

STATUS INCONSISTENCY AND WEST GERMAN
POLITICAL ATTITUDES, BEHAVIOR, AND DEGREE OF COMMUNITY SATISFACTION

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The present thesis evolved out of an attempt to apply the theory of status inconsistency cross-culturally to a national sample of the West German population. In particular, it attempted to assess the relationship between status inconsistency among occupation, income, and education, and political attitudes, behavior, and degree of community satisfaction.

The purpose of the present chapter is to review the previous theoretical and empirical work which has been conducted in this area. In so doing, a brief statement of the theoretical orientation is presented, followed by a review of the research which has been conducted, and the basic conclusions which can be drawn. Finally, a statement of the problem and hypotheses is provided; this will hopefully set the present thesis into perspective with the accumulating research that uses status inconsistency as its explanatory model.

A. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Since the writings of Max Weber, social scientists have generally accepted the premise that the individual in modern, industrialized societies holds simultaneous rank positions within several analytically separable dimensions of stratification.¹ Although it is further assumed that the

¹Max Weber, "Class, Status, and Party," in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds.), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 181; and "Social Stratification and Class Structure," in Talcott Parsons (ed.), The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, (New York: The Free Press, 1947), p. 428.

"normal state of affairs" is one in which the individual's rank positions tend to coalesce, the multidimensional viewpoint always allows for the empirical occurrence of divergent rank positions.² The acceptance of this approach thus permits the social scientist to theoretically and empirically examine the effects of a non-vertical dimension within modern systems of stratification, namely, that of status inconsistency.

The reason this type of analysis is possible stems from the above mentioned assumption that the individual "normally" experiences a condition of status consistency. From this assumption, those who do not achieve this condition can be viewed as holding "deviant" status configurations which carry with them a type of strain not experienced by individuals occupying consistent status positions.

The origin of this strain arises from the conflicting normative expectations and dilemmas of status which are concomitant with the individual's inconsistent rankings.³ An individual's rank position, for example, determines to a large extent his expectations of others, his expectations of himself, and others' expectations of him.⁴ Because of his inconsistent status profile, the normative expectations associated with his positional placement in one dimension may not be compatible with those held in the others. When this is the case, the normative conflict generates strain which then leads to either an active or passive attempt by the

²Emile Benoit-Smullyan, "Status, Status Types, and Status Inter-relations," American Sociological Review, 9:2, (April, 1944), pp. 154-161.

³Elton F. Jackson, "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress," American Sociological Review, 27:4, (August, 1962), pp. 469-480; Everett Cherrington Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," American Journal of Sociology, 50:5 (March, 1955), pp. 353-359; and George C. Homans, Social Behavior, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1961), pp. 248-251.

⁴Elton F. Jackson, "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress," p. 470.

individual to cope with the contradictory expectations. It is this attempt to deal with the conflicting normative expectations of divergent status rankings which leads to the behavioral and attitudinal responses of the individual. In the case of the individual with a consistent status profile, this strain is not experienced because the status ranks tend to complement one another in terms of their social expectations.

The Negro physican in American society is an extreme example of an individual caught in normative conflict due to inconsistent rankings in the dimensions of social stratification. The social expectations mobilized by the high achieved ranking are not complemented by those mobilized by the lower racial-ethnic rank. The effect of this inconsistency is experienced in the interactive process as a form of strain because the type of behavior required of the achieved rank is in direct conflict with that required of the ascribed rank. In response to this strain, the individual may either passively withdraw from social interaction or actively attempt to change the social expectations surrounding the lower ascriptive dimension in order to achieve an equilibrated status profile, and thus remove the origin of the conflict.

The subsequent empirical research which has utilized this theoretical frame work has demonstrated that the response to the normative conflict is varied and in some cases contradictory. Status inconsistency, for example, has been related to increased frequencies of political liberalism, withdrawal from social participation, preference for changes in the national power structure, increased symptoms of psycho-physiological

stress, and increased rates of political conservatism.⁵ These correlates of status inconsistency, while at first appearing random, diverse, and contradictory in nature, tend, however, to be patterned with regard to the original type of inconsistency being examined. In other words, the accumulating research suggests that particular types of status inconsistency generate their own particular modes of response. To date, the types of status inconsistency which have been isolated, and their empirically established responses, may be roughly summarized as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1:
The Logical Possibilities of Inconsistency
and Their Hypothesized Responses

Direction of Response to Strain	Type of Inconsistency		
	Between Low Ascribed High Achieved Dimensions	Between High Ascribed Low Achieved Dimensions	Between Achieved Dimensions
Political	(a) liberalism	(b)*	(c) conservatism
Intra or Inter- personal	(d) social isolation	(e) psycho- physical symptoms	(f)*

*empirical responses have yet to be explored.

⁵Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," American Sociological Review, 19:4 (August, 1954), pp. 405-413, and "Social Participation and Status Crystallization," American Sociological Review, 21: 4 (August, 1956), pp. 458-464; Irwin W. Goffman, "Status Consistency and Preference for Change in Power Distribution," American Sociological Review, 22:3 (June, 1957), pp. 275-281; Elton F. Jackson and Peter J. Burke, "Status and Symptoms of Stress: Additive and Interaction Effects," American Sociological Review, 30:4 (August, 1965), pp. 556-564; Elton F. Jackson, "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress," pp. 469-480; and Gary B. Rush, "Status Consistency and Right-Wing Extremism," American Sociological Review, 32:1 (February, 1967), pp. 86-92.

As can be seen from Table 1, the types of status inconsistency used have centered around discrepant status ranks between high achieved and low ascribed dimensions, low achieved and high ascribed dimensions, and rank discrepancies between achieved status dimensions only.⁶ The responses to the strain which arises as a result of the ensuing normative conflict appear to be directed toward two major areas. On the one hand, it can be directed externally and actively in the form of political attitudes and behavior, or, on the other hand, it may take a more passive and inwardly directed form on either an inter-or intrapersonal level. To substantiate these theoretical predictions, the following research may be cited:

The relationship between low ascribed and high achieved inconsistency and politically liberal attitudes and behavior has received extensive support in the research which has been conducted to date. Lenski, for example, has found a close association between low racial-ethnic status, combined with high occupation, education, and income and increased frequencies of voting for the more liberal democratic party as well as more favorable attitudes toward governmental health insurance, price control, and extension of federal powers.⁷ Defining liberalism as preference for change in the national power structure, Goffman found a similar pattern in which a combination of low ascribed-high achieved statuses tended to increase the desire for change.⁸ A more recent study, conducted by Segal in the United States, reinforces these earlier findings by showing that this pattern of status inconsistency

⁶An additional type is that of inconsistency between the ascriptive dimensions. Due to the nature of the ascriptive category, however, it would seem that inconsistency here is only in the realm of theoretical possibility. For this reason, it is excluded from the discussion.

⁷Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," pp. 407-412.

⁸Goffman, "Status Consistency and Preference for Change in Power Distribution," pp. 278-281.

is still associated with increased patterns of liberal political behavior and attitudes.⁹

Cross-cultural research, although limited, tends to support the conclusion that this same pattern of status inconsistency leads to rather similar results in other industrialized societies. For example, low ascribed and high achieved inconsistency has been linked to political liberalism in Great Britain, Canada, and Australia.¹⁰ The hypothesis can thus be advanced that this structurally generated strain operates in other industrialized societies, and that the political responses appear to be patterned along similar lines.

The political responses to status inconsistency, in which the individual occupies a low position in the ascriptive dimension and a high position in the achieved dimension, do not exhaust the possible responses in this category. Other research in this area has demonstrated that it can also find expression on the interpersonal level of analysis. As an attempt to avoid the strain incurred by his status profile, the individual may withdraw from social participation,¹¹ and, withdrawing, can reduce the stress or strain level by reducing the frequency of exposure to those social situations which activate normative conflict.

At present, no empirical attempt has been made to assess whether or not this mode of adaptation is found in other societies. Therefore, the

⁹David R. Segal and David Knoke, "Social Mobility, Status Inconsistency, and Partisan Realignment in the United States," Social Forces, 47:1 (December, 1968), pp. 154-159; David R. Segal, "Status Inconsistency, Cross Pressures and American Political Behavior," American Sociological Review, 34:3, (June, 1969), pp. 352-359.

¹⁰Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Inconsistency and the Vote: A Four Nation Test," American Sociological Review, 32:2 (April, 1967), pp. 298-301.

¹¹Lenski, "Social Participation and Status Crystallization," pp. 458-464.

hypothesis that a similar pattern would be found in other societies must be advanced without previously established empirical support.

In summary, low ascribed-high achieved status inconsistency has been shown to lead to two types of responses. On the one hand, it has been related to increased political liberalism, and on the other, to withdrawal from social participation. As yet, no systematic research has been conducted which attempts to isolate the social and psychological variables that predispose one individual to respond politically, while another responds interpersonally.¹² In general, though, it may be that one individual experiences strain in terms of personal frustration, while another may experience it more in terms of personal uncertainty.¹³ If this is the case, then it would appear that frustration would be more conducive to an active and liberal political response. This is particularly true when the frustration originates from the blockage of an equilibrated status system due to low ascriptive factors. The active and liberal outlet can thus be seen as an attempt by the individual to remove the origins of his frustrations. Uncertainty, on the other hand, would seem to lead to a passive response such as social withdrawal. Confused over what others can legitimately expect from him, and what he can legitimately expect from others, the easiest solution becomes escaping from, or avoiding, those social situations which activate the uncertainty.

The second type of status inconsistency (high ascribed-low achieved) has been found to express itself primarily on the intrapersonal level in terms of stress. Defining ascribed status in terms of racial-ethnic background,

¹²The empirical possibility that these are simultaneous responses should not be overlooked either.

¹³Jackson, "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress," p. 470.

and achieved status in terms of occupation and education, Jackson found that high racial-ethnic status combined with low occupational and educational status was positively related to increased symptoms of psycho-physiological stress.¹⁴ The conclusions and comparisons which Jackson makes are as follow:

. . . The patterns which in the present research were found to produce no effect upon symptom level (high occupation/ low racial-ethnic, and high education/ low racial-ethnic) are exactly those which Lenski found to have the greatest impact upon political liberalism. It would appear that these compared findings can best be explained by the assumption that all forms of status inconsistency are stressful for the individual, but that persons whose inconsistency is due to high racial-ethnic status and low occupational or educational status tend to respond to their stress physiologically, while persons of the opposite patterns of inconsistency respond politically.¹⁵

Thus, it can be concluded that the existence of normative conflict due to the divergent rank positions and the accompanying strain, lead to a different mode of expression which originates from this status profile. The individual's strain is directed neither politically nor interpersonally, but is turned back upon himself, or intrapersonally, in the form of psycho-physiological stress.

Although no research has attempted to replicate this finding cross-culturally, the hypothesis might be advanced that such a response occurs solely in high success oriented societies such as the United States.¹⁶ The reason for this lies in the fact that the culture tells all to achieve continually higher achieved status rankings. When this is not fulfilled, as in the case of the low education and occupation, the individual is, in essence, in violation of certain normative expectations associated with the high ascribed status. He is likely to feel personal failure and become

¹⁴Ibid., p. 473.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 476.

¹⁶Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, (New York: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 80-91.

extremely uncertain in terms of how he is to fulfill these normative expectations. This is finally directed inwardly in terms of headaches, insomnia, dizziness, stomach disorders, etc. In the case of societies where success is not as pervasive a cultural theme, the extent of conflict between high ascribed and low achieved statuses would be less acute.

The other possible response originating from this type of status inconsistency, i.e., the political response, has not been specifically examined. Intuitively, the hypothesis that high ascribed-low achieved status inconsistency is positively related to political apathy would appear the most probable. Further work in this area is needed, however, before specific political correlates can be established.

The final type of status inconsistency (discrepancies between achieved dimensions only) is the one which has the most importance for this thesis. The research which has utilized this type has generally led to the conclusion that achievement, status inconsistency tends to be associated with conservative political response on the part of the individual. This conclusion is supported by several recent articles which have attempted to assess the political effects of this status profile. The first study which can be used as a basis for empirically indicating this possibility was conducted by Kelly and Chambliss in 1966.¹⁷ The achievement dimensions utilized in this study were defined as those of occupation, education, and income. Although the study as a whole denied support for the theory of inconsistency, there were certain statistically non-significant relationships which are deserving of mention.

¹⁷K. Dennis Kelly and William J. Chambliss, "Status Consistency and Political Attitudes," American Sociological Review, 31:3 (June, 1966), pp. 375-382.

The data reveal, for example, that as a group, "status inconsistent persons tend to be somewhat more reactionary on civil rights and civil liberties issues than do consistent persons."¹⁸ Thus, contrary to the other patterns, inconsistency between the achieved statuses of occupation, education, and income tended to respond in a politically conservative manner. The hypothesis that achievement-inconsistency tends to produce politically conservative responses is thus given a small amount of credence by this article.

A second article which gives more solid support to the conclusion that conservatism tends to be the political response of achievement inconsistency is Gary B. Rush's, "Status Consistency and Right-Wing Extremism."¹⁹ Operationalizing inconsistency between the three achieved statuses of occupation, education, and income, Rush concluded that ". . . the relationship between status crystallization and right-wing extremism is that individuals whose statuses are inconsistent are more likely to be right-wing extremists in their political attitudes than individuals whose statuses are consistent."²⁰ In a further analysis of particular subtypes of inconsistency within this general pattern, it appeared that consistency between occupation and income, but inconsistently low education was most closely related to a right-wing political orientation.²¹ This same type of inconsistency has subsequently

¹⁸Ibid., p. 379

¹⁹Gary B. Rush, "Status Consistency and Right-Wing Extremism," pp. 86-92.

²⁰Ibid., p. 91.

²¹Ibid., p. 91.

been tentatively linked to the Wallace vote in the United States and to support of the Neo-Nazi movement in West Germany.²²

The reason for the existence of this relationship again appears to be due to the uncertainty which is experienced as a result of normative conflict and strain. In an attempt to restructure the situation, the individual finds conservatism to be a viable political response, because it tends to provide relatively simple, structured, and traditional solutions.²³ By actively supporting a relatively highly structured political program, the uncertainties arising from the status profile are either successfully suppressed or explained, and the strain neutralized.

An equally possible, although not as yet empirically tested, response would appear to be withdrawal from social participation. Because the uncertainty tends to be activated in the interactive process, and because certain unspecified social and psychological variables do not predispose the individual toward political conservatism, he may find interaction both unpleasant and strained. In an attempt to escape from this strain, a passive withdrawal from social participation may represent a viable alternative to the individual with this status profile. To date, however, no test has been made of this possibility.

B. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM AND HYPOTHESES

The primary motivation which stimulated this study was the previously cited relationship between achieved status inconsistency and

²²D. Stanley Eitzen, "Status Inconsistency and Wallace Supporters in a Midwestern City," Social Forces, 48:4 (June, 1970), pp.493-498; Eugen Lupri, Notes on the Social Bases of the Neo-Nazi Movement in West Germany, Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Dallas, Texas (December, 1968), pp. 26-31.

²³Rush, "Status Consistency and Right-Wing Extremism," p. 87.

political conservatism. The cross-cultural application of this type of inconsistency to a national sample of the West German population is the primary problem to which this thesis is addressed. Because status inconsistency makes use of variables which are common to all industrialized societies, its application to these societies would seem warranted. To date, however, it has not been extensively utilized for this purpose. If its use in these societies proves fruitful, then another variable has been added which can be employed for cross-cultural comparisons of social stratification systems and their effects.

More specifically, it is theorized that the presence of inconsistency between the three achieved status variables of occupation, income, and education leads to a condition of conflicting normative expectations. As a result of this conflict, the individual experiences uncertainty as to what he can legitimately demand in his expectations of others, and what others can legitimately expect of him. To resolve this uncertainty, two theoretically predicted responses are possible. Politically, he may attempt to restructure the situation by adherence to a well-defined and explicit conservative program. Interpersonally, the strain may be reflected by a feeling of disenchantment and dislike toward the community of which he is a part.

To empirically examine the applicability of status inconsistency between the achieved status dimensions to the society of West Germany, two hypotheses are tested. First, to assess the predicted political response the following hypothesis is tested:

Hypothesis 1: Individuals characterized by inconsistency between the achieved status dimensions of occupation, education, and income are more likely to be conservative in their political attitudes and behavior than individuals who are characterized by status consistency.

Secondly, the predicted interpersonal response is tested by use of the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: Individuals characterized by inconsistency between the achieved status dimensions of occupation, education, and income are more likely to negatively evaluate the "homelike" qualities of their community than individuals who are characterized by status consistency.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

A. THE SAMPLE

The respondents for this study were obtained from a multistage probability public opinion survey of the West German population carried out by DIVO Institute (Frankfurt, Germany) during June/July of 1968. The original sample contained 2,096 respondents between the ages of 18-80, and was designed primarily to assess their political attitudes and behavior.¹ The standard data regarding the variables of income, education, occupation, age, sex, etc. were included as part of this survey, and it was from this section of the interview schedule that the data for operationalizing the independent variable was taken. Before the independent variable of status inconsistency was operationalized, however, a subsample was created by use of the following criteria.

First of all, the sample was divided between male and female respondents, with males accounting for 974 or 46.5% and females equaling 1,122 or 53.5%.

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Male	974	46.5
Female	<u>1122</u>	<u>53.5</u>
Total	2096	100.0

¹Eugen Lupri, Notes on the Social Bases of the Neo-Nazi Movement in West Germany, Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Dallas, Texas (December, 1968) pp. 26-30.

From within these two groupings the sample was subdivided so that only those felt to be most susceptible to the effects of status inconsistency would be included. The decision to exclude certain members of the sample from the analysis was based upon the dual criteria of sex and the relationship of the respondent to the household. Within the male portion of the sample, the following three groups were retained for analysis: 1) single males who were the head of the household, 2) married males who were the head of the household, and 3) widowed males who were the head of the household. (See Figure 1) The female portion of the sample included only those respondents who designated themselves as female-married-wife-of-head. (See Figure 2)

A second limitation regarding the nature of the respondents' employment was used to further subdivide the original sample. In effect, the analysis was limited to only those male-heads-of-household who were actively and fully engaged in an urban occupation. Farmers, farmworkers, retired urban workers, part-time employed, and unemployed persons were excluded from the sample. These limitations appeared to be supported by the theoretical assumptions of status inconsistency and the previous research in the field.²

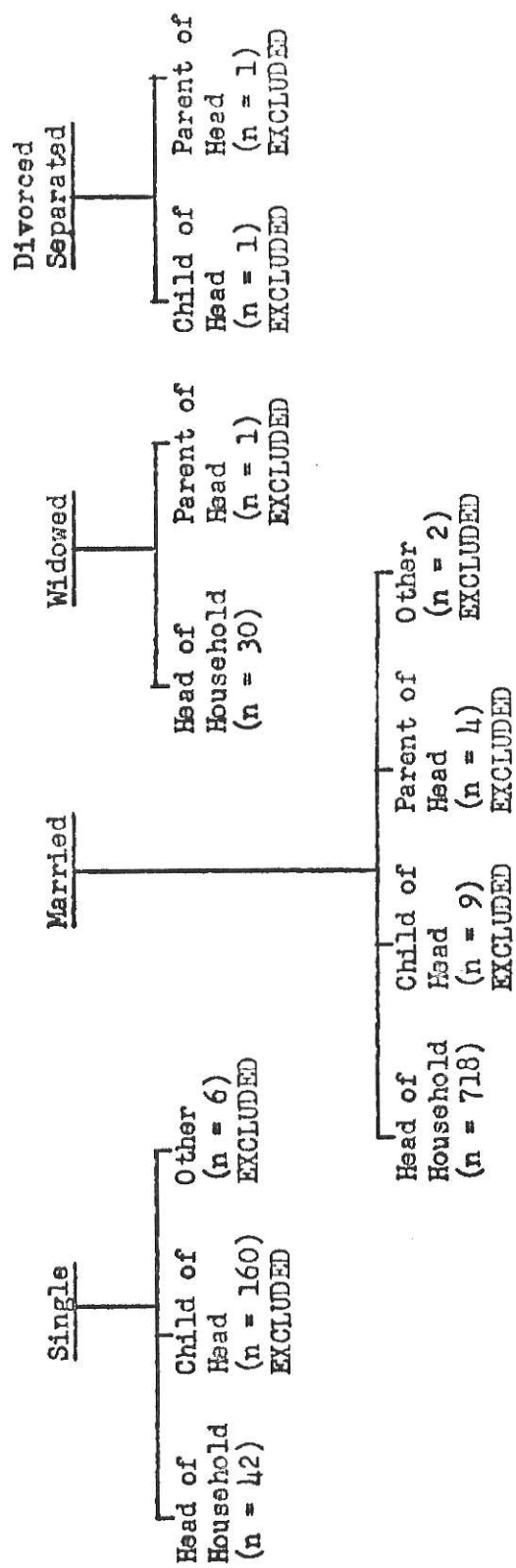
With the above limitations imposed, the original sample of 2,096 was reduced to 1,288, thus excluding 38% of the respondents. The distribution of respondents between all the male categories and the female-married-wife-of-head is shown below.

²K. Dennis Kelly and William J. Chambliss, "Status Consistency and Political Attitudes," American Sociological Review, 31:3 (June, 1966), pp. 375-382.

**THIS BOOK
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NUMEROUS PAGES
WITH DIAGRAMS
THAT ARE CROOKED
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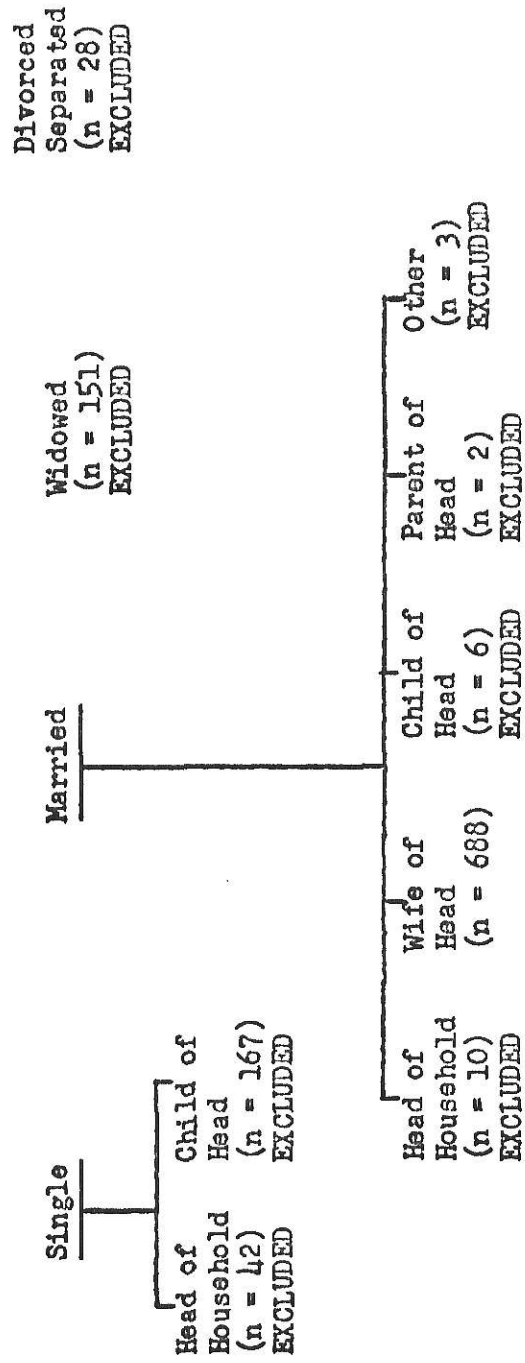
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FIGURE 1:
Division of Sample by Sex
and Relationship to Household, Male



Male Total = 600

FIGURE 2:
Division of Sample by Sex
and Relationship to Household, Female



Female Total = 688

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Male	600	47
Female	<u>688</u>	<u>53</u>
Total	1288	100

It was from this final portion of the original sample that the data for operationalizing the independent variable of status inconsistency was taken. The effects of status inconsistency, however, were limited exclusively to the male respondents. It was decided that the examination of status inconsistency among the female respondents would have required separate analysis, and introduced variables which were beyond the scope of this paper and the available data. Thus, while the female categories were used to operationalize the variable, the effects of status inconsistency within this group were not examined.

B. THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

As was stated in the preceeding chapter, inconsistency in this study was taken to mean dissimilarity between the achieved status dimensions of income, occupation, and education. In the case of the male respondents, income was taken to mean that of the entire household, while occupation and education were defined as those of the respondent himself. With respect to the female married wife-of-head category, however, a slightly different definition of the dimensions to be used was employed. Occupation, in this case, was taken to mean that of the male head-of-household, not that of the female respondent herself. Income was taken to mean that of the entire household, and education was taken to mean that of the respondent herself. The general reasoning behind these decisions was that income and occupation were, for the most part, dependent upon the male-head-of-household, and transferred by

him to the entire family unit, whereas education appeared more individual in nature and not transferred by the male-head-of-household.

The actual operational procedure which was used to determine the presence of status inconsistency was a modified version of a procedure used by the United States Census to plot the ecological distribution of status inconsistencies.³ This procedure was selected because it provided a means whereby the extent of status inconsistency could be controlled, and because it allowed the determination of both general and subtype inconsistency by the same procedure. The application of this procedure resulted in the following steps.

First of all, the status dimensions were arranged into ten class intervals, representing a hierarchical progression from lower to higher rankings. The variables of income and education presented themselves in an easily hierarchical manner, either by the amount of marks earned, or the level of education attained. (See Tables 2 and 3) Occupation, however, presented a more difficult problem of ordering. The amount of prestige accorded the various occupational categories was finally used as the basis for ordering this dimension. The relative prestige level of the occupational categories was determined by the use of a previously established ranking of occupation used by DIVO Institute.⁴ This ranking bore a marked similarity to the Edwards Scale in the United States, and thus, many of the criticisms leveled against the Edwards Scale are undoubtedly transferrable to the one developed by DIVO.⁵ Regardless of these criticisms, however,

³U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Methodology and Scores of Socio-Economic Status," Working Paper No. 15, (Washington, D. C., 1963), pp. 2-8.

⁴Codesheet for State Election Study of BadenWuerttemberg, (DIVO Institute, Frankfurt, Germany), 1968. See Appendix I, pg. 56.

⁵Alba M. Edwards, "Comparative Occupational Statistics for the United States, 16th Census, 1950," Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), p. 179. For the criticisms of this classification, see Milton M. Gordon, Social Class in American Sociology, (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1958), p. 222.

these rankings were transferred to the present sample, and used to order the occupational intervals in the manner found in Table 3.

After each dimension had been arranged, cumulative percentile frequency distributions were computed for each of the ten class intervals in each of the three dimensions of stratification. From the frequency distributions, a midpoint score was computed for each interval. These midpoint scores were then assigned to each individual as his rank score in that dimension. (See Tables 2, 3, and 4)

The presence of inconsistency depended upon the relationship which was exhibited by the midpoints assigned to the individual respondents. A "discrepancy constant" of twenty points was chosen, and inconsistency was defined as operative anytime one of the midpoints exceeded this figure when compared to the others. Using the present data as an example, (see Tables 2, 3, and 4), the midpoints assigned to a respondent who was a worker, with an income of 800-899 DM, and an educational level of elementary school without passing exams would be: Occupation = 24; income = 31; and education = 16. When using a discrepancy constant of twenty points to define inconsistency, the following comparisons would be made:

Occupation = 24	(inconsistency occurs anytime a midpoint
Income = 31	exceeds another by 20 points or more)
Education = 16	

As can be seen upon comparison, none of the midpoints exceeds another by more than twenty points. Therefore, the respondent with this stratification profile would have been defined as consistent.

The application of this general procedure to the German sample, however, entailed certain procedural modifications which were not anticipated

TABLE 2:
Income: Hierarchical Arrangements,
Frequency Distribution, and Midpoints

<u>Income Interval</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Freq. Dist.</u>	<u>Midpoint</u>
10) 2,500 DM +	41	96.9-100.0	98
9) 2,000-2,499	41	93.7- 96.8	95
8) 1,750-1,999	53	89.6- 93.6	92
7) 1,500-1,749	80	83.4- 89.5	86
6) 1,250-1,499	145	72.1- 83.3	78
5) 1,000-1,249	282	50.3- 72.0	61
4) 900- 999	161	37.7- 50.2	44
3) 800- 899	180	23.8- 37.6	31
2) 700- 799	159	11.4- 23.7	17
1) 000- 699	<u>146</u>	00.0- 11.3	6
	1288		

TABLE 3:
Occupation: Hierarchical Arrangement,
Frequency Distribution, and Midpoints*

<u>Occupation Category</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Freq. Dist.</u>	<u>Midpoint</u>
10) Owners or Managers of Large Businesses	11	99.2-100.0	99
9) White Collar Super- visors & Directors	93	92.0- 99.1	96
8) Free Professional	22	90.3- 91.9	91
7) High Level Civil - Servants	16	89.0- 90.2	90
6) Medium Sized Retail Businessmen	43	85.7- 88.9	87
5) Technical Employees & Middle Level Civil Servants	141	74.8- 85.6	80
4) Small Businessmen	95	67.4- 74.7	71
3) Clerical Personnel & Low Level Civil Servants	67	62.2- 67.3	65
2) Highly Skilled Workers	194	47.1- 62.1	54
1) Semi-Skilled & Unskilled Workers	606	00.1- 47.0	24
	<u>1288</u>		

*For original German categories, see Appendix II.

TABLE 4:
Education: Hierarchical Arrangement,
Frequency Distribution, and Midpoints*

<u>Level of Education</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Freq. Dist.</u>	<u>Midpoint</u>
10) University with Degree	35	97.4-100.0	99
9) University without Degree	1	97.3- 97.3	99
8) Qualified for Admission to University	23	95.5- 97.2	96
Intermediate Levels			
7) Professional and Technical School	40	92.4- 95.4	93
6) High School, without Passing Examinations	9	91.7- 92.3	92
5) Qualified for Examinations	93	84.5- 91.6	88
4) High School	13	83.5- 84.4	84
3) Trade School	52	79.4- 83.4	81
2) Completed Elementary School	616	32.1- 79.3	56
1) Did Not Complete Elementary School	406	00.0- 32.0	16
	<u>1288</u>		

*For original German categories, see Appendix II.

at the time the format was selected.⁶ The reasons for these modifications are ultimately found in the nature of the German educational system itself.

As can be seen from Figures 3 and 4 (Income and Occupation), the midpoints assigned to the various class intervals represented a rough increase from low to high. The characteristics of the educational system in Germany, however, does not allow a smooth statistical progression to become evident. (See Figure 5) By the time the third interval of the ten interval scale was reached, 83.4% of the entire sample was encompassed, with only a range of 16.6% between this interval and the remaining seven. The effect of this was to render comparison in the lower intervals almost impossible because of the deceptively high midpoints assigned to education. For example, a respondent with the following status profile would lead to these comparisons:

Completed Elementary School	= 56
Income: 800-899 DM	= 31
Worker	= 24

Again using a discrepancy constant of twenty, one is lead to the conclusion that the respondent is markedly inconsistent, with the subtype inconsistency being high education combined with consistent occupation and income. This is hardly the case, however, when one looks at the actual arrangement of these class intervals in which 47.8% of all persons earning 800-899 DM and 50% of all workers were in this educational level. It would have been ludicrous to have maintained that such an arrangement represents markedly discrepant statuses in face of this type of distribution.

⁶The same basic revisions would also be necessary if Lenski's procedure were utilized.

FIGURE 3:
Income: Frequency Distribution

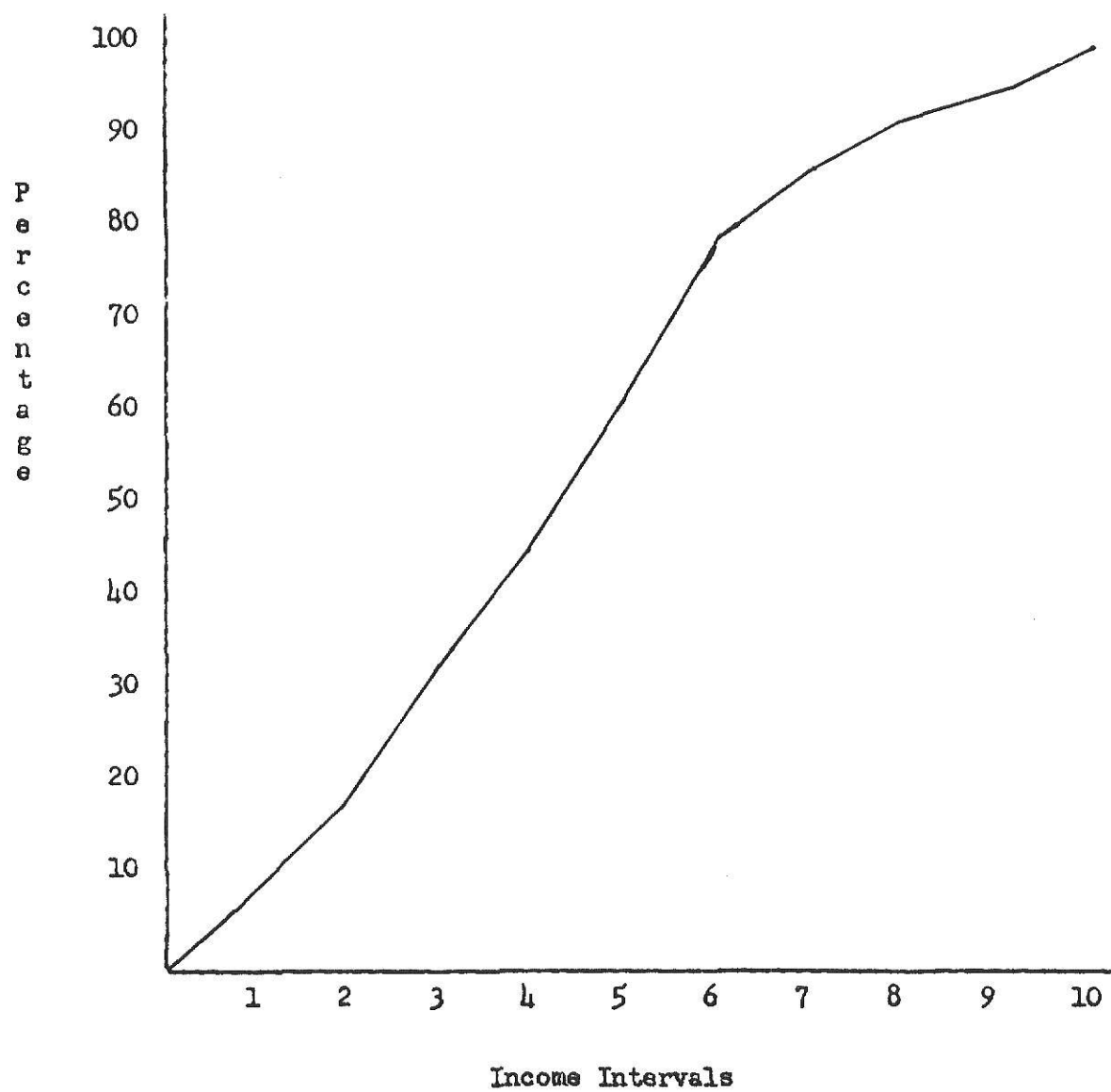


FIGURE 4:
Occupation: Frequency Distribution

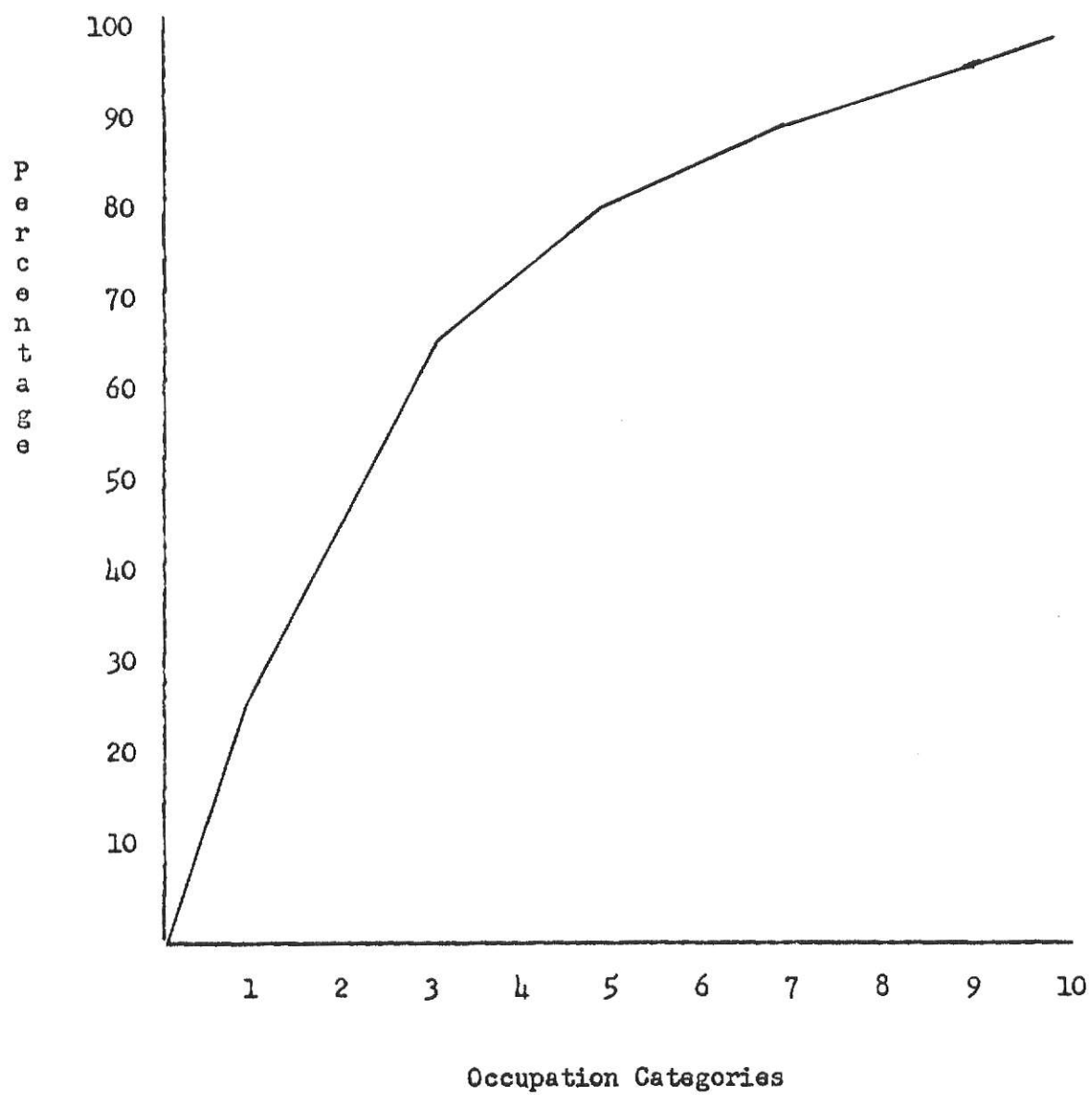
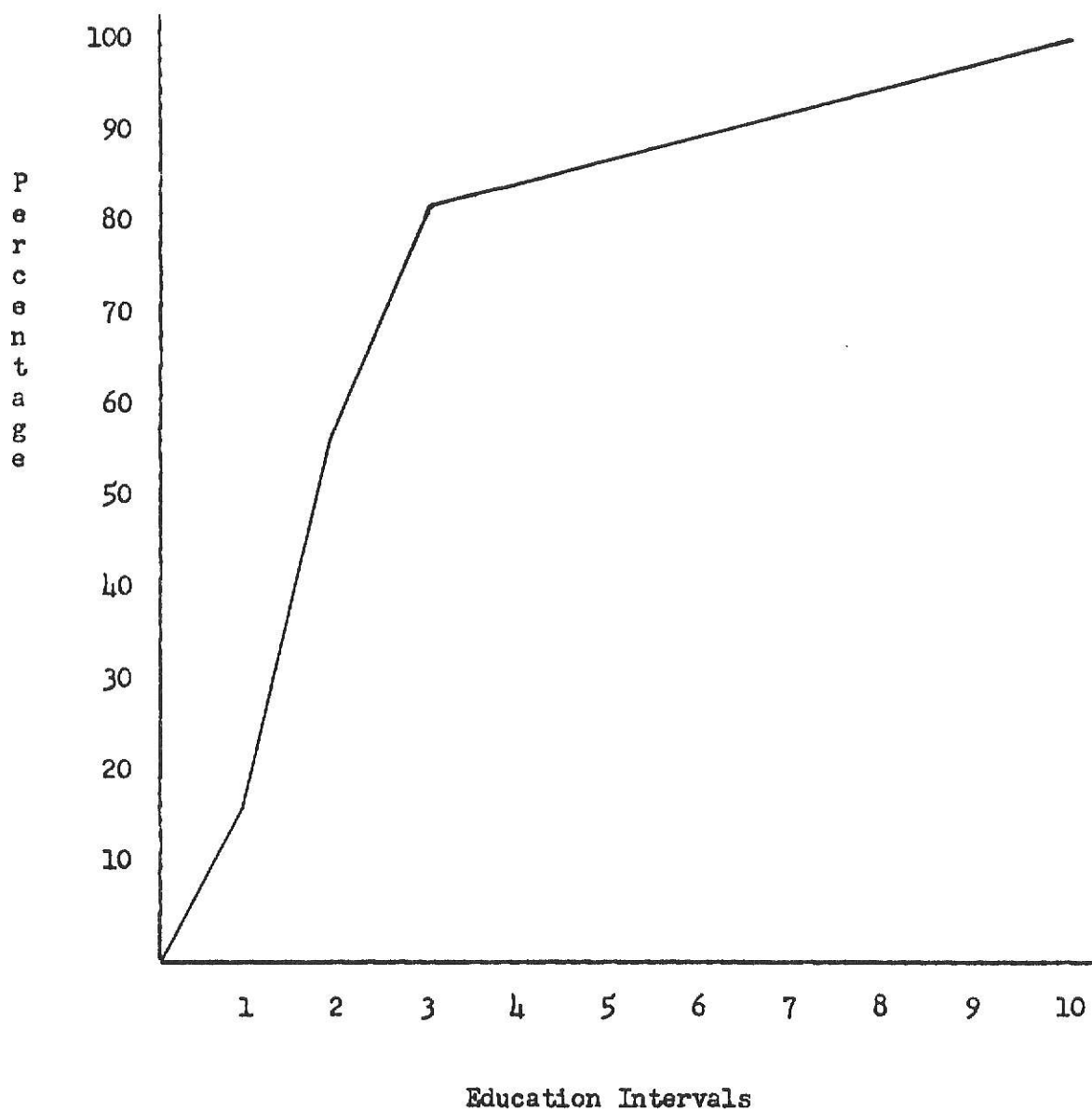


FIGURE 5:
Education: Frequency Distribution



In order to compensate for the structure of the educational system, and thereby render it comparable to the other dimensions, the educational midpoints were made dependent upon the mean averages of the corresponding occupation and income midpoints. That is, the educational intervals were held constant and the frequency with which certain midpoint intervals of income and occupation fell into each educational class interval were recorded. From the total frequency of each midpoint for occupation and income, a mean class interval was computed and taken to be the revised midpoint score for that interval of education. This procedure rendered the education midpoints comparable to the other dimensions. The revised midpoints for education are given in Table 5.

With these modifications completed, status inconsistency was operationalized as present anytime a midpoint exceeded another by twenty or more points. The selection of the twenty point "discrepancy constant" was chosen because it divided the male-heads-of-household category so that roughly 2/3 were defined as consistent and 1/3 as inconsistent: status consistent = 375, or 62.5%; status inconsistent = 225, or 37.5%. This division was taken to mean "marked discrepancy between statuses." Although slightly less marked than the definition of Lenski's, it was felt that this would provide a sufficient number of people to work with, while not completely destroying the effects of status inconsistency.⁷

In comparing each individual's midpoints, it was possible not only to determine whether or not general inconsistency was present, but also to

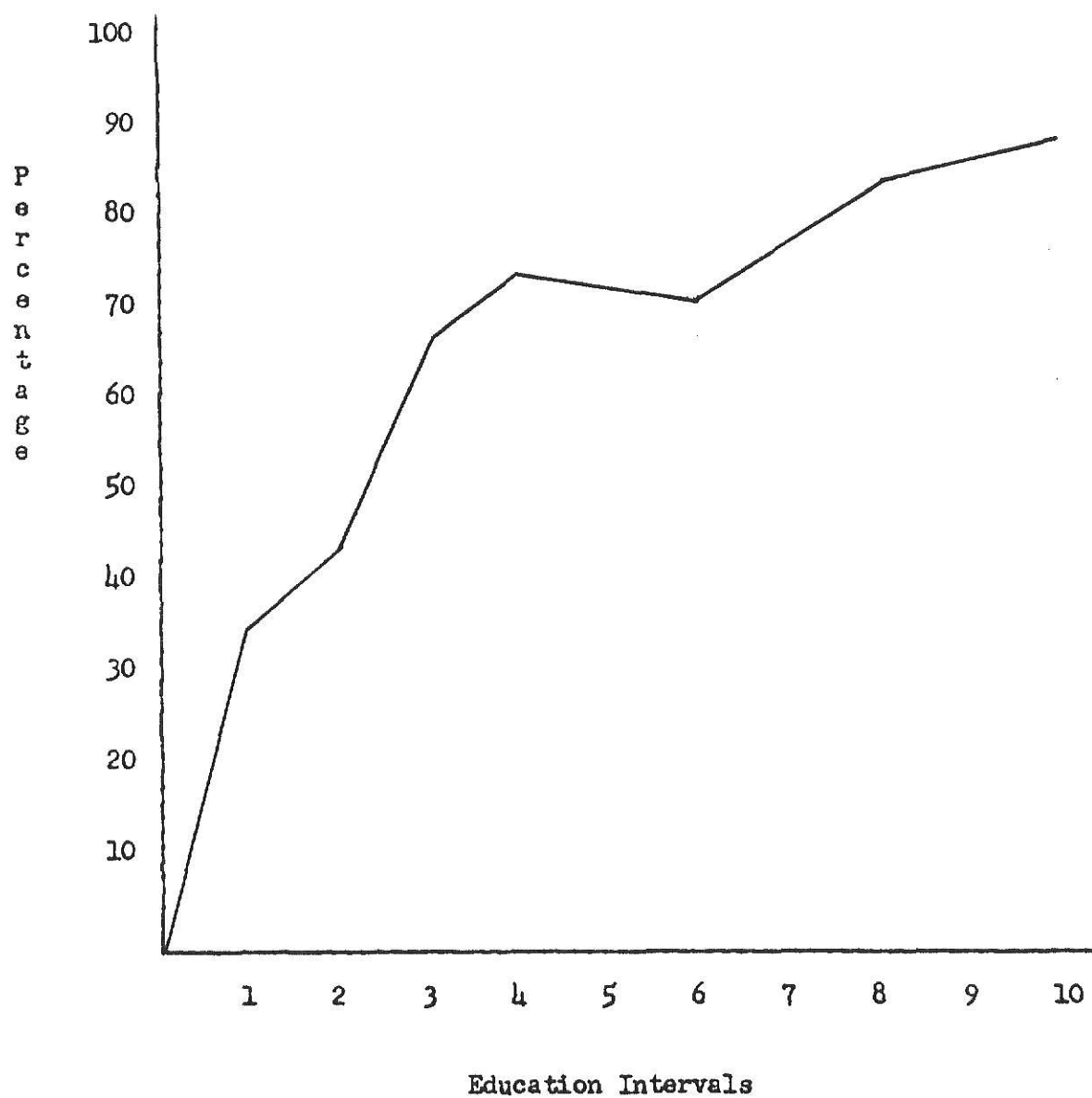
⁷See for example: Andrzej Malewski, "The Degree of Incongruence and Its Effects," in Bendix and Lipset (eds.), Class, Status, and Party, (second edition; New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 303-308; Gerhard E. Lenski, "Comment on Kenken's Communication," American Sociological Review, 21:3, (June, 1956), pp. 386-389; and Gerhard E. Lenski, Power and Privilege (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 86-87.

TABLE 5:
Education: Hierarchical Arrangement,
and Revised Midpoints*

<u>Level of Education</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Revised Midpoints</u>
10) University with Degree	35	86
9) University without Degree	1	84
8) Qualified for Admission to University	23	82
Intermediate Levels		
7) Professional and Technical School	40	77
6) High School, without Passing Examinations	9	67
5) Qualified for Examinations	93	71
4) High School	13	72
3) Trade School	52	67
2) Completed Elementary School	616	43
1) Did Not Complete Elementary School	406	36
	<u>1288</u>	

*For original German categories, see Appendix II.

FIGURE 6:
Education: Revised Frequency Distribution



denote the direction of subtype inconsistency. Thus, this method discerned both general and subtype inconsistency. The various types of inconsistency and the number and percentage of respondents so classified are reproduced in Table 6, page 32.

C. THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR

As mentioned, the present study made use of a public opinion survey of the German citizens. As such, the attitudinal portion of the survey was not designed to conform to the standard statistical and methodological procedures which are generally employed in sociological scale construction. Accordingly, those questions which were chosen to reflect liberal or conservative political attitudes did not have a reliability coefficient, and thus, their dimensionality is unknown. For this reason, the questions were taken at face value, and it was inferred that they adequately reflected the dimension being examined. The questions which were chosen for this purpose and the inferences which were made are as follow:

Political Behavior. The actual political behavior of respondents was determined by the way in which they reported voting in the federal election of 1965 and how they intended to vote in the upcoming elections in September, 1969.

The two major political parties in Germany for which the respondents could have chosen to vote were the German Social Democratic Party (SPD), and the Christian Democratic Union, along with its Bavarian affiliate, the Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU). The older of the two parties is the SPD which has been in existence, in one form or another, for

TABLE 6:
Status Inconsistency:
Types, Number, and Percentage

<u>Type</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1) All Three Variables Consistent	375	63.8
2) Occ. and Educ. Consistent: Income High	52	8.4
3) Occ. and Educ. Consistent: Income Low	80	12.9
4) Occ. and Income Consistent: Education High	13	2.1
5) Occ. and Income Consistent: Education Low	33	5.3
6) Educ. and Income Consistent: Occupation High	23	3.7
7) Educ. and Income Consistent: Occupation Low	5	0.8
8) All Inconsistent: Occ. Highest, Income Lowest	5	0.8
9) All Inconsistent: Occ. Highest, Educ. Lowest	5	0.8
10) All Inconsistent: Educ. Highest, Income Lowest	3	0.5
11) All Inconsistent: Income Highest, Educ. Lowest	6	1.0
		<hr/> 100.0
12) Total of All Inconsistents: Categories 8, 9, 10, and 11 Collapsed	19	3.1
13) Total of All Inconsistents, Regardless of Type or Direction of Inconsistency	225	36.2

over a century.⁸ When founded in 1860, the SPD was avowedly a working-class party based upon traditional socialist lines of thought. Although subsequent political realities have forced the SPD to abandon its earlier goals of eradicating the evils of capitalism by destroying the institution of private property, it still represents the most liberal major political party in Germany.⁹

The younger, more politically dominant and heterogenous CDU/CSU, represents primarily a middle-of-the-road to a right-of-the-middle orientation. The relatively conservative tradition of the CDU and its affiliate is evident in the motivation behind its formation. Established in 1945 by Catholics and Protestants who had belonged to a half dozen right-of-center or middle-of-the-road parties, the immediate cohesiveness of the party came not so much from common political attitudes and beliefs, but from the common fear of the anticipated strength of leftist oriented parties. The ability of the party to maintain its livelihood in face of its internal heterogeneity appears to have stemmed from this common element.¹⁰ For these reasons, a vote, or intended vote, for the SPD was interpreted as primarily liberal in orientation, while a vote for the CDU/CSU was interpreted as somewhat more conservative or middle-of-the-road in nature.

The inclusion of two minor parties would have more adequately defined the demarcation between the extremely liberal and conservative voting preferences of the sample. These were the National Democratic Party (NPD), or the Neo-Nazi Party, and the Free Democrats (FDP). These two parties appear to represent the extremes of the political spectrum in Germany. The NPD

⁸Lewis J. Edinger, Politics in Germany (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), p. 256.

⁹Arnold J. Heidenheimer, The Governments of Germany (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1966), pp. 63-65.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 61-63.

represents the extreme on the right side of the political continuum, while the FDP represents the leftist extreme. Unfortunately, insufficient numbers made an analysis of these two parties impossible, so the lesser ideological division between the SPD and CDU/CSU served as the basis for comparing the effects of status inconsistency and political behavior.

The actual questions used to ascertain the voting behavior of the individuals were as follow:

Do you remember which party you voted for in the national elections of 1965?

SPD.....(Liberal)
 CDU/CSU.....(Conservative)
 FDP.....(excluded)
 NPD.....(excluded)
 DFU.....(excluded)
 Other.....(excluded)
 Did not vote.....(excluded)
 Not eligible.....(excluded)
 Don't remember.....(excluded)
 Refused answer.....(excluded)

Pretend it is the day of the national elections. Which Party would you support if it were?

SPD.....(Liberal)
 CDU/CSU.....(Conservative)
 NPD.....(excluded)
 FDP.....(excluded)
 DFU.....(excluded)
 Other.....(excluded)
 Will not vote.....(excluded)
 Not eligible.....(excluded)
 Undecided.....(excluded)
 Refused answer.....(excluded)

Political Attitudes. The conservative or liberal nature of political attitudes was determined by the respondents' reactions to questions dealing with German foreign and domestic policies. As mentioned previously, the structure of these questions does not conform to the standard methodological procedures of scale construction. Thus, the extent to which one can support the conclusions of this study are extremely limited. With this

reservation in mind, the designation of liberal and conservative attitudes on domestic and foreign policy were determined as follows.

Domestic Conservative and Liberal Attitudes. The questions used to tap the liberal or conservative attitudes of the sample within the domestic political arena dealt primarily with economic policy. The actual questions used and the interpretations made were as follow:

There are a variety of programs dealing with achieving a better economic situation.

One group says that the state must, above all, limit its social expenditures. If the government does not continuously increase social security payments, child support, and contributions to the health program, the economy will improve again.

The other group says that it is important, above all, that these limitations do not affect the little man. If the government does not have enough money for the recipient of social security, payment for the workers, and for those with large families, then the government simply has to increase the taxes for those in the higher income brackets.

Would you prefer to support the first or the second program?

The first program.....(Conservative)
 The second program.....(Liberal)
 Neither program.....(excluded)
 Don't know.....(excluded)
 No answer.....(excluded)¹¹

¹¹Es gibt verschiedene Programme, wie man eine bessere Wirtschaftslage erreichen kann.

Die einen sagen: Vor allem muss der Staat die Sozialausgaben einschränken. Wenn die Regierung die Renten, das Kindergeld und die Beihilfe an die Krankenkassen nicht, dauernd erhöht, wird sich die Wirtschaftslage wieder verbessern.

Die anderen sagen: Wichtig ist vor allem, dass die Einschränkungen nicht den kleinen Mann treffen. Wenn der Staat für die Rentner, für die Arbeiter und für die kinderreichen Familien nicht genug Geld hat, muss er eben die Steuern für die besser Verdienenden erhöhen.

Welchem Programm würden Sie eher zustimmen, dem ersten oder dem zweiten?

Foreign Conservative and Liberal Attitudes. The respondents' conservative or liberal attitudes towards German foreign policy were determined primarily by whether or not the individual favored more autonomy or international cooperation in German foreign affairs. The favoring of more cooperation between nations was taken as the liberal response, while more autonomy in German foreign policy was determined to be the more conservative response. The main reasons behind this decision were that the favoring of autonomy in German international relations reflected the long conservative view of a German folk, relatively free from, and superior to, the other nationalities of the world. For a more detailed accounting of this view, see Eugen Lupri's discussion of this philosophy as reflected in the conservative programs of the NPD.¹² The question used to determine liberal or conservative attitudes was as follows:

What type of foreign policy do you feel would best serve the German Republic?

Policy A: Closer Cooperation with the U. S.....(Liberal)
 Policy B: Closer Cooperation in the Common
 Market.....(Liberal)
 Policy C: More autonomy in German foreign policy.....(Conservative)
 Cannot decide.....(excluded)
 Don't know.....(excluded)
 No answer.....(excluded)

Policy alternatives A and B were collapsed into a single "liberal" category.

Satisfactory Social Interaction. A final question dealing with the degree of community satisfaction was included as part of the analysis

Dem ersten Programm.....(Conservative)
Dem zweiten Programm.....(Liberal)
 Neither program.....(excluded)
 Don't know.....(excluded)
 No answer.....(excluded)

¹²Eugen Lupri, Notes on the Social Bases of the Neo-Nazi Movement in West Germany, p. 9.

in order to determine whether or not inconsistency in Germany was also related to unsatisfactory patterns of social interaction as appears to be the case in the United States.¹³ Although this is not a direct test of this hypothesis, it was nevertheless reasoned that if unsatisfactory social interaction was present, then it would reflect itself with dissatisfaction with the community of which the individual was a member. The question and the inference drawn were as follows:

Do you feel at home in your present community?

Is Homelike.....(Satisfactory social interaction)
 Isn't Homelike.....(Unsatisfactory social interaction)
 Don't know.....(excluded)
 No answer.....(excluded)

In summary, the foregoing discussion represents the dependent variables which were used in the present study. As can be seen, they are rather ambiguous in nature and not strictly definitive in terms of liberal or conservative biases which have been inferred. Thus, all findings must be held as tentative until more refined measures of the dependent variable are constructed for the specific purpose of measuring the liberal or conservative attitudes of the German citizenry.

D. METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

The test statistic which was used to determine whether or not a statistically significant relationship existed between the independent and dependent variables was the standard chi square test of association.¹⁴ Because of the nominal nature of the dependent variable, it was felt that this would represent an adequate test for the purposes of this thesis.

¹³Gerhard E. Lenski, "Social Participation and Status Crystallization," American Sociological Review, 21:4 (August, 1956), pp. 458-464.

¹⁴Herbert M. Blalock, Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960), pp. 212-221.

The rejection region of .01 was chosen as the level of significance. This was done in accordance with criteria set forth by Sanford Labovitz in his discussion of the sacredness of the .05 level of significance.¹⁵ The suggestion made by Labovitz was that a small level of significance be selected if 1) the results are opposed to previous empirical findings, 2) the sample size reaches a large N, and 3) the degree of control in the original design is weak. Since all three of these were present, it was decided to select the smaller .01 level of significance, as opposed to the conventional .05. The increased risk of committing a type one error, or rejecting a true hypothesis, was felt to be acceptable in this case.

In certain cases of subtype inconsistency, the cell values in the chi square calculation became exceedingly small. In such cases, the decision was made to drop a sufficiently small n from analysis. The decisions to either include or exclude certain small cell values was determined by the rule of thumb set forth by H. M. Walker and J. Lev.¹⁶ In general, when any expected cell frequency fell below five it was excluded.

¹⁵Sanford Labovitz, "Criteria for Selecting a Significance Level," American Sociologist, 3:2 (1968), pp. 220-222.

¹⁶H. M. Walker and J. Lev, Statistical Inference (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1953), p. 107.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings of the present study. As will be recalled from Chapter I, the original problem to which this thesis was addressed concerned the possibility of using the independent variable of status inconsistency to predict political behavior, attitudes, and degree of community satisfaction. As such, two separate but related areas of analysis were pursued. First of all, general inconsistency between the rank positions of the respondents was examined in order to determine if this concept bore any relationship to the dependent variables under study. The second area of analysis dealt with the effect of specific subtypes of inconsistency. The first part of this chapter is devoted to general inconsistency, while the latter is devoted to the effects of the subtypes.

A. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GENERAL INCONSISTENCY AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR, ATTITUDES, AND COMMUNITY SATISFACTION

Political Behavior. To determine whether or not inconsistency between statuses in general led to significantly more liberal or more conservative political behavior, the voting behavior of the sample was compared in terms of how they self-reported their voting in the national elections of 1965, and how they intended to vote in the upcoming 1969 elections. The results of this analysis are presented in Tables 7 and 8. (The variations in totals between these two tables, and all of those to follow are due to the fact that certain possible responses were excluded from the analysis.)

TABLE 7:
Distribution of Respondents
by Reported Previous Voting Behavior in '65 Elections
and General Inconsistency

Previous Party Preference	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Inconsistent
SPD	62 (162)	58 (90)
CDU/ CSU	38 (99)	42 (66)
Total	100 (261)	100 (156)

$\chi^2 = 0.749$; N.S.

TABLE 8:
Distribution of Respondents
by Indicated Voting Behavior in '69 Elections
and General Inconsistency

Indicated Party Preference	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Inconsistent
SPD	61 (149)	59 (77)
CDU/ CSU	39 (94)	41 (54)
Total	100 (243)	100 (131)

$\chi^2 = 0.230$; N.S.

As can be seen from both of these tables, the variable of general inconsistency did not significantly differentiate between either the reported voting behavior or the expected voting behavior of these two groups. In neither case did the chi square approach an acceptable level of statistical significance. Although the data suggest a slight increase in favor of the more conservative CDU/ CSU among inconsistent respondents, the direction of

the relationship was so slight that no conclusion was warranted. Thus, the hypothesis was not supported. Whether or not this was due to the cancelling effects of subtype inconsistency will be examined shortly.

Political Attitudes. The next question examined was whether or not general inconsistency satisfactorily differentiated between the political attitudes of the sample. As mentioned in the previous chapter, both domestic and foreign attitudes are included as part of this stage of the analysis. The results of the analysis are presented in Tables 9 and 10.

TABLE 9:
Distribution of Respondents by Liberal or
Conservative Attitude toward German Domestic
Policy and General Inconsistency

Attitude toward Domestic Policy	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Inconsistent
Liberal	83 (246)	86 (148)
Conservative	17 (50)	14 (24)
Total	100 (296)	100 (172)

$\chi^2 = 0.705$; N.S.

TABLE 10:
Distribution of Respondents by Liberal or
Conservative Attitude toward German Foreign
Policy and General Inconsistency

Attitude toward Foreign Policy	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Inconsistent
Liberal	53 (187)	52 (103)
Conservative	47 (162)	48 (94)
Total	100 (349)	100 (197)

$\chi^2 = 0.085$; N.S.

Again, the use of the independent variable did not differentiate the responses of the two groups, neither was there a discernible pattern in the data. Thus, the hypothesis was rejected. The general conclusion derived from this portion of the analysis was that general inconsistency between the status achieved rankings of occupation, education, and income was not a significant predictor of the respondents' political behavior or attitudes.

Theoretically, however, it was possible that the response to the strain incurred by inconsistent statuses was not reflected politically, but interpersonally. To examine this possibility, the satisfaction of the respondent with his community was analyzed. If the effect of inconsistency was expressed interpersonally, it should present itself with an increasing frequency of dissatisfactory responses when evaluating the "homelike" conditions of his community. The following table summarizes the data dealing with this question:

TABLE 11:
Distribution of Respondents by
Satisfaction with Community
and General Inconsistency

Reaction to Community	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Inconsistent
Satisfactory	84 (326)	85 (186)
Unsatisfactory	16 (64)	15 (33)
Total	100 (390)	100 (219)

$\chi^2 = 0.189$; N.S.

As can be seen from the table, there was no statistically significant difference between the respondent's evaluation of the community and whether or not he was subject to general inconsistency between achieved statuses. Thus, it was also concluded that general inconsistency did not affect the respondent in his interpersonal behavior. The evaluation of the community was apparently determined by some variable other than that of status inconsistency.

B. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SUBTYPE INCONSISTENCY,
POLITICAL BEHAVIOR, ATTITUDES, AND
COMMUNITY SATISFACTION

It is possible that the lack of significance found in the preceding section was not due to the inherent inability of status inconsistency to differentiate responses, but to the cancelling effects of achievement, subtype inconsistencies which were included in the general category. There are the theoretical possibilities, for example, that 1) certain status inconsistent patterns are not useful, and therefore have no explanatory power, and 2) different combinations of inconsistent statuses may produce opposite effects. If either of these two conditions, or a combination of both, were present in a sufficient degree, then one would expect that the use of general inconsistency would cause a theoretical and a methodological error.

In order to examine this possibility, the effect of specific subtype inconsistencies is summarized in this section. If, upon analysis, it becomes evident that the null relations found in the preceding section were due to the cancelling effects of particular inconsistent patterns, then the use of inconsistency in the German population is given support. The specific subtype inconsistencies examined were: 1) occupation and education

consistent, with income being inconsistently high; 2) occupation and education consistent, with income inconsistently low; 3) occupation and income consistent, with education inconsistently high; 4) occupation and income consistent, with education inconsistently low; 5) education and income consistent, with occupation inconsistently high; and 6) patterns of inconsistency in which all status dimensions were inconsistent. The direction of inconsistency in the latter category was lost when collapsed, due to insufficient n, into one category.¹ A summation of the analysis using these subtypes is presented in Table 12, page 45..

Political Behavior. The effects of the specific subtype inconsistencies on the previous and anticipated voting patterns of the individual are presented in Table 12 in rows 1 and 2. Almost without exception, the specific direction of status inconsistency had no effect upon the voting inclinations of the respondents. In only one case, (Table 12 row 1, column 4), occupation and income consistent with education inconsistently low, did the chi square value reach the statistically significant .01 level. In all other cases, the chi square test of association led to the acceptance of the null hypothesis. It would thus appear that the lack of association between general inconsistency and the voting behavior found in the previous section cannot be attributed to the cancelling effect of inconsistent patterns. It was therefore concluded that the variable of inconsistency, either general or specific, had no statistical relationship to political behavior.

¹The only possible combination of inconsistent statuses not examined was that of consistency between the education and income dimensions, with occupation inconsistently low. Insufficient numbers in this category render analysis impossible.

TABLE 12*:
The Relationship Between Subtype
Status Inconsistency and the Dependent Variables

	Occ/Ed, Con. Inc., High	Occ/Ed, Con. Inc., Low	Occ/Inc, Con. Ed., High	Occ/Inc, Con. Ed. Low	Ed/Inc, Con. Occ., High	All Incons.
Previous Voting Behavior	$\chi^2 = 5.174$; N.S. N = 291	$\chi^2 = 0.009$; N.S. N = 318	$\chi^2 = 0.168$; N.S. N = 270	$\chi^2 = 12.369$; S. N = 283	$\chi^2 = 0.001$; N.S. N = 277	$\chi^2 = 1.035$; N.S. N = 279
Anticipated Voting Behavior	$\chi^2 = 0.094$; N.S. N = 273	$\chi^2 = 0.190$; N.S. N = 293	$\chi^2 = 1.026$; N.S. N = 248	$\chi^2 = 6.315$; N.S. N = 259	$\chi^2 = 0.001$; N.S. N = 256	$\chi^2 = 0.682$; N.S. N = 257
Attitude toward Domestic Policy	$\chi^2 = 0.316$; N.S. N = 335	$\chi^2 = 1.106$; N.S. N = 357	$\chi^2 = 0.013$; N.S. N = 307	$\chi^2 = 0.157$; N.S. N = 321	$\chi^2 = 3.815$; N.S. N = 315	$\chi^2 = 0.951$; N.S. N = 311
Attitude toward Foreign Policy	$\chi^2 = 1.635$; N.S. N = 397	$\chi^2 = 0.570$; N.S. N = 412	$\chi^2 = 1.150$; N.S. N = 362	$\chi^2 = 3.168$; N.S. N = 379	$\chi^2 = 0.994$; N.S. N = 369	$\chi^2 = 1.890$; N.S. N = 366
Degree of Community Satisfaction	$\chi^2 = 0.817$; N.S. N = 442	$\chi^2 = 0.003$; N.S. N = 468	$\chi^2 = 0.001$; N.S. N = 402	$\chi^2 = 1.321$; N.S. N = 423	$\chi^2 = 2.206$; N.S. N = 412	$\chi^2 = 0.010$; N.S. N = 403

Degree of Freedom for all cells = 1.

*For original contingency tables and analysis see Appendix III, p. .

The one pattern of inconsistency which does reach the statistical level of significance, however, deserves comment. In the case of consistency between occupation and income, but inconsistently low education, the data revealed an increasing frequency of voting behavior toward the more conservative oriented CDU/CSU. This is comparable with Rush's findings in the United States, in that inconsistencies resulting from low educational status led to a higher frequency of right-wing extremist responses.² It would thus appear that the similar structural conditions between the two societies led to somewhat similar political responses. If it can be demonstrated that this is due to the combined effects of the inconsistent patterns, rather than the sole effect of the educational variable, then an interesting basis for cross-national comparison may be evident. The direction of this relationship is continued in the anticipated voting behavior of the respondents, Table 12 row 2, in the 1969 elections. Although it does not reach the statistical level of significance, the direction of the responses is in the predicted direction.

Political Attitudes. The analysis of the relationship between subtype inconsistency, domestic, and foreign political attitudes is presented in Table 12 rows 3 and 4. Again, apply the chi square test of association to this portion of the analysis, and it can be concluded that the use of the variable did not bear any association to the political attitudes expressed by the individual respondents. In no case did the observed chi square approach the level of statistical significance. Using this analysis as a basis for decision, then, one must again accept, without exception, the null

²Gary B. Rush, "Status Consistency and Right-Wing Extremism," American Sociological Review, 32:1 (February, 1967), p. 91.

hypothesis: The general conclusion being that inconsistency was not associated with the political attitudes of the sample.³

Community Satisfaction. The final portion of data analysis was to ascertain whether or not the response to inconsistent patterns of status rankings was directed in an interpersonal form, rather than political. In utilizing the degree to which the respondent felt at home and was satisfied with his community as a rough index of this possibility, it was concluded that inconsistency of statuses did not affect this variable either. (See Table 12 row 5.)

In no case did the specific pattern of inconsistency serve to differentiate statistically the difference in the frequency of reported satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the present community. Thus, as with political attitudes and, in most cases, with political behavior, the null hypothesis was accepted. It did not appear that the particular combination of inconsistent patterns had any effect upon the degree to which the individual felt at home and was satisfied with his community.

The lack of association, therefore, previously found between general inconsistency and these variables cannot be attributed to the cancelling effects of subtype inconsistencies. The only effect of the analysis of subtype inconsistencies was to reaffirm and support the original conclusion that inconsistency did not serve to differentiate the frequency of responses to these questions.

³Although the .01 level was not reached, the distribution of responses in the occupation and income consistent, education inconsistently low category, was in the predicted direction. Thus, weak support is added to the previously observed relationship between this category and a tendency toward more conservative voting behavior. See Appendix III, Tables 16 and 22.

C. GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

To summarize the preceding, it must be concluded that insofar as the present data was concerned, the attempt to link status inconsistency between the three achieved dimensions of occupation, education, and income and political behavior, attitudes, and degree of community satisfaction was unsuccessful. The uses to which the variable has been put in the United States did not appear transferrable to the German sample. The conclusions which follow are possible reasons for the lack of this relationship.

First and foremost, the lack of an observable relationship between the variables examined may be a function of the nature of the dependent variable itself. The dependent variables are likely so undefined that they did not adequately differentiate the extremes of responses of the individual. Thus, the lack of significant relationships stems not from the analytical merits of the independent variable, but from the randomness and lack of demarcation inherent in the individual responses to the dependent variables. Until some scientific reliability and variability (so as to analyze extremes of responses) is built into the notions of liberalism-conservatism and social interaction, the exact effect of status inconsistency will not be ascertainable. Unfortunately, no such reliability or variability was evident in this study; thus, the ability to assess the analytical potential of the status inconsistency model is severely hampered, if not rendered impossible, (a high probability exists that the findings are an artifact of the study's design and not due to the merit of the theory). In making the rather unwarranted assumption, however, that the same lack of relationship would occur if a more adequate dependent variable were to be employed, then a further possibility is opened up.

It is possible that status inconsistency should only be used to analyze discrepant statuses between ascribed and achieved dimensions. The present study, following Rush, dealt only with inconsistency between achieved status rankings. Thus, whereas no discernible relationship was demonstrated between inconsistency among these achieved dimensions, it does not necessarily follow that inconsistency between achieved and ascribed status dimensions would lead to the same results. In fact, recent research has tended to suggest that the effects of status inconsistency are themselves more acute between achieved and ascribed combination as opposed to inconsistency between achieved dimensions only.⁴ Because of the higher social visibility of the ascribed status, and the available mechanisms for relieving the strain, a lower degree of inconsistency is necessary to achieve the strain which is incurred by inconsistent status rankings. Before one can exclude the possibility of applying the concept of status inconsistency to Germany, the effects of this type of inconsistency must be assessed.

In summary, the ability to assess the usefulness of status inconsistency to predict political and interpersonal responses in the German society is severely hampered by the nature of the dependent variable used in this study. Until 1) a scientifically constructed dependent variable is employed, and 2) ascriptive-achievement status inconsistency is examined, the cross-cultural utilization of status inconsistency must remain an open question.

⁴See for example: David R. Segal, and David Knoke, "Social Mobility, Status Inconsistency and Partisan Realignment in the United States," Social Forces, 47:1 (December, 1968), pp. 154-158; Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Inconsistency and the Vote: A Four Nation Test," American Sociological Review, 32:2 (April, 1967), pp. 298-301; Leonard Broom and F. Lancaster Jones, "Status Consistency and Political Preference: The Australian Case," American Sociological Review, 35:6 (December, 1970), pp. 989-1001; and David R. Segal, "Status Inconsistency, Cross Pressures, and American Political Behavior," American Sociological Review, 34:3 (June, 1969), pp. 352-359.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

GERMAN OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE LEVELS

BERUF DES HAUSHALTUNGSVORSTANDES
(German)Selbständige

(15)*	** (4) Kleinere Selbständige
(20)	(6) Mittlere Selbständige
(30)	(10) Größere Selbständige

Angestellte

(10)	(3) Ausführende Angestellte
(16)	(5) Qualifizierte Angestellte
(27)	(9) Leitende Angestellte

Beamte

(10)	(3) Untere Beamte
(16)	(5) Mittlere Beamte
(23)	(7) Höhere Beamte

Arbeiter

(1)	(1) Ungelernte Arbeiter
(4)	(1) Angelernte Arbeiter
(9)	(1) Gewöhnliche Facharbeiter
(13)	(2) Höchst Qualifizierte Facharbeiter

Sonstige

(25)	(8) Freie Berufe
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*Prestige level accorded occupational categories.

**Numbers refer to rank categories in English, Table 3.

APPENDIX II

OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION INTERVALS
(German)

<u>Level of Education</u>	<u>Occupation Category</u>
10) Universität mit Abschluß	10) Inhaber u. Geschäfts- führere von größeren Unternehmen
9) Universität ohne Abschluß	9) Leitende Angestellte
8) Abitur	8) Freie Beruf
Mittelschule, und zwar:	
7) Höhere Fachschule mit Abschluß	7) Höhere Beamte
6) Höhere Schule ohne Abitur	6) Mittlere Selbst.
5) Mittlere Reife	5) Qualif. Angest. & Mittlere Beamte
4) Höhere Schule	4) Kleinere Selbst.
3) Handelsschule	3) Höchste Qualif. Facharbeiter
2) Volksschule, mit Abgeschlossene	2) Ausführende Angest. & Untere Beamte
1) Volksschule, ohne Abgeschlossene	1) Arbeiterinnen

APPENDIX III

ORIGINAL TABLES ANALYZING
SUBTYPE STATUS INCONSISTENCY

TABLE 1:
Distribution of Respondents
by Previous Voting Behavior in '65 Elections
and Subtype Inconsistency

Previous Party Preference	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/ Ed Consistent Income High
SPD	62 (162)	80 (24)
CDU/ CSU	38 (99)	20 (6)
Total	100 (261)	100 (30)

$\chi^2 = 5.174$; N.S.

TABLE 2:
Distribution of Respondents
by Previous Voting Behavior in '65 Elections
and Subtype Inconsistency

Previous Party Preference	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/ Ed Consistent Income Low
SPD	62 (162)	61 (35)
CDU/ CSU	38 (99)	39 (22)
Total	100 (261)	100 (57)

$\chi^2 = 0.009$; N.S.

TABLE 3:
Distribution of Respondents
by Previous Voting Behavior in '65 Elections
and Subtype Inconsistency

Previous Party Preference	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/ Inc Consistent Education High
SPD	62 (162)	56 (5)
CDU/ CSU	38 (99)	44 (4)
Total	100 (261)	100 (9)

$\chi^2 = 0.168$; N.S.

TABLE 4:
Distribution of Respondents
by Previous Voting Behavior in '65 Elections
and Subtype Inconsistency

Previous Party Preference	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/ Inc Consistent Education Low
SPD	62 (162)	27 (6)
CDU/ CSU	38 (99)	73 (16)
Total	100 (261)	100 (22)

$\chi^2 = 12.369$; S.

TABLE 5:
Distribution of Respondents
by Previous Voting Behavior in '65 Elections
and Subtype Inconsistency

Previous Party Preference	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Ed/ Inc Consistent Occupation High
SPD	62 (162)	63 (10)
CDU/ CSU	38 (99)	37 (6)
Total	100 (261)	100 (16)

$\chi^2 = 0.001$; N.S.

TABLE 6:
Distribution of Respondents
by Previous Voting Behavior in '65 Elections
and Subtype Inconsistency

Previous Party Preference	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	All Inconsistent
SPD	62 (162)	50 (9)
CDU/ CSU	38 (99)	50 (9)
Total	100 (261)	100 (18)

$\chi^2 = 1.035$; N.S.

TABLE 7:
Distribution of Respondents
by Indicated Voting Behavior in '69 Elections
and Subtype Inconsistency

Indicated Party Preference	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/Ed Consistent Income High
SPD	61 (149)	70 (21)
CDU/ CSU	39 (94)	30 (9)
Total	100 (243)	100 (30)

$\chi^2 = 0.940$; N.S.

TABLE 8:
Distribution of Respondents
by Indicated Voting Behavior in '69 Elections
and Subtype Inconsistency

Indicated Party Preference	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/ Ed Consistent Income Low
SPD	61 (149)	58 (29)
CDU/ CSU	39 (94)	42 (21)
Total	100 (243)	100 (50)

$\chi^2 = 0.190$; N.S.

TABLE 9:
Distribution of Respondents
by Indicated Voting Behavior in '69 Elections
and Subtype Inconsistency

Indicated Party Preference	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/ Inc Consistent Education High
SPD	61 (149)	80 (4)
CDU/ CSU	39 (94)	20 (1)
Total	100 (243)	100 (5)

$\chi^2 = 1.026$; N.S.

TABLE 10:
Distribution of Respondents
by Indicated Voting Behavior in '69 Elections
and Subtype Inconsistency

Indicated Party Preference	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/ Inc Consistent Education Low
SPD	61 (149)	31 (5)
CDU/ CSU	39 (94)	69 (11)
Total	100 (243)	100 (16)

$\chi^2 = 6.315$; N.S.

TABLE 11:
Distribution of Respondents
by Indicated Voting Behavior in '69 Elections
and Subtype Inconsistency

Indicated Party Preference	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Ed/ Inc Consistent Occupation High
SPD	61 (149)	62 (8)
CDU/ CSU	39 (94)	38 (5)
Total	100 (243)	100 (13)

$\chi^2 = 0.001$; N.S.

TABLE 12:
Distribution of Respondents
by Indicated Voting Behavior in '69 Elections
and Subtype Inconsistency

Indicated Party Preference	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	All Inconsistent
SPD	61 (149)	50 (7)
CDU/ CSU	39 (94)	50 (7)
Total	100 (243)	100 (14)

$\chi^2 = 0.682$; N.S.

TABLE 13:
Distribution of Respondents by Liberal or
Conservative Attitude toward German Domestic Policy
and Subtype Inconsistency

Attitude toward Domestic Policy	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/ Ed Consistent Income High
Liberal	83 (246)	79 (31)
Conservative	17 (50)	21 (8)
Total	100 (296)	100 (39)

$\chi^2 = 0.316$; N.S.

TABLE 14:
Distribution of Respondents by Liberal or
Conservative Attitude toward German Domestic Policy
and Subtype Inconsistency

Attitude toward Domestic Policy	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/ Ed Consistent Income Low
Liberal	83 (246)	88 (54)
Conservative	17 (50)	12 (7)
Total	100 (296)	100 (61)

$\chi^2 = 1.106$; N.S.

TABLE 15:
Distribution of Respondents by Liberal or
Conservative Attitude toward German Domestic Policy
and Subtype Inconsistency

Attitude toward Domestic Policy	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/ Inc Consistent Education High
Liberal	83 (246)	82 (9)
Conservative	17 (50)	18 (2)
Total	100 (296)	100 (11)

$\chi^2 = 0.013$; N.S.

TABLE 16:
Distribution of Respondents by Liberal or
Conservative Attitude toward German Domestic Policy
and Subtype Inconsistency

Attitude toward Domestic Policy	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/ Inc Consistent Education Low
Liberal	83 (246)	80 (20)
Conservative	17 (50)	20 (5)
Total	100 (296)	100 (25)

$\chi^2 = 0.157$; N.S.

TABLE 17:
Distribution of Respondents by Liberal or
Conservative Attitude toward German Domestic Policy
and Subtype Inconsistency

Attitude toward Domestic Policy	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Ed/ Inc Consistent Occupation High
Liberal	83 (246)	100 (19)
Conservative	17 (50)	0 (0)
Total	100 (296)	100 (19)

$\chi^2 = 3.815$; N.S.

TABLE 18:
Distribution of Respondents by Liberal or
Conservative Attitude toward German Domestic Policy
and Subtype Inconsistency

Attitude toward Domestic Policy	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	All Inconsistent
Liberal	83 (246)	73 (11)
Conservative	17 (50)	27 (4)
Total	100 (296)	100 (15)

$\chi^2 = 0.951$; N.S.

TABLE 19:
Distribution of Respondents by Liberal or
Conservative Attitude toward German Foreign Policy
and Subtype Inconsistency

Attitude toward Foreign Policy	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/ Ed Consistent Income High
Liberal	53 (187)	44 (21)
Conservative	47 (162)	56 (27)
Total	100 (349)	100 (48)

$\chi^2 = 1.635$; N.S.

TABLE 20:
Distribution of Respondents by Liberal or
Conservative Attitude toward German Foreign Policy
and Subtype Inconsistency

Attitude toward Foreign Policy	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/ Ed Consistent Income Low
Liberal	53 (187)	59 (37)
Conservative	47 (162)	41 (26)
Total	100 (349)	100 (63)

$\chi^2 = 0.570$; N.S.

TABLE 21:
Distribution of Respondents by Liberal or
Conservative Attitude toward German Foreign Policy
and Subtype Inconsistency

Attitude toward Foreign Policy	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/ Inc Consistent Education High
Liberal	53 (187)	38 (5)
Conservative	47 (162)	62 (8)
Total	100 (349)	100 (13)

$\chi^2 = 1.150$; N.S.

TABLE 22:
Distribution of Respondents by Liberal or
Conservative Attitude toward German Foreign Policy
and Subtype Inconsistency

Attitude toward Foreign Policy	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/ Inc Consistent Education Low
Liberal	53 (187)	37 (11)
Conservative	47 (162)	63 (19)
Total	100 (349)	100 (30)

$\chi^2 = 3.168$; N.S.

TABLE 23:
Distribution of Respondents by Liberal or
Conservative Attitude toward German Foreign Policy
and Subtype Inconsistency

Attitude toward Foreign Policy	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Ed/ Inc Consistent Occupation High
Liberal	53 (187)	65 (13)
Conservative	47 (162)	35 (7)
Total	100 (349)	100 (20)

$\chi^2 = 0.994$; N.S.

TABLE 24:
Distribution of Respondents by Liberal or
Conservative Attitude toward German Foreign Policy
and Subtype Inconsistency

Attitude toward Foreign Policy	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	All Inconsistent
Liberal	53 (187)	71 (12)
Conservative	47 (162)	29 (5)
Total	100 (349)	100 (17)

$\chi^2 = 1.890$; N.S.

TABLE 25:
Distribution of Respondents by
Satisfaction with Community
and Subtype Inconsistency

Reaction to Community	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/ Ed Consistent Income High
Satisfactory	84 (326)	88 (46)
Unsatisfactory	16 (64)	12 (6)
Total	100 (390)	100 (52)

$\chi^2 = 0.817$; N.S.

TABLE 26:
Distribution of Respondents by
Satisfaction with Community
and Subtype Inconsistency

Reaction to Community	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/ Ed Consistent Income Low
Satisfactory	84 (326)	83 (65)
Unsatisfactory	16 (64)	17 (13)
Total	100 (390)	100 (78)

$\chi^2 = 0.003$; N.S.

TABLE 27:
Distribution of Respondents by
Satisfaction with Community
and Subtype Inconsistency

Reaction to Community	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/ Inc Consistent Education High
Satisfactory	84 (326)	83 (10)
Unsatisfactory	16 (64)	17 (2)
Total	100 (390)	100 (12)

$\chi^2 = 0.001$; N.S.

TABLE 28:
Distribution of Respondents by
Satisfaction with Community
and Subtype Inconsistency

Reaction to Community	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Occ/ Inc Consistent Education Low
Satisfactory	84 (326)	76 (25)
Unsatisfactory	16 (64)	24 (8)
Total	100 (390)	100 (33)

$\chi^2 = 1.321$; N.S.

TABLE 29:
Distribution of Respondents by
Satisfaction with Community
and Subtype Inconsistency

Reaction to Community	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	Ed/ Inc Consistent Occupation High
Satisfactory	84 (326)	95 (21)
Unsatisfactory	16 (64)	5 (1)
Total	100 (390)	100 (22)

$\chi^2 = 2.206$; N.S.

TABLE 30:
Distribution of Respondents by
Satisfaction with Community
and Subtype Inconsistency

Reaction to Community	Status Characteristics	
	Consistent	All Inconsistent
Satisfactory	84 (326)	85 (11)
Unsatisfactory	16 (64)	15 (2)
Total	100 (390)	100 (13)

$\chi^2 = 0.010$; N.S.

STATUS INCONSISTENCY AND WEST GERMAN
POLITICAL ATTITUDES, BEHAVIOR, AND DEGREE OF COMMUNITY SATISFACTION

by

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B. A. Fort Hays Kansas State College, 1968

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The theory of status inconsistency states that a condition of rank dissimilarity across the key dimensions of stratification leads to normative conflict and dilemmas of status. This, in turn, is experienced by the individual who holds an inconsistent status profile in terms of stress and strain. This strain is manifested in certain attitudinal and behavioral inclinations which are not predictable from a knowledge of the individual's overall class or status position. Passively, the individual may respond by withdrawing from social participation in order to escape, or at least reduce, those social situations in which normative conflict becomes operative. Actively, he may attempt to restructure the situation through political involvement.

The possibility of applying the theory of status inconsistency to the political attitudes and behavior, and degree of satisfaction with one's community of a national sample of the West German population was the overall problem to which this thesis was addressed. Because status inconsistency makes use of variables which are common to industrial societies, its application to these societies would seem warranted. To date, however, it has not been extensively utilized for this purpose. If its cross-cultural use proves fruitful, then another variable has been added which can be used for comparison of modern stratification systems and their effects.

To partially assess its applicability to the West German society, the independent variable in this study was defined as marked dissimilarity between the three achieved statuses of occupation, income, and education. The following hypotheses were tested to determine whether or not this variable could be used as a basis for the prediction of political and

interpersonal behavior:

Hypothesis 1: Individuals characterized by inconsistency between the achieved status dimensions of occupation, education, and income are more likely to be conservative in their political attitudes and behavior than individuals who are characterized by status consistency.

Hypothesis 2: Individuals characterized by inconsistency between the achieved status dimensions of occupation, education, and income are more likely to negatively evaluate the "homelike" qualities of their community than individuals who are characterized by status consistency.

In applying the chi square test of association, it was concluded that inconsistency between the status variables exhibited no relationship to either political attitudes and behavior, or degree of community satisfaction. The possibility of subtype inconsistency canceling out the effects of the general inconsistency category was then examined. This portion of the analysis only served to reinforce the previous conclusion. In only one instance of subtype inconsistency (low education, consistent income and occupation) did the chi square value reach the .01 level of statistical significance.

It was therefore generally concluded that achievement inconsistency between the three variables of occupation, education, and income did not bear any relationship to the dependent variables which were examined. Before the use of status inconsistency is ruled out entirely, however, the effects of dissimilarities between achieved and ascribed statuses should be examined. This study dealt only with inconsistency between the achieved statuses, and cannot be used to generalize the effects of status inconsistency among other dimensions.