

OCCUPATIONAL AND COMMUNITY INTEGRATION
OF SOUTHERN-BORN WORKERS IN A
MIDWESTERN INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
Robert Bruce Haldane

1959



~~IS~~ 091

OCCUPATIONAL AND COMMUNITY INTEGRATION OF SOUTHERN-BORN
WORKERS IN A MIDWESTERN INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY

by

Robert Bruce Haldane

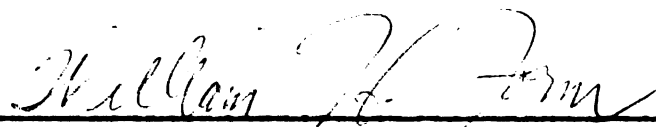
AN ABSTRACT

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department
of Sociology and Anthropology in Michigan State
University

East Lansing, Michigan

1958

Approved

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "William H. Form", is written over a horizontal line.

A sample of 545 workers, drawn from the labor force of Lansing, Michigan, was studied. An attempt was made to determine the degree of occupational and community integration exhibited by the southern-born members in the sample in comparison with that of the "others," consisting of 48 foreign-born and 427 native nonsouthern-born workers (called "northern-born" for purposes of this study).

Responses to interview questions were statistically analyzed and compared for information bearing on several demographic expectations and on hypotheses in the two major areas of interest. Quantitative factors such as age, income, etc., were compared by use of a standard Z test for comparison of means. Non-quantitative variables were tested for association with chi-square tests.

It was determined that the southern-born workers do not differ significantly from the "other" workers in any of the demographic characteristics tested with the exception of the number of children per family. The southern-born had fewer children than the "others." Two other variables tested along with these showed differences between the samples also. The southern-born own their homes less frequently than the northern-born, and their homes are found in areas of lower socio-economic status.

The hypotheses in the area of occupational integration stated that the southern-born were lower in the occupational hierarchy of the community and that they were less satisfied with their jobs and the companies for which they worked. Factors involved in the testing of these hypotheses were felt to be important to the workers' occupational integration. Analysis of the data indicated that the southern-born did not exhibit a significantly lower degree of integration to their jobs than the northern-born, as neither one of the hypotheses was substantiated.

The community integration of the workers was studied by analysis of factors in connection with the two hypotheses: that the southern-born were less satisfied with their community of residence than the northern-born; and, that the southern-born participate less in community organizations than the northern-born. The first of these was not substantiated as the southern-born seemed to be as satisfied with the community as the northern-born. Taken as a group, the southern-born do not participate in the community to a lesser degree than the northern-born. However, the southern-born whites, considered alone, demonstrated significantly less community participation than the northern-born.

It was concluded that southern-born migrant workers in Lansing are not affected in the degree of occupational and community integration they exhibit by their minority group status. The situation might be somewhat different in

cities which are larger or which have had a larger influx of southern migrants.

OCCUPATIONAL AND COMMUNITY INTEGRATION OF SOUTHERN-BORN
WORKERS IN A MIDWESTERN INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY

by

Robert Bruce Haldane

A THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department
of Sociology and Anthropology in Michigan State
University

East Lansing, Michigan

1958

Approved _____

4-1-59
G 3176

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank Dr. William H. Form, my major professor for the use of the data which formed the basis for the study and for his many helpful comments on the data and the manner in which they should be handled. His encouragement and guidance contributed substantially to the study. I am also grateful to the members of my committee, Dr. Charles R. Hoffer, Dr. Archie O. Haller and Dr. Jack Steiber for their time and their many helpful suggestions and comments. I am indebted to Harold Goldsmith for comment and conversation instrumental in the clearing up of much confusion about some of the statistical techniques utilized. I am especially grateful to my wife, Darlene Haldane, for her patience, understanding and support, as well as for her aid in some of the drudgery involved.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION AND FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM	1
Some Characteristics of the Southern-Born Group . .	5
Approach to the Problem	8
Hypotheses.	10
Source of Data.	15
Limitations of the Study.	17
Relevance of the Study.	18
II. DEMOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS OF SOUTHERN-BORN WITH NORTHERN-BORN WORKERS	19
Statistical Techniques.	20
Method of Approach.	22
Age	23
Rural-Urban Origins	24
Number of Children.	26
Education	26
Length of Time in Lansing.	28
Home-Ownership.	30
Socio-economic Status of Dwelling Area.	31
Summary	34
Conclusions	35

Chapter	Page
III. OCCUPATIONAL INTEGRATION OF SOUTHERN-BORN WORKERS AS COMPARED WITH NORTHERN-BORN WORKERS	36
The Lansing Industrial Makeup.	36
Occupational Integration	37
Occupational Position.	38
Manner of Obtaining Job.	40
Plants of Employment	40
Occupational Variables	45
Integration of the Southern-Born to Their Jobs .	47
Conclusions.	58
IV. COMMUNITY INTEGRATION OF SOUTHERN-BORN WORKERS AS COMPARED WITH NORTHERN-BORN WORKERS	61
Community Integration.	61
Mobility	62
Satisfaction with the Community.	64
Community Participation.	66
Conclusions.	69
V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.	71
Conclusions.	75
Limitations of the Study	78
Relevance for Further Study.	79
LITERATURE CITED	81

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. Mean Age for Southern-born, Northern-born and Foreign-born	25
II. Rural-Urban Origin by Region of Birth.	25
III. Mean Number of Children.	25
IV. Level of Education by Region of Origin	29
V. Length of Time in the Lansing Labor Market	29
VI. Home-Ownership by Region of Origin	33
VII. Socio-economic Status of Dwelling Area by Region of Origin.	33
VIII. Availability of Assistance in Obtaining Job by Region of Origin.	42
IX. Type of Industry of Employment by Region of Origin	42
X. Size of Company of Employment by Region of Origin	44
XI. Type of Ownership of Company of Employment by Region of Origin	44
XII. Occupational Level by Region of Origin	48
XIII. Attitudes toward Job by Region of Origin	48
XIV. Number of Reported Satisfactions and Dissatisfaction by Region of Origin	52
XV. Types of Satisfactions and Dissatisfaction by Region of Origin.	52
XVI. Factors Contributing to Favorable Plant Reputation by Region of Origin	54
XVII. Image of Plant Wage Equality by Region of Origin	54

Table		Page
XVIII.	Attitudes toward Women Workers by Region of Origin	59
XIX.	Attitudes toward Negro Workers by Region of Origin	59
XX.	Number of Organizational Memberships for Southern-born by Race.	68
XXI.	Voting Behavior by Region of Origin.	68

.....

.....

.....

.....

.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM

As a result of migrations during the last 40 years, a substantial portion of the labor force of the midwestern industrial complex is made up today of southern-born workers.¹ Migration by Negro and white workers from the South to the Midwest is a fairly recent phenomenon, having taken place in substantial numbers only since about 1919. The amount of migration declined somewhat during the economic depression of the 1930's, in some areas even resulting in net out-migration, but, with the increased demand for labor brought on by the advent of World War II, the number of migrants into midwestern industrial cities increased again and has remained high to this time.²

Several socio-economic factors have been operative in the South to contribute to these migratory movements.³

¹It is roughly estimated that 8.5% of the labor force of the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin is made up of southern-born workers, both male and female. This estimate is calculated from figures given in: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Characteristics of the Population," Volume II of 1950 Census of Population, Table 73, p. 125.

²Erdmann D. Beynon, "The Southern White Laborer Migrates to Michigan," American Sociological Review, June 1938, pp. 333-43.

³For a full discussion of factors underlying migration, see the articles by Roland B. Dixon, Louis Halphen, and Imre Ferenczi under "Migrations," in Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Macmillan, New York, 1936, Volume 10, pp. 420-41.

These "push" factors mainly involve individual economic opportunities. As an indication, of 3,071 counties in the U.S., 380 had an average gross income in 1929 of less than \$150 per rural-farm inhabitant. All but seven of these were in the South (including West Virginia), the majority being in the Southern Appalachians and the Piedmont areas. The lowest income counties of the United States, including the lowest county, were concentrated largely in the Southern Appalachians.⁴ That these conditions still exist to a large degree is indicated by the low "level of living" in the areas, as described by Loomis and Beegle.⁵

The Southern Appalachian plateau stands out as an area of low material standard of living, the fundamental cause of which is excessive pressure of population on available resources. "Extraordinarily high rates of natural increase and insufficient emigration have resulted in a rural population far greater than the agricultural, forest, and mineral resources can support satisfactorily."⁶ Any anticipated growth of manufacturing will not suffice to absorb existing population surpluses. "If economic opportunities in the region could increase as fast as the population,

⁴Carter Goodrich, et al., Migration and Economic Opportunity, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1936, Chapter 1.

⁵Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1950, pp. 259-62, 270-72.

⁶Goodrich, op. cit., pp. 61-62.

aggravation of chronic difficulties could be avoided. But the number of people is already greater than the resources of the region can support satisfactorily, and the immediate outlook is for a still greater population without a corresponding improvement in opportunities."⁷

Conditions in the cotton belt areas of the Southeast are almost as bad as those in the Appalachians and have been bad for a longer period of time. This area was one of established poverty before the advent of the Great Depression; indeed, the region has shown a high degree of out-migration since the end of the Civil War, the conjunction of poverty and population pressure being major causal factors, intensified during the period of the boll weevil infestations. The region has participated in three large-scale migrations,-- "to the cotton areas of the Southwest, to the growing mills of the Piedmont, and to the northern (and western) centers of industry."⁸

In addition to these underlying factors in the areas of origin of the migrations, the industrialization of the

⁷Ibid., pp. 66-67. Though the statement is somewhat out of date, the prediction seems to have been borne out as indicated by the present patterns of living, (see Loomis and Beegle, op. cit.), and the continuing patterns of migration. See Albert N. Votaw, "The Hillbillies Invade Chicago," Harper's Magazine, February, 1958, pp. 64-67.

⁸Goodrich, op. cit., p. 154. That this latter movement has not yet ceased is indicated by Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., and also by Warren S. Thompson, Population Problems, 4th Edition, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New York, 1953, pp. 295ff.

middle western and north-central states represents an important "pull" factor. Introduction of an industrial economy brought about new in-migration to some of the midwestern areas of population deficit. The industrial centers of the Great Lakes states provided a great attraction for immigration. Beginning between 1910-1920 and increasing tremendously between 1920-1930, the area attracted large numbers of people from a circle of states as distant as Arkansas. The population influx into the north central lake area was particularly important for Michigan.⁹ It was during this period that the comparatively new automobile industry, centered in and around Detroit, began to expand, creating a need for large numbers of semi-skilled and unskilled production workers who could obtain regular jobs with little or no training or experience, jobs which paid comparatively well.

Thus large numbers of southern-born workers, motivated by pressures at home and attracted by the factory money to be obtained in the North, set out to better their circumstances. Many of these workers ended up in the Midwest, where they are still members of the labor force. The presence of this "minority" in the northern industrial setting affords an opportunity to inquire into and to test sociological speculations concerning some dynamics of the labor force. It is with those southern-born workers who are at present members of the

⁹C. Warren Thornthwaite, Internal Migration in the United States, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1934, pp. 11-12.

labor force of the midwestern industrial complex, specifically in one area in Michigan, that this thesis is concerned. The attempt was made to test some commonly held generalizations dealing especially with types and degree of integration of this important group in the labor force of the midwestern industrial complex.

Some Characteristics of the Southern-Born Group

The southern-born white worker is somewhat unique as a member of the northern labor force. Unlike most other entrants from outside the region, he is similar to the native population in many important characteristics. His Anglo background has its roots in the early history of this country and there is nothing about him which serves to differentiate him physically from the native group. As a white Protestant, of early-American Anglo-Saxon stock, he is a "prototype of what the 'superior' American should be,"¹⁰ or, at least as far as these particular characteristics are concerned, he fits perfectly the stereotype of the "100% American."

However, studies indicate that the southern migrants show some definite minority group characteristics. They tend to settle in homogeneous residential clusters as much as possible, as do most immigrant groups. Certainly a major part of the cause for this voluntary residential segregation is the fact that encouragement from the migrants previously

¹⁰Votaw, op. cit.

established in an area has often been instrumental in their decision to move northward. Thus it is not surprising that they attempt to settle near relatives and close friends.

The southerners themselves exhibit a certain group consciousness, characterized in the words of one writer by a "suspicion of the authorities,--landlords, storekeepers, bosses, police, principals, and awesome church people,. . . prejudice. . . rock-hard clannishness."¹¹ In their attitudes, behavior, and choice of associates they tend to stick to their own ways and people, in a sense isolating themselves by intent.

In addition, many non-southerners hold recognizable stereotypes of the southern migrants, regarding them as a "distinct, cohesive ethnic group."¹² This is emphasized by the findings of various studies which have been carried out. "The people with whom they came into contact distinguish between themselves and all southern white laborers and tend to treat them as members of a single homogeneous group. Without regard to region of origin, the southern white laborers are assumed to have common characteristics which mark them off almost as clearly as if they were foreigners."¹³ That these stereotypes are not favorable is indicated

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Lewis N. Kilian, "The Adjustment of Southern White Migrants to Northern Urban Norms," Social Forces, October, 1953, pp. 66-69.

¹³Beynon, op. cit.

by the findings of a Detroit study that ". . . references to recent southern migrants and hillbillies appear to reflect a significant negative feeling in the city."¹⁴

In view of the fact that this group possesses one attribute which seldom, if ever, is found in connection with a migrant group, i.e., the ability to pack up and go home at any time, and the fact that they maintain close connections between themselves and the "home-folks" back in the Ozarks, or wherever their point of origin was, the notion that they are no more established in the urban context than as transients, in town to pick up a little money before they head back home would seem to be supported. According to this view, it would be expected that they would attach very little permanence to their jobs or their current community of residence. Hence, they would not be expected to attain a significant degree of integration to their jobs, the companies for which they work, or to the community in which they find themselves. On the other hand, the possibilities for steady work in the North, the personal sacrifices and discomforts which must be endured in order to make the relatively short journey home, and, most important, the lack of any significant degree of alleviation of the conditions in the South which were partially responsible for their decisions to move north in the first place are all factors contributing to an expectation that at least some must choose to take up permanent residence in the areas near their

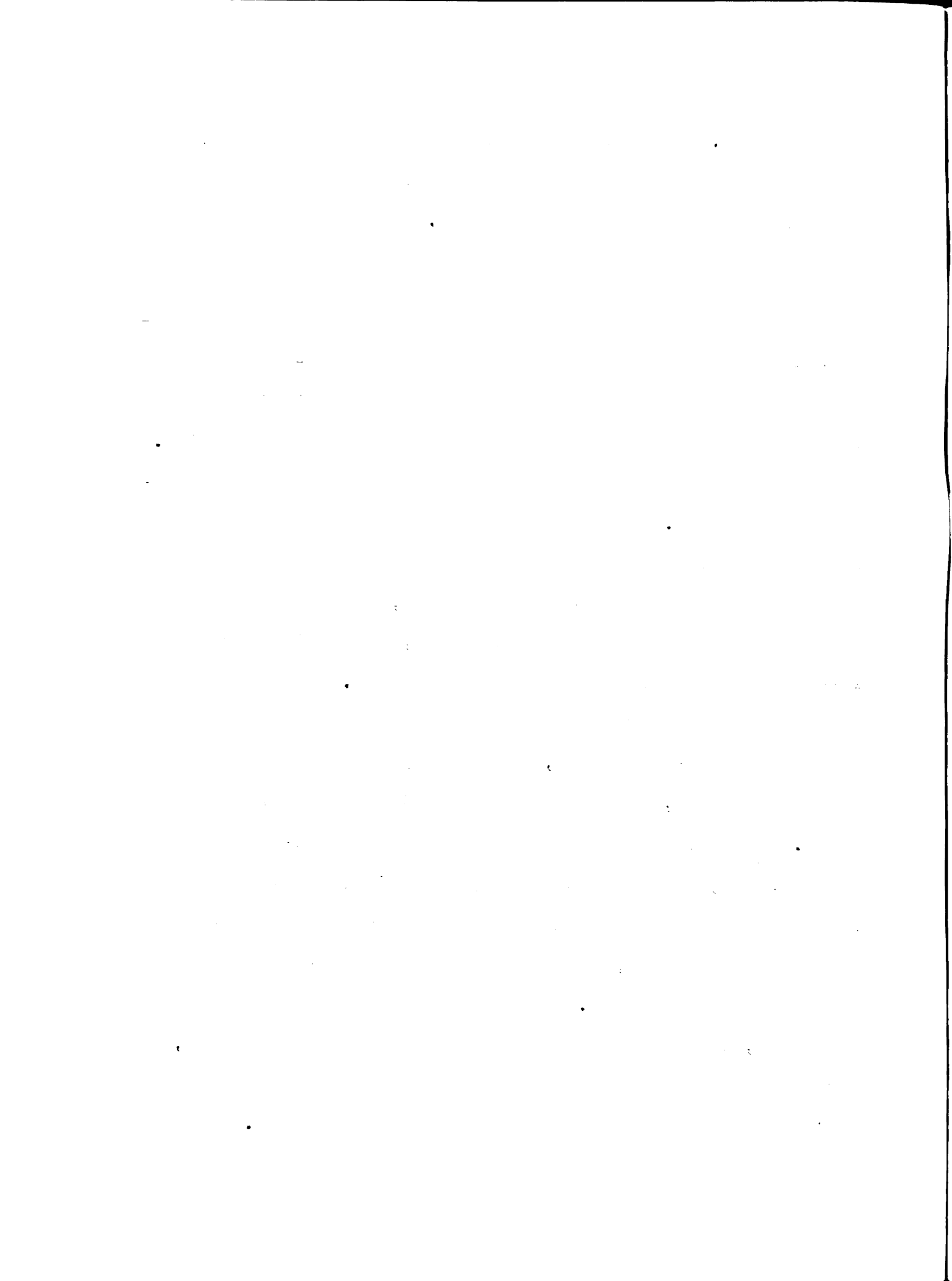
¹⁴Arthur Kornhauser, Detroit as the People See It, Wayne University Press, Detroit, 1952, p. 46.

factory jobs. It would be expected that these would become settled and integrated to some extent into the Northern communities to which they have moved.

Approach to the Problem

The purpose of this study was to test certain commonly held generalizations concerning the southern-born workers in three main areas: (a) demographic characteristics; (b) occupational integration; and (c) community integration. A number of hypotheses revolving around each area were formulated and tested. These dealt with the southern-born workers in their jobs, their positions in the occupational hierarchy, their satisfaction with their positions, their satisfaction with the companies for which they work, and their degree of integration to their community of residence.

The first area consists of a demographic description of the southern-born group, comparing them with other groups in the community, particularly the dominant northern-born group. Comparisons involved such items as rural-urban origins, age, number of children, education, length of time in the community and two factors which are not considered strictly demographic, home ownership and socio-economic status of dwelling area. From the results of inquiries into this area, it was considered possible to account, in part, for differences among groups which were expected to show up as a result of explorations into the next two areas.



The second area revolves around the position of the southern-born worker in the labor market in relation to other groups, and his degree of what is termed "integration" to his means of livelihood. Findings concerning occupational levels, types of companies of employment and income levels were utilized in an attempt to determine the actual position of the southern-born in the industrial and occupational hierarchy. The feelings of the workers themselves, as compared to other groups, concerning their positions and their satisfaction or dissatisfaction in these positions were considered indicative of their "integration" to their jobs. Their feelings for the companies for which they work and the policies of these companies, their satisfactions and dissatisfactions with the particular jobs which they perform, their comparisons of their jobs and "their" plants with other jobs and plants were felt to determine the relative degree of occupational integration of southern-born as compared with northern workers. No attempt was made to construct any type of integration scale or index. The groups were simply compared on the basis of responses to individual questions and construction of a general picture of the relative "degree of integration" was attempted.

The third area is that of the integration to the community of residence exhibited by southern-born workers. Beginning from the objective basis of the length of time in the community, the number of communities in which jobs have

been held, and the amount of participation in community structures by the members of the southern-born group, compared with the northern group, and working through such subjective factors as the workers' stated liking for their communities, an attempt was made to determine a realistic picture of the degree of community integration of the southern-born workers. As in the area of occupational integration, there was no attempt to establish any rigorous criteria of integration or lack of integration. Rather, the responses were examined and compared with the view in mind of ascertaining in a general way the feelings of the respondents regarding their communities of residence and the manner in which these feelings differed among different groups.

It was hoped that, by separating the southern-born group from other groups in a community, the extent to which they differed from the rest of the community could be determined and the part played in their participation in the labor force and in the community by the fact of their southern origins could be indicated, at least in part.

Hypotheses

The expectations for the manner in which the southern born workers differ demographically from the northern-born workers were formulated as follows:

1. The southern-born workers, on the average, are younger than are the northern-born workers. This was based on the fact that the southern-born have more recently arrived

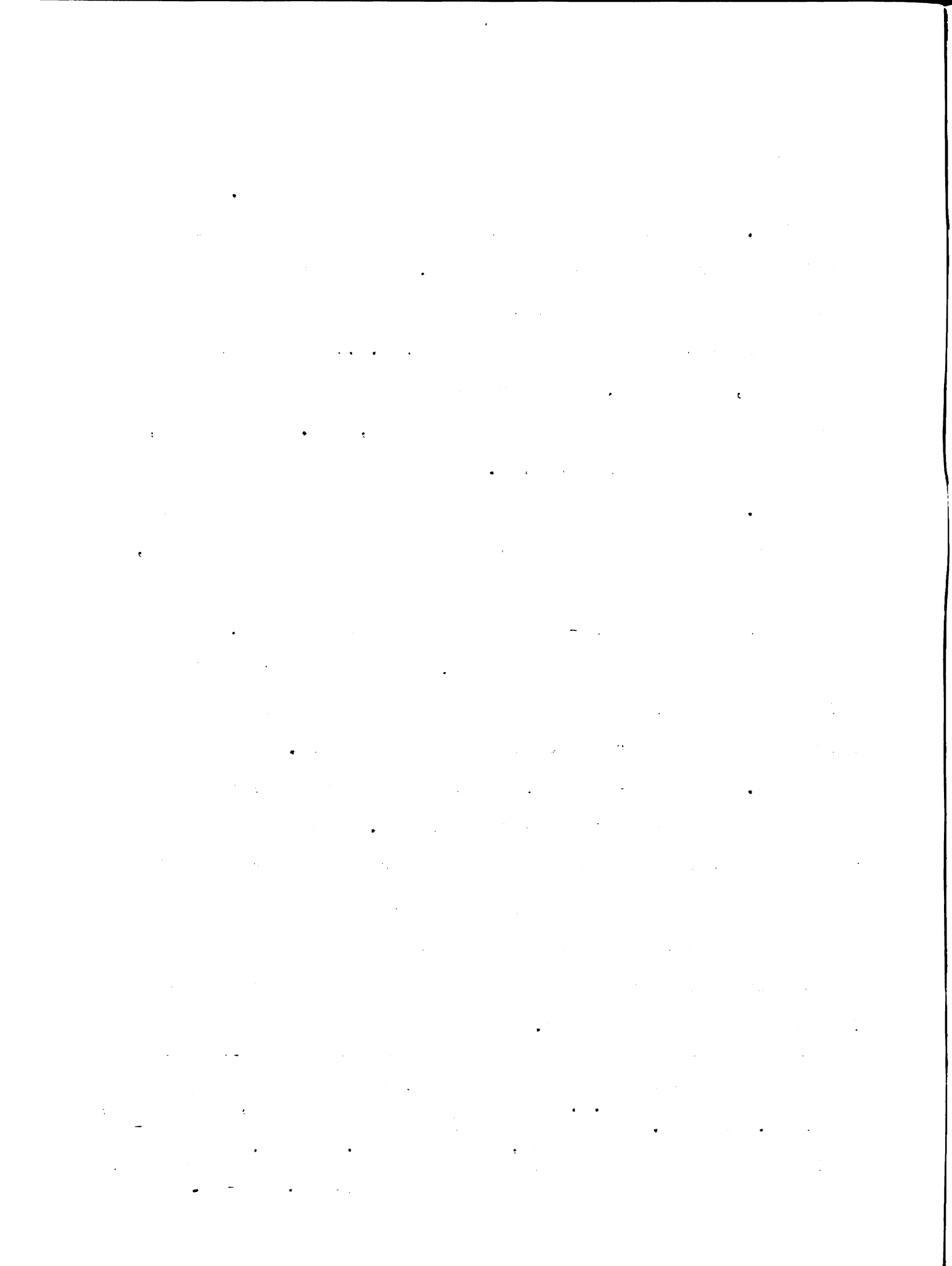
on the midwestern scene and the fact that the younger elements of a population usually migrate most readily.

2. Southern-born workers are more often of rural origin than are northern-born workers. The character of the regions from which they migrated and types of factors operative in those regions to motivate migration, i.e., dense rural population, poor land, as contrasted with the industrialized character of the midwestern land resources, etc. (see above), contributed to this expectation.

3. Southern-born workers tend to have more children per family at a given age level than do northern-born workers, though there is no meaningful difference between the proportion of southern and northern-born workers who are married. This was based on the second expectation, persons of rural origin being assumed to hold those rural values which place a high value on large numbers of children in the family.

4. Southern-born workers have a lower level of education than have northern-born workers. This was based on the expectations of a higher preponderance of rural origins among southern workers in conjunction with the fact that rural education in general and southern rural education especially is less extensive and of much lower quality than is northern urban education.¹⁵

¹⁵ National Resources Committee, The Problems of a Changing Population, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1938, pp. 211-212. For some social factors involved in rural-urban education differentials, see Archie O. Haller, "Farm Residence and Levels of Educational and Occupational Aspiration," American Journal of Sociology, January, 1957, pp. 407-11.



5. The southern-born, as a group, have spent less time in the midwestern labor market than have the northern-born, as the southern-born are migrants and many, if not most of the northern-born may be native to the area.

6. Southern-born workers are less likely to own their own homes in the areas in which they are working. In addition, their places of residence tend to be in areas of lower socio-economic status than are those of the northern-born. The transient status of many of the southern-born and the attachments which they continue to hold for the areas from which they came, coupled with a probable inability to earn as much as the northern-born due to their minority group status, contribute to this expectation. While not exactly demographic in nature, these factors were included here because, as expectations rather than formal hypotheses, they best fit into this section and, because, like the preceding factors, they were held to be partial determinants of some of the expected findings in the area of community integration.

The following hypotheses revolved around the second area to be considered, the area of occupational integration:

1. As the result of a combination factors, notably their lower educational level, their "minority group" status, and their rural origins,¹⁶ southern-born workers attain a

¹⁶Some of the social-psychological connections between rural origin and occupational level in the non-farm labor market are considered in: Seymour M. Lipset, "Social Mobility and Urbanization," Rural Sociology, September-December, 1955, pp. 220-28.

lower occupational level than do northern-born. They are found in the less desirable jobs, in the larger plants, and in the less desirable plants in which to work (desirability being determined on the basis of respondents' answers to questions pertaining to job and company preferences). The feelings of many small employers in the North against hiring of southerners¹⁷ and the impersonal processes of hiring carried out by the larger concerns combined to contribute to the expectation that large companies employ more of the southern-born. In addition, southern workers do not earn incomes as high as those of the northern born.

2. Southern-born workers are less satisfied with the companies for which they work than are the northern-born. This hypothesis was based in part on their position in the industrial make-up as hypothesized in (1) above, and in part on the difference between their present existence as members of highly impersonal corporate bureaucracies and their previous existence in smaller rural communities where personal ties are stronger and where the society is allegedly more integrated. In addition, the presence on the job scene of certain marginal workers, particularly Negroes, would tend to aggravate certain hostilities and prejudices which were felt to be present in the southern worker to a greater degree than in the northern worker.¹⁸

¹⁷Kilian, op. cit.

¹⁸Ibid.

3. Southern-born workers are more satisfied than are the northern-born in their present jobs. Even though they are at somewhat of a disadvantage as migrants and members of a minority group, and hence have lower incomes and less favorable working conditions than do the northern-born, it was felt that their present occupational positions represent enough of an improvement over their previous existence in the rural South to cause them to feel a fairly high degree of satisfaction with the work they do and the conditions under which they do it.

In the third area of study, that involving the integration of the southern-born to their communities of residence, the following hypotheses were formulated:

1. Southern-born workers are less satisfied with their present neighborhoods and communities of residence than are northern-born workers. Their transient-like attitudes¹⁹ and minority group status formed the basis for this hypothesis.

2. Southern-born workers participate less in the formal and informal voluntary organizations of their present communities of residence than do other workers. The transient-like attitudes, the clannishness, and the minority group consciousness of the southern-born contributed to this expectation.

The above expectations were tested by systematic comparisons of responses given to various questions by

¹⁹Votaw, op. cit.

southern-born and northern-born workers. For quantitative variables such as age, income, number of children, means were calculated and compared through use of standard statistical techniques. For non-quantitative items dealing with such factors as feelings and attitudes, occupational levels, and types of companies of employment, the respondents were compared by use of standard chi-square tests to determine existence of association between membership in the category "southern-born" or "other" and the specific variables being tested. No attempt was made to establish any rigorously defined correlations between items. It was considered sufficient to indicate the existence, direction, and to some extent, the degree of association between membership in a category and items under consideration. It was not felt that the data under consideration and the techniques to be utilized would lend themselves to any more rigorous inquiries.

Source of Data

Data for this study were derived from a larger study of the manual labor force in Lansing, Michigan which was carried out in 1950 and 1951. This first study, carried out by J. Allan Beegle, William H. Form and Sigmund Nosow, was designed to study the relevance of migration to location in the job market during an era of a tight labor force. It gathered data concerning job histories, mobility (occupational mobility as well as geographical mobility) and present conditions of employment from a representative sample of wage

earners in the Lansing labor market. A 5.0% sample of male wage earners consisted of approximately 750 workers. A sample of 800 manual workers was decided upon; 200 of this group were to be taken from the "fringe" areas of Lansing, while the remaining 600 were to be residents of the city. Having drawn the "city" group from the Polk's Directory for Lansing, it was found that the 600 contained an adequate representation of "fringe" residents. The schedule finally analyzed consisted of 588 interviews taken during the period from November, 1950 to June, 1951.²⁰ Each respondent was personally interviewed with a prepared schedule designed to bring out information bearing on the original problem as well as additional incidental information. It is a portion of this information which was used for the present study.

The sample was found to consist of four subgroups which were considered important to the study. These were the southern-born whites, southern-born Negroes, "northern-born" (actually consisting of all native U.S., nonsouthern-born, most of whom were from the Midwest), and foreign-born. For purposes of comparison, the southern-born whites were combined with the southern-born Negroes into the "southern-born" group, and the northern-born and foreign-born groups were combined (except where they differed significantly) into the group to be designated "other."

²⁰Sigmund Nosow, "Labor Distribution and the Normative System," Social Forces, October, 1956, pp. 25-33.

Of the original interviews, 545 were selected for this study, 70 from southern-born respondents and 475 from northern-born and other respondents. Of the 70 southern-born, 28, or 40% were Negro, as compared with 14, or 3% of the northern sample. These latter were separated out and compared systematically with the southern-born in a wide range of variables to determine whether their retention would run the risk of presenting a somewhat unrealistic picture of the southern-born group due to the inclusion of traits having racial rather than regional factors underlying them. It was decided to include them in the study as they did not differ significantly from the whites except in a few instances which will be brought out in the treatment.

Limitations of the Study

It can be seen that there will be certain limitations on the results obtained. In the first place, the data were not drawn specifically for the purpose for which they are here being used. Hence there was some danger of misdirection caused by different emphases between the original study and this one. The reworking of data for purposes other than those for which it was gathered always entails some loss of accuracy, indeed stands the chance of being unintentionally falsified. However, as the schedule used was rather extensive and comprehensive, and the interviews were carried out by interviewers who had no direct interest in the results, it is felt that the chances for error inherent in the use of the data were

minimized in the design of the original research. In addition, the present study called for the use of selected portions of the data in its original form rather than for extensive re-formulation or reinterpretation of material.

The small number of southern-born respondents, in comparison with the total number of the sample might tend to cast some doubt on any absolute claims made for complete reliability. The sample was not large enough to stratify for important factors such as age, education, and industrial experience. Therefore it is possible only to indicate some of the tendencies in the data caused by these factors. Small as it is, the sample was felt to be sufficient to point out the existence and directions of the various characteristics considered. No attempt at a more exhaustive, comprehensive description is made here.

Relevance of the Study

The fact that there seems to be little information on the questions raised and considered in this study makes the study relevant as one pointing out avenues of approach to the problem represented by the presence of this large subgroup within the labor force, as a demonstration of the need for further study and, to some degree, as a delineation of the area of need for further study. It is hoped that it will represent a contribution to the knowledge of the integration of certain types of migrants to life in a middle-sized industrial community.

CHAPTER II

DEMOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS OF SOUTHERN-BORN WITH NORTHERN-BORN WORKERS

This chapter is concerned with the investigation of the expectations revolving around the first area of interest, the demographic characteristics of the southern-born workers which are felt to play a part in the determination of those areas to be dealt with later.

The members of the southern-born group studied represent thirteen different states, from Florida to Missouri, and from Texas to Virginia. Of the states generally considered to be part of the Deep South, only Louisiana was not represented. The Border States were all represented with the exception of Maryland and Delaware. The highest proportion of whites came from Tennessee. Mississippi was the state of origin of the greatest number of Negroes. Most of the southern-born, about 63%, had been in Lansing under ten years, though some few had been here as long as 25 years or longer. Almost all of them were wage-earners working in the various production industries in Lansing.

Some more specific characteristics of the sample are taken up in this chapter. The age, origins (rural or urban), number of children, educational levels, and length of time in the Lansing labor market of the southern-born workers, as well as the proportion of home ownership and the socio-economic

status of their dwelling areas are treated.

The chapter is designed to serve a threefold purpose. First it aims to describe the characteristics of southern-born workers in Lansing, at least to the extent of analysis of the factors listed above. Second, it compares the southern-born as they are in reality with the expectations held for them and notes the deviations from the expectations. Third, it provides in part background for some of the interpretations of data which follow.

Statistical Techniques

Two types of techniques are utilized, depending upon whether the particular item of inquiry is one which can be quantitatively expressed and described or whether it is necessary to use nonquantitative techniques.

In the handling of quantitative data, the means of the samples were calculated for each item¹ and then compared by use of a standard Z-test to determine whether or not the samples could have been drawn from the same universe, or whether the differences were such as to lead to the belief that, at a certain level of significance, the sub-samples must have been drawn from different universes.²

¹The mean of each sample will be determined by the formula, $\bar{X} = \frac{\sum X}{N}$ (1), as presented in Margaret J. Hagood and Daniel O. Price, Statistics for Sociologists, Revised Edition, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1952, p. 109.

²The statistic Z is calculated by means of the formula,
$$Z = \frac{(\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2)}{\sqrt{\sigma_1^2/N_1 + \sigma_2^2/N_2}}$$
, from Wilfred J. Dixon and Frank J. Massey, Jr.,

For nonquantitative variables it was necessary to use chi-square tests of association between variables to determine whether or not association existed between membership in one of the groups under consideration and the particular variables used.³ A contingency coefficient, \bar{C} , corrected for the small number of cells, was calculated in an attempt to reach some conclusions as to the existing degree of association.⁴

In describing statistical significance, or lack of it for the results, the null hypothesis statement is used. The 5% level of significance determines the rejection or acceptance of the null hypothesis. However, where a statistic was seen to be significant to a higher level, it is noted.

It is hoped that the techniques here outlined will be sufficient to describe the conditions which hold for the

Introduction to Statistical Analysis, 2nd Edition, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New York, 1957, p. 119. Its significance is determined by comparison of the computed value for the sample with values given in Table A-4, (Appendix, p. 382-383).

³Hagood & Price, op. cit.; the formula used was $X^2 = \frac{(1f-f_c) - .5^2}{f_c}$. This formula calculates a X^2 which is corrected for the small number in each cell. It is adapted from the basic formula presented on p. 365 in combination with discussion of the "correction for continuity" discussed on pp. 369-70. For those tables which included more than four cells, the alternative formula, $X^2 = \sum \frac{f^2}{f_c} - N$, was used, (p.369).

⁴The formula used for computing the \bar{C} was $\bar{C} = \sqrt{\frac{X^2}{X^2 + N}}$, Ibid., p. 370. The correction for \bar{C} was $\bar{C} = \frac{c}{t \cdot t}$, as found in Thomas C. McCormick, Elementary Social Statistics, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1941, p. 207.

samples and to point out clearly the areas in which the expectations are substantiated and those in which they must be rejected as untenable.

Method of Approach

The expectations provided in Chapter I were considered in the order given. The items included admittedly do not make up all of the factors which could be included under a demographic description of a group. However, of those included in the data gathered, these were felt to be the most important as they can be used in interpretation of some of the material dealing with job and community integration. Age, rural-urban origin, educational level, and length of time in the community play a major part in the worker's occupational level and status. Family make-up, home-ownership, and socio-economic status of neighborhood of residence are important in the worker's feelings of permanence and establishment in the community, hence, in his integration to the community.

The samples used for the comparisons were southern-born whites, southern-born Negroes, southern-born (combined whites and Negroes), northern-born (native-born nonsouthern), foreign-born, and "other" (northern-born and foreign-born combined). In most instances the two general categories, southern-born and "other" were compared. The smaller subgroups were handled separately only insofar as they differed significantly from the main groups, i.e., where analysis

indicated that their inclusion in the major category caused it to be significantly different than it would have been ordinarily. This was also done in some instances with the group composed of those born in Lansing. This procedure was used in order to present the findings and the explanations behind them in as compact and clear a manner as possible, with allowance made for those occasions in which somewhat more specific information is called upon to explain certain conclusions. The samples used in each comparison are indicated. If only the two major categories are included, the reader may assume that the subcategories were not found to differ significantly from the major categories in which they are included.

Age

The expectation that the southern-born are younger than the northern-born can be said to be upheld. The samples compared for age differences (Table I) were the southern-born, the northern-born and the foreign-born. The southern-born had a mean age of slightly over 40 years, in comparison with a mean age of 41.5 years for the northern-born. The Z calculated for the two samples indicated that this difference was significant to the .001 level, i.e., extremely significant.

The mean age of the foreign-born was high in comparison with the other groups. The only explanation for this which can here be offered is that most workers of foreign

origin presumably entered this country before the early 1920's when immigration was reduced considerably by restrictions passed into law. Therefore it is not surprising that, as a group, they showed a high mean age.

Rural-Urban Origins

It may be concluded that the expectation dealing with the rural-urban origins of the southern-born as compared with the northern-born is substantiated by the analysis. The southern-born group contains a higher proportion of workers of rural origin.

It was only necessary to compare the southern-born with the "other" sample as the southern-born Negroes and the foreign-born were very close to the southern-born whites and the northern-born respectively. Table II presents the data on rural-urban origin of the southern-born and the "other" groups. Over two-thirds of the southern-born were of rural origin, compared to slightly under two thirds of the "other" respondents. The differences are statistically significant, for the probability of the chi-square falls below the .001 level.⁵ The value, .26, of the contingency coefficient, C , indicates a relatively low degree of association between the variables.

⁵The Lansing-born were pulled out of the northern-born sample, which was then compared with the southern sample. The chi-square was still significant, but only to the .05 level.

TABLE I

MEAN AGE FOR SOUTHERN-BORN, NORTHERN-BORN AND FOREIGN-BORN

	<u>Southern-born</u>	<u>Northern-born</u>	<u>Foreign-born</u>
\bar{X}	40.29	41.51	57.28
Z	4.14	42.51	
p	.001 > p	.001 > p	

TABLE II

RURAL-URBAN ORIGIN BY REGION OF BIRTH

Origin	<u>Region of Birth</u> Southern-born	Other	Total
		<u>Percentages</u>	
Rural	68	40	43
Urban	32	60	57
TOTAL	100	100	100
Number of Cases	62	447	509
$\chi^2=17.58$	d.f.=1	.001 > p	$\bar{C}=.26$

TABLE III

MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN

	<u>Southern-born Negro</u>	<u>Southern-born White</u>	<u>Northern-born</u>	<u>Southern-born</u>
\bar{X}	1.06	2.03	2.06	1.84
Z	3.10	.12	1.21	
p	.01 > p	> .001	.01 > p	> .001

Number of Children

The mean number of children for the groups southern-born Negro, southern-born white, southern-born and "other" are presented in Table III. The southern-born, as a group, have significantly fewer children per family than the northern-born. However, this may be due in part to the unexpectedly low mean number of children for the southern-born Negroes. Direct comparison of the southern-born whites with the "other" group strengthens this assumption as the differences between the two prove not significant.

The low mean of the southern-born Negroes is completely contrary to the usual expectation that this group has the highest number of children per family. This expectation is based by many on the rural origins of the southern Negroes and also on their expected social class position. In addition, it fits the stereotype held by most people that Negroes are an extremely fecund group. The finding that they have the lowest number of children per family of any group here studied, though extremely tentative, indicates that the general stereotype may be of questionable accuracy.

Education

Several tests of association were made between education and social origin. However, the only dichotomy which seemed to reflect any association with region of birth was that of 0-8 grades of school completed as opposed to 9-12 grades of school completed. The computed results for the

four sub-samples are seen in Table IV. There were significant differences between all categories.

The foreign-born proved to be the poorest educated, followed by the southern-born Negroes. The most educated group was the northern-born. Thus, the analysis upholds the expectation that the southern-born are less highly educated than the northern-born. The two major categories, southern-born and "other", when compared with each other, result in a chi-square of a magnitude sufficient to cause the null hypothesis to be rejected at the .01 level. Some association between these categories and school attendance beyond the eighth grade (but not beyond the 12th grade) is thus indicated. The \bar{C} of .20 indicates that the degree of association is not high, but that association exists in the direction indicated is sufficient to uphold the expectation that southern-born workers have attained a lower level of education. This is significant in that it may affect job placement, in which case it could be considered important in a wide range of social variables for the southern-born.

However, Table IV also indicates that there are significant differences between the southern-born Negroes and the southern-born whites as well as between the northern-born and the foreign-born. Thus a question arises as to the association between places of birth and level of education. Comparison of level of education for southern-born whites and northern-born results in a chi-square of 2.71 which is not sufficiently large to reject the null hypothesis at the

5% level or higher. This tends to cast some doubt on the previous conclusion that association exists between origin and level of education. It suggests that other factors must be taken into account in an appraisal of comparative educational levels. The lack of educational homogeneity on the part of the southern-born is probably one of the more important of these factors. This should be kept in mind in the treatment of the occupational position of the southern-born which is to follow.

In an attempt to determine a little more clearly whether or not a significant association exists between the variables, a combined chi-square table was constructed. Its data suggest that there is a moderate degree of association between membership in one of the sub-groups and level of educational attainment. However, nothing more can be said with certainty. Though the indications are that the expectation is valid, the possibility that the results indicated might be due to factors other than those postulated cannot be ruled out.

Length of Time in Lansing

The groups were compared for the length of time in the Lansing labor market. The expectation that the southern-born have not been in Lansing as long proved valid, as indicated by Table V. The mean length of time for the southern-born proved to be just over 10 years, which, when compared

TABLE IV
LEVEL OF EDUCATION BY REGION OF ORIGIN

	<u>Region of Origin</u>						
	Southern-born			"Other"			Total
Level of Edu- cation	White	Negro	Total	Northern- born	Foreign- born	Total	
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	
	<u>Percentages</u>						
0-8 yrs.	40	68	51	28	71	32	35
9-12 yrs.	60	32	49	72	29	68	65
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	40	25	65	394	45	439	504

SUMMARY OF TESTS

Comparison	χ^2	d.f.	p	\bar{c}
ab	4.83	1	.05 > p > .02	.41
de	33.63	1	.001 > p	.42
cf	8.71	1	.01 > p > .001	.20
ad	2.71	1	.10 > p > .05	
abde	47.76	3	.001 > p	.40

TABLE V
LENGTH OF TIME IN THE LANSING LABOR MARKET

	<u>Southern-born</u>	<u>Northern-born</u>	<u>Foreign-born</u>
X	10.36 yrs.	16.54 yrs.	24.83 yrs.
Z	28.27	33.56	
p	.001 > p	.001 > p	

with that of the northern-born, 16.5 years, proved to be significant to the .001 level.⁶

The high mean age for the foreign-born would lead to the expectation that they had been in the Lansing labor market for a comparatively long time. This proved to be the case as indicated by their mean length of time in the Lansing labor market of almost twenty-five years.

Home-Ownership

Though not "demographic" variables, home-ownership and socio-economic status of dwelling area are included in this first section because they are background factors about which certain expectations have been formulated concerning community integration which is discussed later. These factors may condition the degree of integration to the community.

The data in Table VI support the expectation concerning home-ownership, for southern-born workers tended to own their own homes less frequently than northern-born workers. About half of the southern-born were home owners as compared to almost three-quarters of the northern sample. The chi-square indicates an association at the .01 level of significance, and the contingency coefficient (\bar{C}) of .24 indicates that the degree of association is rather low.

⁶The results were approximately the same when the Lansing-born were pulled from the northern-born sample.

It should be mentioned that the foreign-born own their own homes to a higher degree than those in other categories, differing significantly from the northern-born in this characteristic. The level of significance, .05, is not as high as that between the northern-born and southern-born, and the \bar{C} of .17 indicates a lower degree of association than that indicated in the first comparison. However, that the difference of the foreign-born is not sufficient in itself to cause the "other" sample to differ from the southern-born is indicated by the direct comparison between the southern-born and northern-born. The chi-square shows association significant to the .01 level, with the degree of association, $\bar{C}=.23$, being almost as high as that between the southern-born and "other" categories.

No doubt the higher age level and the longer length of residence of the foreign-born in Lansing partially explain the fact that more of the foreign-born own their own homes. One may speculate that since they are closer to retirement age, they are more concerned about a place to which to retire, one which is relatively secure from the vagaries of the financial contingencies of old age.

Socio-economic Status of Dwelling Area

By use of a previously constructed table giving the socio-economic status of each census tract in Lansing,⁷ the

⁷Smith, Joel, An Analysis of Selected Characteristics of the Population of Lansing's Census Tracts, Social Research Service, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College, March, 1955.

socio-economic status of the dwelling area of each respondent was determined. Derived from a Guttman scale of census tracts, the socio-economic status scale ranges from I to VI, with I having the lowest socio-economic status. Factors contributing to the classification were income, education, and occupation.

It is clear from Table VII that the expectation that association exists between southern-origin and socio-economic status of dwelling area, with the southern-born occupying homes in lower status areas, is substantiated by the analysis. The only comparison for which significant association was found was that between southern-born and "other." The chi-square of 12.74 was found to be significant to the .01 level, indicating that the relationship is not due to chance. The contingency coefficient, \bar{C} , of .21 indicated that the degree of association is low. Since a majority, over 70%, of both samples fell into the two middle status classes, the differences are due to the greater concentration of southerners in the lowest two status categories.

It is interesting to note that no significant association was found between southern-born white and southern-born Negroes and status of dwelling area, nor was any found between northern-born and foreign-born. Any expectation based on the minority group status of the sub-samples, southern-born Negro and foreign-born, would be in the opposite direction, that of lower socio-economic status for these groups.

TABLE VI

HOME-OWNERSHIP BY REGION OF ORIGIN

Home- Ownership	<u>Region of Origin</u>				Total
	Southern- born	"Other"		Total	
		Northern- born	Foreign- born		
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	
<u>Percentages</u>					
Own	52	72	89	74	71
Rent	48	28	11	26	29
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	56	304	37	341	397

SUMMARY OF TESTS

Comparison	χ^2	d.f.	p	\bar{C}
ab	7.81	1	.01 > p > .001	.17
bd	5.19	1	.05 > p > .02	.17
ad	10.09	1	.01 > p > .001	.24

TABLE VII

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF DWELLING AREA BY REGION OF ORIGIN

Region of Origin	Socio-economic Status of Dwelling Area						Number	
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total	of Cases
Southern-born	2	18	56	17	5	2	100	65
"Other"	3	9	41	30	12	5	100	419
Total	3	10	43	28	11	5	100	484
$\chi^2=12.74$								
d.f.=5								
$.05 > p > .02$								
$\bar{C}=.21$								

Summary

The expectations for the first area under consideration, that of the demographic characteristics of the southern-born as compared to the northern-born, have been tested by means of the statistical techniques described in the first part of the chapter. The expectation that there would be significant differences between the groups compared were all substantiated by the analysis, though the southern-born showed a lower, rather than a higher mean number of children, mainly because of the unexpectedly low mean for the southern-born Negroes.

The analysis indicates that the following statements can be made concerning the southern-born workers:

1. They are younger than the northern-born workers.
2. They are more often from a rural background than are the northern-born workers.
3. They have no more children per family than do the northern-born workers. The Negroes have fewer.
4. They do not have as much education as do northern-born workers.
5. They have not been in the Lansing labor market as long as have the northern-born workers.
6. They own their own homes to a lesser degree than do the northern-born.
7. Their homes are in areas of lower socio-economic status than are those of the northern-born.

Conclusions

Probably the most important aspect of these findings is not the fact that the expectations proved valid, but rather that, by virtue of their being upheld, the speculations of studies previously cited tend to be substantiated in a systematic way. This indicates that there may be some value in speculation based on sound principles. In addition, the failure to document the high birth rates of southerners demonstrates that systematic analysis sometimes leads to the destruction of stereotypical thinking, which is so often contributory to prejudice and intergroup friction.

CHAPTER III

OCCUPATIONAL INTEGRATION OF SOUTHERN-BORN WORKERS

AS COMPARED WITH NORTHERN-BORN WORKERS

The hypotheses dealing with the degree of occupational integration of the southern-born workers are tested in this chapter in an attempt to present a rough picture of how the migrants have adapted to the jobs they found in the North, how they have adjusted to the different types of industrial enterprises, and how they seem to fit into the midwestern labor market in general.

The Lansing Industrial Make-up

Lansing is a community with a high concentration of automotive and metalworking industries. Most of the present industry can be traced back to the turn of the century though many of the names have been changed since that time. General Motors, through several of its subsidiaries, employs a large proportion of the industrial population of Lansing, but most workers are employed in indigenously owned plants. Perhaps the most characteristic feature of the Lansing industrial scene is the overwhelming proportion of home-owned industrial enterprises. Another characteristic of the community is that all of the manufacturing establishments which employ more than 100 workers are in the metalworking industry. Other enterprises are engaged in textile processing, food processing, furniture, publishing, stone, clay and glass, and utilities.

However, all of these other enterprises make up only a small portion of Lansing industry.¹

Most of the manual occupations in Lansing are connected with the manufacturing of metal products, the most important of which are those for the automobile industry. This is reflected in the occupational structure of Lansing by the fact that about 32% of the wage-earners are unskilled or semi-skilled workers and about 40% are employed in forges, foundries or assembly plants.²

Occupational Integration

For purposes of this study, "occupational integration" was considered to be a state of occupational existence made up of a combination of such factors as occupational position, satisfaction with the company of employment and satisfaction with the job. The factors considered important for the job integration of the respondents are indicated in the statement of the hypotheses:

1. Southern-born workers are found more often in the larger, absentee-owned production plants in the community than are northern-born workers. They attain lower occupational levels; hence their incomes are not as high as those of the northern-born.

¹Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Manufacturers, Vol. 3, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1954.

²Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950 Census of the Population, Volume 2, Part 22, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1952.

2. Southern-born workers exhibit a lower degree of job integration than the northern-born, i.e., they are less satisfied with their jobs and less satisfied with the companies for which they work.

As was indicated earlier (Chapter I), no attempt is made to construct an absolute scale for determining the degree of occupational integration for the different groups. There are probably many other factors having important bearing on the integration of workers to their particular job situations which are not here represented.

Occupational Position

Before considering the data and their analyses, a few comments are in order on the workers' occupational positions within the labor force of a community. The labor market is assumed by many to be a special type of commodity market, differing from the other only by virtue of those characteristics which set labor off from other types of commodities and services. "Labor appears in this schema as the leading type of productive service. A wage rate is the price for a particular species of labor. The market for each kind of labor is integrally related to the market for the product which it helps to produce; price-quantity changes in the product market are reflected in the labor market, and vice-versa."³ Others recognize that, in addition to economic factors, many personal and social factors are involved in the

³Lloyd G. Reynolds, The Structure of the Labor Markets, Harper & Bros., New York, 1951, p. 1.

decisions made by individual workers which contribute to the character of a particular labor force.⁴ A third consideration important to the makeup of a community labor force is the prevailing industrial structure of the community.⁵

The manner in which the industrial makeup of Lansing is reflected in the types of occupations represented in the labor force has been noted. It has also been pointed out that industry was a major factor in the migration of large numbers of southern-born workers to the centers of the Midwest. The manner in which these workers have fitted themselves to the labor market conditions prevailing in Lansing, i.e., the extent to which they have become "part" of the labor force remains to be determined. As "marginal" workers, they may not enjoy the same positions as the dominant native elements of the population. Their very marginality may cause them to be eligible for only certain types of jobs. This has been seen to occur with other minority group members.⁶ It is important then, in investigating any group within the community, to attempt to determine the position of the group in the occupational structure of the community. The analysis

⁴Leonard P. Adams and Robert L. Aronson, Workers and Industrial Change, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1957, pp. 161-65.

⁵Nosow, op. cit.

⁶See St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, Black Metropolis, Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1945, pp. 219-232.

of data dealing with the first hypothesis concerning job integration represented an attempt to determine the occupational position of the southern-born in Lansing.

Manner of Obtaining Job

The samples were first compared for the manner of obtaining the present job. The groups were compared on the basis of the number in each which obtained their job through some inside contact, either friend or relative, as opposed to the number who obtained their jobs by some more impersonal means, such as application at an employment agency, or direct application at the plant. The expectation, based on studies done in other labor markets,⁷ was that most of the workers in all samples obtained their jobs through a contact of some sort and, further, that the southern-born, being new to the community and presumably not having access to as many such contacts as the native group, would indicate less frequently that they obtained their job in such a manner. However, the results (Table VIII) indicate that there is no significant difference between the groups, as 41% of the southern-born and 35% of the northern-born indicated that they received their jobs with the help of an acquaintance.

Plants of Employment

The southern-born sample was compared with other manual workers in the community for the type of industry

⁷Adams and Aronson, op. cit., pp. 71-72. See also Charles A. Meyers and George P. Shultz, The Dynamics of a Labor Market, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1951. Chap. 4.

(production or nonproduction), the size of plant, and type of ownership of plant of employment (local or absentee). Table IX presents data on industry of employment by region of origin. There was no association between region of origin and the type of industry.⁸ However, of the southern-born, the Negro respondents were more heavily concentrated in production industries as indicated by the fact that 61% of them, as compared with only 29% of the whites, were employed in production industries. The chi-square indicated that an association exists, significant to the .02 level. That this association is of moderate degree is indicated by the \bar{C} of .44.

The hypothesis which states that southern-born workers are employed in larger establishments than northern-born is not substantiated by the data. Table X presents information on size of company. The foreign-born seemed to deviate from the northern-born to a larger extent than do the other groups in that they were more often found in smaller plants. However, their deviation was not sufficient to cause the "other" category to be significantly different from the southern-born. Almost four-fifths of the foreign-born, as compared with 36% of the northern-born, worked in plants employing under 500, resulting in a chi-square of 30.88.

⁸It should be noted that the chi-square for the comparison of the southern-born and "others" approached significance. While nothing further can be said about this here, the possibility that another sample might show a significant difference is not remote.

TABLE VIII

AVAILABILITY OF ASSISTANCE IN OBTAINING JOB BY
REGION OF ORIGIN

Job obtained through	Region of Origin		Total
	Southern-born	"Other"	
	<u>Percentages</u>		
Acquaintance	41	35	36
Non-acquaintance	59	65	64
Total	100	100	100
Number of Cases	63	414	477
$\chi^2 = .93$	d.f. = 1		$.50 > p > .30$

TABLE IX

TYPE OF INDUSTRY OF EMPLOYMENT BY REGION OF ORIGIN

Type of Industry	Region of Origin				Total
	Southern-born			"Other"	
	White (a)	Negro (b)	Total (c)	(d)	
	<u>Percentages</u>				
Production	29	61	41	42	42
Non-production	71	39	59	58	58
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	42	28	70	473	543

SUMMARY OF TESTS

Comparisons	X	d.f.	p	C
ab	5.89	1	$.02 > p > .01$.44
cd	.001	1	$.98 > p > .95$	
ad	2.91	1	$.10 > p > .05$	

This is significant to the .001 level. The \bar{C} of .39 indicates a moderate degree of association. Almost two-fifths of the "other," when compared with 36% of the southern workers, worked in smaller plants. This difference resulted in a chi-square probability indicating no significant degree of association.

Table XI indicates that almost three-fifths of the respondents worked in plants which are not locally owned. The southern-born had the highest proportion of workers (57%) in locally owned plants, but the difference between this group and the "other" group was not statistically significant. The only significant difference noted between groups was that between southern-born whites and the southern-born Negroes. Three-quarters of the Negroes worked in absentee-owned plants, as compared to only 43% of the southern-born whites. The chi-square of 5.80 proved significant to the .02 level. The association was moderate in degree (\bar{C} of .43).

Thus no association between any of the company or plant variables considered existed for southern and northern-born workers, though some differences between the major samples and the sub-groups are noted. The hypothesis that southern-born workers are found employed in larger absentee-owned production type plants more often than northern-born had to be rejected.

TABLE X

SIZE OF COMPANY OF EMPLOYMENT BY REGION OF ORIGIN

Size of Company	<u>Region of Origin</u>			Total	
	Southern-	"Other"			
	born	Northern	Foreign		
	(a)	(b)	(c)	Total (d)	
			<u>Percentages</u>		
Under 500	36	36	79	41	40
500 and over	64	64	21	59	60
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	70	423	48	471	541

SUMMARY OF TESTS

Comparisons	χ^2	d.f.	p.	C
bc	30.88	1	.001 > p	.39
ad	.65	1	.50 > p > .30	
ad	21.60	1	.001 > p	.62

TABLE XI

TYPE OF OWNERSHIP OF COMPANY OF EMPLOYMENT BY REGION OF ORIGIN

Type of Company Ownership	<u>Region of Origin</u>				Total
	Southern-born		"Other"		
	White	Negro	Total		
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	
			<u>Percentages</u>		
Local	57	25	44	42	42
Absentee	43	75	56	58	58
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	42	28	70	473	543

SUMMARY OF TESTS

Comparisons	χ^2	d.f.	p.	C
ab	5.80	1	.02 > p > .01	.43
ad	3.68	1	.10 > p > .05	
cd	.15	1	.70 > p > .50	

Occupational Variables

The respondents were compared on the basis of several occupational variables in an attempt to determine their actual and relative position in the occupational hierarchy. Such factors as occupational level, occupational status, income (wage rate), and length of time in present job were felt to make up a rough occupational profile of the workers.

Table XII presents information dealing with the occupational levels by region of origin. The categories "semi-skilled" and "unskilled" were collapsed for comparison with the categories "skilled and foreman" and "clerical" which were also combined into one figure. The results were not affected by collapsing those categories. Slightly over three-quarters of the southern-born were unskilled or semi-skilled, as compared to 70% of the northern-born. These differences were not statistically significant.

It was possible to compare the wage-rates of the respondents by quantitative methods since they were given in terms of dollars and cents per hour. The northern-born, with a mean income of \$1.76 were higher than the southern-born, with a mean income of \$1.68.⁹ However, this did not prove to be a significant difference. The \$.08 difference noted could have been due to chance, and the hypothesis that southern-born workers received lower wages than northern-born workers had to be rejected.

⁹It is interesting to note that no significant differences existed between southern-born whites and Negroes.

As might be expected, southern-born workers had not been employed by their present employers for as long a time as had northern-born workers. The mean longevity of the southern-born was only 7.94 years, as compared with a mean of 12.25 years for the northern-born. The differences proved significant. The foreign-born had a mean longevity of 12.00 years, essentially the same as the northern-born. This can be quite important to a worker's occupational position as longevity, in the form of seniority clauses in contracts, in many cases determines whether a worker will be laid off in case of a reduction.¹⁰

Thus the southern-born workers were seen to differ only in the one respect wherein they would be most expected to differ, the length of time in the employment of the present employer. The hypotheses that southern-born workers attain a lower occupational level and earn lower wages than do the northern-born workers could not be substantiated with the data here presented. Evidently factors have been at work which tend to do away with some of the disadvantages of southern-born status, at least as far as this particular community is concerned. No doubt the demand for labor at the time the sample was drawn played some part in the occupational position of the southern-born. In addition, the impersonal recruitment and wage administration methods

¹⁰The Lansing-born were pulled from the northern group, the mean of which was then compared with that of the southern-born. The results were approximately the same as when the Lansing-born were included.

characteristic of the large production industries tend to meliorate many minority group disadvantages. Also, the labor unions no doubt have been instrumental in the equalization of wages and working conditions and possibly, to some extent, of status differentials also.

Integration of the Southern-born to their Jobs

The second hypothesis was treated by the analysis of combinations of somewhat more subjective factors. Responses concerning job and company conditions affecting employment were analyzed as well as the workers' images of the companies for which they work and their degree of job satisfaction. Specifically, such items as feelings about the degree of partiality shown by the company in promotion and pay, the number of attempts made by the workers to change companies, and the general reputation of the company (as among the "best" and "worst " places to work in the city), were studied in addition to such factors as the workers' stated job preferences, their stated likes and dislikes in their present jobs, and the number of attempts they made to get different work. Also considered were responses concerning the presence in the plant of certain types of "marginal" workers, notably women, Negroes, and foreign-born, and attitudes expressed toward such workers.

In answers to the question, "How do you like your job?" southern-born workers indicated a relatively high degree of dissatisfaction. Table XIII demonstrates that

TABLE XII

OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL BY REGION OF ORIGIN

Occupational Level	<u>Region of Origin</u>		Total
	Southern-born	"Other"	
	<u>Percentages</u>		
Semi- & Unskilled	77	70	71
Skilled, Foremen & Clerical	23	30	29
Total	100	100	100
Number of Cases	70	475	545
$\chi^2=1.39$		d.f.=1	.30 > p > .20

TABLE XIII

ATTITUDES TOWARD JOB BY REGION OF ORIGIN

Attitudes toward Job	<u>Region of Origin</u>		Total
	Southern-born	"Other"	
	<u>Percentages</u>		
Positive or Neutral	26	89	81
Negative	74	11	19
Total	100	100	100
Number of Cases	70	475	545
$\chi^2=158.88$		d.f.=1	.001 > p C=.74

almost nine-tenths of the northern-born indicated either a favorable or neutral feeling about their jobs, while three-quarters of the southern-born indicated negative feelings. The chi-square value calculated from these responses was almost unbelievably high (158.88), significant far above the .001 level. The coefficient \bar{C} showed a high degree of association also, as its value was .74. It seems safe to say that the responses to this question indicated some disenchantment with the northern job scene on the part of the southern-born workers.

An attempt was made to get at a more concise description of the degree of disenchantment of the southern-born by considering the proportions of dissatisfactions reported by southern-born respondents as compared with the proportions reported by others. Analysis indicated that the southern-born contributed a greater relative proportion of dissatisfactions than did the "others." This was true of both the Negroes and the whites. The chi-square calculated for association between regional origin and incidence of indicated satisfactions and dissatisfactions (Table XIV) showed a level of significance which, while not as high as the "standard" five per cent level, at least approached that level. Thus, while a "high" level of association could not be demonstrated, the analysis did not entirely eliminate this variable.

There are three general types of factors (personal, social, and those inherently connected with the job itself)

which contribute to or detract from the workers' satisfaction with their jobs and with the plants in which they work.¹¹ In considering the types of satisfactions and dissatisfactions reported (Table XV), it was noted that the higher proportion of complaints have to do with factors associated with the job. This might be considered at least a partial function of the feelings about the company of employment, or perhaps the nature of the industry. At the same time, the types of satisfactions reported also revolved around job factors, such as independence, wages, fairness of treatment, fringe benefits, etc. However, the proportion was not as high as it was for the reported dissatisfactions. The data indicated that southern-born workers had more dissatisfactions than satisfactions with their companies of employment and that a higher proportion of dissatisfactions stemmed, at least in part, from the operations of the companies. However, these conclusions are extremely tentative as it is difficult to say just what lies behind the data.

In an attempt to clarify somewhat the feelings of the respondents about the plants in which they worked, responses were analyzed concerning (a) what plants they considered best and worst in Lansing, (b) why they were so

¹¹Such items as relationships with other workers were considered "social" in nature, while responses having to do with such items as job "interest," "liking," and physical compatibility, were considered personal in nature. These were distinguished from such "job" factors as pay and physical working conditions, such as lack of dirt and noise.

TABLE XIV

NUMBER OF REPORTED SATISFACTIONS AND DISSATISFACTIONS BY
REGION OF ORIGIN

Reported	<u>Region of Origin</u>		Total
	Southern-born	Northern-born	
		<u>Percentages</u>	
Satisfactions	60	67	66
Dissatisfactions	40	33	34
Total	100	100	100
Number of Responses	186	1018	1204
$X^2=3.51$		d.f.=1	.10 > p > .05

TABLE XV

TYPES OF SATISFACTIONS AND DISSATISFACTIONS BY
REGION OF ORIGIN

Type	<u>Satisfactions</u>			<u>Dissatisfactions</u>		
	South.- born	"Other"	Total	South.- born	"Other"	Total
			<u>Percentage</u>			
Personal & Social Job Factors	29	39	38	5	16	14
Total	71	61	62	95	84	86
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Responses	112	746	876	74	357	431

considered, and (c) how the respondents' plants compared with those named as best and worst. Factors having a bearing on plant reputation were of the same types as those handled above, personal and social factors as opposed to job factors. Table XVI indicates the results of the analysis.

The southern-born Negroes were seen to place a greater importance on personal and social factors than the southern-born whites. No explanation of this finding occurs to mind, but it may have something to do with the Negroes' heightened sensitivity to personal and social discrimination based on their race. At any rate these factors were evidently more important to them than were factors actually connected with the job. The difference in attitudes is indicated by a chi-square which is significant at the .01 level. The \bar{C} of .23 indicates a low degree of association between the variables. However, though the southern-born Negroes exhibited this much difference, the southern-born group as a whole did not differ significantly from the "other" workers.

In analyzing comparisons of the respondents' own plants with those considered to be the best and worst, no significant differences were found. Of those who made comparisons, the majority felt that their plant was among the best. However, it should be noted that most of the respondents made no comparison at all.

An attempt was made to isolate some of the factors which could have a bearing on satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the plant of employment. One factor considered was the

images held by the workers of the amount of partiality shown in the setting of pay scales, granting of promotions, and other practices. Table XVII indicates that a greater proportion of the southern-born worked in plants where they felt that everyone received the same rate. The foreign-born felt much the same way, but the northern-born expressed images of greater wage differentials where they worked. Four-fifths of the southern-born indicated that rates were the same where they worked as compared with three-fifths of the "others." Although this difference is significant to the .01 level, the \bar{C} of .20 indicates that the relationship was of a low degree. However, comparison of the foreign-born with the northern-born indicated a significant difference between them, (chi-square of 4.34, \bar{C} of .15), to the .05 level of significance, with more of the foreign-born feeling that wage rates were the same where they worked. It was expected then that comparison of the southern-born with the northern-born would show even more striking differences. This proved to be the case, for the chi-square was 10.54, significant to the .01 level; the \bar{C} was .23 which indicates a higher degree of association, though still not a high degree.

The information at hand indicates that the rate was set, in most cases, by joint action, probably bargaining, between the company and the union. It was felt that, if the practices consisted of unilateral company decisions on the wages to be paid, an area would here exist which would be conducive to some degree of employee dissatisfaction. However,

TABLE XVI

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO FAVORABLE PLANT REPUTATION BY
REGION OF ORIGIN

Contributing Factors	Region of Origin				Total
	Southern-born		"Other"		
	White (a)	Negro (b)	Total (c)	(d)	
Personal & Social	12	56	35	23	25
Job Factors	88	44	65	77	75
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Responses	25	27	52	260	312

SUMMARY OF TESTS				
Comparisons	χ^2	d.f.	p	\bar{C}
ab	9.03	1	.01 > p > .001	.23
cd	3.08	1	.10 > p > .05	

TABLE XVII

IMAGE OF PLANT WAGE EQUALITY BY REGION OF ORIGIN

Perceptions of Wage Levels	Region of Origin			Total	Total
	Southern- born	"Other"			
	(a)	Northern- born (b)	Foreign- born (c)	Total (d)	
			<u>Percentages</u>		
Equal	80	58	76	60	63
Unequal	20	42	24	40	37
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Responses	69	405	45	450	509

SUMMARY OF TESTS				
Comparisons	χ^2	d.f.	p	C
ab	10.54	1	.01 > p > .001	.23
bd	4.34	1	.05 > p > .02	.15
ad	9.22	1	.01 > p > .001	.20

responses indicating such practices were too few in number to have any significant effect. Likewise, an area of dissatisfaction would have been assumed to exist if wages were set to any large extent by individual bargaining, as this would clearly set some workers at an advantage in reference to minority-group members.¹² However, the cases found wherein individual bargaining prevailed were rare.

An attempt was made to ascertain what image existed concerning the manner in which existing wage differentials were continued or were justified. Though few of the respondents gave information on this, those who did indicated that no feelings of partiality were important in the setting of wage rates.

Similarly, an attempt was made to determine whether the respondents felt that personal factors and favoritism existed in the granting of promotions. Only about one-fourth of the respondents in all sub-samples felt that such factors were important in promotion. Indications that such partiality existed to a greater degree for southern-born than for northern-born were not found. In fact, the sub-samples turned out to be remarkably alike.

¹²No figures were available on the number of respondents covered by union agreements. However, 200 of them reported they were not members of unions, leaving room for individual bargaining. There were no significant differences in the proportions of the sub-samples reporting union membership.

An attempt was made to determine whether any significant difference existed between southern-born and northern-born for preferences of certain types of work over their present jobs, and also whether one group had been more active in attempting to obtain such preferred work. No such differences could be demonstrated. It was concluded that, insofar as preferences for other work and attempts to get such other work are valid indicators of present job satisfaction, southern-born workers were not significantly more or less satisfied with the jobs they currently occupied.

The data were examined to determine the presence on the job scene of co-workers who might be considered "marginal." The presence of such workers could possibly be deterrent to occupational integration, as the low status connotations of work done by "marginal" minority groups might be felt to be attached to such work, in which case a non-marginal worker would be hesitant to accept such a job unless there were no others available. In addition, the stronger prejudices which are allegedly held by the southern-born toward Negroes and foreigners would contribute to a lower degree of job integration for southerners.

Three types of workers were considered as possibly marginal; women, foreign-born and Negroes. Results indicating the incidence of respondents' working with these "marginal" workers were compared with results of analysis of the attitudes toward them.

No significant association was found between region of origin and employment in plants hiring women. The conclusion was that the respondents all worked around women to approximately the same extent. However, as indicated in Table XVIII, a significant difference in attitudes toward women in the plants was noted between the northern-born and the southern-born. Where only one-third of the southern-born indicated negative feelings, two-thirds of the northern-born indicated such feelings, resulting in a chi-square significant to the .01 level. The \bar{C} of .23 indicates a low degree of association. It would seem then, that if employment alongside of women was a cause of dissatisfaction, the northern-born would tend more to be dissatisfied than the southern-born. This finding was at variance with the expectation based on the previous finding that more southern-born workers dislike their jobs. However, the importance of this factor could not be determined on the basis of the information at hand.

No significant difference was found to exist between the samples in their feelings toward working with foreign-born workers. There was no difference between the proportions of northern and of southern origin who worked with foreign-born workers, and responses indicated favorable attitudes for approximately two-thirds of the respondents of each group.

The question was asked, "Are there Negroes working where you work?" Analysis of responses indicated that, with

southern-born Negroes left aside for obvious reasons, no significant association existed between region of origin and employment of Negroes in a plant. Thus southern-born workers were just as likely to be working with Negroes as northern-born workers. Responses to a later question concerning respondents' attitudes toward Negroes indicated no significant differences between southern-born and northern-born workers. The responses were mostly negative, with two-thirds of the southern-born and about half of the northern-born indicating negative feelings toward Negroes, (Table XIX),

However, the fact that there was no difference between the groups was somewhat surprising in view of the allegedly stronger race prejudices of the southern-born.¹³

Conclusions

On the basis of material presented in this chapter, certain statements can be made concerning the hypotheses presented at the first of the chapter. The first hypothesis must be considered to have been rejected. The difference found in occupational level, desirability of company and job, and level of income between southern-born and "other" or northern-born workers could not be demonstrated as being significant.

¹³In addition to responses concerning these three groups, responses of 157 "other" workers concerning their attitudes toward southern-born workers were analyzed. Almost three-quarters of the responses indicated negative attitudes toward southern-born workers.

TABLE XVIII

ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN WORKERS BY REGION OF ORIGIN

Attitude	<u>Region of Origin</u>		Total
	Southern-born	Northern-born	
	<u>Percentages</u>		
Positive & Neutral	66	44	47
Negative	34	56	53
Total	100	100	100
Number of Responses	56	354	410
$\chi^2=8.78$	d.f.=1	.01 > p > .001	C=.23

TABLE XIX

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGRO WORKERS BY REGION OF ORIGIN

Attitude	<u>Region of Origin</u>		Total
	Southern-born	"Other"	
	<u>Percentages</u>		
Positive & Neutral	44	47	47
Negative	56	53	53
Total	100	100	100
Number of Responses	39	408	447
$\chi^2=.15$	d.f.=1	.70 > p > .50	

On the basis of one item, responses to the question, "How do you like your job?" the second hypothesis can be considered substantiated. However, many questions are raised by the findings concerning the factors which cause this claimed dissatisfaction.

The overall picture of the southern-born worker in the midwestern labor force, at least as far as his job and his feelings about it are concerned, doesn't seem too different from the picture of any other worker in the same labor force, with the single exception that southerners indicated less satisfaction with their jobs, for some reason which cannot be determined on the basis of the data here analyzed.

CHAPTER IV

COMMUNITY INTEGRATION OF SOUTHERN-BORN WORKERS
AS COMPARED WITH NORTHERN-BORN WORKERS

Several variables dealing with the position and participation of southern-born workers in their community of residence were examined in an attempt to determine their degree of community "integration" and how it differed from that of the other groups under consideration. This chapter presents the results of analyses in this area and attempts to draw some conclusions from the findings.

Community Integration

Community integration was defined as a feeling on the part of an individual that a particular community is his "home," that he belongs there, and that he rightfully takes part in community activities. It was felt that some indication of the comparative degree of integration between southern and northern-born workers could be brought out by systematic analysis of several factors felt to be important to the social existence of the workers within the community.¹ No assumption that this constituted a comprehensive picture of the community integration of the respondents was made,

¹For a fairly complete statement of "community integration" and some of the factors on which it is felt to be based, see Robert C. Angell, "The Moral Integration of American Cities," American Journal of Sociology, July, 1951, (Part 2 of Volume LVII, No. 1), Chapter II.

for the factors which contribute to the community integration of a particular individual consist of many personal, social and economic elements. Only a few of these were considered in this study, but it is hoped that their analysis is sufficient to present a rough picture of the workers' comparative adjustment to the community in which they live.

The statement of the hypotheses formulated for this area of inquiry gives some indication of the factors under consideration:

1. Southern-born workers are less satisfied with their present communities of residence than are northern-born workers.
2. Southern-born workers participate less in the formal structures and voluntary organizations of the community than do northern-born workers.

The first hypothesis was formulated in part on the expectation that southern-born are more transient than northern-born workers, transient status being indicated by the length of time in the community and by the number of communities of residence (or the number of communities worked in). An attempt was made to test the validity of these expectations before the hypothesis was taken up.

The second hypothesis was approached by the analysis of responses concerning memberships in organizations, participation in such organizations to the extent of holding office or of being active on committees, and voting behavior. A high degree of community integration would have consisted of

participation in many organizations, activity to the extent of holding office in several organizations, of being active on several committees, and of having voted in the previous election.²

Mobility

Before looking into the data dealing directly with the hypotheses, the attempt was made to determine the comparative mobility status of the southern-born and the northern-born. This was done by analyzing data on the number of communities worked in by the respondents and the differences between the total years in the Lansing labor market and the continuous years in the Lansing labor market. The assumption underlying the latter was that a person indicated more transiency by moving into and out of Lansing more frequently. The first expectation was based on the feeling that workers who migrated from the South would tend to be more venturesome and be more apt to move than the general population. A rough

²Actually, it was not expected that many of the respondents would be found to be active social participants. Studies have indicated that the industrial workers in a community, of which this sample was largely composed, do not participate to the same extent or in the same manner as do other elements of the population. (See Herbert Goldhamer, "Voluntary Associations in the United States," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Editors, Reader in Urban Sociology, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951, pp. 505-510. See also Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," American Sociological Review, December, 1946, pp. 686-698.) However, it was felt that the comparative participation could be determined as an indicator of community integration. The northern-born, as relative "insiders" were assumed to be "integrated."

adjustment for the inherent difference between the samples caused by southerners' having already moved at least once, to the North, was made by subtracting that one move from the mean number of communities worked in. The results indicated no significant difference between the sub-samples. Thus, except for the degree of mobility involved in making the original move from south to north, the southern-born seemed no more mobile than the northern-born. The same conclusion was drawn from analysis of the total number of years as compared with the number of continuous years in the Lansing labor market. As would be expected, the northern-born have resided in Lansing longer (mean of 16.5 years as compared to a mean of 10.36 years for the southern-born), but no differences were indicated in the number of moves in and out of Lansing.³ Hence the expectation that the southern-born are more transient than the northern-born was not substantiated by the data.

Satisfaction with the Community

Responses to the direct question, "How do you like living in this neighborhood?" were analyzed by region of origin. The majority of responses were positive, no significant differences could be found between any of the groups. It was concluded that, at least as far as satisfaction with neighborhood is an indicator of satisfaction with the community,

³The results are similar when comparisons are made with the Lansing-born pulled out of the northern sample.

the southern-born are no more nor less satisfied with the community than are the northern-born.

A somewhat more objective factor was studied on the assumption that a possible cause of dissatisfaction, if found to exist, would have some bearing on the workers' satisfaction with the community. Responses indicating the number of friends residing in respondents' neighborhoods were examined. The findings indicated that most of the respondents' friends for both southern and northern-born lived in Lansing, but not in the respondents' neighborhoods. The conclusions drawn are that, whatever the extent to which the position of the workers' homes in relation to those of their friends has a bearing on satisfaction with the community, there were no significant differences between the northern and southern-born samples. This may be a factor in the finding that there were no differences between the groups in their liking for the neighborhoods in which they live. However, no statement to that effect can be made with any degree of certainty on the basis of this analysis.

A final factor investigated was the relative amount of consideration given to moving from the neighborhood or community. This was felt to be especially important in view of the fact that southern-born workers were found to reside in areas of lower socio-economic status. Responses indicating the incidence on such consideration show no significant differences between the samples. In all samples, approximately three-fifths indicated that they intended staying in their

neighborhoods. Of those that had considered moving, the majority had contemplated some other location in Lansing, only a few reporting any desire to leave Lansing. Again, there were no significant differences between the sub-samples.

On the basis of the material considered it was concluded that southern-born workers feel no differently about Lansing than northern-born workers. Most workers seem to view Lansing in a favorable light, whether from the South or the North.

Community Participation

The first indicator of community participation analyzed was the number of formal organizations to which the respondents belonged. The mean number of organizations reported was calculated for each group and the means were compared for differences. The southern-born mean of 1.44 did not differ significantly from the "other" mean of 1.67. However, differences were noted between the southern-born whites and all of the groups with which they were compared. The mean of the southern-born whites was 1.17, the lowest mean of any sample. On the other hand, the mean of the southern-born Negroes was the highest noted, 1.86.

A chi-square test was made for the southern-born to determine the association between race and membership in one or more than one organization (See Table XX). The chi-square of 9.30 is significant to the .01 level, showing that an association exists between the variables. The

\bar{C} of .59 indicated that the degree of association is moderately high. These findings coincided with the results of an analysis of the number of non-union officerships and committees held by southern-born whites and Negroes.⁴

Certain conclusions may be drawn from this. The southern-born group as a whole did not differ significantly from the northern-born in their participation in formal community organizations, the number of such organizations in which they participated, or the amount of activity they engaged in as members of such organizations. However, the southern-born whites were low in community participation, as indicated by their low mean number of memberships and their relatively slight degree of organizational activity. The Negroes, on the other hand, participated to a larger extent than the southern-born whites, and were much more active in their participation. Thus, the whites, considered alone, substantiate the hypothesis, but the Negroes act contrary to the expectations.⁵

The final indicator of community participation considered consisted of responses to the question, "Did you vote in the last election?" Table XXI presents the results of the analysis. Almost three-fifths of the southern-born as

⁴One-tenth of the white respondents, as compared to 54% of the Negroes indicated that they held positions in various organizations. The chi-square was 13.46, d.f. > 1, .001 > p, \bar{C} was .68 (high degree of association).

⁵There are indications that Negroes tend to be more active in the community in any case. See Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1950, p. 304, and Angell, op. cit., p. 97.

TABLE XX

NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS FOR
SOUTHERN-BORN BY RACE

Memberships	<u>Race</u>		Total
	White	Negro	
		<u>Percentages</u>	
One	61	17	42
More than one	39	83	58
Total	100	100	100
Number of Responses	33	24	57
$\chi^2=9.30$ d.f.=1 $.01 > p > .001$ $\bar{C}=.59$			

TABLE XXI

VOTING BEHAVIOR BY REGION OF ORIGIN

Vote in Last Election	<u>Region of Origin</u>			Total
	<u>Southern-born</u>		<u>"Other"</u>	
	White (a)	Negro (b)	Total (c)	
			<u>Percentages</u>	
Yes	48	75	59	67
No	52	25	41	33
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of Responses	42	28	70	542

SUMMARY OF TESTS

Comparisons	χ^2	d.f.	p	\bar{C}
ab	4.13	1	$.05 > p > .02$.37
cd	2.44	1	$.20 > p > .10$	

compared with slightly over two-thirds of the "other" group voted in the last election. The chi-square indicated that this was not a significant difference. The only significant results which were determined were those between the southern-born whites and Negroes. The Negroes showed a higher incidence of voting, 75% as compared to 48% for the whites. The chi-square indicated that the difference was significant to the .05 level. The conclusion here is that southern-born whites do not participate to any less degree than the northern-born, but that southern-born Negroes participate to a higher degree than do any of the other groups considered.

Conclusions

On the basis of the foregoing analysis, it was concluded that the controlling hypotheses for the investigation of the community integration of the southern-born, as compared to the northern-born, must be considered untenable, (with the single exception of the expectation that the southern-born participate less in community structures, and that only if the southern-born whites are considered alone). If there is any validity to the hypotheses, they cannot be substantiated by the factors considered here.

The southern-born seem to like their neighborhoods and their communities as much as the northern-born and also, with some qualifications, there are no significant differences between them and the northern-born in the amount of community participation undertaken. The conclusion is that the southern-born

workers do not show any less community integration than the northern-born, even though they are recent arrivals and have a minority-group status. The fact that neither of the hypotheses were substantiated stands as verification of this conclusion.

The manner and degree of deviation from the other groups which is indicated by the southern-born Negroes should be noted. All the evidence indicates a higher degree of community integration on the part of this group than on the part of any other. This tends to uphold some speculations which have appeared (see footnote above) to the effect that the Negroes are more highly integrated to their (sub-) communities than are many other elements of the population. It is felt that the rigid social lines drawn for this minority group are probably a major factor underlying this behavior.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A sample of 545 workers, drawn from the Lansing, Michigan manual work force, has been examined in an attempt to indicate whether the regions of origin of the sub-groups included, with special emphasis on the southern-born, is associated with certain variables having to do with their demographic makeup, their integration to their jobs, and their integration to their present communities of residence. The sample consisted of 70 southern-born workers, 28 of which were Negro, and 475 "other" workers, 48 of which were foreign-born.

A set of expectations was formulated concerning the comparative demographic characteristics of the southern-born sample and the "other" category. These expectations concerning the age, rural-urban origins, number of children, education, home-ownership, and socio-economic status of dwelling area of the southern-born in comparison with the northern-born were tested by means of statistical comparisons between the two groups. It was felt that, if these expectations were valid, the factors involved might well be important in determining the degree of job and community integration of the southern-born workers in the community. The expectations were that the southern-born workers are younger, more often of rural origin, have more children, are less well-educated,

have been in Lansing for a shorter time, are less likely to own their own homes, and tend to live in areas of lower socio-economic status than the northern-born.

All of the expectations with the exception of that concerning the number of children per family proved reliable:

1. The mean age of the southern-born group, 40.29 years, proved to be significantly different from that of the northern-born sample, 41.51 years. An additional finding was that the mean age of the foreign-born was extremely high, over 57 years.

2. It was determined that a significantly larger proportion of the southern-born sample was of rural origin than of the northern sample. This was according to the expectation.

3. The finding that the southern-born did not have significantly more children per family than the northern-born was contrary to the expectation. No explanation for this comes to mind.

4. The analysis indicated that the southern-born had less education than the northern-born.

5. As might be expected, the southern-born had been in Lansing for a shorter period of time than the northern-born.

6. Southern-born workers tended to own their own homes to a lesser degree than the northern-born. An additional finding was that the foreign-born were more likely to own their homes than were the northern-born.

7. Based on analysis of classification of the workers' dwelling areas into six socio-economic status levels, the findings indicated that the southern-born workers tended to live in homes which are in lower socio-economic status areas than those of the northern-born.

Hypotheses concerning the integration of the southern-born workers to their jobs were tested. The hypotheses held that the southern-born were lower in the occupational and industrial hierarchy of the areas to which they had migrated, as indicated by lower occupational level, holding of jobs in the larger, absentee-owned production plants, and lower income level than the northern workers; and that they cared less for their jobs and for the companies for which they worked than did the northern-born.

The findings did not substantiate the hypotheses, as most of the factors investigated were almost the same for the southern and northern groups. Both groups were essentially on the same occupational level; they worked in plants of the same size and type of ownership, (usually absentee), and they received similar incomes. Some deviations from the findings were demonstrated for the foreign-born. They were found to be more often employed in smaller plants and to have worked for their present employer longer than the northern-born. It was found also that, with the exception of the responses to the question, "How do you like your job?" all of the "indicators" of company and job satisfaction, feelings of discrimination or of partiality, presence of and attitudes

toward certain "marginal" workers in the plant, and the number of attempts to change jobs, indicated that the southern-born were as well integrated to their jobs and to the companies for which they worked as the northern-born. In response to the question however, the southern-born indicated strong job dissatisfaction. This response is contradictory to the other information received.

It was hypothesized that the southern-born were less integrated to the community than were the northern-born. This was based in part on the previous findings concerning homeownership and socio-economic status of dwelling area, and in part on the further expectation that the southern-born would take less part in community organizations. The variables analyzed indicate no significant difference between the southern and northern-born in the degree of community integration demonstrated. The variables considered were; stated liking for the community; number of friends residing in the neighborhood and in the community as opposed to the number not in the neighborhood and community; consideration given to moving to another neighborhood or community; the number of formal organizations in which memberships were held; the degree of activity in such organizations, as indicated by the number of officerships and committee positions held in organizations other than the union; and voting behavior, as indicated by whether or not a vote was cast in the previous election.

In none of the above characteristics was any significant difference noted between the southern-born as a group and the northern-born. However, considerable differences were found to exist between southern-born whites and Negroes, with the latter evidencing higher community participation.

It should be pointed out that, though findings in the three areas of demographic, occupational, and community characteristics did not indicate statistically significant differences between the sub-samples, many differences were found which were in the expected direction. These differences should not be completely discounted. Given conditions only slightly different from those of this study, they could be significant.

Conclusions

It was concluded that the southern-born, while differing significantly from the northern-born in some of the characteristics analyzed, are really essentially similar to the dominant midwestern group. The points of difference between the groups (age, education, rural origins, extent of home ownership, and socio-economic status, as indicated by dwelling area) do not seem to have affected the comparative degree to which the southern-born are integrated to their jobs or their communities. It seems that, although they have not been on the midwestern scene as long as have the native northern-born workers, they have not been adversely

affected to any substantial degree by their minority group status, even though it is indicated that a majority of the dominant group holds negative attitudes toward them.

The existence of unionism might have had much to do with the equalization of some of these factors. It is felt that the effects of unionism on the economic and job conditions of the southern-born probably had an effect on their social conditions also, in the direction of equalization of status with the workers of northern-origin.

It must be concluded that the southern-born are as highly integrated to their jobs as are the northern-born. However, this statement must be modified by findings that the southern-born were much less satisfied with their jobs than the northern-born. Probably the best unqualified conclusion is that the factors here considered do not probe all subjective dimensions of job integration. Perhaps more comprehensive analysis of data dealing with such matters as the structure of the work groups in the plants, the type and degree of social interaction, and the presence on the job scene of people with similar backgrounds would be more useful in an attempt to determine why the southern-born are more dissatisfied. The type of work required in mass production industries may be another important variable.

The hypothesis that the southern-born are less integrated to the community was also rejected on the basis of the findings. However, some findings were contradictory to

this conclusion. The strongest indicator considered, responses to the question on liking for the community, shows no significant differences between the groups. This is strengthened by the analyses of most of the other factors considered. However, the southern-white group differs from the northern-born in the amount of social participation. This was demonstrated by a comparatively low proportion of organizational memberships and a low proportion of voting in the previous election. However, the possibility that these are not really good indicators remains.

The finding that the southern-born tend to own their own homes to a lesser extent than the northern-born leads to the conclusion that this is a variable which is tied up somehow with their minority group status, a characteristic that seems to linger longer than many of the other variables considered here, even hanging on after they have attained some degree of acceptance to the labor market and the community.

Probably the most obvious conclusion to be drawn from the data is that southern-born Negroes show a much higher degree of integration to the "community" than do southern-born whites, indeed even higher than the northern-born, though not significantly so. However, it is highly probable that their integration is to the Negro sub-community rather than to the community as a whole. This is probably a function of the rigid social strictures under which all Negroes,

southern and northern, find it necessary to exist. As a result of not being allowed any extensive amount of social interaction with the dominant group, the Negroes demonstrate heightened participation within their own sub-community.

Limitations of the Study

Those limitations which were pointed out in Chapter I are here noted once again. The fact that the data used were not gathered specifically for this study was felt to be relatively unimportant due to the excellent design of the original interview, the manner in which the original study was carried out, and the types of information gathered and used in the original study as compared with the types used in this study. All of these factors, it is felt, tend to minimize the problems inherent in the use of such data. The fact that the groups compared were of such disparate size should have been taken care of by the statistical techniques to some extent, but even at that, the size differences shouldn't have been too important as the conclusions dealt with directions and tendencies rather than with statements of quantitative exactitude.

In addition to these limitations, there are some other factors which are felt to be more important. In the first place, the factors used in the determination of the major areas of study, job and community integration, consisted of only a very few items out of many different alternative factors which could well have influenced the relative position

of the southern-born. It is felt that the underlying causes of the social phenomenon considered here must be much more complex than is indicated by the analysis of a few items.

In addition, the community studied is a particular type of community, one which may not be entirely "typical" of of midwestern industrial complex. It is certain that Lansing is quite different in many respects from such cities as Chicago and Detroit, where social origin could well have important bearing on the position and integration of the southern-born members in the labor force. Lansing has probably been better able to absorb the southern-born workers because their invasion of Lansing has been relatively small and slow.

Finally, the study involves a group of workers at a particular time, i.e., after a certain number of months or years in Lansing. It is felt that their position in the community and in the labor force certainly must have changed since their arrival and it may well change more in the future. Therefore, the conclusions are of an applicability limited by the rate of change which exists for such a group in such a community.

Relevance for Further Study

Some of the limitations mentioned above indicate possible fruitful areas for further study. Two in particular come to mind. It would seem that studies in other communities, both similar to and different from Lansing, would give a somewhat more complete picture of the southern-born in the

northern industrial scene. Perhaps the differences noted between communities in the positions of this and other minority groups could be helpful as factors in the study of the differing social organizations of different communities.

In addition, it would seem fruitful to study groups of southern-born migrant workers with different longevity in the northern community. Perhaps a continuum of acceptance as indicated by the varying job and community acceptance of the various groups could be constructed. Such studies, it would seem, could be significant in the understanding of minority group relations, of patterns of geographical as related to occupational and social mobility, and of group acculturation.

LITERATURE CITED

- Adams, Leonard P., and Robert L. Aronson, Workers and Industrial Change, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1957.
- Angell, Robert C., "The Moral Integration of American Cities," American Journal of Sociology, July, 1951, Part 2.
- Beynon, Erdmann D., "The Southern-White Laborer Migrates to Michigan," American Sociological Review, June, 1938, pp. 333-43.
- Dixon, Roland B., Louis Halphen, and Imre Ferenczi, "Migrations," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Volume 10, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1935, pp. 420-21.
- Dixon, Wilfred J., and Frank J. Massey, Jr., Introduction to Statistical Analysis, 2nd Edition, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New York, 1951.
- Drake, St. Clair, and Horace Cayton, Black Metropolis, Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1955.
- Goldhamer, Herbert, "Voluntary Associations in the United States," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Riess, Jr., Editors, Reader in Urban Sociology, The Free Press, Glencoe, 1951.
- Goodrich, Carter, et al, Migration and Economic Opportunity, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1936.
- Hagood, Margaret J., and Daniel O. Price, Statistics for Sociologists, Revised Edition, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1952.
- Haller, Archie O., "Farm Residence and Levels of Educational and Occupational Aspiration," American Journal of Sociology, January, 1957, pp. 407-11.
- Kilian, Lewis N., "The Adjustment of Southern-White Migrants to Northern Urban Norms," Social Forces, October, 1953, pp. 66-69.
- Komarovsky, Mirra, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," American Sociological Review, December, 1946, pp. 686-698.
- Kornhauser, Arthur, Detroit as the People See It, Wayne University Press, Detroit, 1952.

- Loomis, Charles P., and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1950.
- McCormick, Thomas C., Elementary Social Statistics, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New York, 1941.
- Meyers, Charles, and George P. Shults, The Dynamics of a Labor Market, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1951.
- National Resources Committee, The Problems of a Changing Population, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1938.
- Nosow, Sigmund, "Labor Distribution and the Normative System," Social Forces, October, 1956, pp. 25-33.
- Reynolds, Lloyd G., The Structure of Labor Markets, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1951.
- Smith, Joel, An Analysis of Selected Characteristics of the Population of Lansing's Census Tracts, Social Research Service, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College, East Lansing, March, 1955.
- Thompson, Warren S., Population Problems, 4th Edition, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1953.
- Thorntwaite, C. Warren, Internal Migration in the United States, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1934.
- United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950 Census of Population, Volume 2, United States Government Printing Office, 1951.
- _____, United States Census of Manufacturers, Volume 3, United States Government Printing Office, 1954.
- Votaw, Albert N., "The Hillbillies Invade Chicago," Harper's Magazine, February, 1958, pp. 64-67.

ROOM USE ONLY

~~MAR 12 1961~~

OCT 31 1961

FEB 26 1962

~~MAY 29 1962~~

~~APR 1 1962~~

~~DEC 1 1966~~

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES



3 1293 03062 1654