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Louis Kriesberg

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might shift from the role of the good soldier to the truculent tough to the loyal friend to the patriarchal autocrat to the big sport as the situation changes without moving out of a fam-

ily of compatible roles, some of which, however, would be more central to the self than others. But these large questions, too, are among the unfinished business of this paper.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC RANK AND BEHAVIOR

LOUIS KRIESBERG
Syracuse University

Again and again, research findings show that relative socio-economic rank is highly associated with nearly every kind of behavior. Nevertheless, empirically-based explanations of the relationships are rare. My purpose in this paper is to examine two kinds of explanations of the relationship and suggest conditions which affect the relative importance of each. The suggestions then will be illustrated by comparing the relationship between socio-economic rank and *different* kinds of behavior *over time*.¹

An explanation of the relationship between two variables entails specifying the general processes which are operative for the phenomena. In ex-

plaining the relationship between socio-economic rank and behavior, it is sufficient for our present purposes to note the following processes. People's values and beliefs are usually congruent with their behavior, although at any given time discrepancies may occur. Congruence may result either from behaving in conformity with previously learned values and beliefs or from changing values and beliefs to conform to behavior.² Values and beliefs may be learned from parents and persist; they may also result from current social inculcation, by generalizing from current experiences, or by accommodating to current behavior.³ Behavior is affected not only by currently held values and beliefs, but by the current situation—the social and non-

Jacob J. Feldman and Patricia Collette, of the National Opinion Research Center, provided help at several stages in the preparation of this paper; I am very appreciative of that aid.

¹ The term "socio-economic rank" is used because I want to make it clear that generally, in the studies being compared here, education, income, or occupation are used as measures of social rank and these measures are not combined to form an index of social class position. More significantly, I do not want to judge the extent to which such measures indicate membership in a social class and class culture until after the comparative review is completed. Nevertheless, since education, occupation, and income are so highly inter-related, I will often discuss socio-economic rank or status as if each attribute indicates the relative rank or status of the subjects of the study.

² For one general psychological explanation of this process, see Leon Festinger, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957).

³ For some examples of how values and beliefs may be learned by generalizing from current experiences and by accommodating to current behavior, see Louis Kriesberg, "The Retail Furrier: Concepts of Security and Success," *The American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (March, 1952), pp. 478-485; Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, *The Local Union* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), pp. 27-33; Louis Kriesberg, "German Businessmen and Union Leaders and the Schuman Plan," *Social Science*, 35 (April, 1960), pp. 114-121; and Charles J. Erasmus, *Man Takes Control* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961).

social constraints and pressures which limit the available alternatives.⁴

Utilizing these processes makes it possible to distinguish between two major kinds of explanations of the relationship between socio-economic rank and behavior. One is cultural; the other is situational.⁵

A cultural explanation, as defined here, means that an observed relationship between socio-economic rank and a particular behavior item results from (a) the parental transmission of values and beliefs which in turn determine the behavior or (b) the direct parental transmission of behavior patterns.⁶ This may indicate that there is

⁴ This is, of course, an important source of discrepancy between values and behavior and hence one of the reasons that values are often the result of accommodating to current behavior. One of the classic studies of the discrepancy between values and behavior is: Richard T. LaPiere, "Attitudes vs. Action," *Social Forces*, 13 (1934), pp. 230-237; for a review of other studies in the area of inter-ethnic group behavior, see, J. Harding, B. Kutner, H. Proshansky, and I. Chein, "Prejudice and Ethnic Relations," in G. Lindsey (Ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Vol. II (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1954), esp. pp. 1031-1034. Also, see, Louis Kriesberg, "Occupational Controls among Steel Distributors," *The American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (November, 1955), pp. 203-212, and Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrialization and Labor* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1951), esp. pp. 271-272.

⁵ Other kinds of explanations might be considered. Congenital factors such as intelligence might be studied to help account for the relationship between socio-economic rank and behavior. Currently, this is not done, except in studies of educational attainment; it is only in that context that such factors will be introduced in this paper. Personality differences may also be considered in explaining the relationship between rank and various kinds of behavior but will not be discussed here.

⁶ Of course, other definitions of culture are used. The distinctions being used here are similar to those made by Yinger (J. Milton Yinger, "Contraculture and Subculture," *American Sociological Review*, 25 [October, 1960], pp. 625-635). Thus, his concept of contraculture is one variety of shared values and beliefs resulting from a shared situation.

a clearly distinguishable class subculture with an integrated system of values, beliefs, and behavior patterns; it is also possible that it reveals only that discrete items of behavior and/or related values and beliefs are transmitted.

One meaning of a situational explanation is that there are no differences in pertinent values and beliefs by socio-economic rank; differences in behavior are the result of differing opportunities. Situational factors operate directly to account for socio-economic differences in behavior.⁷ The factors may be (a) social conditions, e.g., patterns of interaction or (b) non-social conditions, e.g., differences in financial resources. A situational explanation may also mean that there are some differences in pertinent values and beliefs, but they result from stratums-shared current situations.⁸ Thus, differing concepts (values and beliefs) may be the result of accommodating to current behavior or the result of current social pressures or generalization from current experiences. Such shared values and beliefs are to be distinguished from those which are cultural, that is,

⁷ For example, see, Seymour S. Bellin, "Extended Family Relations in Later Years of Life," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Columbia University, esp. pp. 85-92.

⁸ Among such studies, see Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955); Allison Davis, "The Motivation of the Underprivileged Worker," in William Foote Whyte, editor, *Industry and Society* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1946), pp. 84-106; S. M. Miller and Frank Riessman, "The Working Class Subculture: A New View," *Social Problems*, IX (Summer, 1961), pp. 86-97; Richard C. Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941); Arthur W. Kornhauser, "Analysis of 'Class Structure' of Contemporary American Society—Psychological Bases of Class Divisions," in George W. Hartmann and Theodore M. Newcomb, editors, *Industrial Conflict* (New York: Dryden, 1939), pp. 199-264; and Alex Inkeles, "Industrial Man: The Relation of Status to Experience, Perception, and Value," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXVI (July, 1960), pp. 1-31.

transmitted through generations.

Difficult as it may be to make the distinction in any given study, the distinction between cultural and situational explanations has considerable significance. Obviously, predictions about the rapidity of change and the ways of inducing change in the behavior being considered would be different. Being aware of alternative explanations of observed associations will at least sensitize researchers to additional kinds of analyses; it makes it less likely that a single interpretation of the meaning of associations will be made implicitly rather than explicitly.

Ideally, an assessment of the way various explanations interact to account for an observed relationship between rank and a particular item of behavior would utilize longitudinal data over two or more generations. Even without this, however, reasonable inferences could be drawn by comparing the results of analyses conducted at different times if a full exploration of the current situations as well as of the values and beliefs of the subjects and of their parents were obtained. Failing this, even limited analyses of the correlations between socio-economic rank and different kinds of behavior at different times may permit an approximate estimate of the contribution of these processes to a complete explanation, at least for some kinds of behavior.

There are many difficulties in trying to estimate the relative importance of the numerous cultural and situational factors which may account for the relationship between socio-economic rank and a given kind of behavior. The difficulties spring largely from the fact that cultural and situational factors are highly inter-related. The situation of members of a given stratum often appears to be what it is because of the values and beliefs they have learned in the process of socialization; and what they have learned is the result

of the situation experienced by the persons who socialized them. Furthermore, members of a stratum continue to learn values and beliefs as they face new shared situations and the situations are constantly changing. Finally, there is a sufficiently small amount of inter-generational stratum mobility so that most persons face situations resembling those of their parents. It is therefore difficult to disentangle cultural transmission from common reactions to common situations of parents and their children.

The difficulties in disentangling the relative importance of the various explanations of the relationship between socio-economic rank and various behavior items are eased if we examine these relationships over time. We can see whether or not the proportion of the population engaging in a particular kind of behavior has changed, whether or not the relationship between socio-economic rank and a particular kind of behavior has changed, and what the rate of change, if any, has been. Such changes or absences of change can be related to an examination of the changing situational conditions.

DIMENSIONS OF BEHAVIOR AND THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF CULTURAL AND SITUATIONAL FACTORS

The relative importance of cultural and situational factors varies in different societies depending upon the class structure, the analytical question being asked, and the kind of behavior under analysis. We will be concerned particularly with their relative importance for different kinds of behavior. Two sets of dimensions of behavior are particularly significant in this context. One set of dimensions is somewhat independent of societal differences. This is the case for the stage of the life cycle in which the behavior is begun, the degree to which the behavior is serially independent, and the

extent to which the behavior can be repeated.⁹ The other set of dimensions varies in different societies and time periods. It pertains to the amount of variation in the concepts of the persons in different socio-economic ranks and the amount of variation in their situations, relevant to the behavior being studied.

Among the first set of dimensions we will consider, first, the stage in the life cycle in which the behavior is begun. Obviously, we are concerned with the relationship between socio-economic rank and behavior which is conducted by persons who have some degree of control over their actions. We cannot seek to explain the relationship between socio-economic rank and, for example, infants receiving inoculations, by factors affecting the infants' choices. Nevertheless, some behavior is undertaken when the individual is more independent of his parents than is the case for other kinds of behavior. For example, divorcing a spouse¹⁰ can occur only after an independent family has been established, while entering college generally occurs when a person is still largely dependent upon or only recently independent of his fam-

ily of orientation. In so far as the behavior is undertaken at a stage in the life cycle in which the persons are independent of their parents, it is more likely that situational factors, rather than cultural ones, will account for the relationship between the behavior item and socio-economic rank.

Behavior is serially independent in so far as it can be independent of previous behavior or learning or of general expectations that the behavior will persist. The stage in the life cycle in which previous behavior is performed is also relevant. Thus, utilization of dentists' services is particularly high in adolescence and, as we will see later, it tends to be serially dependent; medical care is most needed at advanced stages in the life cycle and its utilization is probably less serially dependent. Similarly, entering college is dependent upon many years of previous experience in schools and these experiences can be strongly affected by the family of orientation; on the other hand, voting for one party rather than another can be more serially independent. It is hypothesized that serially independent (or discontinuous) behavior is more likely to be affected by situational conditions than serially dependent behavior, particularly if it is begun at an early stage in the life cycle.

Finally, some behavior can be repeated throughout the life cycle and other behavior is likely to be unique. For example, entering college is not equally possible throughout life while voting for one party or another, going to the dentist, or going to a physician is relatively repetitive. It is hypothesized that a relationship between socio-economic rank and repetitive behavior is more likely to be explained by situational variables than by cultural processes, since a person has a greater chance to experiment and learn from his own experience.

The other dimension of behavior is

⁹ Two other characteristics of behavior also have relevance: (1) the degree to which the consequences of the behavior can be tested and (2) the number of individuals involved in the behavior. These characteristics will not be discussed in the present paper; they are discussed in Louis Kriesberg, "Entrepreneurs in Latin America and the Role of Cultural and Situational Processes," *International Social Science Journal*, forthcoming.

¹⁰ William J. Goode, *After Divorce* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956); see particularly the discussion on pages 57-68. The same argument holds in general for having children; this is one topic in which analyses of the relationship between birth rates and socio-economic rank, over time, have been made; for example, see Clyde V. Kiser, "Fertility Trends and Differentials in the United States," in Joseph J. Spengler and Otis Dudley Duncan, editors, *Demographic Analysis* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956), pp. 162-183.

the amount of situational and conceptual variation among the socio-economic strata for the given behavior. Obviously, if the behavior is not dependent upon many situational conditions, then there can be little variation in situational conditions for that behavior. To some extent, the amount of variation which is possible is inherent in the behavior. For most kinds of behavior, however, the amount of possible variation of situational factors depends upon societal conditions. For example, in societies in which medical care is equally available to all persons regardless of their ability to pay for it, we would hardly expect non-social, situational factors to account for much of the socio-economic differences in utilization (if there were any) compared to the case in societies in which medical care was paid for by individuals, the care was expensive, and there were large income differences in the society.

Furthermore, some societies may have relatively high consensus about a given kind of behavior. If this is the case, we would not expect that cultural explanations would account for much of the relationship between socio-economic rank and that behavior item. Probably, in contemporary American society, the concepts relevant to most behavior are widely shared and therefore the association between behavior and socio-economic status is frequently in large measure attributable to differing situations. Where there are conceptual differences, they are likely to be in beliefs rather than values and therefore are more readily modified as the situation changes than if there were conceptual differences in values. In general, if situational conditions vary widely for members of different strata, they can in great part account for a high relationship between socio-economic status and behavior items; on the other hand, if members of different ranks vary mark-

edly in goals, and beliefs about achieving them, differences in behavior related to such goals are explicable in terms of cultural processes.

EXAMINATION OF SELECTED SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATED BEHAVIOR ITEMS

Now we will examine in more detail some of the behavior items previously mentioned. The relationship between these behavior items and socio-economic rank will be examined over one, two, or three decades in order to explicate the way specific situational and cultural processes operate to account for the relationships.

Voting. It is well known that socio-economic status is positively related to voting Republican. It has been shown recently, however, that the degree of relationship varies widely over short periods of time. Thus, in the 1944 presidential election, the correlation between occupational status and partisan vote was .22; in 1948 it was .44; in 1952 it was .25; and in 1956 it was .12; the congressional vote results for the years for which data are available show a similar pattern.¹¹

This variation in the degree of relationship between status and vote may seem strange in the light of the numerous findings of the high correlation between parental and children's voting preferences.¹² Some part of that correlation, however, is probably not a matter of cultural transmission, but of parent and child experiencing the same situation. Thus, in the Elmira voting study, when adult children's contemporary socio-economic status and other characteristics are held constant, the relationship between their vote and

¹¹ Angus Campbell, Phillip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, *The American Voter* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960), p. 347.

¹² For a review and analysis of such findings, see, Herbert Hyman, *Political Socialization* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959).

their fathers' voting preference is greatly lessened. The authors write, ". . . there is a quite marked correlation of parents' and children's votes more because they share the same locations than because, through life, the father has 'determined' the child's vote."¹³

It is interesting to note that in so far as cultural processes are operative in accounting for the relationship between socio-economic rank and partisan vote, specific patterns of behavior rather than general orientations or supporting values and beliefs are transmitted. There is "suggestive evidence that the socialization of the individual into a *party* is a much more direct process than the socialization of the logically congruent area of ideology."¹⁴

Situational variables operate indirectly as well as directly. Shared socio-economic position leads to shared values and beliefs, even if only at a primitive self-interest level rather than a systematic ideological one; these values and beliefs then affect the partisan vote.¹⁵ Situational variables directly affect partisan vote largely through pressures from social interaction.¹⁶ Party preference is sufficiently visible in social interaction for persons to influence

each other strongly. A large proportion of significant interaction of this kind is within similar socio-economic ranks.

There is enough continuity in the situational conditions of members of various socio-economic ranks to account for the general continuity of the relationship between socio-economic rank and partisan vote and even, to some extent, for the individual's continuity in voting preference. There is considerable value in attending to the way current situational processes, particularly the indirect ones, affect partisan vote. This would draw attention to the way the relationship between socio-economic rank and vote changes from election to election and how major shifts in party adherence occur.

The earlier discussion of the dimensions of behavior helps to account for the relative role of various explanations for the relationship between socio-economic rank and voting. The partisan vote, for most persons, can be a relatively serially independent kind of behavior and generally begins when a person is somewhat independent of his family of orientation. This tends to limit the importance of cultural factors. In so far as a person is in a situation in which continuity of partisan vote is expected and interaction with his family of orientation is significant, the current situation will reinforce the cultural processes which affect his vote preference. The extent to which there is conceptual and situational variation among the socio-economic ranks in regard to this item of behavior is also relevant. Obviously, there is not high consensus in the United States about voting for one party rather than another; the two-party system would not function if this were the case. There are divergences between upper and lower status levels about interests related to party policy. This makes it possible for cultural processes to play an important role in accounting for the relationship between socio-econom-

¹³ Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, *Voting* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 137.

¹⁴ Hyman, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

¹⁵ Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes, *op. cit.*, especially, pp. 333-380; also see, Seymour M. Lipset, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Allen H. Barton, and Juan Linz, "The Psychology of Voting: An Analysis of Political Behavior," in Gardner Lindsey, editor, *Handbook of Social Psychology*, 11 (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954), pp. 1124-1175.

¹⁶ Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, *op. cit.*; although not directly pertinent to the relationship between partisan vote and socio-economic rank, the process is particularly important in the persistence of voting patterns in localities or regions, where the patterns of interaction are highly institutionalized, see, V. O. Key, *Southern Politics* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1950).

TABLE 1
 PERCENTAGE OF ADULTS PREFERRING COLLEGE EDUCATION FOR BOYS AND
 GIRLS (1949) AND PERCENTAGE OF WHITE HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS
 APPLYING FOR COLLEGE ENTRANCE (1947) IN SPECIFIED
 OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES^a

Occupational Categories ^b	Percentage Preferring College Education for:		Percentage of White Seniors Applying for College Entrance
	Boy	Girl	
Professional men and Executives	96	90	73
Business Proprietors	87	71	48
White Collar	94	86	45
Farmers	79	69	21
Wage Earners	76	56	22

^a The data for the parental preferences are from the Fortune Survey, conducted by Elmo Roper, *Fortune*, September, 1949. The respondents were asked, "If you had a boy graduating from high school, would you personally like to have him go on to college, or would you rather have him do something else?" The same question was asked about a girl graduating from high school. The percentages are for persons who simply answered, "go to college," and also those who said go to college and volunteered the qualification, if could afford it, or, if (boy) (girl) is college material, or, if (he) (she) wants it. The percentages answering, go to college, without volunteering any qualifications among each occupational category are, for boys: 82, 68, 77, 53, and 54 respectively; for girls: 74, 56, 57, 48, and 38 respectively.

The data for the high school seniors are from Elmo Roper, *Factors Affecting the Admission of High School Seniors to College* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1949), p. 17. The study is based upon a national sample of white students in the 1947 graduating classes of secondary schools; the students were asked in May, 1947, to report whether or not they had applied for entrance to college for the following fall.

^b In the case of the high school seniors, the occupation refers to the student's father's occupation. The occupational categories are as given in the study of adult preferences; there are some differences in the categories reported in the high school senior study: instead of "business proprietors," "small business proprietor" was reported; instead of "wage earners," "service trades worker" and "factory and other worker" were combined and recalculated for purposes of comparisons.

ic rank and partisan vote. The extent to which there is situational variation relevant to party vote varies from time to time; for example, elections may be conducted at a time in which conditions markedly affect the strata in society differentially, or the election campaign may be focused upon issues which are relevant to strata differences.¹⁷

College education. Education is itself a measure of socio-economic rank; here we are concerned with explaining the high relationship between parental socio-economic rank and children's entrance into college. This is a

crucial kind of behavior since it affects so many later life chances and since it occurs at a stage in the life cycle in which cultural factors can be particularly important. As in the case of voting, it is well known that socio-economic status is highly and positively related to going to college. There has been a significant increase in the proportion of the college-age population attending school, however, and we can ask whether or not the degree of relationship has been decreasing.

First of all, it is clear that members of all socio-economic strata are more likely to desire a college education for their children than actually have their children attain it; also, the discrepancy is greater among members of the low-

¹⁷ Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, *op. cit.*, pp. 346-377.

TABLE 2
 PERCENTAGE OF WHITE HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS APPLYING FOR AND
 ADMITTED TO COLLEGE IN 1947 AND PERCENTAGE OF PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL
 SENIORS PLANNING TO ENTER AND ENROLLED IN COLLEGE
 IN 1955-1956 BY FATHERS' EDUCATION

Fathers' Education	1947 ^a			1955-1956 ^b		
	Per cent Applying for College	Per cent Admitted to College	(Per cent) of Sample	Per cent Planning College Entrance	Per cent Enrolled in College	(Per cent) of Sample
13 or more years	65	59	(20)	72	64	(18)
9-12 years	37	32	(40)	44	31	(46)
8 or fewer years	21	18	(40)	31	20	(36)

^a The 1947 data are from Roper, *Factors Affecting the Admission of High School Seniors to College*, cited in footnote to Table 1; calculated from pp. 16, 142. Admission to college is based upon student's statement that he has been accepted by at least one of the colleges to which he applied; this information was collected in September or during the Christmas vacation period if it was not known at the time of the original survey.

^b The 1955-1956 data are from Educational Testing Service, *Background Factors Relating to College Plans and Enrollment among Public High School Students* (Princeton, N. J.: Educational Testing Service, 1957), calculated from Table D-4a. The information is based upon questionnaires completed by seniors in a national sample of public high schools. Students who said, in January or February, 1955, that they planned to go to college the following fall are considered to be planning to go to college. The data in the table are for the sub-sample of students who were subsequently followed-up to determine whether or not they actually enrolled in college. Information about enrollment was obtained in February, 1956, from the high schools of the students who had completed the students' questionnaire used in the original survey.

er socio-economic ranks than among members of the high ranks (see Table 1). The strata variance for children entering college is certainly greater than the strata variance in the desire for children to enter college. This suggests that if some of the situational constraints were removed, there would be a greater expansion of college attendance among low status children than among high status children and thus a declining degree of association between parental socio-economic rank and entrance into college.

There have been many situational changes relevant to college going. Increasing urbanization has placed a larger proportion of persons within closer reach of colleges; a general rise in the standard of living has made the relative cost of going to college and not earning money less of a hardship; there has been an increase in the pro-

portion of college openings in public compared to private and (increasingly) more expensive colleges; scholarship and fellowship aid has become more available; and the importance of college training for occupational achievement has become more pronounced so that this could affect current values and beliefs about the importance of college attendance. These changes, however, do not necessarily mean that there has been increased equality of opportunity for persons of lower socio-economic origins compared to those of higher origins. Upper status children can take advantage of these changes at least as well as can lower status children. There probably has been some increased relative advantage, however, for the *most able* young persons of low socio-economic origins.

Several situational factors relevant to the differential advantage of lower

TABLE 3
 PERCENTAGE OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS PLANNING TO GO TO COLLEGE,
 1951-1959, BY MOTHERS' EDUCATION^a

Mothers' Education	1951		1952		1953		1959	
	Per cent Planning To Go To College	(Per cent) of Sample	Per cent Planning To Go To College	(Per cent) of Sample	Per cent Planning To Go To College	(Per cent) of Sample	Per cent Planning To Go To College	(Per cent) of Sample
College	60	(18)	62	(10)	70	(11)	70	(11)
High School	45	(23)	33	(34)	50	(36)	46	(42)
Grade School	24	(59)	19	(56)	25	(52)	25	(47)

^a The information is from The Purdue Opinion Panel, Division of Educational Reference, Lafayette, Indiana, Reports of Poll Numbers 29, 31, 37, and 54. Reproduced with permission of H. H. Remmers.

1951 data are for students in grades 9-12; students were asked, "What do you plan to do after you graduate high school? (check one)," those who checked "go to college" are so categorized.

1952 data are for students in grades 9-12; students were asked, "After high school, I plan first to: (boys assume that you will not be drafted immediately) (check only one)."

1953 data are for students in grades 10-12; students were asked, "Which do you plan to do after finishing high school (mark only one)."

1959 data are students in grades 10-12; students were asked, "Which of the following do you plan to do after finishing high school?"

The number of cases upon which the percentages are based are the number used in the analysis after stratifying the sample of students.

and higher status students probably have not changed and, indeed, may have increased. This is the case if increased urbanization has led to more status-segregated residence patterns and thus to more status-segregated schools. Status-segregated schools would disadvantage lower status students because "not only the sizes and resources of a school and its community, but also their social class composition affect aptitude scores and plans for going to college. . . . The more well-to-do students there are in a high school, the higher the "college-planning" rates of all students, wealthy and poor alike."¹⁸

Now let us see whether or not the degree of association between socio-

economic origins and entrance to college has changed. The presently available data cannot give a definitive answer, but there are sufficiently comparable studies to suggest an answer. A comparison of the findings of studies of high school seniors in 1947 and 1955 does not indicate that there has been any change in the degree of relationship between status origins and entrance into college during that decade (see Table 2). Similarly, results of polls of high school students from 1951 through 1959 do not indicate any decrease in the degree of association between socio-economic origins and expectations of entrance into college (see Table 3). In another national study, the subjects are divided into three categories: those under 35 years of age, those 35-54, and those 55 or older. Their educational attainments were about equally related to background characteristics within each age category; as the authors write, "Parents' education, occupation, and back-

¹⁸ Natalie Rogoff as cited by Bernard Barber, "Social-Class Differences in Educational Life-Chances," *Teachers College Record*, 63 (November, 1961), p. 110; also see, John A. Michael, "High School Climates and Plans for Entering College," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXV (Winter, 1961), pp. 585-595.

TABLE 4
 PERCENTAGE OF WHITE HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS IN UPPER TWO ACADEMIC QUINTILES APPLYING FOR COLLEGE ENTRANCE IN 1947 AND PERCENTAGE OF PUBLIC SCHOOL SENIORS IN HIGHEST APTITUDE CATEGORY PLANNING TO ENTER COLLEGE IN 1955 BY FATHERS' OCCUPATION^a

Fathers' Occupation	1947		1955	
	Per cent Top Seniors Applying for College	(Per cent) of Sample	Per cent Top Seniors Planning to Enter College	(Per cent) of Sample
High	72	(33)	78	(25)
Not High	39	(67)	57	(75)

^a The 1947 data are adapted from Roper, *Factors Affecting the Admission of High School Seniors to College*, cited in footnote in Table 1, p. 242 and Helen E. Davis, *On Getting into College* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1949), p. 16; the Davis report is based upon further analysis of the Roper Survey. Academic standing was based upon the students' course records; the students were classified into quintiles and the two highest quintiles (actually 43 per cent of the students) were combined here for comparative purposes.

The 1955 data are from Educational Testing Service, *op. cit.*, cited in footnote to Table 2; calculated from Table D-4b. The students were given a short aptitude test and the thirty per cent with the highest scores are categorized as the high scoring group.

In the 1955 study, fathers' occupation was given as "college" and "non-college" occupations. In order to make the 1947 data comparable, the figures in the table are based upon placing the professional and executive and the white collar occupations together as "high" occupations and regarding the other occupations as "not high." If only professional and executive occupations are treated as comparable to "college" occupations (16 per cent of all the students in the two highest quintiles had fathers in professional and executive occupations), the 1947 difference in the percentage of students applying for college is even greater. If, for 1947, only the one highest quintile of students is used for analysis rather than the two highest, we still find that there is greater difference in college intentions among students with different occupational origins in 1947 than in 1955.

ground appear to produce the same differences in educational attainments among young spending unit heads as was true for previous generations."¹⁹ Aside from these national studies, state and city studies over the past two decades do not indicate that there has been any decline in the degree of association between socio-economic origins and entrance into college.²⁰

¹⁹ Martin H. David, Harvey E. Brazer, James N. Morgan, and Wilbur J. Cohen, *Educational Achievement—Its Causes and Effects* (Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, 1961), p. 32; the finding is summarized in James N. Morgan, Martin H. David, Wilbur J. Cohen, *Income and Welfare in the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), p. 369.

Given the general rise in college attendance, the absence of a decrease in the association between socio-economic origins and college entrance is

²⁰ Elbridge Sibley, "Some Demographic Clues to Stratification," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, editors, *Class, Status, and Power* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 381-388; A. C. Rosander, "The Economic Stratification of Youth and its Social Consequences," *Journal of Educational Research*, 32 (April, 1939), pp. 592-604; Joseph A. Kahl, *The American Class Structure* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1953), p. 283; R. Clyde White, *These Will Go To College* (Cleveland: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1952), p. 39; and J. Kenneth Little, *Explorations into the College Plans and Experiences of High School Graduates* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin, 1959), p. 30.

puzzling.²¹ It may be that this indicates the overwhelming importance of cultural factors, but there has been a marked increase in entrance among children of low socio-economic origins. Perhaps the situational factors have improved for all strata but the differential advantages persist. The situational changes noted previously would support this interpretation. The situational changes, however, also probably mean that there has been a decline in the differential advantages of the high socio-economic categories among *the most able students*. If situational factors are an important factor in accounting for the association between socio-economic rank and this behavior, the association should have declined in the past two decades among the most able students. This seems to be the case.

As can be seen in Table 4, among the most qualified students, fathers' occupation is more related to expecting to enter college in 1947 than in 1955.²² The evidence from the studies from which these findings are adapted also shows that these students generally did enter college. The results of state and city studies of the most able students also are consistent with the finding that socio-economic origins are less associated with college entrance at present than a few decades ago.²³

²¹ It should be noted that the rise in college attendance is due to an increase in the proportion of youths who complete high school and not to an increase in the proportion of high school graduates entering college. (This is indicated in Table 3; also see James A. Davis, "The Role of Higher Education in Career Allocation," a paper presented at the 1962 meetings of the American Sociological Association.) Perhaps the increase in high school completion is particularly marked among youths of low socio-economic origins. Comparisons over time of high school seniors' college entrance might then minimize any decline in the degree of association between socio-economic origins and college entrance. Nevertheless, the David, Brazier, Morgan, and Cohen data are consistent with the findings based upon high school seniors.

We noted earlier that entering college occurs at an early stage of the life cycle, is serially dependent, and is not repetitive; this would make it possible for cultural processes to play a major role in accounting for the relationship between socio-economic origins and college entrance. We have also shown that there are some conceptual differences among members of various socio-economic ranks in the desirability of attending college, although the differences are not as large as the differences in actual attendance. We have also noted that there are large variations in the situational conditions of

²² In interpreting the evidence of the decline in the degree of association between occupational origins and entrance into college, the following points should be noted. On the one hand, the measure of ability in 1947 is school grades and the measure in 1955 is a score on an aptitude test; the former is probably a better predictor of going to college than an aptitude test. On the other hand, the 1947 data do not include Negro students and this might be expected to decrease the extent to which occupational origins are related to college plans.

Given the conclusion that there has been no significant change in the degree of association between socio-economic origins and entrance into college, in the recent past, the finding that there has been a change for a segment of the population requires some additional comment. It may be that among the *least* able students, those from higher socio-economic backgrounds are now more likely to enter college, compared to those from lower origins, than was the case in the past. Another possible explanation, perhaps related, is that girls of higher socio-economic origins are now more likely to be entering college, compared to those of lower socio-economic origins, than was true in the past. The published data do not permit testing these possible explanations.

²³ Sibley, *op. cit.*, p. 381; Helen B. Goetsch, "Inequality of College Opportunity," *Journal of the National Education Association*, 28 (December, 1939), p. 271; Kahl, *op. cit.*, p. 283; White, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Little, *op. cit.*, p. 30; and W. H. Sewell, A. O. Haller, and M. A. Straus, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (February, 1957), pp. 67-73.

members of different ranks, relevant to college attendance. These variations make it possible for situational factors to play an important role in explaining the relationship between rank and this behavior item. Furthermore, we have suggested some likely changes in relevant conditions over the last few decades. In the light of these changes, the rise in college attendance among persons of all socio-economic origins and the decline of association between rank and college entrance among the most able students argues for the importance of situational factors in accounting for the relationship. The lack of a change in the association among the young people as a whole suggests that cultural processes are very significant. We would expect that college attendance is a kind of behavior whose relationship with socio-economic origins, more than most other behavior items, should be accounted for by cultural processes. Nevertheless, even in this case, we find situational factors are significant even if not dominant.

In a recent study, a multivariate technique was used to assess the effects of various background factors. Many situational factors were not assessed, but of the several variables measured, the education of the father was "the most powerful predictor of children's education."²⁴ This, and related findings, suggest that in so far as cultural processes account for the relationship between rank and college attendance, processes specific to the behavior under consideration are particularly important, rather than general orientation.

Medical care. The relationship between socio-economic rank and the receipt of medical care is well documented. In the United States in 1930, there was a high positive relationship between socio-economic rank and uti-

lization of physicians' services²⁵ and hospital services (see Table 5). At present, however, there is no relationship between socio-economic rank and utilization of hospitals and only a small positive relationship in regard to utilization of physicians' services.²⁶

In twenty to thirty years, utilization of hospital and physician services has risen for persons in all socio-economic strata and the differences among the strata have very markedly decreased. The change can hardly be explained by changes in the socially transmitted culture of the strata. There is a question, however, whether (1) there was a marked conceptual difference among the members of the strata and this difference was reduced by changes in situational factors or, (2) there was not a marked conceptual difference and the earlier behavioral difference resulted directly from differences in situational constraints and opportunities. Although the available evidence is inadequate to answer the question definitively, it is worth making some estimates of the answer, given the data available. This will at least help clarify the issues in this kind of analysis.

In the case of hospital utilization,

²⁵ Health Information Service, "The Increased Use of Medical Care," *Progress in Health Services*, VII (October, 1958), pp. 3, 4.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 4. There is, of course, an additional consideration in such comparisons. Persons of low socio-economic rank are more likely than persons of high rank to be ill and persons who are ill are likely to see physicians and be hospitalized. Even holding illness constant, we are not likely to find that there is the same direct relationship between utilization of medical services and socio-economic rank at present as in 1930; indeed, one study, conducted in 1954, found no significant relationship between socio-economic rank and utilization of physicians or hospitals, for various kinds of illnesses; see Saxon Graham, "Socio-Economic Status, Illness, and the Use of Medical Services," in E. Garty Jaco, editor, *Patients, Physicians, and Illness* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 129-134.

²⁴ David, Brazer, Morgan, and Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

TABLE 5
HOSPITAL ADMISSION RATES
PER 100 PERSONS, 1928-1958,
BY FAMILY INCOME

Family Income in Dollars	Hospital Admission Rate Per 100 Persons	(Per cent) of Sample
1928-1931 ^a		
Under 1,200	5.9	(15)
1,200-2,000	5.0	(35)
2,000-3,000	5.8	(25)
3,000-5,000	6.3	(13)
5,000-10,000	7.5	(9)
10,000 and over	10.6	(3)
1953 ^b		
Under 2,000	12	(16)
2,000-3,499	12	(22)
3,500-4,999	12	(27)
5,000-7,499	12	(22)
7,500 and over	11	(13)
1958 ^c		
Under 2,000	14	(12)
2,000-3,499	12	(15)
3,500-4,999	14	(21)
5,000-7,499	12	(30)
7,500 and over	10	(22)

^a The Committee on Costs of Medical Care, in cooperation with the U. S. Public Health Service, conducted the survey between February, 1928, and June, 1931. The sample included 130 communities in 17 States and the District of Columbia. Tabulations relate to 8,758 white families composed of 39,185 persons. Data are from I. S. Falk, Margaret C. Klem, and Nathan Sinai, *The Incidence of Illness and the Receipt and Costs of Medical Care among Representative Families: Experiences in Twelve Consecutive Months during 1928-1931* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), p. 113.

^b The National Opinion Research Center conducted the survey, using a national multistage probability sample of the civilian, non-institutional population of the U. S. Data are from Odin W. Anderson with Jacob J. Feldman, *Family Medical Costs and Voluntary Health Insurance: A Nationwide Survey* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956), pp. 59, 183.

^c The National Opinion Research Center conducted the survey, using a national multistage probability sample of the civilian, non-institutional population of the U. S. Data are from Odin W. Anderson, Patricia Collette, and Jacob J. Feldman, volume to be published by Harvard University Press.

there certainly have been marked situational changes which are relevant to the decrease in the relationship between socio-economic rank and utilization of hospital services. Foremost among such situational changes is the growth of hospital insurance plans. The importance of this factor is indicated by the finding that in 1953 among *insured* persons there is an inverse relationship between family income and hospital admission rates,²⁷ presumably because low status persons have more illnesses which require hospitalization than do high status persons, and insurance permits utilization to correspond to need. In addition, the general rise in real income for all strata makes it easier for low income persons to spend more money on hospital care without sacrificing as many other needs as a smaller absolute income would entail. Furthermore, greater sick leave and retirement benefits, improved transportation and increased availability of hospital facilities probably have eased utilization of hospital services by urban manual workers, rural persons, and low income families generally. Other factors, such as the increased dependence of physicians upon hospital facilities, help account for the general rise in utilization. The physicians' use of hospitals has another implication. The decision to hospitalize a patient is largely the physician's; if situational barriers are removed, the physician can make the same recommendation to persons with similar illness in different socio-economic strata. Thus, with the situational factors as strong and equal as they are, it is not likely that conceptual differences would significantly account for the relationship between socio-economic rank and admission rates to hospitals.

²⁷ Odin W. Anderson and Jacob J. Feldman, *Family Medical Costs and Voluntary Health Insurance: A Nationwide Survey* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956), p. 59.

It appears, then, that the situational factors operated directly rather than indirectly in affecting this behavior. It is possible that the increased utilization and effectiveness of hospital care may have contributed to contemporaneous changes in beliefs about the effectiveness of hospital care. Perhaps this experience occurred later for low status persons than for high status ones. The general and rapid rise in hospital utilization indicates that whatever conceptual differences were cultural in origin were easily modified by current experience and, to some extent, are not relevant for this behavior item. Of course, during all this time, there probably were few socio-economic strata differences in the value of being healthy.

Most of the changes in situational factors mentioned in the case of hospital utilization are also relevant for utilization of physicians' services and probably account for the general rise in utilization of physicians' services and the decreasing difference among socio-economic ranks. As previously noted, however, there is still a small relationship between utilization of physicians' services and socio-economic rank. Is this attributable to the absence of the major situational change which occurred in the case of hospital utilization—insurance plans? A study of a comprehensive prepaid medical care plan, Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York (H.I.P.), indicates that in part this is probably the case. H.I.P. covers visits to physicians' offices. Comparing utilization of such services for enrollees of H.I.P. with a sample of New York City residents, little difference was found, on the whole, between educational level and the percentage of persons with medical conditions who saw a physician within an eight week period; but, "the difference between education groups seems to have been greater in the New York City sample than in the group of

H.I.P. enrollees."²⁸ Furthermore, even the persons in H.I.P. covered families in which the head of the household had less than nine years of schooling were more likely to have visited a physician than were persons in families not enrolled in H.I.P. in which the head of the household had more than twelve years of schooling.

Situational factors appear to account directly for at least some of the remaining differences in utilization of physicians' services by persons in high and low strata. The situational factors which have changed probably account for a great deal of the decrease in association between socio-economic rank and utilization of physicians' services. This all suggests that cultural processes are not of major importance in explaining the association in the past or the remaining difference at present. These interpretations are supported by the analysis of the utilization of dentists' services, the next and final behavior item to be discussed.

Dental Care. Utilization of dentists' services was highly related to socio-economic rank in 1930 and, despite a general rise in the proportion of the population engaging in the behavior, still is highly related to rank (see Table 6).

The situational changes in the United States in the last two decades in regard to utilization of dentists' services appear to be similar to those in the case of utilization of physicians' services. These changes may account for at least some of the general rise in utilization of dentists' services. The puzzling finding is that the socio-economic differences persist although there was a decline in socio-economic differences in the case of physicians'

²⁸ The Committee for the Special Research Project in the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, *Health and Medical Care in New York City* (Cambridge: Published for the Commonwealth Fund by Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 84.

care. The explanation does not seem to lie in greater socio-economic differences about the propriety of, for example, regular dentist visits compared to regular physician check-ups. In a 1955 national survey, questions about such views were asked and the socio-economic differences were about the same for views concerning both kinds of utilization.²⁹

This indicates that socio-economic differences in values do not account for much of the variance in the relationship between socio-economic status and utilization of dentists' services, nor for the difference in the degree of relationship between status and dental care compared to the relationship present in the case of utilization of physicians' services. Yet we find a persisting relationship between rank and dental care. Furthermore, when situational factors are relatively equal, we still find a high relationship between socio-economic rank and utilization of

dentists' services. This is indicated by the results of a study of one of the few prepaid dental care plans in existence, founded by what is now the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local 688. Although members and dependents could freely visit a dentist in the union dental clinic, it was found that utilization of any dentist's services was still directly related to the education of the head of the household.³⁰ It appears, then, that some cultural processes are operative in the case of utilization of dental care; but, apparently, quite specific behavior patterns are transmitted rather than general values.

We will examine the relationship between socio-economic rank and utilization of dentists' services in more detail. In the national survey upon which this discussion is based, teen-agers as well as adults were interviewed.³¹ This permitted a relatively detailed analysis of the cultural as well as the situational factors relevant to the utilization of dentists' services. To aid the analysis, going to the dentist preventively was distinguished and analyzed separately from not going to the dentist even when there was a self-recognized need for treatment. There is a high positive relationship between so-

²⁹ In the case of dental care, the question was, "Do you think a person should make a practice of seeing the dentist regularly, every six months or year, even when his teeth are all right, or is it not worth the trouble unless you have some complaint?" Among respondents who attended college, 94 per cent answered, see the dentist regularly, among those who attended high school, 93 per cent chose the same alternative, and among those with eight grades of schooling or less, the percentage was 80. In the case of physicians' care, the question was, "If a person is feeling all right, do you think he should get a general physical examination every year or so anyway, or is it not worth the trouble unless you have some complaints?" The comparable percentages for the same educational categories were: 86, 83, and 72. The data are from National Opinion Research Center, Basic Tabulations, 1955 Health Attitude Study, questions 88 and 35. The difference in actual practices, among persons with different levels of education, is much greater than the views about the proper practice in visiting dentists; for further discussion of some of these findings see Eliot Freidson and Jacob J. Feldman, *The Public Looks at Dental Care* (New York: Health Information Foundation, Research Series No. 6, 1958).

³⁰ Quentin Smith, Elliott H. Pennell, Ruth Dee Bothwell, and Mary N. Gailbreath, *Dental Care in a Group Purchase Plan, A Survey of Attitudes and Utilization at the St. Louis Labor Health Institute* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Public Health Service, Division of Dental Resources, 1959), pp. 23-25.

³¹ The analysis of the adult respondents is reported in Louis Kriesberg and Beatrice R. Treiman, "Socio-Economic Status and the Utilization of Dentists' Services," *Journal of the American College of Dentists*, 27 (September, 1960), pp. 147-165; the analysis of the teen-age respondents is reported in Louis Kriesberg and Beatrice R. Treiman, "Preventive Utilization of Dentists' Services among Teen-agers," *Journal of the American College of Dentists*, 29 (March, 1962), pp. 28-45.

TABLE 6
 PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS VISITING DENTIST WITHIN PRECEDING
 TWELVE MONTHS, 1928-1959, BY FAMILY INCOME

Family Income in Dollars	Per cent Visiting Dentist	(Per cent) of Sample	Family Income in Dollars	Per cent Visiting Dentist	(Per cent) of Sample
1928-1931 ^a			1953 ^b		
Under 1,200	10	(15)	Under 2,000	17	(16)
1,200-1,999	15.5	(35)	2,000-3,499	23	(22)
2,000-4,999	24	(38)	3,500-4,999	33	(27)
5,000 and over	46	(12)	5,000-7,499	44	(22)
			7,500 and over	56	(13)
1957-1959 ^c			1958 ^d		
Under 2,000	19	(16)	Under 2,000	15	(12)
2,000-3,999	28	(23)	2,000-3,499	28	(15)
4,000-6,999	40	(39)	3,500-4,999	36	(21)
7,000 and over	54	(22)	5,000-7,499	39	(30)
			7,500 and over	53	(22)

^a Information from the survey by the Committee on Costs of Medical Care, described in footnote to Table 5; data adapted from Helen Hollingsworth, Margaret C. Klem, and Anna Mae Baney, *Medical Care and Costs in Relation to Family Income* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Social Security Administration, Bureau of Research and Statistics, 1947), p. 103.

^b Anderson and Feldman, *op. cit.*, p. 199; study described in footnote to Table 5.

^c The data are from a national sample of the civilian non-institutional population; U. S. National Health Survey, "Dental Care, Interval and Frequency of Visits, July, 1957-June, 1959," *Health Statistics* (Washington, D. C.: Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Public Health Service, Division of Public Health Methods, 1960), pp. 5, 18.

^d Anderson, Collette, and Feldman, *op. cit.*; study described in footnote to Table 5.

cio-economic rank and going to the dentist preventively and a high negative relationship with not going to the dentist even where there is a self-recognized need for treatment. The relationship with going preventively is our concern here.

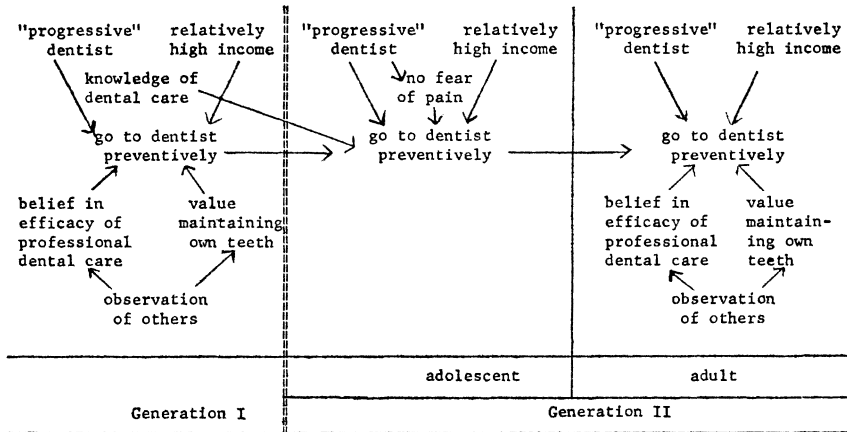
The analysis is based upon (1) adult respondents' reports of their attitudes and their parents' behavior and their own childhood experiences as well as their current behavior and attitudes, and (2) teen-agers' reports of their own behavior and attitudes; in addition, the relationship between parents' behavior and attitudes and that of their teen-age children was analyzed. The basic analytic method was to examine variables which might account for the relationship between status and utilization by testing whether or

not the variables were related to socio-economic rank and then seeing if the variable and/or rank were related to going to the dentist preventively, holding each constant. The findings are shown schematically in Figure 1.

First of all, it is apparent that the basic cultural process is the specific one of going to the dentist. That is, adults who go preventively first went to the dentist when they were very young and parents who go to the dentist preventively take their children to the dentist when the children are young; if a parent goes to the dentist preventively, so do his children, in each stratum. General parental values or specific ones related to teeth and their care do not help explain the children's preventive utilization of dentists' services. The parent's *knowl-*

FIGURE I

PROCESSES INVOLVED IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC RANK
AND GOING TO THE DENTIST PREVENTIVELY



edge about dental care is related to whether or not his child goes preventively; but adult or teen-ager knowledge about dental care does not affect their own preventive utilization of dentists' services. Apparently, what is transmitted is a specific habit without a comprehensive set of supporting beliefs, attitudes, and values.

There are two situational factors which are shared by adults and teenagers and in both generations. One shared situational condition affecting going to the dentist preventively is a non-social one: income. The other condition is a social one: the interaction with the dentist. "Progressive" dentists, those who practice preventive dentistry, are more likely to have patients of high socio-economic status and the practices of the dentist significantly affect whether or not a patient goes preventively, at each stratum. There may be some mutual selection of patients and dentists and mutual confirmation of the utility of preventive practices which account for this relationship; there may also be a tendency, however, for dentists to behave differ-

ently with patients of different socio-economic strata—as has been reported for the relations between middle class teachers and middle class and working class students.

There is an interesting additional process by which dentists affect going to the dentist preventively. Although fear of pain inhibits going to the dentist, this fear is not associated with socio-economic rank among adults and therefore cannot help account for the relationship between rank and going to the dentist preventively. There is, however, an association between fear and rank among teen-agers; such fear is also related to certain practices of the dentist and negatively related to his possession of a high speed drill.³² Persons of high socio-economic rank tend to go to dentists who have a high speed drill and thus, a connection may exist. Probably fear of pain contributes something to the explanation of the

³² Louis Kriesberg and Beatrice R. Treiman, "Dentists and the Practice of Dentistry as Viewed by the Public," *Journal of the American Dental Association*, 64 (June, 1962), pp. 806-821.

relationship between rank and going to the dentist only among the teenagers because the high speed drill is still so new that it has affected the strata-shared attitudes only among the teenagers; they are also especially likely to have extensive drilling because the caries rate is high among adolescents.

Certain other values and beliefs, apparently resulting from shared current situations, help account for the relationship between socio-economic rank and going to the dentist preventively—at least among adults. One is the belief in the efficacy of professional dental care; the other is valuing maintaining one's own teeth. These values and beliefs do not seem to be cultural: among the teenagers they are hardly related to parental socio-economic rank and, holding rank constant, are not related to going to the dentist preventively. It appears that these values and beliefs reflect the shared experience of persons in the same situation: adults of low socio-economic rank are more likely to know persons who have lost their teeth than are high rank adults. Generalizing from such observations, low rank adults may tend to feel that teeth cannot be maintained and therefore it is not worthwhile trying to do so.

It is significant that measures of general orientation did not help to account for the relationship between socio-economic rank and going to the dentist. The measures consisted of questions concerning general orientations about time, planning, and self-control.

In short, it appears that the relationship between socio-economic rank and preventive utilization of dentists' services is to some extent accounted for by cultural factors; the process, however, appears to be a very specific one pertaining to that behavior. It seems to be operative because this kind of behavior is affected by childhood

experience and socialization and the socialization seems to persist. Apparently, serial dependence and experience at an early stage of the life cycle is more characteristic of dental care than of medical care. On the other hand, clearly, there are many rank-related situational factors which directly affect going to the dentist preventively. Some of these situational factors also operate indirectly; for example, they result in attitudes shared by members of the same strata as they share similar situations. There probably have been fewer changes in these direct and indirect situational conditions in the case of dental care than in the case of physicians' care and this too helps account for the absence of a change in the degree of relationship between rank and utilization of dentists' services over the last two or three decades.

Presumably, there is more consensus about treating acute dental needs than about going to the dentist preventively. In that case we would expect that situational factors, particularly those operating directly—such as income and the availability of dentists, would be especially important in accounting for the negative relationship between socio-economic rank and not going to the dentist even when there is a self-recognized need for treatment. In the case of the adults, for whom a comparative analysis of preventive and restorative utilization could be made, the evidence is consistent with that interpretation.

CONCLUSIONS

We set out to examine two kinds of explanations of the relationship between socio-economic rank and various kinds of behavior. As a step in doing this, several aspects of behavior were distinguished. It was hypothesized that the association between behavior and socio-economic rank would be accounted for to varying degrees by each explanation depending upon the char-

acteristics of the behavior.

The evidence presented permits drawing a few conclusions. First, the distinctions concerning aspects of behavior do seem to have utility in assessing the probable relative importance of cultural and situational explanations. Thus, the relationship between socio-economic rank and behavior is most likely to be accounted for by situational factors if the behavior is begun late in the life cycle, is serially independent, is repetitive, is characterized by high consensus of relevant concepts within the society, and there are marked differences in the relevant circumstances among the ranks in the society.

Second, insofar as cultural processes play an important role, the evidence indicates that the cultural processes involve the transmission of specific patterns of behavior rather than an integrated class subculture. It may be that in small, isolated, and stable communities or societies, there are integrated class subcultures. In large, complex, and changing societies, this does not seem to account for a great deal of the association we find between socio-economic rank and many kinds of behavior and contributes little to accounting for changes in those relationships.

Third, the method of analysis utilized here, although limited and treacherous in many ways, can make a contribution. Enough studies have been made over the past few decades to permit examining trends not only in the rates of various kinds of behavior, but in the degree to which they are associated with other characteristics as well. In many cases it may be possible to go back to the original data to make the studies more comparable, rather than using only published material as was done here. Such kinds of analysis provide another dimension and permit an additional kind of evidence to test hypotheses.

It may be that such analyses, cover-

ing a period of a few decades, would result in giving more weight to situational explanations than would be the case if analyses were restricted to cross-sectional studies at a given time.³³ One reason for this is that generationally transmitted behavior patterns are likely to emerge as a response to the situation in which members of a stratum find themselves.³⁴ Although there may be considerable agreement among sociologists about that assertion, there are few studies which attempt to specify how this occurs for any given socio-economic related behavior. Perhaps research directed at yielding information about the relationship between socio-economic status and behavior over time would result in more such studies. A second reason for expecting that studies of the relationship of socio-economic rank and various kinds of behavior over a few decades will lead to

³³ Many sociologists, in recent years, have stressed cultural differences. Perhaps this is a result of largely depending upon cross-sectional and attitudinal data. Perhaps there is another reason: it seems to be a unique contribution. (Of course, social anthropologists give considerable attention to cultural factors; but at least until recently anthropologists and sociologists observed geographically-bounded jurisdictions which did not jeopardize the uniqueness of each profession's perspective. Furthermore, sociologists have been more concerned with the variations within a society than have most anthropologists.) It can be pointed out that people act differently because they have different goals and they have different goals because they have learned to want them. There has been some pay off from this emphasis: considerations are noted which other social analysts ignore at the peril of limited explanations. I feel that for an adequate explanation of the way socio-economic rank is related to many specific areas of behavior, we must give increased attention again to situational factors. This will also make it more likely that we explore the *bases* of the cultural differences which do exist rather than treat "culture" as a residual factor which requires no further explanation.

³⁴ Joseph A. Kahl, *op. cit.*, p. 186; also see, Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), p. 101.

greater attention to situational conditions is that at least in technologically advanced societies, situational factors affecting socio-economic related behavior probably occur more rapidly than do cultural changes affecting status-related behavior.

Finally, we have shown that for at least some kinds of behavior there is sufficiently rapid change in the proportion of the population engaging in the behavior and even in the degree to which the behavior is related to socio-economic rank that we must give considerable weight to situational factors if we are to account for such rapid changes.

On the whole, of course, the evidence presented does not permit a comprehensive assessment of all the

alternative explanations for accounting for the relationship between socio-economic rank and various kinds of behavior. It is hoped, however, that this effort will help make the issue of what accounts for the relationships more salient and more amenable to resolution.

It is important to try to assess the relative contribution various explanations make to a full understanding of the relationship between socio-economic rank and behavior. Without such assessments, analysis tends to be static; we are unlikely to be able to indicate what the trends for socio-economic behavior are, the likely rate of change in the future, or the possible effects of changes in particular situational or cultural factors.

OBSERVATIONS ON GAMBLING IN A LOWER-CLASS SETTING

IRVING KENNETH ZOLA
Massachusetts General Hospital

Introduction

Studies in gambling have often focused on matters of individual pathology¹ and yet, on a number of psychological dimensions, no significant differences have been found between

gamblers and non-gamblers.² Part of the explanation for this lack of difference is the fact that so widespread an activity as gambling can be "many things to many people."³ Another reason is that while recognized as one of our major social problems, gambling also constitutes a major American paradox, fluctuating as it does between tolerance and condemnation, with a

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