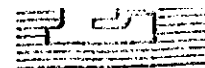


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SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF PERSONALITY RELATED
TO UPWARD SOCIAL MOBILITY IN AN UNSTABLE
URBAN ENVIRONMENT

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CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I.	3
Subjects and group characteristics	6
II.	9
"Intelligence" and mobility	9
Aspirations and mobility	10
Value orientation and mobility	14
The Rorschach performance of the mobile individuals .	17

I

The growth of cities and the increase of industrialization produce a series of social characteristics that distinguish one city from another; and whenever we speak of cities we associate their existence with a way of life which requires of the individual certain patterns of behaviour. The impact of urbanization upon personality is to a considerable extent a problem of personal adjustment to a new environment in which social, economic, educational, familiar, political, and other changes are occurring so rapidly that they affect every aspect of life; and adjustment is essentially a change of personal behaviour patterns in the direction of a maximum exploitation of the opportunities which the urban environment offers.

In a capitalistic "free enterprise" economy, this exploitation of the urban industrial environment may be manifested, among other phenomena, in vertical social mobility, mobility in this case being the result of exploiting opportunities, and therefore tending to increase with increasing urbanization. This is the situation prevailing in Sao Paulo, where considerable opportunities have been thrown open by urbanization and industrialization and ample possibilities for social mobility created, whose repercussions have been felt for a considerable period, not only within the city itself, but also outside its limits. Hence Sao Paulo exercises a powerful centripetal force attracting further immigration from other regions of Brazil and from abroad.

Moreover, to the spectacular growth of the city of Sao Paulo which has encouraged the multiplication of opportunities for occupational "success", we must add another peculiarity of the urban environment. The changes in the various occupational levels which have promoted mobility are at the same time factors which lend to the urbanization process in the city certain features of disorganisation which have inevitably their repercussion on those seeking to live and to work in this environment.

/However, upward

However, upward social mobility is not only a matter of possibilities, or a function of opportunities available to individuals in the urban environment, but is specifically something to be actively sought. In other words, mobility depends also on the individual's willingness to develop and exploit his talents, capacities and opportunities. Therefore, in spite of the popular belief that any one who wishes "to get ahead" can do so, upward social mobility, and in this sense urbanization, usually demands certain specific personality characteristics.

The same may be said of individuals who immigrate from abroad. In fact, both the cities and foreign migration itself tend to "select" in terms of individual characteristics. Because these individuals display a personality which is eager to ascend, and because new opportunities are present in the urban environment, therefore urbanisation which involves a considerable number of immigrants would lead to the expectation of a heightened rate of upward social mobility. Our purpose here is to show what are the characteristics of those who, in terms of social mobility, are successful in a novel urban environment.

The material on personality in relation to upward mobility which is presented and discussed in this paper arose from a research project in the city of Sao Paulo whose main concern was with education and social mobility.^{1/} It has been re-analysed here in the wider context of the problem of urbanisation; but it will be useful, nevertheless, to refer at the outset to some of the main important conclusions reached in the original project.

The problem which formed the basis of the original study required the selection of an adequate criterion of socio-economic status. Although many measures are available for this purpose, occupation was chosen as being the most satisfactory single index. Using the position which an occupation is accorded in a scale of social prestige as criterion of the individual social status, mobility was estimated through differences in

^{1/} Hutchinson, B. (ed.) Trabalho, Status e Educaçao. Rio de Janeiro (Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais). Forthcoming.

achieved status as between two generations in a representative sample of the city's population. From the subsequent analysis it was concluded that there frequently occurred in Sao Paulo, from one generation to the other, a clear change in position on the status scale, and what is also important, in great proportion this change resulted from opportunities opened by the alteration in several occupational levels. The socio-economic development of the city had created many new positions, especially at the level of skilled manual, professional and high administrative, managerial and executive, lower grade inspectional and supervisory occupations.

Considering the existing conditions, our intention was to study those individuals who had perceived and had exploited these new opportunities. In other words, we were to ascertain whether the individuals who ascended the social scale had certain specific characteristics which could be determined by means of psychological inquiry. Moreover, as the expansion of opportunity in urban occupations facilitating upward social mobility also requires others to descend the occupational scale, the sample includes representatives not only of those who ascended, but also of those who descended, the social scale. Therefore, although we are particularly interested in discussing the characteristics of the upwardly mobile individual, at this stage the problem can be better understood in comparative terms.

The main hypothesis, therefore, is that differences in personality account for some of the variation in social mobility, although mobility is primarily a consequence of the urban environment. We must bear in mind, however, that the characteristics we observed in the mobile individuals are limited to the exceptional conditions of the city in which they live - that is, they are important when change of status occurs through structural change rather than exchange mobility.^{2/} It follows that it is reasonable to suppose that these same characteristics could be a handicap to ascension in the latter situation.

^{2/} Hutchinson, B. Structural and exchange mobility in the assimilation of immigrants to Brazil. Population Studies (forthcoming).

Subjects and group characteristics

The subjects composing two of the three groups studied were drawn from the city's male population and were selected at random from the main social mobility sample. Information concerning the occupation of the subject and his father was obtained through a general interview with the main sample. The occupations of father and son were rated according to a scale of prestige consisting of six categories of descending status, whose validity had been previously verified.

From the main sample individuals were chosen whose status category was higher or lower by at least two grades than that of their fathers, this limitation being the easiest manner of eliminating possible errors in the extrinsic judgement of mobility.

As the population of the city of Sao Paulo is very heterogeneous, it seemed valuable to study, at the same time, a group of mobile individuals representing one of the many immigrant groups of the city. The third group is therefore made of subjects chosen from among the Italian immigrant extensively studied as a part of the social mobility scheme. The life-histories of these immigrants showed that many did not succeed in changing their position on the social status scale, in such cases the immigrant's occupation being simply different from that exercised in his country of origin though, while of the same level, offering better financial reward. As the status hierarchy used does not permit these finer distinctions the third group was split into two sub-groups; one composed of immigrants who (according to the criterion used for the two other groups) were able to ascend in the occupational status scale, and the other composed of immigrants whose mobility was not revealed by changes in position on our scale of status but was evident from their better living conditions. In both cases there may have been a change in status, the difference being in the degree of change as those whom we regarded as being upwardly mobile were restricted to persons who had changed their position in the status scale.

/The subjects

The subjects whose level of intelligence, aspirations, value orientations, need for achievement and other personality characteristics are recorded and interpreted in the following pages, although not "statistically representative" of mobile individuals in Brazil at large, may be considered nevertheless "phenomenologically representative" of mobile individuals living in different sub-cultures defined in terms of occupation levels as they are found in an urban environment at this time.

The mean age of the 80 subjects selected from the main sample who ascended in the status scale was 44.2 years; 88.1 per cent were married and 72.2 per cent were born in Brazil. For 76.6 per cent at least one parent or one grandparent had not been born in Brazil.

The other group was composed of all subjects in the sample population who descended at least two status categories. The mean age of these 38 subjects was 37.4 years^{3/}; 76.3 per cent were married; 86.0 per cent were Brazilian-born, while 50.0 per cent were of foreign origin.

Tables 1 and 2 show the distribution of the two groups of subjects according to the six-category status scale and their resulting occupational level.

The immigrant group comprises 40 subjects, the mean age of the ascending group (20 subjects) being 49.5 years. Those who had changed their occupation, but not their position on the social status scale, formed the remainder, their mean age being 56.6 years, and their occupations being largely that of newspaper vendor, street trader and transport worker.

The immigrants who ascended the status scale reached categories 3 and 4, while the remainder maintained their original level (category 6).

3/ Although the differences between the mean ages of the two groups gives the impression that one of them is composed of younger subjects, it must be noted that the total range is greater in the ascending group which includes a greater percentage of young subjects.

Table 1

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUBJECTS WHO ASCENDED THE SOCIAL
 STATUS SCALE IN RELATION TO THEIR FATHERS

(Percentages)

Father's status	Subject's status					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Professional and high administrative						
2. Managerial and executive						
3. Higher grade inspectional supervisory and other non-manual occupations	6.5					
4. Lower grade inspectional, supervisory and other non-manual occupations	2.5	14.3				
5. Skilled manual	3.9	13.0	11.7			
6. Semi-skilled and unskilled manual		5.2	15.6	27.3		

Table 2

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUBJECTS WHO DESCENDED THE SOCIAL
 STATUS SCALE IN RELATION TO THEIR FATHERS

(Percentages)

Father's status	Subject's status					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Professional and high administrative			18.9	5.4		
2. Managerial and executive				8.1	5.4	
3. Higher grade inspectional supervisory and other non-manual					43.2	2.7
4. Lower grade inspectional, supervisory and other non-manual						16.2
5. Skilled manual						
6. Semi-skilled and unskilled manual						

Bearing in mind the main hypothesis that mobility results, not merely from the economic environment but also, and perhaps primarily, from the subject's psychological characteristics, a number of techniques were examined to determine those most suitable for the study of such aspects of personality as might influence social mobility. We finally selected certain methods designed to reveal the relation between social mobility and level of intelligence, aspirations, value orientation and need for achievement. These tests were so designed as to be capable of application to persons of widely different age and education.

Each informant, independent of the direction of his mobility, was subjected to a questionnaire, and four specific tests. Some were also subjected to the Rorschach psychodiagnostic test. The several tests were applied in the subject's home in the course of two interviews.

II

"Intelligence" and mobility

In attempting to estimate how selection for mobility works in practice, we made use of a traditional psychological test in order to determine the relationship between intelligence and mobility. The test selected was the Progressive Matrices test, devised by Raven^{4/}, which provides a non-verbal series of sixty individual problems, and was constructed in accordance with the theoretical analysis of intelligence given by Spearman.

Intelligence was calculated according to Raven's percentage table for each of the three groups. The resulting intelligence quotients were grouped in order to form three categories, i.e. high, median and low. Comparing these results and applying the x^2 test of independence showed no significant difference in intelligence between the three groups, and also that no relation existed between mobility and intelligence level.

^{4/} Raven, J.C. Test de matrices progresivas. Escala general, Buenos Aires, Editorial Paidós, 1954.

In an attempt to verify these results a comparison between level of intelligence and degree of education was made. Dividing the subjects into three sub-groups according to their educational level (primary and primary plus vocational; secondary and secondary plus vocational; and university) and according to their level of intelligence (high, median and low) a significant relationship between intelligence and educational attainment was established. The analysis of the contingency table based on this conclusion, indicated that 65.0 per cent of those subjects who had only primary education were below the mean level of intelligence and constituted 58.0 per cent of those who were rated below the mean intelligence level. However, considering the educational attainment and the intelligence level of the subjects who ascended the status scale, no significant difference, at the required probability level, was observed.

Since our results showed that social mobility is not directly related to school attainment in that educational attainment may be a factor encouraging mobility, or a handicap, depending on the subject's social origin, we added another correlate to the analysis of the data arising from the intelligence test. This comparison showed that among those who went up the social scale, and reached categories 1 to 4, there was a significant relation between intelligence level and status category which was not repeated among those who descended and occupied the categories 3 to 6.

The analysis of the results obtained through the Raven test, therefore, enable us to conclude that in the investigated sample intelligence does not differentiate between the groups but, as a higher level of intelligence is required in order to occupy the higher positions in the status scale, it must be considered a channel of mobility, though limited in its operation.

Aspirations and mobility

Assuming that aspirations may be considered one of the behaviour determinants it would seem important for the study to determine the nature

/of the

of the relationship between aspirations and social mobility. The investigation of this relationship required the selection of an appropriate measure of aspiration. We followed the approach presented by Reissman^{5/} which includes an examination of the subject's content of aspiration. In order to determine aspirations, the author devised a specific situation in which the subject was asked to state whether he would accept certain conditions which would accompany a hypothetical opportunity for occupational advancement. The analysis of aspirations is based on the supposition that given an opportunity to improve one's occupation or profession, the individual rejecting many such conditions is thereby expressing a lower aspiration level than one who accepts them.

The percentages of replies to this test which indicated acceptance of conditions are presented in table 3, for subjects who ascended in the social scale, in rank order of decreasing importance. The analysis of the representativeness of the replies made through the calculation of csi showed that the percentages differed significantly from chance values.

Analysing the ranking order derived in this way and, at the same time, the nature of the accepted conditions, we conclude that the subjects who ascended the social scale were still preoccupied with the future, and hence willing to accept conditions which are indispensable to mobility, that is, "harder work", "learning a new routine" and "accepting more responsibility". On the other hand, a cursory examination of table 3 shows that downwardly mobile subjects were also ready to accept the opportunity to improve and they expressed this attitude when they were confronted with conditions which in comparison are less desirable. This group showed a higher percentage accepting conditions such as "interference with your children's education" and "endangering your health", and more than half of the group did not consider any other conditions a barrier to advancement.

^{5/} Reissman, L. Level of aspiration and social class. Am. Sociol. Rev., 1953, 18, 233-242.

Table 3

PERCENTAGES INDICATING CONDITIONS THAT "WOULDN'T MATTER" IN
 A POSSIBLE OCCUPATIONAL ADVANCE

Condition	Upward group	Down- ward group	Immigrants	
			Mobile	Non- mobile
Interfere with your children's education <u>a/</u>	8.0	11.4	6.7	7.7
Endanger your health	11.2	28.6	33.3	38.5
Leave your wife and children for some time <u>a/</u>	50.0	65.7	73.3	53.8
Move around the country a lot	60.8	77.4	63.3	61.5
Leave your relatives <u>a/</u>	67.5	80.0	73.3	53.8
Get an initial low salary <u>a/</u>	71.6	85.7	80.0	69.2
Give up leisure time	74.3	74.3	60.0	84.6
Learn a new routine	82.4	91.4	86.3	69.2
Leave this city <u>a/</u>	86.4	82.9	86.3	61.5
Work harder than you are now	87.8	88.6	90.0	61.5
Take on more responsibility	94.6	91.4	93.3	61.5
Leave your friends	98.6	97.1	93.3	77.0

a/ These conditions are not a part of the original study.

/The immigrant

The immigrant took an altogether different view. While, in general, the immigrants who ascended showed a higher degree of acceptance than the subjects from the main sample, those who have improved economically without changing status tended to reject systematically an opportunity of improvement which involved the proposed conditions^{6/}. To these generalisations, however, two qualifications must be added. By comparing the rank order of the conditions (table 3) of this group it is clear that "giving up leisure time", "leaving your friends" and "interference with your children's education" were less accepted by the immigrants. These differences, which do not diminish the importance attributed to the goal of being professionally successful, are understandable in men who are self-employed. On the other hand, the immigrants who remained in category 6 accepted more than any others the conditions "endanger your health" and "give up leisure time". Thus the results indicate a relationship between past achievement (or mobility) and aspirations which, in the investigated groups takes, apparently, different aspects but which in reality do not appear to be more than the expression of peculiarities of the groups themselves.

Considering the success already obtained by the subjects who had ascended socially, the percentages showed an unexpectedly high degree of continuing aspiration though this was not so high as that showed by the unsuccessful descending group. Even taking into account the fact that the immigrants are more liable to accept the majority of conditions than the former they still do not exceed the aspiration level set by the latter.

Explaining these results in terms of the conclusions reached on aspiration level in previous experiments, it seems that by their higher degree of acceptance the unsuccessful subjects express defensive reactions originating from a comparatively longer experience of failure. If the

^{6/} Considering that both sub-groups are composed of older men, the possibility that age might be one important reference point for individual self-evaluation is not confirmed in these results.

discrepancy between achievement and aspiration is assumed to be a stress vector in the individual's life, the aspirations, expressed by the subjects who had made less consistent efforts between their claimed aspirations and their actual achievement, are merely scenery on the stage of their make-believe worlds.

The differences in the immigrant groups tend to confirm this explanation. The immobile individuals, being comparatively successful, are in general, more satisfied than others with their situation, and therefore do not consider as important conditions which they had to face in real life in order to maintain their position. In this sense the technique used showed the successful subjects to be more realistically oriented toward mobility than were the others. This realistic approach is clearer among the immigrants who also, in this aspect of their behaviour, showed that the rank order of the conditions arising from group performance constitute the frame of reference in which the individual performance evolves.

Value-orientation and mobility

The fact that, since the socio-economic situation of the urban environment offers opportunities for change of status and, as a consequence, favours mobility, the accepted values of the individual enrich the perception of opportunity and the choice of means to reach success. Indeed, among the psycho-cultural factors which can affect social mobility by their influence on the individual, we assume to exist a determinate value-orientation which defines and widens the achievement-motivated behaviour.

The subjects were asked to give their opinion on a number of statements similar to those used in the V-Scale by F.L. Strodbeck. Amongst those values which can be related to socio-economic success the statements exploit the following:

1. The efficacy of human effort and planning in controlling destiny (active-passive orientations);
2. Freedom from a type of family loyalty and responsibility which /might inhibit

- might inhibit mobility in the status system (family-individualistic orientation);
3. The greater desirability of working for oneself rather than being lost in a collective work enterprise (individualistic-cooperative orientation);
 4. Postponing immediate pleasure for the sake of long-run values (future-present orientation).

The analysis of the results (table 4)^{7/} shows that socially ascending subjects are characterized by a higher proportion of replies including those values which are directed toward the achievement of mobility. A test of statistical significance of the association between groups of different mobility and orientation of values indicates that ascending subjects are significantly different in the active-passive, and individualist-cooperative orientations. Those, on the other hand, who moved down tended to accept the notion that individual efforts are comparatively useless in achieving mobility and to believe that it is not always possible to manipulate the physical and social environment in order to improve status. In fact, the sense of personal unworthiness derived from the lack of importance of their accomplishments increases, among these subjects, the belief that upward mobility is not the reward of effort but a matter of luck or fate.

These differences are even more apparent when comparing the two immigrant sub-groups. Those ascending socially emphasize values which express an active and markedly individualistic orientation. In the other sub-group, formed by those who did not change their status, loyalty and responsibility toward the family and the deeply rooted belief in fate are so dominating that it would be sufficient to explain why they did not achieve more.

^{7/} The representativeness of the replies was verified by the calculation of the csi. The resulting value of csi indicates that the percentages express the opinions and are not due to mere chance.

Table 4

GROUPS AND VALUE-ORIENTATION. PERCENTAGE OF REPLIES
 IN DISAGREEMENT WITH THE STATEMENTS

Statements	Upward group	Down- ward group	Immigrants	
			Mobile	Non- mobile
Giving up something which may prove valuable in the future in favour of something in the present	85.6	77.1	57.7	51.2
Planning ahead is not necessary	74.3	65.7	86.7	77.0
Loyalty to one's family as against individual achievement	69.8	66.6	73.3	23.0
Working with other people in a cooperative way as against individual achievement	64.8	48.6	73.3	77.0
The assumption that the outcomes of life are determined by fate as against the value of individual effort	62.1	45.7	60.0	30.7

/It seems

It seems important to point out another significant difference in the results. In comparison with the other subjects, the immigrants revealed, in general, a high degree of individualism and a tendency to attribute more importance to the present than to the future. This immediateness, allied to a strong individualism, makes a striving for success a very difficult task for those who do not have the same individualistic orientation to the family. The pioneer role played by these immigrants in various sections of the urban environment leads to the conclusion that their value orientation is one of the most important factors in reaching the goal of success in a foreign country.

The Rorschach performance of the mobile individuals

As every psychologist knows, two persons may behave similarly in the same situation for entirely different reasons. The behaviour may be outwardly similar but the structure upon which behaviour depends may be of a completely different kind. This consideration led us to expand the study of the characteristics of mobile individuals and to employ a projective technique that emphasizes the underlying structure of personality rather than the manifest behaviour. The choice fell on Rorschach's psychodiagnostic test owing to a flexibility which makes it possible to construct a picture of personality unobtainable with other techniques. The 60 subjects individually submitted to the test were selected from the main sample and this selection was made necessary by the fact that it was thought desirable to work with two groups of 30 subjects each as similar as possible in respect of age, marital status, and ancestry; it also seemed necessary to limit the number of testings.

As the scope of this paper does not permit a detailed description of the test, of its application nor of its basis of interpretation, only those aspects which are pertinent to the problem discussed shall be mentioned here. It is, however, necessary to point out that the test

/was applied

was applied according to the instructions suggested by J.S. Beck^{8/} and that the procedure adopted follows classical lines. The protocols were first studied in detail in order to obtain a complete analysis of the responses of each subject and subsequently compared in order to bring to light significant differences.

It is admittedly difficult to present material of this nature when dealing with groups rather than with individuals. However, if the data arising from the Rorschach's test is presented in different ways, a comprehensive picture of the personality characteristics of a group may be undoubtedly obtained. The two approaches used can be referred to as: 1) the components approach and 2) the interdependence of components approach.

The mean number of responses, the response mean reaction time and the mean reaction time to Plate I and to the chromatic and achromatic blots for each group are shown in table 5.

As can be seen, the mean number of responses is normal and does not differentiate the groups. As regards the reaction time the significant difference observed between the groups leads to the supposition that the subjects who move down the status scale show a less efficient adjustment to unknown situations than those who move up. In fact, at the time of interview, although for the majority of subjects the testing situation was an agreeable and by no means a tiring experience, a certain amount of reluctance was noticed in the subjects who moved down, which confirms their difficulties in adjustment.

Considering separately the area components, the determinant components, the content and the frequency of the responses, the analysis of the protocols permits the following observations:

^{8/} J. S. Beck, Rorschach's Test, Vol. II, New York, Grune & Stratton, 1954

Table 5

MEAN NUMBER OF RESPONSES, RESPONSE MEAN REACTION TIME AND
 MEAN REACTION TIME

Item	Group		Significance of differences between the two groups
	Upward	Down- ward	
Mean of responses	19.2	18.0	0
Median total time	15' 62"	19' 9"	*
Response mean reaction time	51"	56"	0
Mean reaction time to blot I	118"	130"	0
Mean reaction time to chromatic blots	106"	119"	0
Mean reaction time to achromatic blots	91"	110"	0

0 = Difference not significant.

* = Difference significant at the 5 per cent level.

/An analysis

An analysis was made of the area components of the responses of the two groups and the comparison between the percentages of the four alternatives to locate these precepts and the normal (from the Gestaltic point of view) proportion, of responses for each alternative. The test of significance of the ratio of the two variances corresponding to the mean deviation shows that the differences in the blot areas covered by the precepts of both groups are not significant. The analysis of the percentages of responses to the whole blot suggests that the subjects of both groups tend to make a conscious and deliberate effort when trying to reach an aim requiring perceptual organization. The percentage of responses to blot details shows that the subjects are not different in their ability to deal with the problems of every day life and that, as is to be expected in adults, the practical, concrete and immediate aspects of a problem occupy them for more time than do those which involve abstract rational activities.

Indeed, this similarity is limited only to the number of these responses. If the quality is considered, especially of those which cover the whole blot, the responses of the subjects who achieved ascending mobility show a higher degree of efficiency and consistency of planning; and also that they are capable of avoiding anxiety, compulsion or dependency, maintaining an active attitude in different situations. However, it must be clear that their organising ability is not very active although it is better than that of the subjects who descended in the status scale.

The difficulty of organising their impressions and their passive attitude in confronting a situation, shown in this analysis by the subjects who moved down, is also evident in those aspects of their responses revealing the manner in which the individual is related to the world. The determinant components of the responses are practically restricted to one. The greatest number of responses obtained are determined solely by the shape

/or outline

or outline of an area to which it refers. Within this restriction, however, the percentage of responses of this kind is significantly higher in the protocols of descending subjects and therefore clearly indicates lack of imagination and an impersonal, irrelevant and even superficial approach to the external world. These subjects, more than those who ascended the social scale, are dominated by the requirements of the immediate physical and social environment, and in consequence of this restriction of spontaneity they tend to be similar as a group. This difficulty of dealing with the external world causes the relationship individual-environment to be accompanied by the withdrawal of the self which is transformed into a lack of self-acceptance.

As stated before, in general, the responses including other elements as determinants are few. This limitation shows that the subject's activity tends to be rigid and as a tendency it is stronger in the subjects who descended the status scale. The perceptual choice made by the individual between objects and persons of the external world, frequently obeys to a standard resulting from past experience, and, more specifically, from the memory content of these experiences. In the Rorschach's test this "choice" is considered a personal selection when the movement is the determinant of the response; when colour substitutes movement as the response determinant this indicates simply acceptance or absence of interrelation. In the latter case, the forces of the situation act more intensely on the individual than in the former. In our study the subjects showed, in general, a tendency to be primarily influenced by the forces of the situation.

When the individuals' protocol contains responses determined by movement, (showing therefore personal selection) this happens among subjects who move up the status scale and expresses an easier interrelation with the external world; while among those who move down the social scale, it expresses a clear need of self-assertion.

/The analysis

The analysis of the specific content of responses corroborates this observation and emphasizes the differences between mobile and non-mobile individuals.

The mean number of categories of content does not indicate a wide range of variety in the two groups, but when the category content is examined separately, two important differences appear. In fact, the comparison of the percentages of animal content with the expected normal figure of 50.0 per cent., in terms of standard deviation, also shows that the downwardly mobile subjects had a rather strong tendency to form stereotypes which express rigidity and incapability of personal adjustment. A comparison of the absolute proportion between human figure content and part of human figure indicates that these subjects, by perceiving parts of, rather than the whole, human figure show that the intentions of other people are in this group an anxious preoccupation.

To summarise the aspects already discussed, our analysis suggests that, as regards the scope of the tasks that the individual is ready to handle actively and the efficiency with which problems are solved, ascending subjects tend to put to use their available energy in an efficient and planned way. Hence, when facing a situation they can maintain an active attitude; even if their capacity for organisation is not exceptional, it is, however, superior to that of the subjects who descended. Moreover, other elements confirm that the capacity to plan and organise referred to above, is limited, not only in those subjects who went down, but also in those who went up, with a consequently diminishing efficacy of their activity, which tends to be less flexible.

The two groups are differently influenced in their relation to the external world by this limitation. As the descending subjects have greater difficulty in planning and performance, they, more than the others, are dominated by the demands of the immediate physical and social environment to the neglect of future needs. Although these subjects /showed interests

showed interests and tendencies which are under a relatively high conscious control this control is so inadequate that observation and judgement are poor. But, as the other aspects of the analysis show, the adjustment they make to the requirements of urban every-day life is good.

On the other hand, this gives to the mobile subjects a greater capacity to relate himself to the environment, and as a consequence he has a better chance of perceiving the opportunities afforded by the urban environment, as well as a greater opportunity to be successful in the professional activity he chooses. On the contrary, for the subject who moved down the characteristics described lead to an increasing number of difficulties, culminating in a passive approach manifested by rigid and unchangeable attitudes preventing the individual from perceiving the environmental changes or from acting adequately when confronted with them. Thus, the circle completes itself and the individual shows low self-acceptance and a great need for self-assertion.

This summary leads to a discussion of the interdependence of the components of the responses. Following the procedure delineated by Z.A. Piotrowski^{9/} we interrelated the components of every protocol in order to estimate the quality and degree of self-control and the level of performance.

From the above discussion we may infer the psychological atmosphere in which the individuals live and that in the presence of a particular social situation the individual may or may not be stimulated to act in a certain way in order to reach a higher status position. Need for self-control with regard to certain specific personal tendencies will arise in any case, since the inner psychological comfort of the individual, and his relations with other people, differ greatly according to whether he suppresses or manifests his motives.

As far as the quality of self-control is concerned both groups showed a small degree of automatic self-control and more than half of both groups showed capacity for conscious self-control.

^{9/} Piotrowski, Z.A., Perceptanalysis. New York, MacMillan Co., 1957.

The greater number of the colour responses given by the ascending subjects, indicating a tendency to a more impulsive behaviour, suggest, however, that the need for self-control is more intense in these subjects than in the others. On the other hand, the quality of the shading responses of the same individuals showed that, in order to alleviate fears and anxiety derived from the lack of automatic self-control, of which they have great need, and in order to stabilize their relationship with the world, these subjects increase their overt activities.

We have stated, in other words, that ascending subjects showed in this test a positive tendency to take great chances when attempting actively to change the external situation which they believe to be responsible for his increasing inner discomfort. These subjects seem inclined to be flexible in purpose but steady in tactics; therefore, to have those characteristics which would enable a person to make use of the opportunities opened by the urbanisation.

As a defensive mechanism, the overt activities reflect the type of anxiety on which is based the personality of the upwardly mobile individual and the manner in which this inner state is perpetuated by the psycho-social situation of the urban environment.

This is clearly shown through the interrelation of a series of components of the responses for the purpose of evaluating the performance level of the subjects. A large proportion of both groups of subjects are revealed by this analysis to have a fairly predictable performance level. This uniformity, however, is given by an inflexibility and invariability of activity. In order to be active and productive at such level of performance these subjects require much stimulation and continuous encouragement.

What differentiates the subjects is the influence of emotional states upon the amount of work. While the emotional stimulation tends in general to increase the amount of work of downwardly mobile subjects,

/it appears

it appears to interfere with the output of work of the upwardly mobile. The arousal of genuine emotions in half of this group of subjects does not seem to interfere with their performance level. This means that, while those who move up the status scale have the means to cope with emotional interference, whether by lowering the performance level or by controlling its influence, the subjects who move down need an emotional stimulation to be able to increase their productivity. Therefore, the latter require from the environment more than the former to produce, and hence to advance.

The statistically significant differences ascertained between the groups of subjects on certain characteristics of personality as measured by the various techniques and by the Rorschach Ink Blot Test, indicate that the individuals who rise in status had a definite psychological organisation.

It appears that in respect of upward social mobility, as with most other complex social phenomena, no single explanation is entirely adequate. But, since the presumed indicators of important characteristics of mobility have a greater incidence in the group of ascending subjects, this study contributes certain elements which clarify the relationship between basic needs and striving for success.

The plan of the study, of course, did not permit the determination either of the extent to which the mobile subjects' characteristics are simply the result of a continuation of personality qualities developed in childhood, or of the extent to which the already existing characteristics were further aggravated by the upward mobility. We believe, however, that our results contribute to an understanding of the motivation of the mobile individuals and also permit an apprehension of the effects of status changes upon the individual. The evidence is consistent with a theory that upward social mobility is likely to be an outcome of basic needs. The idea that an individual's movement in the social structure is associated with the development of certain needs has been expressed both by psychiatrists and sociologists.

/Our results

Our results allow us to specify and to show a definite relationship without discussing in which stage of the personality development the characteristics emerged. On the basis of the consistency of the obtained data we may say in summary that the personality characteristics found to be particularly relevant to upward social mobility are: ability to function with relatively small support from the environment, a better capacity for initiating and organising, and the power to struggle for mastery over social and the other environment forces. Along with these characteristics - both resulting from them and contributing to their further development - we find signs of manifest, and/or potential, anxiety, combined with difficulty in regulating it. Therefore, the deep-seated need for alleviating anxiety makes the individual want to face the anxiety-producing situation squarely and fight it in order to end the anxiety state. This increase in overt activity, when directed to his professional advancement results in the subject's upward social mobility.

Accepting the view that this accounts for status-striving, we are still left with the problem of why these subjects, in spite of recognising their occupational achievement, are not satisfied with the outcome, and continue to have a high aspiration level. As these subjects are likely to harbour more feelings of anxiety as a result of unfavourable conditions, it is easy to suppose that the overt activity directed as it is to an unstable urban environment, contributes to the increase of anxiety and consequent dissatisfaction. At this stage the individual is ready to resume his struggle, to accept more risks and to be more active.

This hypothesis means that the urban environment is an ever-present factor acting on the personality characteristics of the mobile subjects and transforming the adjustment process into an extremely difficult task. The situation being that of an open task, i.e. a task in which the need persists, constitutes the normal motivating situation of those who strive for success and are successful.

/It seems

It seems that a city undergoing economic development not only offers opportunities to those who want to advance in status and therefore, indirectly, conditions which relieve the basic need to be active, but (what is also important), contributes with its climate of opportunism and uncertainty to the creation of a psychological situation tending to increase the individual's anxiety.

