. Considering the age differences in our nonmetropolitan sample, attitude indicators should respond accordingly and thus, provide some new insight to the analysis up to this point.

As originally hypothesized, community satisfaction was stated to be significantly higher among the resident status category of the population, followed by nonmetropolitan migrants, and then, at the lowest level the metro migrants. This conjecture is actually only partially explanatory for

part of the population sample. As we turn to Tables 5.9 and 5.10 showing the distribution of commuunity satisfaction controlled by age within respondent status categories, the significance of age adds to an earlier analysis of education. Though there are spurious relationships in the two youngest age groups, by the third age group some differences become visible and in the over 60 years category significant relationships are present. In Scale I by age and specifically Scale II (subjective satisfaction) by age, the oldest category provides the suggested distinctions for the resident and metropolitan samples. Recalling an earlier statement of the relationship between an older age group and the ability to acquire education in the earlier time period, both control variables probably are defining the same groups of respondents. The older and less educated apparently have a greater probability of being long term residents in nonmetropolitan areas and reveal a higher level of community satisfaction with that fact. Elsewhere, the predominant portion of this nonmetropolitan sample seems to be at least somewhat satisfied with its environment, and no respondent status distinctions controlled by either variable are relevant to specific analysis. Overall generalizations will be addressed in a summation of this analysis.

Further, inspection of the political-ideological scales by controlling for age leads to conclusions which up to now have been obscured by the absense of definitive relationships between the respondent status categories. In the initial stages of this investigation assumptions were based on a variety of findings and speculation put forth from several sources of research. Ranging from the work of Ploch (1978) in Maine concerning an improvement in quality of life by migration to rural areas; to research by Goudy (1977) which associated community size and social factors to the ideology of a satisfactory living environment; to the speculation by Elgin and Mitchell (1977) that voluntary simplicity was becoming substantially more influential in lifestyle

TABLE 5.9

Community Satisfaction Scale I By Age
Within Respondent Status Categories*

Respondent Status:	Under 30 Years of Age				Between 31 and 43 Years of Age			
	Low		High		Low		High	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	35	(16)	65	(30)	25	(16)	75	(48)
Nonmetro Migrants	25	(20)	75	(61)	21	(15)	79	(56)
Residents	27	(10)	73	(27)	25	(15)	75	(45)
	N=164 $X^2 > .47$ Tc=.07; p < .19				N=195 $X^2 > .83$ Tc=.001; p < .49			
Total Migrants	28	(36)	72	(91)	23	(31)	77	(104)
Residents	27	(10)	73	(27)	25	(15)	75	(45)
	N=164 $X^2 > 1.0$ Tc=.01; p < .44				N=195 $X^2 > .90$ Tc=-.02; p < .38			

	Between 44 and 60 Years of Age				Over 60 Years of Age			
	Low		High		Low		High	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	34	(11)	66	(21)	25	(6)	75	(18)
Nonmetro Migrants	24	(9)	76	(29)	28	(10)	72	(25)
Residents	22	(21)	78	(75)	14	(17)	86	(105)
	N=166 $X^2 > .36$ Tc=.08; p < .11				N=181 $X^2 > .09$ Tc=.11; p < .02			
Total Migrants	29	(20)	71	(50)	27	(16)	73	(43)
Residents	22	(21)	78	(75)	14	(17)	86	(105)
	N=166 $X^2 > .42$ Tc=.07; p < .16				N=181 $X^2 > .05$ Tc=.12; p < .02			

*On the Community Satisfaction Scale high indicates a high level of satisfaction.

TABLE 5.10

Community Satisfaction Scale II By Age
Within Respondent Status Categories*

	Under 30 Years of Age				Between 31 and 43 Years of Age			
	Low		High		Low		High	
Respondent Status:	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	33	(15)	67	(31)	34	(22)	66	(42)
Nonmetro Migrants	34	(27)	66	(53)	32	(23)	68	(49)
Residents	41	(15)	60	(22)	36	(22)	64	(39)
	N=163 $X^2 > .71$ Tc=-.06; p < .24				N=197 $X^2 > .88$ Tc=-.01; p < .42			
Total Migrants	33	(42)	67	(84)	33	(45)	67	(91)
Residents	41	(15)	60	(22)	36	(22)	64	(39)
	N=163 $X^2 > .54$ Tc=-.05; p < .21				N=197 $X^2 > .80$ Tc=-.03; p < .34			

	Between 44 and 60 Years of Age				Over 60 Years of Age			
	Low		High		Low		High	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	34	(11)	66	(21)	50	(12)	50	(12)
Nonmetro Migrants	41	(16)	59	(23)	34	(12)	65	(23)
Residents	31	(31)	69	(68)	19	(12)	81	(93)
	N=170 $X^2 > .56$ Tc=.05; p < .23				N=174 $X^2 > .004$ Tc=.21; p < .001			
Total Migrants	38	(27)	62	(44)	41	(24)	59	(35)
Residents	31	(31)	69	(68)	19	(22)	81	(93)
	N=170 $X^2 > .45$ Tc=.07; p < .18				N=174 $X^2 > .004$ Tc=.19; p < .001			

*On the Community Satisfaction Scale high indicates a high level of satisfaction.

decisions currently being made; a conception of the hypothesized relationship between respondents in nonmetropolitan areas was founded on a macro-level understanding of the ideological distinctions that appeared to be present. That supposition was basically dependent upon a changing ideological framework for the metropolitan migrant and virtual stability in the framework of the nonmetropolitan resident. If ideological transition was of necessity to a quality of life nonmetropolitan migration, the metro migrant was the most likely of respondents to indicate that fact through attitude measurement. That this does not appear to be the case with our research population is somewhat indicated but not completely determined.

In Table 5.11 stratification system illegitimacy by age provides evidence of a transitional relationship as the population sample increases in age. Within the lowest age group an association in opposition to that hypothesized is somewhat significant. Moving through the age groups to the over 60 category there are indications of a change in the direction of this relationship. While the youngest of the resident sample perceive the strata to be illegitimate, their metropolitan counterpart accepts the system as generally legitimate. This trend is reversed in the oldest age grouping, although at nowhere near a significant level. It appears that ideological distinctions relevant to the young resident population, are of less importance to a more highly educated metropolitan migrant. Social position through education may be the primary reason. The examination of political-ideological attitudes by age, then, begins to outline the relationship of respondents in an identifiable ideological dimension.

Advancing to the political cynicism scale, (Table 5.12) a general examination of the percentage distribution over all four age divisions probably finalizes earlier interpretations of the cynicism, and therefore preceived powerlessness, of the entire nonmetropolitan sample. In support of reversing

TABLE 5.11

Stratification System Illegitimacy By Age
Within Respondent Status Categories*

	Under 30 Years of Age				Between 31 and 43 Years of Age			
	High		Low		High		Low	
Respondent Status:	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	41	(19)	59	(27)	41	(26)	59	(35)
Nonmetro Migrants	51	(41)	49	(40)	52	(36)	48	(32)
Residents	59	(20)	41	(14)	49	(28)	51	(27)
	N=161 $X^2 > .29$ Tc=-.13; p < .06				N=189 $X^2 > .63$ Tc=-.05; p < .19			
Total Migrants	47	(60)	53	(67)	47	(62)	53	(70)
Residents	59	(20)	41	(14)	49	(28)	51	(29)
	N=161 $X^2 > .31$ Tc=-.08; p < .12				N=189 $X^2 > .47$ Tc=-.01; p < .43			

	Between 44 and 60 Years of Age				Over 60 Years of Age			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	52	(16)	48	(15)	52	(12)	48	(11)
Nonmetro Migrants	50	(18)	50	(18)	42	(14)	58	(19)
Residents	48	(46)	52	(50)	46	(50)	54	(59)
	N=163 $X^2 > .93$ Tc=.03; p < .35				N=166 $X^2 > .90$ Tc=.02; p < .38			
Total Migrants	51	(34)	49	(33)	46	(26)	54	(30)
Residents	48	(46)	52	(50)	46	(50)	54	(59)
	N=163 $X^2 > .84$ Tc=.03; p < .36				N=166 $X^2 > .77$ Tc=.01; p < .43			

*On the Stratification System Illegitimacy Scale high indicates a high perception of system illegitimacy.

TABLE 5.12

Political Cynicism By Age
Within Respondent Status Categories*

	Under 30 Years of Age				Between 31 and 43 Years of Age			
	High		Low		High		Low	
Respondent Status:	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	71	(32)	29	(13)	78	(49)	22	(14)
Nonmetro Migrants	74	(60)	26	(21)	77	(53)	23	(16)
Residents	91	(31)	9	(3)	84	(48)	16	(9)
	N=160 $X^2 > .077$ Tc=-.14; $p < .03$				N=189 $X^2 > .55$ Tc=-.05; $p < .20$			
Total Migrants	73	(92)	27	(34)	77	(102)	23	(30)
Residents	91	(31)	9	(3)	84	(48)	16	(9)
	N=160 $X^2 > .05$ Tc=-.12; $p < .01$				N=189 $X^2 > .37$ Tc=-.06; $p < .14$			

	Between 44 and 60 Years of Age				Over 60 Years of Age			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	77	(23)	23	(7)	68	(15)	32	(7)
Nonmetro Migrants	89	(32)	11	(4)	79	(26)	21	(7)
Residents	75	(71)	25	(23)	76	(80)	25	(26)
	N=160 $X^2 > .24$ Tc=.06; $p < .20$				N=161 $X^2 > .66$ Tc=-.02; $p < .38$			
Total Migrants	83	(55)	17	(11)	74	(41)	26	(14)
Residents	75	(71)	25	(23)	75	(80)	25	(26)
	N=160 $X^2 > .32$ Tc=.08; $p < .12$				N=161 $X^2 > .89$ Tc=-.01; $p < .45$			

*On the Political Cynicism Scale high indicates a high level of cynicism.

the hypothesized relationships the under 30 age group responds at a significant Tc ($p<.03$) level when divided into migrant origin respondent categories, and at even a higher .01 level in the direct migrant-resident respondent breakdown. This relationship however, does not transcend the overwhelming level of cynicism by all three respondent groups. The lowest level percentage distribution in the direction of a non-cynical, self-control of life circumstances response, is in the over 60 age group, and yet only one-third of those respondents maintain that perception. If Americans are believed to be apolitical they unquestionably reserve an opinion of power relationships for this specific type of inquiry. Political cynicism seems to be the dominant and most easily read ideological indicator within this sample, and probably the general public.

More support for the resident-metro migrant relationship found in the previous two tables is available in Table 5.13 dealing with ideological discrimination by age groups. Somewhat similar to stratification and cynicism perceptions, the under 30 age group indicates a decreasing value discrimination moving from the resident category through nonmetro migrants to the lowest level with metropolitan migrants. Though the level of a discrimination perception is moderately high in all age groups, the metro migrants appear to agree most with the value statements of the dominant ideology across the spectrum. Further, as the resident respondent somewhat decreases in this perception with age, the nonmetro migrant maintains a high level of discrimination throughout the age groups. If the nonmetro respondent distinguishes between the value statements of the given ideology consistently, as they have, and also maintains a higher perception of system illegitimacy and cynicism, as they somewhat do, they apparently comprise the major liberalizing element for the entire migrant sample. Although being essentially similar to the metro sample socioeconomically, it appears they

TABLE 5.13

Ideological Discrimination By Age
Within Respondent Status Categories*

	Under 30 Years of Age				Between 31 and 43 Years of Age			
	High		Low		High		Low	
Respondent Status:	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	63	(29)	37	(17)	65	(41)	35	(22)
Nonmetro Migrants	72	(58)	28	(23)	72	(50)	28	(19)
Residents	85	(29)	15	(5)	70	(40)	30	(17)
	N=161 $X^2 > .089$ Tc=-.16; p < .02				N=189 $X^2 > .64$ Tc=-.05; p < .26			
Total Migrants	68	(87)	32	(40)	69	(91)	31	(41)
Residents	85	(29)	15	(5)	70	(40)	30	(17)
	N=161 $X^2 > .085$ Tc=-.11; p < .03				N=189 $X^2 > .99$ Tc=-.01; p < .43			

	Between 44 and 60 Years of Age				Over 60 Years of Age			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	65	(20)	35	(11)	65	(15)	35	(8)
Nonmetro Migrants	69	(25)	31	(11)	78	(25)	22	(7)
Residents	65	(62)	35	(33)	66	(70)	34	(36)
	N=162 $X^2 > .88$ Tc=.01; p < .45				N=161 $X^2 > .41$ Tc=.05; p < .26			
Total Migrants	67	(45)	33	(22)	73	(40)	27	(15)
Residents	65	(62)	35	(33)	66	(70)	34	(36)
	N=162 $X^2 > .93$ Tc=.02; p < .40				N=161 $X^2 > .49$ Tc=.06; p < .19			

*On the Ideological Discrimination Scale high indicates a high level of value system discrimination.

possess a greater degree of independence from the world-view created by the consciousness industry.

Finally, the convincing argument against the introductory speculation of this research is given through Table 5.14, in the form of the conservatism-radicalism battery as controlled by age. The highly significant X^2 and Tau c measurements within the under 30 age group in the upper panel, definitively display the variation between metro migrant and resident samples for political-ideological attitudes. This youngest of the metro migrants, being socioeconomically advantaged, indicates a degree of intolerance and status quo conservatism beyond any comparable sample group. Moderation with age is seemingly implied, therefore, as one examines the panels through the increased age groupings. With a comparison of the youngest and the oldest metro migrants, speculation surrounds the possibility that these individuals are moving from different areas if not different worlds. It may be that the over 60 migrant is returning to a place of birth or relatives, and is of different socioeconomic status and consequently ideological perception, than other metro migrants. Actually, attitudes of the under 30 metro migrant and the over 60 resident (conservatism) and conversely those of the under 30 resident and the over 60 metro migrant (radicalism) have the greatest ideological compatibility of the entire sample population. Therefore, contradictions between age groups and within both metro and resident respondent groups, essentially define the relationships of the population for the nonmetropolitan area.

In summation, it is reasonable to assume that the age control variable is most useful to establish not only inter-respondent, but intra-respondent category differences for the survey sample. Apparently, community satisfaction of the oldest respondent group is substantiated in that the resident sample scores higher on Scale I and significantly higher on Scale II of those

TABLE 5.14

Conservatism-Radicalism Scale By Age
Within Respondent Status Categories*

	Under 30 Years of Age				Between 31 and 43 Years of Age			
	High		Low		High		Low	
Respondent Status:	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	28	(13)	72	(33)	31	(19)	69	(43)
Nonmetro Migrants	47	(38)	53	(43)	31	(22)	69	(48)
Residents	68	(23)	32	(11)	27	(16)	73	(44)
	N=161 $X^2 > .002$ Tc=-.29; p < .001				N=192 $X^2 > .82$ Tc=.03; p < .32			
Total Migrants	40	(51)	60	(76)	31	(41)	69	(91)
Residents	68	(23)	32	(11)	27	(16)	73	(44)
	N=161 $X^2 > .007$ Tc=-.18; p < .002				N=192 $X^2 > .65$ Tc=.04; p < .27			

	Between 44 and 60 Years of Age				Over 60 Years of Age			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Metropolitan Migrants	41	(13)	59	(19)	62	(15)	38	(9)
Nonmetro Migrants	39	(15)	61	(23)	49	(17)	51	(18)
Residents	37	(36)	63	(62)	45	(49)	55	(60)
	N=168 $X^2 > .90$ Tc=.03; p < .33				N=168 $X^2 > .29$ Tc=.10; p < .09			
Total Migrants	40	(28)	60	(42)	54	(32)	46	(27)
Residents	37	(36)	63	(62)	45	(49)	55	(60)
	N=168 $X^2 > .79$ Tc=.03; p < .33				N=168 $X^2 > .32$ Tc=.08; p < .13			

*On the Conservatism-Radicalism Scale high indicates radicalism.

attitude measurements. The hypothesized relationship of community satisfaction and the resident respondent category, then, is only borne out in a single age group of the entire sample. In turn, the political-ideological dimension is apparently defined more by age, particularly the youngest age group, than by any specific distinction that can be found within the respondent status categories. Ideological acceptance by either resident or migrant respondents can not be established as a significant relationship when percentage distributions are fully considered. The ideological perceptions of most respondent groups appear to be generally confused and contradictory, especially among the metro migrants of less than 60 years of age. In fact, only the under 30 resident respondents and the over 60 metro migrant respondents remain ideologically consistent and generally satisfied for all of the scaled items throughout this survey study.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

It is a complicated and sometimes confusing task to combine two essentially different thought processes into a single form of understanding. This thesis has outlined theory and background in an attempted explanation of the turnaround migration phenomenon, while at the same time statistically analyzing data concerning that phenomenon. Such a dual directed endeavor often permits fewer dimensions of analysis into the research equation than would be useful. In this sense, the theoretical and statistical interaction is analogous to the dual or bifurcated ideological consciousness of the nonmetropolitan population of this study. Just as theory and statistics suggest differing analytical views to the thought process, ideologies of the nonmetro community and the larger society provide differing, contradictory and incomplete views of the world.

The rural agrarian consciousness of the nonmetro community often conflicts with the larger society's presentation of ideology through the consciousness industry. These contradictions then, would appear to limit the possibilities of an ultimate understanding of relationships. However, in drawing conclusions both the theoretical and statistical contributions seem to compliment and clarify each other as neither method of analysis could do separately. Similarly, this research indicates that the dual characteristics of ideology in nonmetro America coalesce to represent a somewhat comprehensive view of the world. This discussion will necessarily be theoretical and

speculative for the most part, as it will attempt to analyze this suggested dual and complimentary relationship. First, however, a statistical summation will create the framework for the above mentioned conceptualizations.

Review of the Research Findings

The hypothesized relationships of this exploratory research were not discovered, although numerous and unanticipated findings do contribute to a better understanding of the dimensions being studied. In fact, many of the elements analyzed provide evidence that specific migrant to macro-structural relationships do exist, especially in the sense that repeat examination can establish similar associations. The following is a listing of the more important, but not hypothesized, relationships and informative indicators which were uncovered by this research project.

(1) In general, the socioeconomic characteristics outlined, are similar to those found in previous nonmetropolitan migrant research. The Kansas migrants are younger than the average resident population, more highly educated and probably professional in occupation (as indicated by educational differences). The total migrant population is predominantly white, middle class, and conservative by self-definition through ideological measurements.

(2) In the satisfaction scales by education there is some indication that the more highly educated perceive a less satisfactory environment for the total resident sample. The metro migrant sample remains generally the same across education, as the nonmetro sample somewhat increases in satisfaction with education, although none of the associations are significant for any of the above relationships. The population as a whole appears to be generally satisfied.

(3) The lowest level of education presents some indication of a consistent ideological discrimination in opposition to the dominant value system. As education increases, the amount of value system opposition

decreases, with the ultimate indication of a strong conservatism in the highest education groups. These findings place the highest and lowest educational groups in direct opposition, although, again few of these inter-respondent comparisons show significant relationships.

(4) There is a small indication that the residents over 60 age group is more satisfied with their community environment in Community Satisfaction I scale, and especially in scale II. Overall, the age divisions provide evidence of a general community satisfaction in all age groups. The education variable indicated similar findings, if it is accepted that the over 60 resident group is also predominantly the lowest educational group.

(5) It appears that the nonmetro migrant group has a slight liberalizing or opposition effect (to American ideological ideals) on the total migrant sample. As a respondent group they are the most ideologically in opposition to the dominant system, however, these are not high significance level associations.

(6) All respondent groups and most control groups show inconsistent and contradictory indications of ideological system values. Importantly, the attitudes of the under 30 metro migrants age group and the over 60 resident age group are highly compatible (conservatism), while those of the under 30 resident age group and the over 60 metro migrant group are the most compatible (radicalism) ideologically for the entire sample population. These relationships, specifically among the latter groups, may be supported by the findings of the educational control variable with an association of lower level education and ideologically consistent opposition.

Essentially, then, there are two specific points to be acknowledged as primarily important to this research area. First, there are indications of a confused and contradictory ideology within the mass public. Thus, there is some substantiation of the speculation that may arise from voting and

opinion poll indicators concerning the American public. The individual products of massified society are apparently unsure of exactly what elements of the system are to be believed. Secondly, the two groups most consistently in opposition to the dominant ideology of the system, may themselves be indicators of dual or contradictory ideologies co-existing in nonmetropolitan America. With the under thirty residents and the over sixty metro migrants showing some historical, educational, environmental and socialization similarities, a tested attitude measurement device should detect more than coincidental perceptions. It is necessary, therefore, that a theoretical explanation further speculate on the importance of the above findings. Furthermore, a partially integrated examination of the unanticipated elements of this research should extend the theoretical value of those findings toward new areas of nonmetropolitan study.

An Extention of the Research Findings

In the original hypotheses, community satisfaction and political-ideological elements were seen to be separate and distinct properties of each respondent group in the study. Community satisfaction was stated to be significantly higher among the resident category of the population than among a comparative migrant sample, specifically metropolitan migrants. In general, statistical analysis does not show that to be the case, although there are certain significant distinctions within groups when controlled by age and education. For the overall sample approximately 70% of respondents indicate satisfaction with the services and opportunities available in there communities. Given the support of age and education differences and the large sample size of the survey it appears that most of the inhabitants of nonmetropolitan Kansas counties find their environment acceptable.

Within the political-ideological measurements it was hypothesized that

ideological perceptions in contradiction to dominant American ideology would be found among metropolitan migrants. Inspection of relationships when controlled by age and education reveals even greater contradiction and confusion than was assumed. The control variables actually provide evidence that distinctions within respondent categories, rather than between categories, more directly define the attitude relationships. For example, the education control variable establishes significant ideological distinctions between respondents; as education decreases there is greater probability the respondent will be in opposition to the dominant ideology. This particular finding remains essentially the same even when considering the political cynicism and ideological discrimination scales, which register high ideological opposition within nearly all education groups.

An application of the age control variable substantiates these findings through an unsuspected interactive process. Analysis of the age control variable indicates that only residents under thirty years of age and metropolitan migrants over sixty years of age remain ideologically consistent (in opposition to the dominant structure) through all of the scaled relationships. By allowing interpretative assumptions through an historical age cohort examination, the relationship of these respondent groups becomes apparent. When considering the resident under thirty age group there is high probability that these individuals, living in nonmetropolitan areas, have not obtained a substantial amount of advanced education. Correspondingly, the metropolitan migrant respondents in the over sixty age group, again considering migration history and the availability of education during their youth, are probably from nonmetropolitan areas originally and may not have acquired an advanced education. These latter individuals were socialized in a period when higher education was actually uncommon. Therefore, we have two groups of individual respondents, neither of whom have attained

higher education degrees, which consistently oppose American ideology; in turn, we have an education control factor which indicates an ideological opposition element with decreasing amounts of education. Fundamentally, then, these research findings are identifying an outwardly different, but interpersonally similar group of respondents. The majority of these individuals, significantly, have a very similar educational background. More importantly, however, this group shares in the ideological influences of a nonmetropolitan socialization process. Through a complicated but logically consistent process we have identified certain ideological distinctions which currently may be representative of growing nonmetropolitan Kansas counties.

Theoretical Implications of the Research

If the above analysis is extended to a macro-structural level, the theoretical implications of the findings may hold as much importance for the turnaround phenomenon as the hypothesized relationships. By returning to the theoretical constructs of Gouldner (1976) we will recall that he posited the relationship of social history and ideology in the individual's life experience as they participate in the idea and material dialectic. He further speculated that an effective mass media now separates the once manifest connection between ideologies and history. The majority of the population experiences a decline in the relationship of their social position in the historical process, and the ideologies that completely tied them to that process. We see the ideological embodiment of practical experience (man's action as social history) broken apart by a modern media device. He continues by explaining that the process of personal experience is now 'technologically amplified' through mass media devices, which by their provision of activity, necessarily eliminates the need for an individual to actively experience or participate in history. By this process Gouldner (1976:168)

describes the absense of an active social position in history as probably "the end of ideology, or as the irrelevance of ideology or the meaninglessness or absurdity of life, of society, and culture."

It is through this analysis that we may explain the ideological contradictions present in the nonmetropolitan population. Probably the majority of respondents in this study could be recognized as members of the mass media society, which in effect removes them from any ideological consciousness of their social position in history. They simply accept power and stratification relationships as natural entities and modern mass media directs their perception of reality in such a manner that human relationships become secondary. This group of individuals is probably the younger, more highly educated, and therefore more receptive population in this survey. The fact that many are from metropolitan areas and lifestyles, or are migratory and somewhat transitional, may increase their dependence on the consciousness industry for a construction of the social world around them.

Another large segment of this population includes the older long term residents of the nonmetropolitan area. Although this group is aware of the media and its overwhelming influence they are only moderately committed to the modern exploits of mass media society. These respondents actually would pre-date mass media to some extent, and being lifetime or long term nonmetropolitan residents, they still perceive the value of community relationships and the dependence of individuals on those in their immediate environment. In that, this group maintains earlier elements of the dual ideological constructs of modern America; the predominant values of their lives are defined by community satisfaction and recognition, which in turn, probably explains their slightly higher level responses on the scaled satisfaction items.

Finally, then, we have those remaining individuals which were discovered to maintain an ideologically consistent opposition to the dominant value

structure. As a group, the residents under thirty years of age and the metropolitan migrants over sixty years of age are seen as socioeconomically and ideologically similar, except for the age characteristic. As was discussed in the introduction to this chapter the population of nonmetropolitan America depends on the dual and contradictory characteristics of modern ideology for its view of the world. A rural community consciousness and a mass media construction, as defined by the consciousness industry, combine to provide the nonmetro population with explanations for human values and behavior. The unique group of individuals which maintain consistent ideological independence, then, are perhaps the only members of that population who have been completely exposed to both dimensions of this dual ideological world. Through factors of youth and community socialization on one hand, and a rural community origin and metropolitan exposure on the other, these individuals sustain ideological elements of the combined consciousness of the nonmetropolitan area.

The younger residents of nonmetro areas have been predominantly socialized by both their community and the larger social order, simultaneously, such that mass media and community interaction are the world of everyday experience. They are not over socialized by institutional education, thus, the modern consumerist media does not control their value system. However, they are not inundated by community responsibility, as the generations before them, so it is possible to remain independent. It may be that the younger socioeconomically advantaged migrants are restricted through education to a mass media conception of their relationships, therefore reducing similarities to this resident population. Within Gouldner's (1976) analysis both groups of individuals would probably be the first generation of a complete media socialization period.

In relation to the older metropolitan migrant population a surprising

historic reversal of this process may be in effect. As these respondents were socialized in a period without educational opportunities they unquestionably had a greater commitment to their community surroundings. Economic necessities, however, forced these individuals into a metropolitan area, thereby breaking ties to the rural relationships of youth, and exposing them more completely to what in later years became a media society. Their migration to rural areas is probably a return to original social ties, with expectations of the slower lifestyle left behind. Similarly, though, the older metro migrant is not restrained by either the community socialization of youth or the later experiences with mass consumerist society. Perhaps this group is independent to define the world through an accumulation of knowledge gained by life experience.

Expanding the Research Area

Interestingly, the political-ideological distinctions originally defined by this research endeavor did not surface in the presumed fashion. As may have been predicted those suggested distinctions were much to vague or generalized to adequately define such complicated relationships. With a more accurate pre-research analysis this study would probably not have attempted to generalize ideological conceptions to the variety of socioeconomic and socialization histories found in the general public. Further, attitude scale items would be analyzed and arranged such that individual respondent characteristics more specifically relate to personal perceptions of ideological dimensions. Analysis of the differences within respondent categories should necessarily be a factor in attitude scale formation. The entire process of ideological definition through attitude measurement must become a more finely tuned instrument for accuracy to be enhanced.

Overall, the research design of this study seems to apply in a satisfactory and productive manner. In the above theoretical discussion, theory

and statistics initially compliment and eventually blend into a logical equation of the research relationships. The theoretical conception presented in Chapter III essentially encompasses the forms of ideological transition uncovered in the nonmetropolitan sample. In order to approach dual ideologies or an ideological continuum, such as that recognized by this research, it is important to understand how ideological elements are obtained (articulated according to Gramsci, 1971).

The agrarian-community ideological elements acknowledged throughout this research are part of a displaced way of life, therefore, they account for only a segment of the dual ideological composition. In turn, the urban industrial values of the mass media only partially represent the ideological constructs of nonmetropolitan America. Considering this ideological composition it is not surprising to find stages of ideological transition and confusion in the sampled population.

Conflicting ideologies, however, do not seem relevant to those individuals whom are figuratively unconscious of what controls the social world in which they live. It is possible that the suggested ideological transition by metro migrants is actually taking place. That transition, though, may be more quality of life and rural amenity oriented with political ideological elements remaining relatively unaltered. Recalling an earlier discussion of the current desire for the best of both rural and urban worlds, it seems likely that a transition toward rural amenities, but not necessarily away from urban conveniences, is a predominant dimension of the migrant ideology. Regardless of the inconsistencies in this statement, researchers must investigate the effects of such complexity on the population turnaround.

It is doubtful if the weight or dependence of a nonmetropolitan socialization could totally alter the philosophical perceptions of a migrant population. After all, the historic attachment by metro migrants to a highly

media oriented socialization would seem to preclude what may be described as a total integration into community. For this reason, only the older metro migrants with a nonmetro background, can easily transfer or return to the rural environment.

There is, however, a definite need for future research on the amount or degree of ideological transition which may occur for particularly the metropolitan migrant. A longitudinal study of both political-ideological and community satisfaction components may begin to clarify how these ideological elements influence the more recent nonmetro inhabitants over an extended period of time. There is also a great potential through either longitudinal or replication study to organize a more definitive relationship between quality of life ideological elements and political-structural elements of ideology. Both of these dimensions appear to work in an interactive sense, although either set of elements may apparently evolve while the companion belief system remains relatively stable. Only a further examination of these ideological distinctions will begin to identify differences within the nonmetropolitan population. Similarly, a flexible and applicable macro-structural definition of ideological conditions can only be the result of an extensive analysis of the nonmetropolitan areas most effected.

The theoretical explanations of this Kansas based study obviously are limited to the immediate circumstances of this research, and only further examination of diverse nonmetropolitan areas can begin to confirm the present exploratory findings. Furthermore, the ideologically consistent respondents of this study maintain unique characteristics in both an environmental and historic sense, and such significant findings must necessarily be compared to other macro-structural analysis of the nonmetropolitan migration. If the nonmetropolitan migration is analyzed only in terms of interpersonal motivations, only subjective dimensions of this phenomenon will be explained. It

is important, therefore, that political and ideological distinctions be given consideration in the turnaround research area, primarily because many aspects of population movements are the initial reliable indicators of larger societal change.

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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF MIGRANTS AND LONG TERM RESIDENTS IN NONMETROPOLITAN AREAS

by

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ABSTRACT

The most recently documented change of migration patterns in the United States involves conditional indications of outmigration from metropolitan areas, and significant inmigration to certain nonmetropolitan counties. This "population turnaround" phenomenon reverses decades of population movement into metropolitan areas. A variety of explanations for this occurrence have accumulated since first recognition, with most being dependent on employment or location related assumptions. Research into individual motivations for this migration is currently beginning to analyze rural amenity and quality of life factors. The absense of social structural level theory to provide plausible migration explanations for the assortment of behaviors involved in this turnaround is becoming a research interest. Thus, examination of beliefs, values and ideological world-view is becoming relevant to the definition of motivations for this population. This study attempts to outline political-ideological and community satisfaction distinctions among metropolitan migrants, nonmetropolitan migrants and long term residents of growing Kansas counties.

A brief examination of migration theory as it relates to the turnaround phenomenon is followed by a review of community satisfaction and quality of life literature to explain methods of inquiry. Through a theoretical conceptualization of transitional ideology a framework of explanation for migrant and resident differences is constructed.

To collect information on nonmetropolitan areas a Kansas Quality of Life Survey, conducted by mail questionnaire, was distributed to high inmigration counties. Primarily, social-psychological and political-ideological attitude measurement items were included for the present research. Sufficient returns (727 of 1303 mailed) were obtained for both inter-respondent and intra-

respondent group comparisons. Control variables of age and education, and independent variable scales (Community Satisfaction I and II, Stratification System Illegitimacy, Political Cynicism, Ideological Discrimination and Conservatism-Radicalism) generated from the attitude items, were statistically analyzed within respondent status categories. Analysis includes comparison of characteristic means, crosstabulation measures of association, and zero-order correlation.

The hypothesized relationships of higher community satisfaction among residents and ideological perceptions in contradiction to dominant American ideology among metropolitan migrants were not confirmed. Age and education controls indicate that distinctions within respondent categories more directly define the attitude relationships. Only residents under thirty years of age and metropolitan migrants over sixty years of age remain ideologically consistent through all of the scaled relationships. These findings create the basic framework for a necessary clarification of the ideological distinctions which currently exist in high inmigration nonmetropolitan areas. Presently, there is need for a replication study to accurately define the relationship between quality of life ideological elements and political-social structural ideological elements for the total nonmetropolitan population.