

BACKGROUND VARIABLES AND OPINIONS IN THE 1972-1977 NORC GENERAL
SOCIAL SURVEYS: TEN GENERALIZATIONS ABOUT AGE, EDUCATION,
OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE, RACE, RELIGION, AND SEX,
AND FORTY-NINE OPINION ITEMS

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ABSTRACT AND SUMMARY

This paper analyzes forty-nine opinion items from the pooled 1972-1977 NORC General Social Surveys to review the patterns of association between background variables (Age, Education, Occupational Prestige, Race, Region, Religion, and Sex) and opinions. The following ten conclusions emerged:

(I) Considering interrelations among the predictors, (a) it is not strictly necessary to control for any of the others when looking at Sex, (b) when working with Age, control Education, (c) when working with Education, control Age, Occupation, and Race, (d) when working with Occupational Prestige, control Education and Race, (e) when working with Race, control Education, Occupation, Region, and Religion, (f) when working with Region, control Race and Religion, and (g) when working with Religion, control Race and Region.

(II) (a) Every attitude item in the set is significantly associated with some background variable and the vast majority show significant net associations with most background variables, (b) the average difference is small (about .100) but the cumulative effect is usually substantial, (c) the differences are a bit stronger for "social issues" and a bit weaker for "values."

(III) Education is a persistent, but not terribly consistent, predictor of attitudes. Better educated people tend to be more permissive, more progressive, and generally less "uptight." College tends to produce stronger effects than High School.

(IV) Occupational Prestige is a poor net correlate of attitudes and opinions, although it shows appropriate associations with other subjective variables.

(V) Age is a persistent and consistent correlate of attitudes. There is no evidence that the gap between "young" and "middle aged" is larger than that for "middle" and "older." The attitudes characteristic of younger people are almost always those associated with greater education.

(VI) Race is the most powerful predictor of attitudes and opinions. The content cuts across the pattern for Education, suggesting a cultural rather than stratum interpretation.

(VII) Region is usually, but not invariably, correlated with attitudes. Living in the South and having Less Education almost always operate in the same direction.

(VIII) Religion (Protestant v. Catholic) has significant associations with about half the items. The religious differences cut across the Educational lines. Blacks and Catholics tend to have similar positions.

(IX) Race-Region-Religion-Attitude tend to form systems of suppressor variables.

(X) Sex differences appear for about half the items. Men's opinions tend to line up with those of the Better Educated.

Introduction

"Background characteristics" such as Age, Education, Occupation, Race, Region, Religion, and Sex are the plow horses of attitude research outside the laboratory. Although theoreticians urge us to place our bets on sleeker contenders such as interpersonal influence, networks, organizational contexts, attitude consistency, sociobiology, and response bias, the most common form of attitude research, academic and commercial, amounts to hitching a dependent variable to one or more background characteristics.

Such face-sheet sociology, while notoriously atheoretical, actually involves an implicit set of propositions something like this:

- 1) Attitudes and opinions are "really" determined by the intervening variables of interpersonal contagion, early socialization, selective exposure to media, self-interest, and the like, not as direct effects of background characteristics.
- 2) However, a modern society is structured so persons with different background characteristics are exposed to rather different mixes of persons, rearings, and media; and in some cases (e.g., Race) the categories reflect different or competing interests.
- 3) Therefore, structural categories correlate with attitudes even though they aren't direct causes.
- 4) Since data on background variables are widely available, reliably measured (by social science standards) and comparable over time, the analyst can examine correlations between background characteristics and attitudes and draw inferences about the state of the intervening social variables. For example, one can look at sex correlations to infer things about sex role socialization; one can look at occupation and presidential vote to infer things about class conflict.
- 5) Beyond that, face-sheet sociology, unlike more theoretically sophisticated approaches, generally produces significant (if not huge) and persistent correlations (e.g., Glenn, 1967, 1974).

As a first approximation, one can sort these measures into three clumps, (1) the vertical dimension of socioeconomic status (SES); (2) the

horizontal dimension of "subcultures," and (3) a sociobiological dimension of time and gender.

Sociologists disagree about the best measures of SES, but social research has shown an enduring interest in the association between attitudes and social standing (Centers, 1949; Hyman, 1953; Stouffer, 1955; Lipset, 1959; Kohn and Schooler, 1969; Hamilton, 1972; Nie, Verba, and Petrocik, 1976; Curtis and Jackson, 1977). The broad sweep of findings (though not their interpretation) is consistent from study to study and was forecasted clearly in Centers' summary (1949, pp. 215-216).

... in the matter of anti-Negro prejudice the working class people are somewhat more anti-Negro than the middle class people.

. . . The middle class appears to be somewhat more liberal than the working class with respect to the economic freedom of women.

. . . As a group the working class shows less support than the middle class for such traditional American assumptions as that success depends on ability.

. . . With respect to values or desires the principal finding is that people in the middle class most typically manifest a desire for self-expression, while those that affiliate with the working class most typically express a desire for security.

Stouffer's 1954 classic survey added another persistent theme, summarized by Lipset (1960, p. 92).

The poorer strata everywhere are more liberal or leftist on economic issues . . . But when liberalism is defined in non-economic terms--as support of civil liberties, internationalism, etc.--the correlation is reversed.

Typical SES variables are Education, Occupation, Income, and Social Class Self-Placement.

The second cluster of variables, Race, Region, Religion, National Origin, and Size of Place may be viewed as a separate dimension of unranked, relatively permanent positions in society. There is high agreement on the ordering of occupations in terms of prestige and on the obvious

rankings of educational levels and incomes, but there is presumably much less consensus on whether the South is superior to, say, the West; whether Catholicism or Judaism is a better religion, etc. Race is an interesting test case. Of course, whites and blacks differ in SES; but in most subgroups of the U.S. and in all public rhetoric there is no agreement that--for blacks and whites of the same SES--one or the other color is superior.

Analysts frequently assume these categories and their combinations (e.g., Southern Black, Second Generation Northern White Catholic) define subcultures within which differences in basic values persist and shape positions on specific issues.

Race is probably the most salient distinction here, but aside from the remarkable political sensitivity of blacks (once Republican, they are now massively Democratic and show persistent commitment to "New Deal" positions on political issues; see Nie, Verba, and Petrocik, Chapters 13 and 14) the few studies available (Broom and Glenn, 1966; Glenn, 1975) have not developed handy generalizations. Neglect of the topic is probably explained by statistical problems rather than "racism." Blacks constitute a small proportion of national cross-sections (about 150 cases in a survey of 1,500 respondents) and one should control Religion, Region, and SES for a non-superficial analysis (see below).

Regional differences in attitudes (mostly South v. Non-South) have been well documented (Glenn and Alston, 1967; Nie, Verba, and Petrocik, 1976, chapters 13 and 14; Reed, 1975; Middleton, 1976). The rule of thumb is simple: Southerners (most investigators mean white Southerners) tend to be more "conservative," the other regions don't differ much, and when they do, it is typically West v. Midwest and East.

While the extensive and complex findings defy simple summaries, there is considerable evidence that the Religion-National Origin combinations among whites, which we call "ethnicity" are associated with attitude and opinion differences (Greeley, 1974, 1977). Jews tend to be overwhelmingly "liberal," so consistently they usually stand out even when they comprise a mere thirty cases out of 1,500. Popular opinion and some stereotypes among sociologists aside, the Catholic population tends to be more "liberal" than Protestants, not less liberal.

Size of Place, though complicated by the Central City v. Suburb distinction, yields another rule of thumb (Fischer, 1976; Glenn and Hill, 1977). As Fischer puts it:

As a general rule, the larger the size of the community, the more likely it is that individuals will hold unconventional values and beliefs. . . . This appears to be almost universally true--across different cultures, periods of history, and different realms of life. (p. 192.)

The social-biological variables, Age, Sex, and Marital Status, form a third cluster, although I do not wish to imply their effects are all similar. Age is one of the simplest variables to measure, but its interpretation is often subtle and complex because correlations between age and a dependent variable can be interpreted as effects of cohort (when you were born and grew up), aging (how far you are on the road to senescence), or period (some say voters exposed to Franklin D. Roosevelt showed imprinting decades later). Furthermore, age has peculiar associations with SES. Younger adults are much better educated but, aside from that, tend to have slightly less desirable "entry level" jobs.

Sex differences are so interesting as to constitute a sub-discipline in social science, but the literature on sex differences in national

cross-sections is meager. Perhaps the best summary stems from Stouffer (1955)--young people tend to be more "liberal," women tend to be more "conservative." I am not aware of any generalization on Marital Status and opinions, although being married (along with being white) is about the best correlate of subjective reports of Happiness.

So far, I have argued background characteristics and their associations with attitudes and opinions are a continuing theme for important research in sociology despite agreement that such data are only a reflection of the underlying causal processes. By examining the ways Americans in the familiar face-sheet pigeonholes differ in attitudes and opinions, we may infer a good deal about how social structure influences lives in modern societies.

Such a large canvas is unlikely to be completed soon, if ever; but it may be useful to stand back occasionally to appraise it. While each of the cited studies is important, none seems preemptive since (a) many are dated, (b) few cover a broad spectrum of attitude content, (c) control variables differ from study to study, and (d) the most comprehensive (Curtis and Jackson)¹⁹⁷⁷ is based on local, not national, samples. Therefore, it may be useful to examine how and whether background characteristics are associated with a variety of attitude items in national samples in the middle 1970s. Specifically, this paper examines the associations between background variables and attitude items in recent national cross sections:

- 1) Across a variety of topics;
- 2) Controlling for as many other background variables as are required;
- 3) Looking for themes, such as "liberalism" and "conservatism," that might pull the results together.

Data and Independent Variables

The NORC General Social Survey (Glenn, Converse, Cutler, and Hyman, 1978) provides an appropriate data base for such a review. I will use the 1972-1977 cumulative GSS file to assess the net effects of Age, Educational Attainment, Occupational Prestige, Race, Region, Religion, and Sex on forty-nine attitude items.

The seven background variables chosen need no further justification but certain exclusions do.

In the SES cluster, I did not use Income or Subjective Class Placement. Income was excluded because it is complicated (one would have to allow for inflation, multiple earners, family composition, etc.) and because there is some suspicion it is a poor attitude predictor (e.g., Grabb, 1979). Subjective Class was excluded because it seems more toward the "dependent attitude" than the "independent background characteristic" pole.

In the subculture cluster, I did not use Community Type or Size of Place, frankly because I hadn't reviewed the literature sufficiently when I designed the tabulations. In the sociobiological cluster, Marital Status was ignored because there is no literature claiming it to be a good predictor of attitudes (as opposed to self-ratings of morale, mental health, happiness, anomia, etc.). Since the data are in the public domain, readers are invited to make up for my deficits by working with these and other predictors.

Table 1 gives the definitions, cuts, and marginals for the six items, with figures taken from the cumulative code book for 1972-1977. Ns in the multi-variate tabulations involving attitudes will be smaller because of "no answers" and because some attitude questions do not appear

TABLE 1

BACKGROUND VARIABLES USED AS PREDICTORS OF ATTITUDES

Variable	Categories	N	Proportion
1. Age	54 and older	2,953	.325
	34 - 53	3,087	.340
	18 - 33	3,047	.335
		<u>9,087</u>	<u>1.000</u>
	No Answer	<u>33</u>	
		9,120	
2. Race	Black	1,085	.119
	White (7,983) or Other (52)	8,035	.881
		<u>9,120</u>	<u>1.000</u>
3. Sex	Female	4,889	.536
	Male	4,231	.464
		<u>9,120</u>	<u>1.000</u>
4. Current Region	South ^a	2,945	.323
	Other	6,175	.677
		<u>9,120</u>	<u>1.000</u>
5. Current Religious Preference	Catholic	2,303	.282
	Protestant	5,855	.718
		<u>8,158</u>	<u>1.000</u>
	Excluded:		
	None	600	
	Jewish	225	
	Other	116	
No Answer	<u>21</u>		
		9,120	
6. Education = highest grade completed and got credit for	1 or more years of college	2,759	.304
	12th grade	2,999	.330
	0 - 11th grade	3,330	.366
		<u>9,088</u>	<u>1.000</u>
	Don't Know or No Answer	<u>32</u>	
		9,120	
7. Prestige of Respondent's Occupation (Hodge, Siegel, Rossi scale)-- answers to "What kind of work do you (did you) normally do?"	46 - 82	2,794	.339
	33 - 45	2,558	.310
	12 - 32	2,895	.351
		<u>8,247</u>	<u>1.000</u>
	Not applicable	832	
	Don't Know or No Answer	<u>41</u>	
		9,120	

^aAlabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Washington D.C., West Virginia.

in each GSS. Tabulation Ns range from 2,690 to 7,844 with a median of about 5,300 (see Table 7). Three items appeared in six surveys, fourteen in five, eighteen in four, twelve in three, and two items in two years.

Age is divided into equal thirds by the intervals 18-33, 34-53, and 54 and older (33.5 percent, 34.0 percent, and 32.5 percent). For race, the small number of Others (N=52) are grouped with whites (N=7,983) so the dichotomy is Black (11.9 percent) v. Other (88.1 percent). Sex shows 53.6 percent female, 46.4 percent male. Region is cut as South (32.3 percent) v. Other. Religion is divided into Catholic (28.2 percent) and Protestant (71.8 percent) with None (N=600), Jewish (N=225) and Other (N=116) excluded to avoid sparse cells in the multi-variate tabulations. The loss of detail is regrettable but Protestants and Catholics do comprise 89.6 percent of these non-NA cases. The standard educational trichotomy, 0-11 grades, 12th, one or more years of college, splits the cases into approximate thirds (36.6 percent, 33.0 percent, and 30.4 percent). For Occupational Prestige, Hodge-Siegel-Rossi scores of 12-32, 33-45, and 46-82 trichotomize the cases almost evenly (35.1 percent, 31.0 percent, and 33.9 percent). Table 2 shows the prestige scores are (as is well known) closely but not perfectly associated with the standard Census occupational groupings: 87.2 percent of the "highs" are Professional, Technical, Managers, Proprietors, or Clerical while 83.8 percent of the "lows" are service workers, operatives, or laborers. Conversely, each Census category, save clerical, has a clear majority in one of the thirds: Professional and Technical = 94.6 percent High, Managers and Proprietors = 89.2 percent High, Craftsmen = 70.6 percent Middle, Sales = 65.9 percent Middle, Farm = 72.9 percent Middle, Service =

TABLE 2

U.S. CENSUS MAJOR GROUP AND HODGE-SIEGEL-ROSSI PRESTIGE SCORE
(GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEYS, 1972-78 POOLED)

Group	Prestige Score			Total	N
	12-32	33-45	46-82		
A					
Professional, Technical ..	.000	.054	.946	1.000	1,431
Managers, Proprietors ....	.000	.108	.892	1.000	872
Clerical .....	.140	.458	.401	.999	1,901
Craftsmen, etc. ....	.091	.706	.203	1.000	1,212
Sales .....	.177	.659	.164	1.000	560
Farm .....	.271	.729	.000	1.000	258
Service .....	.709	.229	.062	1.000	1,389
Operatives .....	.878	.122	.000	1.000	1,666
Laborers	1.000	.000	.000	1.000	362
Total .....	.348	.308	.344	--	9,651
				No Answer	<u>1,001</u>
					10,652
B					
Professional, Technical ..	.000	.026	.408	}.872	
Managers, Proprietors ....	.000	.032	.234		
Clerical .....	.080	.293	.230	}.875	
Craftsmen, etc. ....	.033	.288	.074		
Sales .....	.030	.124	.028	}.838	
Farm .....	.021	.063	.000		
Service .....	.294	.107	.026	}.838	
Operatives .....	.436	.069	.000		
Laborers .....	.108	.000	.000		
Total	1.002	1.002	1.000		
	N = 9,651				

70.9 percent Low, Operatives = 87.8 percent Low, Laborers = 100.0 percent Low. Clerical workers, however, are spread fairly evenly between High and Middle.

No background item has more than forty-one No Answer cases (0.4 percent) except for Occupation with 832 cases (9.1 percent), virtually all women with no labor force experience, who were coded as Not Applicable. Thus, in tabulations involving occupation, the conclusions do not automatically apply to women with no labor force experience.

Having defined the predictor variables, let us examine their patterns of association. I specified the causal order as:

AGE → RACE → SEX → REGION → RELIGION → EDUCATION → OCCUPATION

The order is rather arbitrary and I won't attempt to defend it to the death. My main thoughts were these: since Race and Sex are fixed, they should be at the beginning and their own order is unimportant, assuming them to be uncorrelated. However, I used Age as the source variable because, viewing it as date of birth, no other variable in the system could affect it, but there is the slight possibility it might affect other variables through differential mortality, cohort differences in education, or life cycle differences in prestige. Region and Religion came next as attributes that, while not perfectly ascribed, are quite sticky (unpublished data from pooled GSS files show 86.3 percent of the Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Others, and Nones giving the same category for "In what religion were you raised?" and 86.5 percent of the Southerners and "Northerners" giving the same half of that dichotomy for "In what state or foreign country were you living when you were 16 years old?"). Placing Region before Religion is essentially arbitrary and intuitive. Education is taken as a possible function of all the

prior variables, and Occupation, in most cases the current job, as dependent on Education, since most respondents in this adult sample are finished with school.

D-systems, the analysis technique used throughout (Davis, 1975d), requires that one category of each polytomy be "removed" and treated as a base. For the three ordered variables, Age, Education, and Occupational Prestige, the middle category was chosen as a base since this specification, as will be shown later, illuminates the "shape" of relationships.

Table 3 shows the significant partial (net prior and intervening variables) associations in the cross-tabulation of these six variables using pooled 1972-1977 GSS data (N=8,558). Since all non-significant associations had absolute percentage differences of .023 or less, they are excluded for simplicity.

The coefficients may be interpreted as follows:

Net of prior or intervening variables in the system . . .

Compared with those 34-53 years old . . .

Younger adults (18-33 years old) are more likely to be Catholic, older adults (54-89 years old) are less likely to be Catholic (i.e., Catholicism is negatively related to age).

Younger adults are more likely to have completed a year of college and less likely to have 0-11 years while older adults show the opposite (i.e., education is negatively related to age).

Younger adults are more likely to have low status jobs (12-32), less likely to have high status jobs (46-82). Older adults do not differ from the middle group.

Compared with whites, blacks are . . .

less likely to be Catholic.

less likely to have completed a year of college and more likely to have 0-11 years (i.e., blacks are less well educated).

less likely to have high prestige jobs and more likely to have low prestige jobs (i.e., regardless of other variables, such as Region and Education, blacks have lower occupational prestige).

TABLE 3

STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT NET ASSOCIATIONS AMONG CATEGORIES OF PREDICTOR VARIABLES^a

Variable/Contrast	Dependent Category		Education		Occupation	
	Black	Female	College	0-11	46-82	12-32
Age:						
18-33 v. 34-53			+0.087 (.036)	-.134 (.032)	-.047 (.026)	+0.065 (.030)
54-89 v. 34-53			-.087 (.030)	+0.223 (.034)		
Race:						
Black v. Other	+0.201 (.046)		-.121 (.036)	+0.185 (.042)	-.114 (.026)	+0.203 (.040)
Sex:						
Female v. Male			-.055 (.026)	-.039 (.026)		+0.036 ^b (.022)
Region:						
South v. Other			-.036 (.030)	+0.087 (.030)		
Religion:						
Catholic v. Protestant			-.038 (.032)			

TABLE 3--Continued

Variable/Contrast	Dependent Category				Education		Occupation	
	Black	Female	South	Catholic	College	0-11	46-82	12-32
Education:								
College v. 12							+ .338 (.036)	-.201 (.028)
0-11 v. 12							-.195 ^b (.028)	+ .293 (.036)

^aCell entry = net d. Two sigma confidence intervals appear in parentheses below and to the right. Estimated sampling variances are all doubled to correct for clustering in multi-stage samples. No non-significant d exceeds .023 in absolute magnitude. N = 8,558. Zero frequency cells = 65 out of 432.

Marginals and intercepts with two sigma confidence intervals: 18-33 = .308 (.014), 54-89 = .338 (.014), Black = .117 (.016), Female = .530 (.028), South = .307 (.036), Catholic = .397 (.046), College = .402 (.060), 0-11 = .282 (.056), 46-82 = .281 (.098), 12-32 = .299 (.100).

^bInteraction significant at .05 level. See text and Table 4 for explanation.

Compared with men, women are . . .

Less likely to have one or more years of college and less likely to have 0-11 years of school (i.e., women are more likely to have 12 years).

A little more likely to have low prestige jobs.

Compared with Protestants, Catholics are . . .

less likely to have one or more years of college.

Compared with those with 12 years of education . . .

those with a year or more of college are more likely to have high prestige jobs and less likely to have low, those with 0-11 years of schooling show the opposite (i.e., education is positively related to job prestige).

Of the thirty-nine possibilities, four show interaction effects significant at the .05 level. In these four cases the chi-square test leads us to reject the hypothesis that the same \hat{d} fits in all control (conditional) tables. Table 4 shows how these interactions boil down to two results.

Table 4a shows that Region makes a smaller difference in Catholicism for blacks ($\hat{d} = +.050$) than for whites ($\hat{d} = +.149$) or equivalently Race makes a smaller difference in Catholicism in the South ($\hat{d} = -.163$) than in the North ($\hat{d} = -.262$) or equivalently Northern whites and Southern blacks are relatively more Catholic than Southern whites and Northern blacks.

Table 4b shows the association between Sex and Occupational Prestige varies by level of education. Among those with college or 12 years of school, the sexes have very similar prestige distributions, but among those with 0-11 years of school, males show a surplus in the middle prestige group, females in the low. My interpretation: among those with 0-11 years of schooling, neither sex has much chance for a high prestige job, but the masculine monopoly of crafts jobs gives them a greater proportion with middle prestige occupations.

TABLE 4

SIGNIFICANT INTERACTIONS FOR ASSOCIATIONS IN TABLE 3

a) Race, Region, and Religion (Proportion Catholic)			
Region	Race		Diff.
	Other	Black	
North .....	.392 (5,232.0)	.130 (524.5) ^a	-.262
South .....	.243 (2,297.5) ^a	.080 (536.5) ^a	-.163
Diff.	+.149	+.050	

b) Sex, Education, and Occupational Prestige						
Education	Sex	Prestige Proportions			Sum	N
		12-32	33-45	46-82		
College	Male	.124	.243	.633	1.000	1,346.0
	Female	.110	.249	.642	1.001	1,184.5 ^a
Diff.		+.014	-.006	-.009		
12 years	Male	.332	.404	.263	.999	1,203.5 ^a
	Female	.309	.351	.340	1.000	1,799.0
Diff.		+.023	+.053	-.077		
0-11 years	Male	.501	.379	.120	1.000	1,565.5 ^a
	Female	.692	.233	.075	1.000	1,492.0
Diff.		-.191	+.146	+.045		

^aDecimal values occur because frequencies of .05 were added to cells with zero frequencies to facilitate calculations without influencing the results appreciably.

Interactions aside, these findings are all well known. Perhaps the greatest surprise may be the absence of significant associations between age and sex. Tabulations from the 1975 Current Population survey suggest we should have a d of about $+.043$ for older v. middle age by proportion female, while the data give a net d of $-.020$ ($\pm .036$). The "correct" answer is outside the confidence limits and I suspect the elimination of women with no job histories, mentioned above, is the explanation, since the secular trend in women's employment means these women are older. What is more important is the size and pattern of the associations. With our large sample even small associations can be significant. Of the twenty-five significant \hat{d} 's in Table 3, twelve are less than $.10$ in absolute magnitude and fifteen are less than $.15$. The largest inter-category net associations, those stronger than $.15$, are:

College and High Prestige	+.338
0-11 Schooling and Low Prestige	+.293
Older age and 0-11 Schooling	+.223
South and Catholic	-.204
Black and Low Prestige	+.203
Black and South	+.201
College and Low Prestige	-.201
0-11 Schooling and High Prestige	-.195
Black and 0-11 Schooling	+.185

Figure 1 shows all net d 's with magnitudes larger than $.10$ in flowgraph form.

The empirical associations cut across the conceptual clusters outlined above and their pattern allows us to simplify the analysis a bit.

First, since Sex has no strong associations at all (its largest association is $-.055$) we need not use it as a control for other variables. When looking at sex differences in attitudes there is no pressure to

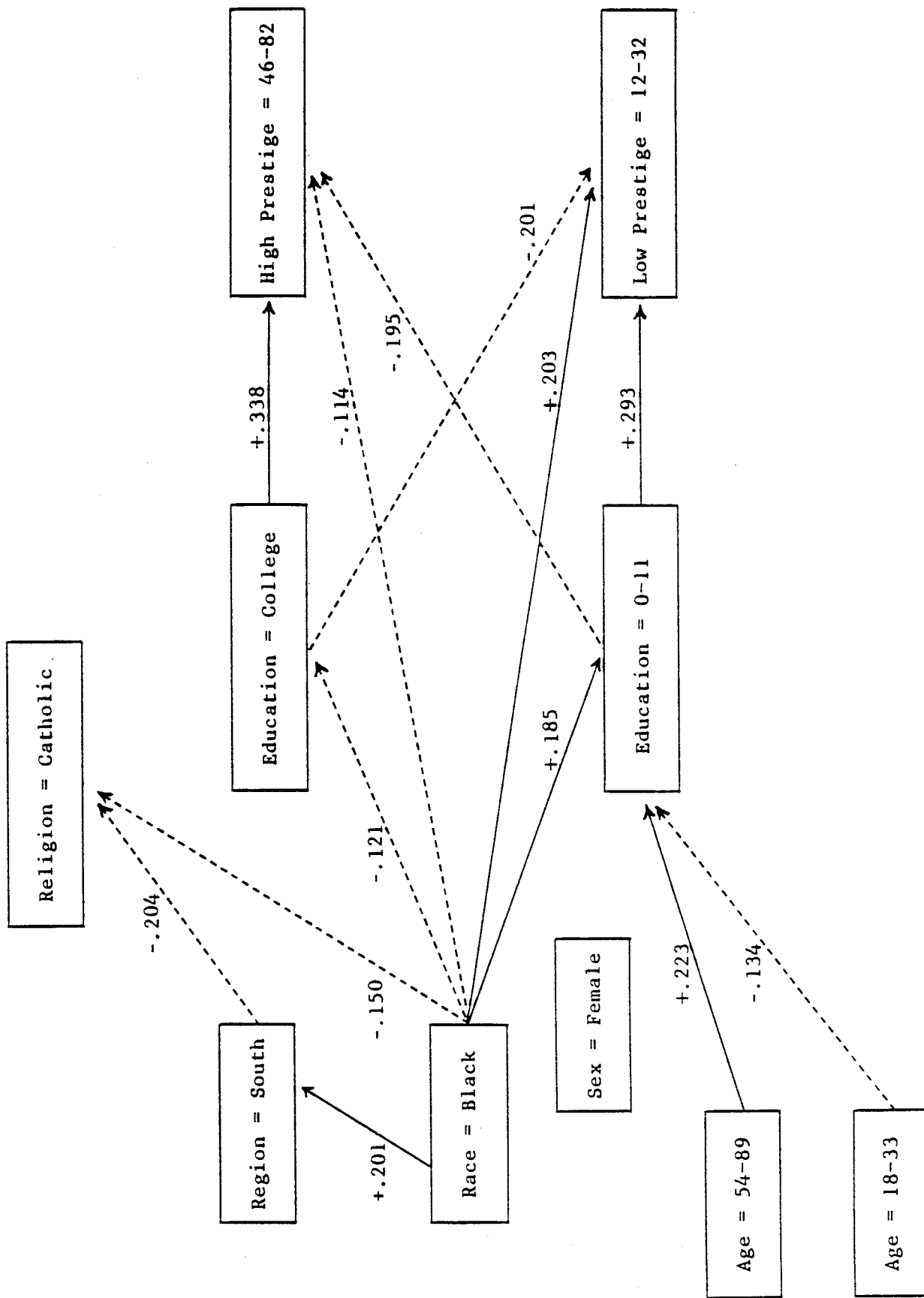


Fig. 1. Flow graph for coefficients exceeding .100 in Table 3

control for Age, Race, Region, Religion, Education, or Occupation (if, for example, Sex and College were both associated with some dependent attitude, then Sex by Dependent effect would have to be almost 1.000 before Sex affected the College by Dependent association by as much as .05 since, by path principles, $.91 * .055 = .050$).

Second, neither Region nor Religion has strong associations with background variables other than Race. Popular impressions aside, among adult cross-sections in the middle-1970s, Protestant-Catholic and North-South differences in Education and Occupational Prestige (controlling for Race) are slight.

Third, the Age-Race-Education-Occupation cluster is tight enough that it would be dangerous to examine any one without controlling for the other three. The cluster may be seen as a function of three phenomena: (a) Whether interpreted as credentialism or return on investment, there is a very tight association between Educational attainment and Occupational Prestige (four of the nine associations larger than .10 in Table 3 involve this pair of variables and the differences would be even larger if either or both had been dichotomized). (b) The generational (inter-cohort) differences in Educational attainment, in particular the secular trend toward high school completion, are substantial. Among those age 54-89 in the middle 1970s, 54.6 percent report 0-11 years of schooling while among those 18-33, the percentage is down to 18.7. High school dropouts are a majority among older adults, a small minority among young adults. (c) Despite progress toward racial equality, the association between Black and low Education and low Prestige remains unfortunately salient.

Traces of progress toward racial equality do appear in the data, however, in the form of interaction effects, as shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5

INTERACTIONS (VARIATIONS IN ASSOCIATIONS WITH RACE)
FOR DATA IN TABLE 3

A. Race, Age, and Education (cell entry equals value of d)						
Association	Age			Test for Homogeneity		
	18-33	34-53	54-89	Chi Sq.	d.f.	Prob.
Black by proportion college ...	-.071	-.073	-.136	3.3	2	.194
Black by proportion 0-11	+.135	+.204	+.241	4.5	2	.105

B. Race, Age, Education, and Low Prestige			
Education	Age		
	18-33	34-53	54-89

B(1)

(d for black by proportion 0-32, 4 variable cross-tab)

College	+.071	+.145	+.400
12 years	+.172	+.290	+.361
0-11 years	+.080	+.134	+.297

Homogeneity
Chi Sq. = 22.9,
d.f. = 8,
Prob. = .004

B(2)

(Mean d for black and proportion 0-32, averaged over
8 control conditions in 7 variable cross-tab)

College	+.092	+.171	+.343
12 years	+.149	+.239	+.304
0-11 years	-.026	+.039	+.230

TABLE 5--Continued

C. Race, Age, Education, and High Prestige			
Education	Age		
	18-33	34-53	54-89

C(1)

(d for black by proportion 46-82, 4 variable cross-tab)

College	-.078	-.286	-.371
12 years	-.185	-.220	-.167
0-11 years	-.008	-.029	-.105

Homogeneity
Chi Sq. = 32.0,
d.f. = 8,
Prob. = <.001

C(2)

(d for black by proportion 46-82, average over
8 control conditions in 7 variable cross-tab)

College	-.080	-.324	-.365
12 years	-.153	-.191	-.130
0-11 years	+.069	+.048	+.018

Table 5A gives the associations between Race and Education in different age groups, collapsing out Sex, Region, Religion, and Occupation. Although the interaction is not statistically significant, the sample results suggest smaller racial differences in educational attainment within the younger ages (i.e., newer birth cohorts).

Occupational Prestige (Tables 5B and 5C) shows a statistically significant and even sharper trend.¹ Table 5B treats race differences

¹If the differences in Tables 5B1 and 5B2 are significant, why didn't we get significant interactions for Race and Occupation in Table 3? In Table 3, each Race-by-Occupation-Within-Education difference has eight replications among the combinations for Sex, Region, and Religion. Tables 5B2 and 5C2 show the results in the full cross-tab are essentially

in the proportion with low status jobs, net of Education. A positive coefficient means blacks are more likely to have low status jobs than whites in the same educational level. In each educational level the coefficients decline as one moves from the oldest to the youngest adults. Among those ages 54-89, the average of the three coefficients is a discouraging +.352, while among adults age 18-33, the average, while still positive, is +.108. The same pattern appears, in reverse, for high prestige jobs among those with some college and for those with 0-11 years. Among those with 12 years, the age differences in the race by prestige association are trivial. In sum, race differences in education and prestige remain, but the lower race differences among the younger adults (newer birth cohorts) reveal progress toward equality.

The results in Figure 1 motivate the following conclusion on the inter-relations among background variables:

Conclusion I

When considering Age, Education, Occupational Prestige, Race, Region, Religion, and Sex: (a) it is not strictly necessary to control for any of the others when looking at Sex and a dependent variable; (b) when working with Age, control Education; (c) when working with Education, control Age, Occupation, and Race; (d) when working with Occupational Prestige, control Education and Race; (e) when working with Race, control Education, Occupation, Region, and Religion; (f) when working with Region, control Race and Religion; and (g) when working with Religion, control Race and Region.

Table 6 summarizes Conclusion I.

the same as in the four-variable table. However, inspection of the raw results shows no interactions with Occupation for Sex, Region, or Religion. Thus, I suspect that the large number of subtables that show no Occupation interaction "dilute" the effects of Race-Age-Education. The situation is analagous to analysis of variance where the overall F ratio can be insignificant although some of the means differ considerably.

TABLE 6

ADVICE FOR CONTROLS ON THE BASIS OF FINDINGS IN TABLE 3

When studying...	One would do well to control...						
	Sex	Age	Edu- cation	Occupa- tional Prestige	Race	Region	Religion
Sex							
Age			Yes				
Education ..		Yes		Yes	Yes		
Prestige ...			Yes		Yes		
Race			Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes
Region ^a					Yes		Yes
Religion ^b ..					Yes	Yes	

^aSouth v. Non-South.

^bProtestant v. Catholic.

Table 6 helps in planning the contingency table analysis since it says one does not have to cross-tabulate everything against everything. Instead, one can cover all the important controls by making three basic tabulations: (1) zero orders for Sex, (2) Race, Age, Education, Prestige, and (3) Race, Region, and Religion.

The Dependent Variables

Inspection of the 1972-1977 GSS codebook revealed forty-nine items that (a) appeared in two or more years, (b) had non-extreme marginals, and (c) treated attitudes in the sense of asking whether the respondent is for or against something. I excluded measures of morale, happiness, and other self-assessments because they seem to be a different phenomenon. Other than that, the dependent items boil down to virtually all attitude measures in the GSS.

Table 7 summarizes the forty-nine attitude items, arranged in common sense groups. For further details, see the GSS codebooks.

The eleven National Priority items ask whether the country should be spending more or less on foreign aid, military, big cities, fighting crime, drug addiction, education, environment, welfare, health, blacks, and space. These are the most topical of the forty-nine and their marginals shift from year to year more than most GSS items. However, unpublished analyses suggest that the pattern of correlations with Age and Education, at least, is remarkably stable from year to year. Presumably the items tap "liberalism and conservatism" in political issues and to some extent conflicts in group interests.

Five items attempt to get at occupational values--short hours, high income, feeling of accomplishment, chances for advancement, and security.

Six items attempt to assess more general values in terms of qualities one would find most desirable in a child--consideration, honesty, manners, obedience, sex role conformity, and studiousness.

Although they come from various parts of the schedule, four items were grouped together as measures of attitudes toward the social system in general: distrust of public officials, hard work v. luck, trust in people, and commitment to work.

Eleven items cover a range of topics relating to families, sex, children, etc. Three refer to women's roles (women should leave running the country up to men, whether married women should work, and vote for a woman presidential candidate); three to sex behavior (approval or disapproval of premarital sex, adultery, and homosexuality); two items

TABLE 7
DEPENDENT ATTITUDE ITEMS^a

Group/Item Content (Paraphrase)	GSS MNEMONIC	Positive Cut			Negative Cut	
		Content	Punches	Prop.	Punches	N/Years
1. National priorities--Should we spend more or less on:						
Foreign aid	NATAID	*Pro	1,2	.241	3	7,118/5
Military, armaments, defense	NATARMS	Anti	3	.322	1,2	6,973/5
Solving problems of big cities	NATCITY	Pro	1	.528	2,3	6,447/5
Halting rising crime rate	NATCRIME	Anti	2,3	.304	1	7,054/5
Dealing with drug addiction	NATDRUG	Anti	2,3	.368	1	6,965/5
Improving the nation's education system	NATEDUC	*Pro	1	.513	2,3	7,190/5
Improving and protecting the environment	NATENVIR	Pro	1	.587	2,3	7,028/5
Welfare	NATFARE	*Pro	1,2	.463	3	7,137/5
Improving and protecting the nation's health	NATHEAL	*Pro	1	.631	2,3	7,191/5
Improving the conditions of blacks.	NATRACE	Pro	1	.308	2,3	6,947/5
Space exploration program	NATSPAC	Pro	1,2	.400	3	7,183/5
2. Thing you would most prefer in a job (ranking)						
Working hours are short, lots of free time	JOBHOUR	*Pro	1-4	.514	5	5,880/4
High income	JOBINC	Anti	3-5	.576	1,2	5,880/4
Work important and gives a feeling of accomplishment	JOBMEANS	Pro	1	.499	2-5	5,880/4
Chances for advancement	JOBPROMO	Pro	1,2	.544	3-5	5,880/4
No danger of being fired	JOBSEC	Anti	4,5	.587	1-3	5,880/4

TABLE 7--Continued

Group/Item Content (Paraphrase)	GSS MNEMONIC	Positive Cut		Negative Cut		
		Content	Punches	Prop.	Punches	N/Years
3. Most desirable qualities for a child to have						
Considerate of others	CONSIDER	Pro	1,2	.284	3-5	4,471/3
Honest	HONEST	Anti	2-5	.624	1	4,471/3
Has good manners	MANNERS	Anti	3-5	.763	1,2	4,471/3
Obeys his parents well	OBEYS	Anti	3-5	.697	1,2	4,471/3
Acts like a boy	ROLE	*Anti	4,5	.611	1-3	4,471/3
(she acts like a girl)	STUDIOUS	Anti	4,5	.394	1-3	4,471/3
Is a good student						
4. The social system						
Public officials not interested in average man	ANOMIA7	Disagree	2	.358	1	5,846/4
Get ahead by hard work v. lucky breaks or help from others	GETAHEAD	*Hard Work	1	.626	2-4	5,967/4
Most people can be trusted	TRUST	Agree	1,3	.477	2	6,069/4
Continue to work if you were to get enough money to live comfortably rest of life	RICHWORK	Yes, work	1	.683	2	3,326/4
5. Family, sex, children, etc.						
a. Women's roles:						
Women should leave running the country up to men	FEHOME	Anti	2	.635	1	4,367/3
Married women working	FEWORK	Pro	1	.679	2	5,994/4
Woman candidate for president .	FEPRES	*Pro	1	.783	2	5,890/4

TABLE 7--Continued

Group/Item Content (Paraphrase)	GSS MNEMONIC	Positive Cut			Negative Cut	
		Content	Punches	Prop.	Punches	N/Years
5. Continued						
b. Sex:						
Sex relations before marriage .	PREMARSX	Pro	3,4	.555	1,2	5,874/4
Adultery	XMARSEX	Pro	2-4	.287	1	5,936/4
Homosexuality	HOMOSEX	Pro	2-4	.277	1	5,657/4
c. Abortion:						
If married and doesn't want more children	ABNOMORE	Pro	1	.454	2	8,727/6
If not married and doesn't want to marry	ABSINGLE	Pro	1	.485	2	8,683/6
d. Miscellaneous:						
Divorce easier to obtain	DIVLAW	Pro	1	.314	2,3	4,273/3
Ideal number of children = less than three	CHLDIDEL	Pro	0-2	.526	3-7	5,547/4
Older people should share a home with grown children	AGED	Anti	2,3	.670	1	4,460/3
6. Deviants						
a. Free speech:						
For an atheist	SPKATH	Pro	1	.645	2	7,532/5
For a communist	SPKCOM	Pro	1	.573	2	7,421/5
For a militarist	SPKMIL	Pro	1	.534	2	2,970/2
For a racist	SPKRAC	Pro	1	.608	2	2,965/2
Anti-pornography laws	PORNLAW	Anti	2,3	.585	1	4,405/3

TABLE 7--Continued

Group/Item Content (Paraphrase)	GSS MNEMONIC	Positive Cut		Negative Cut		
		Content	Punches	Prop.	Punches	N/Years
6. Continued						
b. Miscellaneous:						
Legalize marijuana	GRASS	Pro	1	.229	2	4,332/3
Communism as a form of government	COMMUN	Pro	2-4	.498	1	5,835/4
Capital punishment	CAPPUN	Anti	1	.321	2	5,636/4
7. Race relations (whites only)						
Miscegenation laws	RACMAR	Anti	2	.649	1	7,827/6
Open housing laws	RACOPEN	Pro	2	.352	1	3,890/3
Black candidate for president	RACPRES	Pro	1	.786	2	5,068/4
Invite Negro to dinner	RACDIN	Pro	3	.716	1,2	6,563/5

^aplus and minus are assigned to give a positive association with Education. Items with an asterisk are not significantly consistently associated with Education and signs were set arbitrarily.

refer to elective abortion; and three are tagged miscellaneous (whether divorce should be easier to obtain, ideal number of children, and whether older people should live with their grown children).

Eight items seem to have in common the question of tolerance or permissiveness versus punitiveness for deviants. Five bear on free speech (for atheists, communists, militarists, racists, and pornographers). The atheism and communism items are replications of the original Stouffer questions, militarists and racists were added in GSS to introduce a "rightist" deviant as the issue. The pornography question is a classical first amendment issue but the word "speech" does not occur. The remaining three deviance questions cover legalization of marijuana, attitudes toward communism as a form of government, and opinion on capital punishment for murderers.

The last four items in the collection are about race relations. They include miscegenation laws, open housing laws, voting for a black presidential candidate, and inviting a black for dinner. The items were asked of whites only (beginning in 1978, all races were asked the open housing and black candidate items). Since there is no doubt that blacks would give overwhelmingly liberal answers on these questions, our results will tend to underestimate the number of items with significant race differences.

Each of the forty-nine attitude questions was cross-tabulated against the predictor variables in three separate runs. Following Conclusion I (a) Sex was cross-tabulated against each item with no other controls, (b) each item was run against Age by Race by Education by Occupation, and (c) each item was run against Race by Region by Religion. The results appear in Table 8. It is large and complicated and I will explain the definitions and details as I go along.

TABLE 8
STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT NET d's^a

Topic/ Item (Positive Cut)	Sex		Age		Education		Occupational Prestige		Region	Religion	Race	Row Summary	
	Male	Female	18-33	34-53	12 Coll.	Index	33-45	46-82				South	Catholic	Black	N	Mean
Priorities													
NATAID (*Pro)			+ .061	+ .046	- .039	+ .053			+ .047			2	.093
NATARMS (Anti)	+ .042		+ .086	+ .064	+ .157	+ .118			- .108	+ .048	+ .096	6	.476
NATCITY (Pro)	- .038		+ .087	+ .100	+ .051	+ .038			- .080	+ .096	+ .235	6	.587
NATCRINE (Anti)	+ .037				+ .079	+ .059					- .055	3	.151
NATDRUG (Anti)					+ .052	+ .039					- .053	2	.092
NATEDUC (*Pro)			+ .055	+ .122	+ .133				+ .042		+ .265	3	.441
NATENVIR (Pro)			+ .145	+ .113	+ .194	+ .053			- .059	+ .073	+ .132	5	.511
NATFARE (*Pro)	- .037		+ .069	+ .052	- .081	+ .062	- .045	- .033	+ .042		+ .325	5	.489
NATHEAL (*Pro)					+ .063	+ .047			- .037	+ .062	+ .180	4	.324
NATRACE (Pro)			+ .044	+ .036	+ .060				- .048	+ .037	+ .616	5	.808
NATSPAC (Pro)	+ .153		+ .055	+ .041	+ .090	+ .126	+ .066	+ .050			- .188	5	.594
Prefer in job													
JOBHOUR (*Pro)					- .054	+ .101			+ .050			1	.050
JOBINC (Anti)			+ .078	+ .058	+ .091	+ .068			- .089		- .163	4	.378
JOBMEANS (Pro)	- .069				+ .098	+ .112	+ .084	+ .070	- .080	- .075	- .210	6	.708
JOBPRONO (Pro)			- .064	- .048	+ .053	+ .040			- .045		- .056	4	.189
JOBSEC (Anti)	- .042		+ .062	+ .046	+ .076	+ .100	+ .132				- .116	4	.336
Desirable qualities													
CONSIDER (Pro)			+ .053	+ .040	+ .101	+ .066	+ .125		- .083		- .121	4	.370
HONEST (Anti)					+ .066	+ .050				+ .066	+ .102	3	.218
MANNERS (Anti)	- .073		+ .056	+ .042	+ .116	+ .066	+ .136		- .071	- .033	- .152	6	.507
OBEYS (Anti)			+ .079	+ .059	+ .089	+ .090	+ .134	+ .051	- .101	+ .050	+ .050	5	.382
ROLE (*Anti)	- .098		+ .087	+ .065	+ .062		+ .046				- .116	2	.163
STUDIOUS (Anti)			+ .071	+ .076	+ .062							3	.309
The social system													
ANOHLA7 (Disagree)			+ .069	+ .060	+ .069	+ .097		+ .069	- .040		- .128	4	.317
GETAHEAD (*Hard Work)	- .060				+ .119	+ .110	+ .172	+ .072	- .102		- .085	2	.145
TRUST (Agree)	+ .051		- .117	- .088	+ .119	+ .110	+ .172				- .215	6	.682
RICHWORK (Yes, Work)	+ .107		+ .053	+ .134	+ .083	+ .062						3	.309

TABLE 8--Continued

Topic/ Item (Positive Cut)	Sex		Age			Education		Occupational Prestige		Region	Religion	Race	Row Summary					
	+	-	18-33	34-53	54+	12	Coll.	Index	33-45				46-82	Index	12-32	33-45	N	Sum	Mean
Women's roles																		
FEHOME (Anti)																		
FEWOK (Pro)																		
FEPRES (*Pro)																		
Sex																		
PREMARX (Pro)																		
XMARSEX (Pro)																		
HOMOSEX (Pro)																		
Abortion																		
ABRONORE (Pro)																		
ABSTINGLE (Pro)																		
Family, miscellaneous																		
DIVLAW (Pro)																		
CHILDIDEL (Pro)																		
AGED (Anti)																		
Free speech																		
SPKATH (Pro)																		
SPKCOM (Pro)																		
SPRHIL (Pro)																		
SPKRAC (Pro)																		
PORNIWAW (Anti)																		
Deviance, miscellaneous																		
GRASS (Pro)																		
CONRUN (Pro)																		
CAPPUN (Anti)																		
Race																		
RACHAR (Anti)																		
RACOPEN (Pro)																		
RACPRES (Pro)																		
RACDEN (Pro)																		

^aSee text for detailed explanation of Table 8. * = Plus and minus for these items assigned arbitrarily. NA = Not asked.

Since Race requires rather extensive controls, I used Proposition I to simplify the volume of numbers by finding (A) the zero order correlations, (B) the net associations controlling for Age, Education, and Occupation, and (C) the net associations controlling for Region and Religion. I then estimated the effect of controls by subtracting (B) from (A) and (C) from (A), obtaining (D) and (E). Since these two effects are virtually independent (from Conclusion I) the net partial for Race, controlling for Age, Education, Occupation, Region, and Religion was estimated by subtracting (D) and (E) from the zero order results. All this is shown in Tables 9 and 10.

We are now ready to proceed with the results, first overall and then variable by variable.

Overall Results

Conclusion II

(a) Every item in the set is significantly associated with some background variables and the vast majority show significant net associations with most background variables, (b) the average difference is small (about .100) but the cumulative effect is usually substantial, and (c) the differences are a bit stronger for "social issues" and a bit weaker for "values."

To start with the simplest question, given seven background items and forty-nine attitudes, how many significant associations did we get? In Table 8, the columns for Sex, Region, Religion, and Race and the columns headed "Index" for Age, Education, and Occupational Prestige give the basic results. (Index will be explained in the next section. For now, merely assume that if a number appears there, it is the net difference for the item when dichotomized rather than tri-chotomized.)

TABLE 9
RACE AND ATTITUDES

Topic/Item	(A)		(B)		(C)		(D)	(E)	(F)
	Zero Order		Controlling for:		Region-Religion				
	Sig.	N.S.	Age-Educ.	-Occ.	Sig.	N.S.			
Priorities									
NATAID		+ .043		+ .027		+ .043		+ .016	+ .027
NATARMS	+ .064		+ .082		+ .078		- .018	- .014	+ .096
NATCITY	+ .192		+ .193		+ .234		- .001	- .042	+ .235
NATCRIME		- .032		- .048		- .039	+ .016	+ .007	- .055
NATDRUG	- .080		- .070		- .063		- .010	- .017	- .053
NATEDUC	+ .219		+ .235		+ .249		- .016	- .030	+ .265
NATENVIR	+ .085		+ .092		+ .125		- .007	- .040	+ .132
NATFARE	+ .343		+ .322		+ .346		+ .021	- .003	+ .325
NATHEAL	+ .138		+ .144		+ .174		- .006	- .036	+ .180
NATRACE	+ .585		+ .587		+ .614		- .002	- .029	+ .616
NATSPAC	- .268		- .201		- .253		- .067	- .013	- .188
Prefer in job									
JOBHOUR		- .002		- .001		+ .008		- .010	+ .009
JOBINC	- .205		- .176		- .192		- .029	- .013	- .163
JOBMEANS	- .286		- .230		- .266		- .056	- .020	- .210
JOBPROMO	- .080		- .062		- .074		- .018	- .006	- .056
JOBSEC	- .167		- .131		- .152		- .036	- .015	- .116
Desirable Qualities									
CONSIDER	- .163		- .139		- .145		- .024	- .018	- .121
HONEST	+ .070		+ .085		+ .087		- .015	- .017	+ .102
MANNERS	- .222		- .167		- .207		- .055	- .015	- .152
OBEYS	- .158		- .097		- .111		- .061	- .047	+ .050
ROLE		- .023		+ .005		+ .007	- .028	- .030	+ .035
STUDIOUS	- .122		- .117		- .123		- .005	+ .001	- .116

TABLE 9--Continued

Topic/Item	(A)		(B)		(C)		(D)	(E)	(F)
	Zero Order		Controlling for:		Region-Religion				
	Sig.	N.S.	Age-Educ.	-Occ.	Sig.	N.S.			
The social system									
ANOMIA7	-.140		-.133		-.135		-.007	-.005	-.128
GETAHEAD	-.087		-.087		-.085		.000	-.002	-.085
TRUST	-.315		-.241		-.289		-.074	-.026	-.215
RICHWORK		-.019		+.034		-.014	-.053	-.005	+.039
Women's roles									
FEHOME	-.088		-.005		-.050		-.083	-.038	+.033
FEWORK		-.013		+.037		+.014	-.050	-.027	+.064
FEPRES		-.013		+.030		+.025	-.043	-.038	+.068
Sex									
PREMARX	+.078		+.096		+.194		-.018	-.116	+.212
XMARSEX	+.079			+.091	+.128		-.013	-.049	+.141
HOMOSEX	-.069		-.046			-.019	-.023	-.050	+.004
Abortion									
ABNOMORE	-.085		-.053		-.065		-.032	-.020	-.033
ABSINGLE	-.156		-.110		-.138		-.046	-.018	-.092
Family, miscellaneous									
DIVLAW	+.273		+.277		+.229		-.004	+.044	+.233
CHLDIDEL	-.176		-.161		-.160		-.015	-.016	-.145
AGED	-.127		-.100		-.154		-.027	+.027	-.127
Free speech									
SPKATH	-.123		-.058			-.043	-.065	-.080	+.022
SPKGOM		-.006	+.060		+.053		-.066	-.059	+.119
SPKMIL		-.066		-.037		-.016	-.029	-.050	+.013
SPKRAC	-.137		-.109		-.085		-.028	-.052	-.057
PORNLOW	+.171		+.177		+.197		-.006	-.026	+.203
Deviance, miscellaneous									
GRASS		+.029		+.036	+.065		-.007	-.036	+.072
COMMUN	+.146		+.189		+.171		-.043	-.025	+.214
CAPPUN	+.301		+.307		+.284		-.006	+.017	+.290

TABLE 10
 STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT THREE-VARIABLE INTERACTIONS
 FOR RACE BY REGION BY RELIGION BY ATTITUDE^a

Topic/Item	Race-Region-Attitude		Religion-Region-Attitude		Race-Religion-Attitude	
	dd	Prob.	dd	Prob.	dd	Prob.
Priorities						
*NATCITY	+ .136	.012				
*NATCRIME	+ .150	.003				
NATDRUG	- .114	.026				
*NATEDUC	+ .249	.001				
NATENVIR	+ .130	.016				
NATHEAL	+ .098	.043				
Prefer in job						
JOBHOUR	- .117	.047				
JOBINC			- .137	.011		
Desirable qualities (None)						
The social system						
ANOMIA7					- .180	.046
*TRUST					- .235	.011
Women's roles (None)						
Sex (None)						
Abortion						
*ABNOMORE	+ .110	.017			- .286	.011
*ABSINGLE					- .214	.005
Family, miscellaneous						
*CHLDIDEL	+ .112	.039			- .236	.008

NOTE: For the forty-nine tabulations of Age by Education by Race by Prestige by Attitude, one (RACMAR) showed interaction significant at the .05 level.

^a Items whose mnemonic has an asterisk showed significant lack of fit (< .05 after doubling estimated sampling variances to compensate for clustering) for the four-variable table. Entries are results for interactions when data are collapsed to three variables.

In a nutshell, given $7 * 49 = 343$ possible associations (assuming blacks had been asked the race questions and a significant race difference would have been detected) 214 or 62.4 percent are statistically significant.

Table 11 gives some variations on this head count.

Reading across the rows of Table 8, one can find how many background variables are correlated with a given attitude. For example, NATAID has entries for Age and Region (since the + category of NATAID is pro, the + categories for Age are Younger, and the + category for Region is South, younger people and Southerners are significantly more favorable to foreign aid) giving a grand total of 2 under the column headed N for the Row Summaries at the far right.

Table 11a gives the distribution of these row sums. The frequencies range from 1 (JOBHOUR is only related to Region) to 7 (SPKCOM and RACMAR are each associated with all seven) background variables and appear to be symmetrically distributed around 4 to 5. None has a score of zero and the bulk (80 percent) are associated with four or more. Thus, while less than two-thirds of the possible associations are significant, in every case there is at least one association and in the vast majority four or more.

Significance is not the same as size, particularly in a data set where d's of .03 are usually significant--even after correcting for multi-stage sampling. Just as we can sum differences across the rows of Table 8, we can sum the absolute values of the d's and divide by N to find the average difference. (Note that nonsignificant effects are excluded from the tabulation so we are talking about effect sizes where there are significant effects.) Thus, for NATAID, the two effects average to .046. Table 11b gives the distribution of these means using

TABLE 11

SUMMARIES OF ASSOCIATIONS ACROSS SEVEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

(a) Number of Associations		
Number	Item	Mnemonic
7	2	SPKCOM, RACMAR
6	7	NATARMS, NATCITY, JOBMEANS, MANNERS, TRUST, PREMARSX, GRASS
5	15	
4	14	
3	6	
2	4	NATAID, NATDRUG, ROLE, GETAHEAD
1	1	JOBHOUR
Median = 4.9	49 ^a	

(b) Mean of Significant Differences (Stem and Leaf)		
Stem	Leaf	Mnemonic
.16	2 2	NATRACE, SPKMIL
.15	6	PORNLOW
.14	7	NATEDUC
.13	1 4 7	PREMARSX, DIVLAW, SPKATH
.12	3 8 8 9 9	ABSINGLE, CAPPUN, RACOPEN, FEHOME, RACMAR
.11	4 5 8 9	
.10	0 0 0 1 2 3 3 4 6 8	
.09	2 3 4 4 5 7 8	
.08	1 2 4 4	
.07	2 2 3 6 9 9	
.06	8	RACDIN
.05	0 0	NATCRIME, JOBHOUR
.04	6 6 7	NATAID, NATDRUG, JOBPROMO
N = 49		
Median = .100		

(c) Sum of Effects (Stem and Leaf)		
.8	0 1	SPKCOM, NATRACE
.7	1 7 8 9	JOBMEANS, RACMAR, PORNLOW, PREMARSX
.6	8 8	SPKATH, TRUST
.5	0 0 1 1 1 2 2 3 4 6 7 9 9	
.4	0 0 3 4 6 8 9 9 9	
.3	1 1 2 2 4 7 8 8 8	
.2	2 7 9	
.1	4 5 6 9	GETAHEAD, NATCRIME, ROLE, JOBPROMO
.0	5 9 9	JOBHOUR, NATAID, NATDRUG
N = 49		
Median = .46		

^a Assumes race difference for items not asked of blacks.

a stem-and-leaf display (Erickson and Nosanchuk, 1977, pp. 18-29; Leinhardt and Wasserman, 1979, pp. 317-322). A stem-and-leaf display is an "Exploratory Data Analysis" device for inspecting distributions where the variable has numerical scores with two or more digits. Thus, in Table 11b, the sizes of the significant differences range from .046 to .162. To make the display, the values are broken into two parts. One part, usually consisting of the first N-1 significant digits, forms the vertical scale. Thus, in Table 11b, the vertical scale ranges from .04 (the first two digits of the smallest difference, .046) to .16 (the first two digits of the largest difference, .162). The final digits for values with the same place on the vertical scale appear as row entries, arranged by size. Thus, in Table 11b, the bottom line says the three lowest scores in the batch are .046, .046, and .047. To the right of the display I have presented the GSS mnemonics for the highest and lowest ends of the distribution. Thus, we can see that the two highest differences were .162 for SPKMIL and .162 for NATRACE.

The display allows one to (a) easily see the shape and location of the distribution, (b) find medians, quartiles, etc. easily, and (c) identify specific observations that are especially high, low, or whatever.

The figures distribute symmetrically around a median of .100. Thus, for the average attitude item, there are associations with most of the background items and these associations will average about .100 in magnitude (all predictors dichotomized).

A difference of .100 does not feel large and the largest difference in the whole lot is just +.616 (for Race and NATRACE). I think it is

fruitless to argue whether these magnitudes are "impressively large, considering," or "disappointingly small, despite." It would, I think, take a bit of sophistry to argue the former, but before opting for the later, one should consider several matters.

First, these are all net differences and given the structure of the system, the gross or zero order differences are often larger, save for Sex.

Second, I am not sure magnitude is the goal here. Starting from the assumption that macro-level categories reflect causal processes only indirectly, what is interesting is not the "R²'s" (or whatever) but the pattern of the correlations--the signs and combinations. Thus, if we know a certain opinion is reliably more common among older people, Southerners, and Protestants, but shows no Education or Occupational differences, we have a better sociological feel for what is going on, whatever the effect sizes. With this in mind, I will devote considerable attention to these effect patterns when we get to the individual variables.

Third, small numerous differences cumulate. Since the data are almost interaction free (see Table 10), respondents who differ on several categories will differ on the dependent variable by the sum of the effects. Consider, for example, XMARSEX (tolerance of adultery). It has a typical row sum of 5 associations whose mean is .100. Dichotomizing all variables:

If we contrast . . .

men with women, the difference will be
(+.063)

younger men with older women, the difference will be
(.063 + .134 = +.197)

younger, well-educated men with older, less well-educated women,
the difference will be
(.063 + .134 + .093 = +.290)

younger, well-educated Northern men with older, less well-educated Southern women, the difference will be

$$(.063 + .134 + .093 + .070 = +.360)$$

younger, well-educated, Northern black men with older, less well-educated, Southern white women, the difference will be

$$(.063 + .134 + .093 + .070 + .141 = +.501).$$

Table 11c gives the distribution of these sums. They range from .05 (JOBHOUR) to .81 (NATRACE) with a median of .46. Thus, for half of the items we could construct percentage tables in which the extreme combinations differed by .46 or more, and for 80 percent of the items we will find contrasts of .30 or more.

Since real people fall in combinations of categories, small cumulative effects of the sort found here can produce situations where encounters between Americans from different structural niches can be hostile or at least puzzling. A lot of drama and fiction concerns such encounters and the art of national electoral politics often involves devices to build category coalitions whose opinion differences are not boldly apparent to the coalition members.

In sum, these data should not, I think, be read to favor the Massification side of the Massification v. Differentiation debate (Glenn, 1967).

Turning to the content clusters, Table 12 aggregates the summary measures for eleven arbitrary topics.

If there is a pattern in Table 12, the order seems to be from fairly concrete social issues (should this sort of person be allowed to do that sort of thing?) to general evaluations (is such and such an abstract property a good thing or not?). No doubt part of the difference comes from technical aspects (there is probably more random error in ratings than in forced choices) but to the extent that the differences

TABLE 12

DATA IN TABLE 11 AVERAGED BY CONTENT CLUSTER

Cluster	Average Mean Difference	Average N of Effects	Average Sum of Effects
Free speech .....	.134	5.0	.670
Sex .....	.112	5.3	.597
Race .....	.106	5.5	.583
Deviance .....	.109	5.0	.545
Abortion .....	.116	4.0	.464
Family, miscellaneous ....	.107	4.3	.460
Women's roles .....	.101	4.0	.404
Priorities .....	.093	4.2	.389
The social system ..	.092	3.8	.345
Desirable qualities.	.085	3.8	.326
Prefer in job .....	.079	3.8	.300

are substantive, they have an unfortunate implication for theorizing. It is a fundamental statistical principle that when variable T explains a correlation between X and Y it must have unusually strong relationships with both X and Y, If values, subcultural norms, anomie, etc. are to explain the correlations between structure and specific opinions, it is unfortunate that, at least in our data, they tend to have smaller correlations with X than the variables whose relationship with X they are supposed to explain.

Educational Attainment

Conclusion III

Education is a persistent, but not terribly consistent, predictor of attitudes. Better-educated people tend to be more permissive, more progressive, and generally less "uptight." College tends to produce stronger differences than high school.

Educational attainment is one of sociology's favorite variables. Unlike Occupational Prestige or Earnings, everybody has one and measurement is simple. Education always has policy relevance since the amount and character of educational attainment is one of the few macro-sociological variables which is subject to deliberate control.

Our data, by and large, support the conventional wisdom, but matters become a bit more complicated because we are treating the variable as a trichotomy (College v. High School and High School v. "Grade"). Consequently, we have $49 \times 2 = 98$ differences to consider, as summarized in Table 13.

Table 13 says:

For College $20 + 19 = 39$ differences (80 percent) were statistically significant and of these, 19 (.487) were .100 or larger in magnitude.

For High School $11 + 15 + 3 = 29$ (59 percent) were significant, 11 (22 percent) exceeded .100.

For 44/49 items (90 percent) one or the other educational differences was significant.

Thus, Education is a persistent correlate. There is some educational correlation with almost all attitudes in the set (the exceptions: NATEDUC, NATHEAL, ROLE, GETAHEAD, and FEPRES).

But are the differences consistent, do they tend to agree? They certainly do not disagree. Only three items (NATAID, NATFARE,

TABLE 13

EFFECT OF COLLEGE (VERSUS HIGH SCHOOL) BY EFFECT OF HIGH SCHOOL (VERSUS GRADE SCHOOL)

(a) Cross-Classification

Significant	High School		College			Total
	Sign	Size	Not Significant	Significant		
				<.100	.100 or More	
Yes	Same	.100 or more	0	2	9	11
	Same	<.100	5	4	6	15
No	--	--	5	12	3	20
Yes	Opposite	<.100	0	2	1	3
Total			10	20	19	49

(b) Strong Effects of College

High School Effect	Size	Other	.100 or More	Total
Significant, same sign	.100 or More	2	9	11
	<.100	9	6	15
All other	--	19	4	23
Total		30	19	49

and JOB HOUR) have significant but opposite signs, that is, a "curvilinear" relationship with Education. When one has a relatively large effect, the other tends to follow along. Thus, in Table 13b, when College has a .100 difference vis-à-vis High School, in 15/19 (79 percent) cases High School shows a significant, same sign difference vis-à-vis Grade.

Nevertheless, the same figures can be read differently. Of the 45 cases where there is some significant association, 21 show significant, same sign associations for both levels, 28 (62 percent) do not. In other words, when College or High School show a significant effect,

the other comparison comes through no more than half the time. Table 14 gives more detail on these differences.

The entries in Table 14 are differences in effects. For example, if .200 of the Grade, .250 of the High School, and .350 of the College respondents agree to some item, the College effect is $.350 - .250 = +.100$, the High School effect is $.250 - .200 = +.050$, and the difference is $.100 - .050 = +.050$.

What might be going on? First, the two effects might be generally equal with only random differences. Since all the effects are pretty small, it would not be astounding to have one significant but not the other through chance alone. If so, we would expect the values in Table 14 to be most common around zero and then drop off. It doesn't look like that. The values concentrate around .02, .03, and .04, not zero. Such values are not trivial. Since most of the differences have standard errors of about .02, they have variances of around .0004, and the variance of the difference in the difference will be around .0008, giving the standard deviation of .028. Thus, the median difference in Table 14a, .037, is 1.32 in sigma units. Putting it another way, these rule of thumb estimates say a difference of .057 would be statistically significant at the .05 level. Applying that criterion, 13 (26 percent) of the differences in Table 14 seem to be statistically significant.

If the differences are not random, the next simplest hypothesis is that one of the effects is consistently larger. There is some evidence in Table 14 that the College effect runs a bit stronger. Of the 49 differences in Table 14a, 34 (69 percent) show the College effect to be larger, and if we limit ourselves to the bigger ones, those exceeding .050, 11 of 13 show a stronger College than High School effect. Similarly, we saw previously (Table 13) that College has more differences of .100 or more.

TABLE 14
COMPARING COLLEGE EFFECTS AND HIGH SCHOOL EFFECTS

(a) Stem and Leaf									
Stem	Leaf								
.22	4								
.15	5								
.14									
.13									
.12	0	0	4						
.11									
.10									
.09	2								
.08	6	7	9						
.07	9								
.06	0	0	9						
.05	0								
.04	1	1	2	5	6	6	6	7	
.03	0	1	1	4	5	7	7	8	
.02	0	1	2	3	4	4	6	9	9
.01	4	6							
.00	0	1	1	3	5	6	9	9	

(b) Items with Differences of .06 or More

Difference	Item	Positive Cut	Effect of:		Greater Effect	Type
			High School	College		
.224	NATFARE	Pro	-.081	+.143	College	U shape
.155	JOBHOUR	Short	-.054	+.101	College	U shape
.124	COMMUN	Pro	+.053	+.177	College	Curve
.120	NATARMS	Anti	(+.037)	+.157	College	Step
.120	XMARSEX	Pro	(-.004)	+.124	College	Step
.092	NATAID	Pro	-.039	+.053	College	U shape
-.089	JOBINC	Anti	+.091	(+.002)	High School	Step
.087	PORNLOW	Anti	(-.003)	+.090	College	Step
.086	GRASS	Pro	(.029)	+.115	College	Step
.079	HOMOSEX	Pro	+.070	+.149	College	Curve
.069	RICHWORK	Pro	(+.013)	+.082	College	Step
.060	DIVLAW	Pro	(-.027)	+.087	College	Step
-.060	SPKATH	Pro	+.181	+.121	High School	Curve

NOTE: = High school effect is stronger.

() = Not significant.

Table 14b gives details on the 13 items showing differences of .06 or more.

Three items have significant effects with opposite signs--College respondents being more positive than High School and High School less positive than Grade. In other words, for these three items, the high and low education groups are more like each other than like the middles. The three seem to illustrate the pop sociological notion of a rigid middle class contrasted with more relaxed attitudes at the top and bottom (although the remaining 46 items in the set do not illustrate that notion). High school graduates are less likely to give Welfare and Foreign Aid high priority or to endorse "short hours, lots of free time" as a desirable job characteristic.

Seven of the items have a "step function" pattern where one difference is significant and the other is not. Thus, low priority for Military, Tolerance of Extramarital Sex, libertarian answers on distribution of pornography, favoring legalization of marijuana, opting for work even if one were rich, and easier divorce seem to be distinctively "collegiate" positions since High School and Grade respondents show small and insignificant differences. Conversely, concern with earnings as a job value is a characteristically Grade school position--High School and College respondents are less likely to choose it but there is little difference between them. Ex post facto, the patterns make intuitive sense, but one could find other items in the set that ought to behave in this way but don't, so it is unwise to draw bold generalizations.

Three of the items may be thought of as something like an exponential curve, where both items show a significant, same sign difference but one is clearly larger. Thus, although both education differences

operate in the same direction, College seems to have a larger effect on diminished anti-communism and tolerance of homosexuality; High School produces the bigger difference on free speech for atheists.

Since most of our other background items are dichotomies (Sex, Race, Region, and Religion) it would be nice to have an estimate, however rough, of the differences one would find if Education were to be dichotomized. The effects would necessarily be larger than the average of the two differences reported except for the three cases with contradictory signs. (For example, if we were to dichotomize NATARMS as College v. Other, the Grade school group would pull the Others down compared with College v. High School, making the difference bigger than the one we got for College v. High School. Similarly, if we cut it Grade school v. Other, the additional College cases would pump up the effect.) Now, if Education were cut exactly into thirds and if we dichotomized it half the time as College v. Other and half the time as Grade v. Other, elementary algebra shows us the average difference would be .75 times the sum of the two effects. We will use this crude "Index" ($.75 * d_1 + d_2$) from here on to summarize results for trichotomies.

Table 15 gives Index values for Education against the forty-one items where one or both net effects are significant and the signs agree.

The range is from .24 (free speech for communists) to .038 (NATCITY) with a median of .096. Thus, for the 41 items associated with Education, it typically produces about a 10 percent net difference in attitudes and opinions when dichotomized.

The items most strongly associated with Education are the ones anticipated on the basis of previous research.

TABLE 15

NET EFFECTS OF EDUCATION (DICHOTOMY INDEX)

Stem	Leaf	Item
.24	3	SPKCOM
.23		
.22	6 6	SPKATH, RACMAR
.21		
.20	0	SPKMIL
.19	4	FEHOME
.18		
.17	2 2 3	TRUST, ABNOMORE, COMMUN
.16	2 5 5 5 6	NATSPAC, ABSINGLE, FEWORK, SPKRAC, HOMOSEX
.15	8	JOBMEANS
.14		
.13	2 4 6	JOBSEC, OBEYS, MANNERS
.12	5	CONSIDER
.11	8	NATARMS
.10		
.09	3 6 7	
.08	6 6	
.07		
.06	2 5 8 8	
.05	0 0 2 2 3 4 9	
.04	0 6 7	
.03	8 9 9	
.02		
.01		
.00		

NOTE: N = 41
 3 Contradictory signs (NATFARE, NATAID, JOBHOUR)
 5 Neither difference significant (NATEDUC, NATHEAL,
 49 ROLE, GETAHEAD, FEPRES)

Median = .096

Better-educated people are noticeably more permissive. They are more willing to "allow" free speech (for communists, atheists, militarists, and racists), racial intermarriage, abortion, and homosexuality. I don't think this tolerance can be written off as "softness" on the behavior to be tolerated. Educated people are significantly more liberal on all the race items and also noticeably more tolerant of racist speakers; educated people are distinctly less militaristic (NATARMS), but more tolerant of a militarist speaker.

I also see an element of progressivism here. Educated people tend to give more support to the new: abortion, space exploration, and women's equality. To me, many of the items also convey a flavor of optimism, lesser rigidity, and lower hostility. Educated people are higher on trust, less anti-communist, less concerned about job security, and more concerned about accomplishment, less concerned about a child's obedience and manners, and more concerned about consideration for others, a collection that can be characterized by the cliché, "less uptight."

In one area, however, the data do not support a traditional finding: that the better educated are "anti-spending." On the National Priority items, they are relatively more favorable on spending on cities, the environment, race, and space, although they are significantly less favorable to spending on military, crime, and drug control.

Occupational Prestige

Conclusion IV

Occupational Prestige is a poor net correlate of attitudes and opinions, although it does show appropriate correlations with other subjective variables.

Table 16 summarizes the details in Table 8. It clearly shows Occupational Prestige to be a weak sister. Only 24.5 percent of its associations are significant (versus 63.0 percent for all variables); the median magnitude of its significant associations is .039 (versus .100) and .020 of its associations have (Index) values of .100 or more (versus .283).

All that emerges from the forty-nine runs is that higher prestige workers . . .

prefer jobs that give a feeling of accomplishment
(JOBMEANS, Index = +.116)

favor women's "rights"
(FEHOME = +.064)

are more trusting
(TRUST = +.054)

are more positive about public officials
(ANOMIA7 = +.052)

give higher priority to space
(NATSPAC = +.050)

favor women's work
(FEWORK = +.040)

are less concerned about a child's obedience
(OBEYS = +.038)

are more tolerant of homosexuals
(HOMOSEX = +.036)

are more tolerant of free speech for communists
(SPKCOM = +.034)

give lesser priority to welfare
(NATFARE = -.033)

are more tolerant of racial intermarriage
(RACMAR = +.032)

are more tolerant of inter-racial dining
(RACDIN = +.022)

The items that are associated with better jobs seem (ex post facto) to be the sort of items that should be associated with better jobs and we note that eleven of the twelve signs are positive. For the forty-one items showing net effects with Education, I assigned the

TABLE 16

NET EFFECTS OF SEVEN VARIABLES (SUMMARY)

Absolute Effect or Index	Variable							Total
	Race	Age	Edu- cation	Region	Sex	Reli- gion	Occu- pation	
Not asked	4							4
.20 or more	11	2	4	0	0	0	0	17
.15 - .19	4	9	10	1	1	0	0	25
.10 - .14	10	13	5	13	5	4	1	51
.05 - .09	11	8	16	11	11	13	4	74
<.05	4	8	6	8	7	5	7	45
Other ^a	5	9	8	16	25	27	37	127
Total	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	343
Proportion not "Other"	.889 ^b	.816	.837	.673	.489	.449	.245	.630
Median if significant	.132	.120	.096	.086	.064	.063	.039	.100
Proportion .100 or larger	.556 ^b	.490	.388	.286	.122	.082	.020	.283

^aNot significant or trichotomy with contradictory signs.

^bN = 45

plus or minus signs to the categories to make their correlation with Education positive; for the three items with contradictory signs (NATFARE, NATAID, and JOBHOUR), I assigned plus and minus signs to match the College effect; and for the remaining five items unrelated to Education (NATEDUC, NATHEAL, ROLE, GETAHEAD, and FEPRES), signing was arbitrary. Consequently, the 11 to 1 ratio of positive signs means Prestige usually operates in the same direction as Education, when it operates; thus, the familiar themes of permissiveness, progressiveness, and non-uptightness.

The coinage here is net association. For raw or zero order associations, Occupation has one or both comparisons significant for

34 items (69 percent); but since it is strongly associated with other predictor variables (Figure 1) most of these associations ($34 - 12 = 22$) are explained by Education, Race, or Age.

The poor performance of Occupation and the strong performance of Education when the variables are teamed is perhaps regrettable since one's sociological imagination has so many nice explanations of why Occupation should be more important: Occupation is more current, since most respondents ended their schooling years ago; the hierarchical structure, norms, socialization process, and interpersonal relations of an occupation create powerful subcultures; the curriculum of most schools is dry, abstract, and "square," while occupational experience is life itself; occupational levels define economic interest groups whose conflicts are alleged to drive politics and social change. Regrettable indeed.

The simplest explanation of the discrepancy would be that the prestige measure is mostly noise. Although the Hodge-Siegel-Rossi scores are unusually well constructed for sociological measures, they are, after all, numbers attached to the Census three-digit score for occupations on the basis of indirect statistical patterns estimated some time ago, not measures of where this particular person stands on his local ladder. A priori, this hypothesis is tempting, but I am not persuaded by it since other GSS data show HSR occupational prestige operating as occupational prestige should:

a) If you cross-tabulate the three prestige categories against job satisfaction, controlling for the three educational levels, you get the results in Table 17. Although job satisfaction is a notoriously shy correlator, net of Education, the prestige scores have a positive correlation. Both comparisons are .100 and significant, and the "Index" value of +.155 is impressive by comparison with the other results in

TABLE 17

OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE, EDUCATION, AND JOB SATISFACTION
(1972-78 CUMULATIVE GSS)^a

Variable	Comparison	Diff.	2 Sigmas	Index
Prestige:	46-82 v. 33-45	+ .102	.042	} +.155
	33-45 v. 12-32	+ .105	.042	
Education:	13+ v. 12	- .027	.040	} -.043
	12 v. 0-11	- .030	.042	

^aSATJOB = "On the whole, how satisfied are you with the work you do?" (Very satisfied v. Moderately satisfied, A little dissatisfied, and Very dissatisfied).

this paper. Furthermore, net of Prestige, Education has no association with job satisfaction. If anything, the association is a bit negative (i.e., at any given prestige level, the greater the education invested to get that job, the less satisfied one is).

b) Occupational Prestige is a good net predictor of subjective social class. Other GSS data, not part of this report, pitted Education, Occupation, and Own Earnings against each other as predictors of the proportion claiming to be in the middle or upper classes. Table 18 gives the details.

Occupation and Education both have solid effects (Indices equal +.190 for Prestige and +.213 for Education) and both are stronger than the effect of Earnings.

c) The Appendix on party identification shows that high Occupational Prestige v. Middle (but not Middle v. Lower) has a significant effect on the proportion Republican (+.058) and the proportion Democratic (-.071), controlling for Age, Education, Race, Region, and Religion.

TABLE 18

CORRELATES OF SUBJECTIVE SOCIAL CLASS
(1974-77 GSS)^a

Variable	Comparison	Diff.	2 Sigmas	Index
Education:				
	13+ v. 12	+ .198	.058	
	12 v. 0-11	+ .086	.058	+ .213
Occupational Prestige:				
	46-82 v. 33-45	+ .183	.060	
	33-45 v. 12-32	+ .070	.056	+ .190
Own earnings:				
	\$10,000+ v. 5,000-9,999	+ .105	.056	
	\$5,000-9,999 v. less	+ .050	.056	+ .116

NOTE: N = 3,467

^aCLASS = "If you were asked to use one of four names for your social class, which would you say you belong in ... ?" (Middle class or Upper class v. Working class, Lower class).

In sum, Occupational Prestige does show reasonable associations (by the standards of Table 8) with three subjective measures: Job Satisfaction, Subjective Social Class, and Party Identification. Consequently, its poor performance as a predictor of attitudes is not probably explained away by high amounts of random error.

It is, of course, possible that other measures of Occupation would do better, though Table 2 does not lead to immediate optimism on that score. The association between the Census major groups and prestige is so strong that any substantial net d's between Census groupings and attitudes would produce attitude associations with Prestige in our data. It would seem that a more successful occupational prestige score would have to be virtually independent of HSR scores or Census group.

Age

Conclusion V

Age is a persistent and consistent correlate of attitudes. There is no evidence that the gap between "young" and Middle-aged" is larger than that for "middle" and "older." The attitudes characteristic of younger people are almost always those associated with greater Education.

The tabulations divided Age into three groups: 18-33 (Young), 34-53 (Middle), and 54+ (Older), these being chosen merely to divide pooled data into fairly equal thirds (see Table 1) and ran them against the forty-nine attitudes, controlling for Age, Race, and Education, as explained above.

The box scores in Table 16 show Age to be among the better predictors. Forty of the 49 items (82 percent) showed significant net associations, the median "Index" for the significant associations is .120, and for almost half of the 49 items (49 percent), the index value is .100 or higher. Thus, Age is related to the vast majority of the attitude items and about half the time there is a difference of .100 or more.

Unlike education, the Age effects tend to be consistent--when the 18-33 year olds differ from the 34-53s, the 34-53s tend to show a similar difference when contrasted with the 54 and older group. Table 19 gives details.

Positive scores mean the difference between Young and Middle is larger than the difference between Middle and Older. In contrast to Table 14, the smallest values (between +.009 and -.009) are not sparse and the number of positive and negative scores is equal. That is, there

TABLE 19

COMPARING 18-33 VERSUS 34-53 AND 34-53 VERSUS OLDER
(STEM AND LEAF FOR ABSOLUTE DIFFERENCE IN NET d)

Stem	Leaf	Item
.15	4	GRASS
.14		
.13		
.12		
.11		
.10	0 2	DIVLAW, TRUST
.09	2	RACOPEN
.08		
.07		
.06	5 7 9	CAPPUN, ROLE, NATARMS
.05	4	
.04	1 1 2 6	
.03	2 5	
.02	0 2 4	
.01	3 6	
.00	1 1 3 8 8	
-.01	1 5 8	
-.02	0 2 3	
-.03	9	
-.04	0 3 5 6 8	
-.05	2 7	
-.06	0 4 5 5	
-.07	0 7 8	RACPRES, NATEDUC, SPKCOM
-.08	6 7	SPKATH, FEWORK
-.09	1	RICHWORK
-.10		
-.11	0	SPKRAC

NOTE: Median = -.008, + = 24, - = 25.

is no evidence that one age contrast is stronger than the other or that "step functions" are particularly common. Coming to the same conclusion by another route, there is no item where the age differences go in different directions ("curvilinear") and when one of the age contrasts is significant, the other is also significant about three quarters of the time (versus about half the time for Education).

While there is no way to disentangle Age-Cohort-Period effects in these cross-sectional data, the consistency results cast doubt on the popular notion of a "youth revolution" in the last ten or fifteen years. In the years 1972-1977, Americans age 34-53 differed from the trendy youth dancing behind them no more than they differed from the stodgy elders trudging along ahead.

Inspection of the specific items reinforces this interpretation. Of course, the .154 difference for GRASS and the .102 difference for TRUST support conventional wisdom. Here the difference between Young and Middle is much greater than that between Middle and Old; but at the opposite end, Middles differ from the Older more strongly on free speech (SPKCOM, SPKATH, and SPKRAC), women's employment (FEWORK), race relations (RACPRES), and commitment to work (RICHWORK). (The younger the person, the greater the commitment on RICHWORK.)

The same point can be made by looking at the content clusters. For example, the "youth revolution" hypothesis might imply a greater Young v. Middle difference for sex behavior. We do get a difference of +.046 for HOMOSEX, but for PREMARSX, the difference is only +.020, and for XMARSEX, -.013. Similarly, for the attitude to society cluster, we get a +.102 difference on TRUST, but we also get +.013 for ANOMIA7, -.010 for GETAHEAD, and -.081 for RICHWORK.

Table 20 summarizes the Age effects again using the rough "Index" to approximate the results when one dichotomizes Age.

TABLE 20
NET EFFECTS OF AGE (DICHOTOMY INDEX)

Stem	Leaf	Item
.27	5	PORNLOW
.22	8	PREMARX
.19	2 4	SPKATH, NATENVIR
.18	0	GRASS
.17	0 7	RACMAR, SPKMIL
.16	5 6	RACOPEN, DIVLAW
.15	4 4	SPKCOM, SPKHOMO
.14	0 7 9	RICHWORK, STUDIOUS, FEHOME
.13	0 3 4 6	AGED, NATEDUC, XMARSEX, FEWORK
.12	2 4	FEPRES, COMMUN
.11	3 8	SPKRAC, CHLDIDEL
.10	0 2	NATCITY, RACPRES
.09		
.08	8	
.07		
.06	0 2 4 5	
.05	2 8 9	
.04	0 1 2 5 6 6 8	
.03		
.02	6	

NOTE: N = 40, Not significant = 9

8 = Sign is negative

5 = Not related to Education or curvilinear effect of Education.

Younger Americans in the early 1970s were conspicuously more permissive and progressive. They are more willing to allow pornography, premarital sex, free speech for atheists, marijuana smoking, racial intermarriage, free speech for militarists, and so on, and they opt for the newer social trends--environmentalism, easy divorce, open housing, women's rights, etc.

The themes and items here are suspiciously familiar since they seem to be the same attitudes associated with more schooling. Remembering that signs were allocated to make correlations with Education positive, it is striking that all but two associations (JOBPROMO and TRUST) in Table 20 are positive in sign.

Table 21 allows us to examine the parallelism between Age and education in more detail.

Toward the top of Table 21 we see items where the Age effect is stronger: less value placed on being a good student, tolerance of pornography, tolerance of premarital sex, priority for environmentalism and education, favorability to open housing, voting for a woman for president, etc. At the bottom are the items where Education makes the bigger difference: abortion, meaningful work, priority for space, importance of manners, suspicion of officials, etc. Few common denominators come to mind--the themes that separate the Young from the Older also seem to separate the better educated from the less well educated. Since (1) Education, but not Age, is associated with greater trust of officials, and (2) Education is positively related to trust in general, while the age has a negative relationship, one might hypothesize that general morale (complacency) is more a function of Education than Age, but two items do not a sturdy generalization make.

TABLE 21

COMPARING NET EFFECTS OF AGE AND EDUCATION (INDEX FOR AGE MINUS INDEX FOR EDUCATION)

Stem	Both Same	Only One	Opposite
+ .19 to .20	.93 STUDIOUS .07 PORNLAW		
.17 .18	.76 PREMARSX		
.15 .16			
.13 .14	.41 NATENVIR	.33 NATEDUC	
.11 .12	.13 RACOPEN	.22 FEPRES	
.09 .10	.01 DIVLAW .91 AGED .94 MANNERS		
.07 .08	.78		
.05 .06	.62 .64	.65	
.03 .04	.41	.45 .46	
+ .01 .02	.12 .13 .16		
.00			+ .08 JOBPROMO
- .01 .02	.10 .12 .23 .29		
.03 .04	.34 .45 .48	.39	
.05 .06	.52 .54 .56	.50 .59	
.07 .08	.70 .75 .85 .86 .89		.84 TRUST
.09 .10	.94 MANNERS	.97 ANOMIA7	
.11 .12	.21 NATSPAC		
.13 .14			
.15 .16		.58 JOBMEANS .65 ABSINGLE	
- .17 .18		.73 ABNOMORE	

NOTE: Both Same = Both Age and Education are related and have the same sign.
 Only One = One variable has significant association, the other doesn't.
 Opposite = Age and Education have significant opposite sign associations.

NATFARE excluded because of curvilinear relation with Education, JOBHOUR and GETAHEAD excluded because they are unrelated to either Age or Education.

Example: the .93 STUDIOUS means STUDIOUS is related to both Age and Education with the same sign, and the Index for Age exceeds the Index for Education by .193.

The similarity between the Youth and Educational effects is so well known it is hard to view with a fresh eye, but I think it is theoretically puzzling. Why should more years of school and fewer years of life have similar effects on our attitudes and opinions? Or should one say the more years of school and the fewer years since school? This formulation assumes a decline in liberalism with age, while recent cohort studies of opinions suggest, if anything, the opposite (e.g., Davis, 1975b). Turning to a cohort formulation, can we say additional years of school expose us to the avant garde ideas that will become the consensus in later generations?

Below are the ten items where the Age-Education parallelism seems strongest, those where all four comparisons are significant and in the same direction. The items are arranged by the sum of the two indices:

.418	SPKATH	More tolerant of free speech for atheists
.397	SPKCOM	More tolerant of free speech for communists
.396	RACMAR	More tolerant of racial intermarriage
.377	SPKMIL	More tolerant of free speech for militarists
.343	FEHOME	Disagree women should stay home and leave running the country to men
.320	HOMOSEX	More tolerant of homosexuals
.301	FEWORK	Approve of women working
.296	COMMUN	Less anti-communist
.188	RACPRES	Would vote for a black for president
.138	NATCITY	Greater priority for urban problems

They clearly have a common flavor, but it is hard to put one's finger on it. "Liberalism" is obviously involved, but it is hard to give a satisfactory, abstract definition of liberalism. The best I can do is this: Younger Americans and better-educated Americans seem to share less anxiety about people and policies that depart from the social norms of small-town, white American around 1900.

Conclusion VI

Race is the most powerful background predictor of attitudes and opinions. The content cuts across the pattern for Education, suggesting a cultural rather than stratum interpretation.

Table 16 shows Race to be the strongest and most consistent net predictor in the set of seven background items. Ignoring the four "whites only" items (which doubtless would produce whopping correlations if blacks were asked), significant race differences appear for 41 of 45 questions (.889); the median difference for the significant items is .132; and in 56 percent of the 45 cases, the race difference is .100 or more. In each of the three summary measures, the entry for race is highest in the row. Table 22 gives item-by-item details.

Compared to whites and controlling for Age, Education, Occupation, Region, and Religion, blacks:

give greater priority to helping blacks (a whopping .61 difference), welfare, education, cities, health, and the environment; lesser priority to space.

are strongly opposed to capital punishment.

are more tolerant of pornography, divorce, premarital sex, communism, extramarital sex, and communist speakers.

in choosing a job, give less priority to feeling of accomplishment, and more priority to income and security.

are less trusting of people in general and more dubious about public officials in particular.

give greater value to manners and being a good student, less to being considerate and honest, when assessing desirable qualities for a child.

prefer larger families and are more favorable to older people living with their grown children.

After the fact, almost all of these items can be tied to known aspects of blacks' locations in the social structure, but it is difficult to line the findings up with the "permissive-progressive" slogan invoked

TABLE 22

NET ASSOCIATIONS WITH RACE FROM TABLE 9
(Net d = .05 or Larger)

Stem	Leaf	Sign		
		Positive		Negative
.61	6	NATRACE		
.32	*5	*NATFARE		
.31				
.30				
.29	0	CAPPUN		
.28				
.27				
.26	*5	*NATEDUC		
.25	3	PORNLAU		
.24				
.23	3 5	DIVLAW, NATCITY		
.22				
.21	2 4	PREMARSEX, COMMUN	0 5	JOBMEANS, TRUST
.20				
.19				
.18	*0	*NATHEAL	8	NATSPAC
.17				
.16			3	JOBINC
.15			2	MANNERS
.14	1	XMARSEX	5	CHLDIDEL
.13	2	NATENVIR		
.12			1 7 8	CONSIDER, AGED, ANOMIA7
.11	9	SPKCOM	6 6	STUDIOUS, JOBSEC
.10	2	HONEST		
.09	6		2	
.08			*5	
.07	2			
.06	4 8			
.05	0		3 5 6 7	

NOTE: * = Sign for association with Education is arbitrary.

N = 36

9 <.05 in magnitude.

4 Asked of whites only.

49

for Education. Blacks seem highly "progressive" in their attitudes toward deviance, but their occupational and children's values seem rather "conservative."

As a result, the race differences tend to run 90 degrees off the Educational differences. Of the 36 items with a race difference, 32 have a meaningful net association with Education. Among the 36, 16 show positive associations for race, 16 are negative. Thus, items associated with Education are likely to be associated with Race but a coin will do just as well as Table 15 in predicting the sign.

The area of sex and family will illustrate. Like the better educated, blacks are more favorable to premarital and extramarital sex, easier divorce, and women working. But they are not especially tolerant of homosexuality (HOMOSEX = +.004) or militant on women's equality (FEHOME = +.033); and they move in the opposite direction on abortion (ABSINGLE = -.092), older people living with their grown children (-.127), and ideal number of children (-.145). One gains the impression that being better educated promotes the social values of the "singles bar," while being black leads one to actually like living in families, provided they aren't puritan families.

A similar cross-cutting appears for the free speech items. Like the better educated, blacks are more tolerant of communist speakers and pornography; but there is no race difference on free speech for atheists or militarists, and blacks are less tolerant of racist speakers (SPKRAC = -.057).

It would, of course, be extraordinary if blacks uniformly lined up with the better educated if only because their lower SES gives them a rather different perspective on such matters as the relative importance

of job security and meaningful work. What is, perhaps, surprising is that the signs are not mostly negative. If the signs had turned out to be mostly negative it would have been obvious that (a) the crude groupings used here did not fully remove the effects of Education and Occupation on race and/or (b) blacks, like the lesser educated, have the attitudes and opinions of the underdog.

The sign pattern that does occur suggests a different interpretation: race reflects a "horizontal" subcultural differentiation, rather than a "vertical" status process. The distinctive attitudes of black Americans suggest people who are "different," not people who are "lower on the ladder."

Region

Conclusion VII

Region is usually but not invariably correlated with attitudes. Living in the South and having less education almost always operate in the same direction.

Region appears in the middle of Table 16, which means it is not among the best or worst correlates. Two-thirds of the items show a significant association controlling for Race and Religion; the median significant difference is .086; and .286 of the 49 items show a net difference of .100 or more.

The sign pattern is more interesting than the box score. Table 23 summarizes.

Of the 33 significant associations, all but six (and all of the largest ones) are negative associations for items where Education has a positive relationship. The other six do not have a consistent

TABLE 23

NET EFFECTS OF REGION (SOUTH = +) CONTROLLING FOR RACE AND RELIGION

Stem	Leaf	Item
-.16	3	*RACPRES
-.15		
-.14	2 9 9	PREMARSX, SPKATH, SPKCOM
-.13		
-.12	9	*RACDIN
-.11	0 3	FEHOME, ABSINGLE
-.10	1 1 2 4 4 8 8 9	SPKRAC, OBEYS, TRUST, HOMOSEX, ABNOMORE, NATARMS, SPKMIL
-.09	1	COMMUN
-.08	0 0 3 6 9	
-.07	0 1	
-.06	**0 ***1 9	
-.04	0 **2 **2 4 5 **7 8	
-.03	***7	
-.02		
-.01		
.00		

NOTE: * = Not asked of black respondents

** = Positive sign, not consistently associated with Education.

*** = Negative sign, not consistently associated with Education.

All other associations are negative.

N = 33

16 Not significant
49

association with Education. In other words, whenever both Region and Education both show significant net associations, Northerners tend to line up with the better educated and Southerners with the less educated.

Table 23 shows the items with the largest regional differences to be the "social issues": Race, Sex, and Communism. Despite the annual unveiling of a hip "new South" by the media, the older stereotypical differences still held in the 1970s. This is not to say the gaps have not been closing or that they have--such conclusions require item-by-item analysis with a longer time span, a task beyond the scope of this report (cf., Glenn, 1967, 1974; Glenn and Alston, 1967; Smith, 1977).

Since blacks are disproportionately Southern, and since the opinions characteristic of Southerners are quite different from those characteristic of blacks, one wonders whether black-white differences are accentuated in the South (because of its long tradition of racial separation) or perhaps diminished there (because of the larger black impact on the region). Statistically, the question is whether the data show Race-Region-Opinion interactions. Table 10 gave the basic facts. Significant interactions turned up for only nine items, six of them from the national priority set. Table 24 gives the details.

In the six cases, the significant race difference is stronger in the North, in three cases it is stronger in the South. Considering that thirty-six additional items show no significant interaction, I am willing to consider the Race-Region-Attitude system as essentially additive, the pattern for "Improving the Conditions of Blacks" (Table 25) being more typical than the items in Table 24.

The large Race effect in Table 25 is virtually the same in each region (+.607 and +.597) and conversely, even for a racial item (alas the only one

TABLE 24

RACE-REGION-OPINION INTERACTIONS

Item	Race Difference (Black - White) for Respondents in:		Absolute Difference
	North	South	
NATEDUC	+ .331	+ .082	- .249
NATCRIME	- .091	+ .059	- .032
NATCITY	+ .262	+ .126	- .136
NATENVIR	+ .163	+ .033	- .130
JOBHOUR	- .042	+ .075	+ .038
NATDRUG	- .112	+ .002	- .110
CHLDIDEL	- .087	- .199	+ .112
ABNOMORE	+ .011	- .099	+ .088
NATHEAL	+ .197	+ .098	- .098

TABLE 25

RACE, REGION, AND PRIORITY FOR "IMPROVING THE CONDITIONS OF BLACKS"
(Proportion Answering "Spending Too Little")

	Race		Difference White - Black	Total
	White	Black		
Region:				
North .....	.244 (3,700)	.851 (396)	+ .607	.303 (4,096)
South .....	.192 (1,774)	.789 (350)	+ .597	.295 (2,124)
Difference North-South ..	+ .052	+ .062	--	+ .008
N				(6,220)

NOTE: Interaction = (.607-.597) = (.062-.052) = .010.

where we have data from both blacks and whites) the South-North difference is virtually the same in both races (+.052 and +.062). Blacks in both regions are strikingly more favorable to racial spending, but Southern blacks are a bit less favorable, just as Southern whites are less favorable than Northern whites.

Religion

Conclusion VIII

Religion (Protestant-Catholic) has significant associations with about half the items. The religious differences cut across the Educational (Liberal-Conservative) lines, while blacks and Catholics tend to have strikingly similar positions.

Religion shows net associations with 22 of 49 items (.449), has a median difference of .063 when there is a significant association, and gives a .100 or larger difference for 4 items (.063). Its performance is definitely stronger than that of Occupational Prestige (one can say "as often as not, there is a significant religious difference") but it is clearly less consistent or powerful than Race, Age, Education, and Region. Table 26 reports the details.

Compared to Protestants, Catholics tend to:

be more tolerant of racial intermarriage	(+.126)
be less tolerant of abortion	(+.122, +.109)
favor larger families	(+.105)
give greater priority to solving problems of big cities	(+.096)

Given the greater urbanization of the U.S. Catholic population and the Catholic church's doctrines on family matters, the results for ABSINGLE, ABNOMORE, CHLDIDEL, and NATCITY are what one might expect. As for RACMAR, the finding contradicts the popular belief that Catholics

TABLE 26

SIGNIFICANT NET EFFECTS OF RELIGION (CATHOLIC = +),
CONTROLLING FOR RACE AND REGION

Stem	Sign	
	Positive	Negative
.12	6	2
.11		
.10		5 9
.09	6	
.08		3
.07	3	5
.06	1 *2 4 5 6	
.05	0 0 1 8	
.04	5 8 *8	
.03	7	3
.02		
.01		

NOTE: * = Not consistently associated with Education.

N = 22

$\frac{27}{49}$ Not significant

are "reactionary" but supports previous scientific research on the question (Greeley, 1974, 1977).

The sign pattern in Table 26 tells us still more about the "liberalism" or "conservativism" of Catholics and Protestants: 14 items operate in the same direction as Education, 6 operate in the opposite direction. Fourteen to 6 is not an overwhelming plurality but, if anything, Catholic opinion lines up with the opinions of the better educated, while Protestant opinions tend to match those of the less educated. (Doubtless, one could find lodes of "enlightened" opinions by breaking out the liberal

Protestant denominations--but of statistical necessity, such an analysis would leave the remaining Protestant majority even less advanced in its ideas.)

An even more striking pattern emerges in Table 27 where Race and Religion are viewed together.

There is a strong association in Table 27 (Gamma = +.888): blacks and Catholics tend to line up together against whites and Protestants. (One notes the interaction data in Table 10 say that black Catholics, albeit very few in number, are especially anti-abortion and pronatal.) Twenty of the 49 items show the same sign and there is no item where Race and Religion show opposite signs. The agreement cuts across a number of content areas:

A tolerant but pro-family stance on sex and family matters (FEPRES, PREMARSX, PORNLOW, AGED, ABSINGLE, CHLDIDEL)

Liberality on race issues (NATRACE, RACOPEN, RACDIN, RACMAR, RACPRES)

A "liberal Democrat" perspective on political issues (NATARMS, NATENVIR, NATCITY, NATHEAL, SPKCOM, GRASS)

"Conservative" personal values (JOBMEANS, anti; MANNERS, pro; HONEST, pro)

Conclusion IX

Race-Region-Religion-and-Attitude tend to form systems of suppressor variables.

If we reverse + and - for religion, making Protestant the positive end of the dichotomy, the three variables Race, Religion, and Region all have positive net relationships: blacks tend to be Southern and Protestant; Protestants tend to be black and Southern; Southerners tend to be black and Protestant.

TABLE 27

NET ASSOCIATION WITH RACE (BLACK = +) BY NET ASSOCIATION WITH RELIGION (CATHOLIC = +)

Religion	Race					
	Negative		Not Significant		Positive	
Positive:			HOMOSEX	SPKATH	NATARMS NATENVIR NATRACE *FEPRES SPKCOM GRASS (RACOPEN) (RACDIN)	NATCITY *NATHEAL HONEST PREMAR SX PORN LAW (RACMAR) (RACPRES)
Not significant:	NATCRIME NATSPAC JOBPROMO CONSIDER ANOMIA7 TRUST	NATDRUG JOBINC JOBSEC STUDIOUS *GETAHEAD SPKRAC	*NATAID *ROLE FEHOME	*JOBHOUR RICHWORK SPKMIL	*NATEDUC OBEYS XMARSEX COMMUN	*NATFARE FEWORK DIVLAW CAPPUN
Negative:	JOBMEANS MANNERS AGED	ABSINGLE CHLDIDEL	ABNOMORE			

NOTE: () = Not asked of blacks but positive association assumed.

* = Not consistently associated with Education.

When two items with a positive relationship have opposite sign associations with a third dependent variable, they act as "suppressors." When one predictor is controlled, the partial association for the other variable increases in magnitude. Conclusions VI, VII, and VIII imply that suppressors will be very common when one examines Race-Region-Religion-and-Attitude. Table 8 tells us:

- a) Region (South = +) and Religion (Protestant = +) will have opposite sign associations for:

ABNOMORE, ABSINGLE, CHLDIDEL, JOBMEANS, and MANNERS.

- b) Region (South = +) and Race (Black = +) will have opposite sign associations for:

COMMUN, GRASS, NATARMS, NATCITY, NATENVIR, NATHEAL, NATRACE, PREMARSX, SPKCOM, and XMARSEX.

- c) Religion (Protestant = +) and Race (Black = +) will have opposite sign associations for:

ABSINGLE, AGED, CHLDIDEL, FEPRES, GRASS, HONEST, JOBMEANS, MANNERS, NATARMS, NATCITY, NATENVIR, NATHEAL, NATRACE, PORNLOW, PREMARSX, RACDIN, RACMAR, RACOPEN, RACPRES, and SPKCOM.

Twenty-three of the forty-nine items (.469) appear in the lists and twelve appear twice (ABSINGLE, CHLDIDEL, GRASS, JOBMEANS, MANNERS, NATARMS, NATCITY, NATENVIR, NATHEAL, NATRACE, PREMARSX, and SPKCOM).

The result has technical and substantive implications. On the technical side it means that as often as not, the zero order associations for these three background variables and attitudes will underestimate the sizes of the effects that will turn up in a multi-variate analysis. Substantively, it documents the familiar proposition that American social structure is shot through with "cross-cutting" structures that impede polarization into hostile subgroups.

Thus, for example, the standard political coalitions of Older-High Status-White-Northern-Protestant v. Younger-Low Status-Black-Southern-Catholic (see Appendix) are rife with "suppressors" when it comes to

attitudes and opinions: Older and High Education operate in opposite directions most of the time; granted Catholic and Black are consistent, South and Black and South and Catholic generate fifteen suppressors; and the Black-Catholic "dimension" tends to be independent of the Young-High Educated-North "dimension," which generates numerous further inconsistencies. (In Table 27, there are twenty-one items where Race or Religion is positive and Education is too, pitting the low SES Democrats against their Black or Catholic allies.)

Conclusion X

Sex differences appear for about half the items. Men's opinions tend to line up with those of the better educated.

Table 16 shows Sex differences. Since Sex is not associated with the other variables, I merely ran the zero orders and treated as significant those with differences of .03 or larger. The effects are about as powerful as Religion, but clearly less strong than Race, Age, Education, and Region. Sex is associated with half the items (.489), the median significant difference is .063, and six items (.122) give differences of .100 or more. Table 28 gives the details.

Men:

give higher priority to space (NATSPAC = +.153)
are more tolerant of pornography (PORNLOW = +.135)
are more favorable to the death penalty (CAPPUN = -.112)
are more work oriented (RICHWORK = +.107)
are more tolerant of premarital sex (PREMARSX = +.104)
are less anti-communist (COMMUN = +.100).

The associations are either well known or quite plausibly related to stereotypical differences between the sexes.

TABLE 28

ZERO ORDER CORRELATIONS WITH SEX (MALE = +) OF .03 OR MORE

Stem	Sign	
	Positive	Negative
.15	3	
.14		
.13	5	
.12		
.11		2 CAPPUN
.10	0 4 7	COMMUN, PREMARSX, RICHWORK
.09		*8
.08	4	
.07	2	3
.06	3 6	*0 9
.05	1 3 8	
.04	2 7	2
.03	1 7	*7 8

NOTE: * = Not consistently associated with Education.

Of the 21 items consistently related to Education, the sex difference is positive for 16 and negative for 5. Thus, there is some tendency for males to disproportionately endorse the positions associated with greater education. Here again, the 16 to 5 margin is sufficiently overwhelming that it is perhaps better to see Sex as still another cross-cutting dimension of attitude formation.

Conclusions

I have attempted to summarize and document the correlations between background variables (Age, Education, Occupational Prestige, Race, Region, Religion, and Sex) and forty-nine attitude and opinion

items from national survey data in the early and middle 1970s. To a considerable--and to me, comforting--extent, the well known findings of previous studies were replicated with a more extensive data set and more elaborate controls than in previous studies. Only one finding, the willingness of the better educated to endorse certain types of government spending, contradicted conventional wisdom.

Did anything new emerge? The best I can do is to report some results that took me by surprise.

(1) I was startled by the relatively poor showing of Occupational Prestige, especially vis-à-vis Education. Considering the endless theorizing about social class, occupations, occupational mobility, indices of status, etc., the apparently small net influence of Prestige on opinions and the apparently large net influence of Education might generate some theoretical reassessments.

(2) I was impressed not only by the size of the Race effects but also by the implication they are cultural, not hierarchical, in origin. Considering the status and history of the American black population, it seems extraordinary that their opinions are more "different" than "downtrodden."

(3) I was struck by the equality of the two Age differences--that is, the lack of evidence that the cohorts from the baby boom have discontinuously different attitudes. While the study of historical change using survey data is in its infancy, I am already impressed by the frequency with which attitude change appears to be a steady secular trend, not much influenced by wars, depressions, court decisions, and the like. A secular trend is by no means an explanation, but the existence of secular trends should lead us to seek longer-term

historical processes as our explanations rather than the phenomena that dominate the news media.

(4) I was surprised by the absence of many interaction effects even in a data set with rather large N's. The familiar--but seldom documented--claim that social differences are the sum of relatively small effects of a relatively large number of variables describes these results rather well.

Appendix

Background Variables and Party Identification in the 1970s

Although Party Identification ("Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or what?" If independent, "Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?") is not an opinion in the sense of the forty-nine items analyzed above, it is such a widely-used variable that it may be useful to report its relationship to background variables (excluding Sex, which is virtually unrelated to Party).

Existing tabulations give us this information from the pooled 1972-1978 GSS (N = 8,396) with categories very similar to those in the main report.

With the trichotomous dependent variable (Republican-Democratic-Independent with no-leaning) one drops one category (here, Independent) to avoid redundancy. That done, Republican and Democratic are no longer mutually exclusive. Consequently, it may be interesting to look at (a) Independence = Republican Difference + Democratic Difference with sign reversed and (b) the Democratic plurality = Democratic Difference - Republican Difference.

Table A(1) gives the results.

TABLE A(1)

NET ASSOCIATIONS WITH PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Variable/ Comparison	Republican		Democratic		(a) Independent	(b) Plurality
	Diff.	2 Sigma	Diff.	2 Sigma		
Age:						
54+ v. 34-53	+ .067 ^a	(.032)	- .050 ^a	(.036)	- .017	- .117
34-53 v. 18-33	- .017	(.030)	+ .032	(.036)	- .015	+ .049
Education:						
13+ v. 12	+ .046 ^a	(.034)	- .050 ^a	(.038)	+ .004	- .096
12 v. 0-11	+ .015	(.032)	- .011	(.038)	+ .004	+ .026
Occupational Prestige:						
46-82 v. 33-45	+ .058 ^a	(.034)	- .071 ^a	(.038)	+ .013	- .129
33-45 v. 0-32	+ .009	(.030)	- .007	(.036)	- .002	+ .016
Ethnicity:						
Black v. Yankee	- .335 ^a	(.036)	+ .375 ^a	(.042)	- .040	+ .710
Northern-White-Catholic v. Yankee	- .217 ^a	(.036)	+ .215 ^a	(.038)	+ .002	+ .432
Southern-White-Catholic v. Yankee	- .217 ^a	(.064)	+ .209 ^a	(.076)	+ .008	+ .426
Southern-White-Protestant v. Yankee	- .101 ^a	(.040)	+ .100	(.040)	+ .001	+ .201

NOTE: Yankee = White, Non-South, Protestant. Constant (Intercept) values: Republican = .411 ($\pm .055$); Democratic = .436 ($\pm .055$).

^aSignificant at the .05 level after doubling variances to correct for multi-stage sampling.

The main conclusions seem to be these:

- (1) None of the background variables show much relationship with Independence v. Some Party.
- (2) Older Americans (54 and older) are more Republican, but younger Americans (18-33) do not differ from those 34-53.
- (3) College people are more Republican than High School, Grade School respondents don't differ from High School.
- (4) High Prestige (46-82 on the Hodge-Siegel-Rossi scale) respondents are more Republican, but low prestige workers (0-32) don't differ much from middles.
- (5) Compared with "Yankees" (White, Non-Southern Protestants):
 - (a) Blacks are much more democratic.
 - (b) Catholics are much more Democratic, the effect being virtually the same for Northern and Southern Catholics.
 - (c) Southern White Protestants are definitely more Democratic.

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