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STATUS INCONSISTENCY AND ETHNORELIGIOUS GROUP
MEMBERSHIP AS DETERMINANTS OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION
AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES*

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ABSTRACT

As a test of the theory of status inconsistency, the effects of ethnoreligious group membership and education on several economic and political attitudes and indicators of social participation were analyzed, using survey data on a white native-born Detroit sample. It was hypothesized that if status inconsistency effects were operating, we would observe statistical interaction effects between ethnoreligious group membership and education, and that these interactions would vary as a function of ethnoreligious status. For some variables and for some ethnoreligious groups, regression analysis demonstrated the existence of interaction effects. However, they were not the specific interaction effects anticipated on the basis of status inconsistency theory. Rather, we attribute our results to the persistence of subcultural differences within ethnoreligious groups in Detroit.

THE STATUS INCONSISTENCY MODEL

The fact that in complex societies an individual's position in one social ranking or status system does not necessarily determine or coincide with his location in other status systems has long been recognized in sociological theory (cf. Weber, 1953; Sorokin, 1947). While there is a tendency for "different types of status to reach a common level" over time (Benoit-Smullyan, 1944: 160; cf. Kimberly, 1970), at any given point in time there are always individuals whose several statuses are highly inconsistent. Since Lenski reintroduced the notion of discontinuities among status systems in his theory of status crystallization or status inconsistency (Lenski, 1954), a wide range of studies have been undertaken to examine the possible correlates and consequences of such discontinuities (cf. Geschwender, 1967).

The basic model implicit in the literature is a straightforward one. Through processes of social mobility and social change, people with lowly evaluated ascriptive status characteristics, such as race, religion and ethnicity, succeed in raising their positions in status systems based upon achievement, such as those of educational attainment or occupational prestige (cf. Segal and Knoke, 1968). This necessarily creates inconsistencies between their relative ranks in the achieved and ascribed status systems.

A person in such a situation is assumed to define his social position in terms of his higher status and will expect deference and other status-linked behavior from others to conform to the privileges befitting such higher status (Galtung, 1966). People interacting with the inconsistent individual, perhaps in the interest of maximizing their own relative power in the relationship, however, may define him in terms of his lower status, and hence his deference expectations will be frustrated (Lenski, 1966: 87). Empirical research suggests that in fact people will judge the status inconsistent individual, not in terms of his lower status, but in terms of the average of his several statuses (Himmelfarb and Senn, 1969). The net result, however, will be the same. Lower status will be attributed to him by others than he attributes to himself.

Lenski suggests that individuals in such a situation will be subjected to disturbing experiences in social encounters and will in fact experience difficulty in establishing rewarding patterns of social interaction (Lenski, 1956). The literature suggests that there are a variety of behavioral and psychological responses to such stress. Jackson (1962) sees it causing psychological disturbance. Goffman (1957) sees it leading to desires to change the distribution of power in society, presumably to restructure society in a way that will make the lower status of the status inconsistent

individual less relevant. Lenski (1954, 1967) demonstrates a relationship between status inconsistency and Democratic Party support, as well as with liberalism with regard to socioeconomic issues.

CRITICISMS OF THE MODEL

Four major types of criticism have been directed at the status inconsistency model. First, the assumed underlying dynamic, viz., disruption of social relations as a function of status inconsistency, has never been empirically demonstrated. Lenski (1956) presents only inferential evidence in support of this proposition, and Bauman (1968) presents data which suggest that status inconsistent people may actually have more satisfying social contacts than do people who are status consistent.

Secondly, some critics have argued that when the main effects of the individual statuses are taken into account first, the statistical "interaction" effect due to status inconsistency has no explanatory power (Brandmeyer, 1965; Treiman, 1966) or only minimal power (Fauman, 1968) with regard to the dependent variable.

Third, the effects attributed to status inconsistency have been interpreted by some researchers as being due to ethnic group membership. One variant of this criticism is concerned with the main effects of ethnic status as a

variable in the stratification system, and in this wise, this argument is merely a specification of the above mentioned point (Kelley and Chambliss, 1966). Indeed, Lenski (1954) has argued that the most important inconsistencies for explaining liberalism are those that occur between low ethnic status and high financial, educational, or occupational status; and Segal (1969) has shown that the political effects of status inconsistency are in general manifest only when the low ascriptive status of the inconsistent individual is socially visible. Another variant of explanations in terms of ethnicity takes a more subcultural bent. From this perspective, the relative social ranking of the ethnic groups is not important. Rather, primacy is placed upon their subcultural traits affecting political attitudes and sociability patterns (cf., Glazer and Moynihan, 1963). It should be noted that while one of the authors anticipated finding evidence of status inconsistency effects in our data, the other author felt that our results could be adduced to demonstrate the persistence of subcultural factors.

Finally, on methodological grounds, it has been argued that although some statistical interaction effects have been demonstrated between status variables with regard to some presumed effects of status inconsistency, any "interaction" effect cannot simply be equated with an inconsistency effect (Blalock, 1967b; Hyman, 1966; Mitchell, 1964). Blalock (1966a,

1966b, 1967a) suggests in this regard that a priori specification of main effects as well as the expected magnitude and direction of interaction effects is necessary in identifying which interaction effects are attributable to inconsistency.

RESEARCH GOALS

The present study attempts to confront four unresolved questions raised in the above discussion:

1. Can the presumed effects of status inconsistency upon social relations and political attitudes be replicated on an all white, native-born sample, or are these factors so dependent upon racial and nativity differences that they will be absent in a situation where race and nativity do not vary?
2. Do individuals who are objectively status inconsistent actually experience less intense social relationships and less frequent social contacts than do people who are status consistent? That is, do the specific forms of statistical interaction among objective status variables suggested by the theory of status inconsistency tell us something about social relations above and beyond what we know can be attributed to the main effects of the status variables, giving us a basis for inference regarding the subjective processes involved?

3. Are there interaction effects on social participation and political attitudes apart from those attributable to status inconsistency?
4. If there are such effects, can they be attributed to the persistence of ethnoreligious or subcultural differences?

THE SAMPLE

Our data were collected during the spring and summer of 1966 in the greater metropolitan area of Detroit by the Detroit Area Study, University of Michigan. The sample consisted of 1,013 native-born white males between the ages of 21 and 64, representing 80 percent of the eligible households sampled. Fourteen percent of the households originally sampled refused interviews, and an additional 6 percent was lost because no one was found at home after repeated callbacks or for other reasons. Since this sample is exclusively white, we were assured that if inconsistency effects were discovered, they could not be due to racial differences. At the same time, the fact that the sample was native-born assured us that if we did discover ethnoreligious differences within the white sample, they would be attributable to persisting subcultural differences and not to differences between immigrants and native-born Americans.^{1/}

STATUS DIMENSIONS

Previous research has shown that the most important status inconsistencies are those between an achieved status and an ascribed status (Segal and Knoke, 1968). Education was utilized as the achieved status dimension in this analysis. Education is in general highly correlated with other achieved statuses; in our sample the correlation between education and occupation was .61. At the same time, the main effects of education on attitudes and social participation have repeatedly been demonstrated to be, in general, greater than the main effects of income or occupation for the population as a whole (e.g., Hodge, 1970).

Race, religion and ethnicity are the most commonly analyzed ascriptive bases of social status.^{2/} Race was precluded from the present analysis by the nature of the sample, and the utility of religion in and of itself has recently been called into question. Specifically, Gockel (1969) and Goldstein (1969) have argued that status differences among members of various American religious groups are predominantly functions of educational, occupational, and regional differences in their compositions, rather than of religious differences per se. However, at its inception, America was a Protestant nation, and remains so in the ideology of the Protestant plurality (Baltzell, 1964). Moreover, the persistence of socioeconomic differences

among religious groups, whatever they are attributable to, are reflected in their differing social standings.

Laumann (1969) has demonstrated that for the present sample, the structure of friendship choices can be described in terms of religious preference and socioeconomic status. More important, however, is his finding of ethnic differentiation within religious groups. This is consistent with research on the persistence of ethnic differentiation in America (see, for example, Kantrowitz, 1969), and with Miller's (1968) findings with regard to political variables which suggest that ethnic and religious factors must be looked at concurrently.

On the basis of these considerations, we defined our ascriptive status variable in terms of the positions of the fifteen largest ethnoreligious groups on the first axis defined in Laumann's (1969) smallest space analysis of these data. The rank-order correlation of this measure with Hodge and Siegel's (forthcoming) ethnic status index was .668 ($p < .01$). The correlation with mean occupational status of group was .248 (n.s.), indicating that our measure of ethnoreligious status was not simply an artifact of differences in socioeconomic status (see also Lasswell, 1965: 340-348). Twelve other groups defined by him were omitted from this study due to insufficient numbers to sustain analysis.

THE ANALYTIC MODEL

Alternative hypotheses derived from the theory of status inconsistency, on the one hand, and the assumption of persisting subcultural differences, on the other, were operationalized in terms of the equation:

$$Y_{ki} = a_k + b_k x_{ki} + e_{ki}$$

where Y_{ki} is a measure on individual i in group k which may manifest the hypothesized effect of status inconsistency, e.g., disrupted social relations or political liberalism, a_k is the intercept of ethnoreligious group k on the ordinate, b_k is the regression slope for ethnoreligious group k , x_{ki} is the educational attainment of the i th individual in group k , and e_{ki} is the error term.

At the first level of analysis, we were concerned with whether differences in political attitudes and social relations were attributable to educational differences, to ethnoreligious differences, or to both. If both variables have an effect on the dependent variable, we would then be concerned with whether those effects were simply additive or whether statistical interaction occurred. Finally, if interaction effects were detected, we were concerned with whether these effects were of the specific type predicted by status inconsistency theory or whether they would be attributable to non-status characteristics of the groups

included in the analysis (cf. Hodge and Siegel, 1970). For example, Poles, as a group, have been shown to have disproportionate tendencies to own real estate (cf. Wood, 1955; Wilson, 1964). As achieved status increases among the Poles, they will presumably purchase more property and may become increasingly anxious about the security of their property. We might, therefore, find hostile attitudes toward groups perceived to be property threats, e.g., Negroes, increasing as a function of achieved status but attributable to subcultural rather than inconsistency factors (cf. Greeley, 1968, who showed that Polish Catholics have the highest anti-Negro sentiments of Catholic groups tested).

Our statistical analysis had three objectives. First, we evaluated the differences among the slopes of the regression lines for the fifteen ethnoreligious groups by calculating the ratio of variance between slopes to variance within groups as a means of detecting the presence of interaction effects. Essentially this test (Hald, 1952: 580) determines whether the set of slopes of the ethnoreligious groups, b_k , varies appreciably around the common slope, \bar{b} . Second, we determined whether the fifteen regression lines were identical (i.e., coincident) or different from one another (Hald, 1952: 579-584). That is, the first test merely establishes whether the slopes, b_k , are equal.

It could be that the within-group relations of education to the dependent variable for each of the fifteen groups were equivalent, but that the regression lines themselves were not identical but parallel to one another (i.e., significant differences among the a-intercepts). Parallel lines would indicate the presence of group differences, net of the educational differences among the groups. Finally, the regression slope for each ethnoreligious group was compared to the weighted average of all 15 slopes, using a method developed by Tukey (Acton, 1966: 184-187), to test for the significant departure of any specific group slope from the common slope. Several groups might deviate significantly from the common slope while all the others did not. Such a situation, especially if the deviating groups were numerically small, would not necessarily result in a significant F ratio on the first test, but would be identified by the Tukey Test.

The expectation was that if there actually were interaction effects due to status inconsistency, then, as a general pattern, for high ethnoreligious status groups, e.g., German Presbyterians and Anglo-American Methodists, the value of the dependent variable would decrease as education increased and the two statuses became increasingly consistent. The pattern for lower ethnoreligious status groups, on the other hand, would be deflected from this pattern.

This expectation is presented graphically in Figure 1a, in which the interaction effect is indicated by the

Insert Figure 1 about here.

difference between b_1 and b_2 . As a function of the groups involved, this would indicate either inconsistency effects or interactive subcultural effects. If b_1 and b_2 were not significantly different but a_1 and a_2 were different, i.e., the lines were parallel, this would indicate the presence of additive ethnoreligious group effects. This outcome is represented graphically in Figure 1b. We shall note here that these additive effects need not be related to the social status of the groups.

Figure 1a in fact reflects an ideal typical set of findings which, while useful for purposes of exposition, would be unlikely to be approximated by a body of data. A more likely outcome, if status inconsistency effects were operating, would be that the slopes of the several regression lines would be increasingly deflected from the pattern observed among high status groups as social distance from those groups increased, but that the pattern would be confounded by main effects attributable to ethnoreligious group differences, reflected in differences in the a-intercepts. This kind of outcome is presented in Figure 1c. Here again, the additive ethnoreligious component is indicated by the

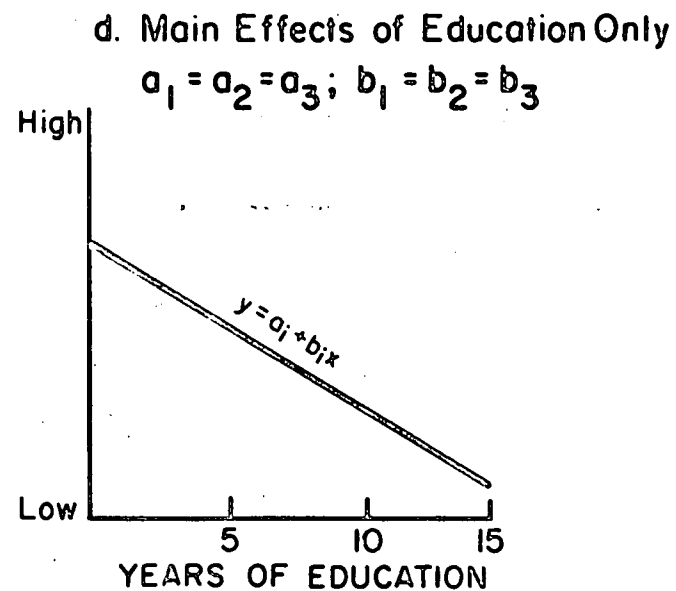
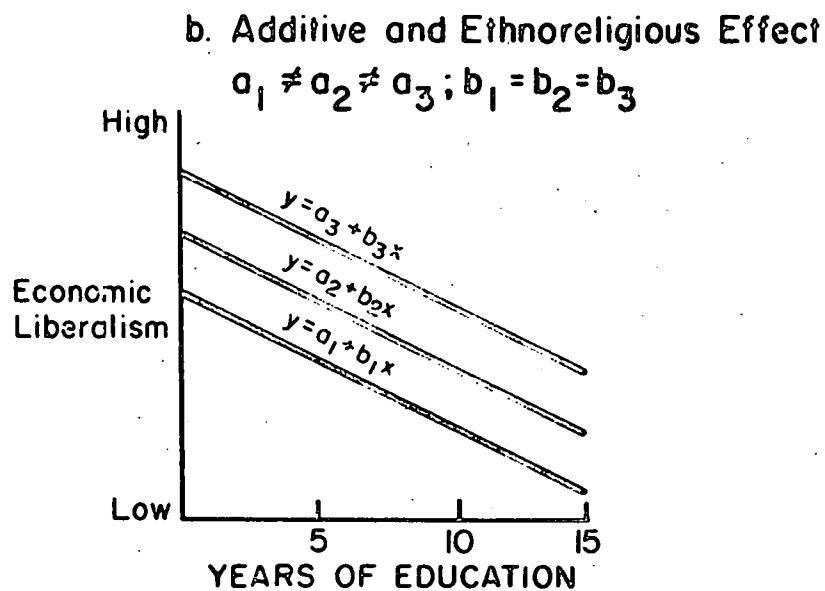
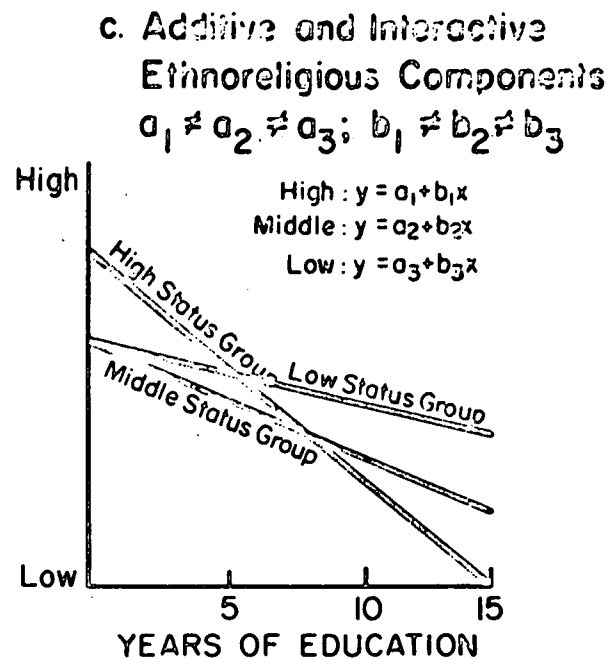
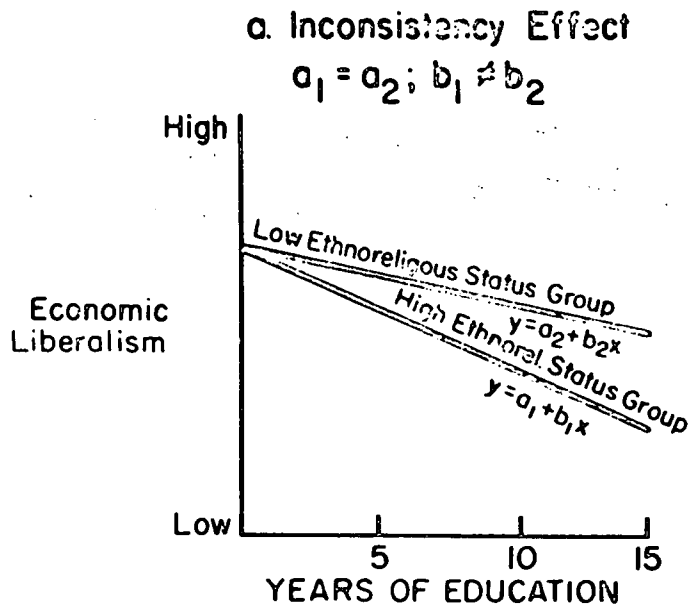


Figure 1: Hypothetical regression of political conservatism on education, under varying conditions of ethnoreligious effects.

significance of the differences among a_1 , a_2 and a_3 , and the presence of interaction due to status inconsistency is indicated by the significance of the differences among b_1 , b_2 and b_3 . This sort of pattern, but with any other status ordering of the groups, would indicate interaction effects due to factors other than status inconsistency.

Finally, our statistical analysis might have yielded no ethnoreligious component at all, whether additive or interactive. Such a situation, where the only effects are the main effects of education, is presented in Figure 1d.

FINDINGS

The fifteen groups that were subjected to analysis are presented according to their rank ordering on the ethnoreligious dimension in Table 1. Mean number of

Insert Table 1 about here

school years completed and mean occupational status, as well as their standard deviations, are also presented for each group. The rank order correlation between mean occupational status and mean number of years completed was .94.

The basic findings relevant to our discussion of the theory of status crystallization versus the theory of ethnic

Table 1. Ethnoreligious Status, Occupational Status and Educational Status of the Fifteen Ethnoreligious Groups.

Rank on Ethno- religious Status Scale ^a	Group	Total No.	School Years		Occupational Status ^b	
			\bar{x}	s	\bar{x}	s
Protestant Groups						
1	German Methodists	32	13.0	3.24	50.4	25.37
2	German Presbyterians	25	13.8	2.94	58.0	24.92
3	Anglo-American Methodists	40	11.4	3.21	46.5	25.68
4	Anglo-American Presbyterians	72	13.7	2.83	59.2	21.65
5	German Lutherans	57	12.2	3.30	49.9	24.90
6	Anglo-American Baptists	80	10.2	3.08	36.0	22.93
7	Protestants, Origins N.A.	32	9.5	3.81	32.0	18.86
Catholic Groups						
8	Italian Catholics	55	12.0	3.00	44.1	23.24
9	Anglo-American Catholics	33	11.2	3.83	43.3	27.65
10	Irish Catholics	65	12.7	2.93	51.1	21.63
11	German Catholics	81	12.2	2.75	48.6	23.62
12	French Catholics	51	12.0	3.19	41.2	22.92
13	Slavic Catholics	38	12.3	3.25	45.5	25.27
14	Polish Catholics	111	11.0	3.55	39.6	22.87
15	Jews	29	14.8	2.84	63.4	24.22
TOTAL		801	12.0	3.18	46.3	23.42

Table 1. cont'd....

a/

Rank on the first axis of the three-dimensional smallest space analysis of ethnoreligious groups (Laumann, 1969:194).

b/

The current occupation of the respondent was first coded into the 6-digit detailed 1960 occupation-industry code of the U. S. Bureau of the Census and then recoded by computer to the 2-digit code of Duncan's Index of Socioeconomic Status (cf. Duncan, 1961).

or subcultural differences are summarized in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here

We have divided the dependent variables into two sets.^{3/}

The first set includes five measures intended to tap various aspects of a man's orientation to political and economic issues--it being assumed in the literature (cf. Fauman, 1968; Goffman, 1957) that "liberal" orientations (specifically, preference for the "underdog", the worker, in labor-management disputes and active governmental support in guaranteeing job opportunities, Democratic party preference, and civil libertarianism) are especially likely to be expressed by status inconsistent individuals. We further reasoned that a man's condition of status discrepancy on two important ranking dimensions in our society might make him especially concerned with social status matters per se, that is, concerned with how other people regarded him. As the first column in the table shows, high educational attainment is associated with conservative economic ideology, Republican party preference, willingness to grant civil liberties to Ku Klux Klansmen and Communists, and low status concern.

The second set of dependent variables is intended to tap various aspects of a man's social participation in intimate primary groups and secondary or voluntary associations. The theory of status crystallization leads

Table 2. Tests for Differences among Various Regression Parameters for the Fifteen Ethnoreligious Groups for Selected Political and Social Attitudes and Measures of Social Participation, Regressed on Educational Attainment.

Dependent Variables	(1) Product-moment correl. (r)	(2) Test for differences among slopes, b's	(3) Test for differences among inter- cepts, a's	(4) Groups deviating significantly from the com- mon slope, b, according to the Tukey Test	
				Steeper than common slope	Flatter than common slope
A. Political and social attitudes					
Economic ideology ^a	.26**	n.s.	F = 2.58, p < .05	Anglo-Amer. Meth., Prots., Origin N.A.	German Presbyterians, Jews
Party preference ^b	-.23**	n.s.	F = 10.43, p < .001	Anglo-Amer. Caths.	German Pres., Jews
Tolerance for KuKluxKlan ^c	-.18**	n.s.	n.s.	None	None
Tolerance for Communists ^c	-.30**	n.s.	n.s.	None	None
Status concern ^d	-.20**	n.s.	n.s.	Germ. Pres., Jews, Prots., Origin N.A.	Irish Cath., Slavic Cath.
B. Social participation					
No. of memberships in voluntary associations ^e	.39**	n.s.	n.s.	None	None
Degree of associational involvement ^f	.03	n.s.	F = 2.94, p < .05	None	None
Average closeness of friendships ^g	-.11**	n.s.	n.s.	None	None
Aver. freq. of interaction ^h	-.01	n.s.	n.s.	None	None
Aver. duration of friend- ships ⁱ	-.02	n.s.	F = 2.05, p < .10	Anglo-Amer. Bapt., Polish Cath., Jews Prots., Origin N.A.	German Pres., German Methodists, Anglo- Amer. Cath.
No. of work-based friends ^j	-.02	n.s.	n.s.	None	None
No. of kin-based friends ^k	-.13**	n.s.	n.s.	Slavic Cath., Jews	Anglo-Amer. Cath.
Mean ethnorel. homogeneity ^l	-.05	n.s.	F = 32.147, p < .001	None	None
Mean occup. homogeneity ^l	-.00	n.s.	n.s.	Jews	None

*p < .05
**p < .01

Table 2, Footnotes

- a/ Based on answers to three questions: (1) "...which of these four statements do you come closest to agreeing with? (a) Labor unions in this country are doing a fine job. (b) While they do make some mistakes, on the whole labor unions are doing more good than harm. (c) Although we need labor unionism in this country, the way they are run now they do more harm than good. (d) This country would be better off without any labor unions at all." (2) "...which statement comes closer to your own opinion? (a) The most important job for the government is to make certain every person has a decent steady job and standard of living. (b) The most important job for the government is to make certain that there are good opportunities for each person to get ahead on his own." (3) "Going back to some general opinion questions, in strikes and disputes between working people and employers, do you usually side with workers or with the employers." (Cf. Laumann, 1966: 182-184, for details on index construction.) The range on this index was from 1(liberal) to 7(conservative).
- b/ Party preference was coded on a seven-point scale from "strong Republican" (1) through "independent" (4) to "strong Democrat" (7).
- c/ Based on answers to five questions, each coded as a tolerant (1), neutral (2), or intolerant (3) response and averaged: (1) "Suppose there is a man who admits he is a Communist (KuKluxKlansman). Suppose this admitted Communist (Klansman) wants to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak or not?" (2) "Should an admitted Communist (Klansman) be put in jail?" (3) "Suppose he is a teacher in a high school. Should he be fired or not?" (4) "Suppose he is a clerk in a store. Should he be fired or not?" (5) "Now I would like you to think of another person. A man who has been questioned by a Congressional Committee about his suspected Communist (KKK) sympathies, but who swears under oath he has never been a Communist (KKK). Suppose he is a teacher in a high school. Should he be fired or not?" (Cf. Stouffer, 1955; Laumann and Schuman, 1967).
- d/ Based on the summation of two Likert-scale items, each with five response categories: (1) "It is worth considerable effort to assure one's self of a good name with the right kind of people." (2) "The raising of one's social position is one of the more important goals of life." The range of this index was from 0 (low status concern) to 8 (high status concern).
- e/ The respondent was presented with the following list of voluntary associations and was asked to indicate to which ones he belonged: church-connected groups (but not church itself) (19.1%), labor unions (39.3%), veterans' organizations (10.7%), fraternal orgs. or lodges (22.7%), business or civic groups (9.6%), parent-teacher associations (15.8%), community centers (1.7%), orgs. of people of the same nationality (2.4%), sport teams (16.6%), country clubs (5.9%), youth groups (scout leaders, etc.) (8.3%), professional groups (13.9%), political clubs or orgs. (5.5%), neighborhood improvement assoc. (10.9%), charity or welfare orgs. (4.6%), and others (specified) (20.4%). (Percentages in parentheses are proportions of total sample who belong to given type of organization.) (Cf. Cutler, 1969, for an extended analysis of associational membership and its correlates for this sample.)
- f/ For each organization in which the respondent indicated membership, he was asked whether he was very involved or not very involved in the activities of the organization.
- g/ For each of the three friends mentioned by the respondent, he was asked whether he was (1) a very close, personal friend, (2) good friend, or (3) acquaintance.

- h/ For each of the three friends, the respondent was asked: "All in all, how often do you usually get together with (friend)? (1) more than once a week, (2) once a week, (3) two or three times a month, (4) once a month, (5) several times a year, (6) rarely."
- i/ For each of the three friends, the respondent was asked how many years he had known the friend. We determined the proportion of a man's life he had known the friend by dividing the number of years he had known the friend by the age of the respondent.
- j/ For each of the three friends, we asked the respondent: "Do you see (friend) regularly where you work—that is, at least once or twice a week?"
- k/ For each friend, we asked the respondent whether the friend was a relative (consanguineal or affinal) of his.
- l/ For each of the friends, we asked the respondent to report his occupation and ethnic origin and specific religious preference. On the basis of smallest space analyses of the structures of friendship choices among occupations (Laumann, forthcoming) and among ethnoreligious groups (Laumann, 1969), we determined the distance of each friend's group from the respondent's and averaged these three distances for a measure of the homogeneity of the friendship network (cf. Laumann, forthcoming).

one to expect that status discrepant individuals are likely to be subject to considerable strain in engaging in social relations with others because their social ambiguity, by which they may be accorded high or low deferential treatment depending on which status dimension others choose to regard as more important in the interactional context, creates anxiety concerning their preferred status treatment (naturally they would always like to be treated in terms of their more highly evaluated status). Consequently, a status discrepant man is expected to avoid membership in voluntary associations which are broadly recruited (that is, includes members who are not also members of the disvalued status), to be less involved in those voluntary associations in which he is a member, and to prefer friendship groups which are strictly comparable to him in status attributes (thus, such an individual would prefer kin-based and ethnoreligiously homogeneous friendship networks). We might also expect that the reported closeness of friendships, the frequency of interaction with friends, and the duration of friendships would be adversely affected for such individuals as manifestations of their "defensive", ego-protecting posture toward social relations.

The alternative theory of ethnic differences would simply maintain that ethnoreligious groups will differ on both sets of measures, once socioeconomic differences in

their composition are taken into account, because each has a unique cultural and historical relationship to American society that mediates their members' relation to it. Thus, given the different times of arrival of the various ethnoreligious groups and cultural and other peculiarities of their European and American experiences (cf. Handlin, 1959; Higham, 1955; Lieberman, 1963), we should expect differences among the groups with regard to many social attitudes and modes of social participation. A number of studies (e.g., Glazer and Moynihan, 1963; Wilson, 1964; Dahl, 1961) have suggested, for example, that certain groups, such as the Irish Catholics, have especially strong ties to the urban-based Democratic party as a result of their concentrations in urban ghettos of our eastern cities in mid-nineteenth century.

The last four columns of Table 2 present the summary results of our regression analysis. As noted above, we calculated the regression equation, $Y_{ki} = a_k + b_k x_{ki}$, where x_{ki} is the number of school years completed by each man, for each of the fifteen ethnoreligious groups. We first determined whether the slopes, b 's, were significantly different from the common slope, $\frac{k}{b}$, for the men irrespective of ascriptive group membership. As is readily apparent from a glance at Column 2, all of the F -tests failed to indicate significant differences among the slopes. Considering this evidence alone, we would be forced to conclude

that the relationship of educational attainment to the various dependent variables, as measured by the slopes of the regression lines, do not differ among the 15 groups--that is, there are no detectable patterns of interaction effects of education and ethnoreligious group on the dependent variables. As noted before, the theory of status crystallization at the least implies the presence of statistical interaction effects and, more specifically, interaction effects which are patterned such that lowly evaluated status groups are expected to be deflected from the "normal" relationship of, for instance, conservatism with high status toward more liberal positions. Unfortunately for the theory, however, we do not find any significant interaction effects according to this first test (in Column 2).

Our theory of ethnic group differences, however, fares much better. While it may be true that all the groups manifest similar relationships of educational attainment to the dependent variable, it is still quite possible that the groups significantly differ among themselves with regard to their tendency to be high or low on the dependent variable, even when the effects of their differences in educational composition are taken into account. For example, Irish Catholics, on the average, tend to be more inclined to the Democratic party than German Methodists,

although their within-group relationship of education to party preference is the same. In the regression analysis this would be reflected by the two groups having parallel rather than coincidental regression lines, that is, the a's or Y-intercepts would be significantly different. As Column 3 indicates, five of the F-tests for determining the presence of non-coincident regression lines are statistically significant. With respect to political and social attitudes, Jews and Catholic groups of the recent or "New Migration" generally tend to be more heavily Democratic in party preference and economically liberal than "Old Migration" Protestant and Catholic (e.g., French and Anglo-American) groups. Due to limitations of space, we have included only one graphic portrayal (see Figure 2) of the regression lines--that of political party preference and educational attainment for the 15 ethnoreligious groups; but the patterns

Insert Figure 2 about here

observed here are generally replicated for the other four measures of political and economic views. Note that the status ordering of the ethnoreligious groups in terms of partisanship at the high end of the education dimension is almost exactly what we would expect in terms of status inconsistency theory. It is the processes producing this

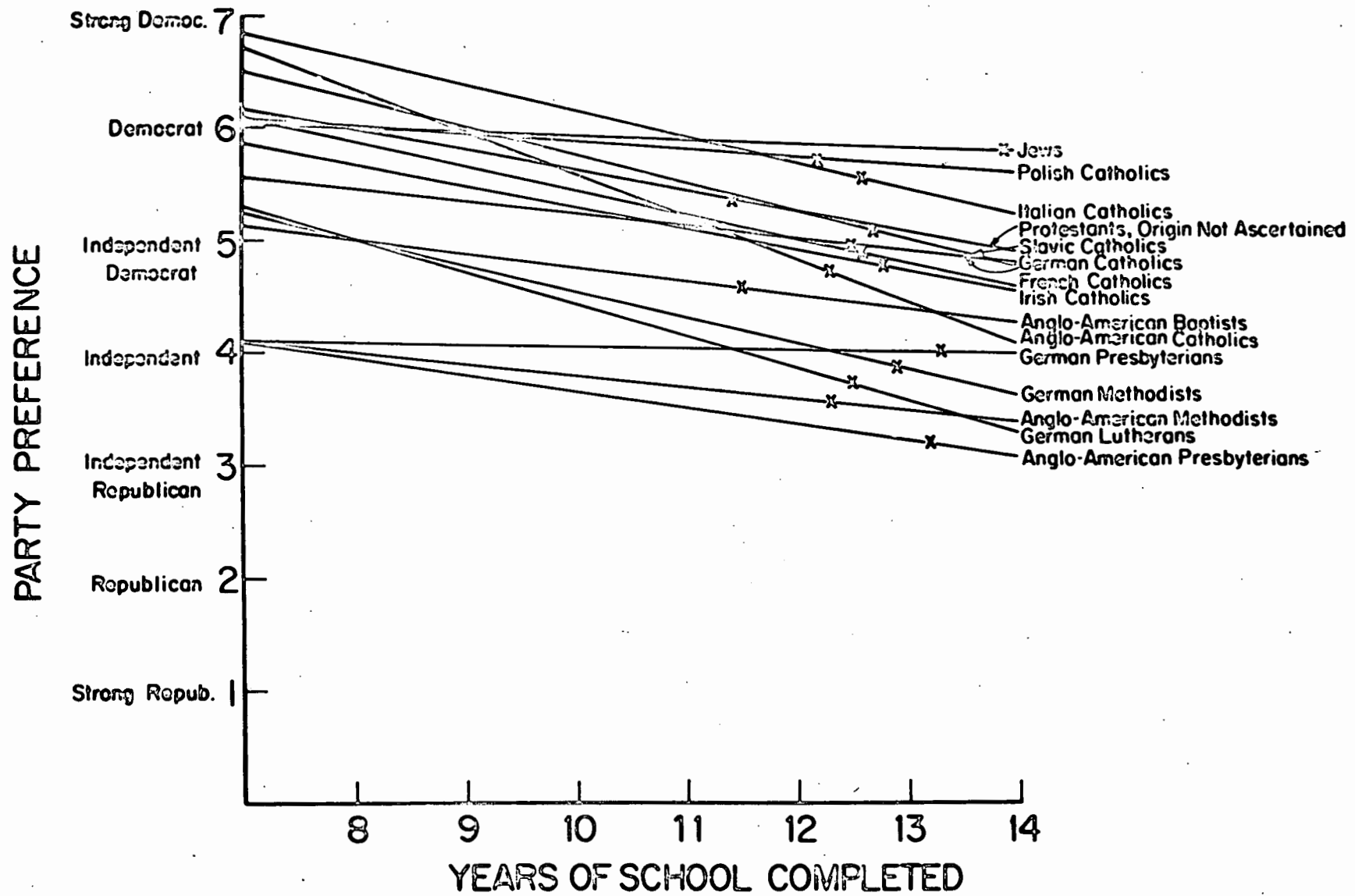


Figure 2. Regression lines of political party preference by educational attainment, for the fifteen ethnoreligious groups.

ordering that make explanations in terms of status inconsistency theory questionable. Rather than finding ethnoreligious status to be related to the deflection of regression lines, we find that in some instances the lines for high and low groups are almost parallel, e.g., German Presbyterians and Jews, while some low-status groups manifest deflections toward the lines observed for higher status samples, e.g., Italian Catholics.^{4/} The observed status ordering, then, must be explained in terms of the initial ordering of groups, i.e., on the intercepts at the ordinate, as much as in terms of regression slopes.

With respect to our measures of social participation, Jews and Catholics of the New Migration are much more likely to have kin-based and ethnoreligiously homogeneous networks, while Old Migration Protestants and Catholics have higher degrees of involvement in voluntary associations in which they are members (see Appendix A).

Column 4 reports the results of comparing specific group slopes with the common slope to detect significant differences, utilizing Tukey's (in Acton, 1966: 184-187) technique for calculating confidence intervals for the discrepancy between the group slope and the common slope. Column 2 reported the results of a test that determines whether the set of slopes varies appreciably around the

common slope. In the latter case if there are a number of groups that do not differ among themselves, the test is likely to fail to be very much affected by the presence of several groups that do in fact differ from the common slope but are not sufficiently numerous to affect the overall pattern. The Tukey technique was developed to permit the detection of specific group departures from the common slope. To facilitate discussion and interpretation, the groups in Column 4 have been divided into those which are significantly steeper than the common slope and those which are significantly flatter than the common slope.

There were eight dependent variables for which we found significant deviations of group slopes from the common slope. Most of the groups so identified are comprised of small numbers; consequently, caution should be exercised in drawing conclusions. There is one readily observable pattern, however. Both German Presbyterians and Jews appear to deviate rather regularly from the common slope and typically in the same way in contrast to a somewhat more varied set of Protestant and Catholic groups. These latter are typically of middling achieved status as groups (see Table 1 above) and usually deviate in the opposite direction from the German Presbyterians and Jews.

It is especially noteworthy that both German Presbyterians and Jews enjoy the highest mean occupational and

educational status and family income of any group in the sample--that is, on achievement-based criteria, they are the two most favored groups in the Detroit metropolitan area. Moreover, they enjoyed these highly favored achieved statuses over two generations as their fathers were also the highest in mean educational and occupational status (cf. Laumann, forthcoming). While most other Protestant and Catholic groups manifested considerable upward intergenerational mobility, these groups were already at or near the top of the achieved status system a generation ago.

But in this context what is of signal importance is the fact that German Presbyterians, as WASP's, enjoy exceptionally high ascriptive status while Jews are at the bottom of the white ethnoreligious hierarchy of social status (see above discussion on ethnoreligious group ranking). Yet the relationship between achieved socioeconomic status, as measured by education, and various attitudes and behaviors are similar for these two groups and differentiate them from the rest of the population. In the cases of economic ideology and party preference, higher socioeconomic German Presbyterians and Jews are less likely to be economically conservative and Republican than high socioeconomic status members of other groups.^{5/} While the theory of status crystallization would predict such patterns for Jewish high achievers, such patterns

for German Presbyterians are completely contrary to the theory's predictions.

Certainly a plausible inference from the theory would be that highly status discrepant individuals would be higher in status concern than status consistent individuals. But another "blow" to the theory might be seen in the fact that among both Jews and German Presbyterians the negative relationship between education and status concern is high, relative to other groups. That is, the regression slopes for these two groups are steeper than the common negative slope for the sample as a whole.

Most of the groups identified as having slopes significantly higher than Jews and German Presbyterians with respect to economic ideology, party preference, and status concern are of middling rather than high or low achieved status and have had unusually high rates of upward intergenerational mobility (Laumann, forthcoming). It is higher socioeconomic status members of these groups who are more likely to be economic conservatives and Republicans and to express high status concern. In a purely speculative vein, we suggest that perhaps the status insecurity engendered by such intergenerational mobility may be seen to promote more conservative political and economic attitudes in an effort to protect recently acquired gains (cf. Lopreato, 1967). For groups like Jews and German Presbyterians who

tend to have greater intergenerational status stability, such defensive measures are not seen as particularly relevant.

To summarize the results to this point, we have shown that while there are in fact substantial differences among ethnoreligious groups on a number of political and social attitudes and characteristic modes of social participation, net of group differences in educational composition, we have also suggested that the theory of status crystallization affords little if any explanatory power in accounting for the pattern of differences among groups. Since our so-called "theory" of subcultural differences merely asserts the presence of group differences without specification of their form, we can only conclude that the observed patterns (see Appendix A) should provide useful clues for the construction of a model of ethnoreligious group differences which would have to be tested on other sample populations.

In the course of our review of the literature on status crystallization, we concluded that one possibly important intervening variable linking a man's objective state of status discrepancy to his subjective view of the world and social behavior would be his degree of awareness of or concern for status that would presumably make him more or less sensitive to the status-linked behavior and attitudes of others. In an earlier work (Laumann, 1966: 105-122), the senior author observed: "The phenomenon of differential

status awareness is an important attribute of stratification systems in its own right that may have significant consequences for processes occurring within the status system and its relation with other institutional subsystems, such as the political or economic system." (1966: 106) While the measure of differential status awareness employed in this earlier study was derived from the respondents' differential tendencies to discriminate subjectively among men in various occupations as possible partners for intimate social relationships (such as fathers-in-law, friends, and neighbors), it is highly likely that this measure would be positively related to the measure of status concern employed in this paper. In general, it was found that:

....status-sensitive men tend to be those who identify themselves as members of the upper and upper-middle classes or those who derive from ethnic groups that have more recently arrived on the American scene. They are likely to desire their intimate associates to be of comparable status to themselves and are likely to succeed in confining their relations to such persons. Moreover, their theories of the bases of the class structure emphasize its hierarchical character. They are themselves upwardly mobile and aspire for upward mobility for their children....they express stronger political party preferences for either the Democratic or Republican parties and have more extreme and well-defined economic ideologies of either a liberal or conservative persuasion. (Laumann, 1966: 121)

Indeed, using a measure of status crystallization comparable to Lenski's (1954), it was even found that status-discrepant men tended to be more status sensitive.

One might reasonably speculate that men with high status concern should manifest the effects of status discrepancy prescribed in the theory of status crystallization more clearly than those who were unconcerned with such matters. To test this speculation, we performed a similar analysis to that described above for a sub-sample of those men who scored roughly in the upper third on our measure of status concern (see footnote d, Table 2, (N = 364). Table 3 summarizes the results for the Tukey test for identifying groups deviating from the common slope. Despite the sharply reduced sample sizes of the various groups (which should

Insert Table 3 about here

decrease the number of significant results due to increased sampling variability), we found that there were significant group differences for every one of the dependent variables (in contrast note that seven of the dependent variables in Table 2 showed no significant results). This suggests that the presence of high status concern is itself an important precondition for eliciting interaction effects of educational attainment and ethnoreligious group membership. In the case of the first set of attitudinal variables, there are no changes in the pattern of group departures from the common slope when compared to the total sample although there were some groups added to the list. We now, moreover, observe significant

Table 3. Groups deviating significantly from the common slope, b, according to the Tukey Test for men with high status concern.

Dependent Variables	Product-moment correl. (r)	Groups deviating significantly from the common slope, b, according to Tukey Test Steeper than common slope	Flatter than common slope
A. Political and social attitudes			
Economic ideology	.29**	German Lutherans	German Pres., Jews, French Catholics
Party Preference	-.24**	German Lutherans Germ. Methods. Anglo-Amer. Cath.	German Pres., Jews, Germ. Cath., Prots., Origin N.A.
Tolerance for KuKluxKlan	-.16**	Germ. Method., Anglo-Amer. Cath.	German Pres., Ital. Cath., Slavic Cath., Prots., Origin N.A.
Tolerance for Communists	-.21**	German Method., Prots., Origin N.A.	German Pres.
B. Social participation			
No. of memberships in voluntary associations	.30**	German Lutherans, French Cath.	Anglo-Amer. Bapt., German Method., Anglo-Amer. Cath., Jews, Prots., Origin N.A.
Degree of associational involvement	-.26**	None	Jews
Average closeness of friendships	-.04	German Methods., Irish Cath., Prots., Origin N.A.	Anglo-Amer. Methods, Anglo-Amer. Cath.
Average freq. of inter-action	.03	German Pres., German Methods., Anglo-Amer. Cath., Prots., Origin N.A.	Anglo-Amer. Methods. Slavic Cath.
Average duration of friendships	-.11*	Anglo-Amer. Methods., Jews	Irish Cath.
No. of work-based friends	-.08	None	German Methods., Anglo-Amer. Cath., Slavic Cath.
No. of kin-based friends	-.37**	None	None
Mean ethnorel. homogeneity	-.04	Jews, Prots., Origin N.A.	Anglo-Amer. Baptist
Mean occup. homogeneity	.03	None	German Lutherans, Slavic Cath., Prots, Origin N.A.

*p<.05

**p<.01

group departures from the common slope for the two measures of tolerance toward extremist groups of the right and left.

But perhaps the most noteworthy and puzzling results occur for our second set of measures relating to social participation. For every one of our measures, we observe groups deviating from the common slope that suggests the presence of significant interaction effects of educational attainment and group membership for men high in status concern. Unfortunately, the pattern of departures defies any summary generalization beyond the negative conclusion that the pattern predicted by the theory of status crystallization does not manifest itself for any of the dependent variables. It is not at all clear, for example, why German Lutheran and French Catholic men high in status concern should manifest significantly stronger relations between education and the number of memberships in voluntary associations while Anglo-American Baptist and German Methodist men, among others, should manifest significantly weaker relationships between education and associational memberships than the relationship obtained for the sample as a whole. It is certainly plausible to argue that if there are persisting differences among men of differing ethnoreligious groups in the ways in which they handle interpersonal relationships, they would be especially likely to manifest themselves among those members who are highly concerned with status. And in fact we do find that our measure of status concern is positively associated

with subjective ethnic interest and traditional values concerning the family,^{6/} another measure presumed to be linked to the retention of strong ethnic orientations. But again, in the absence of a well established model of ethnoreligious group differences that is based on a comparative study of these groups, we are left at the rather unsatisfactory point of asserting that the differences reported here should provide useful guidelines in developing such a model.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Our data clearly provide a basis for rejection of a general status inconsistency phenomenon such as that proposed by Lenski. There is no overall pattern of statistical interaction between ethnoreligious group membership and education with regard to either political attitudes or social participation. At the same time, there are significant interaction effects involving particular ethnoreligious groups that indicate subcultural differences in political orientations and sociability patterns. It is especially noteworthy that such effects are common among Jews and among German Presbyterians, and that the effects tend to be the same for these two groups. While the patterns observed among our Jewish respondents are precisely those that the theory of status inconsistency would lead us to expect for groups of low ascriptive status, the similarity between these patterns and the observed patterns among German Presbyterians suggests that the stability of high achieved status in these groups across generations, the relative homogeneity of the groups, and commonalities in central European culture are more parsimonious explanations of their similarities than is the theory of status inconsistency, which in fact would lead us to expect differences in the very areas in which similarities have been observed. At the same time, the patterns we have observed among the Jews in our sample,

taken together with Segal's earlier results on non-whites, suggests that similar behavior on the part of members of these two minority groups may well explain previous results that have been taken as supportive of the status inconsistency argument. Moreover, as we have shown in Figure 2, it is possible for apparent effects of inconsistencies between low ascribed and high achieved statuses to emerge on the basis of social dynamics other than those assumed by the theory of status inconsistency. Specifically, it is the persistence of traits characteristic of ethnic subcultures that leads to these results.

We should point out that both the theory of status inconsistency and the data with which we confront it are concerned with ascribed status in a heterogeneous community. Status inconsistency may have somewhat different effects on one's relations with his own ethnoreligious group than it does on his relations with members of other groups. The highly educated Jew, for example, may not be afforded deference on the basis of his education by non-Jews, but he will have high status within the Jewish community because of his adherence to the value placed on scholarship by that group. The highly educated black on the other hand may both be refused deference by the white community and be alienated from the black community because of the difference between the modal level of education in that community and his own level. The intersection of the effects of subcultural patterns and

the effects of the structure of the larger community needs to be explored more deeply.

The incidence of statistical interaction effects increased in our data when we confined our analysis to men who scored high on our index of status concern. These interactions once again failed to fit the pattern predicted by the theory of status inconsistency. They do point to the necessity of rejecting the "melting-pot" theory of ethnic assimilation and recognizing the cultural pluralism of American society.

FOOTNOTES

1. As a test of the assumption of persisting differences, we analyzed our data controlling for generational differences. While we observed general differences, they were not consistent in direction, and did not suggest the atrophy of subcultural differences.
2. Age is an additional ascriptive status that comes under frequent scrutiny. Smith (1969) has in fact argued that age is an important intervening variable in understanding the effects of status inconsistency. In controlling our analyses for age, we in fact found main effects attributable to age. These effects, however, formed no coherent pattern across ethnoreligious groups.
3. We have provided in Appendix A the means and standard deviations for all the dependent variables for the 15 groups. The variables are defined in the footnotes to Table 2. Additional documentation is available from the authors and will be published in a forthcoming monograph (Laumann, forthcoming).
4. Rank order correlations were computed between the ethno-religious status ranks of the 15 groups (see Table 1) and their regression slopes for each of the 14 dependent variables. These correlations can be taken as summary

measures of the presence of the patterns we would expect if status inconsistency effects were operating. If these effects were present, we would expect the rank-order correlations to be positive in sign, i.e., the highest ranked groups would have the steepest slopes and the lowest ranked groups the flattest slopes. Contrary to this pattern, we found that only two of the fourteen correlations--number of voluntary association memberships and average duration of friendships--were significantly different from zero at the .05 level. One significant difference from zero would have been anticipated on the basis of chance alone.

5. As can be seen in Figure 2, however, it should be noted that Jews as a group are more likely to have Democratic party preferences than German Presbyterians as a group, who tend to be independent Republicans. Both groups, however, have roughly equal means on the economic ideology scale.
6. Family traditionalism was measured by a three-item scale: (1) "A wife should not expect her husband to help around the house after he's home from a hard day's work." (2) "Most of the important decisions in the life of the family should be made by the man of the house." (3) "In general, husbands and wives share in deciding matters that are important to the family's future." (cf. Goldberg and Litton, 1968).

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APPENDIX A. Means and Standard Deviations on Selected Political and Social Attitudes
and Measures of Social Participation for the 15 Ethnoreligious Groups

Selected Political and Social Attitudes and Measures of
Social Participation

Ethnoreligious Group	Econ. Ideology		Party Preference		Tolerance for KKK		Communist	
	<u>x̄</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>x̄</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>x̄</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>x̄</u>	<u>s</u>
Protestant Groups								
German Methodists	4.81	1.71	3.88	2.18	1.41	.45	1.59	.43
German Presbyterians	4.46	1.38	4.00	2.48	1.49	.46	1.54	.54
Anglo-American Methodists	3.93	1.70	3.54	2.18	1.37	.50	1.89	.62
Anglo-American Presbyterians	4.81	1.65	3.19	2.00	1.42	.44	1.62	.55
German Lutherans	4.35	1.51	3.73	2.14	1.36	.38	1.64	.50
Anglo-American Baptists	3.97	1.45	4.58	2.12	1.51	.55	1.95	.60
Prots., Origin Not Ascertained	3.57	1.28	5.38	1.94	1.38	.44	1.84	.68
Catholic Groups								
Italian Catholics	3.76	1.70	5.54	1.88	1.53	.48	1.81	.55
Anglo-American Catholics	4.06	1.27	4.73	2.05	1.53	.49	1.75	.57
Irish Catholics	4.19	1.41	4.77	2.00	1.48	.43	1.80	.63
German Catholics	4.27	1.44	4.95	1.94	1.46	.49	1.72	.56
French Catholics	3.71	1.54	4.92	2.13	1.49	.37	1.88	.57
Slavic Catholics	3.84	1.73	5.11	2.07	1.42	.47	1.65	.60
Polish Catholics	3.69	1.55	5.72	1.72	1.56	.57	1.87	.58
Jews								
	3.86	1.63	5.79	1.29	1.46	.44	1.36	.38
Grand Total	4.08	1.54	4.70	1.99	1.47	.48	1.76	.57

Appendix A - P. 2

Status Concern		No. of Assns.		Degree of Assn. Involvement		Aver. Closeness of Friends		Aver. Frequency of Interaction	
<u>x̄</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>x̄</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>x̄</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>x̄</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>x̄</u>	<u>s</u>
4.21	1.86	2.2	1.92	174.1	51.7	1.4	.47	3.0	1.15
3.96	2.21	2.7	1.77	175.9	50.6	1.4	.49	2.8	1.22
4.51	2.14	2.3	1.37	154.7	50.2	1.3	.41	3.2	1.34
3.85	2.34	2.4	2.14	178.9	50.4	1.4	.44	3.0	1.15
4.27	2.02	2.1	1.72	180.5	49.2	1.6	.45	3.4	1.19
4.88	2.06	1.6	1.39	176.5	52.7	1.5	.49	2.7	1.32
5.50	2.18	1.5	1.17	166.7	51.3	1.6	.48	3.2	1.17
4.98	2.24	2.1	1.59	175.5	112.6	1.3	.43	2.6	1.22
4.59	1.78	2.2	1.87	177.7	51.1	1.6	.50	3.1	1.65
4.28	2.17	2.5	1.82	176.9	52.0	1.6	.49	2.9	1.27
4.71	2.15	1.8	1.69	182.8	98.6	1.5	.55	2.8	1.38
4.53	2.33	1.9	1.57	163.8	52.1	1.5	.43	3.1	1.23
4.65	2.20	1.8	1.60	184.0	48.7	1.6	.48	3.2	1.36
4.81	2.35	2.1	1.63	172.6	51.4	1.6	.46	3.0	1.22
3.69	2.71	3.6	2.18	189.3	130.5	1.5	.48	2.7	1.21
4.54	2.20	2.1	1.70	175.5	67.4	1.5	.47	3.0	1.27

Appendix A - P. 3

Aver. Dur. of Friendships		No. of Work-based Friendships		No. of Kin-based Friendships		Mean Homogeneity			
<u>x</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>x</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>x</u>	<u>s</u>	Ethno.		Occup.	
						<u>x</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>x</u>	<u>s</u>
12.9	6.40	.45	.78	0.38	0.61	99.7	23.92	49.7	30.5
13.6	8.10	.46	.93	0.28	0.54	67.1	22.03	38.8	26.0
17.3	11.46	.49	.78	0.28	0.65	52.8	18.71	49.2	20.5
14.2	8.06	.39	.72	0.31	0.60	43.5	17.48	46.2	25.6
15.6	9.15	.29	.57	0.70	0.89	46.2	21.27	53.3	30.0
11.8	6.69	.56	.90	0.48	0.70	66.9	32.12	45.4	27.2
11.0	6.45	.83	1.07	0.47	0.76	32.9	21.71	33.1	28.9
13.8	8.77	.50	.87	0.53	0.86	34.0	18.44	53.1	27.8
14.6	9.75	.55	.90	0.47	0.62	28.8	13.65	49.5	26.4
12.7	6.70	.55	.90	0.40	0.68	33.7	21.33	46.7	29.8
12.6	7.36	.62	.93	0.52	0.73	33.7	17.0	42.1	26.4
16.0	7.60	.29	.54	0.55	0.78	42.2	15.94	46.5	28.6
15.4	9.28	.33	.76	0.70	0.85	50.4	21.92	55.9	26.0
14.6	8.22	.32	.71	0.60	0.85	31.9	23.95	46.5	26.6
15.8	11.54	.33	.73	0.46	0.86	24.2	44.45	40.3	37.4
14.0	8.26	.46	.81	.49	.75	43.9	22.87	46.7	27.7