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tion, certainly for ages 50 plus¹⁸ and possibly for ages 12–49, whether due to errors of age reporting in the 1926¹⁹ and/or 1939

¹⁸ Persons aged 50 and over in 1939 were aged 42–43 and over in 1931–1932. It is a reasonable conjecture that the excess mortality of males was a consequence of the terror which was primarily directed against heads of households, in connection with collectivization. The number of *kulaks* (well-to-do peasants) who had to leave their homes ran into millions. See Eugene M. Kulischer, *Europe on the Move*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1948, p. 93.

¹⁹ Lorimer has stated in this connection: "The corrections which Mr. Eason obtains by using sex

censuses or to Lorimer's "expected" mortality rates 1926–1939. An investigation of this problem might reveal that Lorimer's estimate of losses from collectivization should be revised.

ratios by broad age classes derived from information on literacy rates decrease the number of males (and increase the number of females) at ages 50 years and over. This improves the reliability of the distribution, and has a logical rationale. Unfortunately, in any case, the estimated numbers by five-year age classes in 1939, and in all subsequent projections, are somewhat distorted by errors in age reporting in the original 1926 census data." See "Comments of Frank Lorimer," in *Soviet Economic Growth*, edited by Abram Bergson, 1953, page 123.

SOCIAL MOBILITY AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS *

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SOCIAL life can be conceptualized as a series of dilemmas. Choices between alternatives that confront people typically require the sacrifice of some ends in the interest of others. In the course of solving one problem, new ones are created. This is not a new idea. It is at least as old as the Socratic method of argument and the Christian doctrine of original sin. It is fundamental to Hegel's and Marx's dialectical approach. Recently, Parsons and Shils have made the concept of dilemma a central element in their theory of action,¹ and so has Bales (using the term "strain") in his interaction theory.² Merton's concept of dysfunction has similar implications.³

Occupational mobility, both upward and downward, poses special dilemmas for establishing interpersonal relations and becoming integrated in the community. Attributes and orientations associated with socio-economic status do not furnish unambiguous criteria of social acceptance for mobile persons. They are marginal men, in some respects out of tune with others both in their new and original strata in the occupational hierarchy. Difficult adaptations are necessary, whether they seek to cultivate friendships among the one group or the other. The upwardly mobile must choose between abandoning hope of translating his occupational success into social acceptance by a more prestigious group and sacrificing valued social ties and customs in an effort to gain such acceptance. The downwardly mobile must choose between risking rejections for failure to meet social obligations that are beyond his financial resources and resigning himself to losing his affiliation with a more prestigious group. These conditions are not conducive to the development of integrative social bonds. The central hypothesis of this paper is that the dilemmas faced by mobile individuals in their interpersonal relations inhibit social integration and are responsible for many aspects of their attitudes and conduct.

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, August, 1955.

¹ Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (editors), *Toward a General Theory of Action*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951, pp. 53–109. See also Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951.

² Robert F. Bales, *Interaction Process Analysis*, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, 1949, pp. 81–84, 153–157. See also his article in Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales and Edward A. Shils (editors), *Working Papers in the Theory of Action*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953, pp. 111–161.

³ Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949, pp. 49–55. See also Peter M. Blau, *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.

ACCULTURATION

If the occupational hierarchy is divided into two broad strata, four categories can be distinguished, two of persons who have remained in the stratum in which they originated, and two of those who have experienced occupational mobility: stationary highs, stationary lows, upwardly mobile, and downwardly mobile. Empirical data on the ways of acting and thinking of people in these four categories reveal several distinct patterns. In the first of these, the behavior of both mobile groups is intermediate between that of the two non-mobile ones, so that the frequency distributions have the following rank order: stationary highs first, upwardly and downwardly mobile sharing second place, and stationary lows last. Restriction of family size manifests this pattern and so does political behavior. On the average, upwardly and downwardly mobile have fewer children than others in working-class occupations and more children than others in middle-class occupations.⁴ Similarly, the upwardly mobile are more likely to vote Republican than people who have remained workers and less likely to do so than those who have originated in the middle class.⁵ Finally, the downwardly mobile are less apt to join unions than workers whose parents were workers, too.⁶

This pattern, which may be called the pattern of acculturation, can be explained in terms of the hypothesis that mobile persons are not well integrated in either social class. Without extensive and intimate social contacts, they do not have sufficient opportunity for complete acculturation to the values and style of life of the one group, nor do they continue to experience the full impact of the social constraints of the other. But both groups exert some influence over mobile individuals, since they have, or have had, social

contacts with members of both, being placed by economic circumstances amidst the one, while having been socialized among the other. Hence, their behavior is expected to be intermediate between that of the two non-mobile classes. Verification of this explanation of the observed differences would require evidence that the differences tend to disappear if extent of interpersonal relations is held constant.⁷ Those mobile persons who have established extensive interpersonal relations with others in their new social class should not differ in their conduct from the rest of its members. Correspondingly, those non-mobile persons who are relatively isolated should also be prone to manifest deviating tendencies, for only this would show that lack of integration is indeed a main source of deviation. It is, therefore, among the malintegrated non-mobiles that we would expect to find the social striver, the individual who adopts the style of life of a more prestigious class to which he does not belong, and the disenchanting member of the elite, the individual who adopts the political orientation of a less powerful class than his own.

SOCIAL INSECURITY

In a second pattern, the main contrast is between the mobile and the non-mobile with relatively little difference between socio-economic strata. The rank order of frequency distributions in this case is: downwardly and upwardly mobile sharing first place, stationary lows second, and stationary highs a close third. The extreme position of the mobile dramatically indicates that occupational mobility rather than occupational status is of primary significance here. Prejudice against minorities tends to assume this pattern. Specifically, mobile persons are more likely than non-mobile ones to feel that various minorities are getting too much power, and to stereotype Jews as dishonest and Negroes as lazy and ignorant.⁸ (In nine

⁴ See Jerzy Berent, "Fertility and Social Mobility," *Population Studies*, 5 (March, 1952), pp. 240-260.

⁵ See Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and William N. McPhee, *Voting*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954, pp. 90-91; and Patricia S. West, "Social Mobility among College Graduates," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset (editors), *Class Status and Power*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953, p. 478.

⁶ See Seymour M. Lipset and Joan Gordon, "Mobility and Trade Union Membership," in Bendix and Lipset, *op. cit.*, p. 492.

⁷ For the methodological principle involved, see Patricia L. Kendall and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Problems of Survey Analysis," in Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld (editors), *Continuities in Social Research*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950, pp. 113-196.

⁸ See Joseph Greenblum and Leonard I. Pearlin, "Vertical Mobility and Prejudice," in Bendix and Lipset, *op. cit.*, pp. 480-488.

out of ten comparisons, a larger proportion of the mobile is prejudiced, an average difference of 9 per cent.) Quite a different attitude reveals the same pattern, namely, that toward health. Mobile individuals, whatever the direction of their mobility, are more apt to be preoccupied with their health than non-mobile ones, whether in high or in low socio-economic positions.⁹

Feeling threatened by the power of such groups as Negroes or foreigners and holding hostile stereotypes of them may be considered expressions of insecurity, and so may preoccupation with one's health.¹⁰ If this inference is correct, the hypothesis used to account for the first pattern can also help to explain this second one, different as the two are. For if it is true that the mobile individual is poorly integrated, it follows not only that there is relatively little communication between him and others, but also that he does not receive much social support from them. In the absence of extensive communication, he cannot fully assimilate the style of life of the members of his new social class, with the result that his beliefs and practices are intermediate between theirs and those of the members of his class of origin. Simultaneously, lack of firm social support engenders feelings of insecurity, and this has the result that the mobile person tends to assume the extreme position, not the intermediate one, in respect to those attitudes that constitute expressions of insecurity.

Two kinds of findings support this interpretation. First, relatively direct indications of insecurity—nervousness and mental disorders—reveal the same contrast: the upwardly as well as the downwardly mobile are more troubled by nervousness than the non-mobile,¹¹ and they are also more prone to become mentally ill.¹² Second, according to the hypothesis, among the non-mobile, too, those with less extensive interpersonal relations should experience greater insecurity. The working class is therefore expected to exhibit more insecurity, since its members

have fewer close associates and belong to fewer voluntary associations than the members of the middle class.¹³ Indeed, among the non-mobile, the lows are more likely to have prejudiced images of minorities than the highs.¹⁴ Of course, such inferential evidence only makes the hypothesis more plausible. To test it requires data on social integration, which we plan to obtain in our research at the University of Chicago.

THE APPEARANCE OF OVERCONFORMITY

In a third pattern, the upwardly mobile and the stationary lows are at the opposite extremes, so that the rank order of frequency distributions is: upwardly mobile first, stationary highs and downwardly mobile sharing second place, and stationary lows last. For example, discrimination against Negroes as neighbors, in contrast to having prejudiced ideas about them, is more pronounced among stationary highs than stationary lows. The downwardly mobile—persons who have moved from high to low—discriminate just as much as the stationary highs, and the upwardly mobile—those who have moved from low to high—discriminate most of all.¹⁵ In other words, downward mobility seems to have no effect in this instance, while upward mobility has a considerable effect. This is also the case for identification with the conjugal family. Two thirds of the stationary highs are very interested in spending time with their families, compared with less than one half (45 per cent) of the stationary lows. The downwardly mobile express such family identification in exactly the same proportion (66 per cent) as the highs, and the upwardly mobile do so in greater numbers than any other group (75 per cent).¹⁶ Status consciousness, as indicated by a scale that measures concern with the impression made on others, reveals the same pattern.¹⁷

The combined influences of acculturation and insecurity seem to be responsible for

⁹ See Eugene Litwak, "Conflicting Values and Decision Making," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1956.

¹⁰ Indeed, Greenblum and Pearlin interpret their findings in this manner; *op. cit.*, pp. 486, 491.

¹¹ Litwak, *op. cit.*

¹² See A. B. Hollingshead, R. Ellis, and E. Kirby, "Social Mobility and Mental Illness," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (October, 1954), pp. 577-584.

¹³ Evidence from various sources on class differences in informal as well as formal social participation is summarized in Genevieve Knupfer "Portrait of the Underdog," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 11 (Spring, 1947), pp. 103-114.

¹⁴ Greenblum and Pearlin, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Litwak, *op. cit.* (Women are more identified with their families than men, but the same pattern of distribution is found among both sexes.)

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

this pattern. Since middle-class people are more inclined than working-class people to discriminate against minorities, to be concerned with social status, and to be identified with their conjugal family, the process of acculturation alone would place the upwardly and downwardly mobile in intermediate positions. But these three items of behavior are also affected by feelings of social insecurity, which often arise consequent to occupational mobility. Just as it engenders prejudicial beliefs about minorities, insecurity intensifies discriminatory tendencies against them. Without integrative social relations to define and support his standing in the community, the individual becomes anxiously concerned about his social status. And the less security a person derives from close relations with friends, colleagues, and neighbors, the more apt he is to turn to his conjugal family for emotional support.

For the downwardly mobile, social insecurity exerts pressures that increase discriminatory practices, status consciousness, and family identification, whereas the process of acculturation to the style of life of the lows exerts pressures in the opposite direction, since the lows discriminate less than the highs, are less status conscious, and identify less with their family. As these pressures in opposite directions neutralize one another, the behavior of the downwardly mobile remains the same as that of members of their class of origin (the highs). For the upwardly mobile, on the other hand, the pressures exerted by insecurity and acculturation to the style of life of the highs are in the same direction. Both kinds of pressure intensify discriminatory tendencies, concern with social status, and attachment to spouse and children. As a result, the upwardly mobile differ widely in these respects from members of their class of origin (the lows) and seem to overconform with the practices prevalent among their new social class (the highs). It may well be that the label of overconformity often conceals, as it would here, the influences of more complex social forces.¹⁸

¹⁸ For quite a different example of apparent overconformity which analysis reveals to be the result of more complex socio-psychological processes, see Robert K. Merton and Alice Kitt, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," in Merton and Lazarsfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-77. See also Blau, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-189.

DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

So far, the discussion has dealt with detrimental consequences of occupational mobility for integrative social relationships. But a dilemma implies a choice between alternatives as well as impending difficulties. Occupational mobility increases the chances that an individual's social contacts will include people who occupy a wide range of socio-economic positions. In the course of selecting from among occasional contacts persons with whom he enters into closer association, the mobile individual therefore chooses, more than the non-mobile does, between associates from different social classes. To be sure, this choice is not entirely up to him; it also depends on the attitudes of others toward him. Neither members of his former socio-economic stratum nor those of his present one are prone to accept him readily, since his style of life differs in some respects from that which prevails in either group, and this is the very reason for his lesser social integration. Nevertheless, few mobile individuals remain completely isolated, and the effective choice they make by establishing friendly relations with people in one social position rather than another has important implications.

In examining the social status of the companions of the occupationally mobile, we are, in fact, looking at the relationship between two dimensions of social mobility, movement between occupational strata—socio-economic categories—and movement between social classes—prestige groups with distinct styles of life which restrict intimate social access. Persons upwardly mobile in the occupational hierarchy who continue to associate largely with working-class people, and downwardly mobile persons who continue to associate mostly with middle-class people, have changed their economic position but not their social affiliation. Their occupational status and social status do not coincide. Economic changes are transformed into shifts in social affiliation only by those occupationally mobile individuals most of whose friends are members of their terminal social stratum, the middle class in case of the upwardly mobile, the working class in case of the downwardly mobile.¹⁹

¹⁹ See W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941, esp. pp. 81-84, 222-224, and 350-355.

Changes in style of life are expected to be most evident among the latter groups, that is, the occupationally mobile who have shifted their social affiliation. The mobile individual is not likely to be accepted by members of a social class in which he did not originate unless he has started to adapt his behavior to their style of life. Moreover, it is only after he has established social ties with some of his new peers that they and their values can exert a profound influence over his beliefs and practices.

On the other hand, the psychological impact of the experience of occupational success or failure is apt to be most pronounced and persistent for those mobile persons who maintain friendly relations primarily with members of their class of origin and thus do not change their social affiliation. If the upwardly mobile still associates largely with members of his former, lower socio-economic stratum, his occupational success is recurrently called to his attention by contrast with their less fortunate position. But if he loses contact with them and finds his companions among middle-class people, he fails to be reminded of the ascent he has experienced. The same is true for the downwardly mobile, although it has the opposite significance for him. If most of his social life is spent with members of his former, higher stratum, his inability properly to repay social obligations in this circle keeps alive his feelings of deprivation and occupational failure. But if he ceases to associate with them and befriends instead people as poor as himself, he is socially permitted to forget how much more fortunate he could have been, and his occupation is not a sign of failure in this group.

In short, regardless of the direction of occupational mobility, interpersonal relations that do not involve a change in social affiliation reinforce the invidious significance of the mobility experience itself, whereas interpersonal relations that do involve a change in social affiliation reduce its significance as a symbol of achievement. His social companions play, therefore, different roles for the occupationally mobile individual before and after he moves into a new social class, although they constitute a point of reference in terms of which he orients his outlook in both situations. As long as he

remains attached to his class of origin, the economic position of his friends differs from his present one, and social interaction serves as a continual reminder of his economic success or failure. Once he cultivates friendships with his new economic peers, regular social contacts no longer furnish a contrast of occupational achievement but now provide channels of communication and influence through which he is encouraged to adopt their style of life.

The dilemmas that confront the upwardly and the downwardly mobile in their interpersonal relations are, of course, not identical. Fundamentally, the one has to choose between two kinds of social gratification, the other, between two kinds of social deprivation. Besides, there is another difference that is no less important. If an upwardly mobile person is anxious to become affiliated with a more prestigious social class, he must make difficult adaptations in his behavior and still is unlikely to attain a fully integrated position. But if he is willing to forego the advantages of a higher social status, he can remain an integrated member of his class of origin and simultaneously enjoy the respect his occupational achievement commands among his less successful associates. Hence, one of the alternatives available to the upwardly mobile preserves social integration. In contrast, both alternatives open to the downwardly mobile inhibit social integration. If he attempts to maintain his affiliation with his class of origin, social interaction with friends whose superior economic position continually revives his sense of frustration and failure undermines his security, his relations with these friends, and thus his integrated position as one of them. And if, to escape from such experiences, he seeks the companionship of members of the working class, differences between his values and theirs make it most difficult for him to accept them unequivocally and to become completely accepted among them. Few people reject an individual simply because he has been unsuccessful in his career, but the predicament of the downwardly mobile is that the social conditions of his existence make it nevertheless likely that he will find himself without close friends.

SUMMARY

To summarize, three implications of the hypothesis that occupational mobility creates special dilemmas for interpersonal relations have been explored. First, if the mobile person is neither well integrated among those whose similar economic position is of long standing, nor among those whose socio-economic status he once shared, his behavior can be expected to deviate from that prevalent in both groups. This expectation is borne out by the finding that many beliefs and practices of the upwardly and of the downwardly mobile are intermediate between those of the stationary highs and those of the stationary lows. Second, the lesser social integration of the mobile is expected

to be manifest in stronger feelings of insecurity. Indeed, both categories of mobile persons are found to be more prone than either non-mobile group to express feelings of insecurity in various ways, such as hostility against minority groups. Third, the mobile person's choice of associates determines which of two functions, in addition to that of social support, interaction with regular companions has in his case. Social interaction with members of his class of origin serves to perpetuate the rewarding or threatening meaning of the experience of occupational success or failure, while social interaction with members of his terminal class serves to constrain him to change his style of life.

THE PROTESTANT ETHIC, LEVEL OF ASPIRATION, AND SOCIAL MOBILITY: AN EMPIRICAL TEST *

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FEW debate Weber's theory that rationalized capitalism and spiritual Protestantism are ideologically compatible.¹ The thesis lends itself to the historical method, whereby one can see Protestantism as the precursor of the rise of capitalism, or to comparative analysis, wherein one cites the correlation between the capitalistic character of a society's economic order and that society's acceptance in its religious institutions of the tenets of the Protestant Reformation. Weber asserted that the emancipating and rationalizing effect of the Protestant Reformation made possible the rise of rational capitalism. The Catholic ethic propounded a culturally established emphasis upon other-worldliness; the rationale for the performance of earthly tasks was other-worldly: reparation for sins and purification through humility. Luther and Calvin sanctified work; they made virtues of industry, thrift, and self-denial. Wesley preached that the fruits of labor were the signs of salvation.

The culmination of the Protestant Reformation, then, was to give divine sanction to the drive to excel.²

We can accept the evidence of a historical relationship between Protestantism and the *rise* of capitalism, but we cannot assume the existence of any relationship between the Protestant and Catholic ethics and role performance in contemporary American society. Sebastian de Grazia has subsumed the extremes of these two belief systems under the labels "Activist Directive" and "Quietist Directive," positing them as two poles of an ideal-type continuum.³ He uses the term "directive" to denote mores which have been internalized in early childhood and thus exert unusually powerful influences upon behavior. The theoretical question which remains unanswered because of a lack of data is whether the Catholic and Protestant faiths in contemporary American society exert a potent enough influence on behavior to be

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, 1955.

¹ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* [translated by Talcott Parsons], New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930.

² A detailed analysis of the material here cursorily treated can be found in Adriano Tilger, *Work: What It Has Meant to Man through the Ages* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1930).

³ Sebastian de Grazia, *The Political Community*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948, p. 59.