Status Inconsistency and Cross-Pressures

STATUS INCONSISTENCY, CROSS-PRESSURES AND SEPARATISM: THE QUEBEC CASE

by

CHRISTINE A. CARRON

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

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ABSTRACT

Status inconsistency in this thesis is conceptualized as a subset of cross-pressures, and as such, Lenski's theory of status inconsistency and Lipset's theory of cross-pressures make contradictory predictions. While the former predicts that status inconsistents will support social change, the latter predicts that they will become politically apathetic. Each of these theories is tested along with certain modifications in order to resolve this contradiction. The results of the study show that status discrepancy is not related to support for social change (whether measured by vote for the Parti Quebecois or attitudinal support for separatism) as the Lenski hypothesis suggests, nor is it related to political apathy (measured by non-voting) as the Lipset hypothesis suggests. Tests of the social-psychological model underlying the two theories reveal that while there is no relationship between discrepancy and stress or stress and political apathy, there is a relationship between stress and support for social change.

RESUME

Les statuts inconsistents sont envisagés dan cette thèse comme un sous-ensemble des pressions contradictoires; donc la théorie de l'inconsistence des statuts de Lenski, et la théorie des pressions contradictoires de Lipset amenent à deux prédictions qui s'opposent. La première prédit que ceux qui ont des statuts inconsistents supporteront le changement social, tandis que la deuxième prédit que ces gens deviendront apathiques sur le plan politique. Les deux théories, et certaines modifications de ces théories sont analysées dans le but de resoudre cette contradiction. Les resultats de cette étude démontrent qu'il n'y a aucun rapport entre les différences de statuts et, soit l'appui pour des changement sociaux (measuré par vote pour le Parti Québécois et sympathie pour le séparatisme), soit l'apathie politique. Tandis que les analyses faites de la théorie psycho-sociologique de laquelle ces deux théories dependent, n'ont démontré aucun rapport entre les différences de statuts et la tension, ou la tension et l'apathie politique, elles ont démontré un rapport substantiel entre la tension et l'appui pour des changement sociaux.

PREFACE

I am indebted to Professor Michael P. Carroll for accepting to be my thesis advisor and for the close supervision and encouragement which he has given so generously throughout the course of this thesis. I am also indebted to Professor Maurice Pinard who allowed me to use his data and who provided useful comments on earlier drafts of the thesis. I would like to thank Professor Donald Von Eschen for reading and commenting on the first draft of this work and Professor William T. Eaton who advised me on many of the methodological problems involved in the study.

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None of the persons or organizations mentioned above however, are responsible for any errors which may appear in this work, they are entirely the result of my own short-comings.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Briefly, the theory of status inconsistency maintains that when an individual occupies incongruent positions on two or more status dimensions, tension will arise from the fact that in certain social settings the individual will be treated in terms of his lower status while in others he will be treated in terms of his higher status (Lenski: 1954, 1956, 1964, 1967). In an effort to relieve this tension it is predicted that such individuals will support some form of social change. The research to date on status inconsistency contains a certain amount of theoretical ambiguity, conflicting results, and methodological problems. One of the goals of this thesis will be to clarify some of these theoretical and methodological issues raised by critics of status inconsistency.

The theory of cross-pressures on the other hand, as formulated by Lipset (1960) states that individuals occupying several different social categories will be subject to the stress of "cross-pressures" and will find it difficult to make political decisions. Consequently they will tend to retreat from the political process into a state of apathy. It will be shown that most of the situations which Lenski views as producing status-inconsistency can also be viewed as situations of cross-pressure in the Lipset sense (though

the reverse is probably not true). Thus, in these situations, while Lenski would predict support for social change, Lipset would predict political apathy.

For a given person in such situations these two theories make conflicting predictions. Therefore, a second goal of this thesis will be to examine this contradiction in detail in an effort to resolve the apparent inconsistency between the two theories. Some modifications of both models will be proposed and tested as well.

The third and final goal of this thesis is to test the central assumption that psychological stress is indeed the intervening variable, or causal link between the independent and dependent variables in each model. This assumption, while crucial to both theories, has never before been adequately tested.

The data to be used for this study is that of Maurice Pinard's 1970 Study of Social Movements in Quebec and in many ways is ideally suited for testing the theoretical issues at stake. With the exception perhaps of Rush's work (1967), support for social movements has never been used in testing Lenski's theory of status inconsistency. Rather, substitute variables such as percent voting Democratic or having liberal economic attitudes have typically been used to test the theory. Perhaps this is largely due to particular historical circumstances, that is, a general lack of widespread social movements in North America. The Quebec data however, gives us a very good measure of a real social change movement: support for the Part Québécois.

It is truely a measure of support for social change since it is the goal of the party to withdraw the province of Quebec from the Canadian Confederation and make it an independent state, thus hopefully correcting various social injustices which exist in Quebec. There can be no doubt that the party represents a social change movement and consequently provides a valid test of the two theories. This is important since moreso than any other case analyzed to date, the Quebec case allows us to test Lenski's theory with a dependent variable which is a true example of the dependent variable in his theory.

Review of the Literature: Status Inconsistency

Status inconsistency as first developed by Lenski (1954) was sourred by Weber's recognition that there was more than one possible dimension of stratification (class, status and parties) and that while one's positions on these dimensions did not necessarily converge, they did tend toward such convergence (Weber, 1946). He was also influenced by Benoit-Smullyan's (1944) work on status. Lenski hypothesized that an individual occupying incongruent positions on several non-vertical dimensions of stratification would face certain problems since at times he would be treated in terms of his higher status(es) and at other times in terms of his lower status(es). This ambiguous deference shown to him would create psychological stress, and in an effort to relieve this stress, the individual would attempt

to equilibrate his statuses. In order to do this, it was suggested that the individual would turn to movements advocating social change. His first published empirical test of this (1954) seemed to support his contention. The 1954 study linked status inconsistency, as defined by occupation, education, income and ethnicity to percent voting Democratic (which was taken to be an indicator of social change).

In 1956, Lenski extended his theory, specifying that if status inconsistency caused stress due to inconsistent treatment of the individual by others, the person whose status was not well crystallized would attempt to avoid these stressful situations, thus status inconsistency should be related to social isolation. Indeed, this is what Lenski showed: that individuals with poorly crystallized statuses were less likely to interact with their neighbors and less likely to become members of voluntary organizations. This study was followed by another in which Goffman (1957) replicated Lenski's 1954 study. Defining inconsistency in terms of income, occupation, and education, Goffman found a relationship between status inconsistency and preference for change in the distribution of power amongst five "institutions": 1) state governments, 2) big business, 3) labor unions, 4) businesses that are not large, and 5) the National government. However, by suggesting that status inconsistency had its greatest effect when "the individual is prevented from reducing status inconsistency" Goffman

provided the rationale for the emphasis on the pattern of achieved-ascribed inconsistencies which was to be found in later investigations. Thus, Lenski (1964) adopted the view that differences between ascribed statuses and achieved statuses were more crucial than other forms of inconsistency in producing support for social change. This was true he stated due to the fixed nature of ascribed statuses, rendering them impossible to change, thus increasing stress.

Jackson (1972) reported that inconsistency resulting from high ascribed status (racial-ethnic ranks) and low achieved status (occupational-educational ranks) produced symptoms of psychological stress, while all other patterns of inconsistency did not. He notes however, that in previous research both patterns have been linked with political liberalism. The interpretation he gives to these results is that while all forms of status inconsistency may give rise to stress, the response to the stress will vary with the relative position of a person's achieved and ascribed statuses. Jackson found that sex also influences the response to types of inconsistency.

In a cross-cultural four nation test of his theory, Lenski (1967) examined twenty-five different surveys of voting behavior for the countries Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States. He found in twenty-one of the twenty-five tests he made that status inconsistency, as measured by occupational class and socio-religious group, was associated with left, or left of center political views. At

one point, Lenski introduces regional controls by province for Canada. The effect of this was to increase the strength of the inconsistency effect for some provinces, with Quebec exhibiting the greatest inconsistency effect. Unfortunately, Lenski offers no explanation for these results. Perhaps they are due to the fact that 80% of Quebecers are native french speaking, a status which in Canada may be considered as a low ascribed status. Thus, by controlling for province, perhaps Lenski was really controlling for ethnicity, or a third status variable, which had the effect of increasing the degree of status inconsistency and thus its effect. Britain however, was somewhat of an exception to the general relationship between inconsistency and liberal political attitudes which Lenski discovered in the other three countries. Lenski attributed this to the fact that there is a lack of saliency of socio-religious group statuses in Britain since she has such a homogeneous religious composition.

Thus, the initial literature did seem to support the contention that status inconsistency is related to desire for social change. Further this relation would seem to be most pronounced when the inconsistency is produced by incongruent positions on an achieved and an ascribed status dimension. However, it should be noted that the dependent variable in most of these studies is liberal economic views, voting Democratic, or stating that one would like to see changes in government. As dependent variables, these all

differ considerably from Lenski's original dependent variable, support for social change.

The literature dealing with status inconsistency in more recent years however, is far from unambiguous, and several conflicting pieces of research have been published. Due to methodological criticisms raised by Mitchell (1964), Hyman (1966), Blalock (1966a, 1966b, 1967a, 1967b, 1967c) and others, many of the earlier results of status inconsistency research were considered to be invalid. The details of these criticisms will be discussed at some length in a later section, but briefly, the main thrust of the argument is that since most status variables tend to be correlated with political behavior, unless the appropriate controls are made for each separate status variable used in defining inconsistency, one cannot discern the degree to which the observed effects are due to the additive effects of the status variables or to some interaction (inconsistency) effect.

One of the first reports published which shed doubt on Lenski's theory was that of Kenkel (1956) who found no relationship between status inconsistency and desire for political change, which was measured by responses to questions asked regarding: 1) Taft-Hartley law, 2) foreign trade, 3) government care for the needy, 4) strikes during war time, 5) price control, 6) government ownership of aircraft industries, and 7) strictness of labor laws. It should be noted that Kenkel defined inconsistency in terms of education,

occupation, rental value of dwelling and dwelling area prestige. These variables (with the exception of education and occupation) Lenski pointed out, hardly have much salience in the social world. Lenski also pointed out that Kenkel had incorrectly calculated his consistency coefficients. Instead of comparing the most inconsistent quarter of his sample with the remaining three-quarters, as did Lenski, Kenkel compared the most inconsistent half of his sample with the least inconsistent half, thus reducing the power of the test.

Kelly and Chambliss (1966) in an effort to resolve the contradiction in findings reported that status inconsistency, even when measured accurately, is not as good a predictor of political attitudes as are the variables social class, and ethnicity or race. What should be noted regarding this study is that consistency was determined by position on the three status hierarchies of income, education and occupation, which are all achieved dimensions. Therefore, Kelly and Chambliss have no way of knowing whether inconsistency between any one of these dimensions and ethnic or racial status (ascribed dimensions) is a better predictor of political attitudes than race and social class. This it seems, is after all, the crucial point, especially in light of Lenski's emphasis on the importance of achieved and ascribed status differences.

A later study by Broom (1970) tests the hypothesis that status inconsistency is related to liberalism. To measure this, he uses the responses of how individuals voted in the 1964 Senate Election in Australia. His study includes three achieved measures of social status; income, occupation and education as well as one measure of the ascribed status, religion. In general, he finds that status inconsistency is not a good predictor of political liberalism except for certain combinations of inconsistent statuses; most notably those between achieved and ascribed statuses. Treiman (1970) also attempted to use status inconsistency to predict prejudice and again found it not to be a useful predictor. However, Frauman (1968) reports findings that when the variable of status inconsistency is taken together with the variable class position, prediction of interracial attitudes is improved over those obtained from a simple model including only class.

Rush (1967), has offered some evidence in support of the notion that status inconsistency predisposes individuals to support movements of social change, more specifically, extreme rightist movements. Rush uses as his dependent variable a number of attitudinal questions related to the political, economic and social issues raised by right wing groups. However, in determining status inconsistency, Rush employs only the variables income, education, and occupation. He uses no ascribed statuses, contrary to previous suggestions

by Lenski. Nevertheless, Rush does find a relationship between status inconsistency and right wing extremism. He also applies the necessary controls for each status variable used in defining inconsistency. The importance of this article of course, is that it suggests that status inconsistency is related to any kind of support for social change, regardless of on which end of the political spectrum a particular ideology lies.

Another study which also attempted to document the relationship between status inconsistency and right wing radicalism was that of Eitzen (1970). Comparing a sample of self-proclaimed Wallace supporters with a control group before the election, Eitzen finds that Wallace supporters are more likely to be status inconsistents. However, the sample size (37 individuals) makes it difficult to draw any firm conclusions from the study.

In a recent study, Laumann and Segal (1972) however, found no consistent relation between status inconsistency and liberal political views. Although their article is methodologically quite sound, the measure of ascribed status they use is a series of 15 religious categories, some of which (German Methodist, German Presbyterian or Anglo-American Methodist for example) probably have no social relevance and thus do not constitute real gradations of ascribed status. As Olson and Tully point out, "...the use of these fine nationality distinctions ignores the common theoretical argument that status

inconsistency produces political consequences only when one's ascribed status is clearly defined, salient and relatively disadvantaged. We doubt whether some of Laumann and Segal's ethno-religious categories - such as German Methodists - meet this criteria. Moreover, their sample was limited to native-born whites. They could not examine race or foreign birth as alternative kinds of ascribed statuses." (1972: p. 562)

Finally, Olson and Tully (1972) report that they found no significant relation between discrerant achieved statuses (income, occupation or education statuses) and preference for political change. However, they did find that discrepancies between overall socio-economic status and overall ethnic status were significantly related to liberal economic attitudes and Democratic voting. They conclude though, that the concept should be abandoned since it fails to explain a large portion of the variance in preference for political change.

Two things should be noted here: Lenski originally hypothesized that differences between achieved and ascribed statuses increase the "inconsistency effect" since ascribed status characteristics are usually of greater social relevance. However, an important characteristic of any "stress" experienced by the discrepancy between an ascribed and an achieved status is that it is impossible to resolve by changing the ascribed status. In the case of a low achieved/high ascribed status configuration, the discrepancy may be resolved through mobility. This is also true of discrepancies between achieved statuses. However, in the case of a low ascribed/high achieved

configuration the only way to resolve the discrepancy is through social change, for by definition, the ascribed status cannot be brought into equilibrium with the achieved one (this assumes of course, that downward mobility is not regarded as a feasible alternative). Perhaps this is why many studies have failed to find a relationship between status inconsistency and support for social change when inconsistency was defined only in terms of achieved statuses.

The recent literature on status inconsistency, then, has presented conflicting evidence in regard to the theory. Yet it does seem that the most pronounced results are obtained when one considers the case of inconsistency between achieved and ascribed statuses. While Olson and Tully (1972) found that both status combinations, high achieved/low ascribed and low achieved/high ascribed, produced an inconsistency effect, Jackson found that only the pattern, high achieved/low ascribed status produced psychological symptoms. Hopefully, this thesis will be able to assess whether 1) the effects of status inconsistency are the same for both combinations of achieved and ascribed statuses, and 2) whether status inconsistency works only when the discrepant statuses are achieved and ascribed ones, or whether there is also some effect when the discrepant statuses are solely achieved ones. Further, as it previously has been noted, all these studies use approximations of Lenski's original dependent variable, support for social change movements. This may explain why in some instances the effect

of status inconsistency on the dependent variable was not as great as had been anticipated (See the Olson and Tully study for example).

Cross-Pressures and Status Inconsistency

The theory of cross-pressures, as Lipset points out, was first formulated by George Simmel. The general theory as it exists today holds that those persons who are consistently exposed to cross-pressures are less likely to have firm political convictions. Cross-pressures arise from group membership in institutions, voluntary organizations or social categories which predispose the individual to conflicting political or social pressures. According to Lipset, such cross-pressures create a certain tension within the individual, who in attempting to cope with this unpleasant situation may withdraw into a state of apathy. This state of apathy, Lipset posits, leads to non-voting. The theory of cross-pressures may be seen as analogous to Lenski's theory of status inconsistency in that status positions in a status hierarchy, just as membership in organizations and social categories, carry with them expectations of behavior, political predispositions etc. For example, it is known that as education increases, so does the predisposition towards conservatism. Such predispositions are most likely due to the role expectations of the individual and others as well as the

particular background formation necessary for occupation of the position. Further, it seems reasonable to assume that incongruent statuses would entail very different role expectations and background requirements, and hence, such individuals may be said to be subject to conflicting or cross-pressures. Horan (1971) has put the matter more concisely, by stating that cross-pressures is the result of having certain combinations of social background categories or membership in various organizations which because of their partisan orientations, produce stress for the individual. This stress results in the inability to make political decisions and a general withdrawal from the political process. Status positions thus may be seen as a particular subset of social categories. Yet if one concedes that cross-pressures can arise from an individual holding incongruent positions on several status dimensions, then indeed, Lipset's theory of cross-pressures and Lenski's theory of status inconsistency may be said to make conflicting predictions. Perhaps status inconsistency is best viewed as a subset of cross-pressures. For Lipset's cross-pressures is a much broader variable which includes any social category associated with partisan orientations, ethnicity, social class, or educational level, all categories typically used in defining status inconsistency. However, it also includes other categories such as exposure to media, membership in voluntary organizations, nationality, sex, neighborhood of residence etc., variables which are typically excluded in defining status inconsistency. In this

way, status inconsistency is a special case of cross-pressures, and as such, the two theories make conflicting predictions.

The literature and research up to date do not provide us with clear evidence for judging which of these two theories most accurately predicts social behavior. In fact, Lenski (1956b) himself offers support that status inconsistency may at times be related to social isolation (as principally defined by membership in voluntary organizations): a thesis which in some ways resembles Lipset's formulation that cross-pressured individuals withdraw into a state of apathy (see page 4 of this chapter). Olson (1972), has also offered substantial proof that membership in voluntary organizations is inversely related to non-voting.

The literature on cross-pressures is rather sparse, and there are even fewer articles relating cross-pressures to status inconsistency. Perhaps one of the earliest works on the subject was a study by Kriesberg (1949) which examined the opinions of union members exposed to conflicting propaganda regarding U.S. policy toward Russia. The "cross-pressured" situation was produced by exposing the workers to both Communist and Catholic literature. The result of the experiment was that workers who were defined as highly cross-pressured reacted by refusing to make a choice. However, one serious drawback of the study is that crucial data are not presented, for instance, such basic information as the percent of workers who refused to make a choice as a result of exposure to conflicting views was lacking from the report, and only

the conclusions of the study were presented.

Segal (1969) points to the problem of contradictory predictions from the two theories of status inconsistency and cross-pressures and proposes some theoretical modifications to clear up the contradiction. He suggests it makes a difference whether "a particular set of inconsistent statuses are causing stress because an individual's lower status is socially visible, or because his lower status, while not visible, becomes relevant to him under a particular set of circumstances." The specific example with which Segal concerns himself is that of Catholics during the 1960 Presidential election. He argues that while being Catholic is a low-ascribed status, it is not normally visible or socially relevant, but that the effect of the 1960 election (in which one candidate was Catholic) was to make the status socially relevant. Segal further qualifies his argument by stating that if the lower status only momentarily takes on importance, the individual's response will most likely be to withdraw from the political process. However, if his low status is such that it involves the system's constant identification of him in terms he finds disagreeable, his response will be to support social change. Segal's results are somewhat ambiguous. In examining middle class Catholics (whom he considers cross-pressured or status inconsistent) he finds that while in March of 1960, they tended to have no partisan preference, while by fall of 1960 support for the Democratic Party soared amongst this group. He attributes these unusual results to the unique aspects of the campaign and election, and in doing

so fails to settle the theoretical issues at stake.

It will be the second goal of this thesis to offer further theoretical modifications of the two theories and subject these to tests from the data in an effort to resolve these apparent contradictions in a more convincing manner. One thing which is striking about many of the results of tests of status inconsistency theory is that status discrepancies between achieved statuses usually yield totally negative results (See Laumann and Segal, Segal, Olson and Tully and Lenski articles already cited; an exception to this is the Rush Study).

It may very well be that certain status configurations increase non-voting, while others increase support for social change. It is possible too that the direction of inconsistency could make a difference in responses which attempt to deal with the stress produced by the inconsistency (Blalock: 1966). For example, high education/low income may produce a quite different (or even opposite) reaction than low education/high income. All these possibilities will be thoroughly explored within the confines of the data.

The Social-Psychological Model

Thus far the intervening variable in both theories - psychological stress - has been neglected. This variable in most studies is either assumed to be the intervening variable and never tested or is inferred from the presence of a link

between liberal attitudes and inconsistent statuses or cross-pressures. The variable itself has never really been empirically verified as the causal link in either model. (The Laumann and Segal study quoted earlier made some attempt to test this causal variable, but due to reasons mentioned earlier, their findings are questionable). Sampson (1969) and his colleagues have attempted in laboratory situations to "induce" status inconsistency situations and to study the relationship of stress to inconsistency through experimental manipulation. However, most of the status dimensions used by Sampson and his colleagues differ from those used by Lenski and the researchers discussed in the first section of this chapter. Therefore, the issue of whether stress is related to inconsistency in the Lenski-sense is still not totally answered.

Apart from the Laumann and Segal and Sampson studies the question of whether psychological stress is the intervening variable for both the Lenski and Lipset formulations has been largely unexamined. However, when testing any theoretical formulation, it is important to test <u>all</u> the causal links possible within the model; otherwise one runs the risk of misunderstanding the mechanism by which the theory operates. This would ultimately lead to a faulty prediction and inhibit further attempts to build other theories based on the original formulation. For example, if it were found that status inconsistency was indeed related to desire for social change, but that status inconsistency was not related to stress in any way, this would call into question a very

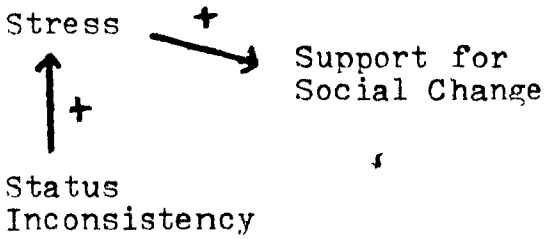
fundamental assumption of the theory, and the model would have to be revised. Thus, it will be the third and final goal of this thesis to try and document the intervening variable (stress) for both theories.

There are several ways in which the variables, stress, discrepant statuses, and either support for social change or non-voting may be related. Operating on the assumption that there is a relationship between the independent and dependent variables in each theory, the possible hypothetical relations of the intervening variable to the independent and dependent variables are diagrammed in Tables 1-1 and 1-2. Model I of both tables is the hypothesized causal ordering in Lenski and Lipset respectively. Some status discrepancy leads to stress which in turn leads to either support for social change or apathy and non-voting. The second hypothetical schemes, represented by Model II in both tables differ in that both status discrepancy and stress lead to either of the dependent variables while they themselves are unrelated. In the third hypothetical situation (Model III of both tables), status discrepancy leads to both the dependent variable and stress, while stress is in no way related to the dependent variables. Finally, in the forth situation (Model IV), status discrepancy is related to the dependent variable, but stress is totally unrelated to the other two variables of the scheme. Each of these models will be tested and assessed in light of the theory developed and the data. It should be noted that each of these models can be distinguished on the basis

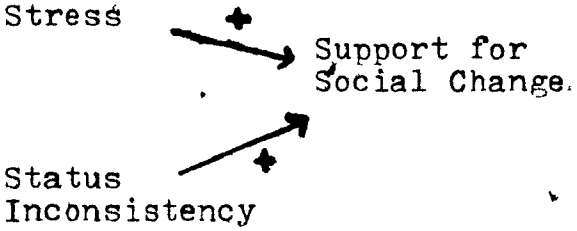
of its statistical predictions (assuming a causal ordering).

TABLE 1-1

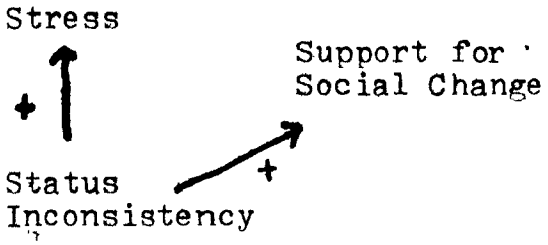
Some Alternative Causal Models Involving Stress, all of which Predict a Positive Correlation Between Status Inconsistency and Support for Social Change



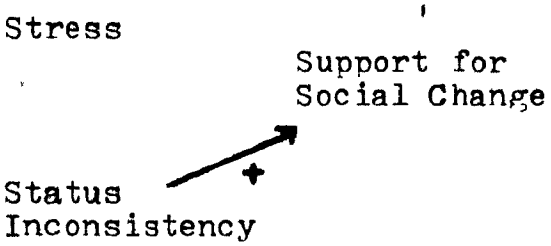
Model I
(Lenski's Original Theory)



Model II



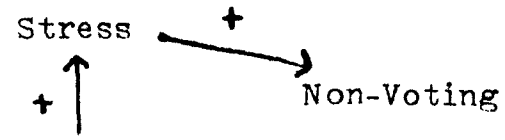
Model III



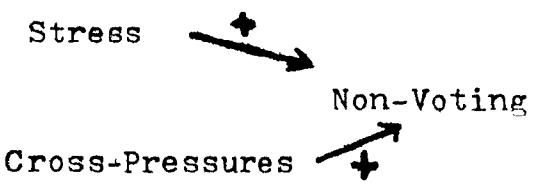
Model IV

TABLE 1-2 .

Some Alternative Models Involving Stress, All of which Predict A Positive Correlation Between Cross-Pressures and Non-Voting



Model I
(Lipset's Original Theory)



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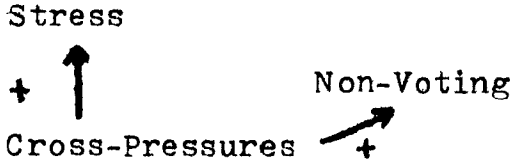
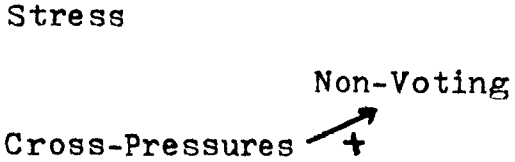


Model III



Model IV

CHAPTER II

Methodology

Methodological problems have plagued both status inconsistency and cross-pressures research for the past ten years. While most of the methodological exposés written have been with reference to status inconsistency theory, Horan (1970) points out that the same criticisms apply to cross-pressures research.

To measure inconsistency, Lenski (1954) originally proposed that for each status dimension individuals be given a percentile rank representing their position or rank on that dimension within the society. This would create equivalent measures of an individual's position on each of the status dimensions. Next, for each status dimension, Lenski took the square root of the sum of the square of the difference of each individual's percentile rank from the mean and subtracted this figure from 100. This was done, according to Lenski (1954), to exaggerate large status discrepancies. On the basis of these figures, Lenski looked for "natural breaks" in his data and divided his sample according to these breaks into quartiles for each status dimension. When examining the effects of status inconsistency, Lenski (1954) always made comparisons between the least crystallized quarter and the most crystallized three-quarters of his sample.

Because this first method for computing the inconsistency

term met with criticism (Mitchell: 1964), Lenski (1964) revised his computations. The new method called for ranking individuals on each status dimension and then dividing each dimension into two or more categories ranging from high to low. To actually calculate the inconsistency co-efficient between two status dimensions, Lenski composed a table like the following:

Table 2-1

		Status Dimension I	
		High	Low
Status Dimension II	High	A	B
	Low	C	D

The letters A through D represent the percent of individuals with the status configuration indicated by the cell and who responded positively in regard to some dependent variable (Segal: 1969). Lenski then subtracted the sums of the consistent cells from the sums of the inconsistent cells:

$$(A + D) - (C + B) = \text{Status consistency co-efficient}$$

Thus, the larger the co-efficient, the greater the effect of status inconsistency on some dependent variable (Segal:

1969).

However, there were still several criticisms to be made of this methodology. These criticisms were voiced by Hyman[1](1966) and especially by Blalock (1966, 1967). For example, if one of the status variables tends to be correlated with the dependent variable, then one does not know to what degree the observed inconsistency effect is due to the direct effect of the particular status variable or to some inconsistency effect. Put more concisely, there is an identification problem which makes it difficult to know whether one is simply observing the additive effects of certain status variables, or real interaction effects. Blalock (1967c) has gone to great lengths to show how many possible relations between status variables and the dependent variable can yield the same inconsistency coefficient with Lenski's methodology, "...it should be quite clear that the magnitude of the inconsistency component cannot be directly estimated from the empirical data. In other words, there are infinitely many possible parameter values that might have produced the same empirical results. This is the essence of the identification problem. Further, if the effects of inconsistency vary with the <u>direction</u> of inconsistency it...is even possible to have opposite inconsistency effects that produce no interaction term." (1967c: p. 306). Thus, Blalock is making two points: 1) When the status variables comprising the inconsistency measure are correlated with the dependent variable, one

cannot be sure whether the effects of inconsistency which one observes are produced by the individual component variables of the inconsistency term or by the difference between these components; and 2) If the direction of inconsistency varies with the direction of its effects (i.e. a high/low status configuration correlates positively with the dependent variable while a low/high status configuration correlates negatively), inconsistency effects will cancel each other out, producing no correlation at all.

In relation to the first point he raises, Blalock has suggested that if one is to determine whether there are inconsistency effects or not, one must utilize a methodology which simultaneously controls for all status variables involved. One obvious methodology meeting these requirements as Duncan suggests (1966) is regression analysis. However, Blalock has issued a warning about the use of regression when investigating possible interaction effects. He notes that one must make certain simplifying assumptions about the effects of inconsistency if one is to construct a solvable mathematical model of the problem. In the case of status inconsistency, he argues, if one accurately represents the theory mathematically, there are simply too many unknowns in the resulting equations for solution. Thus certain simplifying assumptions must be made; one such assumption he suggests is that extraneous factors affecting the error terms are uncorrelated. This means that the system is recursive in that antecedent variables

are taken to cause the following variables but not vice versa. He offers several other theoretical assumptions which may be made in order to reduce the number of unknowns such that one can obtain a mathematical solution. For example, he suggests that one may either assume that all degrees of status inconsistency have equal import for the dependent variable or that one may assume that intermediary degrees of inconsistency are negligible and that it is only the extreme cases of inconsistency which have significant effects on the dependent variable. In addition, one may also make the assumption that the direction of status inconsistency may determine the direction of its effects.

Thus, while regression allows us to assess the presence of interaction or inconsistency effects over and above the additive effects of the main variables used in constructing the inconsistency term, it must be employed with caution and certain a priori theoretical assumptions must be made.

Methodology For This Study

It is on the basis of these criticisms that the particular methodologies employed in this study were chosen. The overall methodology used when investigating for the possible effects of either status inconsistency or cross-pressures is stepwise regression. As pointed out in an earlier chapter, status inconsistency may be viewed as a subset of cross-pressures and as such, both theories are subject to the same methodological problems. Stepwise

regression as employed in this thesis is a technique whereby the two status variables used to construct the inconsistency term are individually entered into a regression equation in the first "step", and the amount of variance explained in the dependent variable is noted. Then an inconsistency term is entered into the equation and the additional variance explained by this term (over and above that of its component variables) is examined in conjunction with the significance of the F statistic to determine the magnitude and significance of status inconsistency, or cross-pressures effects, whichever the case may be.

Simplifying Assumptions

In light of Blalock's remarks regarding the necessity of certain a priori theoretical assumptions, several preliminary tests were performed on the data. First, all possible combinations of status discrepancy, or cases of cross-pressures were examined in relation to the dependent variables in an effort to determine whether the direction of inconsistency determined the direction of its effects. That is, whether ranking high on a given status dimension I and low on a given status dimension II produced opposite effects from those produced when an individual ranked low on the given status dimension I and high on the given status dimension II. This was done by creating two variables out of each inconsistency variable, one representing the high/low status configuration, the other representing the low/

high status configuration. Then, each of these two variables was correlated with the dependent variable. The signs of the two correlations produced for each status dimension were examined to see if one variable was negatively correlated with the dependent variable while the other was positively correlated. If this were found to be the case, then it would be concluded that direction of inconsistency affects the direction of its effects, and certain adjustments would have to be made. However, in no instance was this found to be the case for status discrepancies between achieved variables, and thus for these discrepancies Blalock's simplifying assumption regarding directionality was accepted. Because there is considerable evidence in the literature (see Jackson: 1972, Broom: 1970) that the direction of inconsistency does vary with the direction of its effects for ascribed/achieved status differences, it was decided from the start to utilize the technique of dummy variable regression as described by Cohen (1968) so that the possible directional effects could be examined for ascribed/achieved discrepancies.

Data

All data used in this study is taken from Maurice Pinard's unpublished 1970 Study of Social Movements in Quebec as was mentioned earlier. This data is from a sample of N = 1,982 Quebecers drawn up by the Centre de

Sondage of the Université de Montréal. Certain social groups or categories in Quebec were oversampled, while others were undersampled to insure adequate representation of groups crucial for the study of separatism in Quebec. Thus, for all the data analysis a weight factor was applied, yielding a sample size of N = 6,116. This weight factor was used consistently since where an individual ranks on a given status dimension in society is determined by the distribution of that status variable in the general population. When techniques of oversampling are used, a weight factor must be applied to obtain accurate reflections of status distributions in the general population. As accurate reflections of these distributions are crucial for the computation of status discrepancy, it was necessary to work with a weighted sample.

The data to be used in this study is particularly well suited to the problem under investigation. In Lipset's model, the dependent variable is apathy which traditionally has been measured by non-voting and presents few problems. However, the dependent variable in Lenski's scheme is support for social change. This has typically been measured by support for the Democratic party, liberal attitudes on economic issues, and a variety of other "surrogates" due to the lack of any real social change movements in North America in the past few years. In such instances where some social movement has arisen, the following has been typically small, and researchers have been forced to combine

support for the movement with some weaker indicator of social change in order to augment their sample. For example, Lenski, in his four nation test, devised a measure of support for social change in Canada defined by voting either for the New Democratic Party or for the Liberal Party. Although voting for the NDP is probably a much truer measure of support for social change than is voting for the Liberal Party, Lenski chose to collapse these two categories so as to have a larger sample, and hence more reliable findings. However, the sample proposed here for study circumvents this problem in that it was designed specifically for the investigation of a social movement (the separatist movement in Quebec) and hence it will not be necessary to "dilute" the measure of social change for the sake of obtaining a larger sample. This makes the study unique in that no research to date has ever used support for social change as the actual dependent variable when attempting to assess the merits of Lenski's theory. The measure of support for social change contained in the data for this thesis is support for the Parti Québécois. It is truely a measure of support for social change since it is the goal of the party to withdraw the province of Quebec from the Canadian Confederation and make it an independent state. Thus, there can be no doubt that it provides a valid test of the two theories.

Measurement of Independent Variables

The independent variables used throughout the analysis were income, education, occupation and ethnicity, since these were the original variables used by Lenski and by most of the others who have investigated the effects of status inconsistency. Ethnicity was defined as a dichotomous variable with the possible values of 1) French Canadian, or 2) English Canadian. All respondents in the sample having other ethnic statuses such as Italian or Greek immigrants were excluded from the analysis so as to provide a stronger test of the two theories. The elimination of this subset of the sample provides a stronger test of the two theories (status inconsistency and cross-pressures) since it is not clear how the society as a whole evaluates these statuses in relation to the statuses of French Canadian and English Canadian.

Income, education and occupation were all treated as interval variables: annual income categories were based on $1,000 intervals, education was measured by the number of years schooling and occupation was defined by assigning ranks on the basis of the Duncan Occupational Index.

In order that comparisons of an individual's rank on one achieved status dimension could be made with his position on another achieved status dimension, the achieved statuses had to be transformed into common units. This was done by transforming all the scores on a single dimension into standardized Z-scores. Once the Z-scores for

all three dimensions were obtained, a measure of inconsistency on any two dimensions was developed by subtracting an individual's Z-score on one of these dimensions from his Z-score on the other and then taking the square of this difference. This latter step was done to emphasize large status differences and to rid the inconsistency term of negative values, since the assumption at this point is that direction of inconsistency does not matter.

Further, an overall measure of inconsistency between the three status dimensions was obtained by taking the sum of the differences between two status dimensions for two, of the three possible status combinations.

In order to measure achieved/ascribed status discrepancies, dummy variables were created, (since it makes no sense to standardize a variable (such as ethnicity in this analysis) with only two possible values. This was accomplished first by dividing the three achieved status variables into three equal categories (high, medium, low) on the basis of their percentile rank distributions in the sample, then by making a dummy variable out of each category. For example, for the first dummy variable, if a respondent falls in category A (high) for a particular variable, he receives a score of 1, while respondents not falling in this category receive a score of 0. For the second dummy variable, if a respondent falls in category B (medium) for the particular variable he is assigned a score of 1, while all others not in the category receive a score of 0. Likewise, for the

third dummy variable, if a respondent falls in category C (low) of the particular variable he receives a score of 1, while all other respondents receive a score of 0. In this manner three new variables are created, each with two possible values, 0 or 1, for each of the original three variables. The same procedure was followed for ethnicity, except of course, since ethnicity has only two values, only two dummy variables resulted.

The inconsistency term was then computed by multiplying the dummy variable resulting from category A of an achieved status variable by the dummy variable resulting from category B of the ethnicity variable. This, it will be noted, yields an inconsistency term for the high achieved/low ascribed status configuration. To obtain the inconsistency term for the low achieved/high ascribed status pattern the dummy variable from category C of an achieved variable was multiplied by the dummy variable resulting from category A of the ethnicity variable. Table 2-2 below illustrates how this was done for the achieved variable education. Education was divided into three categories, 1) 1 to 7 years, 2) 8 to 11 years, 3) 12 to 30 years. Three new variables were then created, each of them dichotomous; 1) education of 1 to 7 years, education not 1 to 7 years, 2) education of 8 to 11 years, education not 8 to 11 years, 3) education of 12 to 30 years, education not 12 to 30 years. Respondents falling in the

first category of each new variable receive a score of 1, while respondents falling in the second category (i.e. not falling in the first category) received a score of 0. The same procedure was followed for ethnicity (see Table 2-2). To calculate the inconsistency term for low ethnicity/high education, ethnicity 1 was multiplied by education 3, thus status inconsistents will receive a score of 1, while status consistents will receive a score of 0 (For a more complete discussion of dummy variable regression see Cohen: 1968).

Thus far we have been talking about status inconsistency. Cross-pressures research however, is subject to the same methodological problems as status inconsistency. This is so since measures of cross-pressures, just as measures of status inconsistency, are composite measures of several other sociological variables, all known to correlate with the dependent variable in the analysis. Therefore, the same methodology used in analyzing status inconsistency should be used in analyzing cross-pressures. This is especially true for this thesis where status inconsistency is viewed as a special subset of cross-pressures.

Measurement of Dependent Variables

The two direct measures of the dependent variables used throughout this thesis are 1) vote for the Parti Québécois when testing the Lenski hypothesis and 2) non-voting when testing the Lipset hypothesis. Because these

TABLE 2-2

Procedure for Creating Dummy Variables

EDUCATION 1		EDUCATION 2		EDUCATION 3	
Respondent has 1-7 Yrs. Education	1	Respondent has 8-11 Yrs. Education	1	Respondent has 12-30 Yrs. Education	1
Other Levels	0	Other Levels	0	Other Levels	0

ETHNICITY 1		ETHNICITY 2	
French Canadian	1	English Canadian	1
English Canadian	0	French Canadian	0

measures of the dependent variables are simple dichotomies it was considered desirable to develop a second measure of each dependent variable which would make finer attitudinal distinctions. It was hoped that the finer distinctions made by these variables would improve prediction since the indépendent variable, status discrepancy, is also a continuous interval variable and not a simple dichotomy. Further, these second measures were intended to be validity checks of the more direct measures.

Construction of Dichotomous Dependent Variables

The two direct measures of support for social change and non-voting were constructed from the following question:

> "Si demain il y avait une élection provinciale pour élire un gouvernement à Québec, pour le candidat de quel parti voteriez-vous?: Union Nationale, Parti Liberal, Ralliment des Créditistes, Parti Québécois, Nouveau Parti Democratique, N'irait pas voter, ne veut pas répondre, ne sait pas."

Thus, for the Lenski hypothesis, this variable was dichotomized into: 1) voting for the Parti Québécois, and 2) voting for another party or not voting. On the other hand, for the Lipset hypothesis this variable was dichotomized into: 1) not voting, and 2) voting for a party, (in each case, "ne veut pas repondre" and "ne sait

pas" were included as missing data).

Construction of Interval Dependent Variables

The Separatism Index constructed was meant to be an independent "check" on the question about voting for the Parti Québécois since it has been noted that not all those who vote for the P.Q. are necessarily in favor of separatism. The questions used to construct this index are presented in Tables 2-3a (English version) and 2-3b (French version). It was necessary to construct two versions of the index since one of the questions asked of English Canadians differs slightly from the question asked of French Canadians. As can be seen from these tables, the logic of the questions dictates the ordering of the resulting scale. Tables 2-4a (English version) and 2-4b (French version) present the procedure used to construct the indices from the questions presented in Tables 2-3a and 2-3b. Three categories of the English index were collapsed so as to create indices for the two groups with the same number of categories. This was done on the basis of the marginal frequencies for the categories of the index for the English sub-sample. In one instance, an index category which had 0 cases corresponding to it was collapsed with an adjacent category; the remaining two index categories which were collapsed contained less than two percent of the respondents. A correlation of the Separatism Index with P.Q. vote yielded a co-efficient of +.69 for French Canadians and +.46 for English Canadians.

TABLE 2-3a

Questions Composing Separatism Index for English Canadians:

1. Personally, are you for or against the separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada?
    1. For
    2. Undecided (Proceed to Q. 2)
    3. Against (Proceed to Q.3)

2. Maybe you are undecided, but if you had to make a choice what would you be more inclined to be: For or against the separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada?
    1. More inclined to be for
    2. Don't know
    3. More inclined to be against

3. How strong is your opposition to the separation of Quebec - is it extremely strong, moderately strong or not too strong?
    1. Extremely strong
    2. Moderately strong
    3. Don't know
    4. Qualified Answer
    5. Not too strong

4. Is your opinion on the matter one you could change

1. Very easily
2. Fairly easily
3. Don't know
4. With some difficulty
5. With a great deal of difficulty

TABLE 2-3b

Questions Composing Separatism Index for French Canadians:

1. Personnellement, êtes-vous pour ou contre la separation du Québec du rest du Canada?
    1. Pour
    2. Indécis (Passer à Q.2)
    3. Contre (Passer à Q.3)

2. Peut-être n'êtes-vous pas décidé, mais si vous deviez prendre une decision, seriez-vous plus tenté d'être pour ou contre la separation du Québec?
    1. Plus tenté d'être pour
    2. Ne sait pas
    3. Plus tenté d'être contre

3. Etes-vous parfois tenté de favoriser la separation du Québec, ou êtes-vous assez définitivement contre?
    1. Parfois tenté de favoriser la separation
    2. Ne sait pas
    3. Assez definitivement contre

4. Est-ce que votre opinion à ce sujet est une opinion que vou pourrier changer:
    1. Très facilement
    2. Assez facilement
    3. Ne sait pas
    4. Assez difficilement
    5. Très difficilement

TABLE 2-4a

Procedure for Computing Separatism Index for English Canadians

If Individual's Response to Quest. No.	is	and Quest. No.	is	, His/Her Score =
" " " " " " 1	" 1	" " " 4	" 5	(no cases) " = 11
" " " " " " 1	" 1	" " " 4	" 4	His/Her Score = 10
" " " " " " 1	" 1	" " " 4	" 3	" " = 9
" " " " " " 1	" 1	" " " 4	" 2	" " = 8
" " " " " " 1	" 1	" " " 4	" 1	" " = 8
" " " " " " 1	" 2	" " " 2	" 1	" " = 7
" " " " " " 1	" 2	" " " 2	" 2	" " = 6
" " " " " " 1	" 2	" " " 2	" 3	" " = 5
" " " " " " 1	" 3	" " " 3	" 5	" " = 4
" " " " " " 1	" 3	" " " 3	" 4	" " = 3
" " " " " " 1	" 3	" " " 3	" 3	" " = 1
" " " " " " 1	" 3	" " " 3	" 2	" " = 2
" " " " " " 1	" 3	" " " 3	" 1	" " = 1

TABLE 2-4b

Procedure for Computing Separatism Index for French Canadians

If Individual's Response to Quest. No.	____	is	____	and	Quest. No.	____	is	____,	His/Her Score	=	____								
"	"	"	"	"	"	1	"	1	"	"	"	4	"	5	"	"	=	11	
"	"	"	"	"	"	1	"	1	"	"	"	4	"	4	"	"	=	10	
"	"	"	"	"	"	1	"	1	"	"	"	4	"	3	"	"	=	9	
"	"	"	"	"	"	1	"	1	"	"	"	4	"	2	"	"	=	8	
"	"	"	"	"	"	1	"	1	"	"	"	4	"	1	"	"	=	7	
"	"	"	"	"	"	1	"	2	"	"	"	2	"	1	"	"	=	6	
"	"	"	"	"	"	1	"	2	"	"	"	2	"	2	"	"	=	5	
"	"	"	"	"	"	1	"	2	"	"	"	2	"	3	"	"	=	4	
"	"	"	"	"	"	1	"	3	"	"	"	3	"	1	"	"	=	3	
"	"	"	"	"	"	1	"	3	"	"	"	3	"	2	"	"	=	2	
"	"	"	"	"	"	1	"	3	"	"	"	3	"	3	"	"	=	1	

The questions presented in Table 2-5 were used to construct a Likert scale of political participation which from this point on will be referred to as the Apathy Index. This scale was designed to be used in conjunction with the non-vote/vote dichotomy when testing the Lipset hypothesis. Each item in the scale was tested in the manner outlined by Edwards (1957) for its ability to discriminate. Briefly, this was done by obtaining the frequency distribution of the overall scores across all of the proposed Likert items. On the basis of this distribution two criterion groups were selected: the highest scoring twenty percent of the sample, and the lowest scoring twenty percent of the sample. Then, the mean score on each of the items of the scale was obtained for both criterion groups and a Student's t-test was performed to ascertain whether the means for the two groups on each item differed significantly. As the differences in means for the top twenty percent and the bottom twenty percent of the sample were significant at $P \leq 0.001$ for all the proposed items of the scale, the final scale was comprised of all the original items. An attempt was made to construct a Guttman scale for these items. While it was possible to construct a scale with an acceptable co-efficient of scalability, the co-efficient of reproducibility was only .88, which falls short of the accepted standard of .90 or above. Hence, there is some doubt

TABLE 2-5*

Questions Composing Apathy Index

1. Think now about provincial politics; would you say that provincial politics interests you:

1	1. very much		
	2. moderately	mean difference: 0.3	
	3. only a little	P ≤ .001	
	4. hardly at all		
2	5. not at all		

2. Do you ever try to convince others of your own political opinions?

1. yes	mean difference: 0.9	
2. no	P ≤ .001	

3. What about yourself; would you say you are a fairly convinced partisan of a provincial party?

1. yes	mean difference: 0.9	
2. no	P ≤ .001	

4. Within the last five years have you ever attended any political meetings at election time - either in large assemblies or small groups?

1. yes	mean difference: 0.9	
2. no	P ≤ .001	

5. Have you ever undertaken any kind of voluntary work in an election in order to get a candidate or party elected?

	1. yes	mean difference: 0.6
	2. no	$P \leq .001$

6. When you are with friends or relatives how often do you discuss political problems and government decisions?

1	1. very often	mean difference: 0.5	
1	2. fairly often	$P \leq .001$	
1	3. rather rarely		
2	4. almost never (or) never		

*All questions are the same in French as in English

about the unidimensionality of the political participation items. Further a correlation of the resulting Apathy Index with non-voting yielded a co-efficient of +.25. This is a much lower correlation than the one obtained between P.Q vote and the Separatism Index (which was +.69 for French Canadians and +.46 for English Canadians). Unfortunately, due to the limitations of the questions in the questionnaire, it was not possible to construct an alternate Apathy Index which might have correlated more strongly with the main dependent variable for the Lipset hypothesis (non-voting).

Measuring the Intervening Variable

It will be recalled that the intervening variable in both models was stress or tension. The data contained several questions administered only to the French-speaking subset of the sample which could qualify as measures of stress or general tension. These questions (see Table 2-6) were used to construct a Likert scale of stress. The same procedure recommended by Edwards (1957) and outlined above, was followed in constructing the final Likert scale for stress. Once again, the differences in means for the two criterion groups were significant at $P \leq 0.001$ for all the proposed items. As before, an attempt was made to devise a Guttman scale for the tension measures; however, while it was possible to devise a scale with an acceptable co-efficient of reproducibility, it was not

TABLE 2-6

Questions Composing Stress Index

Vous-même vous est-il arrivé de vous sentir mal à l'aise avec des canadiens anglais parce qu'ils vous traitaient de haut:

1. assez souvent
2. quelques fois
3. rarement
4. jamais

mean difference: 1.6

P ≤ .001

De façon générale, croyez-vous que les Canadiens français et les canadiens anglais peuvent s'entendre entre eux:

1. très facilement
2. assez facilement
3. reponse nuancée
4. assez difficilement
5. très difficilement

collapsed 3 = 3.9% of total

mean difference: 1.5

P ≤ .001

A votre avis, à quel point faut-il s'inquieter au sujet de la survivance de la langue française au Quebec: Faut-il s'inquieter

1. beaucoup
2. assez
3. Réponse nuancée
4. un peu
5. pas du tout

collapsed 3 = 1.3% of total

mean difference: 2.0

P ≤ .001

Croyez-vous qu'actuellement au Québec la culture et la façon de vivre des Canadiens français sont

1. très menacées
2. un peu menacées
3. réponse nuancée
4. pas menacées

mean difference: 2.5

$P \leq .001$

possible to obtain a co-efficient of scalability greater than .50; thus, there is some doubt as to the unidimensionality of the tension measures.

Further, it must be remembered that these are general tension measures which may include sources of tension other than those arising strictly from status inconsistency. However, because this analysis is secondary, this limitation could not be overcome.

Programs

The program used throughout all data analysis was the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences), version 5 at the McGill Computing Center. For all regression analyses the SPSS sub-program "Multiple Regression Analysis" was used. This sub-program has several conventions regarding regression, one of which has particular import for the analyses in the following chapters. The convention is that

> "Stepwise regression is based upon a common method of solving the system of linear equations in multiple regression, that is, Gauss elimination with row and column interchanges. It happens that this computational method provides the information necessary to select the next variable to be brought into the equation. There are two pieces of information which are used in this selection process. The first is the normalized regression-coefficient

value b that the prospective independent variable would have if it were brought into the equation on the next step. The significance of b is measured by the F statistic. If F is too small, there is little reason to add that independent variable to the prediction equation." (SPSS Manual: p. 180).

Thus, at times, it was the case that a particular status discrepancy term was not brought into the regression equation, consequently no data will be presented for these cases.

CHAPTER III

Status Inconsistency

One of the three goals of this thesis is to assess the merits of Lenski's theory of status inconsistency by examining data which provide one of the most appropriate tests to date of the Lenski hypothesis. Thus, in this chapter, the effects of various types of status discrepancies upon support for separatism and the Parti Québécois will be examined. The analysis will focus first upon status discrepancies between achieved status dimensions (income, education and occupation) and then upon status discrepancies between each of these achieved dimensions and an ascribed status (ethnicity).

Achieved/Achieved Status Discrepancies

It will be recalled that two separate measures of support for the separatist movement in Quebec were developed. The first and perhaps most direct measure is whether the respondent intends to vote for the Parti Québécois (henceforth referred to as simply PQ vote). The second measure developed was an index designed to determine the degree of sympathy for the general idea of separation from the Canadian Confederation (henceforth referred to as the "Separatist Index"). Thus, in all tests of the Lenski

hypothesis both of these measures will be used as the dependent variables. Further, data will be presented both for the sample as a whole, and then separately for the French and English subsets of the sample.

The decision to examine the effects of status inconsistency separately for both French and English Canadians was made in order to insure the strongest and fairest test of the Lenski hypothesis. The argument could be made that while there is an English minority which is sympathetic to the Parti Québécois, the party might be viewed as a tenable alternative for French Canadians only. This is true since historically, the party arose in response to colonial domination and exploitation on the part of English Canadians. The party's stance is that if French Canadians are to preserve their linguistic and cultural rights, the Province of Quebec must become an independent state in which French Canadians control their own destiny. In this sense the party could be viewed as a threat to the status of English Canadians within the Province. Thus, by merely considering the sample as a whole, which includes both French and English Canadians, one would run the risk of "diluting" the power of the test of Lenski's theory.

Tables 3-1a and 3-1b present 1) the simple correlations of the inconsistency terms with the two measures of the dependent variable, 2) the amount of variance explained by the inconsistency terms over and above the variance explained by the variables comprising the inconsistency

TABLE 3-1a

Results of Regression Analyses Pertaining to the Lenski Hypothesis for Status Discrepancies Among Achieved Statuses; P.Q. Vote as Dependent Variable

Status Configuration	Relationship With P.Q. Vote			
	Simple Correlation	Variance Explained By Discrepancy Only	Total Explained Variance	Percent of Total Explained Variance Attributable to Discrepancy Term
		(Whole Sample)		
Occup/Income	-.01513	.00075	.01068	.07
Educat/Income	.05263	.00107	.04799	.02
Educat/Occup	-	-	-	-
Educat/Occup/Income	.04137	.00046	.04742	.01
		(French Canadians Only)		
Occup/Income	-.02185	.00153	.02017	.08
Educat/Income	.06295	.00108	.06488	.02
Educat/Occup	-	-	-	-
Educat/Occup/Income	.05996	.00039	.06440	.01
		(English Canadians Only)		
Occup/Income	.12733	.01220	.03001	.40
Educat/Income	.08829	.01048	.03635	.30
Educat/Occup	-.06506	.00073	.02625	.02
Educat/Occup/Income	.01821	.00189	.03364	.05

TABLE 3-1b

Results of Regression Analyses Pertaining to Lenski Hypothesis for Status Discrepancies Among Achieved Statuses; Separatism Index as Dependent Variable

Status Configuration	Relationship With Separatism Index			
	Simple Correlation	Variance Explained By Discrepancy Only	Total Explained Variance	Percent of Total Explained Variance Attributable to Discrepancy Term
		(Whole Sample)		
Occup/Income	-.02403	.00133	.01181	.11
Educat/Income	.03074	.00026	.02672	.01
Educat/Occup	-.01194	.00051	.02123	.02
Educat/Occup/Income	.01323	.00001	.02705	.0004
		(French Canadians Only)		
Occup/Income	-.02910	.00196	.01803	.11
Educat/Income	.03309	.00011	.03639	.003
Educat/Occup	.00076	.00060	.03431	.02
Educat/Occup/Income	.02219	.00008	.03794	.002
		(English Canadians Only)		
Occup/Income	.04780	.00094	.01457	.06
Educat/Income	.10156	.01181	.01591	.74
Educat/Occup	-.03481	.00156	.01240	.13
Educat/Occup/Income	.04112	.00120	.01520	.08

term, 3) the total variance explained by the variables comprising the inconsistency term and the inconsistency term itself, and 4) the relative variance explained by status discrepancy, i.e. the percent of the total variance explained which is attributable to status discrepancy. It was considered essential to include a measure which would assess the amount of variance explained by status discrepancy in relation to the amount of variance explained by the other standard sociological variables used in the analyses. Often discussions about the importance of status inconsistency as a predictor of social behavior center around the fact that status inconsistency fails to explain a large amount of variance in the dependent variable. However, as will be seen in the following chapter, such widely used sociological variables as income, education and occupation rarely explain as much as 5 or 6 percent of the variance in either support for social change or non-voting.

A preliminary examination of the signs of the correlation co-efficients will reveal that while in most cases status inconsistency is related positively to support for the Parti Québécois or separatism, in some cases it is negatively correlated. That is, in some cases one finds the exact opposite relation between the independent and dependent variables one would expect to find if in fact the Lenski hypothesis is correct. Inconsistency due to

occupation/income differences seems to always correlate negatively with both P.Q. vote and the Separatism Index except for the English subset of the sample. And inconsistency due to education/occupation discrepancies also seems to be correlated negatively with both measures of the dependent variable except for the French-Canadian sub-sample. These preliminary observations in and of themselves shed some doubt on the tenability of the Lenski hypothesis for achieved/achieved status differences.

Although there is certainly some question about whether each of these regressions represents an independent test of Lenski's theory; it was decided to perform a sign test on the eight tests generated by the Separatism Index and P.Q. vote for the whole sample. The probability level associated with a test in which 3 out of 7 signs are not in the predicted direction is $P \leq 0.55$, which is hardly significant, and which sheds again some doubt on the Lenski hypothesis.

An examination of the absolute value of the initial correlations reveals that they are invariably low, ranging from 0.00076 to 0.06295. This implies that at most, even before controlling for the effects of the individual status variables, status inconsistency can account for less than 0.04% of the variance.

Looking at the variance explained by status inconsistency over and above the amount of variance explained by the simple additive model, the evidence becomes even less supportive of the Lenski hypothesis. In no instance does any particular status configuration account for more than 1 percent of the variance in either dependent variable. If we concentrate our attention only on the French Canadian subset of the sample, where one might argue the effects of inconsistency would be strongest, (since separatism, it might be argued, would be a more salient issue for French Canadians than for English Canadians), the inconsistent status configuration which accounts for the greatest amount of variance, the education/income configuration, in fact accounts for only 0.108 percent of the variance. Contrary to what one might expect, it is within the English subset of the sample that the effect of inconsistency is strongest. While it is the education/income status configuration which produces the greatest inconsistency effect, it explains 1.181 percent of the variance in support for separatism, which of course, is quite low.

If one examines the percent of the total variance explained by all three variables in each regression which is attributable to the inconsistency term, one finds that in all cases except two, when there is a positive correlation this varies between 0.04 and 8.0 percent. It is only in two instances (in the cases of education/income and occupation/income discrepancies for English Canadians)

that status discrepancy accounts for a substantial proportion of the total variance explained: in the first case, 30.0 percent when P.Q. vote is the dependent variable and 74.0 percent when the Separatism Index is used as the dependent variable, and in the second case, 40.0 percent when P.Q. vote is the dependent variable and 6.0 percent when the Separatism Index is used as the dependent variable.

In light of all this evidence, one would be strongly tempted to adopt the simpler, additive model, as Duncan (1966) suggests, over the more complex interaction or inconsistency model since the inconsistency term contributes so little in the way of additional variance explained. It should be noted here that while the F statistics for most of the results in Table 3-1 are significant at $P \leq .05$, this is probably due to the large sample size.

Ascribed/Achieved Status Discrepancies

It was pointed out earlier, when reviewing the literature on status inconsistency, that Lenski did revise his theory somewhat, stating that the most dramatic effects of status inconsistency would be produced by discrepancies between ascribed and achieved statuses as opposed to discrepancies among achieved statuses. The data relevant to this revised version of the theory is shown in Tables 3-2a and 3-2b which present the results of regression analyses for status inconsistency due to differences be-

TABLE 3-2a

Results of Regression Analyses Pertaining to the Lenski Hypothesis for Achieved/Ascribed Status Discrepancies; P.Q. Vote as Dependent Variable

Status Configuration	Relationship With P.Q. Vote			
	Simple Correlation	Variance Explained By Discrepancy Only	Total Explained Variance	Percent of Total Explained Variance Attributable to Discrepancy Term
High Educat/Low Ethnicity	.23135	.00356	.07367	.05
Low Educat/High Ethnicity	-.06530	.00204	.07215	.03
High Income/Low Ethnicity	.02886	.00002	.02134	.001
Low Income/High Ethnicity	-.04044	.00014	.02136	.01
High Occup/Low Ethnicity	.12434	.00084	.03469	.02
Low Occup/High Ethnicity	-.05647	.00151	.03537	.04

TABLE 3-2b

Results of Regression Analyses Pertaining to the Lenski Hypothesis for Achieved/Ascribed Status Discrepancies; Separatism Index as Dependent Variable

Status Configuration	Relationship With Separatism Index			
	Simple Correlation	Variance Explained By Discrepancy Only	Total Explained Variance	Percent of Total Explained Variance Attributable to Discrepancy Term
High Educat/Low Ethnicity	.17351	.00124	.04068	.03
Low Educat/High Ethnicity	-.05281	.00067	.04012	.02
High Income/Low Ethnicity	-.00571	.00024	.01437	.02
Low Income/High Ethnicity	-.01988	.00036	.01449	.02
High Occup/Low Ethnicity	.05750	.00000	.02050	.00
Low Occup/High Ethnicity	-.05261	.00022	.02072	.01

tween achieved and ascribed statuses and its effects on support for the Parti Québécois as well as support for separatism. Both the simple correlation co-efficients and the variance explained by the inconsistency term after controlling for the main status variables are presented. It will be recalled that for status discrepancies between ascribed and achieved statuses it was decided to control for the direction of inconsistency (page: 29). As can be seen by examining the signs of the correlation co-efficients in Tables 3-2a and 3-2b in three out of the three cases presented where P.Q. vote is the dependent variable, the direction of inconsistency determines the direction of its effects, and in two out of three cases where separatism is the dependent variable, direction of inconsistency also determines the direction of the effects. In other words it appears in general that where the status discrepancy is the result of a high ascribed status and a low achieved status (as with the low education/high ethnicity, low income/high ethnicity, low occupation/high ethnicity status configurations), inconsistency is negatively related to support for the Parti Québécois, or support for separatism. Obviously then, for at least this particular status configuration, Lenski's theory is not borne out. However, status discrepancy involving a high achieved status and a low ascribed status (i.e. high education/low ethnicity, high income/low ethnicity and high occupation/low ethnicity),

does correlate positively with support for the Parti Québéecois in three out of three instances and with support for separatism in two out of three cases (the exception being the high income/low ethnicity configuration).

Nevertheless, here again the variance explained by the inconsistency term (after having controlled for the main status variables) is extremely low. In fact the amount of variance explained by inconsistency due to a low ascribed/high achieved pattern is every bit as low as the variance explained by inconsistency arising from achieved/achieved status differences. If one calculates the average variance explained for all tests among achieved status discrepancies where discrepancy correlates positively with the dependent variable and compares this average to the average variance explained for discrepancies between achieved and ascribed statuses one finds that the average variance explained by achieved/achieved status differences is 0.00284 as compared to an average of 0.00142 for achieved/ascribed status differences. The difference between the two averages is indeed small, and if anything, it is achieved/achieved discrepancies which tend to produce slightly more effect than achieved/ascribed discrepancies; this is the opposite of what Lenski predicted.

As before, in the case of achieved/achieved status discrepancies, status inconsistency in no instance explains more than 1 percent of the variance in the dependent variable. In addition to this, the average relative variance

explained for achieved/ascribed status discrepancies is only 2 percent.

The data presented in Tables 3-2a and 3-2b can be considered one of the fairest tests to date of Lenski's hypothesis, since the data represent a test of the effects of inconsistency due to ascribed/achieved status differences --the case for which Lenski hypothesized the effects of inconsistency would be greatest-- and the dependent variables in the analysis are the most appropriate measures used to date of support for social change. Yet, despite all this, the evidence can hardly be called supportive: only certain status inconsistency patterns have the predicted effect, and this effect is extremely weak.

Despite the fact that the evidence presented for the Lenski hypothesis has been extremely weak to this point, the following argument could be made with regard to the theory: 1) the sample used for testing the validity of status inconsistency contains many young people whose achieved statuses are relatively unstable, 2) young people are typically in the early stages of their career development, and while they may be, technically speaking, status inconsistents at the time of interview, they may be potential status consistents in terms of their overall, long-range career development. For example, a college graduate at age 25 ranks high on education but has not yet attained his full income potential. This has important consequences for the theory of status inconsistency:

while such a person may have a low income given his educational attainment, this inconsistency may not necessarily generate tension since he has every reason to expect that his income position will improve over time with the development of his career. It will be recalled that the intervening variable in Lenski's theory, stress, is what produces support for social change. However, if under certain conditions, status inconsistency is not viewed as problematic for the individual, no stress will be produced, and hence status inconsistency in these instances should not produce support for social change. It is suggested here, that one such instance in which inconsistency may not be viewed as problematic for the individual is in the case of individuals who expect to be upwardly mobile. For these individuals one of two possible processes may be at work: a) the individual may not consider that his statuses are inconsistent because of his career expectations for the future or b) if he views his inconsistent statuses as problematic, he has reason to believe that this inconsistency will be resolved by the mobility which should normally occur throughout his career. Thus, if status inconsistency is to produce any effect at all, it may do so, only among those individuals whose statuses have stabilized, or in other words, among those individuals who have reached the peak of their career development. Individuals who are still status

inconsistents at this point in their career can no longer resolve the tension produced by their status discrepancies through expectations of mobility which would bring their statuses in line with each other. Hamilton (1972: pp. 376-377) presents data on income development throughout careers. While he concludes that different occupational groups attain their full income potentials at slightly different ages, most groups tend to reach their peak somewhere between the ages of 40 and 55. This was taken to be an approximate indicator of the age at which overall career development peaks, and on the basis of this data, it was decided to re-test Lenski's theory using only those individuals in the sample between the ages of 40 and 55. Because this new sample contains only those individuals who have reached the peak of their careers, it might provide results more supportive of Lenski's theory.

Achieved/Achieved Status Discrepancies, Controlling for Age

Table 3-3a and 3-3b present the results of status inconsistency due to achieved status discrepancies for the new limited sample. An examination of the signs of the correlation co-efficients reveals once more several status discrepancies which correlate negatively with P.Q. vote and the Separatism Index (i.e. occupation/income discrepancies correlate negatively with both measures of the

TABLE 3-3b

Results of Regression Analyses Pertaining to the Lenski Hypothesis for Achieved/Achieved Status Discrepancies Among Individuals 40-55 Yrs. of Age; Separatism Index as Dependent Variable

Status Configuration	Relationship With Separatism Index			
	Simple Correlation	Variance Explained By Discrepancy Only	Total Explained Variance	Percent of Total Explained Variance Attributable to Discrepancy Term
		(Whole Sample)		
Occup/Income	-.03074	.00517	.02763	.19
Educat/Income	.12494	.00014	.03586	.004
Educat/Occup	-.00571	.00211	.02453	.09
Educat/Occup/Income	.07631	.00025	.03870	.01
		(French Canadians Only)		
Occup/Income	-.03223	.00587	.03198	.18
Educat/Income	.12013	.00007	.04084	.002
Educat/Occup	-.00410	.00157	.03802	.04
Educat/Occup/Income	.07197	.00022	.04601	.01
		(English Canadians Only)		
Occup/Income	.10787	.00482	.03150	.15
Educat/Income	.24564	.03543	.06624	.53
Educat/Occup	-.12912	.01538	.03743	.41
Educat/Occup/Income	.14696	.00617	.04343	.14

TABLE 3-3a

Results of Regression Analyses Pertaining to Lenski Hypothesis for Achieved/Achieved Status Discrepancies Among Individuals 40-55 Yrs of Age; P.Q. Vote as Dependent Variable

Status Configuration	Relationship With P.Q. Vote			
	Simple Correlation	Variance Explained By Discrepancy Only	Total Explained Variance	Percent of Total Explained Variance Attributable to Discrepancy Term
		(Whole Sample)		
Occup/Income	-.02084	.00379	.02651	.14
Educat/Income	.13702	.00049	.06702	.01
Educat/Occup	.06179	.00022	.04880	.004
Educat/Occup/Income	.12158	.00040	.06702	.01
		(French Canadians Only)		
Occup/Income	-.01991	.00422	.03173	.13
Educat/Income	.13937	.00039	.07988	.01
Educat/Occup	.13622	.00006	.07010	.001
Educat/Occup/Income	.12253	.00031	.08077	.004
		(English Canadians Only)		
Occup/Income	.16182	.02870	.06360	.45
Educat/Income	.21672	.02181	.07787	.28
Educat/Occup	-.11139	.01088	.06692	.16
Educat/Occup/Income	.13077	.00296	.06553	.05

dependent variable except for the English Canadian sub-sample). Further, education/occupation discrepancies for the English Canadian subset correlate negatively with both P.Q. vote and the Separatism Index while in the whole sample they correlate positively with P.Q. vote and negatively with the Separatism Index. Once again, these correlations are low.

The additional variance explained by the inconsistency, once the effects of the main status variables are controlled, is not on the whole any greater than it was in the past, when all age groups were considered. It ranges from 0.00006 to 0.03543. As before, it is among the English Canadian sub-sample where inconsistency has its greatest effects. The average variance explained for all tests of the theory where status discrepancy is positively correlated with the dependent variable is 0.00633 as compared to 0.00284 when all age groups were considered. The average relative variance explained is 10.4 percent and although this is somewhat higher than in previous cases without the controls for age, it is still low and by no means represents a major part of the total explained variance. Given the magnitude of the additional variance explained, it seems that at least for achieved status discrepancies, Lenski's theory of status inconsistency is not borne out, even when controlling for the possible effects of career mobility.

Achieved/Ascribed Status Discrepancies, Controlling for Age

The argument made with respect to the potential effects of career mobility on the response to status discrepancy is also applicable to status discrepancies involving differences in achieved and ascribed statuses. Consider the following two examples: 1) an individual with a high ascribed status and a low achieved status, and 2) an individual with a low ascribed status and a high achieved status. In the first case the individual might not experience tension due to status discrepancy at an early stage of his career since he may expect that his statuses will align themselves with the progression of his career. Thus, it is only for individuals who are still status discrepant at the height of their careers that one would predict a strong "status discrepancy-effect" (i.e. tension leading to support for social change).

On the other hand, the individual with a low ascribed status and a high achieved status, although he can never hope to raise his ascribed status, may not realize fully at the onset of his career exactly how much of a "liability" his ascribed status will be. This fact may only become salient for him after repeated experiences throughout his career. Thus, in this case, as in the first, one would also predict a strengthening of a status discrepancy effect with age.

Tables 3-4a and 3-4b present the results of regression analyses for status discrepancy due to achieved/ascribed status differences of those individuals ages 40 to 55. An examination of the signs of the simple correlations of inconsistency with either P.Q. vote or the Separatism Index once more shows a very erratic relationship: a low occupation/high ethnic status configuration yields, for both measures of the dependent variable, negative correlations while a high income/low ethnicity status configuration yields a positive correlation with P.Q. vote and a negative correlation with the Separatism Index. For these achieved/ascribed status discrepancies there seems to be no consistent pattern of relationship to the dependent variable. Further, while in some cases the initial correlation of status discrepancy with the dependent variable may seem relatively high (i.e. the high education/low ethnicity configuration) the amount of variance explained by the term once the main status effects are controlled for is still extremely low for all status configurations: between 0.00017 and 0.00961 (excluding those cases where there are negative correlations). The average variance explained by achieved/ascribed discrepancies in this case is 0.00188, as compared to 0.00142 for achieved/ascribed status discrepancies when career mobility was not taken into account. Both figures are low and there is virtually no difference between these two averages. The average

TABLE 3-4a

Results of Regression Analyses Pertaining to Lenski Hypothesis for Achieved/Ascribed Status Discrepancies Among Individuals 40-55 Years of Age; P.Q. Vote as Dependent Variable

Status Configuration	Relationship With P.Q. Vote			
	Simple Correlation	Variance Explained By Discrepancy Only	Total Explained Variance	Percent of Total Explained Varian Attributable to Discrepancy Ter
High Educat/Low Ethnicity	.24245	.00159	.08531	.02
Low Educat/High Ethnicity	-	-	-	-
High Income/Low Ethnicity	.02644	.00040	.03227	.01
Low Income/High Ethnicity	.03515	.00361	.03287	.11
High Occup/Low Ethnicity	.00964	.00407	.04067	.10
Low Occup/High Ethnicity	-.02364	.00001	.04143	.0002

TABLE 3-4b

Results of Regression Analyses Pertaining to Lenski Hypothesis for Achieved/Ascribed Status Discrepancies Among Individuals 40-55 Yrs. of Age; Separatism Index as Dependent Variable

Status Configuration	Relationship With Separatism Index			
	Simple Correlation	Variance Explained By Discrepancy Only	Total Explained Variance	Percent of Total Explained Variance Attributable to Discrepancy Term
High Educat/Low Ethnicity	.17952	.00053	.04525	.01
Low Educat/High Ethnicity	-	-		-
High Income/Low Ethnicity	-.02243	.00002	.01852	.001
Low Income/High Ethnicity	.00961	.00277	.02127	.13
High Occup/Low Ethnicity	.07032	.00017	.02253	.01
Low Occup/High Ethnicity	-.05936	.00010	.02245	.01

relative variance explained is not even 6 percent. Therefore, one is forced to conclude that neither achieved/achieved nor achieved/ascribed status differences contribute much to the explanation of support for social change when the possible effects of career mobility are controlled for.

Summary

Every possible revision of Lenski's theory has been tested (i.e. achieved/ascribed status discrepancies were singled out; the French and English Canadian subsets of the sample were examined separately, and career mobility was controlled for). In addition to this, for the first time, direct measures of support for social change were used in testing the theory. Despite these efforts, inconsistency was found to have the predicted effect in only some instances and in these instances its effect was very weak. On the basis of this evidence one must conclude that status inconsistency is of little value in explaining political behavior.

CHAPTER IV

Cross-Pressures

The second stated goal of this thesis is to examine the evidence for Lipset's theory of cross-pressures and to compare the exaplanatory value of his theory with that of Lenski's theory of status inconsistency. The problem, as it is described In Chapter I (page:13) is to evaluate the political response of individuals in cross-pressure situations which are conceptually identical to status inconsistency situations. The Lipset prediction in these situations is that individuals will withdraw from the political process and become apathetic. Evidence for the Lipset claim will be weighted against the evidence presented in Chapter III for the Lenski claim that the political response arising from these situations is support for social change. To do this, a series of regression analyses were performed relating both achieved/achieved status discrepancies and achieved/ascribed discrepancies to "Political Apathy", which was operationalized using both "Non-Voting" and the "Apathy Index" constructed in Chapter II.

As cross-pressure situations in this thesis are analogous to status inconsistency situations, the methodological problems inherent in status inconsistency research are also present in cross-pressures research. Consequently, the same methodology employed with regard to status

inconsistency will be used in examining cross-pressures.

Achieved/Achieved Status Discrepancies

Tables 4-1a and 4-1b present data illustrating the effects of achieved/achieved status discrepancies on non-voting and the attitude scale developed to measure political apathy. Several things should be noted about the correlation co-efficients: first, the signs of the correlations between status discrepancy and non-voting are neither consistently positive or negative, that is in some cases status discrepancy is positively related to voting and not non-voting as Lipset predicts. The second thing which should be noted is that the relationship between status discrepancy and the Apathy Index is consistently negative with the excention of the English sub-sample. This means that status discrepancy is consistently related to low apathy, which is contrary to the Lipset prediction. Admittedly, the correlations for the Apathy Index are rather low which makes their signs unreliable, but the fact that in almost every test the Apathy Index is negatively correlated with status discrepancy raises the question of whether the Index measures the same underlying dimension of political apathy as the vote/non-vote distinction. It will be recalled that a validity check for the Apathy Index (Chapter II, page 44)

TABLE 4-1a

Results of Regression Analyses Pertaining to Lipset Hypothesis for Achieved/Achieved Status Discrepancies; Non-Voting As Dependent Variable

Status Configuration	Relationship With Non-Voting			
	Simple Correlation	Variance Explained By Discrepancy Only	Total Explained Variance	Percent of Total Explained Variance Attributable to Discrepancy Term
		(Whole Sample)		
Occup/Income	-.02766	.00072	.00084	.86
Educat/Income	.02231	.00089	.00450	.20
Educat/Occup	.00735	.00020	.00415	.05
Educat/Occup/Income	.01794	.00066	.00489	.13
		(French Canadians Only)		
Occup/Income	-	-	-	-
Educat/Income	.02231	.00089	.00450	.20
Educat/Occup	-.02515	.00026	.00084	.86
Educat/Occup/Income	.01794	.00066	.00489	.13
		(English Canadians Only)		
Occup/Income	-.04553	.00154	.03064	.05
Educat/Income	.07566	.00692	.01880	.37
Educat/Occup	.08206	.00095	.03919	.02
Educat/Occup/Income	.08501	.00117	.03970	.03

TABLE 4-1b

Results of Regression Analyses Pertaining to Linset Hypothesis for Achieved/Achieved Status Discrepancies; Apathy Index as Dependent Variable.

Status Configuration	Relationship with Apathy Index			
	Simple Correlation	Variance Explained By Discrepancy Only	Total Explained Variance	Percent of Total Explained Variance Attributable to Discrepancy Term
		(Whole Sample)		
Occup/Income	-.03622	.00092	.02875	.03
Educat/Income	-.03549	.00020	.04937	.004
Educat/Occup	-.04185	.00032	.04385	.01
Educat/Occup/Income	-.04467	.00030	.04947	.01
		(French Canadians Only)		
Occup/Income	-.03313	.00027	.03578	.01
Educat/Income	-.06581	.00225	.05775	.04
Educat/Occup	-.08133	.00285	.05144	.05
Educat/Occup/Income	-.08749	.00377	.05969	.06
		(English Canadians Only)		
Occup/Income	-.07264	.02010	.03133	.64
Educat/Income	.06548	.00178	.07284	.02
Educat/Occup	.18534	.00440	.09774	.04
Educat/Occup/Income	.13144	.00089	.10204	.01

revealed a low correlation between non-voting and the Index (a correlation of 0.25). It is possible that the items comprising the Index: working for a political party, going to political meetings, and convincing others of one's political opinions -- measure a different kind of political participation than voting. Perhaps these items measure professional political participation, participation one would expect from individuals envisioning some sort of career in politics, rather than the mere fulfillment of one's civic duty which would entail voting. Of the two measures developed of the dependent variable, it seems that non-voting, rather than the Apathy Index, is the one which most closely approximates political apathy in the Lipset sense. Support for this contention is that the voting/non-voting distinction is used by Lipset (1960: pp. 203-216) himself as a measure of political apathy. Thus, it is this measure which will be used throughout the rest of the analysis of the Lipset hypothesis. (Although the Apathy Index will not be used in testing Lipset's theory, the results of regression analyses with the Index as the dependent variable can be found in Appendices I through III).

Focusing attention then, only on the analyses pertaining to non-voting in Table 4-1a, it is clear that the absolute value of all the initial correlations of status discrepancy with non-voting are low, ranging

between 0.00306 and 0.08501. Further, the amount of variance explained by status discrepancy once the effects of the status variables composing the discrepancy term have been controlled for is small: the variance ranges from 0.00006 to 0.00154, and the average variance explained for those cases where there is a positive correlation between discrepancy and non-voting is a mere 0.00162 (or not even 1 percent). Thus, in absolute terms, status discrepancy accounts for only a small proportion of the variance to be explained in non-voting. In relative terms, it accounts for anywhere from 1 to 86 percent of the total explained variance.

However, status discrepancy usually accounts for large proportions of the total explained variance when it is negatively correlated with the dependent variable (which, of course, is the reverse of the Lipset prediction). Thus, the average percent of total explained variance accounted for by status discrepancy for cases where discrepancy correlates positively with the dependent variable is only 13 percent (i.e. on the average status discrepancy accounts for 13 percent of the total variance explained by all three variables in each analysis).

As can be seen from the above discussion, there is little support for the Lipset hypothesis that status discrepancy leads to non-voting. Status discrepancy is not consistently related to non-voting; when discrepancy

does correlate positively with non-voting, the absolute variance explained by discrepancy is low (not even one percent) and the relative amount of variance explained by discrepancy, while somewhat larger, is still small, on the average only 13%.

Achieved/Ascribed Status Discrepancies

Although Lipset himself never distinguishes between the effects of cross-pressures due to achieved status discrepancies and the effects due to achieved/ascribed status discrepancies, Lenski, in discussing status inconsistency, predicts a difference in strength of effect on the dependent variable for the two types of status configurations (Chapter [illegible], page: 5). For the purposes of comparison of the two theories, the same distinctions were made with regard to the Lipset hypothesis. Table 4-2 presents the results of regression analyses of the effects of achieved/ascribed status discrepancies on non-voting.

An examination of the signs of the correlation coefficients reveals a certain pattern: when status discrepancy is due to a high achieved/low ascribed status difference, a negative relationship exists between discrepancy and non-voting, while when status discrepancy is due to a low achieved/high ascribed configuration a positive relationship exists between discrepancy and non-voting. Thus, it seems that for status discrepancy

TABLE 4-2

Results of Regression Analyses Pertaining to Lipset Hypothesis for Achieved/Ascribed Status Discrepancies; Non-Voting as Dependent Variable

Status Configuration	Relationship With Non-Voting			
	Simple Correlation	Variance Explained By Discrepancy Only	Total Explained Variance	Percent of Total Explained Varia... Attributable to Discrepancy Term
High Educat/Low Ethnicity	-.03011	.00005	.00310	.02
Low Educat/High Ethnicity	.00694	.00030	.00335	.09
High Income/Low Ethnicity	-.02061	.00085	.00199	.42
Low Income/High Ethnicity	.00171	.00012	.00126	.01
High Occup/Low Ethnicity	-.05769	.00300	.00811	.37
Low Occup/High Ethnicity	.00291	.00085	.00597	.14

produced by a high achieved/low ascribed status configuration (such as the high education/low ethnicity, high income/low ethnicity, or high occupation/low ethnicity configurations) the Lipset hypothesis is not borne out.

The magnitude of the correlations between status discrepancy and non-voting for those cases where the two variables are positively related demonstrates once again a very weak relationship; co-efficients range from 0.00171 to 0.00694, and the amount of variance explained by status discrepancy after the effects of the main status variables have been controlled for is quite small, ranging from 0.00005 to 0.00300 (thus it fails to explain even 1 percent of the variance in non-voting). The average percent of the total variance explained attributable to status discrepancy for those cases where it is positively correlated with the dependent variable is also quite low: 8 percent.

In summary, achieved/ascribed status discrepancies, as in the case of achieved/achieved status discrepancies, do not account for any significant amount of the variance to be explained in non-voting and as such, do not bear out Lipset's prediction.

A Proposed Revision of the Theory

It will be recalled that in Chapter III (page 61), when discussing the Lenski hypothesis, the argument was made that status discrepancy resulting from differences

in achieved statuses may not cause tension for individuals who are potentially upwardly mobile. A similar argument may be made regarding the effects of cross-pressures. An individual who has discrepant statuses, but who is also mobile, may not be under a great deal of cross-pressures since he may have already taken on the values and beliefs of the group to which he aspires (i.e. the eventual income or occupational group he hopes to attain). Thus, in testing out Lipset's theory of cross-pressures, the following prediction was made: individuals who have reached the peak of their careers and who are still status discrepant at that time will be subject to more cross-pressures than status discrepant individuals who have not reached the peak of their careers. To test this prediction, it was decided to examine the effects of cross-pressures on non-voting for only those individuals who were between 40 to 55 years of age, on the assumption (as in Chapter III) that individuals of this age group have reached the peak of their careers. As in Chapter III, separate regressions were performed for status discrepancies due to differences in achieved statuses and status discrepancies due to differences between an achieved and an ascribed status.

Achieved/Achieved Status Discrepancies, Controlling for Age

Table 4-3 presents the results of regression analyses of achieved status discrepancies for those individuals ages 40 to 55. Once again, judging by the signs of the correlation co-efficients, status discrepancy fails to be associated with non-voting in a consistent manner. In three out of the twelve tests performed, status discrepancy was found to be associated with voting and not non-voting as Lipset predicts (all three cases involve the same status configuration, occupation/income, which correlates negatively with non-voting in the whole sample and in the French and English sub-sets). The correlation co-efficients which do correlate positively with non-voting are quite low (between +0.00778 and +0.08874), except for the English sub-sample. Here the correlations are quite substantial: ranging from 0.31207 to 0.48023 for those cases where there is a positive correlation. The amount of variance explained in general is still low for the whole sample and the French Canadian sub-sample, the average variance explained for these two groups is 0.02973, or almost three percent. This is substantially larger than the average variance for the sample without the age controls (0.00185) but in an absolute sense the amount of variance explained is still quite low.

However, the average amount of variance explained

TABLE 4-3

Results of Regression Analyses Pertaining to Lipset Hypothesis for Achieved/Achieved Status Discrepancies for Individuals 40-55 Yrs. of Age; Non-Voting as Dependent Variable

Status Configuration	Relationship With Non-Voting			
	Simple Correlation	Variance Explained By Discrepancy Only	Total Explained Variance	Percent of Total Explained Variance Attributable to Discrepancy Term
		(Whole Sample)		
Occup/Income	-.01835	.00010	.07228	.001
Educat/Income	.08874	.05702	.28494	.20
Educat/Occup	.04271	.02325	.21161	.11
Educat/Occup/Income	.08051	.05784	.29295	.20
		(French Canadians Only)		
Occup/Income	-.01758	.00002	.09605	.002
Educat/Income	-.06607	.02465	.21324	.11
Educat/Occup	.00778	.00188	.15240	.01
Educat/Occup/Income	.04523	.01374	.19210	.07
		(English Canadians Only)		
Occup/Income	-.11559	.00080	.29640	.003
Educat/Income	.31207	.43493	.71242	.61
Educat/Occup	.48023	.33216	.69336	.48
Educat/Occup/Income	.46837	.49445	.81696	.60

for those tests within the English sub-sample which correlate positively with non-voting is substantial: 0.42055, or slightly more than 42 percent.

While for the whole sample and the French Canadian sub-sample the average percent of the total explained variance attributable to status discrepancy is 12 percent, it is nearly 56 percent for the English sub-sample. Obviously, the findings for the English sub-sample are far more substantial than those of previous tests of the two theories. It must be kept in mind though, that these substantial findings apply to a very small sub-sample of the population: English Canadians between 40 and 55 years of age who are status discrepant with regard to 1) income and education or 2) education and occupation (obviously the global measure of inconsistency also yields substantial results since it is in part determined by these two forms of inconsistency).

These limited findings then provide only minimal support for the Lipset hypothesis, and fail to substantiate the general contention that cross-pressures lead to non-voting. Because these findings are applicable to such a small sub-set of the sample judgment as to the value of the theory of cross-pressures for sociology will be reserved until the effects of status discrepancy due to achieved/ascribed status differences on non-voting can be assessed.

Achieved/Ascribed Status Discrepancies, Controlling for Age

Table 4-4 presents data concerning the effects of achieved/ascribed status discrepancies on non-voting for individuals 40 to 55 years of age.

In four out of five cases there is a negative relationship between non-voting and status discrepancy; as status discrepancy decreases, non-voting increases, which is the exact opposite of what the Lipset hypothesis would predict. In the one case where non-voting is positively related to status discrepancy (the low income/high ethnicity case) the correlation is weak (+0.05373). The variance explained by this configuration (once the effects of the main status variables have been controlled for) is low (0.00072). Finally, the average percent of the total explained variance attributable to this particular status configuration is also quite low: 3 percent. These results bring negative evidence to bear on the Lipset hypothesis: in four out of five cases non-voting is inversely related to status discrepancy and in the one case where a positive relationship exists it is a very weak one. These results in no way substantiate the Lipset contention.

Thus, the only substantial evidence in support of Lipset's theory is that presented for English Canadians, age 40 to 55 who are status discrepants with regard to

TABLE 4-4

Results of Regression Analyses Pertaining to Lipset Hypothesis for Achieved/Ascribed Status Discrepancies for Individuals 40-55 Yrs. of Age; Non-Voting as Dependent Variable

Status Configuration	Relationship With Non-Voting			
	Simple Correlation	Variance Explained By Discrepancy Only	Total Explained Variance	Percent of Total Explained Variance Attributable to Discrepancy Term
High Educat/Low Ethnicity	.04529	.00070	.01186	.06
Low Educat/High Ethnicity	-	-	-	-
High Income/Low Ethnicity	-.08692	.00193	.02296	.08
Low Income/High Ethnicity	.05373	.00072	.02368	.03
High Occup/Low Ethnicity	-.09992	.01906	.03358	.57
Low Occup/High Ethnicity	-.02653	.00804	.02255	.35

1) income and education or 2) occupation and education. There is no apparent theoretical reason as to why the findings for this particular sub-sample are so much stronger than those for the French Canadian sub-sample. The original decision to separate the two ethnic groups for the purpose of analysis was based on the idea that perhaps the effects of status discrepancy would be stronger for French than English Canadians. It was hypothesized that French Canadians would be more predisposed to support the separatist movement than English Canadians as it is a movement which deals specifically with the ethnic problems of the French-speaking population. The decision to keep separate the two ethnic groups throughout the cross-pressures tests was made so that the results of the tests could be compared with the results of the Lenski tests. Thus, theoretically the findings are unexpected in two respects: 1) the strongest effect of status discrepancy is found with English Canadians, not French Canadians and 2) the effect found is with regard to non-voting and not support for separatism.

As these findings apply to such a restricted portion of the sample, they may very well be random findings caused by the association of these patterns of discrepancy (income/education and occupation/education) with some other sociological variable, which in turn is related to non-voting. Attempts were made to ascertain

what variable(s) might be causing such a spurious relationship by controlling for: religion, marital status, sex, and region (urban/rural) but these attempts were not successful. Further attempts were made to discover if the distribution of the discrepancy terms and the status variables composing them were in some way a-typical for the sub-set of English Canadians age 40 to 55, but no significant differences from the sample as a whole, or from French Canadians of the same age group, were found with respect to the mean, median, standard deviation and degree of skewness.

Despite the fact that the attempts made to discover some spurious relationship were unsuccessful, it is concluded that these findings do not adequately support the revised Lipset hypothesis and thus, the theory should be rejected. There are several bases for this decision: 1) it is quite possible that the variable responsible for some spurious relationship is not contained in the questionnaire, making it impossible to determine if a spurious relationship exists. 2) The findings under discussion are applicable to the sub-set of the sample for which one would least expect findings based on the theory presented thus far. These two reasons in and of themselves are perhaps not sufficient to warrant the above conclusion, but taken together with the fact that 3) the findings are extremely limited in scope and applicable to only a small sub-

sample of the total sample, the conclusion seems justified. The findings are limited in scope for they do not apply to all forms of status discrepancy; in fact, they do not even apply to all forms of achieved/achieved status discrepancies. Further, the findings apply only to English Canadians, 40 to 55 years of age (a little more than 2 percent of the sample). Even if one accepts these findings as real, the usefulness of such a theory, so limited in scope, must be questioned. As a general predictor of voting behavior it is extremely marginal in use, and therefore should be rejected.

Comparison of the Lenski and Lipset Hypotheses

The data presented thus far in relation to both the Lenski and Lipset hypotheses have failed to reveal any consistent and significant relationship between status discrepancy and support for social change or status discrepancy and non-voting. However, consideration of the data on achieved/ascribed status differences for the two theories jointly, reveals an interesting pattern. An examination of the data presented in Table 4-5 seems to indicate a difference in political response according to the "direction of status discrepancy". That is, where status discrepancy is the result of a high achieved/low ascribed status configuration, discrepancy tends to be negatively correlated with non-voting and positively correlated with support for social change. On the other hand, where status discrepancy

TABLE 4-5

Comparison of the Relationships Between Status Discrepancy and Non-Voting and Status Discrepancy and P.Q. Vote for Achieved/Ascribed Status Discrepancies

Status Configuration	Relationship with Non-Voting	Relationship with P.Q. Vote
	Simple Correlation	Simple Correlation
High Educat/Low Ethnicity	- .03011	.23135
Low Educat/High Ethnicity	.00694	-.06530
High Income/Low Ethnicity	-.02061	.02886
Low Income/High Ethnicity	.00171	-.04044
High Occup/Low Ethnicity	-.05769	.12434
Low Occup/High Ethnicity	.00291	-.05647

is the result of a low achieved/high ascribed status configuration, discrepancy tends to be positively related to non-voting and negatively related to support for social change. This response pattern is then, the reverse of that observed for a high achieved/low ascribed configuration. If one conceptualizes non-voting and voting for social change as two extremes of a continuous variable that might be labeled "political participation", where voting for social change represents the highest degree of political participation, and non-voting represents the lowest form of political participation, a new hypothesis can be formulated: that the direction of status discrepancy arising from achieved/ascribed status differences is directly related to the degree of political participation. That is, status discrepancy resulting from high achieved/low ascribed configurations is related to a high degree of political participation, whereas status discrepancy resulting from low achieved/high ascribed configurations results in low political participation.

The theoretical explanation for this hypothesis is simple: an individual with a high achieved/low ascribed status configuration can only hope to resolve the tension or problems caused by his low ascribed status through some form of social change (this is true because ascribed statuses, are by definition, unalterable). The only hope for such an individual is to alter society's perception of his ascribed status, hence the high political

participation. However, for the individual with a low achieved/high ascribed status configuration two possible courses of action are open: first, if tension is produced by his discrepant statuses he can resolve that tension by raising his achieved status (this assumes of course that mobility exists in the society). To do this however, requires no political participation or struggle for social change on the part of the individual; thus an apathetic attitude leading to low political participation might be more likely to develop in such individuals. A second possibility is that such a status discrepancy does not cause tension for the individual. These individuals are accorded at times more status or deference on the basis of their ascribed status than they would merit by virtue of their achieved status. Conceivably; this might become a very comfortable situation for some people. If voting is considered a means of social change, then there is absolutely no motivation for these individuals to vote or change the existing social order. The end result, as in the first case, is the same: low political participation.

To test this hypothesis the dependent variable, political participation, was operationalized in the following manner: 1) non-voting represents the lowest state of political participation, 2) voting for a non-social change party represents a medium state of polit-

ical participation and 3) voting for a political party advocating social change represents the highest state of political participation.

The test of this new hypothesis entails as well, a new conceptualization of the independent variable. In this new conceptualization, the individual is seen as having one of three possible status configurations; ranging from low to high these are: 1) a high ascribed/low achieved configuration, 2) statuses which are in equilibrium, and 3) a high achieved/low ascribed configuration.

To operationalize this new conception of the independent variable ethnicity was recoded such that French Canadians (low ascribed status) received a score of 1, while English Canadians (high ascribed status) received a score of 3. Achieved variables were tri-chotomized, and given values of 1, 2, and 3, ranging from the lowest category to the highest. To obtain the interaction term itself, the achieved status for a given individual was subtracted from his ascribed status, and then this difference was squared. For English Canadians only, the square of the difference of the two statuses was multiplied by -1. The purpose of this last step was to create an interaction term for which a high achieved/low ascribed status configuration would receive a high score, a status configuration in equilibrium would receive a

medium score, and a low achieved/high ascribed status configuration would receive a low score (Table 4-6 represents this schematically). As can be seen from the Table, high discrepancy resulting from a high achieved/low ascribed configuration receives the highest score assigned (4), statuses in equilibrium receive a mid-point score (0) and high discrepancy resulting from a low achieved/high ascribed configuration receives the lowest score assigned (-4).

Table 4-7 presents data derived from regression analyses of the effect of achieved/ascribed status discrepancies (conceptualized in the above manner) on the new dependent variable "political participation".

The absolute value of the initial correlations of status discrepancy with political participation are fairly substantial for the two cases for which there are data -- between 0.16028 and 0.22274. However, once the effects of the main status variables are controlled for, the variance explained by status discrepancy is quite low, not even 1 percent (the average variance for the two cases is 0.00086). Finally, the relative variance explained by status discrepancy is also quite low, 1 percent in the case of the education/ethnicity configuration, and 4 percent in the case of the occupation/ethnicity configuration. Obviously, status discrepancy in neither case is responsible for a major part of the total explained variance. It can only be concluded

Table 4-6

Procedure for Creating Dummy Variables for Achieved/Ascribed Status Discrepancies

Values Assigned To Ascribed Status	Values Assigned To Achieved Status	Values Assigned To Dummy Variables	Verbal Designation
	Upper 1/3 = 3	$(1-3)^2 = 4$	High Discrepancy
French Canadian = 1	Middle 1/3 = 2	$(1-2)^2 = 1$	Low Discrepancy
	Lower 1/3 = 1	$(1-1)^2 = 0$	Equilibrium
	Upper 1/3 = 3	$-1[(3-3)^2] = 0$	Equilibrium
English Canadian = 3	Middle 1/3 = 2	$-1[(3-2)^2] = -1$	Low Discrepancy
	Lower 1/3 = 1	$-1[(3-1)^2] = -4$	High Discrepancy

TABLE 4-7

Achieved/Ascribed Status Discrepancy and its Relationship to Political Participation

Status Configuration	Relationship With Political Participation			
	Simple Correlation	Variance Explained By Discrepancy Term only	Total Explained Variance	Percent of Total Explained Variance Attributable to Discrepancy Term
Education/Ethnicity	.22274	.00060	.05712	.01
Income/Ethnicity	-	-	-	-
Occupation/Ethnicty	.16028	.00112	.03127	.04

from this data that status discrepancy conceptualized in this new manner, does not contribute to the explanation of political participation. While initial correlations of discrepancy with political participation may be substantial, when the effects of the main status variables are controlled for, the effect of status discrepancy on political participation is reduced to virtually nothing.

CHAPTER V

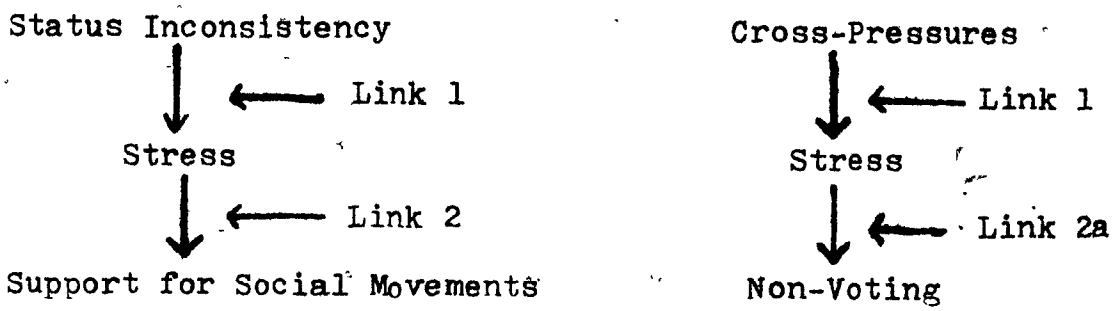
Stress

In previous chapters it was seen that status discrepancy contributes very little to the explanation of non-voting, support for social change movements, or degree of political participation. Yet because status discrepancy can be conceptualized both as an instance of status inconsistency and as an instance of cross-pressures, it is a central concept in at least two theories of importance in the political-sociological literature. Thus, the question of why status discrepancy fails as a predictor of political behavior is an important one which should be further investigated. Perhaps the answer as to why it fails lies with the social-psychological models on which both theories of status inconsistency and cross-pressures are posited. Thus, the purpose of this chapter will be to examine more closely the validity of this model.

It will be remembered that for both theories, stress -- or tension -- is a crucial intervening variable. Figure 5-1 represents schematically the two theories as well as the various associations or "links" between variables which must be verified if one is to validate the underlying social-psychological mechanism of the two theories. As it was mentioned in Chapter II

FIGURE 5-1

The Two Social-Psychological Models Implicit in the Lenski and Lipset Theories Respectively



(page 40), an interval measure of stress was developed (which from this point on will be referred to as the Stress Index). It will be recalled that this index was developed only for the French Canadian sub-set of the sample since the questions comprising the Index were not asked of English Canadians.

Two types of measures will be used throughout the verification of the social-psychological model; these are 1) interval level indices (such as the Separatism Index, or Stress Index) and 2) dichotomies (such as the vote/ non-vote distinction or the P.Q. vote/non-P.Q. vote distinction). In the verification of an association involving two interval level indices, correlation co-efficients will be used, while in the verification of an association involving an interval level index and a dichotomy, a t-test will be performed for the two groups defined by the dichotomy, to ascertain whether these two groups differ significantly with respect to their mean scores on the index.

Status Discrepancy and Stress

An obvious first step toward validation of the social-psychological model would be to examine the association between stress and status discrepancy (this is "link 1" of Figure 5-1). Table 5-1 presents the

TABLE 5-1

Correlations of Achieved/Achieved Status Discrepancies With Stress

(French Canadians Only)

Status Discrepancy	Relationship With Stress	
	Correlation	Sig. Level
Income/Occupation	.02	P $\leq$ .065*
Income/Education	.02	P $\leq$ .116*
Occupation/Education	- .02	P $\leq$ .127

*Wrong Direction

correlations between achieved/achieved status discrepancies and the Stress Index. As it can be readily seen, the correlations are extremely low; either +0.02 or -0.02. In two out of the three cases, the correlations are in the opposite direction one would predict from the hypothesis. According to the social-psychological model, the greater an individual's status discrepancy, the greater the amount of stress generated. Since a low score on the Stress Index represents high tension, the prediction one would make from the social-psychological model is that the Stress Index should be inversely related to status discrepancy. However, this is true in only one out of the three instances of discrepancy. None of the correlations are significant at $P \leq 0.05$. Therefore, it would seem that there is very little relationship between achieved/achieved status discrepancies and stress.

Table 5-2 presents data relevant to the verification of the relationship between stress and achieved/ascribed status discrepancies. It will be remembered that the stress measure developed is valid for only the French Canadian sub-set of the sample, therefore, in testing out the relationship between achieved/ascribed discrepancies and stress it was decided to divide each of the achieved status dimensions into two groups; high and low, and then to examine the difference in mean scores on the Stress Index for the two groups. If stress is

TABLE 5-2

T-Test Results For Achieved/Ascribed Status Discrepancies and Stress

(French Canadians Only)

Status Discrepancy	Means	Mean Difference	Significance Level
Low Income	10.7	0.3	$P \leq .001$
High Income	11.0		
Low Occupation	13.0	3.0	$P \leq .001$
High Occupation	10.0		
Low Education	10.9	0.4	$P \leq .001$
High Education	10.5		

related to status discrepancy due to achieved/ascribed status differences, one would expect that the stress exhibited by French Canadians who are "high" on a given achieved dimension would be higher than the stress exhibited by those who are "low" on this dimension. This is true since the inconsistent pattern is produced by a low ascribed status (French Canadian) and a high achieved status (high income, education or occupation) and this inconsistent pattern should be associated with tension according to both Lenski and Lipset. Thus, Table 5-2 presents the appropriate mean differences between the high and low groups for each achieved status dimension and the results of a t-test for each of these mean differences.

If one examines the results for income one finds that there is a mean difference of 0.3 between the high income group and the low income group. However, this difference is in the opposite direction predicted from the social-psychological model. That is, individuals in the low income group exhibit greater stress than those in the high income group (It should be emphasized that a high numerical score on the Stress Index represents low stress due to the way the questions were originally worded). However, if one examines the mean difference for the high and low occupation groups, one finds a substantial mean difference of 3.0, and this

difference is in the predicted direction. In the case of education, the mean difference in stress scores between the high and low groups is also in the predicted direction and significant; however, the mean difference of 0.6 observed is not large when one considers the possible range of scores (from 1 to 16), and that the high significance level attained is probably in part due to the large sample size. Thus, the relationship between stress and achieved/ascribed status discrepancies is validated in one instance, weakly supported in a second, and fails completely in the third. It must therefore be concluded that stress is not consistently related to either achieved/ascribed status differences or achieved/achieved status differences.

Stress and Support for Social Change

The next step in the verification of the social psychological model for status inconsistency is validation of the relationship between stress and support for social change (this is "link 2" of Figure 5-1). This link is easily verified by correlating the Stress Index with the interval measure of support for social change, the Separatism Index. A correlation of these two indices yields a co-efficient of -0.26 which is significant at $P \leq 0.001$ for one-tailed test. This correlation is fairly substantial and explains 6.7

percent of the variance (once again it will be noted that while the actual co-efficient is negative, the relationship is in the predicted direction since a low score on the index represents high stress).

An alternate way of testing the same link would be to perform a t-test on the mean scores for the two groups formed by the P.Q. vote/non-P.Q. vote distinction. The results of such a test show that there is a mean difference of 1.73 in stress scores for the two groups and that this difference is in the predicted direction as well as significant at the $P \leq .001$ level for a one-tailed test. Since this mean difference is fairly substantial, in the predicted direction, and statistically significant; and since the correlation obtained of the Stress Index with the Separatism Index was also substantial and significant, there does appear to be a relationship between stress and support for social change.

Stress and Non-Voting

There remains one last relationship in the social-psychological model to be tested: the relationship between stress and non-voting (this is "link 2-a" of Figure 5-1). A basic test of this relationship was devised in the following manner: the sample was divided into two groups; those who vote and those who don't vote. Then a t-test was performed on the mean

difference of stress scores for the two groups. If stress is related to non-voting, as one would predict from the Lipset hypothesis, one should find that the group of individuals who do not vote exhibit greater stress than the group of individuals who do vote. Unfortunately, the results of such a test do not show this to be the case. While there is a mean difference of 0.56 in stress scores for the two groups, this difference is not in the predicted direction; that is, individuals who vote exhibit slightly higher stress than those who do not vote. Thus, stress is not related to non-voting as the social-psychological model of the Lipset theory would predict.

Summary

From the above discussion it can be concluded that of the three relationships postulated by the social-psychological model, the only one to be substantiated when subjected to analysis is the relationship between stress and support for social change. There appears to be no relation between status discrepancy (either achieved/achieved or achieved/ascribed discrepancy) and stress as predicted by Lenski and Lipset, or between stress and non-voting (as predicted implicity by Lipset).

CHAPTER VI

Summary and Conclusion

The primary object of this thesis has been to compare two theories, status inconsistency and cross-pressures, on the basis of their ability to predict the political response of individuals who are status discrepant. A secondary, but nonetheless important goal of this thesis has been to examine the social-psychological model underlying both theories.

In Chapter III it was shown that as a predictor of support for social change, Lenski's theory of status inconsistency is quite poor. Very rarely is status discrepancy able to account for slightly more than 1 percent of the variance to be explained. Many have argued that because status discrepancy accounts for such a small amount of variance in political behavior, it should be abandoned as a sociological variable. Yet such standard sociological variables as education, occupation, income and ethnicity also fail to explain significant amounts of the variance in political response in this study. The total percent of variance explained for any given regression equation involving a discrepancy term and the two status variables comprising the discrepancy term is seldom greater than 7 or 8 percent. No one, however, would argue that because of this, these status variables should be dropped from future sociological

research. It is for these reasons that a second measure, the relative amount of variance explained, was examined. This measure provides a comparison of the predictive ability of status discrepancy with the predictive ability of the other widely accepted variables in the analysis (such as education, occupation, etc.). However, even the relative variance explained by status discrepancy (i.e. the percent of the total variance explained attributable to status discrepancy) was found in almost all cases to be quite low. Thus, its utility as a predictor of political behavior must still be questioned.

In a final attempt to validate the Lenski hypothesis, a modification was proposed which introduced an age control. The purpose of the control was to increase the saliency of inconsistency, and thus provide a fairer test of the concept. This modification however, failed to improve the predictive power of the theory.

In Chapter IV Lipset's theory of cross-pressures was analyzed, revised and compared with some of the data presented in Chapter III concerning Lenski's theory of status inconsistency.

The Lipset hypothesis however, did not prove to be a better predictor of political behavior than the Lenski hypothesis. In most cases both the absolute and relative amount of variance explained by status discrepancy with regard to non-voting is quite low with one exception.

In testing the revised version of the Lipset hypothesis, which included an age control, it was discovered that status discrepancy accounts for an extremely large proportion of the variance to be explained in non-voting (both in absolute and relative terms) for a particular subset of English Canadians. However, since these findings are limited to such a small proportion of the sample (less than 2 percent) and since there is no real theoretical reason as to why status discrepancy should have an effect among these individuals and only these individuals, the findings are not considered to provide adequate support for the theory. (All these results and conclusions do not, of course, have any bearing on those cross-pressure situations which cannot be interpreted as status discrepancy situations).

One final hypothesis involving achieved/ascribed status discrepancies was tested. It was hypothesized that individuals with an achieved status higher than their ascribed status would tend to support social change movements, while individuals with an achieved status lower than their ascribed status would tend to become politically apathetic. This hypothesis, however, was not borne out by the data.

Thus, it must be concluded that neither Lenski's theory of status inconsistency, nor Lipset's theory of cross-pressures is substantiated by the data presented in this thesis. As these are two well-known and central

theories to contemporary sociology the question of why these two theories fail as predictors of political behavior must be asked. The answer to this question may very well lie with the social-psychological model upon which both theories are based.

In Chapter V the intervening variable of both theories was examined. More specifically the relationship between status discrepancy and stress, and the relationship between stress and type of political response were examined.

It was found that, contrary to the prediction of Lenski (and implicity the prediction of Lipset), status discrepancy is not related to stress. Further, it was discovered that while stress is not related to non-voting (as the Lipset model would suggest) it is related to support for the Parti Québécois and separatism. Thus, of the three relationships derived from the social-psychological model, only one is substantiated by the data presented in this thesis.

Since both Lenski's theory of status inconsistency and Lipset's theory of cross-pressures are based upon a social-psychological model which, for the most part is unsubstantiated, it is no small wonder that the two theories fail as predictors of social-political behavior. The most crucial assumption of the model, that status discrepancy produces stress or tension, is simply not borne out by the data.

Although the relationship between status discrepancy and stress was not validated by this study, the one positive finding of the thesis is the relationship between stress and support for social change. Thus, future research efforts aimed at discovering the causal factors involved in support for social change, might be best directed at investigating other sources of stress than those which were hypothesized to arise from status discrepancy.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Results of Regression Analyses Pertaining to Lipset Hypothesis for Achieved/Ascribed Status Discrepancies; Apathy Index as Dependent Variable

Status Configuration	Relationship With Apathy Index			
	Simple Correlation	Variance Explained By Discrepancy Only	Total Explained Variance	Percent of Total Explained Variance Attributable to Discrepancy Term
High Educat/Low Ethnicity	-.19546	.00234	.04343	
Low Educat/High Ethnicity	.01774	.00012	.04122	
High Income/Low Ethnicity	-.10621	.00002	.01713	
Low Income/High Ethnicity	-.01571	.00150	.01861	
High Occup/Low Ethnicity	-.13305	.00349	.02018	
Low Occup/High Ethnicity	-.04152	.00404	.02073	

APPENDIX II

Results of Regression Analyses Pertaining to Lipset Hypothesis for Achieved/Achieved Status Discrepancies for Individuals 40-55 Yrs. of Age; Apathy Index as Dependent Variable

Status Configuration	Relationship With Apathy Index			
	Simple Correlation	Variance Explained By Discrepancy Only	Total Explained Variance	Percent of Total Explained Variance Attributable to Discrepancy Term
		(Whole Sample)		
Occup/Income	-.08527	.00345	.04221	.08
Educat/Income	-.11618	.00010	.12612	.001
Educat/Occup	-.09142	.00008	.12477	.001
Educat/Occup/Income	-.12536	.00012	.12639	.001
		(French Canadians Only)		
Occup/Income	-.08054	.00127	.05658	.02
Educat/Income	-.14618	.00074	.15581	.004
Educat/Occup	-.12043	.00199	.15546	.01
Educat/Occup/Income	-.15811	.00186	.15720	.01
		(English Canadians Only)		
Occup/Income	-.15945	.05090	.05262	.96
Educat/Income	.03576	.00651	.02675	.24
Educat/Occup	.35843	.16579	.19219	.86
Educat/Occup/Income	.17860	.06535	.09236	.71

APPENDIX III

Results of Regression Analyses Pertaining to Lipset Hypothesis for Achieved/Ascribed Status Discrepancies for Individuals 40-55 Yrs. of Age; Apathy Index as Dependent Variable

Status Configuration	Relationship With Apathy Index			
	Simple Correlation	Variance Explained By Discrepancy Only	Total Explained Variance	Percent of Total Explained Variance Attributable to Discrepancy Term
High Educat/Low Ethnicity	-.30208	.00802	.13150	.06
Low Educat/High Ethicity	-	-	-	-
High Income/Low Ethnicity	-.02609	.00126	.01880	.07
Low Income/High Ethnicity				
High Occup/Low Ethnicity	-.12444	.00462	.02464	.19
Low Occup/High Ethnicity	-.06512	.00808	.02810	.29