

STATUS CONGRUENCE AND ITS CORRELATES

by

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STATUS CONGRUENCE; ITS CORRELATES
AND THE EFFECT OF CERTAIN
CONDITIONS

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CHAPTER I
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND
THE OUTLINE OF RESEARCH

The concept of status congruence implies that the individual occupies positions in several vertical status hierarchies instead of in a single hierarchy. Given the presence of several status hierarchies, for example, education, occupation, and income, the individual may occupy equivalent positions in each or dissimilar positions in all or some of them. In the first case sociologists say a situation of status congruence (or consistency or crystallisation) exists, and in the second, one of status incongruence (or inconsistency or uncrystallisation). Besides, there may be various patterns of status congruence, a high occupational status with a low educational status, or low occupational status and high educational status for instance, all of which forms may have diverse consequences for the individual.

Max Weber¹ alluded to this phenomenon and suggested the political, economic and prestige hierarchies as the crucial ones on which the individual's positions are located. However, although several other students of society have since made reference to this multi-dimensional aspect of social stratification and have speculated on its consequences for the individual it is only recently that efforts have been made to bring together the empirical evidence about the concept.

¹Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, Trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: The Free Press, of Glencoe, 1947).

So far, the researches have related status congruence as an independent variable to certain attitudes and behaviour as dependent variable, without any intensive empirical research into the factors which may explain the independent - dependent variable relationships. There have been several suggested (third) variables, however. George C. Homans² posits that status incongruence is associated with a state or feeling of ambiguity in interpersonal relations as the incongruent individual lacks a coherent definition of himself and other incongruents, and is uncertain of what type of behaviour to exhibit and expect. Taken one step further, such a situation will affect the individual's participation in group intercourse.

Homans³ suggests also, that status incongruence is associated with 'status anxiety', as the individual regards congruency of status as the desired situation. Should he, therefore, perceive a loss of status in one dimension his response would be one of anxiety. Homans⁴ does not elaborate on the consequences of this feeling of status anxiety, but he does mention that an individual experiencing a state of incongruence will take steps to bring his status factors into line, a response E. Benoit-Smullyan called status equilibration.⁵ Other commentators have speculated on the

²George Caspar Homans, "Status Congruence", Sentiments and Activities. Essays in Social Science (Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1962), pp. 96-97.

³Ibid. pp. 94-95

⁴Ibid.

⁵Emile Benoit-Smullyan, "Status, Status Types and Status Inter-relationships". American Sociological Review, Vol. IX (April, 1944).

forms status (rank) equilibration may take and have suggested certain types of political behaviour and attitudes as possibilities.

B. Anderson and M. Zelditch,⁶ in a recent theoretical exploration of the concept, agree that status congruence does have certain consequences for the individual. They argue that the incongruent individual may compare his status on the different dimensions with the positions of others and this comparison may produce a feeling of relative deprivation or satisfaction. That is, if an individual in comparing himself with another person thinks that his position on one or more status dimensions ought to be higher in order to achieve equivalence with his position(s) on one or more of the other dimensions, he feels relatively deprived. If, however, he perceives no relative discrepancy, he is relatively satisfied. And here Anderson and Zelditch's⁷ treatment merges with Homans'.⁸ They argue that a feeling of relative deprivation explains the tendency to seek rank equilibration, and if the individual perceives a loss of status on one or more dimensions, he may take action to prevent this and so preserve his superiority on this(these) dimension(s) at least, a response they refer to as rank saving.

As a summary of the above description, we conclude that status congruence has certain consequences - which we shall here call correlates - for

⁶B. Anderson and M. Zelditch, Jr., "Rank Equilibration and Political Behaviour, " Archives, European Journal of Sociology, No. 1 (1964).

⁷Ibid.

⁸Homans, op. cit.

the individual, and which may occur in the areas of interpersonal and other social behaviour. (1) Status incongruence is associated with an incoherent self-concept causing ambiguity, or lack of certitude as Homans⁹ describes it, which affects interaction. This formulation relates status incongruence as independent variable to lack of certitude as intervening variable, and behaviour and attitude in the area of interpersonal relations as dependent variable. (2) Another formulation relates status incongruence as independent variable to relative deprivation/satisfaction, political alienation and status anxiety as intervening variables, and certain types of behaviour and attitudes as dependent variables. These formulations are not exclusive, for a feeling of lack of certitude has been presented as an explanatory variable for various behaviours and attitudes other than the interpersonal. In fact, we suggest that lack of certitude, status anxiety and relative deprivation most often occur together and strengthen the tendency toward rank equilibration.

This thesis tests whether status congruence bears the relationships which have been attributed to it, to certain dependent variables. For example, Gerhard E. Lenski¹⁰ who was among the first to operationalise the concept, found a positive relationship between status consistency and conservative political tendencies as well as between status inconsistency and liberal or radical political tendencies. R. Sokel¹¹ and G. Brennemeyer,¹²

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status", American Sociological Review, Vol. XIX (August, 1954).

¹¹R. Sokel, unpublished paper referred to in Anderson and Zelditch, Jr. op. cit.

¹²G. Brennemeyer, unpublished paper referred to in Anderson and Zelditch, Jr., op. cit.

on the other hand, did not find similar relationships when they replicated Lenski's¹³ study with data from Winchester, Massachusetts and San Francisco, nor did W. F. Kenkel¹⁴ using data from Columbus, Ohio. These apparent contradictions have not so far been clarified and await further enquiry. Erwin W. Goffman¹⁵, in what may be considered an elaboration of Lenski's¹⁶ thesis, reported that status inconsistency is more likely than is status consistence to be positively associated with a desire for change in the social structure.

We ask the questions (1) What is the relationship of the broad category of status congruence to our dependent variables, which we describe as correlates? (2) How do the different patterns of incongruence relate to our dependent variables? Lenski¹⁷ in response to Kenkel's¹⁸ findings which seemingly contradict his own, has urged a fuller enquiry into the social consequences of each of the various patterns of status inconsistency. He suggests that 'status inconsistencies involving high occupational rank and low educational rank are more closely associated with liberal tendencies than the reverse'. Since research on the concept of status congruence has

¹³Lenski, op. cit.

¹⁴William F. Kenkel, "The Relationship Between Status Consistency and Politico-Economic Attitudes", American Sociological Review, Vol. XXI (June, 1956).

¹⁵Erwin W. Goffman, "Status Consistency and Preference for Change in Power Distribution", American Sociological Review, Vol. XXII, No. 3(1957).

¹⁶Lenski, op. cit.

¹⁷Lenski, "Comment on Kenkel's Communication", American Sociological Review, Vol. XXI (1956).

¹⁸Kenkel, op. cit.

developed only recently, the answers to these questions could help in identifying some of the conditions and underlying factors which influence the directions of response to different arrangements of ranks among individuals.

Our data do not allow us to measure the intervening variables of relative deprivation/satisfaction suggested by Anderson and Zelditch.¹⁹ Neither can we verify empirically whether or not the behaviour demonstrated is designed to achieve rank equilibration. Such a conclusion is however, theoretically admissible and enjoys a great extent of support in the literature.²⁰

It has not been convenient to measure status anxiety as used by Homans²¹ nor status ambiguity, lack of certitude and marginality which the literature suggests interpret the relationships between congruence and various responses. But in elaborating on prior research, we use the logic of these suggested interpretations to argue that certain attitudinal conditions are of great significance in the operation of status congruence. More specifically, the effects of a congruent status will be amplified in the presence of a feeling of economic satisfaction and financial security. Similarly, a feeling of financial insecurity and economic dissatisfaction will increase the influence of an incongruent status.

Further, bearing in mind Lenski's²² statement that he was not attempting a uni-factor causal relationship between status congruence and

¹⁹Anderson and Zelditch, op. cit.

²⁰Lenski, "Status Crystallization.....", op. cit.; Homans, op. cit.

²¹Homans, op. cit.

²²Lenski, op. cit.

the responses he observed, we have investigated the combined effect of status congruence and several situational variables. The literature presents several social and demographic factors which contribute to the occurrence of the multitude of responses we observe. But there is still a residue of responses which is left unexplained, and status congruence is thought to be one additional factor which will help to elucidate this residue. And should this and further research establish the legitimacy of such a claim, certain apparent contradictions and exceptions in behaviour and attitude may be better understood.

The answer to our second question gives us a closer look into the operations of status congruence. Lenski²³ argues that status incongruence per se bears certain relationships to his dependent variables. He argues that, at the same time, certain patterns of incongruence show different intensities of relationship to these same dependent variables. We tend to think that certain patterns of incongruence may even exhibit a different direction of relationship to that shown by incongruence as a whole. The total effect of incongruence therefore, would be a function of the size and/or incidence of a particular type or types of incongruence, within a broad category of incongruence. If individuals with a high income and occupation, but a low standard of education are predisposed to be ethnocentric, the ethnocentrism of the incongruents as a whole depends on the number of individuals having this pattern and the presence of other patterns which induce ethnocentrism. It would then be an overgeneralisation to attribute a particular response to the presence of incongruence per se. Our rationale for such a belief is that certain types of incongruence may be perceived

²³
Ibid.

differently by individuals and so lead to dissimilar consequences.

Similarly, it is recognised that the strength and even the direction of responses will be affected by a person's class position. An individual who is consistently high on education, income and education may show greater non-economic liberalism than one low on all three dimensions. This seems at first sight a response to status position more than of congruence however, but it needs investigating.

Data: This secondary analysis has been based on data collected by the Social Research Group in a 1962 survey of political behaviour in the Province of Quebec. For the purposes of the survey the Province was divided into the metropolitan regions of Montreal and Quebec City on the one hand, and the rest of the Province on the other. 42 percent of the voters in the 1960 provincial elections were from these two urban areas and they were allotted 400 of the expected 1000 interviews.

After calculating the proportional distribution of the votes among the various parties at the 1960 provincial elections, the provincial electoral districts were regrouped into 4 strata according to the strength of the Liberal vote.

The proportional **distribution** of the votes among parties in the 1962 federal elections was then calculated and the federal electoral districts regrouped into 2 strata according to the importance of the Social Credit vote.

Such a system of stratification took into account (a) the winning party at the 1960 provincial elections, (b) the importance of the Liberal vote in the same elections, and (c) the Social Credit vote at the 1962 federal elections.

Once these 16 strata were derived, a random sample of electoral districts was taken. The districts of each stratum had a probability of being chosen in proportion to the number of voters they represented at the 1960 provincial elections. Each district was then allotted interviews in proportion to its size viz-a-viz the stratum to which it belonged.

At the end there were 998 interviews with Quebec citizens 19 years old and over. We have deleted farmers, due to the difficulty in establishing their relative status, and also those respondents for whom there are insufficient income, education, and/or occupation data. We are then left with 684 respondents.

Variables

Index of Congruence: We use elements of Lenski's²⁴ and Jackson's²⁵ techniques in operationalising our major independent variable. In order to establish the ideal definition of status congruence empirically, we need to locate those proportions of the population which occupy equivalent status positions on all the relevant status dimensions. Thus we must divide our sample first into the number of status dimensions we are using - in this case three - occupation, education and income* -, and then divide these dimensions into as many status levels or ranks as we intend to use. Here, in order to make it possible to achieve ideal congruence, there must be an equal percentage of the total sample in each equivalent rank. So that if

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Elton F. Jackson, "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress", American Sociological Review, Vol. XXVII (August, 1962).

*We do not include ethnicity as a status variable as 608 of our 684 respondents are of the same ethnic group.

ten per cent of the sample is located in the highest rank on the education dimension, there should be ten percent in the highest ranks on the occupation and income dimensions respectively. In this way it is theoretically possible to achieve either perfect congruence or perfect incongruence. If these equivalent proportions are not established, we may create artificial incongruence. Due to the intransigence of our data we cannot derive this preferred index. We divide our status dimensions into four ranks, and although the proportions in equivalent ranks are not identical, they are nearly so and we do not expect this discrepancy to prejudice our results in any significant manner.

We were faced with another unfortunate necessity. On one of our occupational ranks, rank 2, occupations of quite disparate statuses have to be grouped together. This will produce artificial congruence in some cases but fictitious incongruence in most. Happily the lower status 'service' misfits comprise a small percentage of rank 2 on occupation and should not seriously distort our findings.

The quantitative nature of the income and education hierarchies allows easy structural differentiation, while occupations are ranked according to the U.S. Census Bureau classification. In general informants who are dependent relatives living in the same household are given the status of the head of the family in the income and occupation hierarchies. Informants are then classified according to the status congruency of their ranks. The resulting categories are (1) status congruents - those occupying equivalent status positions in each hierarchy e.g., lll, - (i.e., those professionals and managers in our sample are expected to have had thirteen

or more years in school and to have been earning five thousand or more dollars annually), 222, 333, 444. The incongruent group is subdivided into (2) 'moderate incongruents' - informants with two similar ranks and a one-step deviation in the third dimension, e.g., 112, 121, 344, 323 etc. and (3) 'high incongruents' - respondents with no like ranks plus those with a two or three-step deviation in the third dimension e.g., 132, 113, 441, 234, 214 etc. Such an allocation results in 146 'status congruents', 321 'moderate incongruents', and 217 'high incongruents'. The dimensions, ranks and the sample distribution are shown in Table 1.I.

TABLE 1.I

Occupation	% of Sample	Education	% of Sample	Income	% of Sample
(1) Professional and managerial	18	13 or more years in school	11	\$5,000 or more per year	20
(2) Clerical, sales and service	22	9-12 years	33	\$4-5,000 per year	18
(3) Skilled and semi-skilled	50	5-8 years	47	\$2,500-4,000 per year	48
(4) Labourers	10	less than 5 years in school	9	less than \$2,500 per year	14

In order to derive different patterns of congruence, respondents are ranked either 'high' or 'low' on each of the three status variables.* This we do by collapsing the four status levels used in constructing the index of congruence so that in general, ranks 1 and 2 are regarded as high, and 3

* Individuals are then regarded as having a particular pattern of incongruence on the basis of their high and low positions on each status variable. For example, all those who are high on education and low on income and occupation are exhibiting one pattern (type, kind) of incongruence.

and 4 as 'low'. Discretionary compromises have to be made, however, in evaluating these ranks and assigning individuals to them, in an attempt to ensure an adequate number of cases in each category for meaningful analysis.. Two levels of a congruent status are also established. Those awarded ranks 1 and 2 on all three dimensions are placed in the high status category, and those with ranks 3 and 4 form a lower class. At the end we have eight operational groups - six incongruent and two congruent - with one group failing to satisfy the criteria. The number of respondents in most of these groups is still not satisfactorily large thus prohibiting further controls and allowing us to infer only tendencies.

Third Variables

Financial Security: The literature on status congruence suggests that the individual with discrepant status factors experiences a feeling of ambiguity in his social relations. This is accompanied by a sense of status insecurity and anxiety as the individual cannot locate himself in any single defined social status. Such a state, the argument continues, leads to certain reactions, sometimes on a psychological level as reported by Jackson.²⁶ At other times it may give rise to certain attitudes and behaviour of a social nature. It is suggested here that a feeling of financial insecurity based on the perception of an impending loss in income, due to unemployment perhaps, may also contribute to the formation and display of certain attitudes and behaviour. As Lipset observes in his discussion of the effect of income insecurity on the behaviour of the lower classes, 'High states of tension require immediate alleviation, and this is frequently found in the venting of hostility against a scapegoat and a

²⁶Ibid.

search for short term solutions by the support of extremist groups'²⁷. It is likely that such a psychological state will reinforce and increase the effect of an incongruent status under certain conditions. The absence of such a state on the other hand could reduce responses due to incongruence of status and increase the influence of a consistent status, again in special circumstances.

In order to tap this feeling of financial security, answers to the following question were divided into three parts: (a) much worried (insecure), (b) a little worried (in between) and (c) almost not worried (secure).

'So far as you and your family are concerned, are you much worried, a little worried or almost not worried about how you will get along financially in the next year?'

Economic Satisfaction: This is the second of our psychological variables and the justification for its inclusion follows roughly the same argument used for financial security. Whereas these two states bear certain similarities, they are not identical. In the case of financial security we are tapping the perception of threat to a current status factor, viz a deterioration in income. Economic satisfaction measures the individual's evaluation of his present economic position relative to his neighbour's without reference to a future state. In this case those who are relatively dissatisfied with their present economic situation may or may not expect an improvement or deterioration in the future. But they will be predisposed to desire, and perhaps to seek to raise their comparative economic status,

²⁷Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man, The Social Bases of Politics (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Co., 1963) p.106.

viz-a-viz their neighbour's. If this argument is correct, such a predisposition should increase the effect of an incongruent status and modify the influence of a congruent status. On the other hand, a feeling of relative economic satisfaction should operate in the same direction as does congruency of status.

Our measure of relative economic satisfaction is derived from answers to the question:

'Comparing yourself with people living around here, would you say that your economic situation is better or worse than theirs?'

Answers: Better - economically satisfied
 Worse - economically dissatisfied
 Same - in between
 Don't know and no answer.

Social Mobility: Social mobility too has been widely treated in the explanation of social behaviour and attitude.²⁸ Its very definition, especially intra-generational mobility, involves marginality of status, attitudinal and behavioural consequences. The mobile individual as an example, is sometimes found to be more ethnocentric than the non-mobile.²⁹ The correspondence of mobility and status congruence is rather close. In fact the one may be a cause of the other and they produce similar states. We should expect therefore, a mutuality of effect when these two factors occur together. We used father's and present occupation on a white-collar

²⁸See for example, Joseph Greenblum and Leonard I. Pearlin, "Vertical Mobility and Prejudice: A Socio-Psychological Analysis", Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, Eds., Class Status and Power - a Reader in Social Stratification (Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1963).

²⁹Ibid.

versus blue-collar break as a measure of intergenerational mobility, further subdividing our mobile and non-mobile categories into (a) upward mobile, (b) downward mobile, (c) stationary middle class, and (d) stationary lower class.

Socio-economic Status: The most popular view of social stratification sees the individual as occupying a single position in a single hierarchy of statuses. Such a position is usually a configuration of economic and other factors and almost every form of behaviour has been at some time regarded as a function of the individual's location on this status hierarchy. The theory of status congruence adds another dimension to this concept of social stratification. It holds that within the single position the individual is affected by his relative ranks on the various status factors which define that position. Lipset has given credence to the reality of such an argument.³⁰ In addition, it has not yet been demonstrated whether or not it is the individual's social status per se, and not status congruence which explains his behaviour and attitude. They may both be influential. Status congruence within the upper-class may produce dissimilar consequences from those resulting in the lower-class, given the assumption that social classes involve different subcultures.

Various indices of SES, differing primarily in the status variables included, have been developed. The one used here ranks respondents on the basis of their positions on education, income and occupation. Each variable is divided into four ranks - high, medium, low medium, and low, and numerical scores from a high of 3 to a low of 0 are assigned to each rank. The highest status individual then receives a score of 9, and the lowest

³⁰ S. M. Lipset, Agrarian Socialism (University of California Press, 1950).

scores 0. It is sometimes assumed that certain status factors are of more importance than are others in the definition of the individual's status, and weights accordingly assigned. No such assumption is made here, as each factor is regarded as equally significant. Status breaks and score allocation are shown in Table 1.11.

TABLE 1.11

Occupation	Scores	Education	Scores	Income	Scores	Total Scores
professionals and managers	3	13 or more years in school	3	\$5,000 or more per year	3	9
clerical, sales and service	2	9-12 years in school	2	\$4-5,000 per year	2	6
skilled, semiskilled	1	5-8 years in school	1	\$2.5-4,000 per year	1	3
labourers	0	0-4 years in school	0	less than \$2,500 per year	0	0

Various combinations of these individual scores will yield several status positions. A clerk who had spent 13 or more years in school and earns over \$5,000 per year occupies the same status as a professional who spent the same number of years in school but earns a salary between \$4,000 and \$5,000, each with a score of 8.

Age: Age is another factor which has been found to correlate highly with certain attitudes and behaviour. Older individuals are often regarded as more conservative on certain issues than are the young.³¹ We expect then

³¹Lipset, Political Man, op. cit.

that the age of our respondents will modify in one way or another, the consequences of status congruence.

Dependent Variables - Correlates

Ideological Tendencies: Our analysis treats the individual's attitude toward direct state control of private property and general social welfare programmes. Although responses to these issues do not isolate the ideological polarities of communism, fascism and western 'democracy', with its emphasis on private control of property, they do locate aspects of ideological biases on the continuum from complete state control and operation of productive property, to the free play of market forces with productive resources privately owned, operated and controlled. It has been argued that the disaffected individual will desire radical measures to influence his external environment in order to improve his social situation.

Using this line of argument as his rationale, Lenski³² reports that individuals with an incongruent status are more likely than are those with a congruent status to support a 'liberal' party and 'social welfare liberalism'. This we regard as an expression of politico-economic liberalism. But it has been argued that status incongruence may predispose the individual towards radicalism of the 'right' or of the 'left'.³³ In pursuing this reasoning further we include a measure of political extremism defined in terms of the tendency to support or approve a significant shift in the direction of increasing popular management of productive property. Such a

³²Lenski, op. cit.

³³Lipset, op. cit. Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 268-69; Anderson and Zelditch, op. cit. p. 114.

definition takes us closer to the extreme of the continuum than does Lenski's³⁴ and the tendency it implies may also be an indicator of conservatism of a Fascist nature. In any case it is a radical political attitude and will more likely be a characteristic of an incongruent than of a congruent individual.

In addition it is our contention that certain types of incongruence are more likely to generate this extreme attitude than are others. This is so because different types may induce a more or less intense feeling of deprivation and disposition to seek relief in the external environment. An individual of low education but high income and occupation may be less radical than one with the reverse pattern. In the first case it is unlikely that radicalism will remove his status discrepancy, as standard of education is more unresponsive to improvement than are income and occupation.

Response to the following statement is our indicator of the more radical political attitude. Those in agreement are treated as liberal.

'The state should nationalize the big companies and thus become their owner.'

Another statement tests attitude to social welfare measures.

'Nowadays, there exist too many social security measures, such as family allowances, old age pensions, etc.' A negative answer indicates liberalism.

Goffman³⁵ uses a more direct method in his test of Lenski's³⁶ hypothesis. His respondents are made to indicate the changes, if any, that they would like to see in the distribution of power in society. This

³⁴Lenski, op. cit.

³⁵Goffman, op. cit.

³⁶Lenski, op. cit.

improves Lenski's³⁷ measure which does not necessarily reflect a desire for change. Their findings are however, in agreement and support speculations often made in the literature.³⁸ In order to introduce such an improvement into our analysis we include a test of the individual's general attitude to change in the organization of society. In our first approach there is the chance that we may have been measuring the individual's reaction to certain types of changes which may not have been attractive to otherwise liberal-minded respondents. By using a more inclusive measure however, we can reveal other areas of liberalism or conservatism.

Respondents are presented with an agree - disagree type of statement viz:-

'If one starts changing what already exists, one usually makes things worse.'

We expect the more liberal to give negative answers reflecting a more positive attitude toward change.

Ethnocentrism: Contained in much of the literature on ethnic prejudice is an emphasis on 'a struggle for status, recognition,, within an existing moral and political order'.³⁹ In the process of this 'struggle' jealousies and fears are engendered which produce prejudice

³⁷Lenski, Ibid.

³⁸L. P. Edwards, The Natural History of Revolutions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927); B. B. Ringer, and D. L. Sills, "Political Extremists in Iran", The Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XXVI (Winter, 1952-53), pp. 689-701; Elinor Barber, The Bourgeoisie in 18th Century France (Princeton University Press, 1955).

³⁹Robert E. Park, Race and Culture (Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1950), pp. 149-151, 231-34.

against other groups seen as threats to one's status. This feeling of suspicion and even hostility, Williams⁴⁰ suggests, is increased the more successful the other group(s) becomes in the competition for 'distributive rewards'. Such reasoning leads us to suggest that the degree of ethnic prejudice will be a function of the individual's status, as perceived by him. Certain mobility findings support this belief. Greenblum and Pearlin,⁴¹ for instance, find that mobile more than non-mobile individuals tend to be ethnically prejudiced. They conclude that 'the theory that seems to apply to these findings is concerned with the prestige insecurity of marginal status groups'.⁴² Since we have argued that status congruence involves such a feeling of insecurity for the individual, we hypothesised that it will have consequences for his attitude toward 'other' groups. We expect the individual with an incongruent status to be more ethnically prejudiced than one with a congruent status.

We are inclined to this belief for yet another reason. It has been suggested that members of a group who see their status aspirations frustrated will develop displeasure at the imputed agents of their frustration.⁴³ In the case of status congruence we may expect the individual with a discrepant status to be antagonistic toward the group or groups regarded as responsible for his inability to improve one or more of

⁴⁰Robin M. Williams, The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions: A Survey of Research on Problems of Ethnic, Racial and Religious Relations (New York 17; Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 57, 1947).

⁴¹Greenblum and Pearlin, op. cit.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³S. M. Lipset, "Sources of the Radical Right", The Radical Right, Daniel Bell, Ed., (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963),; Elinor Barber, op. cit.

his status factors. This is even more true when the individual regards himself as in other respects qualified for a higher status. The person with an income 'lower' than is expected given his education and occupational standard, may be hostile toward the group that prevents him from achieving the equivalence he desires. Indeed, such hostility may even spill over into attitude towards other groups.

Two questions measure the threat image we described. We think that they tap prejudice which is an expression of other perceptions also, like denial of status improvement. These statements are:

(1) 'French-Canadians must often keep a watch in order that English-Canadians do not take advantage of them'. (responses of non-French-Canadians are not treated)

(2) 'Generally Jews take up too large a position in the Province of Quebec'. (this was not asked of Jewish Canadians)

The response categories are:

- (a) Agree- ethnocentric
- (b) Disagree- non-ethnocentric
- (c) Qualified answer*
- (d) Don't know - no answer.

Answers are not combined into an index as the groups answering both questions are not identical.

Non-Economic Liberalism: The reference to politico-economic liberalism indicates the existence of other dimensions of liberalism. The same individual may display attitudes which represent different areas of a liberal orientation. Thus Lipset⁴⁴ observes that lower class individuals are less inclined than are persons of a higher class to support non-economic liberalism, which

⁴⁴Lipset, *Political Man*, op. cit.

*Qualified answers are treated as negative or positive, and 'Don't know' and 'no answers' are excluded.

he defines in terms of ".... support of civil liberties" etc.⁴⁵
 At the same time they are more disposed than are the higher classes to be liberal on politico-economic matters. We investigate the effect of status congruence on this type of political tendency and expect that there will be conditions under which the person with a congruent or incongruent status will be more or less in favour of civil liberties.

In response to the feeling of relative deprivation, the incongruent individual will under given circumstances, regard greater civil freedom as instrumental in alleviating his condition by allowing him to influence the social environment. He will then be more liberal than is his congruent counterpart who sees no persuasive necessity for being tolerant or permissive. Yet on other occasions, the state of insecurity which a person whose status is incongruent is assumed to experience, and his consequent sensitised perception of threat, will motivate him to be less amenable to the granting or maintaining of civil freedom. Such an exercise of freedom by others may endanger his tenuous hold on his social position. On the other hand, the congruent individual with a more secure social position, and so, less sensitive to the threat of displacement, may see less cause to be liberal.

Our measure of non-economic liberalism is derived from response to the agree-disagree type statement that:-

'Newspapers, radio and television enjoy too much freedom in Quebec'.

Those who disagree are regarded as liberal.

⁴⁵Ibid. p. 92

CHAPTER II.

STATUS CONGRUENCE, ITS CORRELATES, AND THE EFFECT OF CERTAIN ATTITUDINAL CONDITIONS

The essence of our whole analysis is the validation of the assumption that status congruence does give rise to the responses we discussed in our opening chapter. Besides, we need to specify the conditions and directions in which status congruence operates. In this chapter, besides testing the zero-order relationships, we treat two of those conditions - the perception of financial situation, and a feeling of economic satisfaction.

Attitude toward Change: On the basis of reported findings and deductions we expect an inverse relationship between status congruence* and our measure of attitude toward change. The results shown in Table 2.1 suggest that this expectation is borne out. Although those individuals with a congruent status are more likely than are those with a discrepant status to think that change in the organization of society will 'make things worse', the broad relationship is not very strong. It may be the result of certain extraneous factors and not even of status congruence at all. A feeling of financial insecurity, for instance, which is sometimes

*Throughout this analysis, 'status congruence' (consistency, crystallization) will refer to the broad concept of the relationship among the individual's status factors, while 'congruent status', 'congruent group' and 'congruency of status' refer to situations in which status factors are in line. 'Status incongruence' (incongruents), 'incongruent status' and 'incongruency of status' are self-explanatory.

associated with conservatism, may be more characteristic of our congruent than of our incongruent group - and so account for the direction of association. There are other factors too, such as the social status of an individual, and his educational standard, which may be responsible. We shall investigate these possibilities below.

TABLE 2.1
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONGRUENCE
AND ATTITUDE TOWARD CHANGE

Attitude toward Change	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
Against change	60*(146)	50(321)	53*(217)
For change	38*(146)	46(321)	44*(217)

*Effect of congruence on attitude, comparing extremes = negative -.07; positive .06. For this and in subsequent tables these figures represent the percentage differences between extreme cells and are designed to allow ready checking of the percentage effect of the independent variables.

In this table, using the formula Chi-Square = $\frac{\sum (x-m)^2}{m}$

(m = expected value, and x observed value of a cell), the probability that the association would have occurred by chance is less than .02.

We notice that the financially insecure are more against change than are the secure - Table 1 Appendix. In fact, they show more opposition viz-a-viz the secure than do status congruents when compared to incongruents - see Table 2.1. That is, the effect of a perception of financial position on a negative attitude toward change is greater than that of status congruence. Under these conditions we expect the conse-

quences of status congruence to be greatly modified in the presence of extreme perceptions (secure and insecure) of financial situation. On the other hand, if an individual were not feeling secure, but yet, not really insecure, then the counterpressure of insecurity/security would not operate and the effect of status congruence should be maintained.

Such a situation is demonstrated in Table 2.11. When perception of financial situation is held constant the two extreme partials disappear while the original relationship persists and is even greatly magnified in the intermediate group. That is, individuals, whether congruent or not, are just as likely to oppose change.

TABLE 2.11

CONGRUENCE AND CHANGE BY PERCEPTION OF FINANCIAL POSITION
- PERCENT NOT IN FAVOUR OF CHANGE

	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
Financially insecure	62 (55)	58 (91)	66 (64)
Moderate	74 (46)	48 (142)	55 (83)
Financially secure	43 (44)	48 (84)	41 (69)

This finding casts doubt on the validity of the relationship of the broad inclusive concept of status congruence to change, for there are more financially insecure individuals of a congruent status than are moderately or highly incongruent* - Table 2 Appendix. The fact that our original relationship shows congruent individuals as more opposed to change than

*The logic of this conclusion is treated in Herbert Hyman, Survey Design and Analysis, Principles, Cases and Procedures (Glencoe, Ill.:The Free Press, Publishers, 1960), pp. 285-87.

are those with an incongruent status is due then to the presence of relatively more persons among the former who feel financially insecure, and is not due to their congruent status. If we had argued that a state of congruence produced or contributed to a feeling of financial insecurity then the relationship would remain a valid one. But it so happens that in our sample of respondents there are more lower status individuals who have a congruent status than have an incongruent one.* Lower status individuals are more likely, than are those of a higher status, to feel financially insecure,* and these financially insecure individuals are strongly against change. An almost similar conclusion can be derived from the results when the feeling of relative economic satisfaction/dissatisfaction is controlled - Table 2.111. Not only are the relatively dissatisfied more against change than are the satisfied, but status congruence has no effect when these extreme conditions are isolated.

TABLE 2.111
CONGRUENCE AND CHANGE BY ECONOMIC SATISFACTION
- PERCENT NOT IN FAVOUR OF CHANGE

	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
Relatively Dissatisfied	75 (12)	72 (18)	73 (22)
Moderate	58 (113)	48 (255)	51 (148)
Relatively Satisfied	53 (19)	54 (39)	56 (39)

However, if, as we maintain, the final consequence of status congruence is the sum of the effect of different status patterns, it is possible that the result of certain types of congruence will remain despite the presence of financial insecurity and economic dissatisfaction.

* See Appendix Tables 1a and 1b.

Politico-Economic Liberalism and Political Radicalism: Our arguments in Chapter I lead us to expect that individuals whose status is incongruent will be disposed to be more liberal and less conservative on politico-economic matters, and to be more extreme in their political beliefs than will those who have a congruent status. Furthermore, the more incongruent his status the more liberal and radical he will be. Table 2.IV shows a tendency in the direction of our general hypothesis, but indicates that this is so only when extremes of status congruency are compared. The congruent group, and moderately incongruent, show identical degrees of extremism. This may be due to several reasons, one of which is the effect that different types of incongruence have on a person's attitude towards state control of productive resources. We made reference to this possibility in our introductory chapter. It could be also, that certain conditions are more conducive than are others to the operation of status congruence in this particular context. We investigate these possibilities later on in this chapter and in Chapter III.

TABLE 2.IV

CONGRUENCE AND (1) RADICALISM,
(2) POLITICO-ECONOMIC LIBERALISM. PERCENT RADICAL, LIBERAL.

	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
(1) Favour Nationalisation	42*(146)	42 (321)	49*(217)
(2) Favour Social Security	85*(146)	87 (321)	84*(217)

*Effect of status congruence on liberalism comparing extremes = (1) .07,
(2) -. $p < .02(x^2)$.

On our second question - that, measuring attitude toward social welfare measures - there is no difference in response between congruent

and incongruent individuals - Table 2.IV. Whether congruent or not an overwhelming majority of our sample does not believe that there are 'too many social security measures'. Such an immediately inconsistent finding emphasises the theoretical point that the individual's attitude is a consequence of his perceived implications of such an attitude for the congruency of his status. If the consequences are in the direction of incongruency he will be less likely to display that attitude than, in general, if he sees the result as producing or maintaining a congruent status. In this case the individual whose status is incongruent may regard family allowances and old age pensions as supplementary income, thus allowing him a salary commensurate with his education and occupation. If this is true, then our older respondents - those nearer the pensionable age - and those with an income lower than their occupation and education would indicate, should be even more liberal than the rest.

But since we find it theoretically difficult to derive a situation in which increased social security measures will produce or increase incongruence to the extent where anxiety is generated, we do not expect any great differences in response between congruent and incongruent individuals even when the controls suggested above are applied. The differences that do occur would be due more to increased liberalism among the incongruents whose incomes are low relative to their occupation and/or education, than to increased conservatism among those with a congruent status.

The greater 'liberalism' and politico-economic extremism of the incongruents were ascribed to their dissatisfaction with their social situation and a desire to improve it. This suggests that status congruence

will have a greater relative effect among individuals feeling financially insecure than among those who feel secure. Such a tendency appears in Table 2.V on the nationalisation issue.* Incongruents within the insecure and moderately insecure groups are more extreme in their attitude than are their congruent counterparts, but those who are not worried about their financial future are just as extreme whether congruent or incongruent. The absence of a linear relationship even suggests that congruence is not having any effect here.

It seems inconsistent that status congruence should be associated with greater radicalism among the moderately insecure than among the highly insecure - Table 2.V. Besides, status congruence shows a greater differ-

*There is still no relationship between congruence and attitude toward social security measures.

CONGRUENCE AND POLITICO-ECONOMIC LIBERALISM.
PERCENT LIBERAL, IE FAVOUR SOCIAL SECURITY

	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
Financially insecure	84 (55)	92 (91)	80 (64)
Moderately insecure	85 (46)	87 (142)	89 (83)
Secure	86 (44)	83 (84)	81 (69)

CONGRUENCE AND POLITICO-ECONOMIC LIBERALISM BY ECONOMIC
SATISFACTION. PERCENT LIBERAL, IE FAVOUR SOCIAL SECURITY

	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
Dissatisfied	83 (12)	94 (18)	82 (22)
Moderately satisfied	84 (113)	86 (255)	84 (148)
Relatively satisfied	89 (19)	92 (39)	87 (39)

entiating effect among the former group. But we have noticed - Table 1 Appendix - that those who are moderately insecure financially are less opposed to change than are the more insecure; they are also more radical. Since nationalisation involves change, and incongruent persons tend to be more radical than do congruents, the findings are not in fact inconsistent.

TABLE 2.V

CONGRUENCE AND RADICALISM, BY PERCEPTION OF FINANCIAL SITUATION
PERCENT RADICAL, IE FAVOUR NATIONALISATION

	Congruent	Moderate	High In- congruent	Effect of congruence comparing extremes=**	
Financially insecure	36*(55)	37(91)	42(64)	.06	
Moderately insecure	44 (46)	46(142)	56(83)	.12	.06
Secure	47(44)	39(84)	46*(69)	-.01	
*Combined effect = .10					

For analogous reasons, a similar situation arises when we separate our respondents according to whether or not they regard their neighbour's economic situation as better, the same as, or worse than theirs - see Table 2.VI. There is a difference in intensity of the relationships,

*Combined effect refers to the percentage difference between the weakest and strongest combinations of the relevant marginal relationship and the original relationship. It then gives an indication of the strength of the effect of the third variable and the independent variable operating together to affect the dependent variable. In this case the financially insecure individual is less in favour of nationalisation than is either the moderately insecure or the secure. The individual with a congruent status is, also, less in favour of nationalisation than is either the moderately or high incongruent. The congruent individual who feels financially insecure will then be least in favour of nationalisation, and the person with a high incongruent status who is financially secure is most in favour. By comparing these two individuals we get the total effect of financial insecurity and status congruence on a person's attitude toward nationalisation.

**In this and subsequent high order tables we note the percentage differences between pairs of corresponding extreme cells. This makes for

however. The relatively dissatisfied are considerably more responsive to the presence of status congruence than are the financially insecure. Like the financially secure, the economically satisfied are not affected by status congruence. The association is also non-linear.

TABLE 2.VI

CONGRUENCE AND RADICALISM BY ECONOMIC SATISFACTION. PERCENT RADICAL

	Congruent	Moderate	High- Incongruent	Effect of congruence comparing extremes=	
Dissatisfied	33(12)	40(19)	51*(22)	.18	
Moderately satisfied	44(113)	43(255)	49(148)	.05	.07
Relatively satisfied	37*(19)	46(39)	36(39)	.01	
*Combined effect of congruence and economic satisfaction = .14					

A possible explanation is that among the relatively satisfied there is apparently less reason for frustration and intolerance with the social, especially the economic, order and so the incongruent exhibits his anxieties from interpersonal relations in other directions. This may help to explain, also, the low radicalism of the individual with a congruent status who is relatively dissatisfied, in contrast to the congruents in the sample as a whole. The individuals displaying these characteristics - incongruent relatively satisfied, and congruent relatively dissatisfied - are too few for us to pursue this line of reasoning empirically. What

easy reference. We compute also the mean of the percentage differences in each pair of controlled comparisons in order to see to what extent the percentage strength of our original relationship has been affected.

remains noticeable, is that the effect of status congruence on attitude toward nationalisation is increased under conditions of economic dissatisfaction, while congruence does not operate when the condition is one of economic satisfaction. Despite this last fact, the combined effect of congruence and economic satisfaction is much greater than that of each operating alone.

Ethnocentrism: As far as we know, the individual's attitude - toward other ethnic groups - has never been treated as a consequence of the congruency of his status factors. But on the basis of our reasoning we expect that status incongruence will lead the individual to adopt a more prejudiced attitude than would congruency of status. Our predictions are substantiated in Table 2. VII. The incongruent is more likely than is the congruent individual to have a negative opinion of Jews and of English-Canadians. The differences are not large, but they are in the expected direction and so require elaboration.

TABLE 2. VII

CONGRUENCE AND ETHNOCENTRISM.
PERCENT WITH NEGATIVE IMAGE OF (a) ENGLISH CANADIANS AND (b) JEWS

	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
(a) English Canadians	64*(130)	72 (286)	72*(192)
(b) Jews	50*(146)	49 (321)	54*(217)

*Effect of congruence on Ethnocentrism comparing extremes = (a) .08, (b) .04
p < .02; (b) < .10(x²).

Certain conditions may inhibit or facilitate the effect of status congruence. As was indicated in Chapter I, a state of financial insecurity and of economic dissatisfaction may further excite the negative conception that the incongruent individual has of other ethnic groups.

It is also noticeable from Table 2.VII that degrees of incongruence have no differentiating effect on attitude toward English-Canadians, but do have with respect to Jews. This may be due to the effect of various types of incongruence. Further in the analysis we test the validity of this and the above speculations.

As is also apparent in Table 2.VII the intensity of the negative attitude is greater when the ethnic object is English-Canadian than when the referent is Jews. This is easily understood in terms of the social structure from which our sample is drawn. The dominating presence of the English-Canadian, viz-a-viz French-Canadian, is much more salient than the position of the Jew, and thus evokes more widespread suspicion. It will be remembered that we interpreted the higher incidence of ethnocentrism among those persons with an incongruent status, in contrast to those with a congruent status - Table 2.VII - as due to the former's greater perception of threat to an insecure position.¹ In line with these findings, conditions which reduce this feeling of insecurity should in turn reduce the individual's perception of danger to his status. Conversely, incongruent individuals who also suffer from some other 'form' of anxiety, like that produced by a

¹Saad Z. Nagi, "Status Profiles and Reactions to Status Threat". American Sociological Review, Vol. 28 (June, 1963); Melvin Seeman, Social Status and Leadership: The Case of the School Executive. Bureau of Educational Research, The Ohio State University, (Monograph., No. 35), p. 82.

feeling of financial insecurity, will be more responsive to status threats than will those who do not experience this extra degree of anxiety.

This process operates to the extent that in Table 2.VIII there is no difference in attitude toward English-Canadians among individuals who feel financially secure. The corollary to this point is that factors which add to the feeling of insecurity make for a more pronounced negative attitude. The insecure are not only generally more ethnocentric than the secure, but among the former groups congruence has a greater differentiating effect. The combined effect of congruence and perception of financial position is not as great as we had expected, but is larger than the effect of congruence alone. A parallel effect, differing only in intensity, occurs when the object of prejudice is the Jewish-Canadian, and further illustrates the point. **

TABLE 2.VIII

CONGRUENCE AND ETHNOCENTRISM BY PERCEPTION OF FINANCIAL SITUATION
- PERCENT ETHNOCENTRIC

re English Canadians	Congruent	Moderate	High- Incongruent	Effect of congruence comparing extremes=	
Financially insecure	66 (50)	78 (82)	75*(60)	.09	
Moderately insecure	62 (42)	71 (125)	74 (73)	.12	.08
Secure	64*(36)	70 (75)	67 (60)	.03	
*Combined effect of congruence and perception comparing extremes = .11					
re Jews					
Financially insecure	51 (55)	56 (90)	58*(64)	.07	
Moderately insecure	52 (46)	55 (140)	57 (82)	.05	.04
Secure	48*(44)	36 (84)	48 (69)	.0	
*Combined effect of congruence and perception comparing extremes = .10					

**The extent of non-linearity observed in Table 2.VIII is not great and should not prejudice our conclusions. This situation seems to be due to the effect of socio-economic status. When SES is controlled the associations become almost completely linear but the direction of relationship and the pattern of effect of congruence remain the same-Table 3 Appendix. The non-linearity among 'secure' Jews merely strengthens our deductions.

Non-economic Liberalism: If, as we have been arguing, the incongruent individual is disposed to influence the social structure in an attempted solution of his status dilemma, then, in general, his attitude on non-economic issues should parallel his stand on politico-economic matters. This tendency is indeed maintained in the original relationship where the incongruent individual is more likely than either congruents or moderate incongruents to disagree that - 'Newspapers, radio and television enjoy too much freedom in Quebec'- See Table 2. IX. In our society, the news media are a powerful instrument with which to achieve certain goals, especially of a general social nature. It is reasonable to expect then, all things being equal, that those seeking to exert their influence on the social environment would oppose stringent control over the means through which they can express their views and publicize their grievances in order to enlist support. At the same time, this aggrieved element may wish to deny expression to certain sectors of the society, for a variety of reasons. But on the more diffuse question of civic freedom they will be permissive. This is not to deny that those who consider themselves socially privileged and secure will seek to maintain or establish these 'freedoms' if they see it as a means to protect their position. It is more likely however, that these very 'freedoms' represent a threat to their privileged status, thus rendering them less liberal.

TABLE 2. IX

CONGRUENCE AND NON-ECONOMIC LIBERALISM - PER CENT LIBERAL		
Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
67*(97)	67 (217)	72*(156)
146	321	217

* Effect of congruence on liberalism, comparing extremes= .05.
p < .02 (Chi-Square Test).

This seems to be a plausible possibility, but, of course, there will be extraneous factors operating to dilute both these reactions. Two of these factors, we suggest, could be a feeling of financial security/insecurity, and a state of relative economic satisfaction/dissatisfaction. The negative sides of these two states - insecurity and dissatisfaction - should increase the disposition of the individual to seek remedial measures, and all things being equal, to opt for freedom of expression. Security and satisfaction, on the other hand, could reinforce the conservatism or reduce the liberalism of those with a favourable social status. Extent of education would be another influential factor, and this we pursue in a subsequent chapter.

Following the logic of our discussion of status congruence, we should expect persons who display financial insecurity and economic dissatisfaction to be more sensitive to the presence of status congruence than are those who feel secure and satisfied. This should even be more likely considering the influence that financial security and economic satisfaction have on the individual's liberalism - Tables 4 and 5 Appendix.

Table 2.X shows this pattern very clearly. Individuals who feel 'moderately secure' and 'secure' financially, whether or not they are congruent, are just as likely to disagree that "Newspapers, radio and television enjoy too much freedom in Quebec". The non-linearity of the relationship is additional evidence that status congruence does not in fact influence individuals who feel moderately secure or secure financially in their attitude toward this type of liberalism. But among the insecure the more incongruent their status the more liberal they are. Indeed, this relationship is far stronger than that between status congruence and

liberalism for the sample as a whole, but in the same direction.

TABLE 2.X

CONGRUENCE AND NON-ECONOMIC LIBERALISM BY PERCEPTION OF FINANCIAL SITUATION.
PERCEPT LIBERAL.

	Moderate	Congruent	High- Incongruent	Effect of Congruence comparing extremes =	
Financially insecure	54*(55)	73 (91)	80 (64)	.26	
Moderately secure	73 (46)	56 (142)	73 (83)	. -	.08
Secure	76 (44)	69 (84)	73*(69)	-.03	
*Combined effect of congruence and financial security = .19					

Similarly, for the relatively satisfied and dissatisfied -Table 2.XI. Status congruence, however, does have a differentiating effect among the moderately satisfied, about as strong as the zero-order relationship. But this merely serves to emphasise the pattern of effect that status congruence has under conditions of relative economic satisfaction/dissatisfaction. The greater the degree of dissatisfaction, the more pronounced is the influence of status congruence. Also, the consequences of status congruence for the individual's reaction to non-economic liberalism occur in conditions of financial insecurity and not in the presence of financial security.

TABLE 2.XI

CONGRUENCE AND NON-ECONOMIC LIBERALISM BY ECONOMIC SATISFACTION. PERCENT LIBERAL

	Congruent	Moderate	High- Incongruent	Effect of congruence comparing extremes =	
Dissatisfied	58 (12)	84 (18)	77*(22)	.19	
Moderately satisfied	68(113)	66(255)	73(148)	.05	.08
Relatively satisfied	63*(19)	72 (39)	64(39)**	.01	
*Combined effect of congruence and economic satisfaction = .14					

**We accept these relationships despite their curvilinearity, as each case shows the same direction of non-linearity.

So far we have observed that the broad concept of status congruence is not related to attitude toward change as measured by us. The indication that a person who has an incongruent status is less against change than is one with a congruent status seems erroneous. This relationship is due to an extraneous factor - a feeling of financial security. There is the possibility however, that different types of congruence are related to this attitude, and we shall investigate this further.

Individuals with a discrepancy in their status are more inclined than are those without, to favour nationalisation of private property, and are more ethnocentric, in the terms of our definition. They are also less opposed to freedom of the news media in Quebec. The effect that a discrepant status has on the individual's responses however, depends on whether or not the individual feels financially insecure or economically dissatisfied. Under these conditions he is more inclined to react to the presence of an incongruent status than if he were feeling financially secure or economically satisfied. These states also increase the extent of a person's reaction to status congruence.

CHAPTER III.

THE EFFECT OF CERTAIN SITUATIONAL CONDITIONS

We have suggested that certain social characteristics also, may affect the way an individual reacts to the congruency of his status. Lipset's study of agrarian socialism in Saskatchewan for instance, reveals that a middle-class person with an incongruent status is more 'socialistic' than is one of a lower class with a similarly incongruent status. Others have made reference to the same phenomenon and have ascribed it to the greater frustration of the more mobility-oriented middle-class at their failure to be accepted to a higher social status. Also, the middle-class, more than the working-class, are exposed to social contacts which make the incongruency of their status more salient, thus evoking compensatory responses. While this may be true of a political attitude, it does not necessarily apply to other types of responses. The ethnocentrism of the middle-class for example, may be reduced by more social intercourse with the objects of prejudice, which promotes greater mutual understanding. On the other hand, the absence of such tension relieving contacts among the lower-class may maintain or even increase their prejudiced opinions. When this happens we expect prejudice to decline as the individual's class position becomes higher.

The separate influence of education in this process has also been discussed; the highly educated tends to be less ethnocentric than the low educated individual.

But this does not tell us whether or not individuals of one level

of status are more sensitive to the effect of status congruence than are those of another status level. And this is where Lipset's explanation proves useful. Although greater social intercourse with English-Canadians and the benefit of a higher education may reduce the incidence of prejudice among those of a high socio-economic status, this effect will be greater among congruents than among incongruents. This follows logically from the 'theory' of status congruence, for the individual with an incongruent status will suffer the anxieties which are produced during this increased social intercourse leading him to display an ethnocentric attitude. Besides he has an initially higher propensity to be prejudiced. At the same time, the frustration of his mobility aspirations may have similar consequences.

But this does not necessarily mean, although we expect such a tendency on balance, that the high status individual will react more strongly to status congruence than will one of a lower status position. For, as has been noted earlier, the social presence of the English-Canadian in Quebec viz-a-viz the French-Canadian, has a pervasive influence throughout the province and the social structure. And French-English contact on the lower status level is by no means rare, especially so in our sample where farmers are excluded. These facts will again exert greater influence on the incongruent than on the congruent individual giving rise to a wide difference in the attitudes of lower class individuals. With these important factors operating in both the lower and higher classes we see no reason why status congruence should have a much greater effect in one class than in the other. What we do expect is that the influence of status

congruence, especially within the extremes - high and low - of the status hierarchy, will be greater than in the sample as a whole.

Table 3.1 demonstrates this point.

TABLE 3.1

CONGRUENCE AND ETHNOCENTRISM BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS
- PERCENT ETHNOCENTRIC TOWARD JEWS AND ENGLISH-CANADIANS

SES	Congruent		Moderate		High-Incongruent	
	Jews	English	Jews	English	Jews	English
High	30*(37)	41*(27)	48(129)	55 (53)	53(137)	55 (64)
Medium	- -	- -	- -	66(155)	- -	62 (78)
Low	57(109)	60(103)	50(189)	65 (77)	56*(79)	78*(51)

*Effect of congruence and SES on ethnocentrism comparing extremes =
Jews .26; English .37.

Effect of congruence within each status level by comparing extremes =
Jews .23, -.01; English .14, .02, .18.

The results differ in one respect when the object of prejudice is the Jewish-Canadian. Highly incongruent individuals of a low status are no more ethnocentric than are congruents of a similar status position. But within the higher status group incongruent individuals are much more prejudiced than their congruent counterparts. This difference is not surprising, for the position of Jewish-Canadians in the province of Quebec is not as pervasive nor as threatening for the lower class and is therefore less emotive generally than is that of English-Canadians. The remoteness to the low status individual, then, of the threatening social posture of the Jewish-Canadian, plus the absence of disturbing social contacts, remove the crucial reasons for the incongruent individual's greater ethnocentrism.

The remaining effect of a low status is the same irrespective of congruence.

Disrupting contact, in general, between Jewish and non-Jewish Canadians will be more likely on a high status level, among professionals and middle-class business men in an atmosphere of competitive rivalry for available resources. For reasons already given, such contacts will be more abrasive and the element of status threat still more real for the individual with an incongruent status than for one whose status factors are congruent. Consequently, the former will tend to be more ethnocentric.

Both of these findings then, only support our point that the incongruent individual's greater propensity to be prejudiced is due to his greater perception of threat to his insecure status, and to his anxieties derived from tension producing interaction. The closer these conditions are approximated, the greater will be the difference in ethnocentrism between the congruent and incongruent individual.

Table 3.I helps to answer the question also, whether the individual's status level per se, or his status congruence explains his behaviour or attitude. This method of control is not the most efficient. It does not reveal whether or not a person's response is due to the congruency of his status, but it does show that the original relationship is not a consequence of the level of status to which the individual belongs. Otherwise, persons within all three status levels, whether or not they had a congruent status, would have been just as ethnocentric. Since none of the controls so far have explained away the original relationship, we are justified in regarding status congruence as a causal factor.* At the same time, status congruence

* Further on we control for age in an attempt to establish the time sequence of our variables.

and socio-economic status interact to exert a considerably greater influence on ethnocentrism than does each of these factors acting alone. See Tables 2.VI and 3.II. In contrast to the sample as a whole, incongruent individuals of a low socio-economic status are much more inclined to be ethnocentric than are congruent individuals whose socio-economic status is of a higher level.*

TABLE 3.II

SES AND ETHNOCENTRISM
- PERCENT ETHNOCENTRIC TOWARD JEWS AND ENGLISH-CANADIANS

Low		Medium		High	
Jews	English	Jews	English	Jews	English
53(377)	66(231)	---	65(233)	48(303)	52(144)
Effect of SES: Jews = .05; English = .14.					

Due to the conceptual similarity of social mobility and status congruence, we expect that their consequences for the individual will correspond in most, if not in all cases. One of these consequences is ethnic prejudice.¹ Under conditions of mobility, the individual is exposed to the same anxieties that accompany the fact of an incongruent status. But the presence of incongruence makes this feeling of anxiety even greater and so exaggerates the resulting response - ethnocentrism.

At the same time, the congruent individual, though mobile, does not

*Congruence and SES are both negatively related to ethnocentrism. See Table 6 Appendix.

¹Joseph Greenblum and Leonard I. Pearlin, "Vertical Mobility and Prejudice: A Socio-Psychological Analysis", Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, Ed., Class, Status and Power - A Reader in Social Stratification (Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1963); Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), p. 269. Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, The Dynamics of Prejudice (New York: Harpers, 1950).

experience the added anxiety derived from an incongruent status. Indeed, the fact of a congruent status - as we have defined it - due, *inter alia*, to the feeling of security which accompanies it, may act to restrain the resentment which mobility incurs, and its expression in ethnic prejudice. With these two pressures at work - one to increase the ethnocentrism of the incongruent individual, and the other to reduce that of the congruent individual - we should expect a great difference in attitude between congruent and incongruent.

In the meantime, the non-mobile person of course, does not have to contend with the trauma which follows from mobility. This should exercise even greater restraint on the ethnocentrism of the congruent individual than on the incongruent because of the latter's ambiguous status. And, if, in addition, the non-mobiles are predominantly of a low status, we should not expect congruence to exercise such a great influence among them, although the incongruent will still tend to be more ethnocentric. This point has been argued before.

We can see from Table 3.III that this in fact occurs. The mobile individual is much more responsive to status congruence than is the non-mobile. There is a difference of 17% between the attitude of mobile congruent and highly incongruent on the question of the threat image of English-Canadians, while only 6% separate the attitudes of non-mobile congruent and incongruent. This is even more so when the prejudice is directed against Jewish-Canadians, where the relative differences are 27 and -3% between mobile and non-mobile congruents and highly incongruents respectively. Perhaps the reason is contained in our treatment of the effect of socio-economic status. The upwardly mobile enters the area of competitive contact with the Jewish-Canadian,

while the downwardly mobile uses the Jewish-Canadian as a convenient scapegoat to whom to ascribe his status descent. The combined effect of congruence and mobility is also very great - Jews .20; English .24.

TABLE 3.III

CONGRUENCE AND ETHNOCENTRISM BY SOCIAL MOBILITY (INTERGENERATIONAL)
- PERCENT ETHNOCENTRIC

	Congruent		Moderate		High-Incongruent	
	Jews	English	Jews	English	Jews	English
Mobile	31*(32)	42*(24)	47 (91)	57 (79)	58 (85)	59 (73)
Non-mobile	54(111)	60(104)	50(222)	67(201)	51*(129)	66*(116)
Stationary Middle-Class	15 (13)	36 (11)	50 (32)	72 (25)	48 (29)	50 (24)
Stationary Lower-Class	59 (98)	62 (93)	49 (190)	66(176)	52(100)	70 (92)
Upwardly Mobile	26 (19)	38 (13)	48 (62)	54 (52)	55 (71)	58 (62)
Downwardly Mobile	38 (13)	45 (11)	45 (29)	63 (27)	71 (14)	64 (11)

*Combined effect of mobility and congruence comparing extremes = Jews .20; English .24.

Effect of congruence within each mobility category, comparing extremes = Jews .27; -.03; English .17; .06.

The tendency persists when the mobility categories are further broken down into stationary lower-class, stationary middle-class, upwardly mobile, and downwardly mobile, with strength of relationship increasing in that order - Table 3.III. The greater relative effect of congruence within the downwardly mobile than among the upwardly mobile group may be due to continued

frustration of the mobility efforts of the former group. The difference between the stationary middle and lower class position is a resultant of the interaction of class position and congruence as discussed above.

A look at this refined breakdown helps us to understand in more detail the phenomenon we noticed in Table 3.I. where individuals of a low and those of a high socio-economic status are equally responsive to the presence of status congruence in their reaction to English-Canadians.* Such a finding is probably due in part, to the presence among the lower-class of the downwardly mobile middle-class who display many characteristics of their class of origin and who, we have argued, will be sensitive to the presence of status congruence. Since on the Jewish-Canadian question the stationary lower class is even less positively responsive to the effect of status incongruence than they are on the English-Canadian issue, (Table 3.III), the presence of the non-mobiles is not adequate to promote a great differentiation in the response to congruence.

Our 'theory' leads us to expect older rather than younger individuals, especially those over 50 years of age, to be more sensitive to the presence of congruence. This argument was based on the premise that incongruent individuals under 35 years of age regard their discrepant status as temporary, a mere stage in their life cycle. Besides, since their social investment, in some respects, is not very great, they will not yet be obsessed with the distress of social loss. And whatever investment they will have made still has several years for profitable rewards to accrue. It is probable also that the younger individual is less likely to be exposed to the disturbing interpersonal experiences due to an incongruent status, on account of, in

*There is also the theoretical possibility that the low status individual will be less responsive.

part, his expectation of future status improvement and his still immature competition with the objects of prejudice. These factors will then inhibit the formation, development and expression of a prejudiced attitude by both congruent and incongruent alike. There will, consequently, be little difference in their ethnocentric response.

But the older the individual, the less applicable these factors become. His social investment increases and with it status frustration and intransigent conservatism. All these have a greater effect on the status incongruent than on the congruent individual and so increases their relative ethnocentrism.

Table 3.IV exemplifies this tendency when the object of prejudice is the English-Canadian. The older the individual the greater is the likelihood that an incongruent status will make him more ethnocentric than will a congruent status. Among our youngest respondents the difference in attitude between congruent and incongruent, disregarding degrees of incongruence, is negligible - a mere 2 percent age points. But among the middle-age group - those 35 to 50 years old - the difference increases to 6 percentage points, reaching a high of 18 percent for those persons who are over 50 years of age.

TABLE 3.IV

CONGRUENCE AND ETHNOCENTRISM BY AGE. PERCENT ETHNOCENTRIC TOWARD ENGLISH-CANADIANS

	Congruent	Incongruent
Under 35	57*(44)	59*(184)
35 - 50	58*(59)	64*(167)
Over 50	52*(27)	70*(120)

*Effect of congruence within each age group comparing extremes= .02, .06, .18.

The effect of status congruence on the politico-economic liberalism and radicalism of the individual is also expected to vary with his socio-economic status. We have argued that the incongruent's greater support for social change and his more liberal and radical attitudes are prompted by his frustration with a social order which he regards as denying him the social status he deserves. The less radical behaviour of the congruent is due to his belief that his rewards are satisfactory in terms of his investment. But the relative intensity of these reactions depends in large measure on the exposure of the individual to social situations which make his relative status deprivation more or less salient. Where the person is less exposed to disruptive experiences, the incongruent will be less pressured into radicalism and will not differ greatly from his congruent counterpart. Conversely, exacerbating experiences will widen the attitudinal and behavioural differences between them.

If this is correct then the greatest effect of status congruence should be apparent within the middle status group where the quest for mobility is greatest and the frustration from 'rebuffs and embarrassments' lively and acute. This tendency should continue within the highest status group, but of reduced intensity, if as is commonly believed, the urge for mobility is less vigorous here than it is among middle-class individuals. If the status aspiration of the lower class is in fact less than that of the other two

classes, then we should expect their frustration to be less also, with the incongruent assuming a consequently reduced liberal orientation.

Table 3.V does not exemplify this line of reasoning clearly, although the tendency is indicated. Middle-class individuals, followed by the upper, and lower classes, show greatest response to congruency of status. Other facts may have operated to make the relative differences in attitude so small. Perhaps 'nationalisation' is not regarded as among the more accepted solutions to the incongruent's problem. Maybe too, some of these high status incongruents have a vested interest in private ownership. The lower educational standard of the lower class and their demonstrated aversion to change may help to explain the incongruent's restrained radicalism*. Reactions to the issue of nationalisation give some support to the basic features of the operation of status congruence.

TABLE 3.V
CONGRUENCE AND RADICALISM** BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS - PERCENT RADICAL

	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
High	40 (27)	45 (63)	47 (76)
Medium	43 (109)	43 (172)	52 (88)
Low	43 (109)	39 (86)	47 (53)
Effect of congruence on radicalism at each status level, comparing extremes = .07; .09; .04.			

* So far liberalism on social security measures has failed to show any response to status congruence.

** Agreeing that the state should nationalise the big companies and thus become their owners.

CONGRUENCE AND POLITICO-ECONOMIC LIBERALISM*
BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS - PERCENT LIBERAL

	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
High	81 (37)	79 (63)	83 (76)
Medium	86 (100)	90 (172)	84 (88)
Low	86 (109)	88 (86)	85 (53)

In line with our 'theory', a person's age also relates to conditions which facilitate or inhibit the operation of status congruence. The young are less sensitive to the effect of incongruence, for reasons already advanced, while the older individual, especially the middle-aged, will be more sensitive to a discrepancy in his status factors. Generally, then, older incongruents and congruents will show greater differences in their attitude and behaviour than will their younger counterparts. Table 3.VI shows one deviation from this trend, as the oldest and youngest individuals do not differ in the degree of sensitivity to status congruence. The absence of any effect among the older highly incongruent individuals - note irregular relationship - may be ascribed to their greater fear of the effects of drastic change on their insecure position. For, although we expect the older incongruent to be less radical than the young incongruent, we do not expect him to be less radical than the older congruent also.

TABLE 3.VI

CONGRUENCE AND RADICALISM BY AGE - PERCENT RADICAL

Age (Years)	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
Under 35	46 *(50)	49 (119)	49 *(79)
35 - 50	38 *(66)	38 (119)	54 *(74)
Over 50	47 *(30)	37 (79)	42 *(60)

*Effect of congruence on radicalism within each age group, comparing extremes = .03; .16; -.05.

Within the middle-age group, however, we notice a reaction consistent with our reasoning - Table 3.VI. The highly incongruent are much more radical than are congruents. Here the individual with a congruent status does not experience the status deprivation of the highly incongruent and has less

reason to be radical. The highly incongruent individual, on the other hand, at a stage when mobility aspiration is highest finds himself in a social situation ideal for status frustration - 'I either make it now, or never'. His extreme tendencies, which reflect his desire for relief, increase under such pressures.*

The zero-order relationship between status congruence and non-economic liberalism indicates that status incongruent individuals are less intolerant of freedom of the press than are persons with a congruent status. But this is true only of those individuals who had had less than nine years of schooling - Table 7 Appendix. Beyond this level of education a congruent status is more highly associated with liberalism than is an incongruent one. This development, of course, necessitates a further look at the original relationship especially in light of the fact that incongruents are, in our sample, on the whole better educated than are congruents. Such a distribution of highly educated individuals helps to account for the original finding. This does not mean that incongruents are not, in certain circumstances, more liberal than are congruents. Earlier on we noticed that this occurs under conditions of financial insecurity and economic dissatisfaction, and now in the case of low education.

* Again status congruence has no effect on response to social welfare measures.

CONGRUENCE AND POLITICO-ECONOMIC LIBERALISM BY AGE - PERCENT LIBERAL**

Age (Years)	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
Under 35	88 (50)	87 (119)	92 (79)
35 - 50	86 (66)	80 (119)	80 (74)
Over 50	83 (30)	84 (79)	80 (60)

** Disagree that there are too many social security measures like old age pension, family allowances, etc., in Quebec.

In an attempt to explain these variations in the effect of congruence we refer to our suggestion that support of civil liberties may be an attempt to advance one's own status position, to protect an already established position, or an expression of confidence in one's ability to withstand the threats that may be posed by the exercise of such freedom. The first reason will be typical of one who is quite dissatisfied with an existing status, the second of one who perceives a threat to a current position, and the third by a person who feels secure in his status. Since the low educated incongruent is presumed to be more dissatisfied with his status than is the congruent individual of a comparable educational standard, he will be more disposed to support measures which he thinks will improve his situation. One such measure is freedom of the news media, and this possibility takes on added plausibility in the light of indications that low status incongruents are less opposed to change in social organisation than are equally low status congruents.

But as educational level gets higher the congruent individual's feeling of status security increases, much more so than does the incongruent's. The former will now feel even more protected against the risks of freedom of discussion while the incongruent, on the other hand, due to the state of insecurity inherent in his condition of discrepant status, will feel vulnerable to the possibly adverse consequences of others' exercise of such freedoms. One of the oft repeated explanations for the individual's intolerance of civil liberties is his desire to preserve his lingering symbol of worth against a (highly sensitised) perception of threat.

An extension of this reasoning applies to a person's liberalism response to status congruence under different conditions of socio-economic

status. The incongruent's greater sensitivity to a feeling of deprivation and the more immediate urgency to vindicate his worth, since after all, he has high status on certain levels, will dispose him to consider the news media an apt means by which he may project his worth. Besides, denial of civil liberties is the very injustice that he must resent and resist since he himself is experiencing a form of denial of social justice. Such a reaction will persist and be intensified in the middle-status category where the absence of distributive justice is even more apparent and incendiary.

On the other hand, an individual whose status factors are congruent and who as a consequence does not, in general, suffer the anxieties with which the incongruent has to contend, is less likely to regard civil liberties as an instrument for redress of grievances. Neither will there be the belief which a higher status congruent may display, in his ability to cope with the implications of other's exercise of civil liberties. If these factors do operate in the manner we have suggested they will, the incongruent person is going to be less opposed to civil liberties than will the congruent, at least in the low and middle-class groups, with the tendency more pronounced among the latter.

In the upper reaches of the status hierarchy however, a different situation is likely to emerge. The congruent individual is now more convinced of his ability, due to a more highly secure status, to cope with the implications of greater civil freedom. There is less need to protect a situation which is so securely based and less reason to oppose greater freedom of expression.

At the same time, the incongruent individual who has now achieved an upper social status is experiencing even greater insecurity and now exhibits a heightened predisposition to conceive of civil freedom as threatening to his position. And this will be particularly true since his high status represents such a great social investment. In reacting against such threat he is less inclined, than is the upper class, secure congruent, to support greater civil liberties.

We now have the reverse of that obtained in the two lower status groups - the incongruent status individual is less in favour of freedom for the news media. And the effect of these forces acting in opposite directions on congruent and incongruent will be so great in the middle and upper class groups as to produce a great difference in response.

Table 3.VII accords with our expectations. Both middle and high status persons are much more responsive to status congruence, than is the lower status group, but in opposite directions. Whereas in the low and middle status groups liberalism increases with incongruence, among those of high status it decreases with incongruence. The highly incongruent individual with a high status follows the logical pattern being less liberal than his middle-class, but more liberal than his lower-class, equivalent.

TABLE 3.VII

CONGRUENCE AND NON-ECONOMIC LIBERALISM BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS - PERCENT LIBERAL

SES	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
High	89 (37)	81 (64)	73 (76)
Medium	59 (109)	63 (172)	77 (88)
Low	59 (109)	61 (89)	65 (53)

Effect of congruence on liberalism within each status level, comparing extremes =
 -.16; .18; .06.

At this stage we need to summarise our original hypothesis by specifying that status congruence has different effects on non-economic liberalism among individuals of different status positions. In general, the tendency is for incongruent persons to be more liberal than are the congruent with this tendency more pronounced among the middle than among the lower status individuals. However, within the upper status level the tendency is for the individual with an incongruent status to be less liberal than one whose status is congruent. This is so without refuting the logic of the 'theory' of status congruence.

The introduction of age in Table 3.VIII convincingly repeats the points we made in discussing responses to political radicalism. Status congruence has its greatest effect on persons between the ages of 35 and 50 years of age, that is, in the middle aged sector of our sample where the social denials that attend incongruency of status are greatest. In this case, the direction of relationship remains among individuals over 50 years old, and the size of the relationship being smaller than is expected, may be due to the greater conservatism of the old. The slight reversal among our younger respondents is not altogether surprising, given the tenuous influence of status congruence in this age group, the logic of which we have discussed. It would have seemed more consistent though, if the young incongruent were more of a civil libertarian than is his congruent counterpart.

TABLE 3.VIII

CONGRUENCE AND NON-ECONOMIC LIBERALISM BY AGE - PERCENT LIBERAL

Age (Years)	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
Under 35	78 (50)	67 (119)	71 (79)
35 - 50	60 (66)	70 (119)	77 (74)
Over 50	63 (30)	67 (82)	66 (60)
Effect of congruence on liberalism within each age group, by comparing extremes = -.07; .17; .03.			

In this chapter, the introduction of several situational conditions has failed to disprove that status congruence influences the individual's behaviour in certain ways. It also became apparent that the individual's socio-economic status, whether or not he is socially mobile - intergenerationally - and to a lesser extent, his age, all affect the manner in which he responds to the congruency of his status.

The person of a high socio-economic status, and one who is mobile, is somewhat more sensitive to the presence of congruency in his status, when it comes to assessing the threat image of English-Canadians, than is one of a lower socio-economic status and one who is non-mobile. Similarly, in the case of resentment against Jewish-Canadians where the differences are considerable, but in the same direction. Also, the older the individual the more the congruency of his status is likely to affect his suspicion of the English-Canadian.

In the issue of nationalisation of private property, higher socio-economic status makes the individual more responsive to the congruency of his status than does a low socio-economic status. In addition persons between 35 and 50 years old prove to be more sensitive than are persons who are either younger or older.

Status congruence still shows no effect on whether or not the individual thinks there are too many social security programmes in Quebec - our measure of politico-economic liberalism.

CHAPTER IV

THE EFFECTS OF CERTAIN PATTERNS OF CONGRUENCE

So far we have been discussing the consequences of the inclusive concept of status congruence. In this Chapter we check the validity of our conclusion that the observed responses do result from a situation of status congruent - Section 1. In Section 2, we discuss the effects of different patterns of congruence. In most cases, in order to simplify the analysis, the individual's reaction is treated in terms of his position on two status variables at a time.

Section 1. Identifying the Effects of Congruence. One of the often repeated deficiencies of attempts to illustrate that status congruence affects the behaviour and attitude of the individual has been the researcher's admitted failure to isolate the effect and manner of operation of congruency of status. This has led one observer to comment that "existing studies have not adequately demonstrated that the non-vertical dimension of social status is important, how the dimension operates, or what it means."¹ A direct statistical solution of this identification problem has been referred to as almost impossible, due to the difficulty in holding congruence constant while varying its constituent elements.² In this and other researches certain

¹Robert Edward Mitchell, "Methodological Notes on a Theory of Status Crystallisation", The Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XXVIII (1964), p. 325.

²Gerhard Lenski, "Comment", The Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XXVIII (1964), p. 327; Elton F. Jackson and Peter J. Burke, "Status and Symptoms of Stress", American Sociological Review, Vol. XXX (August, 1965), p. 556; Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., "The Identification Problem and Theory Building: The Case of Status Inconsistency", American Sociological Review, Vol. XXXI (February, 1966).

indirect methods have been applied to arrive at certain causal inferences linking status congruence to a person's attitudinal responses.³ By controlling for several factors which are regarded as affecting the responses under study the residual degrees of relationship are then attributed to the operation of status congruence.

A related problem is the need to identify the special factors or combinations of factors producing congruence which have greatest effect on the individual's reaction. Mitchell⁴ for instance, suggests that Lenski's⁵ findings are a possible result of the dominant effect of ethnicity and the individual's unified social status.

In order to answer this last criticism we use several controls, and have already made mention of the results when socio-economic status is held constant. With the exception of attitude toward freedom of the news media the direction of the original relationships remained although varying in intensity. Since this does not answer Mitchell's⁶ point criticising the inclusive nature of Lenski's⁷ control for status, each of our status factors is controlled individually and its effect noted. The original relationship of congruence to change in the organisation of society which has already been rejected as spurious - and subsequently amplified - disappears under

³Elton F. Jackson, "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress", American Sociological Review, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (August, 1962); Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Crystallisation: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status", American Sociological Review, Vol. XIX (August, 1954).

⁴Mitchell, op. cit. p. 322.

⁵Lenski, op. cit.

⁶Mitchell, op. cit. p. 320.

⁷Lenski, op. cit.

conditions of high education, and is reversed among manual workers - Tables 8 and 9 Appendix.

To a lesser extent, the same situation appears in the case of attitude on non-economic matters - Table 7 Appendix. Here the relationship originally observed remains in the lowest educational category, but is reversed at the middle and high levels. It remains too, at the middle and low socio-economic levels but is reversed in the upper level. A suggested explanation of these findings and one which is consistent with a 'theory' of status congruence has been offered in a previous section. The effect of status still remains strong and is not clearly distinguished from that of congruence.

The relationships between congruence and our other dependent variables remain despite the controls for these individual factors - Tables 12 to 14 Appendix. While this does not prove that the observed responses are due to the effect of status congruence, it shows that the direction of relationships noted are not the results of any of these status variables taken alone.

In order to make this method of control more precise all three status variables are held constant simultaneously - Tables 15 to 18 Appendix. Again, with the possible exception of attitude toward change - Table 18 Appendix, and non-economic issues - Table 17, no one status variable seems to explain the relationships. In both these cases high education is associated with high liberalism but there are certain exceptions which indicate that other variables too are having an effect. For example, the low educated, high income and high occupation incongruent is more liberal than is the highly educated, high occupation and low income incongruent - Table 17. And the highly educated, low income and low occupation individual is more opposed to change in social organisation than is his low educated, high occupation and high income

counterpart.

The possibility that we are measuring responses to status position and not to congruence shows up under this simultaneous control of status factors. In some cases, e.g., attitude toward Jews, non-economic liberalism, and attitude toward change, incongruents seem to occupy an intermediate position between high and low status level congruents. This suggests the additive effect of status as used in ordinary stratification analysis, as opposed to the interaction effect which the 'theory' of status congruence implies.⁸

In rebutting Mitchell's⁹ methodological criticisms, Lenski¹⁰ suggests a simple method of testing whether observed responses are additive or interactive. If an interaction effect is present, and incongruence is having a positive effect, then the percentages in the inconsistent cells, treating two variables, should total more than the percentages in the consistent cells. But he concedes that if the process is interactive it is statistically difficult, if not impossible, to measure the relative contributions of each variable to the total variance and the significance of the difference over and above the additive effect. We apply this procedure, using only congruents and incongruents, because of the small size of our sample.

From Table 4.I we notice that in the cases of incongruence based on levels of income and education, and of occupation and income, the sums of

⁸Lenski, "Comment", op. cit.; Blalock, op. cit.; Jackson and Burke, op. cit.

⁹Mitchell, op. cit.

¹⁰Lenski, op. cit.

the percentages in each pair of inconsistent cells are greater than the sums of percentages in each pair of consistent cells. This indicates that incongruence of these factors does produce higher ethnocentrism than does congruence. And this is true even when Hyman's test is applied.¹¹ Occupation-education congruence does not yield a similar result, suggesting that congruence on these dimensions have no effect on the individual's opinion of the threat posed by English-Canadians.

TABLE 4.I

PATTERNS OF CONGRUENCE AND ETHNOCENTRISM - PERCENT ETHNOCENTRIC

(i) re English Canadians

Education	Occupation		Income		Income	Occupation	
	High	Low	High	Low		High	Low
High	63(101)	79(47)	61(51)	72(97)	High	56(81)	80(105)
Low	63(117)	80(184)	73(135)	68(166)	Low	68(137)	71(126)

(ii) re Jewish Canadians

Education	Occupation		Income		Income	Occupation	
	High	Low	High	Low		High	Low
High	59(125)	45(53)	42(66)	53(112)	High	46(101)	56(115)
Low	47(134)	63(195)	55(150)	58(179)	Low	51(158)	62(133)

On attitude toward Jewish-Canadians - Table 4.I (ii) - consistency on occupation and education has a greater additive effect than does inconsistency on these factors. Since, in general, if status position per se is

¹¹ Martin D. Hyman, "Determining the Effects of Status Inconsistency", The Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1966), pp. 124-26. For a statement of this test see Appendix A., page 86.

explaining the relationship there will be no difference in the sums of consistent and inconsistent cells, we imply from these findings that congruence is having an effect but in a reverse direction to our original relationship.

There is some indication that income-education incongruence explains a higher degree of prejudice against Jewish-Canadians, and that congruence involving income and occupation is of no consequence. Again, this does not take extreme incongruence into consideration.

The interaction effect is evident in Table 4.II under conditions of occupation-education, and of income-education with incongruent individuals being more radical on the nationalisation issue than are those with a congruent status. But for congruence involving occupation and income there is no difference in the response of congruents and incongruents when a high degree of incongruence is not treated separately.

TABLE 4.II

PATTERNS OF CONGRUENCE AND RADICALISM - PERCENT RADICAL

Education	Occupation		Income			Occupation	
	High	Low	High	Low		High	Low
High	40(125)	50(54)	42(66)	43(113)	High	45(102)	52(116)
Low	45(135)	48(196)	51(152)	43(179)	Low	41(158)	46(134)

This latter holds true also for response on social security measures, - Table 4.III. - when congruence is based on income and education. For occupation - income, and occupation - education congruence, however, the tendency is for incongruence to produce higher liberalism than does congruence.

TABLE 4.III

PATTERNS OF CONGRUENCE AND POLITICO-ECONOMIC LIBERALISM - PERCENT LIBERAL

Education	Occupation		Income		Income	Occupation	
	High	Low	High	Low		High	Low
High	83(125)	94(54)	86(66)	87(113)	High	78(102)	89(116)
Low	79(135)	87(196)	83(152)	84(179)	Low	82(158)	88(134)

The previously noted tendency for high non-economic liberalism to be more a characteristic of incongruents under certain conditions and of congruents under others is evident in Table 4.IV also. Individuals who are incongruent on education and occupation tend to be more liberal than are those who are congruent on these dimensions. At the same time, the tendency is in the other direction when incongruence is based on income and education, and on income and occupation.

TABLE 4.IV

PATTERNS OF CONGRUENCE AND NON-ECONOMIC LIBERALISM - PERCENT LIBERAL

Education	Occupation		Income		Income	Occupation	
	High	Low	High	Low		High	Low
High	78(125)	78(54)	85(66)	74(113)	High	81(102)	66(116)
Low	73(135)	60(196)	68(152)	63(179)	Low	72(158)	62(134)

A similar trend is present when the issue is the consequence of social change. Since certain types of incongruence are associated with a less unfavourable attitude to social change, we tested whether or not this is the effect of status congruence or status position per se. In Table 4.V persons whose incongruence involves occupation and education, or income and

education, are less negative in their attitude toward change than are those who are congruent on the same status dimensions. In both cases the sums of the percentages in each pair of incongruent cells are less than the sums in pairs of congruent cells. But for occupation - income congruence the reverse is true, indicating that in such a situation the individual whose status is congruent is less likely than is one with an incongruent status to regard change as **destructive**.

TABLE 4.V

PATTERNS OF CONGRUENCE AND ATTITUDE TO CHANGE. PERCENT AGAINST.

Education	Occupation		Income		Income	Occupation	
	High	Low	High	Low		High	Low
High	45(125)	39(54)	36(66)	48(113)	High	40(102)	50(116)
Low	56(135)	62(196)	50(152)	68(179)	Low	57(158)	63(134)

On the basis of these several control methods the relationship originally observed between status congruence and attitude toward English-Canadians, and nationalisation, were due to the effect of congruence. But in some instances the effect of certain types of congruence is to reverse the original relationship while in others the variation seems to be due to the operation of status per se. The finding in regard to social change must be treated with caution because of the demonstrated influence of a feeling of financial security/insecurity. In the cases of attitude toward Jews and freedom of the news media it is difficult to determine if the original relationships are in fact due to congruency of status. But it has been ascertained that the association between certain

types of congruence and these attitudes is really due to the effect of status congruence.

Section 2. The Relationship of Patterns of Congruence to Dependent Variables: Occupation and Education. We should expect a person of a high educational standard but who occupies a low status occupation to feel less status deprived than would one with a high occupation but of a low educational level. The possibility of upward mobility is greater in the first case. But on the other hand, if upward occupational mobility is perceived as blocked, then a person with the first status arrangement is more likely to feel frustrated. To begin with, his mobility aspiration is more likely to be greater due to his initially lower occupational status. Besides, he may think that his high level of education qualifies him for a higher status occupation. He is likely then to regard a transfer of economic power as a means of allowing him to achieve upward mobility.

On the other hand, the individual with a low level of education but who has achieved a high status occupation, may feel that on the basis of his education he is quite fortunate to occupy such a job. After all, it usually requires a high education to enable one to achieve an occupation of a high status. He has overcome this handicap, and so he will feel less status deprived. His radicalism will be less.

The tendency is apparent in Table 4.II, with the low occupation and high education respondent showing a stronger attitude than do those of the reverse status pattern. The adoption of such a radical attitude, or the fact of nationalisation, adversely exposes the former's status more than it does the latter's. The individual with a low educational standard and a

high occupation finds himself in a fortunate, though vulnerable position and is less willing to endanger this.

His counterpart, on the other hand, has less to lose and more to gain from such an extreme action. Besides being more deprived, one's educational standard is far less vulnerable to change than is one's occupational position.

The same direction of relationship obtains when the issue is social security measures - Table 4.III. The individual with a low occupation and high education is more likely, to the extent of 15 percent, to favour social welfare programmes than is one with a reverse status pattern. Presumably, social security benefits will assist the former in achieving a living standard commensurate with his high education and so help to compensate for his low occupational status. Social security benefits are less of a compensation for a low education however, than to an individual with a high occupation.

Again, the same argument is exemplified in Table 4.IV. Individuals who occupy a low status job despite their high educational standard are more inclined to support freedom of the news media, which we have defined as an attempt at rank equilibration, than are those whose education is low relative to their occupation.

In the case of attitude toward change, congruency of status rather than incongruency seems to be having an effect- Table 4.V. Here the individual who is incongruent on a low status level is more likely, to the extent of 17 percent, to agree that change in the organisation of society will make things worse. We have already noticed this tendency among the low status and financially insecure individuals. These states are apparently reinforcing our hypothesised effect of a congruent status.

Income and Education. Varying arrangements of the individual's positions on income and education do not produce differentiated responses in attitude towards Jews or English - Table 4.I. This suggests that the individual finds a low income position and high educational standard just as stressful as is a high income and low education situation, at least in the area of ethnic relations.

But on the issue of nationalisation of private property, low education, high income incongruence seems to be accompanied by greater stress than is the reverse pattern - Table 4.II. Individuals of the first type are more in favour of nationalisation than are those of the second type.

This may be due to the likelihood that individuals who earn a high income but are of a low educational standard are more exposed to tension producing interaction than are those on a higher educational level but who have a low income. Since education is such an important factor in evaluating status the low educated person will be thwarted in his attempt at improving his social status on the more personal and intimate level. In an attempt to improve his general social status he will opt for a major realignment in the structure of power. Lipset¹² suggests too, that because high education is usually associated with a high status, the highly educated person will identify himself with the more conservative upper class despite his low income. Such an explanation fits the findings in Table 4.II in so far as support for nationalisation is a liberal attitude.

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Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man. The Social Bases of Politics. (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1963), p. 250;; S. M. Lipset and Hans Zetterberg, "Social Mobility in Industrial Societies", in Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 14-17; 60-64.

At the same time, the individual with a high education but a low income is likely to be of greater mobility potential than is his counterpart. He need not therefore support extreme reorganisation if he can improve his status within the existing social structure.

This pattern of status congruence does not have any effect on the individual's attitude toward social welfare measures - Table 4.III. Neither does it influence his response to freedom of the news media - Table 4.IV - in the way the original relationship suggests. Here congruence instead of incongruence is having an effect. The combination of congruence and a high status predisposes the individual to be much more liberal than does the combination of congruence and a low status. This is easily understood in terms of the greater security the former individual is presumed to enjoy.

In this case also, incongruence has no effect on the individual's attitude toward change - Table 4.V. The fact that the sum of the percentages of the consistent cells is greater than the sum of the percentages of the inconsistent cells suggests that congruency of status does influence the individual's response. Again the person with a congruent low status is more inclined, than is one with a congruent high status, to agree that 'change' is destructive. Such a finding emphasises the great influence that status position exerts on the individual's reaction to change.

Occupation and Income. We have been arguing that it is usually more difficult for a person to improve his occupational status, given a high income, than it is for him to improve his income status, given a high occupation. In the first place, the situation involving a low income and high occupation may be temporary, a stage in the process of upward mobility. With the prospect of status improvement in sight the individual will feel less frustrated and deprived. Besides, as Lipset¹³ has observed, a high status on occupation will help to compensate for a low income position, thus reducing stress.

But since income seems on the whole to be less important than is occupation as a status defining factor, the high income, low occupation individual will feel more thwarted in his mobility aspiration. In addition, his occupational status will most likely be fixed; his present situation is not merely temporary as it is likely to be in the case of one with a low income but of a high occupational status. The latter should then be less inclined to be resentful and suspicious of groups which could be defined as responsible for the individual's status position. Similarly, he will be less likely to favour certain radical measures designed to change the status quo.

Tables 4.I(i), 4.II and 4.III support this line of reasoning. In Table 4.I, individuals of a low occupational status and a high income are more prejudiced against English-Canadians than are those of the reverse type of incongruence. In this case there is a difference of 12 percentage points.

High income low occupation respondents are more likely to support nationalisation and are more liberal on social security measures, than are

¹³Lipset, ibid.

those with a high occupation and low income. 52% of the former and 41% of the latter favour nationalisation of private property - Table 4.II. On the social security question, the percentages are 89 and 82, respectively - Table 4.III.

There is a shift in the relationship when the issue is freedom of the news media - Table 4.IV. Now congruence rather than incongruence is having an effect with the congruent individual of a higher class being more liberal than his lower class counterpart.

The trend noticed in Tables 4.I and 4.II for incongruence involving low income and high occupation to be less associated with stress than is the opposite pattern, is maintained in Table 4.V. Here individuals of a high occupation but low income are more likely to think that social change will 'make things worse', than are those with a high income but of a low occupation. Again the greater prospect of mobility and the higher social status they enjoy help to explain the latter individual's greater acceptance of the status quo.

In many of the above examples, the percentage differences are not very large. But it should be borne in mind that extreme incongruence, which in some instances may intensify the relationships, have not been isolated. Lenski, for instance, used three breaks, high, medium and low, on his status variables when he tested for the effect of congruence. We have used only two breaks, high and low. Despite this, we regard the directions of association as reliable suggestive tendencies.

The investigation of the consequences of different types of congruence leads us to a clarification of the original relationship of status congruence

and attitude toward social change. Using the individual's positions on two status variables at a time we have noticed - Table 4.V - the effect of various types of congruence on this attitude.

Now we control the respondent's position on all three status variables simultaneously. In order to test whether a feeling of financial security/insecurity really nullifies any relationship between attitude toward change and status congruence, we locate the various patterns of congruence and notice the relationships that emerge when this feeling is controlled. The results in Table 19 Appendix show that the low status congruent is more opposed to change than is his high status counterpart, irrespective of a feeling of financial insecurity. In turn three of six types of incongruents have a more favourable attitude toward change than have these most opposed low status congruents under similar states of financial insecurity. Of the three remaining types two are even more unfavourable while the other shows a reaction equal in intensity to the congruents.

Despite the presence of insecurity then, persons with two patterns of incongruence - high income and low occupation and education, as well as with high occupation and low education and income - are even more against change than are the low status level congruents. This suggests that status is not the only factor operating here, * for these patterns of incongruence are of a higher status than are low status level congruents.

The effect of education is quite noticeable. When education is high incongruents are less against change than they are under conditions of low education.

* In the sample socio-economic status is negatively related to opposition to change. See Table 20 Appendix.

Under conditions of financial security all types of incongruents are less opposed to change than are the low status congruents. But neither under conditions of financial security nor insecurity are any incongruents, regardless of type, more favourable to change in the organisation of society than are the high status congruents.

Since certain new relationships are indicated by this more refined treatment of the problem, we cannot reject our starting hypothesis in its entirety. We must specify however, that whether or not the incongruent individual is more or less opposed to social change than is a person with a congruent status depends on their respective patterns of congruence. The congruent individual of a high status is less opposed than are incongruents, but certain types of incongruents have a much less negative attitude toward change than an individual who is congruent but of a low status. For example, a person of high education but low occupation and income, is more favourable in his attitude to change than is a low status congruent. These are only tendencies however, as the sizes of our samples, after instituting so many controls, do not allow us to generalise with statistical certainty.

It seems, in summary, that in our sample incongruence involving income and occupation has no effect on a person's attitude toward nationalisation of private property, and toward Jews. Neither does an income-occupation incongruence have anything to do with whether or not the individual is liberal on politico-economic matters. The same is true of incongruence on education and occupation when the issue is the threat image of English-Canadians.

But in the cases of politico-economic and non-economic liberalism, education incongruence maintains a consistent effect on the individual's response.

High education is associated with high liberalism, and low education with low liberalism - Tables 4.III and 4.IV.

So does incongruence involving occupation when the issue is social security - politico-economic liberalism. Here occupation is inversely related to liberalism - Table 4.III.

In no other case does one status variable seem to account for the individual's response. Mitchell's¹⁴ criticism that position on one 'crucial' status variable seems to have determined the results that Lenski¹⁵ obtained, does not apply to our findings.

¹⁴Mitchell, op. cit.

¹⁵Lenski, 'Status Crystallization, op. cit.

CHAPTER V.

CONCLUSION

We have looked at some of the reported findings on the consequences of the arrangement of an individual's status factors, for his opinion on politico-economic matters and his attitude toward social change. In the case of political liberalism, there is no zero order relationship between the individual's attitude and the congruency of his status. Lenski¹ had reported such an association. We have found that only when the different kinds of incongruence are isolated, do certain associations emerge. Persons with a high education and low occupation and those with a high income and low occupation, are more liberal than are those whose statuses are congruent. It seems insufficient then, to regard status congruence per se as contributing to this type of response. Rather, it is more a reaction to specific kinds of congruence.

The same is true of a person's attitude toward social change. Our study does not replicate Goffman's,² as our measure of attitude toward change is more general. But in our sample, status congruence is not related to this 'dependent' variable. There are indications however, that certain types of congruence do bear a relationship, but these are not conclusive.

¹Gernard E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status", American Sociological Review, Vol. XIX (August, 1954).

²Erwin W. Goffman, "Status Consistency and Preference for Change in Power Distribution", American Sociological Review, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (1957).

Two additional attitudes, ethnocentrism and political radicalism, yield a consistent relationship to status congruence. The incongruent individual in our sample tends to be more ethnocentric than is the individual whose status is congruent. Yet again, this depends on the type of congruence or incongruence. Incongruence on income and education and on occupation and income, produce the greatest ethnocentrism.

Congruent individuals are also less radical politically than are incongruents in our sample. Incongruents involving education and occupation, and income and education accompany greatest radicalism.

We have noticed also, that the effect of status congruence varies according to certain attitudinal and social conditions. A feeling of financial insecurity for instance, strengthens the effect of status congruence. And so, in most cases, does a middle-class status. These last findings seem very important for the application of the concept to the understanding of social behaviour.

Although the findings remain reliable, there is an important shortcoming in this study. This is the failure to provide a completely satisfactory method of identifying the effects of status congruence when other factors are operating. But this is a continuing methodological problem which requires sustained research effort for its solution. Throughout this study we have used several indirect methods and they substantially support our conclusions.

The sizes of our zero order relationships are another apparent deficiency. This would have been serious if further specification had not considerably strengthened them. And this is very important, since it indicates that there is much more to the operation of status congruence than is apparent

in first order associations. Our findings on some of the conditions which facilitate or inhibit the operation of status congruence illustrate this point.

These findings have important implications for the understanding of the social process. There is strong support for the argument that a theory of status congruence will throw some light on the disparate behaviours and attitude of individuals. For instance, the support of radical political actions is a major concern of social scientists. It is important to find out for example what social characteristics typify persons who led the French Revolution, or who represent the "radical Right" in United States politics.

And even more urgently, the sources of support for drastic solutions to the problems of 'developing areas' or underdeveloped countries, need to be identified if these developments are to be understood. The case of Quebec is a prime example and the theory of status congruence is of special relevance here. In many cases, the 'colonial' history of these areas produces a social structure in which the representatives of the 'metropolitan' power are socially dominant. The 'colonial' culture also prescribes certain bases of status evaluation, like education and certain ascriptive criteria, which **define** the status groups within the society. More often than not, these preferred status characteristics are monopolised by an identifiable element in the population, thus producing a rigid high - low status dichotomy.

But as technological and other forms of social change are introduced, this status hierarchy of two, almost exclusive, layers, is transformed, and a middle class emerges. This phenomenon is rather sudden and traumatic. For the newly emergent individuals, having been denied other criteria of a

high status, now find their status elements highly discrepant. The now high income individual lacks an equivalent standard of education, and his occupation is maybe manual and of low status. Besides, new jobs emerge from the process of occupational differentiation which is rife at this time, and must be related in terms of status to the old ones. At the same time, others of the new middle class, and who are in high status occupations requiring a high level of education, find their income relatively low.

It is now difficult to establish normative definitions of status, and anxieties and status insecurities develop. In order to redress this imbalance, extreme political action may be supported. Increased State control of private property may be regarded as one way to improve relative income and/or occupational standards.

The traditionally privileged status group will resist the efforts of this new class to acquire higher social status. Such an opposition may lead this latter class to display Fascist tendencies in an effort to wrest control from a dominant group. And we have noticed that the status discrepant middle class are most inclined to favour the extreme act of nationalisation of private property.

At the same time, many of the traditionally high status individuals will now be status discrepant, especially on income and occupation. Perceiving a threat to their lingering symbols of prestige, they may incline toward radical measures of a conservative nature.

The consequences for civil liberties, in such a state of flux, have been suggested by our analysis. While there will be local variations, the basic theme of status congruence affecting attitudes and behaviour in the general

directions we have indicated, will be evident.

There will also be implications for ethnic relations. In these societies, there are several different ethnic groups of varying degrees of economic, 'social', and cultural influence. As the competition for status and power continues, ethnic dominance will be threatened, attacked and defended. One need not elaborate on the possible results of such a confrontation. We are concerned only with noting the potential for such an occurrence in these rapidly changing societies, and with commenting on the relevance of 'status congruence' to the study of these situations. For we have noticed that incongruent individuals are more inclined, than are those with a congruent status, to be prejudiced against minority groups. In addition, the states which increase this ethnocentric tendency, like a feeling of financial insecurity, of economic dissatisfaction, and a middle class status, are likely to be very prevalent in areas of rapid social change.

Of course, the concept of status congruence is still not thoroughly researched nor understood. A theory still **has** to be formulated. But the findings of our study indicate that further research along these lines is warranted and promises to be extremely useful.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

PERCEPTION OF FINANCIAL SITUATION AND ATTITUDE TOWARD CHANGE
- PERCENT AGAINST

Insecure	Moderate	Secure
61(210)	55(271)	44(197)

TABLE 1a

CONGRUENCE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

	Congruent	Moderate	High
High	25	20	35
Medium	-	53	41
Low	75	27	24
	146	321	217

TABLE 1b

PERCEPTION OF FINANCIAL SITUATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

SES	Financially insecure	Moderately insecure	Secure
High	22	21	36
Medium	34	41	38
Low	44	37	26
	210	271.	197

TABLE 2.

CONGRUENCE AND PERCEPTION OF FINANCIAL SITUATION

	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
Insecure	38	29	29
Moderate	31	44	38
Secure	30	26	32
	146	321	217

TABLE 3.

CONGRUENCE AND ETHNOCENTRISM BY PERCEPTION OF FINANCIAL SITUATION, AND BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS. PERCENT ETHNOCENTRIC TOWARD JEWS.

		Socio-Economic Status				
		High			Low	
	Congruent	Moderate	High	Congruent	Moderate	High
Financially insecure	33(9)	46(13)	70(23)	54(46)	53(30)	59(17)
Moderately insecure	30(10)	48(27)	57(21)	58(36)	63(38)	50(26)
Secure	28(18)	33(21)	34(32)	62(26)	19(16)	67(9)
SES						
				High	Low	
Effect of congruence = Financially insecure				.37	.05	
Moderately insecure				.27	-.08	
Secure				.06	.05	

TABLE 3a

PERCEPTION OF FINANCIAL SITUATION AND ETHNOCENTRISM. PERCENT ETHNOCENTRIC

Object of Prejudice	Insecure	Moderate	Secure
English-Canadian	67(192)	64(240)	54(171)
Jewish-Canadian	55(209)	55(208)	43(197)

TABLE 3b

ECONOMIC SATISFACTION AND ETHNOCENTRISM. PERCENT ETHNOCENTRIC

Object of Prejudice	Dissatisfied	Moderate	Satisfied
English-Canadian	67(49)	62(249)	61(85)
Jewish-Canadian	51(51)	53(514)	47(96)

TABLE 4

PERCEPTION OF FINANCIAL SITUATION AND NON-ECONOMIC
LIBERALISM. PERCENT LIBERAL

Insecure	Moderate	Secure
35(210)	39(271)	40(197)

TABLE 5

ECONOMIC SATISFACTION AND NON-ECONOMIC LIBERALISM. PERCENT LIBERAL

Dissatisfied	Moderate	Satisfied
29 (52)	38(516)	43(97)

TABLE 6

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND ETHNOCENTRISM. PERCENT ETHNOCENTRIC

Object of Prejudice	Socio-Economic Status	
	High	Low
English-Canadians	66(253)	74(355)
Jewish-Canadians	48(303)	53(377)

TABLE 7

CONGRUENCE AND NON-ECONOMIC LIBERALISM BY EDUCATION. PERCENT LIBERAL

Education (years in school)	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
Under 8	58(109)	64(157)	68(118)
9 - 12	91(12)	71(151)	75(64)
Over 12	88(25)	77(13)	78(35)

TABLE 8

CONGRUENCE AND CHANGE BY EDUCATION. PERCENT AGAINST CHANGE

Education (years in school)	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
Under 8	67(109)	54(157)	63(118)
9 - 12	58(12)	46(151)	48(64)
Over 12	28(25)	54(13)	31(35)

TABLE 9

CONGRUENCE AND CHANGE BY OCCUPATION. PERCENT AGAINST CHANGE

Occupation	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
Manual	67(113)	52(224)	50(116)
Non-manual	33(33)	47(97)	57(101)

TABLE 10

CONGRUENCE AND RADICALISM BY INCOME
PERCENT RADICAL IE FAVOUR NATIONALISATION

Income (\$,000 p.a.)	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
Under \$3,500	41(22)	49(76)	35(69)
\$3,500 - \$5,000	43(99)	39(206)	57(72)
Over \$5,000	40(25)	46(39)	54(76)

TABLE 11.

CONGRUENCE AND RADICALISM BY EDUCATION. PERCENT RADICAL

Education (years in school)	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
0 - 8	44(109)	42(157)	53(118)
9 - 12	42(12)	41(151)	40(64)
13 and over	40(25)	54(13)	51(35)

TABLE 12.

CONGRUENCE AND ETHNOCENTRISM BY EDUCATION.
PERCENT ETHNOCENTRIC TOWARD (1) ENGLISH (2) JEWS

Education(years in school)	Congruent		Moderate		High-Incongruent	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
0 - 8	69(103)	57(109)	76(141)	54(156)	71(108)	55(118)
9 - 12	57(7)	42(12)	67(133)	45(149)	75(56)	56(64)
13 and over	45(25)	24(25)	91(11)	46(13)	69(29)	47(34)

TABLE 13

CONGRUENCE AND ETHNOCENTRISM BY OCCUPATION. PERCENT ETHNOCENTRIC TOWARD
ENGLISH-CANADIANS

Occupation	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
(Professional (Managerial	45(20)	58(29)	68(54)
Lower White Collar	50(4)	69(51)	58(33)
Manual	68(106)	75(205)	78(106)

TABLE 14.

CONGRUENCE AND ETHNOCENTRISM BY INCOME. PERCENT ETHNOCENTRIC TOWARD JEWS

Income (\$,000 p.a.)	Congruent	Moderate	High-Incongruent
Under \$3,500	46(22)	58(76)	57(68)
\$3,500 - \$5,000	58(99)	49(204)	54(38)
Over \$5,000	24(25)	34(38)	51(76)

TABLE 15.

PATTERNS OF CONGRUENCE AND ETHNOCENTRISM. PERCENT ETHNOCENTRIC

	English-Canadians				Jewish-Canadians			
	Occupation				Occupation			
	High		Low		High		Low	
Education	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Income-High	48(27)	59(54)	76(24)	81(81)	30(37)	48(64)	45(29)	59(86)
Low	69(74)	67(63)	82(23)	69(103)	55(88)	46(70)	46(24)	57(109)

TABLE 16.

PATTERNS OF CONGRUENCE AND (A) RADICALISM, (B) LIBERALISM. PERCENT RADICAL
IE FAVOUR NATIONALISATION: LIBERAL IE FAVOUR SOCIAL SECURITY.

	(A)				(B)			
	Nationalisation				Social Security			
	Occupation				Occupation			
	High		Low		High		Low	
Education	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Income-High	40(37)	48(65)	45(29)	53(87)	81(37)	77(65)	93(29)	87(87)
Low	40(88)	43(70)	56(25)	43(109)	84(88)	80(70)	96(25)	86(109)

TABLE 17.

PATTERNS OF CONGRUENCE AND NON-ECONOMIC LIBERALISM
PERCENT LIBERAL IE FAVOUR NEWS MEDIA

Education	Occupation			
	High		Low	
	High	Low	High	Low
Income-High	89(37)	77(65)	80(29)	62(87)
Low	74(88)	69(70)	76(25)	58(109)

TABLE 18.

PATTERNS OF CONGRUENCE AND CHANGE. PERCENT AGAINST CHANGE

Education	Occupation			
	High		Low	
	High	Low	High	Low
Income-High	40 (37)	42(65)	31(29)	56(87)
Low	48(88)	69(70)	48(25)	64(109)

TABLE 19.

PATTERNS OF CONGRUENCE AND ATTITUDE TOWARD CHANGE BY PERCEPTION OF FINANCIAL
SITUATION. PERCENT AGAINST CHANGE

	Congruent			Incongruent				
	Low Status	High Status	1/OE*	O/EI	E/10	OE/1	10/E	E1/0
Insecure	67(46)	33(9)	75(24)	72(25)	60(5)	53(30)	67(15)	38(8)
Moderate	78 (36)	60(10)	54(39)	75(28)	47(15)	46(28)	33(27)	71(7)
Secure	54(26)	28(18)	46(24)	50(16)	40(5)	45(29)	35(23)	7 (14)

*I/OE - High Income, Low Occupation and Education

O/EI - High Occupation, Low Education and Income

E/IO - High Education, Low Income and Occupation

OE/I - High Occupation and Education, Low Income

IO/E - High Income and Occupation, Low Education

EI/O - High Education and Income, Low Occupation

TABLE 20.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND ATTITUDE TOWARD CHANGE. PERCENT AGAINST CHANGE

High	Medium	Low
41(176)	53(260)	62(248)

APPENDIX A. *

"Now, in order to separate the status inconsistency effect on a dependent variable from the effect of occupation and wealth on this variable, the following is done. Every possible combination of associations between occupation and the dependent variable and wealth and the dependent variable is considered. For each combination there is advanced a null hypothesis which states, given this pattern of associations, what the data will look like if there is no status inconsistency effect. These null hypotheses are presented below in Table 3. To simplify this table, A will represent occupation, B wealth, and d the dependent variable."

TABLE 3

LOCATION OF d PERCENTAGES FOR ALL COMBINATIONS OF ASSOCIATIONS, ASSUMING NO EFFECT OF STATUS INCONSISTENCY ON d, BY INCONSISTENT TYPE

Null Hypothesis Situation	Association		Inconsistency Type	
	A and d	B and d	A-High-B-Low	A-Low-B-High
1	+	+	Somewhere between that of the A-high-B-high and that of the A-low-B-low	Somewhere between that of the A-high-B-high and that of the A-low-B-low
2	-	-	Same as for situation 1	Same as for situation 1
3	+	-	Higher than that of the consistent	Lower than that of the consistent
4	-	+	Lower than that of the consistent	Higher than that of the consistent
5	+	0	Same as that of consistent similarly high on A	Same as that of consistent similarly low on A
6	0	+	Same as that of consistent similarly low on B	Same as that of consistent similarly high on B
7	-	0	Same as that of consistent similarly high on A	Same as that of consistent similarly low on A

* Hyman, Martin D. op. cit. pp.123 and 124.

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