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MEMBERSHIP IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND THE THEORY OF MASS SOCIETY

by

Stephen Joel Cutler

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
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Doctoral Committee:

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ABSTRACT

MEMBERSHIP IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND THE THEORY OF MASS SOCIETY

by

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Propositions drawn from the theory of mass society which state that membership in intermediate groups and particularly in voluntary associations should relate to certain social-psychological characteristics are examined for a sample of 1,013 urban males. Specifically, we expected 1) that the alienative consequences of the "mass" situation should be reflected in lower powerlessness among those belonging to voluntary associations, 2) that dogmatism, said to be a characteristic of those prone to membership in totalitarian movements, should be lower among association members, and 3) that the suggested propensity of isolated, atomized individuals to feel less bound by the normative system should be seen in greater support among association members for the normatively defined rights of ideological non-conformists.

Furthermore, it was expected that these consequences should be found to a greater degree among actively involved association members and where the existence of intermediate networks in associations, as measured by the presence of the respondent's friends in the organization(s) to which he belongs, could counteract the possibility of

"mass" structural characteristics in the associations themselves. Also, by examining the relationships between membership in thirteen kinds of associations and the dependent variables, allowance was made for the possibility that voluntary associations taken individually may have very diverse effects. Finally, given that both association membership and the dependent variables were related to measures of socio-economic status, appropriate controls were used throughout the analysis.

The findings yielded little support for the hypotheses. All relationships between membership, involvement in associations, and the presence of intermediate networks in associations could be accounted for by the relationship between socio-economic status and membership. Although some residual effects of membership in certain kinds of associations were found, here, too, the effects of the socio-economic variables, especially education, were by far the most important.

Although possible inadequacies in the sample and in the available variables are considered, we conclude that the net effect of membership in voluntary associations is negligible for the variables measured in the analysis.

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I would like to take this opportunity to thank a number of persons for their contributions to this dissertation. First, Edward Laumann and Howard Schuman, Principal Investigator and Director of the 1966 Detroit Area Study, respectively, have generously made available the data on which this analysis is based. Professor Laumann, who also served as the chairman of my thesis committee, has contributed substantially to the final product through his perceptive comments at every stage of the writing and research.

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While the merits of this dissertation are, therefore, clearly the joint product of all of these persons, I alone take responsibility for its defects and shortcomings.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Although voluntary associations are by no means unique to urban areas, their proliferation and growth have been largely associated with urbanization. Indeed, the importance of their position within the urban social system is attested to by the fact that the association is variously viewed as both an integrative and a divisive factor, as a reinforcement of the segmental, depersonalized nature of urbanism and as a substitute for or supplement to the solidarity of the family, and, finally, on the one hand, as a mechanism both for the status mobility of individuals or groups and for social change, or, on the other hand, as a mechanism of those in power to consolidate their position and to maintain the status quo. Aside from the relative validity of these notions in any given empirical instance, the mere range of issues posed by the existence of the voluntary association can be taken as testimony to the need for its consideration in any comprehensive analysis of the urban social structure.

The motivation for this thesis stems from just such a concern. Data gathered by the 1966 Detroit Area Study are in the process of being examined in order to analyze and to describe certain facets of the social structure of a large urban community, particularly in terms of the structure and function of social relationships along the

dimensions of status, religion, and ethnicity.[1] As part of the overall study, considerable attention is being given both to the correlates and consequences of voluntary association membership and, in the present research, we consider in some detail one aspect of the analysis.

Actually, sociological analysis of voluntary associations has been chiefly concerned with three separable areas: 1) composition differentials in membership, 2) variation in the organizational characteristics of voluntary associations, and 3) the consequences of the existence of voluntary associations for the society as a whole and for association members themselves. The primary purpose of this thesis is directed to the last of these areas. Specifically, our theoretical orientation to the study derives from and adopts what is known as the theory of mass society (a far more thorough exposition of which will be taken up in the next chapter). In general, as a major contemporary heir to the pluralistic tradition in sociology, mass society theory holds that the existence of voluntary associations and membership in voluntary associations is one of the key integrative mechanisms in a society. By virtue of the socializing, politicizing, and interest-representing functions performed by associations, consequences ranging

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[1] See, for example, Edward O. Laumann, "The Social Structure of Religious and Ethnoreligious Groups in a Metropolitan Community," American Sociological Review, XXXIV (April, 1969), 182-97; and Edward O. Laumann and Howard Schuman, "Open and Closed Structures" (paper presented at the 1967 annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, California, August 29, 1967).

from increased social and political stability at the societal level to reduced alienation at the individual level are said to follow. Our particular conceptual focus is on this latter level of analysis, that is, on the proposition that differences along certain social-psychological dimensions, such as alienation, should be apparent in comparisons of association members with those who do not belong to voluntary associations.

Although the interests of sociologists with respect to the study of voluntary associations can be divided into the three general areas outlined above, their empirical interrelatedness is such that it would be useful at this point to review some of the major findings of research dealing with the composition and characteristics of voluntary associations and to indicate their relevance for analyses such as ours which deal with the effects or consequences of voluntary association membership. Following this brief review, we provide an overall summary of the direction and scope of the remainder of the study.

Patterns of Membership

Although the voluntary association is not an entirely new historical form,[2] a number of factors appear to have been crucial, particularly in the United States, for its numerical proliferation and increasing

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[2] Henri Pirenne, Medieval Cities, Anchor Books (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1956), pp. 84ff.

qualitative specialization over time:[3] 1) the decline of other, more primary bases of solidarity attendant upon urbanization, combined with the need for the provision of certain social or welfare services formerly provided by the family;[4] 2) both a value and a political system which permitted, if not encouraged, such associations both as a means of interest representation and fellowship; and 3) changes in the occupational and industrial structure yielding among other things a greater amount of leisure time both for membership per se and for the development of those specialized interests that so often characterize the raison d'etre of the voluntary association.

To say, however, that voluntary associations have grown and flourished is not to say that membership is evenly distributed throughout the population, and it is to the study of such variation in membership and participation patterns that the bulk of empirical research on voluntary associations has been directed. Let us first note some

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[3]The following is drawn mainly from Robert T. Anderson and Gallatin Anderson, "Voluntary Associations and Urbanization: A Diachronic Analysis," American Journal of Sociology, LV (November, 1959), 265-73; Herbert Goldhammer, "Some Factors Affecting Participation in Voluntary Associations," in Contributions to Urban Sociology, ed. by Ernest W. Burgess and Donald J. Bogue (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 225; Gunnar Hecksher, "Pluralist Democracy: The Swedish Experience," Social Research, XV (December, 1948), 417-61; and Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961), pp. 494-501.

[4]Violet M. Sieder, "The Citizen Volunteer in Historical Perspective," in Perspectives on the American Community, ed. by Roland L. Warren (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963), pp. 462-69.

of the more consistent findings with respect to these correlates of membership[5] and then suggest their importance for our purposes.

Both association membership and the number of associations to which the individual belongs have been consistently found to be related positively to education, income, and occupation,[6] findings which are not entirely unexpected given, among other factors, the cost of joining some associations as well as the normative expectations of certain business organizations that those in the upper levels will involve themselves in community activities.[7]

Membership varies by a number of life cycle, demographic, and ecological variables as well. Membership and participation rates are low for young persons, rise to a peak in the late thirties and early

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[5]Among the more inclusive summaries along these lines are the following: Murray Hausknecht, The Joiners (New York: The Bedminster Press, 1962); Shimon Ernst Spiro, "Effects of Neighborhood Characteristics on Participation in Voluntary Associations" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1968), pp. 6-29; and Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Membership of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys," American Sociological Review, XXIII (June, 1958), 284-94. An extensive bibliography of such research may also be found in the appendix to this study.

[6]Comparative data are largely restricted to such socio-economic differences, but in this regard the evidence is consistent with the findings for the United States. See, for example, Hausknecht, The Joiners, p. 22; and Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1965), Table X.4, p. 249.

[7]On these points, see Robert W. Hodge and Donald J. Treiman, "Social Participation and Social Status," American Sociological Review, XXXIII (October, 1968), 728; and W. Lloyd Warner and James C. Abegglen, Big Business Leaders in America (New York: Atheneum, 1963), pp. 152ff.

forties, and generally decline thereafter. While these age differences appear to be independent of such socio-economic variables as income, there may well be some interaction with family status since married persons are more likely to be association members than are single, widowed, divorced, or separated persons and since those persons with children are more likely to be members than are those without children. That the presence of children is associated with membership can be attributed, in part at least, to membership in such youth-serving associations as parent-teacher organizations and the scouts.

Overall membership rates do not appear to differ markedly by sex although males are more likely to be members in large cities while females are more likely to be members in smaller cities. Also, males have higher membership rates at the younger ages while females are more likely to be members at the middle and older ages which suggests, in part, increasing freedom from the restrictions of young children.[8]

Analyses of areal or contextual effects indicate that, even with individual effects controlled, membership in voluntary associations varies directly with the overall status of the areal unit under consideration.[9] Furthermore, although there is some evidence to the

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[8]Hausknecht, The Joiners, pp. 31ff.

[9]Wendell Bell and Maryanne Force, "Social Structure and Participation in Different Types of Formal Associations," Social Forces, XXXV (May, 1956), 345-50; Spiro, "Effects of Neighborhood Characteristics."

contrary, the majority of studies indicate that the native-born and residentially stable have higher membership rates than do their more mobile counterparts.[10]

With respect to religion, the highest membership rates are generally found for Jews and the lowest for Catholics, a relationship which persists when socio-economic status is held constant. The evidence is somewhat contradictory for racial differences, but data from more recent surveys, probably indicative of changes in this respect over time, suggest that membership in voluntary associations is higher for non-whites at the lower socio-economic levels while active participation is higher for non-whites at all socio-economic levels.[11]

Considerably less attention has been focussed on the distribution of membership and participation in various types of voluntary associations. Nevertheless, consistent patterns are again in evidence. Hausknecht's study, for example, reaches the following conclusions which are both representative and illustrative of other findings:

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[10] Eugene Litwak, "Voluntary Associations and Neighborhood Cohesion," American Sociological Review, XXVI (April, 1961), 258-71; and Basil G. Zimmer, "The Significance of Membership in Associations," American Journal of Sociology, LXV (September, 1959), 196-201. Conflicting evidence is found in Wright and Hyman, "Voluntary Association Membership of American Adults."

[11] Anthony Orum, "A Reappraisal of the Social and Political Participation of Negroes," American Journal of Sociology, LXXII (July, 1966), 32-46; Nicholas Babchuk and Ralph V. Thompson, "Voluntary Associations of Negroes," American Sociological Review, XXVII (October, 1962), 647-55; Wright and Hyman, "Voluntary Association Membership of American Adults," p. 287.

young persons tend to join civic and service associations, while older persons are more likely to be members of fraternal organizations and lodges; non-whites are less likely than whites to belong to veterans' groups and are more likely to belong to political and church-related associations; membership in lodges, fraternal associations and church-related groups is more characteristic of those at the lower socio-economic levels, while membership in civic, cultural, occupational, and professional groups is more characteristic of those at the upper socio-economic levels; finally, Catholics are more represented in veterans', patriotic, and military associations, while Protestants are more represented in civic and service associations, and in occupational, economic, and professional groups, a finding which is most likely a reflection of socio-economic differences between the two groups.[12]

In general, then, since voluntary association membership is differentially distributed, at the very least this suggests that any hypothesized consequences of membership may be more apparent or pervasive among certain segments of the population. Furthermore, this fact

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[12]Hausknecht, The Joiners, Chap. 5. It should be noted that Hausknecht's analysis is based on data gathered in 1954 and 1955. While recent studies support his conclusions in most other respects, given the growing parity of the two religious groups along socio-economic dimensions [see Norvall D. Glenn and Ruth Hyland, "Religious Preference and Worldly Success: Some Evidence from National Surveys," American Sociological Review, XXXII (February, 1967), 73-85.], it becomes an empirical question as to whether differences in the kinds of associations to which Protestants and Catholics belong still persist.

becomes even more critical for our analysis. To anticipate one of the later findings, our dependent variables or what we have referred to earlier as the social-psychological effects of voluntary association membership are all related to certain background variables and particularly to measures of socio-economic status. As we have seen, however, membership is also related to such variables. It becomes essential, therefore, that we distinguish between the effects of association membership on the dependent variables and those resulting merely from the distribution of membership.

Organizational Characteristics of Voluntary Associations

In addition to the description of membership and participation differentials, a somewhat more recent concern has been with the analysis of the organizational characteristics of voluntary associations, changes in these characteristics over time, and the comparative analysis of organization structure between different types of voluntary associations. One dominant concern in this respect is with what has been seen as a movement toward greater formalization. Chapin and Tsouderos,[13] for example, view the voluntary association as beginning with a somewhat informal, loose, and responsive structure, then moving on to a

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[13] F. Stuart Chapin and John E. Tsouderos, "Formalization Observed in Ten Voluntary Associations: Concepts and Morphology," Social Forces, XXXIII (May, 1955), 306-09.

stage of codification with some remnants of flexibility along with a greater differentiation of the executives from the membership. At the same time, with membership expansion, there is a multiplication of membership units and a subsequent reinforcement of executive control over the association. During the process, the membership becomes increasingly removed from the leaders of the association and increasingly passive. Operationally, greater formalization and reliance on parliamentary practices characterize the change.

Another prominent focus of those interested in the organizational characteristics of voluntary associations has been the development of typologies of associations. Perhaps the most frequently employed distinction is that between the "instrumental" association which is engaged in the pursuit of influence and is oriented, for the most part, to its external environment and the "expressive" association which is primarily oriented to its membership in providing for their more or less immediate or spontaneous socio-emotional gratification.[14] Similarly, Rose's examination of the relationship of the association to its environment with respect to whether that relationship is one of conflict, competition, or cooperation also illustrates this concern.[15]

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[14]C. Wayne Gordon and Nicholas Babchuk, "A Typology of Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, XXIV (February, 1959), 22-29; A. P. Jacoby and Nicholas Babchuk, "Instrumental and Expressive Voluntary Associations," Sociology and Social Research, LXVII (July, 1963), 461-72.

[15]Arnold M. Rose, "Voluntary Associations Under Conditions of Competition and Conflict," Social Forces, XXXIV (December, 1955), 159-63.

Specifically, he finds that associations in a conflict situation are most likely to have the greatest activity in the pursuit of their goals, to be most likely to develop a complex structure, to meet most frequently, to have the greatest flexibility in activities and techniques, and to have the greatest cohesion within their ranks. As might be expected, associations in a competititve relationship with their environment occupy an intermediate position with respect to these attributes.

In general, these few illustrative studies make the simple point that there is a great deal of variation among voluntary associations. In sensitizing us to this, however, it highlights the fact, as we will note again later, that most analyses of voluntary associations within the context of the theory of mass society have been content to treat associations and association membership in an undifferentiated fashion with little explicit theoretical and empirical recognition of the sources of variation among them and how these differences might apply to mass society theory. Again, then, at the very least these studies of the structural characteristics of voluntary associations should alert us to the general possibility that the effects or consequences of membership may be related to the variable characteristics of the associations as well as to mere membership.

Overview

In the second chapter, we turn to a detailed review of both the theory of mass society and of empirical attempts to test that theory.

In addition, certain major criticisms of the theory are raised and the major objectives of the analysis are then specified. In the third chapter, we discuss the sample and the data to be employed in the analysis, the specific hypotheses based on these data, and the primary analytical tool used to test the hypotheses.

In the following three chapters, we go on to test the theory of mass society and certain qualifications to the theory. In brief, in Chapter IV we look at whether differences along social-psychological dimensions that are derived from the general theory emerge between association members and non-members. In the fifth chapter, we undertake an examination of whether active involvement in associations and the existence of friendship groups in associations have any effects on the dependent variables and in Chapter VI, a more detailed analysis of the effects of membership in different kinds of associations is pursued. Finally, in the last chapter, the findings are summarized and an overall assessment of the utility of the theory of mass society, based on the findings for our sample, is offered.

CHAPTER II

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND THE THEORY OF MASS SOCIETY

The term "mass society"[1] is generally used to refer to a set of structural and cultural conditions leading to a predisposition on the part of individuals to engage in "mass behavior," that is, behavior more or less characterized by unrestrained collective action. While we will return at a later point to delineate in some detail the nature of certain of these proposed individual reactions to the conditions of mass society, some mention of them is necessitated at this time in order to document more fully their position in the general theory of mass society.

Mass man or the individual in mass society is said to be earmarked by a number of behavioral and psychological characteristics. First, he is alienated, in a psychological sense, both from himself and from the larger society. In the words of Fromm, "man does not experience himself as the active bearer of his own powers and richness, but as an impoverished 'thing,' dependent on powers outside of himself, unto whom he has projected his living substance."[2] Devoid of a sense

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[1]For a more extensive review of the historical antecedents of the idea of mass society, see Eugene Victor Walter, "Mass Society: The Late Stages of an Idea," Social Research, XXXI (Winter, 1964), 391-410.

[2]Erich Fromm, The Sane Society, Fawcett Premier Book (Greenwich: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1955), p. 114.

of power in political, social, and economic affairs, the mass man is also said to be divorced from the dominant normative and value systems institutionalized in his society. So conceived, he either withdraws out of a feeling of frustration and becomes apathetic or is prone to try to assuage his sense of futility by embracing ideological movements which are able to provide him with a sense of integration as well as a sense of efficacy. The chief concern of mass society theorists, then, lies in their identification of these characteristics with a propensity to engage in direct, activist solutions to felt problems through the vehicle of totalitarian movements, movements which provide "...both pseudo-authority in the form of the charismatic leader and pseudo-community in the form of the totalitarian community,"[3] or in which the alienated individual is able to "...derive his sense of having a place in the world only from his belonging to a movement, his membership in the party."[4]

Such are the general concerns of those who witness what they view as the emergence of mass society: widespread alienation and feelings of personal futility, propensities toward militancy directed at and from outside of the major societal institutions, favorable conditions for the emergence of and membership in totalitarian organizations, and ultimately a basic threat to democratic practices. Given this

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[3]William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society (Glencoe: Free Press of Glencoe, 1959), p. 16.

[4]Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism, Pt. III: Totalitarianism, Harvest Book (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1968), p. 22.

summarization of the consequences of a mass society, we can turn to an examination of the various conditions which are chiefly held to be productive of this state.

Sources of Mass Society

The most systematic treatment of the theory is found in Kornhauser's The Politics of Mass Society and as such is worth reviewing in some detail. Kornhauser identifies two traditions in writings dealing with mass society and mass behavior -- what he calls the aristocratic and the democratic theories. The chief distinction between the two is the degree of elite autonomy on the one hand and the mobilization potential or the availability of non-elites on the other. Marked by its emphasis on the loss of autonomy by elites, the aristocratic tradition argues that practices such as direct elections and values such as democracy and equality threaten the privileged position of the ruling aristocracy. In brief, the culture-sustaining and culture-creating functions traditionally reserved for the aristocracy become, in principle, increasingly available to all members of the society with few or no standards by which to measure their capacity for leadership. The predicted consequence, then, is the possibility of rule by the incompetent and unrestrained intervention by non-elites in the affairs of the state.[5]

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[5]Such a perspective is employed, at least in part, by Selznick (Philip Selznick, "Institutional Vulnerability in Mass Society," in

Kornhauser, however, calls into question the overall utility of the aristocratic perspective by itself in suggesting that such conditions may be necessary but not sufficient for the emergence of mass behavior. Those non-elites who accept the prevailing social order, he argues, are unlikely to attempt to change it, particularly by violent means. In other words, crucial is the set of conditions among the non-elites of a society that is most suitable for and leads to the emergence of widespread mass behavior.

The dominant factor identified by the democratic theories of mass society and mass behavior is the atomization of non-elites. Where individuals are unrelated to one another in meaningful ways, when they are unintegrated into meaningful group relations, when there is a loss of "community," the processes conducive to the emergence of mass behavior are said to be put into motion:

> People become available for mobilization by elites when they lack or lose an independent group life.... The lack of autonomous relations generates widespread social alienation. Alienation heightens responsiveness to the appeal of mass movements because they provide occasions for expressing resentment against what is, as well as promises of a totally different

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America as a Mass Society, ed. by Philip Olson [New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963], p. 24) when he states that "Thus it would be characteristic of the mass man to be only poorly influenced by the complex meaning of democracy, unable to make the necessary discriminations, with little conception of how to fulfill the value in his daily life; and yet he may be easily susceptible to manipulation of wielders of this symbol, will swear allegiance to it, and will be prepared to use any means (including those ordinarily interdicted by democratic principles) against its purported enemies."

> world. In short, people who are atomized readily become mobilized. Since totalitarianism is a state of total mobilization, mass society is highly vulnerable to totalitarian movements and regimes.[6]

By this route, then, Kornhauser is led to propose that the aristocratic theory of mass society is in need of its democratic counterpart to explain adequately mass behavior: not only must there be "availability" of the non-elites by virtue of atomization and its consequences, but the elites must themselves be "accessible" to intervention for the essential ingredients of mass behavior to be present. If elites are inaccessible while the non-elites, again by virtue of atomization, are highly available for mobilization, the stage is set for a totalitarian regime; whereas, on the other hand, when elites are highly accessible and non-elites unavailable, Kornhauser identifies this as a pluralistic order, that one which is most conducive to the maintenance of democracy.

In that the condition of mass society (i.e., available non-elites and accessible elites) is seen to be the most fertile for the emergence of totalitarian movements, Kornhauser continues to discuss in some detail those structural arrangements which are postulated to be the most conducive to movement in this direction. Establishing a three-level model of society composed of a) personal and primary relations found in families and peer groups, b) intermediate relations found in and fostered by voluntary associations, local governments, and the

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[6]Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society, p. 33.

local press, to cite a few, and finally, c) the relations of the individual to the state, he argues that where intermediate relations are generally lacking in presence or effectiveness, the conditions of mass society are partially fulfilled in that elites and non-elites are directly accessible and available to one another without the benefit of intermediate groups acting in a buffer or protective capacity. "The members of mass society...are interconnected only by virtue of their common ties to national centers of communication and organization. It is in this sense that we speak of mass society as the atomized society."[7]

The importance of intermediate relations is seen to lie in a number of areas. Membership in work and community related voluntary associations, for instance, is said to increase one's interest and involvement in his occupation and community. These groups, in their capacity of representing special interests, also allow for the availability of channels of influence so that the member has at his disposal greater resources for expressing his interests than the uninvolved individual has, while the actual expression and pursuit of such interests is not carried out in a direct and unrestrained manner. As a final example, segmental participation in intermediate groups,[8]

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[7] Ibid., p. 75.

[8] It should be noted that what Kornhauser sees as the virtue of segmental participation on a structural level has been assessed by others as a liability on a social-psychological level (see, for example,

especially in the case of multiple memberships and cross-cutting allegiances, acts to prevent the kind of superimposition of interests that Dahrendorf has seen to be so essential to the development of violent, intense conflict.[9] Thus, to the extent that intermediate groups are inoperative or operative for these and other reasons that will be more fully explored presently, the conditions of mass society are more or less likely to be in evidence.

Of final importance for our purposes with respect to the presence or absence of intermediate groups is the extent to which more inclusive relations have become centralized. To the degree that power is concentrated, Kornhauser argues, be it at the national, regional, or organizational level, the possibility of influencing it, especially in the absence of intermediate groups, is substantially reduced. Furthermore, as the basis for decision making becomes increasingly removed from non-elite scrutiny, the understanding of both issues and processes may diminish, thereby heightening the possibility of apathy and alienation.

Selznick, "Institutional Vulnerability," pp. 20-21). This point will be raised again when the variable structure of voluntary associations is considered later in the chapter.

[9]Ralph Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 213-218. See also James S. Coleman, Community Conflict (Glencoe; Free Press, 1957).

In brief, according to Kornhauser's formulation, the structural conditions of a mass system, particularly as characterized by centralized and monolithic structures of power, the absence or limited presence and functioning of intermediate groups, and atomized, isolated non-elites, should be associated with widespread alienation among the non-elites and a proneness for mobilization by totalitarian movements bent on seizing power from an accessible elite.

A number of other writers stress the importance of the existence of intermediate groups with respect to its implications both for the political system of a society and for the nature of the integration of the individual in the society. It seems quite clear that this is Toqueville's major concern when he says that:

> If each citizen did not learn, in proportion as he individually becomes more feeble and consequently more incapable of preserving his freedom singlehanded, to combine with his fellow citizens for the purpose of defending it, it is clear that tyranny would unavoidably increase together with equality.[10]

In the following excerpt, too, the presence of intermediate groups is observed to be an essential element in the democratic equation:

> Thus the most democratic country on the face of the earth is that in which men have, in our time, carried to the highest perfection the act of pursuing in common the object of their common desires and have applied this new-science to the greatest number of purposes. Is this the result of accident,

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[10]Alexis deTocqueville, "Associations in American Life," in Perspectives on the American Community, ed. by Roland L. Warren (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963), p. 444.

> or is there in reality any necessary connection between the principle of association and that of equality?[11]

This is undoubtedly Durkheim's point when he attributes to economic associations a most vital role in mediating relationships between the individual and society under the condition of a growing preponderance of organic over mechanical solidarity:

> ...where the State is the only environment in which men can live communal lives, they inevitably lose contact, become detached, and thus society disintegrates. A nation can be maintained only if, between the state and the individual, there is intercalated a whole series of secondary groups near enough to the individuals to attract them strongly in their sphere of action, and drag them, in this way, into the general torrent of social life. We have just shown how occupational groups are suited to fill this role, and that is their destiny.[12]

More contemporary writings continue to emphasize the importance of intermediate groups in general and voluntary associations in particular as essential elements for both the maintenance of democracy and the prevention of massification tendencies in society. Nisbet, for example, argues that "it is the continued existence of this array of intermediate powers in society, of this plurality of 'private sovereignties,' that constitutes, above anything else, the greatest single barrier to the

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[11] Ibid., p. 445.

[12] Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 28. See also Durkheim's Suicide (Glencoe: Free Press, 1951), pp. 384-92.

conversion of democracy from its liberal form to its totalitarian form,"[13] and that "...when external absorption of power and function threatens to remove the basis of community, leaving functionless and authorityless aggregates, what else but the social hoard and alienation can be the result?"[14] Similarly, analysis of the role of elites in democracies leads Bottomore to conclude, first, that competition between small groups of ruling elites is insufficient for the maintenance of democracy, second, that there must also be a number of centers of power among the citizenry with a high level of participation, and third, "...that the present hindrances to full participation in the government of voluntary associations, which arise in the main from differences of social class, and are apparent in the predominance of upper class and middle class individuals as officials of such organizations, should in some way be overcome."[15]

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[13]Robert A. Nisbet, The Quest for Community (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 256.

[14]Robert A. Nisbet, Community and Power, Galaxy Books (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. xv.

[15]T. B. Bottomore, Elites and Society (New York: Basic Books, 1964), pp. 119-20.

The Functions of Voluntary Associations

In more specific terms, all of these writings either imply or directly state that the existence of intermediate groups, in particular voluntary associations, and membership in such groups have integrative consequences for the society as a whole and for the individual members. Included among such consequences would be the following:[16]

1. Voluntary associations assist, first, in the distribution and acquisition of influence and power over wide sections of society. Association members, by virtue of both strength in numbers and access to greater resources than the uninvolved individual, should be in a relatively better position to exert influence. To the extent that the program of influence is met or realizable and not hopelessly potential, membership in voluntary associations should be associated with a lesser sense of alienation and futility and thereby should reduce the need for militant action from beyond the legitimate channels of influence. Commenting on how a lack of associational activity leads to silence and to the continuation of unsatisfactory conditions in Atlanta, Hunter

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[16]As will be readily apparent, if not already so, the consequences attributed to voluntary associations are exclusively of a "functional" or integrative nature. The possibility that voluntary associations may have "dysfunctional" or divisive consequences, particularly in a pluralistic system, is rarely mentioned by mass society theorists. Some attention will be directed at this important issue when criticisms of mass society theory are discussed later in the chapter.

notes "that the better organized groups do have some voice in community affairs and with such a voice, the individual may feel some security even if his own voice is not actually heard."[17]

2. The existence of voluntary associations, via interest representation, can act as a force for either social change or the maintenance of the status quo.[18] On the one hand, change induced by associations might maintain the flexibility of a society which might otherwise be subject to destructive strains brought on by excessive rigidity;[19] on the other hand, Riesman's notion of the interplay between veto groups suggests that proposed social change inimical to the interests of an association at least stands a chance of being effectively challenged.[20] This last point is amply illustrated by the National Rifle Association's activities in the face of proposed firearms legislation.

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[17]Floyd Hunter, "The Organized Community and the Individual," in Perspectives on the American Community, ed. by Roland L. Warren (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963), p. 519.

[18]David Horton Smith, "The Importance of Formal Voluntary Organizations for Society," Sociology and Social Research, L (July, 1966), 484-86; Coleman, Community Conflict; and Arnold M. Rose, Theory and Method in the Social Sciences (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), p. 51.

[19]Lewis A. Coser, "Social Conflict and the Theory of Social Change," The British Journal of Sociology, VIII (September, 1957), 197-207.

[20]David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (Abridged ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 213ff.

3. To the extent that participation in voluntary associations is segmental, involving only one or a few of an individual's total constellation of social roles, while other role obligations are distributed elsewhere in the system, the possibility of any given association approaching totalitarian control over its membership is structurally constrained. Furthermore, given segmental participation and to the degree that social roles are dispersed rather than being concentrated within the scope of any one association, social conflict along one line of cleavage deriving from a convergence of interests is also less likely. It is in this sense that Smith says that

> ...contingent groups and especially FVOs [formal voluntary organizations] in industrial society tend to form a vast network cross-cutting each other through common members, individuals having multiple memberships. This interconnecting network of FVOs diminishes divisiveness and promotes integration because common members can often serve as a representative of one group in the councils of another and because groups that desire to grow and prosper must take care not to damage severely the interests of subgroups within them who possess additionally other group loyalties and commitments.[21]

4. Voluntary associations also exercise socialization or what Smith calls "pattern maintenance" functions.[22] Rose, for example, contends that voluntary associations socialize their members by teaching democratic

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[21] Smith, "The Importance of Formal Voluntary Organizations," p. 487.

[22] Ibid., p. 489-90.

practices, and that the "...associations provide a sense of satisfaction with modern democratic processes because they help the ordinary citizen to see how the processes function in limited circumstances, of direct interest to himself, rather than as they grind away in a distant, impersonal, and incomprehensible fashion."[23] In addition, association membership

> ...provides factual knowledge of events; tends to promote insight into and understanding of the significance of events; and a knowledge of, as it were, the mechanics of government and society generally. Since the association is part of the political and social processes of the society it may also help train future social leaders and serve as a channel for their emergence into the society.[24]

5. Finally, as a locus of interaction and a mechanism for the satisfaction of expressive and socio-emotional needs, associations serve to promote fellowship among the membership. "While often formed for some specific impersonal function, the voluntary association provides a latent function of increasing a man's meaningful, primary relationships and so compensates for alienation."[25]

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[23]Rose, Theory and Method, p. 51. See also Helena Znaniecki Lopata, "The Function of Voluntary Associations in an Ethnic Community, 'Polonia,'" in Contributions to Urban Sociology, ed. by Ernest W. Burgess and Donald J. Bogue (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), esp. pp. 207-10; Sidney Verba, Small Groups and Political Behavior (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), Chap. 2; and Harry Eckstein, Division and Cohesion in Democracy: A Study of Norway (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), esp. Appendix B, "A Theory of Stable Democracy," and pp. 280-83.

[24]Murray Hausknecht, The Joiners (New York: The Bedminster Press, 1962), p. 10; and Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin Trow, and James Coleman, Union Democracy, Anchor Books (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1956), pp. 82-91.

[25]Walter M. Gerson, "Alienation in Mass Society: Some Causes and Responses," Sociology and Social Research, XLIX (January, 1965), 150.

Mass Society Theory from an Empirical Perspective

The consequences of the presence of and membership in intermediate groups suggested above have been subjected to direct and indirect empirical tests in a number of contexts. Kornhauser's own data, largely secondary in nature, seem to indicate that mass movements most readily occur when changes toward a democratic political order, urbanization, migration, industrialization, or crises emerge so suddenly that either pre-existing intermediate groups are unable to cope with the change or new forms have as yet to emerge.[26] Examination of the compositional characteristics of those who embrace mass movements yields additional support. The isolated, atomized, marginal segments of the population appear to be more susceptible than their integrated and established counterparts: free-lance intellectuals, for example, are more prone than intellectuals from universities, new business more so than old business, youth more than adults, and the unemployed more so than the employed. Similarly, Arendt's analysis of totalitarian movements suggests that "social atomization and extreme individualization preceded the mass movements which...attracted the completely unorganized, the typical 'nonjoiners' who for individualistic reasons always had refused to recognize social links or obligations."[28]

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[26]Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society, Pt. II, passim.

[27]Ibid., Pt. III, passim.

[28]Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism, pp. 14-15.

Smith makes use of comparative data to establish support for the general point.[29] Comparing totalitarian and non-totalitarian societies, he reports that none of those characterized as totalitarian (N=13) had extensive interest group activity in the sense of voluntary associations exerting pressure on political processes. For the non-totalitarian societies, however, 32 of the 71 were rated high on such interest group activity. Furthermore,

> The integrative effects of formal voluntary organizations may be directly seen in the positive relationship between FVO activity in a society and government stability (in the sense of freedom from coups, revolution, or rebellions attempting to take control of the government by force). The reasoning is that in a pluralistic system where many different competing interest groups are more or less free to try to exert some influence on political processes, explosive tensions do not build up.[30]

Strong support for the hypothesis is received among the non-totalitarian societies (though not for the totalitarian regimes): 25 of the 36 societies having stable polities had high interest group activity, while of the 35 societies having moderately stable or unstable polities, only 7 were high on interest group activity.

Other analyses have also pointed to this link between isolation or lack of integration and direct, violent behavior. Kerr and Siegel,

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[29] Smith, "The Importance of Formal Voluntary Organizations," pp. 487-88.

[30] Ibid., p. 488.

in their study of the inter-industry propensity to engage in violent strike activity, conclude that violence is most likely in those industries in which workers are isolated from dominant community institutions.[31] Ringer and Sills report that political extremists in Iran tend to have few family, religious, and friendship ties, and that their primary sources of communication are more likely to be from the mass media than from visiting and talking.[32] In a study of the Watts riot, Ransford shows that Negroes who feel powerless, who are isolated, and who have intense feelings of racial dissatisfaction are most likely to have favorable attitudes about and to have participated in the riots.[33] Finally, the numerous studies on the fate of various community referenda may be interpreted in this context. Specifically, negative voting appears to come largely from the less integrated elements of the community where low degrees of commitment to and involvement in the community as well as dissatisfaction with the distribution of power

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[31]Clark Kerr and Abraham Siegel, "The Interindustry Propensity to Strike - An International Comparison," in Industrial Conflict, ed. by Arthur Kornhauser et al. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1954), pp. 199-212.

[32]Benjamin B. Ringer and David L. Sills, "Political Extremists in Iran: A Secondary Analysis of Communications Data," Public Opinion Quarterly, XVI (Winter, 1952-53), 689-701. See also James C. Davies and George Wada, "Riots and Rioters," Western Political Quarterly, X(1957), 864-74.

[33]H. Edward Ransford, "Isolation, Powerlessness, and Violence: A Study of Attitudes and Participation in the Watts Riot," American Journal of Sociology, LXXIII (March, 1968), 581-91.

prevail.[34] Addressing himself to the issue of fluoridation, Gamson concludes that "the hypothesis that opponents will have greater feelings of helplessness and a lower sense of political efficacy than proponents is fairly well supported by the data given here. It is as if flouridation somehow symbolized the buffeting one takes in a society where not even the water one drinks is sancrosanct."[35]

More direct evidence comes from a further set of studies having as their major focus the question of whether members of voluntary associations can be shown to have the behavioral and social-psychological characteristics associated with mass society to a lesser extent than non-members.[36] Almond and Verba examine data gathered from five societies and report that their findings

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[34]See, among others, John E. Horton and Wayne E. Thompson, "Powerlessness and Political Negativism: A Study of Defeated Local Referendums," American Journal of Sociology, LXVII (March, 1962), 485-93; Maurice Pinard, "Structural Attachments and Political Support in Urban Politics: The Case of Fluoridation Referendums," American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII (March, 1963), 513-26; Arnold Simmel, "A Signpost for Research on Fluoridation Conflicts: The Concept of Relative Deprivation," The Journal of Social Issues, XVII, No. 4(1961), 26-36; and Fredric Templeton, "Alienation and Political Participation: Some Research Findings," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXX (Summer, 1966), 249-61.

[35]William A. Gamson, "The Fluoridation Dialogue: Is It an Ideological Conflict?" Public Opinion Quarterly, XXV (Winter, 1961), 526-37.

[36]As we noted in the first chapter, both membership and participation in voluntary associations are highly related to socio-economic status. Furthermore, many of the behavioral and social-psychological dependent variables employed in the following studies are also strongly related to socio-economic status. As will be emphasized in the discussion preceding our analysis, this necessitates the use of proper controls in order to determine that any observed relationship between membership

> ...strongly support the proposition associated with the theory of mass society that the existence of voluntary associations increases the democratic potential of a society. Democracy depends upon citizen participation, and it is clear that organizational membership is directly related to such participation. The organization member is likely to be a self-confident citizen as well as an active one. We can also specify somewhat more precisely the impact on political competence of various types of organizational membership. Membership in a politically oriented organization appears to lead to greater political competence than does membership in a non-political organization, and active membership in an organization has a greater impact on political competence than does passive membership.[37]

They also find that the number of association memberships appears to have some cumulative effect. While association members are higher on their political competence index than are non-members, those with two or more memberships are higher than those belonging to only one voluntary association.[38]

Similar implications of mass society theory are examined by Hausknecht. His findings indicate that, in comparison with non-members, voluntary association members have greater factual knowledge of their community and of the broader society, have a greater awareness of social

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and a dependent variable such as alienation is not simply an artifact of their common relationship to socio-economic status. In view of this, for the most part, only studies that employ what are deemed to be essential controls are discussed.

[37]Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), p. 262. The five societies are the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and Mexico.

[38]Ibid., pp. 264-65.

problems, and are more involved in voluntary public services.[39] In an analysis of members of a welfare recipients league and a matched sample of non-members, Levens finds that the members are less likely to have a fatalistic outlook, more likely to perceive themselves as capable of exerting control over problems that impinge on them, and more likely to engage in political activity designed to alter their life circumstances.[40] Finally, Maccoby concludes that voluntary association members are more likely to be, to remain, or to become voters and that such participation is also related to positive and non-fatalistic sentiments toward the social environment.[41]

There are also a number of studies that examine the relationship between voluntary association membership and various components of alienation. Erbe, for example, finds that association members are less alienated than non-members,[42] while Neal and Seeman find that workers

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[39]Hausknecht, The Joiners, Chap. 6.

[40]Helene Levens, "Organizational Affiliation and Powerlessness: A Case Study of the Welfare Poor," Social Problems, XVI (Summer, 1968), 18-32.

[41]Herbert Maccoby, "The Differential Political Activity of Participants in a Voluntary Association," American Sociological Review, XXIII (October, 1958), 524-32.

[42]William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration," American Sociological Review, XXIX (April, 1964), 198-215.

who are non-participants in unions are more likely to feel powerless to effect outcomes in society than union members.[43] Alienation is also inversely related to associational participation in findings reported by Mizruchi, Meier and Bell, and Rose.[44] There is, in addition, an approximation to a test of the theory in a series of articles by Seeman.[45] In these, alienation is taken as the independent variable with the focus on whether the alienated are more likely to withdraw their concern from events that affect them, to engage in less control-relevant learning, and, in general, to make fewer efforts to master their destiny. The overall conclusion is that

> ...it is commonplace to argue that the bureaucratic, specialized, and isolated individual becomes convinced of his own powerlessness, and turns his attention away from control-relevant learning; becomes politically apathetic and volatile,

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[43]Arthur G. Neal and Melvin Seeman, "Organizations and Powerlessness: A Test of the Mediation Hypothesis," American Sociological Review, XXIX (April, 1964), 216-26.

[44]Ephraim Mizruchi, "Social Structure and Anomia in a Small City," American Sociological Review, XXV (October, 1960), 645-54; Dorothy L. Meier and Wendell Bell, "Anomia and Differential Access to Life Goals," American Sociological Review, XXIV (April, 1959), 189-202; Arnold Rose, "Attitudinal Correlates of Social Participation," Social Forces, XXXVII (March, 1959), 202-06; and Arnold Rose, "Alienation and Participation: A Comparison of Group Leaders and the 'Mass,'" American Sociological Review, XXVII (December, 1962), 834-38.

[45]Melvin Seeman and John W. Evans, "Alienation and Learning in a Hospital Setting," American Sociological Review, XXVII (December, 1962), 772-80; Melvin Seeman, "Alienation, Membership and Political Knowledge," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXX (Fall, 1966), 354-67.

> frantic in leisure, ignorant in international affairs. It has been shown not only that this is a reasonable interpretation, but that the logic applies in the more restricted institutional domains of health and delinquency.[46]

In concluding, brief mention can be made of two additional analyses which deal with voluntary associations and neighborhood cohesion. Litwak suggests that such associations function to introduce and to integrate individuals into neighborhood primary groups, especially when the association members have a positive orientation to the neighborhood, when members of the association are potential primary group members (i.e., neighbors), when the association deals with issues relevant to the neighborhood and its interests, and when the association allows for a high degree of membership participation.[47] Finally, even though he is less than fully convinced that this is the answer, Wilson notes the neighborhood civic association as one possible means of reducing the alienation of residents of low income areas from the urban political system:

> The neighborhood civic association is widely regarded as not only a new mechanism for representing citizen wants to the city bureaucracy, but a means of ending the political "alienation" of those citizens. Much has been written of late to suggest that a large and perhaps growing number of people are "alienated" from the American political process, but particularly from the political process in the communities. ... The voters...feel, we are told, estranged from and even

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[46]Melvin Seeman, "Alienation and Social Learning in a Reformatory," American Journal of Sociology, LXIX (November, 1963), 283.

[47]Eugene Litwak, "Voluntary Associations and Neighborhood Cohesion," American Sociological Review, XXVI (April, 1961), 258-71.

> threatened by the political life of their cities. To the extent this alienation exists..., the neighborhood civic association is seen as an important way of giving the citizen a meaningful and satisfactory relationship with his community — a way, in short, of ending his "alienation."[48]

Critiques of Mass Society Theory

Although there appears to be rather impressive confirmation for the hypothesized functions of voluntary associations, some studies find little support for these propositions. Seeman, in a study of Swedish workers, notes that involvement in voluntary associations and in occupational communities does little to reduce work-related alienation,[49] while Olsen is better able to account for political alienation with factors such as socio-economic status than with social participation variables.[50] Three additional studies[51] find little or no support for

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[48]James Q. Wilson, "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal," in Perspectives on the American Community, ed. by Roland L. Warren (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963), pp. 486-87.

[49]Melvin Seeman, "On the Personal Consequences of Alienation in Work," American Sociological Review, XXXII (April, 1967), 273-85.

[50]Marvin E. Olsen, "Political Assimilation, Social Opportunities, and Political Alienation," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1965); see also Robert R. Alford and Harry M. Scoble, "Community Leadership, Education, and Political Behavior," American Sociological Review, XXXIII (April, 1968), 259-72 in which the extent of political behavior was related to community leadership while the content or quality of political behavior (i.e., political ideology) was related more strongly to education; and Joel D. Aberbach, "Race and Alienation" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1968).

[51]Charles H. Bonjean, "Mass, Class, and the Industrial Community: A Comparative Analysis of Managers, Businessmen, and Workers," American

some specific mass society propositions, though these are largely unrelated to voluntary association membership.

Meriting more detailed consideration are a number of searching critiques either questioning or specifying some of the basic assumptions of mass society theory. There are, first, those who challenge writers such as Fromm and Nisbet with respect to their descriptions of the consequences of urbanization and the life styles associated with urbanism. In brief, their argument is that the quality of urban life is not nearly so impersonal and isolated as has been suggested. Not only has the family not lost all of its functions, but the extent of informal neighboring relations appears to be more extensive than depicted in many characterizations of urban areas.[52] Dotson, for instance, concludes that "...we do not find the wholesale displacement of 'primary' by 'secondary' groups — with the consequent de-personalization of social relationships -- which is implied in the conventional account of urban

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Journal of Sociology, LXXII (September, 1966), 149-62; Joel I. Nelson, "Participation and Integration: The Case of the Small Businessman," American Sociological Review, XXXIII (June, 1968), 427-38; Joel I. Nelson, "Anomie: Comparisons Between the Old and New Middle Class," American Journal of Sociology, LXXIV (September, 1968), 184-92.

[52]On these points, see, for example, the following: Marvin B. Sussman and Lee Burchinal, "Kin Family Network: Unheralded Structure in Current Conceptualizations of Family Functioning," Marriage and Family Living, XXIV (August, 1962), 231-40; Bert N. Adams, Kinship in an Urban Setting (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1968); Wendell Bell and Marion D. Boat, "Urban Neighborhoods and Informal Social Relations," American Journal of Sociology, LXII (January, 1957), 391-98, and Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1965), Chap. 5.

social life."[53] Still others maintain that conditions productive of the alienative consequences associated with mass society are likely to be differentially distributed in urban areas, and that the integrative functions supposedly best performed by voluntary associations can also be performed by other social mechanisms.[54]

A further focus of criticism deals more directly with voluntary associations and raises the question of whether, in fact, they can or do perform the functions attributed to them by mass society theorists and under what conditions they are best able to play that role. In a particularly incisive analysis, Perrow takes to task what he identifies as the basic mechanism central to the idea of intermediate groups in the theory of mass society -- compromise pluralism, to wit, "if the citizens have multiple group memberships, there is a great liklihood that no group will be completely homogenous on relevant social and political dimensions. Thus every group will have to undertake some sort

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[53]Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of Voluntary Association Among Urban Working Class Families," American Sociological Review, XVI (October, 1951), 693.

[54]On these points, see Selznick, "Institutional Vulnerability," p. 20; Scott Greer, "Urbanism Reconsidered: A Comparative Study of Local Areas in a Metropolis," American Sociological Review, XXI (February, 1956), 19-25; Scott Greer and Peter Orleans, "The Mass Society and the Parapolitical Structure," American Sociological Review, XXVII (October, 1962), 634-46; Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology (New York: Collier Books, 1962), Chap. 1; Morris Janowitz, The Community Press in an Urban Setting (Glencoe: Free Press, 1952); and David R. Segal and Marshall W. Meyer, "The Social Context of Political Partisanship," Quantitative Ecological Analysis in the Social Sciences, ed. by Mattei Dogan and Stein Rokkan (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1969), pp. 217-32.

of compromise of plural interests when arriving at policy decisions."[55] Three assumptions underlying this point of view are examined. First, the assumption that all key groups in the society are represented, Perrow argues, is not supported by the evidence, particularly in the case of minority and underprivileged groups. Second, he finds little support for the assumption that the representation of interests is true representation. "...Within most of the interest groups that exist, oligarchic tendencies provide little scope for compromise or representation of the interests of all members."[56] Finally, the assumption that there are multiple group ties and overlapping membership is also said to be unwarranted.

> There is little evidence to suggest that more than a tiny minority — perhaps 15 per cent of the population — belongs to more than one association, and even so "belonging" is defined in the widest sense, which requires little evidence of active participation. Even where there is multiple group membership of any substantial importance, one may doubt whether people join two or more groups which have conflicting interests. The checks provided by simultaneous membership in a local taxpayer's association, the Chamber of Commerce, and the United Fund Budget Committee are not great.[57]

For similar reasons — limited membership and lack of involvement on the part of members — Greer, too, maintains that voluntary associations.

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[55]Charles Perrow, "The Sociological Perspective and Political Pluralism," Social Research, XXXI (Winter, 1964), 412.

[56]Ibid., p. 415.

[57]Ibid., p. 416.

are relatively unimportant,[58] while Rose notes that any factors that act to reduce a member's involvement in or commitment to the association impede the effective functioning of the association as an intermediate group.[59]

Others have argued that associations themselves may be structurally parallel to the structural conditions of the larger (mass) society and as such act to reinforce rather than mitigate alienative consequences. Thus, Mills argues that

> Voluntary associations have become larger to the extent that they have become effective; and to just that extent they have become inaccessible to the individual who would shape by discussion the policies of the organization to which he belongs. Accordingly, along with older institutions, these voluntary associations have lost their grip on the individual. As more people are drawn into the political arena, these associations become mass in scale; and as the power of the individual becomes more dependent upon such mass associations, they are less accessible to the individual's influence.[60]

Nisbet is another who contends that the effectiveness of voluntary associations depends to a large extent on their structural characteristics:

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[58]Scott Greer, "Individual Participation in Mass Society," in Approaches to the Study of Politics, ed. by Roland Young (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1957), p. 340. See also David E. W. Holden, "Associations as Reference Groups: An Approach to the Problem," Rural Sociology, XXX (March, 1965), 63-74.

[59]Rose, Theory and Method, p. 68.

[60]C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite, Galaxy Books (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 307; and Joseph R. Gusfield, "Mass Society and Extremist Politics," American Sociological Review, XXVII (February, 1962), 28.

> Decentralization is just as necessary in the operation of the other great associations of modern society — the industrial corporation, the labor union, the large church, the profession, and the great university. More than a little of the dimmition in the psychological and cultural influence of these associations in recent times results from their failure to remain responsive to the small areas of association within them. This is the consequence of the same kind of centralization and collectivization we see in politics. The fault lies in the common failure to unite the broad purposes of the larger associations with the small, informal relationships composing them.
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> The labor union, the legal or medical association, or the church will become as centralized and as remote as the national State itself unless these great organizations are rooted in the smaller relationships which give meaning to the ends of large associations. To conceive of a great labor union, industrial enterprise, or church as an association of individual members is but to intensify the process of atomization which such associations can and should counteract. No large association will remain an object of personal allegiance, no matter how crucial its goals may be, unless it is constantly sensitive to the existence of the informal but potent relationships of which it is composed. It has surely become evident by this time that the most successful and allegiance-evoking business enterprises and cultural associations in modern life are those that regard themselves as associations of groups, not of raw individuals. To recognize the existence of informal social relationships, to keep central purposes constantly alive in these small groups, and to work toward the increased spontaneity and autonomy of these groups is, I believe, the cardinal responsibility of the great private associations.[61]

Such consequences of structural variation are also attested to by Raphael[62] who notes that a dispersed membership is an impediment to the democratic (as contrasted with the oligarchic) functioning of labor unions, while

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[61] Nisbet, The Quest for Community, pp. 276-77.

[62] Edna E. Raphael, "Power Structure and Membership Dispersion in Unions," American Journal of Sociology, LXXI (November, 1965), 274-83.

a spatially concentrated membership facilitates interaction and communication among the members and provides the basis for the viable functioning of the informal groups which Lipset et al. have seen as being of such consequence for the existence of union democracy.[63]

A final set of concerns of critics of mass society theory postulates that rather than acting to minimize conflict, intermediate groups may actually facilitate or heighten the possibility of conflict. Gusfield, for example, maintains that extremist behavior in a pluralistic system may well come from disenfranchised, doomed, or defeated groups that refuse to accept compromise solutions.[64] Putnam locates such an argument in the context of the community:

> Group members are more exposed to dominant community norms and are more sensitive to these opinions. Thus, in a community where sentiments favor democratic processes and values, group membership would tend to encourage the development of democratic attitudes, as deToqueville and his successors have argued. On the other hand, group membership might have, at least in part, a contrary effect. In a community where prejudice or antagonism to democracy was widespread, the network of community associations would tend to propogate these anti-democratic attitudes, and organizational membership would not have the effect of stimulating support for democratic norms. If the hypothesis is correct, it constitutes an important qualification of the "pluralist" thesis.[65]

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[63]Lipset et al., Union Democracy.

[64]Gusfield, "Mass Society and Extremist Politics," pp. 24-26. See also Perrow, "The Sociological Perspective and Political Pluralism," p. 416.

[65]Robert D. Putnam, "Political Attitudes and the Local Community," American Political Science Review, LX (September, 1966), 654.

In the context of religion, G. T. Marx reports that a propensity toward civil rights activism among Negroes is associated with whether their religious affiliation values "other-worldly' or "temporal" orientations: "...for many of the latter group, religion seems to facilitate or at least not to inhibit protest. For these people, religion and race protest may be mutually supportive."[66] Finally, Pinard, in an extensive criticism of mass society theory, indicates that certain groups may exert neutral or mobilizing effects in contrast to the restraining effects usually attributed to intermediate groups.[67]

Summary and General Objectives

Central to the theory of mass society is the existence of and membership in intermediate groups of which voluntary associations would be a prominent example. Such associations are said to be a vital factor in the political and structural integration of a society as a whole and of individuals into the society. The absence of voluntary associations, on the other hand, or lack of membership in them where they exist is said to have negative consequences for the stability of the

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[66]Gary T. Marx, "Religion: Opiate or Inspiration of Civil Rights Militancy Among Negroes," American Sociological Review, XXXII (February 1967), 72.

[67]Maurice Pinard, "Mass Society and Political Movements: A New Formulation," American Journal of Sociology, LXXIII (May, 1968), 682-90. See also Smith, "The Importance of Formal Voluntary Organization," pp. 490-91.

society and its political order as well as for the social-psychological characteristics of the non-members. In light of this, the first objective of this study is to determine, for our sample, whether differences that might be expected between members and non-members, based on the general theory, do in fact occur. In terms of the general empirical question guiding the analysis:

> Taking voluntary associations as being in the nature of intermediate groups and taking association membership as indicative of being implicated in a network of such intermediate ties, will we then find given social-psychological attributes which are seen to be characteristic of mass society in evidence to a lesser extent among members than among non-members?

In the review of critiques of the role of voluntary associations, a number of key issues were raised, two of which will occupy our attention. First, it was noted that association membership per se may be insufficient to mitigate mass society characteristics. More than membership by itself, the quality and nature of the participation may be a factor of some consequence in determining whether the alleged benefits of membership actually accrue to the members. Second, owing to such factors as formalization, size, membership dispersion, and possible oligarchic tendencies in voluntary associations, it is suggested that the association itself may have mass structural characteristics and thus be of little real benefit to the members. On the other hand, the presence of informal groups within such associations is offered as a parallel to what the existence of intermediate groups means for the larger society. In view of these considerations, our second objective will be to examine the importance of membership involvement and the

existence of informal, peer, or primary group ties within the association. The general empirical question to be raised here is

> Does the role of voluntary associations as intermediate groups differ under variable conditions of membership involvement and the existence within the association of friendship networks?

Finally, there appears to be considerable evidence to indicate that voluntary associations do not act in a singular fashion. Given differing contexts, it is suggested that some associations may work in a manner completely contrary to that proposed by the mass society theorists. In view of this, a third area of inquiry will engage our attention:

> Are there differences between members of different types of voluntary associations in the extent to which the social-psychological characteristics of mass society are in evidence?

In the next chapter, we turn first to a discussion of the source of the data to be used in the analysis, then to the derivation, justification, and operationalization of the major variables used throughout, and finally to an explanation of the primary analytical tool to be employed.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Source of the Data

The data to be used in the present analysis were gathered in 1966 by the Detroit Area Study under the direction of Edward O. Laumann (principal investigator) and Howard Schuman (Director, Detroit Area Study).[1] The composition of the sample was the product of two particular substantive concerns: 1) an analysis of the structure of an urban stratification system, especially as reflected in patterns of differential association along critical status dimensions, and 2) an examination of ethnicity, with a special emphasis on third generation ethnicity. Owing to these considerations, the following screening criteria were employed in the determination of eligible respondents: 1) given the centrality of occupation in the stratification system, only males between the ages of 21 and 64 were eligible to be respondents; and 2) out of the concern for having a sufficient number of third-generation ethnics in the final sample, particularly those of European origin, only whites born in the United States or Canada were considered eligible for inclusion. The final sample, then, consists of white males, between the ages of 21 and 64, who are not foreign-born.

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[1]The following is drawn from Howard Schuman, "Sampling Memorandum for the 1965-66 Detroit Area Study" (Project #938, Detroit Area Study, University of Michigan, January, 1967). It might also be noted at this point that an assessment of the adequacy of the sample as well as the adequacy of the major variables used throughout the study will be undertaken at the conclusion of this chapter.

The sample itself was of a multi-stage probability design of the dwelling units in the Detroit SMSA tracted in 1950, with certain small additions in order to incorporate areas in which substantial suburban population growth has occured. Within each dwelling unit having more than one eligible respondent, one person was drawn according to a random selection procedure for the interview.

A total of 985 interviews were obtained, of which 28 have been double-weighted yielding a final set of 1,013 cases. The weighting procedure was deemed desirable due to a lengthier and more expensive period of interviewing than anticipated. The actual mechanics involved withdrawing 100 active cover sheets from the field, selecting 50 at random, and then double-weighting the 28 completed interviews of the 50 returned to the field. The 22 non-completed interviews were also double-weighted in the consideration of sources of non-interviews. Finally, analysis of the 28 double-weighted cases does not seem to indicate any serious sources of bias.

Of the eligible households (N = 1271), the 1,013 interviews represent a completion rate of 80 per cent. Of the non-responses, 14 per cent come from refusals, an additional 5.5 per cent from not finding an eligible respondent at home after six or more calls, or from other reasons (less than 1 per cent). The overall response rate of 80 per cent, while slightly below that obtained in more recent Detroit Area Study surveys, is in part due to the selective nature of the sample and in part a reflection of the 60 households (of the 177 refusals) for which

eligibility information could not be obtained, of which some, undoubtedly, would have eventuated in the presence of no eligible respondent.

Hypotheses and Measurement

It is clear from our review of the mass society literature that voluntary associations are supposed to have a wide range of consequences for both the society as a whole and for their members. Insofar as these consequences are structural in nature, facilitating the overall integration of the larger system, our data are largely inapplicable. To the extent, however, that membership in voluntary associations is said to have social-psychological consequences which are hypothesized to differentiate members from non-members, a number of items are available for specific tests of this more general proposition. The present section, then, will consider in some detail the measurement of voluntary association membership, followed by the delineation of certain social-psychological variables which, consistent with the theory of mass society, should be related to voluntary association membership. Finally, the measurement of two additional variables — the degree of involvement and the presence of friendship networks in voluntary associations — will also be discussed.

Voluntary association membership:

Membership in voluntary associations is determined by the responses to the following question with the distribution of memberships for the

total sample, by the number of associations to which the respondent belongs, given in Table III.1:

> Now here is a list of clubs and organizations that many people belong to. Please look at this list and tell me which of these kinds of organizations you belong to, if any. Are there any others you're in that are not on this list?
>
> a. Church-connected groups (but not the church itself)
> b. Labor unions
> c. Veterans' organizations
> d. Fraternal organizations or lodges
> e. Business or civic groups
> f. Parent-teachers associations
> g. Community centers
> h. Organizations of people of the same nationality
> i. Country clubs
> j. Sports teams
> k. Youth groups (scout leaders, etc.)
> l. Professional groups
> m. Political clubs or organizations
> n. Neighborhood improvement associations
> o. Charity or welfare organizations
> p. Other (specify)
> q. Other (specify)
> r. NONE

While approximately 83 per cent of the sample belong to one or more voluntary associations, a number of considerations would suggest that this figure is not unduly distorted given the parameters of the universe from which the sample was drawn. First, other studies of urban males also find a similarly high proportion of membership in voluntary associations. Bell and Force, for example, even in their low socio-economic and low family status area, find that 76.7 per cent of the men are members while in the areas of high socio-economic and family status, 92.9

Table III.1: Distribution of Number of Voluntary Association Memberships

Number of Memberships	N		%	
None	168		16.6	
One	286		28.2	
Two	245		24.2	
Three	148		14.6	
Four (or more)	69	(166)	6.8	(16.4)
Five	52		5.1	
Six	22		2.2	
Seven	13		1.3	
Eight	6		.6	
Nine	2		.2	
Ten	2		.2	
Total	1013		100.0	

per cent of the men belonged to one or more voluntary associations.[2] A second consideration is the relatively high proportion of union members in the Detroit area: for our sample, 39.7 per cent indicate membership in a labor union.[3] Third, while we will not enter into a lengthy discussion of this point here, the particular form in which the item on association membership was asked (i.e., closed-ended, with an extensive

[2]Wendell Bell and Maryanne T. Force, "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations," American Sociological Review, XXI (February, 1956), Table 2, 28. On this general point, see also the parallel discussion in Nicholas Babchuk and Alan Booth, "Voluntary Association Membership: A Longitudinal Analysis," American Sociological Review, XXXIV (February, 1969), 32ff.

[3]Although we could find no comparable data by county or SMSA, aggregate data on the state level indicate that, of the non-agricultural labor force, Michigan ranks second to West Virginia in the per cent of workers who are members of labor unions. Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1968 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1968), Table 347, p. 239.

list) is clearly one that would facilitate recall.[4] Finally, the major exclusions of urban females, the foreign-born, and persons over 65 years old, would tend to increase the overall membership rate in comparison with samples more representative of the total urban population.

For the purpose of the first set of hypotheses, the number of voluntary association memberships will be considered, first, as a dichotomy comparing those who belong to one or more with those who belong to no associations and, second, by the number of associations to which a respondent belongs with membership in four or more associations being the upper limit.

Powerlessness:

Among the social-psychological consequences of non-membership in intermediate groups, perhaps that one most consistently cited by theorists of mass society is alienation. The concept of alienation, however, has been shown, both on the conceptual and empirical levels,[5]

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[4] In contrast, one of the items from the two surveys which lead Wright and Hyman to conclude that America is not a nation of joiners reads as follows: "Do you happen to belong to any groups or organizations in the community here?" If yes, "Which ones? Any other?" In addition, labor unions were not considered in the tabulation of total membership rates. Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Membership of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys," American Sociological Review, XXIII (June, 1958), 286.

[5] On the former, see Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, XXIV (December, 1959), 783-91; on the latter, see Arthur G. Neal and Solomon Rettig, "On the Multidimensionality of Alienation," American Sociological Review, XXXII (February, 1967), 54-64.

to be a multi-faceted notion involving a number of separable dimensions. The following three items[6] from our data would seem to tap most closely Seeman's dimension of powerlessness, that is, "the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurence of the outcomes. or reinforcements, he seeks":[7]

P1. Planning only makes a person unhappy since plans hardly ever work out anyway.

a. Disagree strongly
b. Disagree somewhat
c. Agree somewhat
d. Agree strongly

P2. There have always been good times and bad times, and there is nothing anybody can do that will change that. That is the way it is, and if you are smart, you will take it as it comes and do the best you can.

P3. Nowadays with world conditions the way they are, the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself.

Based, then, on the assumption that the greater availability of channels of influence through association membership will lead to a higher expectancy of outcome control and based on the relationships between membership and alienation found in the previous research cited earlier, our first hypothesis is that

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[6]The notations assigned these and the remaining items are for reference purposes when we consider the construction of indices in the next section.

[7]Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," p. 784.

(A) Feelings of powerlessness will be negatively related to voluntary association membership.[8]

Dogmatism:

The second dependent variable is derived from the notion in the literature on mass society suggesting that one of the characteristics of those with a propensity to be caught up in extremist, totalitarian movements (i.e., the mass man, unintegrated into meaningful group relations) is a dogmatic rigidity in belief and thought. Lipset, for example, states that

> extremist movements have much in common. They appeal to the disgruntled and psychologically homeless, to the personal failures, the socially isolated, the economically insecure, the uneducated, unsophisticated, and authoritarian persons at every level of society.[9]

A similar argument is presented by Kornhauser in attempting to account for the support of and receptivity to extremist ideologies by the lower classes. While quick to acknowledge that such support comes from all strata, for those in the lower classes he attributes this, in part, to their being

> ...susceptible to the belief that all personal misfortunes are due to conspiracies against them, and that the world is divided into "people who run things" and "people like

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[8]The creation and validation of summary indices will be taken up following this general description of the dependent variables.

[9]Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man, Anchor Books (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963), p. 178.

> us." They are readily attracted to ideologies which paint moral issues in rigid and absolutistic terms....[10]

If, then, dogmatism is a characteristic of those prone to embrace authoritarian and/or extremist movements and if such a proneness is also a characteristic of the unintegrated mass man, we would be led to hypothesize that

> (B) Dogmatism will be negatively related to voluntary association membership.

As a measure of dogmatism, we will use the following three items drawn from the dogmatism scale in Rokeach's The Open and Closed Mind:[11]

> D1. In this complicated world of ours, the only way we can know what's going on is to rely on leaders or experts that can be trusted.
>
> a. Disagree strongly
> b. Disagree somewhat
> c. Agree somewhat
> d. Agree strongly
>
> D2. There are two kinds of people in the world, those who are for the truth, and those who are against the truth.
>
> D3. To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side.

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[10] William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society (Glencoe: Free Press of Glencoe, 1959), p. 73. See also Robert Sokol, "Power Orientation and McCarthyism," American Journal of Sociology, LXXIII (January, 1968), 443-52.

[11] Milton Rokeach, The Open and Closed Mind (New York: Basic Books, 1960), Chap. 4.

Tolerance of ideological non-conformity:

The final set of dependent variables can be used to test a specific hypothesis examined by Kornhauser:

> If it is true that those who are socially isolated feel less bound to employ legitimate methods in community controversies, then we would expect to find a close association between community involvement and support for civil liberties in the United States (where civil liberties are institutionalized norms). Support for civil liberties may be interpreted as a belief in the importance of using legitimate methods, rather than direct action against opponents, in carrying on social conflict.[12]

Support for this hypothesis is found in data from Stouffer's analysis of tolerance of Communism in which community leaders are shown to be more willing to extend civil liberties to Communists than non-leaders.[13] Furthermore, it is suggested that this relationship holds regardless of the effect of education in that college-educated leaders were more likely to express a willingness to extend civil liberties than college educated non-leaders.[14] For our purposes, then, Kornhauser's general

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[12]Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society, p. 67.

[13]Samuel A. Stouffer, Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties, Science Editions (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), pp. 49ff.

[14]It might be noted that Kornhauser tentatively gains additional support for this hypothesis by implying that "libertarianism" is related to community participation since higher status persons are both more involved and more libertarian in their attitudes (The Politics of Mass Society, pp. 68ff). We will, of course, be interested in determining for our sample whether such libertarianism or tolerance is related to participation independent of the effects of socio-economic status.

proposition is that membership in intermediate groups will be related to a greater willingness to allow the expression of ideological non-conformity.

Included in our schedule was a set of five items taken from Stouffer's analysis. In addition, recognizing that these items dealing with Communism tapped only tolerance of leftist ideological non-conformity, a parallel set of items concerning members of the Klu Klux Klan was also included, thus allowing us to consider tolerance of rightist ideological non-conformity as well. The actual items are given below, with the notations in parentheses referring to the corresponding item for the Klu Klux Klan:[15]

L1. (R1.) Suppose there is a man who admits he is a Communist (Klu Klux Klansman). Suppose the admitted Communist (Klu Klux Klansman) wants to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak or not?

a. Yes
b. Qualified
c. No

L2. (R2.) Should an admitted Communist (Klansman) be put in jail?

L3. (R3.) Suppose he's a teacher in a high school. Should he be fired or not?

L4. (R4.) Suppose he is a clerk in a store. Should he be fired or not?

L5. (R5.) Now I would like you to think of another person. A man who has been questioned by a Congressional Committee about his suspected Communist (Klan) sympathies, but who swears under oath he has never been a Communist (Klansman). Suppose he's a teacher in a high school. Should he be fired, or not?

---

[15]Each series of items was asked at a different location in the interview. Furthermore, half of the respondents were asked the

Based, then, on these items and the considerations given above, our final hypotheses are that

(C) Tolerance of leftist ideological non-conformity will be positively related to voluntary association membership; and

(D) Tolerance of rightist ideological non-conformity will also be positively related to voluntary association membership.

Index construction:

Having theoretically identified four sets of items that appear to be of relevance to the theory of mass society, we turn to an examination of the relationships among the sixteen items themselves to determine whether there is some empirical justification for speaking of the four sets as separable dependent variables. In essence, what is needed is a way of representing the relationships among the items in order to see whether they cluster together in a way that is consistent with our theoretical expectations.

Toward this end, the items were entered into a multi-dimensional scaling program, utilizing a method developed by Kruskal,[16] which plots

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Communism series first and the other half the Klu Klux Klan series first so as to allow for the determination of the possibility of any ordering effects.

[16]The interested reader should consult the following: J. B. Kruskal, "Multidimensional Scaling by Optimizing Goodness of Fit to a Nonmetric Hypothesis," Psychometrika, XXIX (March, 1964), 1-27; J. B. Kruskal, "Nonmetric Multidimensional Scaling: A Numerical Method," Psychometrika, XXIX (June, 1964), 115-29; Roger N. Shepard, "The Analysis of Proximities: Multidimensional Scaling with an Unknown Distance Function.I," Psychometrika, XXVII (June, 1962), 125-40; Roger N. Shepard, "The Analysis of Proximities: Multidimensional Scaling with an Unknown Distance Function.II," Psychometrika, XXVII (September, 1962), 219-46.

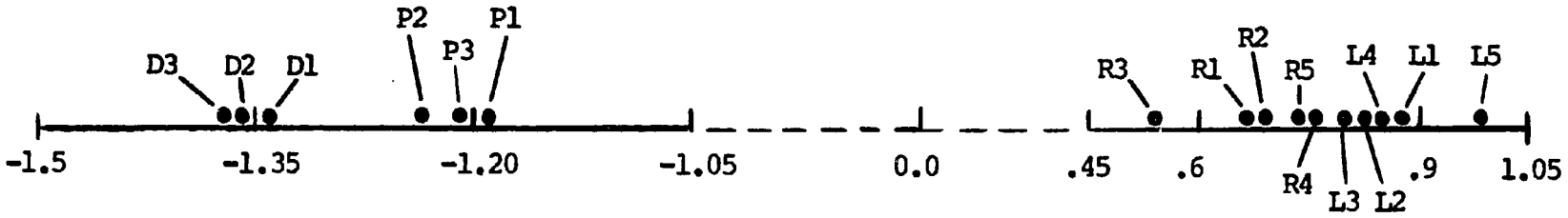
the items such that the resulting configuration represents the actual proximities or distances in the data. Specifically, the computer routine takes as input the matrix of product-moment correlations of N (here, 16) points and attempts to arrange them in t-dimensional space such that the configuration established by the computer comes as close as possible to portraying the actual order relations of the points in the data. The extent or degree of departure of the computed configuration from the actual order in the data is summarized by the stress coefficient, a measure which, as it decreases toward zero, indicates increasing closeness of fit of the configuration to the data. In essence, then, we make use of the method as a heuristic device to determine whether we have some basis, beyond a theoretical one, for the use of four separate summary measures as dependent variables.

For a one-dimensional space, the stress coefficient of the 16 points is .092 which, according to Kruskal,[17] indicates a satisfactory fit of the configuration to the data. Inspection of the arrangement of the points, noted by the item numbers, along the one-dimensional axis (Figure III.1) suggests that the configuration conforms to the theoretical expectations in the selection of the items. In other words, the three dogmatism items cluster together at one end of the scale as do the three powerlessness items, while at the other end of the scale, we find, first, the five tolerance of rightist ideological non-conformity items and, second, the five tolerance of leftist ideological non-conformity items.

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[17]Kruskal, "Nonmetric Multidimensional Scaling," p. 119.

Figure III.1: One-Dimensional Solution for 16 Dependent Variables (Stress = .092)



Actual Coordinates:

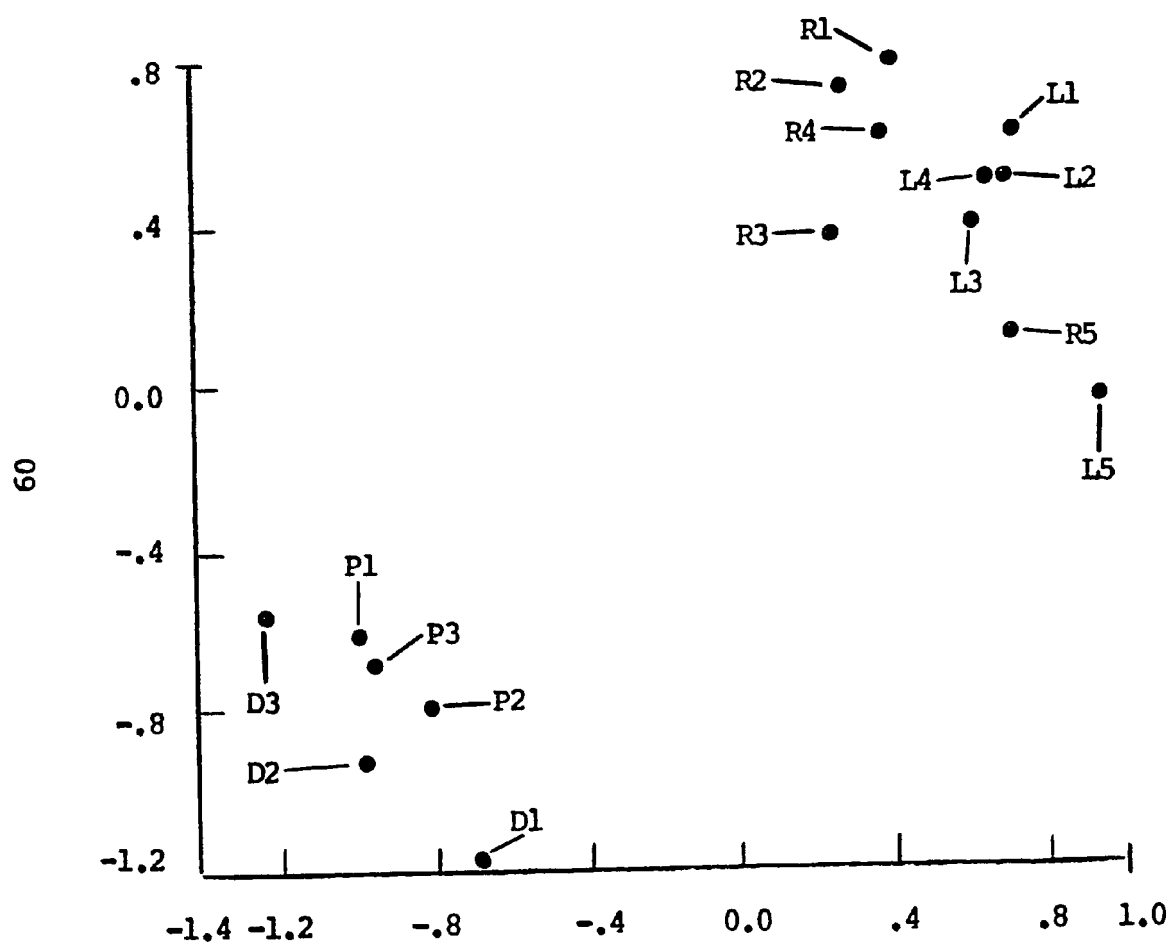
Item		Item	
D3	-1.363	R2	0.687
D2	-1.346	R5	0.741
D1	-1.319	R4	0.747
P2	-1.262	L3	0.792
P3	-1.221	L2	0.832
P1	-1.197	L4	0.839
R3	0.543	L1	0.863
R1	0.673	L5	0.990

Examination of the two-dimensional space for the 16 items (Figure III.2) indicates a similar structuring of the data. Here, the stress coefficient is .071, again an acceptable fit of the configuration to the order relations in the data. In this case, the three dogmatism items are found in the lower left hand portion of the graph as are the three powerlessness items, though the two sets of items can be separated from one another by a line drawn perpendicular to the diagonal. On the other hand, the tolerance items again cluster at the other end of the graph.

The arrangement of the dogmatism and powerlessness items at one end of Figures III.1 and III.2 and the tolerance of ideological non-conformity items at the other end has prompted a closer inspection of the two general sets of items taken separately. Since the one-dimensional solutions for the six powerlessness and dogmatism items and for the ten tolerance items, respectively, were well above the acceptability level, only the two-dimensional solutions are presented here. As can be seen in Figure III.3 (stress = .009), the three items from the dogmatism set are situated in the lower portion of the graph while the three items from the powerlessness set are situated in the upper portion. Similarly, in Figure III.4 (stress = .125, slightly above the level of acceptability), the five leftist tolerance items fall in the lower half while the five rightist tolerance items are found in the upper half of the graph.

Thus, with the exception of the lack of statistical justification in terms of an acceptable stress coefficient for the tolerance of non-conformity items, on both theoretical and, for the most part, empirical

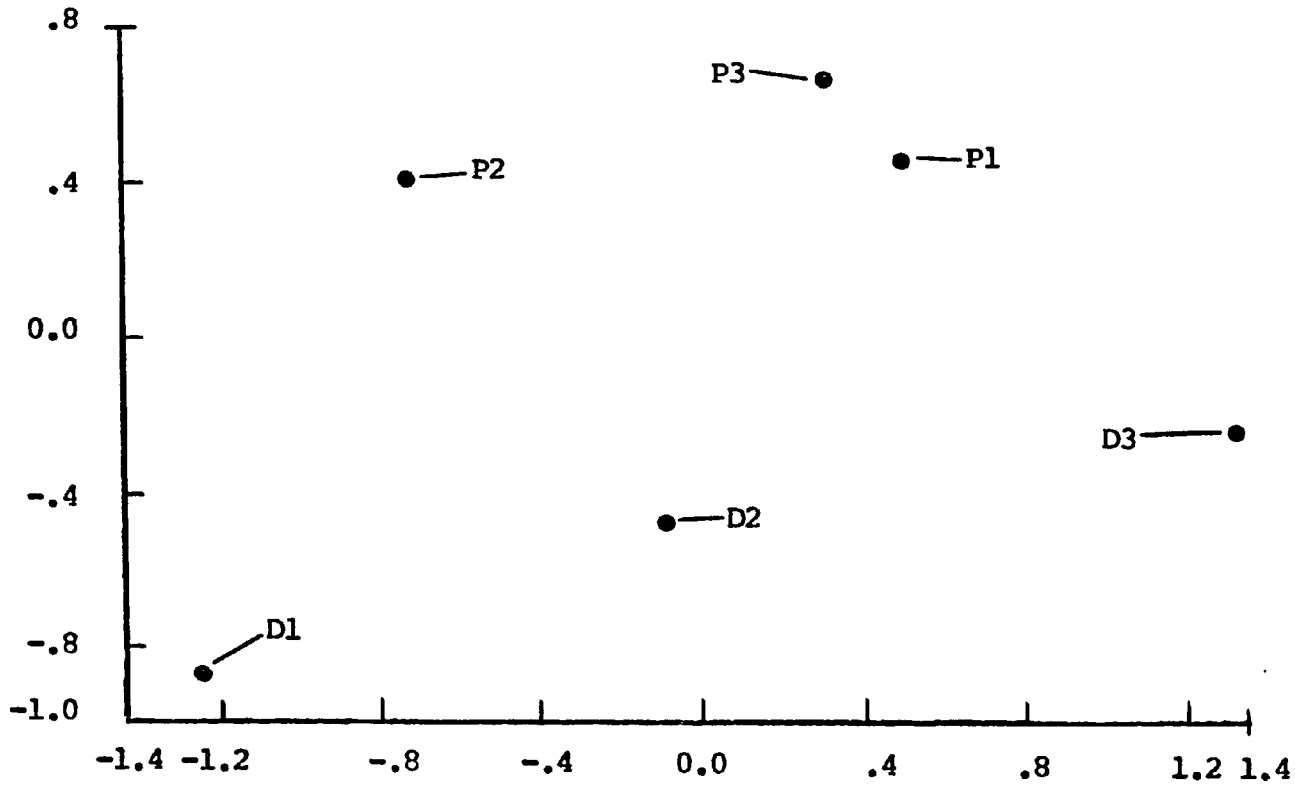
Figure III.2: Two-Dimensional Solution for 16 Dependent Variables (Stress = .071)



Actual Coordinates

Item	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
D3	-1.219	-0.560
P1	-0.990	-0.617
D2	-0.986	-0.930
P3	-0.970	-0.693
P2	-0.811	-0.821
D1	-0.679	-1.118
R3	0.274	0.360
R2	0.296	0.735
R4	0.361	0.613
R1	0.380	0.783
L3	0.618	0.390
L4	0.666	0.593
L2	0.682	0.578
R5	0.694	0.118
L1	0.744	0.612
L5	0.941	-0.044

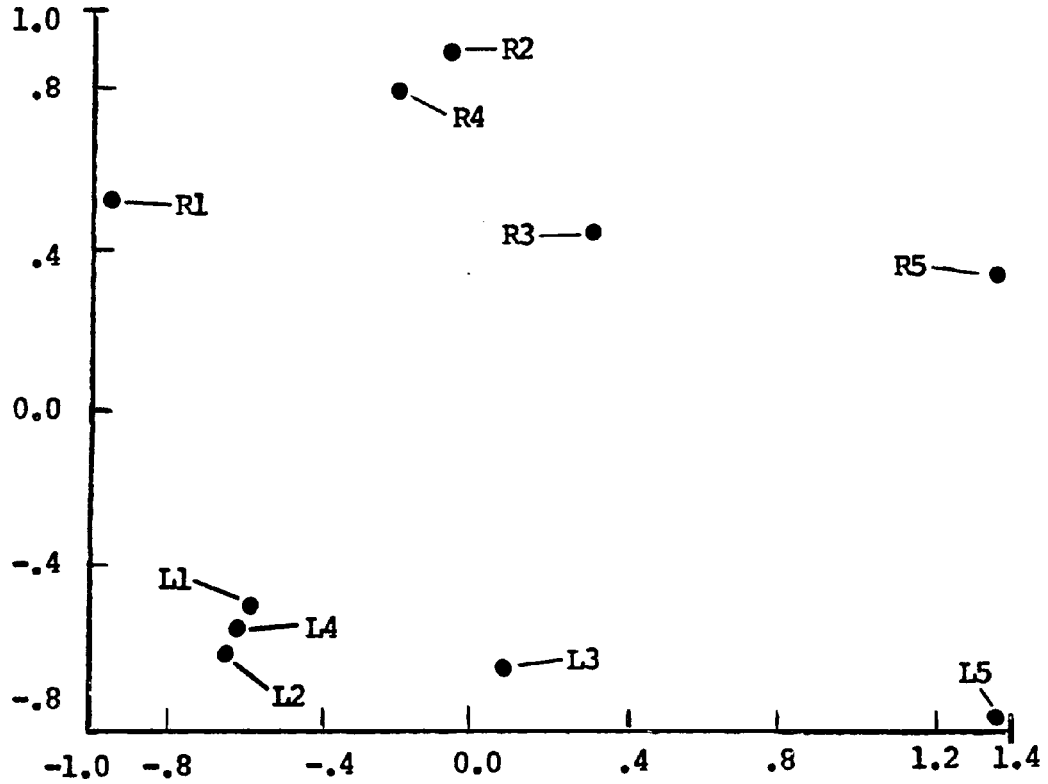
Figure III.3: Two-Dimensional Solution for 6 Dogmatism and Powerlessness Items (Stress = .009)



Actual Coordinates:

Item —	D1	D2	D3	P2	P3	P1
Dimension 1 —	-0.866	-0.475	-0.244	0.406	0.506	0.673
Dimension 2 —	-1.231	-0.095	1.319	-0.734	0.447	0.293

Figure III.4: Two-Dimensional Solution for 10 Leftist and Rightist Tolerance Items (Stress = .125)



Actual Coordinates

Item	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
R1	-0.948	0.561
L2	-0.652	-0.611
L4	-0.630	-0.543
L1	-0.593	-0.493
R4	-0.196	0.814
R2	-0.086	0.896
L3	0.082	-0.663
R3	0.303	0.461
R5	1.346	0.360
L5	1.374	-0.783

grounds, it would appear that the construction of four indices is warranted by the groupings of the items comprising the dependent variables.

The summary indices for the three powerlessness and three dogmatism items were constructed in the following manner. For each item, scores from 1 to 4 were assigned to the responses from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The sum of the scores for each set of three items was then divided by 3, yielding a mean powerlessness and a mean dogmatism score for each respondent (only those who answered all three items on each index were included). The range of the scores, therefore, is from 1.0 (representing low powerlessness and dogmatism respectively) to 4.0 (indicating high powerlessness and dogmatism respectively).

Responses to the tolerance of ideological non-conformity items were scored in a similar manner. Those expressing an intolerant response were coded 1, those giving a qualified response were coded 2, and those giving tolerant replies received a score of 3 on each item. Total scores for each respondent from the five Communist items and from the five Klu Klux Klan items were obtained and a mean score for each respondent on each index was computed (again, only for those respondents who answered all five items). On these two indices, then, the range of scores is from 1.0 (indicating low tolerance) to 3.0 (representing high tolerance).

One additional step was taken toward assessing the validity of the indices. Based on rather consistent findings from other studies, it would be expected that the powerlessness and dogmatism indices will be negatively correlated with measures of socio-economic status while the

tolerance items should be positively related to such measures. Table III.2 presents the product-moment correlations of the four indices with educational attainment, Duncan occupational status,[18] and family income.

Table III.2: Matrix of Product-Moment Correlations of Selected Socio-Economic Items and Dependent Variable Indices

Index	Education[a]	Occupational Status[b]	Family Income[c]
Powerlessness	-.347	-.276	-.265
Dogmatism	-.419	-.287	-.192
Tolerance (Leftist)	.325	.276	.087
Tolerance (Rightist)	.175	.172	.092

[a]Respondents were asked "How many years of school did you complete?" and responses were collapsed into the following categories: 1) less than high school graduation, 2) high school graduates, 3) some college and college graduates, and 4) post-graduate education.

[b]The two-digit Duncan Index of Socioeconomic Status code assigned to each respondent's present occupation was collapsed into five categories: 1) 00-19, 2) 20-39, 3) 40-59, 4) 60-79, and 5) 80-96.

[c]Respondents were asked "About what was your total income last year - 1965 - for you and your family, including all sources such as wages, profits, interest, and so on?" and responses have been placed in the following categories: 1) $6,000 and under, 2) $7,000-9,999, 3) $10,000-14,999, and 4) $15,000 and above.

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[18]The respondent's current occupation was first coded into the 6-digit detailed occupation-industry code of the U. S. Bureau of the Census and then recoded to the 2-digit code of Duncan's Index of Socioeconomic Status: see Otis Dudley Duncan, "A Socioeconomic Index for All Occupations," and "Properties and Characteristics of the Socioeconomic Index," in Occupations and Social Status, ed. by Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 109-61 and pp. 263-75.

Consistent with our expectations, all correlations are in the predicted directions and all are significant at the $p < .05$ level at least.[19]

Involvement in voluntary associations:

Two further hypotheses, to be examined in Chapter V, will be taken up briefly at this point. It was suggested earlier that the alleged benefits of voluntary association membership may not be forthcoming under the condition of token or inactive membership. As we noted before, for example, Almond and Verba conclude that political competence is found to be higher among active association members than among inactive members.[20] In addition, a somewhat parallel finding from the literature on aging suggests that the mere fact or quantity of membership may not be as important as its quality. In a study of the adjustment and adaptation of older persons, Lowenthal and Haven find that while adjustment to old age is associated with the frequency of interaction, the strength of the relationship is greater when such interaction

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[19]While the use of product-moment correlations and the associated tests of significance in this instance and in other cases throughout the analysis is in violation of the assumptions of simple random sampling and interval level data, their use for descriptive purposes is more defensible (William L. Hays, Statistics for Psychologists [New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963], p. 510.). Nevertheless, it is well to keep in mind as we proceed that these statistics are, strictly speaking, useful only as descriptions of the relationships in these data.

[20]Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), pp. 260-63.

is of an intimate nature involving the presence of alters who could be characterized as confidants.[21]

Given these considerations, we are led to the following hypothesis:

> Under the condition of high membership involvement in voluntary associations, a) the tolerance of ideological nonconformists will be greater, and b) powerlessness and c) dogmatism lower than under the condition of inactive or passive membership.

To determine the nature of association involvement, we will use the following item asking each respondent to indicate, for each association in which he noted membership, his estimate of the strength of his involvement:

> Would you say you are very involved or not very involved in (specific association)?

The primary measure of association involvement is a simple count of the number of associations in which the respondent indicated that he was very involved, although other measures, such as the number of associations in which the respondent noted involvement as a proportion of his total number of association memberships, will also be considered.

Friendship networks in voluntary associations:

As an additional qualification to the general theory of mass society, it was suggested that voluntary associations may themselves have structural characteristics parallel to those identified at the societal level by mass society theorists, and thus the associations may actually

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[21] Marjorie Fiske Lowenthal and Clayton Haven, "Interaction and Adaptation: Intimacy as a Critical Variable," American Sociological Review, XXXIII (February, 1968), 20-30.

serve to reinforce rather than to mitigate the alienative consequences ascribed to mass society. On the other hand, the existence of "intermediate groups" within the voluntary association is assumed, for present purposes, to facilitate the integration of the member into the association and thereby into the larger system as well.

Support for the general idea comes from a variety of sources beyond those cited in our earlier discussion of this point. Spaulding, for example, notes that the attachment of students to various clubs and organizations is greater when their friends are also members and, further, that membership in any sub-unit is related to a higher degree of attachment to the parent organization than where no sub-unit memberships exist.[22] Of considerable relevance, too, is a study of alienation among nursing personnel in which Pearlin finds that powerlessness is related to the degree of stratified disparity between subordinates and superordinates as well as the physical distance of the subordinates from the superordinates, both of which imply a dimunition in the possibility of exercising mutual influence. Furthermore, powerlessness was also related to the shift on which the personnel worked with the night shift being seen as implying greater isolation. Most important, however, for our purposes, was his finding that the existence of

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[22]Charles B. Spaulding, "Relative Attachment of Students to Groups and Organizations," Sociology and Social Research, L (July, 1966), 421-35. See also William Erbe, "Gregariousness, Group Membership, and the Flow of Information," American Journal of Sociology, LXVII (March, 1962), 502-16.

friendship networks within the hospital acted to reduce feelings of powerlessness.

> When individuals are a part of the informal social structure of the hospital, they are more able to gain a meaningful sense of importance to their involvement. Those without group ties, on the other hand, are more exclusively caught up by the formal organization, on which they can exercise little impact.... Alienation occurs less among those who have established extrawork friendship relations with fellow workers and this was found to be especially true when the friends are part of the same face-to-face work group.[23]

In other words, the existence of intermediate ties within the association can be postulated to be a mechanism which performs functions similar to those performed by the existence of voluntary associations within the context of the larger society. Given that data are available on the existence of friendship networks within the association, the following hypothesis is offered:

> Where friendship networks exist within voluntary associations, a) the tolerance of ideological non-conformists will be greater, b) powerlessness and c) dogmatism lower than where the member is not involved in such networks having their locus within the association.

Consistent with the more general substantive concerns of the survey, a great deal of information was gathered about the friends of the respondent. In the series of items on association membership, the respondent was asked to indicate whether he met any of the three friends cited earlier in the interview at meetings of each association in which he cited membership:

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[23]Leonard I. Pearlin, "Alienation from Work: A Study of Nursing Personnel," American Sociological Review, XXVII (June, 1962), 325.

Do you usually meet any of the three friends you mentioned in meetings of (specific association)?

The measurement of the existence of friendship networks was carried out in a manner parallel to that described for the respondent's association involvement. For purposes of data presentation, we rely mainly on a count of the number of associations to which his friends also belong, although summary consideration is also given to the findings with respect to other variables constructed in the preliminary analysis stages.

Analysis of the Data

To test the hypotheses suggested in the preceding sections as well as those to be proposed in later chapters, the chief analytical tool to be employed is the technique of multiple classification analysis.[24] Its use is particularly beneficial in terms of the ease of both data management and interpretation. In general, multiple classification analysis is a multivariate technique that can be used to examine the relationship between a predictor (independent) variable and a dependent variable (e.g., the relationship between voluntary association membership

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[24]The following is drawn mainly from these sources: Donald C. Pelz and Frank M. Andrews, "The SRC Computer Program for Multivariate Analysis: Some Uses and Limitations" (Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, September, 1961); Frank M. Andrews, "The Revised Multiple Classification Analysis" (Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, August, 1963); Frank Andrews, James Morgan, and John Sonquist, "Multiple Classification Analysis: A Report on a Computer Program for Multiple Regression Using Categorical Predictors" (Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, May, 1967).

and tolerance of ideological non-conformity) or between each of a set of predictor variables and a dependent variable holding the effects of the remaining predictors constant (e.g., the relationship between association membership and powerlessness controlling for education).

Given that the technique assumes that the effects of the predictors are additive, it operates in principle similar to multiple regression and analysis of variance techniques. The advantage of multiple classification analysis over multiple regression, however, is that there is no constraint placed on the form of the independent variables; that is, we may enter as a predictor not only ordinal or interval variables (e.g., the number of voluntary associations to which the respondent belongs) but also variables in a form as weak as nominal (e.g., types of voluntary associations). On the other hand, the major advantage of multiple classification analysis over analysis of variance techniques is that the predictors can be correlated (e.g., the use of socio-economic status variables and the number of voluntary associations to which the respondent belongs as predictors). The two major constraints of the technique are that the dependent variable must be either an interval scale or a dichotomy, while no two predictors should be so highly correlated that there is complete overlapping on any categories.[25]

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[25]The form in which our dependent variables have been constructed is neither dichotomous nor at the interval level of measurement. An independent assessment of how this might alter our findings and conclusions was undertaken by examining a number of the relationships to be discussed in the remaining chapters using the component items of the dependent variables in dichotomous form. In brief, the results

To determine the relationship between an independent and a dependent variable, the computer routine yields (in addition to the N and the per cent of the total) the mean value of the dependent variable for each category of each predictor variable, thus allowing one to see whether the relationship is positive, negative, or curvilinear. The program also yields an eta coefficient, the square of which indicates the proportion of the total variance in the dependent variable accounted for by the effects of each predictor variable considered by itself. When multiple predictors are used, the program yields an adjusted mean or coefficient giving the mean value of the dependent variable for each category of the predictor, controlling for the effects of the remainder of the set of predictors.

Other output includes an adjusted multiple correlation coefficient which when squared yields the proportion of variance in the dependent variable accounted for by all of the predictor variables considered simultaneously, the total sum of squares, the total explained sum of of squares, and the residual sum of squares. From these statistics, a

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of that analysis are entirely consistent with the conclusions that we reach based on the use of the summary indices as dependent variables. Although the use of ordinal level data in this case would, therefore, not appear to pose any complications of a substantive nature, the reader is cautioned about the resulting limitations in interpreting the data (e.g., a group may have a higher score, say on the powerlessness index, than another group but in no case can a group be considered, for example, twice as high as another group on any of our dependent variables).

variety of F-tests can be computed, of which the following three will be used in the analysis:[26]

1) To determine whether all predictors explain a significant proportion of the variance in the dependent variable:

$$F = \frac{E/(C-P)}{Z/(N-C+P-1)}$$

where E = Explained sum of squares
C = Total number of categories across all predictors
P = Number of predictors
Z = Residual sum of squares

2) To determine whether one predictor explains a significant proportion of the variance in the dependent variable:

$$F_i = \frac{U_i/(c_i-1)}{(T-U_i)/(N-c_i)}$$

where U_i = Sum of squares based on unadjusted deviations for predictor i
c_i = Total number of categories in predictor i
T = Total sum of squares

3) To determine whether one predictor explains a significant proportion of the variance in the dependent variable holding other predictors constant:

$$F_i = \frac{D_i/(c_i-1)}{Z/(N-C+P-1)}$$

where D_i = Sum of squares based on adjusted deviations for predictor i

Conclusion

Before turning to an examination of the first set of hypotheses, some mention should be made of certain inherent limitations of the study. First, owing to the composition of the sample, it is clear that the results of the analysis can not be generalized to the entire spectrum of sub-groups comprising the larger society. For example, of immediate

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[26] Andrews et al., "Multiple Classification Analysis," pp. 99-100.

importance would be the question of the effect of voluntary association membership on the propensity for militant behavior among non-whites. In this respect, then, the nature of the sample largely precludes the more detailed analysis that would be necessary to approximate a complete test of mass society theory for all relevant sub-groups.

Second, there is the question of the adequacy of the available measures. In the nature of both hindsight and secondary analysis, a number of items that would be of considerable utility are simply unavailable. These include not only a wider range of dependent variables -- so that, for example, some differentiation could be made among various kinds of powerlessness (e.g., political, economic, etc.) -- but also some more objective measures of the primary variables, such as involvement in voluntary associations (e.g., frequency of attendance, offices or positions held, amount of time spent on association activity, etc.).[27]

There is, finally, the question of causality. The model adopted proposes that certain consequences follow from voluntary association membership. Nevertheless, it is well to point out here, as others have done before, that an alternative model would suggest selectivity

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[27]Even in the absence of these more objective measures of association involvement, two studies which find a very high relationship between self-reported and observed participation would lead us to place some confidence in the respondents' assessments of their involvement: David Horton Smith, "Communication: Comparison of Self-Reported Participation in Formal Voluntary Organizations with Ratings of Participation Given by Organization Leaders," Rural Sociology, XXXI (September, 1966), 362-65; Lois R. Dean, "Interaction, Reported and Observed: The Case of One Local Union," Human Organization, XVII (Fall, 1958), 36-44.

in joining associations along the lines of our dependent variables.[28] Empirical resolution of the problem, however, with the use of cross-sectional data is for the most part impossible, although one type of variable that could be of some use is the duration of membership in associations. More to the point, though, would be an adequately conceived longitudinal analysis. Indeed, such a design could also be more cognizant of organizational variables involved by, for example, taking into consideration the degree to which the association actually meets its established goals and how this would relate to variables such as powerlessness or efficacy.

Because of these types of limitations, as well as others that will emerge as we continue, it is clear that our analysis cannot purport to provide a thorough and extensive empirical test of mass society theory. On the other hand, it is felt that the theoretical concerns raised are worthy, at the least, of tentative examination.

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[28]See, for example, David Horton Smith, "A Psychological Model of Individual Participation in Formal Voluntary Organizations: Application to Some Chilean Data," American Journal of Sociology, LXXII (November, 1966), 249-66; Robert Hagedorn and Sanford Labovitz, "Participation in Community Associations by Occupation: A Test of Three Theories," American Sociological Review, XXXIII (April, 1968), 272-83; and Harrison G. Gough, "Predicting Social Participation," Journal of Social Psychology, XXV (May, 1952), 227-33.

CHAPTER IV

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP AND THE THEORY OF MASS SOCIETY: AN INITIAL TEST

In this chapter, we will undertake an examination of the hypotheses proposed earlier concerning the consequences of membership in voluntary associations. Before proceeding, however, some mention of two aspects of the analysis is in order. First, we noted at the time the summary indices were being validated that all of the dependent variables were significantly related to measures of socio-economic status. Also, given the review in Chapter I of factors related to membership in voluntary associations, it is not unexpected that the product-moment correlation between education and the membership/non-membership dichotomy is .116 ($p < .01$) while that between education and the number of voluntary association memberships is .324 ($p < .01$). Given these relationships, therefore, a most specific question informs the analysis in this chapter: does voluntary association membership have an effect on the dependent variables above and beyond that of education?[1]

In answering this question, we will have occasion to refer to three types of effects, corresponding to the F-tests of significance discussed

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[1]Education is to be the only control variable used in conjunction with the analysis of this chapter since the results are not substantially changed with the inclusion of other socio-economic control variables entered alone or in combination. Also, both for reasons of economy of presentation and of the nature of our primary interest, the relationships between education and the dependent variables will not be presented in detail in the tables.

in the preceding chapter: a) we will use the term "multiple effects" to refer to whether all predictor variables, considered simultaneously, account for a significant proportion of the variance in the dependent variable being considered ($F_{multiple}$): b) "gross effects" will refer to whether a given predictor, by itself, explains a significant proportion of the variance in the dependent variable (F_{gross}); finally, c) the term "net effects" will refer to whether a given predictor variable, when others are held constant, explains a significant proportion of the variance in the dependent variable (F_{net}).

Powerlessness:

To restate briefly the first hypothesis, the theory of mass society would lead us to expect that voluntary association members will have a lower mean score on the powerlessness index than non-members and, further, that the mean score should decrease with an increasing number of voluntary association memberships. The data to test these hypotheses are presented in Table IV.1. It is to be noted first that with education and either voluntary association membership or the number of memberships, $F_{multiple}$ is significant beyond the .001 level (multiple R's are .341 and .347, respectively), an indication that either set of predictors is significantly related to powerlessness. Turning to the effect of membership, we see that while differences in the means for both the gross and net effects are in the expected directions, the small magnitude of the differences is reflected in the fact that neither F_{gross} nor F_{net} is significant. On the other hand, both the gross and net effects

Table IV.1: Gross and Net[a] Effects of Voluntary Association Membership and Number of Memberships on Powerlessness Index

Variable	N	%	Gross mean	Net mean	Eta	$F_{(gross)}$	$F_{(net)}$
ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP							
Non-members	163	16.3	2.001	1.934			
Members	835	83.7	1.904	1.916	.051	NS	NS
NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS							
None	163	16.3	2.001	1.940			
One	282	28.3	2.032	1.969			
Two	241	24.1	1.952	1.932			
Three	147	14.8	1.878	1.929			
Four or more	165	16.5	1.638	1.783	.193	$p < .001$	NS
Total	998	100.0	1.920				

[a]Controlling for education.

of education are significant ($p < .001$ in both cases; eta = .347). With respect to the number of memberships, the gross relationship is more clearly in the expected direction and, in contrast to association membership, significant. However, the test for the net effects, controlling for education, fails to achieve significance while both the gross and net relationships between education powerlessness are significant beyond the .001 level.

Dogmatism:

The second hypothesis predicts that members of voluntary associations will have a lower mean score on the dogmatism index than non-members and,

additionally, that the score on the dogmatism index should decrease with an increasing number of association memberships. The data testing this hypothesis are given in Table IV.2. Considering, first, the

Table IV.2: Gross and Net[a] Effects of Voluntary Association Membership and Number of Memberships on Dogmatism Index

Variable	N	%	Gross mean	Net mean	Eta	$F_{(gross)}$	$F_{(net)}$
ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP							
Non-members	158	16.2	2.468	2.390			
Members	817	83.8	2.429	2.445	.022	NS	NS
NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS							
None	158	16.2	2.468	2.391			
One	275	28.2	2.525	2.445			
Two	236	24.2	2.450	2.425			
Three	145	14.9	2.475	2.537			
Four or more	161	16.5	2.193	2.389	.167	$p < .001$	NS
Total	975	100.0	2.436				

[a]Controlling for education.

relationships between education with either voluntary association membership or the number of memberships and dogmatism, it is to be noted that each set of predictors is significantly related to the dependent variable ($p < .001$ in both cases, with the multiple R's being .423 for membership and education and .425 for number of memberships and education). We will see, however, that the strength of these relationships is almost totally due to the effect of education.

With respect to the difference between members and non-members, while the gross dogmatism scores are in the expected direction, given the magnitude of the difference, it is not surprising that the tests for both the gross and net effects fail to be significant. On the other hand, both tests for the relationship between education and dogmatism are significant at the .001 level (eta = .427). Considering now the number of association memberships, the gross mean scores are in a general way consistent with our expectations given the differences at the extremes, but here again the net effect of the number of memberships is reduced to a non-significant level when the effect of education is taken into consideration, which itself is significant for both the gross and the net relationships with dogmatism at the .001 level. In brief, then, it would appear that neither association membership nor the number of memberships contribute in any substantial way to the explanation of the variance in the dogmatism index.

Tolerance of leftist ideological non-conformity:

According to the third hypothesis, tolerance of leftist ideological non-conformity should vary directly with association membership as well as with the number of memberships. Again, however, the data in Table IV.3 are consistent with the previous findings. First, using either voluntary association membership or the number of memberships along with education as predictors, we find that either set is related to the dependent variable ($p < .001$ in both cases with multiple R's of .332 for membership and education and .319 for number of memberships and education).

Table IV.3: Gross and Net[a] Effects of Voluntary Association Membership and Number of Memberships on Tolerance of Leftist Ideological Non-conformity Index

Variable	N	%	Gross mean	Net mean	Eta	$F_{(gross)}$	$F_{(net)}$
ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP							
Non-members	155	16.3	2.228	2.279			
Members	797	83.7	2.226	2.217	.001	NS	NS
NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS							
None	155	16.3	2.228	2.280			
One	264	27.7	2.157	2.213			
Two	234	24.6	2.227	2.244			
Three	143	15.0	2.225	2.183			
Four or more	156	16.4	2.344	2.214	.101	$p < .05$	NS
Total	952	100.0	2.227				

[a]Controlling for education.

With respect to voluntary association membership, it is clear from the gross mean tolerance score, the eta coefficient, and from the lack of significance of both the gross and net effects for membership that virtually all of the variance in the dependent variable is being explained by education and none by membership. Consistent with this, the relationship between education and the tolerance of leftist ideological non-conformity index is both positive and significant ($p < .001$) for the gross and net effects.

Turning to the number of voluntary association memberships, we see that there is a difference on the mean tolerance score in the predicted

direction between those who belong to no associations and those who belong to four or more and also that, among those who belong, the mean tolerance score generally increases with the number of memberships. However, even though this relationship is significant at the .05 level, the introduction of education as a control variable reduces the net relationship to one of non-significance while the relationship between education and leftist tolerance remains significant beyond the .001 level for both the gross and net effects (eta = .327).

Tolerance of rightist ideological non-conformity:

The final hypothesis suggests that tolerance of rightist ideological non-conformity will be greater among members of voluntary associations and also that such tolerance will vary directly with the number of memberships. The data testing these hypotheses are contained in Table IV.4.

As with our earlier results, the combination of voluntary association membership or the number of memberships and education are significantly related to the dependent variable ($p < .001$, with the multiple R's being .170 for membership and education and .164 for number of memberships and education). Once again, however, the significance of the multiple effects is due almost exclusively to the effect of education alone. Thus, with respect to membership, neither the gross nor the net effects on rightist tolerance are significant while in the case of education, the relationship is one of increasing tolerance with increasing

Table IV.4: Gross and Net[a] Effects of Voluntary Association Membership and Number of Memberships on Tolerance of Rightist Ideological Non-conformity Index

Variable	N	%	Gross mean	Net mean	Eta	$F_{(gross)}$	$F_{(net)}$
ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP							
Non-members	145	16.1	2.542	2.562			
Members	757	83.9	2.535	2.532	.005	NS	NS
NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS							
None	145	16.1	2.542	2.562			
One	246	27.2	2.484	2.510			
Two	221	24.5	2.537	2.544			
Three	138	15.3	2.579	2.564			
Four or more	152	16.9	2.579	2.522	.076	NS	NS
Total	902	100.0	2.537				

[a]Controlling for education.

education, a relationship which is significant beyond the .01 level (eta = .183). In the case of the number of memberships, the situation differs from the earlier findings only in that the zero-order relationship between the number of memberships and rightist tolerance is not significant. On the other hand, the relationship between education and rightist tolerance is significant at the .01 level for both the gross and net effects. In brief, then, neither voluntary association membership nor the number of such memberships can be said to bear residual relationships to the tolerance of rightist ideological non-conformity index.

Conclusion

This chapter was premised on the general proposition derived from mass society theory that members of voluntary associations should be differentiated from non-members on certain social-psychological characteristics. Specifically, it was expected that we would find powerlessness and dogmatism to be lower and tolerance of ideological non-conformity to be higher among voluntary association members and even more so in the case of multiple memberships. Also, given the common relationship of socio-economic status to both membership in voluntary associations and the dependent variables, education was used as a control throughout. The basic question posed for this chapter, then, was whether membership in voluntary associations could explain differences in the dependent variables independent of the effect of education. The answer is clearly negative.

The simple dichotomy of voluntary association membership/non-membership was in no instance significantly related to any of the dependent variables. On the other hand, the number of voluntary association memberships was found to be significantly related to powerlessness, dogmatism, and tolerance of leftist ideological non-conformity. Nevertheless, in each case where some support was forthcoming for the zero-order hypotheses, the introduction of education as a control reduced the net effect of the number of memberships to non-significance. Finally, in all cases, education was consistently and significantly related to the dependent variables.

In sum, therefore, we find no evidence to indicate that membership in voluntary associations or the number of associations to which the respondent belongs has any independent effect on the dependent variables such as would have been expected on the basis of mass society theory. What appears to be the more plausible conclusion, at this point, is that the relationship between education and membership is what was reflected in the relationships between the number of memberships and the dependent variables.[2] These findings, however, do not as yet warrant the conclusion that voluntary association membership, under all conditions, has no effect on the dependent variables. It is with this in mind that we now turn to an examination of the effects of involvement and the presence of friendship networks in voluntary associations.

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[2]It should be noted that care was exercised in the order of entry of the predictor variables consistent with the warnings stated in Donald C. Pelz and Frank M. Andrews, "The SRC Computer Program for Multivariate Analysis: Some Uses and Limitations" (Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, September, 1961), pp. 11-15, and in Robert A. Gordon, "Issues in Multiple Regression," American Journal of Sociology, LXXIII (March, 1968), 592-616.

CHAPTER V

INVOLVEMENT AND FRIENDSHIP NETWORKS: SOME QUALIFICATIONS TO THE GENERAL HYPOTHESES

When the effect of education is taken into account, we have found virtually no evidence that membership in voluntary associations is related to the dependent variables. Since membership by itself does not yield the anticipated consequences, we now turn to an examination of two qualifications to the general hypotheses. To briefly summarize the argument, if integration into intermediate groups is the crucial variable, what is then needed are measures more refined than membership or the number of memberships so that the nature or quality of participation in voluntary associations may be determined. Specifically, token membership and the possibility that voluntary associations have "mass" structural conditions parallel to those proposed to describe the larger mass society are suggested to be two of the qualities that may be of some importance in understanding the role of association membership. In view of this, in the present chapter we take up, first, the effects of differences in involvement in voluntary associations and, second, the presence of intermediate (friendship) groups.

Involvement in Voluntary Associations

Based on previous studies, we would expect to find that involvement, like membership and the number of memberships, in voluntary associations will be related to various indicators of socio-economic status. Thus, among association members, we find a product-moment correlation of

.274 ($p < .01$) between education and the number of associations in which the respondent is very involved (with involvement in three or more associations being the upper limit).[1] Therefore, given the relationships between education and the dependent variables[2] and that between education and involvement, the major question informing this section of the analysis is whether involvement in voluntary associations relates to the dependent variables net of the effect of education. The data bearing on this question are summarized in Tables V.1 and V.2.

Looking first at Table V.1, it is clear that the combination of education and the number of associations in which the respondent is very involved is related to each of the dependent variables, with the

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[1]Two aspects of the analysis might be noted prior to a discussion of the findings. First, education is, once again, used as the only socio-economic control. Preliminary analysis employing other socio-economic controls, either alone or in combination, discloses no substantive alterations in the findings. This is also the case with involvement in voluntary associations. While the data to be discussed here use the number of associations in which the respondent is very involved, it should be recognized that this is only one of a number of variables that could have been used. Other involvement variables that were constructed ranged from the number of associations in which the respondent was very involved as a simple proportion of his total number of memberships to more complicated interaction variables designed to examine the number of associations in which the respondent was very involved at each level of total memberships. In brief, analyses parallel to those to be presented using these other variables yielded results which would in no way change the general conclusions.

[2]The product-moment correlations between education and powerlessness, dogmatism, and leftist and rightist tolerance for association members, are -.380, -.439, .345, and .185 respectively, all significant at the .01 level at least.

Table V.1: Multiple Effects of Education and Number of Associations in Which Very Involved on the Dependent Variables

Dependent Variables	Multiple R	$F_{(multiple)}$
Powerlessness	.377	$p < .001$
Dogmatism	.443	$p < .001$
Tolerance (Leftist)	.337	$p < .001$
Tolerance (Rightist)	.176	$p < .001$

F-tests for multiple effects being significant at the .001 level in all cases. However, examination of the data in Table V.2 suggests that these relationships are due primarily to the effect of education on the dependent variables. Specifically, with respect to powerlessness, as the number of voluntary associations in which the respondent is very involved increases, we find a decrease in the gross mean powerlessness score with $F_{(gross)}$ being significant at the .001 level. However, when we look at the relationship between involvement and powerlessness with education held constant, while we find that the net mean powerlessness scores generally vary in the expected direction, the magnitude of the difference is considerably decreased, and the test for the net effects of involvement fails to achieve significance. In the case of education, on the other hand, both the gross and the net effects are significant at the .001 level.

The findings with respect to the dogmatism index are for the most part in accord with those for the powerlessness index. Hypothesizing

Table V.2: Gross and Net[a] Effects of the Number of Associations in Which Very Involved on the Dependent Variables

Number in which Very Involved	N	%	Gross mean	Net mean	Eta	$F_{(gross)}$	$F_{(net)}$
			Powerlessness				
None	378	45.3	1.967	1.918			
One	253	30.3	1.938	1.932			
Two	120	14.4	1.817	1.861			
Three or more	84	10.1	1.642	1.817			
Total	835	100.1	1.904		.113	$p < .001$	NS
			Dogmatism				
None	365	44.7	2.460	2.406			
One	251	30.7	2.473	2.468			
Two	118	14.4	2.359	2.392			
Three or more	83	10.2	2.261	2.467			
Total	817	100.0	2.429		.102	$p < .05$	NS
			Tolerance (Leftist)				
None	357	44.8	2.210	2.247			
One	243	30.5	2.212	2.219			
Two	118	14.8	2.219	2.187			
Three or more	79	9.9	2.357	2.210			
Total	797	100.0	2.226		.073	NS	NS
			Tolerance (Rightist)				
None	339	44.8	2.523	2.544			
One	227	30.0	2.538	2.538			
Two	109	14.4	2.516	2.504			
Three or more	82	10.8	2.607	2.542			
Total	757	100.0	2.536		.053	NS	NS

[a]Controlling for education.

that the dogmatism scores will decrease as the number of voluntary associations in which the respondent is very involved increases, we do find

general support in the zero-order relationship. Yet, the relationship is not maintained for the net effects, controlling for the respondent's educational attainment, while the relationship between education and dogmatism is both in the expected direction and significant at the .001 level for the gross and net effects. In brief, while involvement in voluntary associations, as measured here by the number of voluntary associations in which the respondent is very involved, is negatively related to both powerlessness and dogmatism at the zero-order level, first-order analysis using educational attainment as a control is sufficient to reduce the relationships to a non-significant level.

The findings with respect to tolerance of leftist and rightist ideological non-conformity can be taken up together as similar results obtain in both cases. Examination of the gross effects of voluntary association involvement does suggest that the relationships are in the expected direction, i.e., higher tolerance scores in the case of multiple involvements, although the magnitude of the differences, in both cases, is reflected in neither the gross nor the net effects of involvement being significant. Indeed, when we look at the net mean tolerance scores, there is some indication that the direction of the relationship is reversed with tolerance decreasing as the number of associations in which the respondent is very involved increases. Finally, and consistent with every preceding case, the relationship between education and leftist and rightist tolerance, among association members, is positive and significant at the .001 level for both the gross and the net effects.

Friendship Networks in Voluntary Associations

The second qualification to the general theory of mass society to be examined here would lead us to expect that differences on the dependent variables will be evident, among association members, by whether the respondent is implicated in friendship networks within the association. For purposes of presentation, the presence of friends in voluntary associations will be measured by the total number of associations to which the respondent belongs and in which one or more of his friends is also said to be a member, with two or more such associations being the upper limit given the distribution. As was the case with involvement in voluntary associations, the specific measure being utilized here is only one of many that were constructed for the preliminary examination of the data. Others included, for example, the number of associations to which friends also belonged as a proportion of the total number of the respondent's association memberships as well as measures designed to get at the density of friendship networks such as the mean number of friends per association membership. In brief, these other analyses offered no evidence that would change the nature of the relationships to be discussed in this section. As a final preliminary note, given a correlation of .180 ($p < .01$) between education and the number of voluntary associations to which the respondent's friends also belong, the educational attainment of the respondent was again entered as the standard control variable.

The multiple R's for the relationships between education, the number of voluntary associations in which the respondent has friends, and the dependent variables are shown in Table V.3. The R's themselves

Table V.3: Multiple Effects of Education and Number of Associations in Which Friends Are Present on the Dependent Variables

Dependent Variables	Multiple R	$F_{(multiple)}$
Powerlessness	.384	$p < .001$
Dogmatism	.445	$p < .001$
Tolerance (Leftist)	.338	$p < .001$
Tolerance (Rightist)	.178	$p < .001$

range from a high of .445 in the case of the dogmatism index to .178 in the case of the tolerance of rightist ideological non-conformity index and all prove to be significant at the .001 level by the F-test for multiple effects. While we do find, then, that the number of voluntary associations in which the respondent has friends along with education explain a significant proportion of the variance in all of the dependent variables, examination of Table V.4 indicates that the socio-economic factor is responsible for the greatest part of the relationships.

Thus, the relationship between the presence of friends and powerlessness is in the expected direction in that association members with friends in two or more associations have the lowest gross mean powerlessness score although those association members with no friends in the

Table V.4: Gross and Net[a] Effects of the Number of Associations in Which Friends Are Present on the Dependent Variables

Number with Friends Present	N	%	Gross mean	Net mean	Eta	$F_{(gross)}$	$F_{(net)}$
			Powerlessness				
None	322	38.6	1.908	1.882			
One	314	37.6	2.005	1.975			
Two or more	199	23.8	1.737	1.828			
Total	835	100.0	1.904		.143	$p < .001$	$p < .05$
			Dogmatism				
None	315	38.6	2.432	2.402			
One	304	37.2	2.514	2.481			
Two or more	198	24.2	2.294	2.392			
Total	817	100.0	2.429		.128	$p < .01$	NS
			Tolerance (Leftist)				
None	308	38.6	2.215	2.236			
One	297	37.3	2.207	2.226			
Two or more	192	24.1	2.274	2.205			
Total	797	100.0	2.226		.045	NS	NS
			Tolerance (Rightist)				
None	289	38.2	2.525	2.536			
One	282	37.3	2.525	2.537			
Two or more	186	24.5	2.569	2.535			
Total	757	100.0	2.536		.038	NS	NS

[a]Controlling for education.

associations to which they belong do not have the highest mean powerlessness score as had been anticipated. Moreover, with education held constant, while the net mean powerlessness scores are somewhat reduced, the F-test for the net effects of the number of associations in which the respondent has friends is significant at the .05 level.

Since the use of education as a control variable has been predicated on its being a rough measure of socio-economic status and recognizing the probable slippage involved in using it as the only measure, the relationship between the number of associations in which the respondent has friends and powerlessness was re-examined entering family income as a predictor as well in order to allow for a more adequate assessment of the effect of the socio-economic factor in this case.[3] With this addition, the multiple R increases from .384 with education and the number of associations in which friends are present as the predictors to .405 ($p < .001$) when family income is also included as a predictor. However, the net effects of the number of associations in which friends are present is now reduced to non-significance while both education and family income are significant for the gross and net effects at the .001 level. In sum, then, the basis for the observed relationship between powerlessness and the number of voluntary associations to which friends also belong would still appear to be more directly attributable to the effect of socio-economic status.

Finally, the gross mean scores on both the tolerance of leftist and rightist ideological non-conformity indices differ in a way that is consistent with our hypothesis with the highest tolerance scores being

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[3]The product-moment correlations of family income with the number of associations in which friends were present is .133 ($p < .01$) and -.276 ($p < .01$) for family income and powerlessness.

found in both cases for those with friends in two or more voluntary associations. Yet, while some support for the hypotheses is indicated by the direction of the relationships, the differences between the category means do not prove to be sufficiently large to achieve significance for even the gross effects.

Summary

The data presented in this chapter generally fail to provide support for the two qualifications to the theory of mass society that were offered. Specifically, we were able to find no support to indicate that the nature of membership in voluntary associations bears any residual relationship to our dependent variables. Although significant zero-order relationships with powerlessness and dogmatism did emerge under the conditions of involvement in a number of associations and the presence of friends in two or more associations, it was only in the isolated case of the relationship between the presence of friends and powerlessness that the relationship could be maintained with education as a control. However, with the addition of family income to education as a further socio-economic control, this relationship too was reduced to non-significance. Finally, neither the presence of friends in associations nor the number of associations in which the respondent was very involved was significantly related to either tolerance of leftist or rightist ideological non-conformity at even the zero-order level.

CHAPTER VI

MEMBERSHIP IN DIFFERENT KINDS OF ASSOCIATIONS

Toward the end of the third chapter, we had occasion to note that a rather important criticism of the treatment of intermediate groups in the context of the theory of mass society has been the general failure to look at possible sources of variation among such groups. Specifically, insofar as attempts to test mass theory have been undertaken, the general tendency either has been to treat voluntary associations themselves in a singular, undifferentiated fashion[1] or to compare members of a given voluntary association with a control group of non-members matched on some socio-economic dimension.[2] Although the findings of these latter analyses may be ultimately of some cumulative interest, such designs inherently deny the possibility of a comparative assessment

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[1] Exceptions to this are Almond and Verba's distinction between political and non-political associations (Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture [Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965], pp. 252ff.) and Cox's distinction between territorially intensive and extensive associations (Kevin R. Cox, "The Spatial Structuring of Information Flow and Partisan Attitudes," Quantitative Ecological Analysis in the Social Sciences, ed. by Mattei Dogan and Stein Rokkan [Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1969], pp. 157-85.).

[2] See, for example, Helene Levens, "Organizational Affiliation and Powerlessness: A Case Study of the Welfare Poor," Social Problems, XVI (October, 1958), 524-32; and Arthur G. Neal and Melvin Seeman, "Organizations and Powerlessness: A Test of the Mediation Hypothesis," American Sociological Review, XXIX (April, 1964), 216-26.

of the differential integrative capacity among various kinds of associations.[3]

We, thus, are in substantive accord with Gusfield's observation that

> It is not true that attachment to intermediate structures insures attachment to the larger national institutions and structures. As a society undergoes change, it is likely that specific groups will be adversely affected by economic or social change. Similarly, some groups may develop new aspirations and objectives. In both cases they may come to feel that the existent political order is insufficient to command their allegiance.... It is even reasonable to maintain that an external threat to a group promotes its sense of solidarity and aids in the development of group identity and organization. Attachment to intermediate structures may indeed promote a shared sense of alienation of the groups from the total political order.[4]

Pinard, too, would alert us to the possibility that intermediate groups may have quite diverse effects:

> ...what constitutes a major shortcoming of mass society theory is its failure to recognize that secondary groups can also exert neutral or mobilizing functions. It may be empirically true that a large number of organizations in affluent societies will usually exert restraining effects, but not all organizations under any circumstances will do so. There are always certain components of the intermediate structure which exhibit a diffuse orientation of alienation vis-a-vis most or all features of the larger society, and there are certain

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[3]Similarly, even given the many typologies of voluntary associations that have emerged in the literature, little effort appears to have been directed at both the theoretical and empirical connections of the typologies to mass society theory.

[4]Joseph R. Gusfield, "Mass Society and Extremist Politics," American Sociological Review, XXVII (February, 1962), 26.

> other components which are alienated against specific aspects of the society, that is, which perceive their subjective interests as well as their norms and goals in harmony with those of a social movement. Obviously, such groups will stimulate rather than restrain participation in social movements.[5]

Indeed, the evidence from a variety of empirical sources is such that it is surprising that the variable effect of intermediate groups has not been more explicitly recognized by mass society theorists. While the consequences of implication in an intermediate network and their effect on the maintenance of allegiance to the larger social and political order is clearly central to Shils and Janowitz's discussion of primary group ties among the Wehrmacht,[6] the solidarity among members of the bank wiring room in the Western Electric study may be interpreted as pointing just as clearly to the possibility of the opposite effect.[7] Similarly, as was noted previously, Marx's recent study of the variable institutional ideology of religious groups and its relationship to black militancy calls to mind the same conclusion.[8]

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[5]Maurice Pinard, "Mass Society and Political Movements: A New Formulation," American Journal of Sociology, LXXIII (May, 1968), 684.

[6]Edward Shils and Morris Janowitz, "Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II," Public Opinion Quarterly, XII (Summer, 1948), 280-315.

[7]F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, Management and the Worker (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956).

[8]Gary T. Marx, "Religion: Opiate or Inspiration of Civil Rights Militancy Among Negroes," American Sociological Review, XXXII (February, 1967), 64-72.

Thus, in any research on mass society theory there would appear to be considerable justification for an examination of the differences between kinds and types of intermediate groups. In the present chapter, therefore, we intend to take a step in this direction by re-examining the relationship between voluntary association membership and the dependent variables for each one of a number of associations. The procedure to be followed is essentially inductive. Specifically, we will look first at the effects of membership in thirteen kinds of associations[9] and then, given the findings, determine whether a given class of associations, if any, emerges such that a consistent, significant differentiation occurs between members and non-members. This mode of analysis has been selected primarily because of the inherent indeterminacy in knowing, in some cases, the characteristics of the association in which the respondent has indicated membership. To take a set of contrasting examples for illustrative purposes, description of the category "sports group" as a rather small, essentially non-hierarchical, non-political association in which there is likely to be a fair degree of congruence between the goals of the group and the reason the individual joined is probably an assessment not far from the mark. On the other hand, the category "business and civic groups," in the absence of precise information of the organizational

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[9]Two associations, ethnic groups and community centers, are being excluded from the analysis given the small number of respondents indicating membership in these associations as are the two "other" categories included in the check list of associations.

characteristics of the particular association within this category to which the respondent belongs, would encompass a wide range of possible associations with a much greater likelihood of variation along such dimensions as size, the nature of recruitment and reasons for joining, as well as the goals and ideological commitment of the association. If treatment of all voluntary associations in an undifferentiated fashion involves the possibility of obscuring effects that may be visible upon a more detailed examination of associations taken individually, this possibility would also exist if we elected to construct hypotheses based on some typology of associations in the absence of the kind of descriptive data suggested above. While eschewing the establishment of predictions would seem reasonable given the situation, it should also be emphasized at the outset that, by the same token, the findings must be regarded with some caution and as tentative in nature.[10]

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[10]There is still another problem with the proposed analysis that should be brought to the reader's attention. Should we find that membership in certain kinds of associations bears a significant relationship to any of the dependent variables, given multiple memberships, some question would necessarily remain as to whether the observed effect is the product of membership in that particular voluntary association, the consequence of membership in another association to which the respondent also belongs, or finally the joint product of membership in the total set of associations to which he belongs. One possible way of resolving this difficulty would, of course, be to examine the relationship among respondents who belong to only one voluntary association in order to determine how membership in that particular association alone relates to the dependent variables. Such a course will be adopted whenever possible although, unfortunately, this method is largely unsatisfactory in our case in that for twelve of the thirteen associations with which we will be concerned, the number of respondents with membership in that association alone is under 30, while in ten of the associations, the number of respondents with that membership alone is less than 20. For this reason also, then, the findings to be discussed in this chapter must necessarily be construed as far more suggestive than definitive.

Finally, it is well to examine the relationships between education and membership in the voluntary associations to be used in the analysis so as to establish the need for appropriate controls. The data presented in Table VI.1 indicate that for eleven of the thirteen kinds of associations, membership is positively related to education. On the other

Table VI.1: Product-Moment Correlations of Education and Membership in Thirteen Kinds of Voluntary Associations

Association	Correlation Coefficient	Association	Correlation Coefficient
Church-connected	.159[a]	Country clubs	.219[a]
Labor unions	-.455[a]	Youth groups	.151[a]
Veterans'	-.042[c]	Professional	.473[a]
Fraternal or lodges	.175[a]	Political	.216[a]
Business or civic	.248[a]	Neighborhood improvement	.118[a]
Parent-teacher	.190[a]		
Sports	.109[a]	Charity or welfare	.085[b]

[a]Significant at .01 level. [b]Significant at .05 level.

[c]Not significant.

hand, for two associations the relationship is in the opposite direction. In the case of membership in labor unions and veterans' organizations, membership decreases with increasing education. Furthermore, with the one exception of veterans' groups, all relationships are significant at the .05 level at least. Again, then, education will be routinely employed as a control over the relationships between membership in the various kinds of associations and the dependent variables in order to determine

whether membership in any given voluntary associations has an independent effect on the dependent variables.

Membership in kinds of associations and powerlessness:

The multiple R's for the relationships between education and membership in the thirteen kinds of associations and powerlessness are given in Table VI.2. The R's themselves range from a high of .397 for

Table VI.2: Multiple Effects of Education and Membership in Thirteen Kinds of Voluntary Associations on Powerlessness[a]

Association	Multiple R	Association	Multiple R
Church-connected	.376	Country clubs	.377
Labor unions	.397	Youth groups	.381
Veterans'	.376	Professional	.381
Fraternal or lodges	.390	Political	.381
Business or civic	.379	Neighborhood improvement	.385
Parent-teacher	.377		
Sports	.377	Charity or welfare	.377

[a]All relationships are significant at the .001 level.

membership in labor unions and education to .376 for membership in veterans' organizations and education, and all are significant at the .001 level by the F-test for multiple effects. While the combination of membership in any given association and education as predictor variables is thus significantly related to powerlessness, it still remains to be seen to what extent this is attributable to the effect of education alone. The data bearing on this point are presented in Table VI.3.

Table VI.3: Gross and Net[a] Effects of Membership in Thirteen Selected Voluntary Associations on Powerlessness

	N	%	Gross mean	Net mean	Eta	$F_{(gross)}$	$F_{(net)}$
Labor Unions							
Non-members	434	52.0	1.709	1.810			
Members	401	48.0	2.117	2.107	.290	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
Fraternal Organizations and Lodges							
Non-members	608	72.8	1.977	1.949			
Members	227	27.2	1.709	1.784	.168	$p < .001$	$p < .01$
Neighborhood Improvement Groups							
Non-members	725	86.8	1.938	1.926			
Members	110	13.2	1.682	1.757	.122	$p < .05$	$p < .05$
Youth Groups							
Non-members	751	89.9	1.922	1.909			
Members	84	10.1	1.727	1.844	.091	$p < .01$	$p < .05$
Professional Groups							
Non-members	695	83.2	1.976	1.926			
Members	140	16.8	1.544	1.792	.227	$p < .001$	$p < .05$
Political Clubs and Organizations							
Non-members	779	93.3	1.923	1.907			
Members	56	6.7	1.616	1.831	.114	$p < .01$	$p < .05$
Business and Civic Groups							
Non-members	739	88.4	1.938	1.915			
Members	96	11.6	1.641	1.817	.134	$p < .001$	NS
Country Clubs							
Non-members	775	92.8	1.924	1.906			
Members	60	7.2	1.643	1.849	.102	$p < .01$	NS

[a]Controlling for education.

Table VI.3: Continued

	N	%	Gross mean	Net mean	Eta	$F_{(gross)}$	$F_{(net)}$
Parent-Teacher Asscciations							
Non-members	676	81.0	1.935	1.912			
Members	159	19.0	1.774	1.868	.089	$p < .05$	NS
Sports Teams							
Non-members	668	80.0	1.912	1.897			
Members	167	20.0	1.871	1.930	.023	NS	NS
Charity or Welfare Groups							
Non-members	789	94.5	1.914	1.909			
Members	46	5.5	1.732	1.826	.056	NS	NS
Church-Connected Groups							
Non-members	636	76.2	1.929	1.906			
Members	199	23.8	1.823	1.898	.064	NS	NS
Veterans' Organizations							
Non-members	732	87.7	1.900	1.903			
Members	103	12.3	1.935	1.909	.016	NS	NS
Total	835	100.0	1.904				

Looking first at labor unions, we find a significant difference in the gross mean powerlessness scores between members and non-members in the direction of higher powerlessness among union members. While examination of the net mean powerlessness scores does indicate a decrease in the magnitude of the difference between members of labor unions and association members not belonging to unions, the test for the net effect of union membership with education held constant is also significant at

the .001 level.[11] In brief, even considering the effect of education, membership in labor unions would appear to be related to higher powerlessness.

Unlike membership in labor unions, a finding which is directly contrary to that which would have been expected on the basis of mass society theory, membership in lodges and fraternal organizations is seen to be related to lower scores on the powerlessness index in comparison with members not belonging to this kind of voluntary association. With a difference in the gross mean powerlessness scores of .168, the F-test for the gross effect of membership is significant at the .001 level. Furthermore, even with education introduced as a control, the difference between the net mean powerlessness score of 1.784 for members of fraternal organizations and lodges and 1.949 for association members who do not belong to this kind of organization still retains significance. In brief, then, the data suggest lower powerlessness among members of fraternal organizations and lodges independent of the effect of education.

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[11]Similarly, the relationship between education and powerlessness is significant at the .001 level for both the gross effect of education and the net effect controlling for membership in labor unions. It might be noted here that the gross relationship between education and powerlessness will, of course, be the same in all thirteen comparisons. On the other hand, while the net effect of education, controlling for membership in the kind of association under consideration, is subject to variation, given that the net effect of education for all comparisons on each dependent variable is consistently significant at the .001 level, further reiteration of these relationships will be suspended until an overall assessment of the findings is undertaken at the conclusion of the chapter.

Such is also the case for members of neighborhood improvement associations. Looking first at the gross mean powerlessness scores, we find a lower score on the powerlessness index (1.682) among members of neighborhood improvement groups than among association members not belonging to this kind of organization (1.938). Also, while the magnitude of the category difference is diminished when education is used as a control, the difference between the net category means of 1.926 for non-members and 1.757 for members is still sufficiently large to be significant at the .05 level by the F-test for net effects.

Examination of the relationship for membership in various youth-serving groups (e.g., scout leaders) points again to a lower gross mean powerlessness score for members compared to those not belonging to this kind of association. Not only is the zero-order relationship in the anticipated direction and significant, but this is also the case for the first-order relationship controlling for education. Although there is the expected reduction in the magnitude of the category differences from the gross mean scores to the net mean scores, the relationship for the net effect of membership in youth-serving groups does reach a significance level of .05.

With respect to membership in professional groups, there is a marked difference on the gross mean powerlessness scores between members and non-members in the direction of lower powerlessness among members. Moreover, even given the strength of the relationship between education and membership in professional associations seen in Table VI.1, examination of the difference between the category means for the net

effect of membership points to the existence of a residual effect independent of that of education. Specifically, the difference between the net mean powerlessness score of 1.792 for members of professional groups and 1.926 for non-members is significant by the F-test for net effects at the .05 level.

Similar findings also obtain in the case of members of political clubs and organizations. Here, the gross mean powerlessness score for members significantly differs from the gross mean score of those who are not members of political clubs and organizations. Although the introduction of education as a control does reduce the difference between the category means, the net relationship still remains significant at the .05 level.

We have discussed the data relating to membership in these six kinds of associations in some detail since membership in each appears to have an effect on powerlessness independent of the effect of education. This is not the case, however, for the remaining types of associations, and these may be dealt with in a more summary fashion. With respect to members of business and civic groups, country clubs, and parent-teacher associations, there are in fact significant relationships with powerlessness at the zero-order level with members of these three kinds of associations having lower powerlessness scores than non-members. However, with the application of education as a control, while the differences in the net mean powerlessness scores remain in the anticipated direction, in each case the relationship is reduced to non-significance on the F-test for the net effect of membership. Therefore,

in the case of membership in these three groups, it would appear that the relationship between education and membership is sufficient to account for the observed relationship between membership and powerlessness.

For three of the four remaining groups — sports teams, charity and welfare organizations, and church-connected groups — the zero-order relationships are also in the direction of lower powerlessness scores among members, although here the magnitude of the differences is not sufficient to attain significance for even the gross effect of membership. In the final case, that of membership in veterans' organizations, we find another instance of a reversal in the direction of the relationship. Here, powerlessness is higher among members of veterans' groups than among association members not belonging to this type of group. However, as we found for membership in sports teams, charity and welfare organizations, and church-connected groups, the difference is significant for neither the gross nor the net effects.

By way of brief summary, the analysis to this point would tentatively lead us to conclude that there may, in fact, be differences between voluntary associations in the degree to which membership in them either enhances (in the case of labor unions) or reduces feelings of powerlessness, in that residual relationships were found after controlling for education for the members of the following six kinds of associations: labor unions, fraternal organizations and lodges, neighborhood improvement associations, youth groups, professional groups, and political clubs and organizations. For the remaining seven kinds

of voluntary associations included in the analysis, significant differences between members of the particular kind of association in question and non-members either failed to materialize for the zero-order relationship or were reduced to a non-significant level when controlling for the effect of education.

Following the procedure employed in the last chapter, the six kinds of voluntary associations in which membership was found to be independently related to powerlessness were subjected to a more intensive analysis using family income and the respondent's Duncan occupation score as predictors in addition to education in order to more adequately allow for the operation of the socio-economic factor. Specifically, the product-moment correlation between income and powerlessness, as noted in the previous chapter, is $-.276$ ($p < .01$) while that between occupation and powerlessness is $-.311$ ($p < .01$). On the other hand, both income and the Duncan occupation score are significantly related to membership in the six associations as seen in Table VI.4. Also, as we see in Table VI.5, the F-tests for the multiple effects of the inclusion as predictors of membership, education, and family income on the one hand and membership, education, family income and, occupation on the other hand are all significant at the .001 level. Given these relationships, then, Table VI.6 presents the mean powerlessness scores for the net effect of membership in the six kinds of voluntary associations

Table VI.4: Product-Moment Correlations of Family Income and Duncan Occupation Score and Membership in Six Selected Voluntary Associations[a]

Association	Family Income	Occupation
Labor unions	-.322	-.559
Fraternal groups	.146	.203
Youth groups	.128	.185
Professional groups	.270	.456
Political organizations	.136	.175
Neighborhood improvement	.190	.134

[a]All correlations are significant at the .01 level.

Table VI.5: Multiple Effects of Membership in Six Kinds of Voluntary Associations and Selected Socio-economic Variables on Powerlessness[a]

Association	Multiple R[b]	Multiple R[c]
Labor unions	.412	.418
Fraternal groups	.409	.416
Youth groups	.403	.413
Professional groups	.402	.411
Political organizations	.403	.413
Neighborhood improvement	.404	.413

[a]All relationships are significant at the .001 level.

[b]Includes education and family income.

[c]Includes education, family income, and Duncan occupation score.

controlling, first, for the effects of education and income and, second, for the effects of education, income, and occupation.[12]

It would appear from the data that the relationship between membership in the six kinds of associations and powerlessness remains basically the same no matter which set of controls is employed. In brief, in the case of membership in neighborhood improvement associations and professional groups, while the direction of the relationships is sustained with the additional controls, the finding that members of these two voluntary associations have lower powerlessness scores than association members who do not belong to these kinds of groups is reduced to a level of non-significance. However, in the case of members of fraternal organizations and lodges, youth-serving groups, and political clubs and organizations, membership appears to entail lower powerlessness scores regardless of the socio-economic controls employed, while in the case of members of labor unions, the net mean powerlessness scores are still significantly higher for members. Membership in at least four of the thirteen kinds of associations, therefore, would appear

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[12]The category N's, %'s, etas, and gross mean scores are not given as these are the same as those in Table VI.3. We might also note that the net effect of each of the three socio-economic variables on powerlessness is significant in all six cases at the .05 level at least when the effects of the other predictors are held constant. In other words, each socio-economic variable included as a predictor appears to be independently related to powerlessness.

Table VI.6: Net Effects of Membership in Six Kinds of Voluntary Associations on Powerlessness

	Net Mean[a]	$F_{(net)}$	Net Mean[b]	$F_{(net)}$
		Labor Unions		
Non-members	1.828		1.838	
Members	1.988	$p < .001$	1.977	$p < .001$
		Fraternal Organizations or Lodges		
Non-members	1.943		1.938	
Members	1.799	$p < .01$	1.813	$p < .025$
		Youth Groups		
Non-members	1.907		1.904	
Members	1.864	$p < .05$	1.884	$p < .05$
		Professional Groups		
Non-members	1.920		1.914	
Members	1.823	NS	1.853	NS
		Political Clubs or Organizations		
Non-members	1.905		1.905	
Members	1.861	$p < .05$	1.867	$p < .05$
		Neighborhood Improvement Associations		
Non-members	1.921		1.919	
Members	1.794	NS	1.801	NS

[a]Controlling for education and family income.

[b]Controlling for education, family income, and Duncan occupation score.

to be related to powerlessness beyond the effect contributed by socio-economic status.[13]

Membership in kinds of associations and dogmatism:

The findings with respect to membership in the thirteen kinds of voluntary associations and dogmatism may be considered much more summarily.[14] First, in all thirteen cases, the inclusion of education and membership as predictors yielded relationships with dogmatism that were significant at the .001 level by the F-test for multiple effects. Examination of the gross and net relationships, however, indicates that

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[13]For two of these four associations, there was a sufficiently large number of respondents who indicated membership in only one association so that a more detailed examination of the effect of membership in the given association by itself could be undertaken. In both cases, education, family income, and the Duncan occupation score were used as controls. Thus, respondents who belonged to a labor union and no other associations had a net mean powerlessness score of 2.013; respondents belonging to a labor union as well as one or more other associations had a net mean score of 1.961; finally, those association members not belonging to a labor union had a net mean powerlessness score of 1.836. On the other hand, those respondents belonging only to a fraternal organization or lodge had a net mean score on the powerlessness index of 1.578; those who belonged to this kind of association and one or more other associations had a net mean powerlessness score of 1.848; and those association members not belonging to a fraternal organization or lodge had a net mean score of 1.938. Both relationships were significant by the F-test for net effects at the .01 level and both may be construed as yielding additional, suggestive evidence that the effects we have observed, for these two cases anyway, are not solely attributable either to socio-economic status or to simultaneous membership in other associations.

[14]Owing to the absence of significant relationships with membership in most of the remaining cases, detailed presentations of the data will be kept to a minimum.

in all but one case this is almost entirely due to the effect of education. Thus, members of seven of the thirteen voluntary associations under consideration -- church-connected groups, veterans' organizations, fraternal organizations and lodges, sports groups, youth groups, neighborhood improvement associations, and charity or welfare groups -- do have lower scores on the dogmatism index than association members who do not belong to these kinds of associations. However, while the differences for the gross effects of membership are in the expected direction, the magnitude of the differences in these seven cases is such that the relationships are non-significant at the zero-order level.

For five associations, the gross effect of membership does bear a significant relationship to dogmatism. Thus, members of labor unions have a higher mean dogmatism score while members of business or civic groups, parent-teacher associations, country clubs, and professional groups all have lower scores in comparison with non-members of these kinds of associations. For this group of associations, however, the relationships are all reduced to non-significance when the effects of education are considered.

Finally, the data presented in Table VI.7 show that the gross mean dogmatism scores are significantly lower for members of political clubs and organizations than for association members who do not belong to this kind of association. Furthermore, membership in political clubs and organizations still bears a significant relationship to dogmatism when the net effect of membership, holding education constant, is considered. In addition, the significance of the relationship is still maintained

Table VI.7: Gross and Net Effects of Membership in Political Clubs and Organizations on Dogmatism

	N	%	Gross mean	Net mean	Eta	$F_{(gross)}$	$F_{(net)}$
Non-members	762	93.3	2.460	2.442[a]			
Members	55	6.7	2.022	2.262	.175	$p < .001$	$p < .05$
Non-members				2.440[b]			
Members				2.279			$p < .05$
Non-members				2.440[c]			
Members				2.276			$p < .05$
Total	817	100.0	2.429				

[a]Controlling for education.

[b]Controlling for education and family income.

[c]Controlling for education, family income, and Duncan occupation score.

for the net effect of membership even with the addition of occupational status and family income to education as controls over the relationship.[15] In sum, then, it is only in the case of membership in politically oriented voluntary associations that we find a persistent relationship with dogmatism net of the effects of the controls.

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[15]The product-moment correlations between family income and the Duncan occupation score and dogmatism are -.186 ($p < .01$) and -.309 ($p < .01$) respectively (those for membership in political clubs and organizations may be found in Table VI.4). As we would expect, the F-test for the multiple effects of each set of socio-economic variables with membership in political groups is significant at the .001 level while the F-test for net effects indicates that each socio-economic variable is significantly related to dogmatism independent of the combined effect of the other controls.

Kinds of associations and tolerance of ideological non-conformity:

The findings with respect to tolerance of both leftist and rightist ideological non-conformity are also such that they can be taken up most profitably, with one exception in each case, in the absence of an extensive presentation of the data.[16] Considering, first, tolerance of leftist ideological non-conformity, we find that in only one of the thirteen comparisons is there a net relationship between membership and leftist tolerance. In Table VI.8 we see that members of veterans'

Table VI.8: Gross and Net Effects of Membership in Veterans' Organizations on Tolerance of Leftist Ideological Non-Conformity

	N	%	Gross mean	Net mean	Eta	$F_{(gross)}$	$F_{(net)}$
Non-members	694	87.1	2.250	2.246[a]			
Members	103	12.9	2.068	2.090	.102	$p < .01$	$p < .01$
Non-members				2.246[b]			
Members				2.091			$p < .01$
Non-members				2.244[c]			
Members				2.100			$p < .025$
Total	797	100.0	2.226				

[a]Controlling for education.

[b]Controlling for education and family income.

[c]Controlling for education, family income, and Duncan occupational Score.

[16]The multiple R's for the relationships between education and membership in the thirteen kinds of associations and both leftist and rightist tolerance are all significant at the .001 level. We will see, however, that this is due largely to the effect of education alone.

organizations are more intolerant of leftist ideological non-conformity than association members not belonging to this kind of group. Not only is the gross relationship significant, but examination of the net relationship, controlling for education, indicates that the difference is still sufficiently large to be significant by the F-test for the net effect of membership in veterans' groups. Furthermore, neither the addition of income nor the addition of income and occupation to education as controls reduces the relationship to non-significance.[17] In brief, then, membership in veterans' organizations would appear to be related to a lower tolerance of leftist ideological non-conformity.

On the other hand, there was no indication that membership in any of the remaining kinds of associations was related to tolerance of leftist ideological non-conformity net of the effect of education. At the zero-order level, members of labor unions were somewhat less tolerant while members of professional groups, political clubs and organizations, and neighborhood improvement groups were somewhat more tolerant than were non-members of these kinds of organizations. These relationships, however, are due mainly to the socio-economic composition of these associations as all were reduced to non-significance when the

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[17] That the net relationships retain significance with the socio-economic controls is not altogether surprising as the correlations of family income and the Duncan occupation score with membership in veterans' groups are only -.043 (NS) and -.087 ($p < .05$) respectively. For leftist tolerance, the correlations are .176 ($p < .01$) with income and .272 ($p < .01$) with occupation. Again, both the multiple effects of each set of predictors on leftist tolerance and the net effect of each socio-economic predictor reach an acceptable significance level.

effect of education was introduced. Finally, membership in the remaining eight kinds of associations showed no significant relationships to leftist tolerance at even the zero-order level.

The findings are much the same with respect to tolerance of rightist ideological non-conformity. In only one case, that of membership in church-connected groups, was there a significant relationship with the dependent variable after the introduction of the socio-economic controls. The data presented in Table VI.9 thus point to a persistent relationship in the direction of lower rightist tolerance among members

Table VI.9: Gross and Net Effects of Membership in Church-Connected Groups on Tolerance of Rightist Ideological Non-Conformity

	N	%	Gross mean	Net mean	Eta	$F_{(gross)}$	$F_{(net)}$
Non-members	573	75.7	2.563	2.562[a]			
Members	184	24.3	2.479	2.470	.085	$p < .05$	$p < .05$
Non-members				2.560[b]			
Members				2.462			$p < .05$
Non-members				2.561[c]			
Members				2.468			$p < .05$
Total	757	100.0	2.536				

[a]Controlling for education.

[b]Controlling for education and family income.

[c]Controlling for education, family income, and Duncan occupation score.

of church-connected groups than among association members not belonging to this kind of association, regardless of the socio-economic controls employed.[18] For membership in four other kinds of voluntary associations, significant relationships did emerge but were not sustained with the application of education as a control. Thus, members of labor unions and veterans' organizations had lower mean tolerance scores while members of professional groups and political clubs and organizations had higher tolerance scores than non-members, but these relationships must be considered to be largely attributable to the effect of education given the reduction of the relationships to a non-significant level by the F-test for net effects. Finally, membership in the eight remaining voluntary associations showed no significant relationship to rightist tolerance for both the gross and the net effects of membership.

Conclusions

The analysis in this chapter was premised on the idea that there may be differences between voluntary associations with respect to the

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[18]The correlations of income and occupation with rightist tolerance are .108 ($p < .01$) and .176 ($p < .01$) respectively and .126 ($p < .01$) and .131 ($p < .01$) respectively for the relationships with membership in church-connected groups. In this instance, we were again able to examine the relationship in more detail considering the effect of multiple membership. Thus, the net mean score (controlling for education, income, and occupation) for those respondents who belonged only to church-connected groups is 2.360; the net score for those belonging to church-connected groups as well as to one or more other associations is 2.474; finally, the net mean score of association members not belonging to church-connected groups was 2.561. Significant at the .05 level by the F-test for net effects, this finding would further suggest that the observed effect can be attributed with a greater degree of assurance to membership in church-connected groups.

effects on the members of belonging to a given association. Thus, membership in thirteen kinds of voluntary associations was examined by comparing the members of each with association members not belonging to that particular kind of association. Furthermore, given the relationships between various facets of socio-economic status and both membership and the dependent variables, detailed consideration was given to the possibility that an observed zero-order relationship between membership and one of the dependent variables may be the product of the socio-economic composition of the association in question. However, a number of relationships did emerge independent of the effects of the socio-economic controls.

Specifically, we found that membership in four kinds of voluntary associations was related to powerlessness. Members of labor unions were higher on the powerlessness index while members of fraternal organizations and lodges, youth-serving groups, and political clubs and organizations were all lower than the comparable groups of non-members. With respect to dogmatism, members of political clubs and organizations were again lower on the index than non-members of this kind of association. Residual effects of membership were also found for the relationships between membership in veterans' groups and leftist tolerance and membership in church-connected groups and rightist tolerance, with both relationships being in the direction of lower tolerance for members of these two kinds of associations. Finally, in the three cases -- membership in labor unions, fraternal organizations and lodges, and church-connected groups -- that allowed for a more detailed examination

of the possible effect of multiple memberships, we were able to show that the observed relationships could be attributed with some assurance to membership in the association under consideration.

It would seem that a number of general conclusions can be drawn from the analysis, and these may be considered briefly in a rough order of descending reliability. First, the role of socio-economic status, as it has been throughout the analysis, was again of some prominence in understanding the observed relationships. Specifically, in this chapter we found a significant zero-order relationship between membership in some given association and one of the dependent variables in twenty-five instances. Of the twenty-five, however, sixteen could be accounted for by the effect of education alone and two more by the combined effect of education, income, and occupation. In other words, membership in voluntary associations is differentially distributed by socio-economic status, and since socio-economic status is also related to the dependent variables, this situation is able to account for the observed effect of membership in the majority of cases.[19]

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[19]It might be noted that we also explored the possibility that compositional differences by age could be a factor. Although significant relationships between the age of the respondent and membership in the various kinds of associations were found (positive in the case of fraternal organizations and neighborhood improvement associations, negative in the case of sports teams, and curvilinear with peaks at various points in the middle of the age range for membership in veterans' groups, business or civic groups, parent-teacher associations, youth-serving groups, and charity or welfare organizations), in no instance would the inclusion of age as a control in any way modify the conclusions we have reached.

Second, assuming the validity of those relationships that were sustained independent of the effect of education or, more generally, socio-economic status, there would appear to be support for the contention that voluntary associations cannot be treated in an undifferentiated manner. Findings indicating that membership in certain associations has effects opposite to those that would have been expected on the basis of mass society theory corroborate the notion of critics of mass society theory that voluntary associations and/or membership in such associations may have very diverse consequences. Furthermore, the results are in general accord with those of Neal and Abcarian[20] with regard to the need for distinctions among the consequences of membership in various kinds of associations. Specifically, membership in a given kind of association may have consequences entirely consistent with those predicted by mass society theory on one dependent variable and, on the other hand, bear no relationship or even a contrary relationship on another dependent variable. For example, Neal and Abcarian, having operationalized Seeman's theoretical dimensions of alienation, find, for example, that members of veterans' organizations are high on normlessness but low on powerlessness, social isolation, and meaninglessness.[21]

There is, finally, the question of whether the relationships we have seen in this chapter yield any indication of consistent differences by

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[20]Arthur G. Neal and Gilbert Abcarian, "Association Membership and Alienation Profiles: A Test of the Mediation Hypothesis" (unpublished paper, January, 1969).

[21]Ibid., p. 14. See also Murray B. Levin, The Alienated Voter (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1960), p. 66.

types of associations. Although it is well to recall the cautions stated at the outset, some tentative speculation would not be amiss.

First, that members of labor unions were high on powerlessness calls to mind two salient aspects of union membership. On the one hand, membership in labor unions is among the least voluntaristic of any of the associations included in the analysis. Employment at some levels in many large-scale industries is contingent upon membership in the union. On the other hand, the organizational structure of many labor unions is such that power is concentrated far from the individual or local levels.[22] In one sense, then, it may be that the relative powerlessness of union members is a reflection of their position in a microcosmic mass system. By way of contrast, political groups, fraternal organizations, and youth-serving groups, membership in which was related to lower powerlessness and dogmatism, would all appear to be characterized by a much greater degree of voluntarism.

Somewhat easier to explain are the relationships between membership in veterans' organizations and leftist tolerance and membership in church-connected groups and rightist tolerance. Given the composition of the items making up these indices, it is not surprising that the patriotic ideology of veterans' groups should be reflected in a low degree of support for the civil liberties of Communists while a similar

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[22]Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin Trow, and James Coleman, Union Democracy, Anchor Books (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1956); and Bernard Barber, "Participation and Mass Apathy in Associations," Studies in Leadership, ed. by Alvin W. Gouldner (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 480.

argument would obtain for members of church-connected groups given not only the racial but the religious sentiments espoused by the Klu Klux Klan.

While such explanations may be greeted by various degrees of acceptance, the fact remains that the data and the findings allow for little more than conjecture. Although the establishment of typologies of voluntary associations, as was noted above, would still seem a reasonable and a fruitful way to approach mass society theory, the basis for an inductive distinction from these results is not evident.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The primary purpose of this study has been both to examine a proposition central to the theory of mass society and to evaluate a set of qualifications to that general proposition. By way of brief summarization, mass society theory views membership in intermediate groups, especially voluntary associations, as being of critical significance for the social and political stability of a society. Descriptively, a mass society is said to be one in which power is concentrated at the top levels of the system and one in which the non-elites are atomized in the sense of being isolated from one another by virtue of a lack of involvement in social networks beyond the primary group level. The non-elites are thus accessible to easy manipulation by those in power without, at the same time, having the reciprocal possibility of making their own will felt. Prominent among the consequences of such a situation, according to mass society theorists, are feelings of alienation from the social and political order, feelings of being powerless to change that order through legitimate channels of influence, and, thus, either withdrawal and apathy or a readiness to embrace militant, totalitarian movements which provide for both a sense of belonging and a sense of power, albeit at the possible expense of the existing order.

On the other hand, the presence of and membership in voluntary associations is said to be one important vehicle for the expression

of interests and for the provision of a buffer against the unilateral exercise of power by the societal elites. Similarly, membership in such associations is viewed as providing a setting for the learning and appreciation of democratic processes and norms. With a plurality of intermediate groups thus facilitating involvement, representing the critical interests of the members, and providing ties of solidarity beyond those of the primary group, the possibility of individuals being disposed to strike out at the prevailing order is said to be lessened.

A number of hypotheses derived from this general perspective were the focus of our concern. Specifically, we expected to find differences between members of voluntary associations and non-members with regard to the following: 1) the alienative consequences of the mass situation should be evidenced in higher powerlessness among non-members; 2) dogmatism, suggested to be a characteristic of those prone to membership in totalitarian movements, should be higher among those not belonging to voluntary associations; and 3) the propensity to act from beyond the legitimate channels of influence should be reflected in a lower tolerance for the normatively defined rights of ideological nonconformists among non-members. In brief, these three general sets of hypotheses formed the basis for a test of the major proposition of mass society theory that membership in voluntary associations as intermediate groups has specifiable consequences for those belonging and, therefore, for the society as a whole.

There were, however, three points at which this general proposition was suggested to be somewhat inadequate or open to greater specification. We noted, first, that mere membership in voluntary associations may be insufficient by itself to elicit the expected effects and, thus, an attempt was made to distinguish between token or passive association members and actively involved members. Second, given that certain voluntary associations may themselves have "mass" structural characteristics by virtue of size, membership dispersion, oligarchic tendencies, and so on, an attempt was made to examine the hypothesis that the presence of intermediate networks within an association, as measured by whether the respondent's friends also belonged to the association, would have consequences parallel to those proposed for membership in associations as intermediate groups. Third, allowance was made for the possibility that certain associations may have variable effects on their members and, therefore, the initial relationships between membership and the dependent variables were re-examined for membership in thirteen kinds of voluntary associations.

Finally, and what turned out to be the most critical aspect of the analysis, given consistent relationships in the literature and for our sample as well between various facets of socio-economic status and both voluntary association membership and all of the dependent variables, we routinely used the respondent's educational attainment as a control on the relationships being considered. Furthermore, in certain cases, more rigorous tests of observed relationships were undertaken by adding

family income and the Duncan prestige score for the respondent's current occupation to education as additional controls. In brief, relationships between membership in voluntary associations or some aspect of membership and the dependent variables would be considered established only if they were sustained at a statistically significant level controlling for the effects of the particular socio-economic variables being employed.

On the whole, the findings yielded little support for the hypotheses concerning the effects of membership in voluntary associations. Specifically, examination of both a simple membership/non-membership dichotomy and the number of associations to which the respondent belonged indicated no residual or independent effect of membership on the dependent variables beyond that contributed by education alone. Although the number of associations in which the respondent belonged proved to be a better predictor than the simple dichotomy at the zero-order level, in no instance were significant relationships with the dependent variables sustained when the effect of education was considered.

Similarly, the hypotheses concerning the degree of association involvement and the presence of friendship networks fared little better. In only one case, that between the presence of friends and powerlessness, was there a significant relationship beyond the zero-order level. Although easily due to statistical chance, this particular relationship, in any event, was also reduced to non-significance when family income was combined with education as a control.

Finally, examination of the relationships between membership in thirteen kinds of voluntary associations and the dependent variables yielded some evidence of residual effects of membership beyond those contributed by the socio-economic controls. Thus, membership in labor unions was related to high powerlessness while membership in fraternal organizations and lodges, youth-serving groups, and political clubs and organizations was related to low powerlessness. Membership in political clubs and organizations was also related to lower dogmatism while membership in veterans'organizations and in church-connected groups was related to low tolerance of leftist and rightist ideological non-conformity respectively. Despite these latter findings, however, the majority of significant zero-order relationships between membership in a given association and one of the dependent variables were again reduced to non-significance with the introduction of the socio-economic variables.

Indeed, to carry this point somewhat further, significant relationships between some aspect of membership and one of the dependent variables were found in thirty-two instances throughout the analysis. In all but seven of these cases, however, the relationships were shown to be primarily attributable to the effect of socio-economic status and in twenty-two cases to the effect of education alone. Inescapable, then, is the major and most important conclusion of the analysis: <u>the effects of membership in voluntary associations are largely an artifact of the differential distribution of membership along socio-economic lines.</u>

The overwhelming weight of the evidence, therefore, would suggest that the effect of membership in voluntary associations for our sample, even under what we considered to be the optimal conditions of high involvement and the presence of friendship networks, is negligible with the possible exception of belonging to a few particular kinds of associations. In concluding, let us try to account for the lack of support for the hypotheses both in terms of the kind of data that would seem essential for a more definitive test of these and related hypotheses and in terms of alternative explanations.

We had occasion to note earlier that one factor limiting the possibility of generalizing from these results to the entire population was the exclusion from the sample of certain segments of the population. One might argue, with Selznick,[1] that the conditions of and thus responses to mass society are not evenly distributed among major segments of the population in a highly differentiated society. Perhaps most important in this connection is the absence of data on non-whites. Clearly such an analysis would provide not only a comparative assessment of the role of intermediate group membership for a group rather low on socio-economic status dimensions but also the opportunity to measure more directly, both attitudinally and behaviorally, the proneness to

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[1] Philip Selznick, "Institutional Vulnerability in Mass Society," in America as a Mass Society, ed. by Philip Olson (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), p. 20.

militant, extremist behavior which is very much at the heart of mass society theory. In brief, by focussing only on the white community as we have done, the possibility remains that we have overlooked an area of the system in which mass society theory may have much greater explanatory power.[2]

Furthermore, although we do not want to leave the impression that we do not place a fair degree of confidence in the findings, the little evidence that we have found for an effect of membership in voluntary associations strongly suggests the need for a differentiated view of both the nature of membership and the characteristics of the associations.[3] Given that this would seem to be the most fruitful approach to the analysis of association membership as it relates to the theory of mass society, detailed data of the following kind are considered highly desireable:

> 1) information on the nature of the member's total involvement in the association (e.g., length of membership,

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[2]Two additional points might be made here. First, parallel analyses for either a national sample or for samples drawn from a number of communities would allow for an evaluation of the representativeness of our Detroit data by taking into account regional differences. Second, a more limited but nevertheless theoretically significant focus for an assessment of the function of intermediate group membership would be the college population.

[3]As we noted in the preceding chapter, the same may be said for the dependent variables. While every indication is that those used in the analysis tap certain theoretically important dimensions, it is clear that a much wider range of variables (e.g., political participation and knowledge, facets of alienation other than powerlessness, etc.) is needed for an adequate empirical examination of mass society theory.

> proportion of meetings and functions attended, time spent on association activities beyond attendance at meetings, offices held by the respondent, attendance at regional or national meetings, extra-association activities with fellow members, etc.);
>
> 2) information on the characteristics of the associations (e.g., size, ease of member involvement in decision making, extent of the association's hierarchical structure, election procedures, the goals and purposes of the association, methods of recruitment, etc.);
>
> 3) information on why the respondent joined and what he views as the major benefits of membership.

While this enumeration is more suggestive than exhaustive, the inclusion of such variables would serve the function of allowing one to categorize associations along important theoretical dimensions and to construct typologies with some precise knowledge of both the nature of the association and the respondent's involvement in that association.

On the other hand, it is well to recall some observations made earlier[4] that may help to account for the very limited effects of association membership that were seen in the analysis. First, the responsiveness of voluntary associations to their members may be quite minimal, particularly among the larger, more powerful associations. Attributing this to their changing organizational characteristics, Olsen notes that

> ...the more significant [associations] -- such as labor unions, political parties, professional associations, and business organizations -- are becoming so huge, formalized, and complex that ordinary members can exercise no more control over their activities than over the national government. On the national level, these kinds of

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[4] See Chapter II.

> organizations can and do influence the government and hence give the society a semblance of pluralism, but they do not provide an organized channel through which individuals can act collectively to make their interests felt on the national level.[5]

Indeed, such an interpretation is consistent with the relationship between membership in labor unions and high powerlessness that we saw in the last chapter. In general, then, further analyses of the consequences of voluntary association membership in the context of mass society theory must clearly come to grips with the question of the relation of the association to its members in such terms as either the degree of responsiveness of the association to its members or the degree of membership control over the leaders and activities of the association.[6]

Second, there are many indications that a comparative historical treatment of the importance of voluntary associations would be of considerable value. Viewed from a systemic perspective, for example, it is clear that voluntary associations exist in and interact with an environment that is subject to change and which, therefore, may affect their role.[7] Hausknecht implicitly adopts such a perspective when he argues

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[5]Marvin E. Olsen, The Process of Social Organization (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. 329.

[6]The possibility that association leaders may be co-opted by government elites is taken up in J. B. Allcock, "Voluntary Associations and the Structure of Power," The Sociological Review, XVI (March, 1968), 59-81.

[7]Not only might the environment in which an association exists change over time but it can differ at the same point in time given the location of the association. For an analysis of the variable consequences of location, see N. J. Demereth III and Victor Thiesen, "On Spitting Against the Wind: Organizational Precariousness and American Irreligion," American Journal of Sociology, LXXI (May, 1966), 674-87.

that, aside from the area of civil rights, the significance of voluntary associations as a force in social change has declined as affluence has risen and as the major and innovative goals of associations have been met:

> If the assumption that the vigor of associational life is related to the perception of salient moral problems is true, then we can anticipate that in the near future voluntary associations will not be a significant factor in American life. Once, however, moral problems emerge as salient we may expect to see a concomitant rise in the importance of associational life. To put it another way, when the present level of achievement ceases to be satisfactory, enough impetus may be generated for further movement and further change.[8]

Similarly, Pinard suggests that the role of voluntary associations may be more prominent when "sources of strain" that act to mobilize and to direct association activities are present in the environment.[9] What we are suggesting here, in brief, is that a more detailed examination of the social environment may disclose that many voluntary associations are less operative as integrative mechanisms and, therefore, less important in terms of mass society theory than may have formerly been the case.

Furthermore, and not unrelated to the last point, support has been received for the notion that forms of social relationships other than association membership serve the same purpose. Thus, summarizing an

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[8]Murray Hausknecht, The Joiners (New York: Bedminster Press, 1962), p. 125.

[9]Maurice Pinard, "Mass Society and Political Movements: A New Formulation," American Journal of Sociology, LXXIII (May, 1968), 608-09. See also James Coleman, Community Conflict (Glencoe: Free Press, 1957).

analysis of influences on political attitudes, Segal and Meyer, in noting the viability of the neighborhood and the local community as sources of integration, conclude that

> other forms of association,...especially residence in the local community, can serve to integrate the individual into the political order and thus provide bases for diversity which are absent from Kornhauser's model of mass society.[10]

In sum, then, our findings clearly indicate that certain social-psychological characteristics thought to be related to voluntary association membership are more properly attributed to education in particular and to socio-economic status in general. Furthermore, the kinds of criticisms of mass society theory cited here and elsewhere in the analysis would suggest that an extensive and critical re-assessment of the significance of voluntary associations and association membership is appropriate.

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[10] David R. Segal and Marshall W. Meyer, "The Social Context of Political Partisanship," in Quantitative Ecological Analysis in the Social Sciences, ed. by Mattei Doggan and Stein Rokkan (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1969), p. 232. See also Scott Greer, "Urbanism Reconsidered: A Comparative Study of Local Areas in a Metropolis," American Sociological Review, XXI (February, 1956), 19-25.

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