LABOR FORCE MOBILITY IN THE UNDERCLASS: OPPORTUNITIES, SUBCULTURE AND TRAINING AMONG CHIPPEWA AND POOR WHITE

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LEONARD LIEBERMAN

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This is to certify that the

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OPPORTUNITIES, SUBCULTURE, AND TRAINING
AMONG CHIPPEWA AND POOR WHITE

presented by

Leonard Lieberman

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

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ABSTRACT

LABOR FORCE MOBILITY IN THE UNDERCLASS:
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AMONG CHIPPEWA AND POOR WHITE

By

Leonard Lieberman

The research problem reported in this thesis stems from one of the central issues raised by Tumin in his criticism of Davis and Moore's theory that the function of social stratification is to provide opportunities which motivate individuals to fill society's most important positions. Tumin held that these opportunities in fact constitute unequal distribution of rewards which build up obstacles to mobility for succeeding generations. Liebow, Ferman, and others have extended the opportunity theory to apply to the underclass. Other theorists such as Oscar Lewis have developed a concept of the subculture of poverty which relates to Tumin's approach in that it holds that the subculture of the poor prevents mobility. Both the opportunity theorists and the subculture theorists reject or minimize the validity of the competing explanation. A third view has been advanced by Gans and holds that opportunities and subculture are interrelated influences.

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Leonard Lieberman

The disputed relationship between opportunities and subculture provided the focus for this study. The setting in which this research was conducted was a job training center in middle Michigan in 1966. The trainee population was largely underclass in origin. The thesis therefore examines influences of three types: opportunities, subculture, and training. The research procedure was exploratory and involved comparison of 37 Chippewa trainees and 113 poor whites and a small number of Mexicans and Negroes. Interviews were conducted during training and approximately one year after training for 165 persons. Research procedures also included observations, use of case records, a mailed employer's questionnaire, and interviews of a random sample of blue collar workers in the middle Michigan area. Four scales were developed intended to measure labor force mobility, opportunities, training, and family background as an aspect of subculture. Conclusions apply only to the training group itself and generalizing to larger populations is not possible given the exploratory design of the research.

The hypotheses which were examined provide support for the position that there is an interaction of the three types of influences, with there being a consistently greater association between opportunities and labor force mobility followed by the influence of job training and the still lesser degree of influence from the family dimension of subculture factors. The general conclusion is that opportunities of a level

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moderately above the trainees pre-training experiences are most likely to motivate the members of the underclass studied here when aided by comprehensive job training activities and positive family influences.

Dimensions of the opportunity scale which associated most strongly with labor force mobility were weekly salary, pre-post job satisfaction, level of job satisfaction, hourly rate of pay, and job status, but not the frequency with which jobs were available.

The training center's influence was seen not so much in conventional school areas such as skill training but in interpersonal influences of peers and staff members, the psuedo-gemeinschaft atmosphere of the center as it related to self-confidence, and the channeling function of recruitment into training and placement by staff members on the job after training. The training center represents a kind of bridge between two subcultures. The staff attempted to move the trainees from the underclass into the working class subculture. Their methods of achieving this goal involved tactics and styles of relationships which ran counter to the standard middle class bureaucratic procedures which usually help keep the underclass in its place at the bottom of the class structure.

Family factors which associated with labor force mobility were of two kinds: (1) the pressure of spouse or kin in support or opposition to labor force mobility. (2) Models

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Ethnic differences in family structure were seen among whites in the greater frequency of extended family clusters and low LFM, and the greater frequency of significant others and high LFM among white males. Among the Chippewa males there were no wives who were significant others, a higher proportion of insignificant others and low LFM, and more males without females. When the husband of a white woman is unable to work LFM is more often high. Among the Mexican families the presence of a dominant father resulted in low LFM and after his death higher LFM occurred for children or spouses. Among Negro trainees males were of low LFM and females had a slightly higher LFM.

Many of the family and ethnic patterns tend to operate in opposing directions with a general low level of support for labor force mobility.

The interrelationship of opportunities, training and subculture is seen in the following conclusions: (1) The range of opportunities which underclass trainees seemed to have defined as desirable was sharply limited by their subculture of origin, and to a lesser degree the range is limited by the influence of the irregular economy on the downwardly mobile. (2) The range of opportunities to which the trainees responded was influenced by the placement efforts of the training center staff and the general

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psuedo-gemeinschaft atmosphere of the center which helped develop trainees self-confidence. (3) The influence of peers from the subculture was intensified by the continual association provided at the center. Those Chippewa males who could avoid peer groups were more likely to have higher labor force mobility. (4) The influence of family factors is negative almost as often as positive, but the association of family influences with labor force participation was even lower before training, suggesting that the training center helped channel the direction of family influence. (5) The strong influence of opportunities masks the fact that the actual opportunities available were so poorly rewarding that despite the great effort of the staff and the trainees, the majority of trainees were still poor and alienated after training.

The report concludes with policy recommendations relating to the nature of job training centers and the structure of opportunities in the irregular economy.

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By

Leonard Lieberman

A THESIS

Submitted to
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

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Department of Sociology

1970

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The research reported here was made possible by the willingness of those in training to share a little of their life experiences with me. I also received the invaluable and unlimited assistance of the staff of the training center and Jim Shrift, its director. I have received generous help from the leaders of the Chippewa-Saginaw community including Chief Jackson, Ben Quigno, and Arnold Sowmick.

My thesis committee, consisting of Doctors McKee, Form, Beagle, and Artis provided me with guidance in selecting a meaningful research problem, and left me the freedom to explore it as fully as I could. I am indebted to Tim Shaffer for generously giving his time in order to make suggestions about methods and measurements, and I am grateful to Chuck Westie for putting me in touch with the training center at a time when I was searching for a research problem. Bernard Meltzer has helped me indirectly in many ways: by providing me with a scholarly atmosphere in which research was encouraged, and in which significant social issues were confronted, and by gathering together a group of scholars who contribute to an atmosphere conducive to creative, meaningful research.

My thanks also are expressed to: Jim Smith and Bernita Salisbury for assistance with the follow-up interviewing; to students in the Field Course at Central Michigan University for interviewing members of the blue collar sample; to Dan Bednarz, Pat O'Donnel, and Diane Ward for preparing tables and manuscrips; to Brenda Dague, and the staff of her office for their assistance, and to the United States Department of Labor for financial assistance in connection with the follow-up portion of the research, and the data analysis.

And finally I express those thanks that are hardest to convey: to Ron for waiting too long, to Bruce and Leslie for waiting endlessly, and to Dana for the many four-fold tables which she made for her daddy's ph.d.

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CHAPTER I

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

Sociological Significance of Labor Force Mobility in the Underclass

A considerable number of research studies have been completed on social and occupational mobility in the United States, but none of this research has explicitly been focused upon the issue raised in the debate of Tumin (1953) with Davis and Moore (1945) over whether stratification systems function as sources of opportunities or as sources of inequality. It is also true that relatively few of the research studies have been concerned with exploring mobility in the underclass.

In this study the central issues raised in the Davis-Moore-Tumin debate provides the theoretical problem. That problem concerns the influence of social stratification as a source of opportunities or inequalities, and it is explored here by analyzing four underclass ethnic groups. Emphasis will be upon two which have been given very little attention: Chippewa Indians, and rural white, with less attention given to Mexican-Americans and Negroes because of

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Perhaps the inattention to the relationship of opportunities to inequalities stems from a preference for conceptual problems which can be operationalized more easily. Ethnic variations in mobility have also been ignored partly because of the difficulty of studying them, and partly because many sociologists prefer to assume that class factors have greater consequence than ethnic influence. Yet income differentials suggest ethnic variations are sizable. In 1960 while 21.4% of all American families had incomes below $3,000 (U. S. Census, 1960: 226), there were 37% of white rural families below that level (U. S. Census, 1960: 225) and 54% of American Indian families on reservations (Council of Economic Advisors, 1964: 92-106), as well as 75% of non-white rural families (U. S. Census, 1960: 225). Given these large differentials, it can be anticipated that the four ethnic groups differ in their labor force participation in a number of ways, including occupational mobility.

The research reported here emphasizes Chippewa Indians and poor whites in central Michigan comparing labor force mobility in the two groups and attempting to explain the differences in relation to the influences of: (1) subculture, (2) opportunity structure, and (3) job training. Labor force mobility will be measured in terms of change in

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the following dimensions of labor force participation: (1) greater occupational status, (2) greater annual wages, (3) wages in relation to the federal poverty line, (4) working a greater proportion of time after training, and (5) working at one job eight months or more. The relationship of the three types of influences and labor force mobility to the central theoretical problem will be amplified in the sections that follow.

Social and Sociological Problems

There is a close relationship between social problems and sociological knowledge in which the study of one can lead to the other. This study is one in which I attempt to view labor force mobility both in terms of its significance for society and for sociological knowledge, in other words as a social problem and a sociological problem.

The development of sociological knowledge is currently pictured as polarized between choosing one or another type of relevance. There is the desire of sociologists to study relevant human problems and there is the competing desire to pursue problems relevant to sociologists and to academic career lines. This second attraction has been said to allow for maximum objectivity, or at least detachment, but has also been viewed as a source of increasing professional bureaucratization, a proliferation of abstract empirical research, and unwitting support of the status quo (see Mills,

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1949). The study of social problems has been said to assist in formulation of policy but by sacrificing objectivity and theoretical relevance. It is the position in this thesis that both social and sociological purposes are more likely to be achieved when the research problem is relevant to social and sociological problems and when we are aware of and choose our biases.

Social Significance of Mobility in the Underclass

The underclass[1] consists of those persons in an industrial society whose access is sharply restricted to the opportunities defined as normal in that type of society at that time. This restricted access constitutes a social problem in the United States because it conflicts with equalitarian ideology and because unequal opportunities lead to an increase and a perpetuation of unequal opportunities, preventing the upward occupational mobility by which those inequities can be altered. Clearly poverty and blocked mobility are related aspects of the same problem. This research focuses upon labor force mobility as a social problem rather than poverty, because mobility is viewed as a key factor influencing life style as well as the consequent life chances of offspring.

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[1]One of the earliest uses of the term "underclass" is by Gunnar Myrdal (1962: 40).

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Mobility in the underclass population studied here also is socially significant because over 40% of families with incomes below $3,000 in 1960 were living in rural areas (U. S. Census, 1960: 225), and because the recruitment of the urban poor during the middle decades of this century has been largely by migration from rural areas.

Those who plan programs to alleviate poverty are concerned with whether action programs really make a difference (Chilman 1966: 105). Sociologists have been criticized because they carry out:

> . . . too few policy-oriented studies on <u>any</u> topic . . . and find it easier to catalogue the behavior . . . of the poor . . . (Gans 1967: 2).

This study reports on a federal program aimed at creating occupational mobility. Several issues will be examined: What relationship exists between the success of the training program and the influence on trainees of subcultural factors and economic opportunities? Is it possible to alleviate poverty through such a program, or are larger changes necessary in subculture or opportunity structures? Answers to these questions are usually based on biases, it is hoped that more meaningful answers are possible based on research.

Labor force mobility is a sensitive indicator of a complex of social influences which are central to the concern of sociologists. Thus the study of a social problem such as labor force mobility in the underclass is both an opportunity to explore a social problem, and to develop sociological

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CHAPTER II

THE FRAMEWORK OF STRATIFICATION AND THE PROBLEM OF OPPORTUNITIES VS. INEQUALITIES

Introduction to the Problem

The analytical framework[1] used in this study is that of social stratification.[2] Selecting a framework is crucial for several reasons. The framework shapes the selection of variables and biases the interpretation of findings in one direction or another. Selection of social stratification as a framework has helped to center concerns on the problems developed in the Davis and Moore vs. Tumin debate, and this in turn has led away from some of the traps in functionalism (see Tumin, 1965). Guarded against is the justification of the status quo since the debate transforms the functionalist version of the rags to riches ideology into an analysis

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[1]The term framework is used rather than theory following Zetterberg (1965) in the sense that a theory is set of rigorously interrelated propositions, and that a framework provides an orientation to a set of relationships. Zetterberg's view corresponds in some ways to Blumer's (1930) discussion of sensitizing concepts.

[2]A brief statement of basic assumptions and concepts about social class is presented in Appendix 1.

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The sociological problem pursued in this research, the debate over the functions of social stratification, constitutes one of the major areas of controversy in modern sociology. In that debate Davis and Moore (1945) held that the function of social stratification is that of providing opportunities which motivate individuals to fill a society's most important positions. Tumin (1953) led the critical rebuttal by pointing out that the opportunities spoken of by the functionalists constituted unequal distribution of rewards and built up obstacles for succeeding generations by creating unequal motivation, blocking access to education, distributing unfavorable self-images, and creating distrust among various segments of society.

The ramified issues involved in this debate are not yet resolved, but both sides of the debate can cite related schools of contemporary research. Davis and Moore's position is supported by a group of studies stressing such themes as the positive motivating influences of opportunities, situational responses to opportunities, and emphasizing social class rather than subcultural patterns (see S. M. Miller 1964; Riessman and Seagull 1965; Ferman, Kornbluh and Haber 1965; and Liebow 1967).

Tumin's position receives supports from two sizable schools of research: (1) the research on anomie stemming

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from Merton's (1957) formulation of Durkheim's theory (see Clinard, 1964), and (2) the research assuming a cycle of poverty or a subculture of poverty (see A. Davis 1946, Lewis, 1961, 1962, 1965, 1966; Moynihan, 1965; and Cloward and Ohlin, 1963).

These schools will be discussed in later chapters. In the following sections of the present chapter there will be presented: (1) A summary of the debate, (2) a discussion of the relationship of the debate to the classic sociological tradition, and (3) an explanation of the relationship of the debate over the functional theory of stratification to the present research problem.

A Summary of the Davis-Moore-Tumin Debate

The functionalist principles of stratification presented in 1945 by Davis and Moore are briefly stated here:

> 1) (Stratification is universal in human cultures because of the) requirement faced by any society of placing and motivating individuals in the social structure. (242).
>
> 2) (The positions) conveying the best reward, (and consequently having the highest rank are those) which (a) have the greatest importance for the society and (b) require the greatest training or talent (243).
>
> 3) Social inequality is thus an unconsciously evolved device by which societies insure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons (243).

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The earliest, most provocative, and thorough critique of the functionalist view is provided by Tumin.[1] The central issue posed by his criticism seems to be that stratification systems do not, as Davis and Moore contend, act simply as sources of motivation, but rather the stratification systems distributes rewards unequally and tend to perpetuate inequalities. Thus Tumin claims that unequal rewards:

> (1) (result in) . . . unequal distribution of motivation in the succeeding generation (1959: 389).
>
> (2) . . . blocks access to education and training which the parents can provide given the position and rewards available to them (1953a: 390).
>
> (3) . . . function to distribute favorable self-images unequally (1953a: 393) . . .
>
> (4) . . . function to limit the possibility of discovery of the full range of talent available in a society (1953a: 393) . . .
>
> (5) . . . encourage hostility, suspicion, and distrust among the various segments of a society and thus . . . limit the possibilities of extensive social integration (1953a: 393).
>
> (6) . . . function to distribute loyalty unequally in the population (1953a: 393).
>
> (7) (And finally) . . . to the extent that participation and apathy depend on the sense of significant membership in the society, social stratification systems function to distribute the motivation to participate unequally in a population (1953a: 393).

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[1]The functionalist position has also been critically examined by a number of other sociologists (see Buckley, 1958; Wrong, 1959; and almost any social stratification text).

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The Relationship of the Debate to the Classic Sociological Tradition

The debate about the functions of social stratification continues to be relevant to current research yet it is a debate which is older than the discipline of sociology itself. The issue discussed by Davis, Moore, Tumin and others can be related to the themes of Adam Smith and Karl Marx.

The stress of Adam Smith (1776) was on the motivating force of self-interest, which he held should be allowed to express itself with a minimum of government control. The efforts of men motivated by self-interest would then lead to the development of national wealth. A basic assumption of Marx (1867), like that of Smith, was that the *laissez-faire* competition could create great wealth. But while Smith held that the principle of self-interest should be allowed to operate equally for workers and employers, and both should have the right to organize to protect their interests, Marx, extrapolated from his observations, to argue that workers would not be treated equally, but would be exploited on behalf of the self-interest of capitalists. In contemporary terms Smith was stressing the idea that men would be motivated by the rewards or opportunities of the social stratification system, but Marx was arguing that some men on the behalf of their self-interest would seize the opportunity to exploit other men and the result would be the creation of serious inequalities.

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It is in part the expression of the above themes in Marxism which stimulated Durkheim and Weber to develop a rebuttal which helped to shape the sociological point of view (Hughes, 1961). In the European milieu of the 1890's, the ideas of Marx, became the focus of attention perhaps because of their relationship to the rapid industrialization of the period, the related social mobility, and the condition of the working class. Specifically, in relation to social mobility, Durkheim (1951) was concerned with the anomie generated in a period of economic expansion presumably a period of high social mobility. To Durkheim wealth:

> . . . by the power it bestows, deceives us into believing we depend on ourselves only. Reducing the resistance we encounter from objects, it suggests the possibility of unlimited success against them. The less limited one feels, the more intolerable all limitation appears . . . wealth, exalting the individual, may always arouse the spirit of rebellion which is the very source of immorality (1951: 254).

Mizruchi (1967: 440) has clarified that Durkheim's emphasis was upon the expansion of aspirations to create unrealizable goals in periods of economic expansion. Durkheim's position combines both the idea that opportunities can motivate, be functional, and can be dysfunctional in leading to anomie. Durkheim also commented on poverty in a manner very similar to Tumin's since both of them saw the unequal aspirations created by inequality. Durkheim wrote that:

> Poverty protects against suicide because it is a restraint in itself. No matter how one acts, desires have to depend upon resources to some extent; actual possessions are partly the criterion of those aspired to. So the less one has the less he is tempted to

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> extend the range of his needs indefinitely . . . Not without reason, therefore, have so many religions dwelt on the advantages and moral value of poverty. It is actually the best school for teaching self-restraint. Forcing us to constant self-discipline, it prepares us to accept collective discipline with equanimity . . . (1951: 254).

Thus Durkheim developed ideas antedating and anticipating the issues raised in the debate of Davis-Moore vs. Tumin. But Durkheim differed (1951: 254) from Tumin, and is more similar to Davis and Moore in that he is more concerned with the effect of high opportunities on the rising middle class than he is concerned with the effects of low opportunities on the poor. But Durkheim's interpretation of the self-restraint imposed by poverty, does not consider the long range implications of the alienation of the poor in relation to that social integration which was the central concern of Durkheim's own inquiries. Nor does Durkheim indicate the possibility that even while the poor might remain acquiescent, the conscience stricken intellectuals and affluent might challenge the legitimacy of a social solidarity based on a silent lumpen protetariat. In the 1960's neither the poor nor the intellectual are silent.

Weber's (1958) interests, like Durkheim's, are focused on the upper levels of the stratification system. Social mobility was a topic Weber undertook in the course of a reply to Marx's economic determinism. Weber explored the growth of capitalism, opposed one sided explanations, and held that religious factors had been one significant influence.

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He pointed to the Calvinistic ethic as an influence leading early capitalists to rationalize their existence by scrutinizing their lives for indications of success which would be clues to their being among those predestined for salvation.

While Weber had pointed to the Protestant ethic as an ideology developed by Calvin and used by the early capitalists to justify themselves the present day functionalist developed a latter day ideology which they called a theory and which justified inequalities of the twentieth century.[1] But the anti-functionalists seem to stress the inequalities resulting from the principles of scarcity and competition assumed by the functionalist. In this respect, they continue the line of reasoning used by Marx, but taken in conjunction with the functionalist they present a more balanced view. Tumin clarifies that he was balancing the Davis-Moore view by adding dysfunctions to it:

> Added in with the positive functions which have been identified, we get a mixed net result of inequality in operation (1953b: 673).

Thus Tumin does not completely reject the Davis-Moore position. If Davis and Moore were completely wrong, then

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[1]Tumin (1965) does point out the ideological overtones of Davis and Moore's principles since they justify the rightness of the greater rewards for the more trained and for so much longer a period of their work life after comparable workers are physically dehabilitated. He suggests the possibility of alternative rewards of prestige, joy in work, and social duty.

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one could not explain much social differentiation in industrial societies. But Tumin did choose to emphasize the negative consequences of inequality.

Despite the dialogue between Davis-Moore and Tumin, research efforts and discussion have not moved in the direction of a synthesis of ideas, in which the interaction of opportunities and inequalities were examined. Instead research has tended to follow one or another of the positions in the debate. It will be argued in the sections that follow that a number of basic lines of current sociological research are very closely related to the ideas stated 16 years ago in Tumin's debate with Davis and Moore, and that the debate and several of those lines of research relate to the research reported here.

Three Dimensions of the Research Problem Relating to the Davis-Moore-Tumin Debate

In this thesis the effort will be made to relate the debate over the functional theory of stratification to labor force mobility. Labor force mobility is defined as increased participation in the economic system through higher job status, higher annual wages, income above the federal poverty level, working a greater portion of the year, and duration of work at one job. Thus labor force mobility is broader in scope than occupational mobility and constitutes a manpower problem area. Application of the functional

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theory of stratification to manpower problems has been criticized by Nam because it is:

> . . . theory at a very high level of generalization and cannot easily be made operational . . . for a theory in manpower to be useful, it has to provide specific guidance for research . . . (1967: 248-251).

Nam's criticism is well taken, but it does not apply to the debate, especially Tumin's rebuttal, in which numerous issues have been exposed and from which a rich set of propositions can be generated. Tumin summarizes his rebuttal and describes his position as a set of "empirical hypothesis subject to test" (1953: 58). The fruitfulness of the debate is recognized by Gordon in commenting that the Davis-Tumin debate

> . . . has been a useful one in helping to clarify the issue of social stratification and functionalism. The two viewpoints complement each other, each supplying necessary insights and emphasis which the other ignores or minimizes (1963: 170).

It is the contentions here that the debate itself also helps provide a framework which relates much sociological theory and research. This will be discussed in the course of the following chapter. Here I wish to suggest three issues in the debate as it relates to the present research problem: (1) The economic opportunity structure: How can the opportunity system, be conceptualized? What is the relationship of opportunities to achievement after job training? (2) The subculture: What is the effect of subculture on labor force mobility after training? (3) The use of a training center to overcome limitation on

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<u>achievement from either source</u>: Can the training center bridge the gap between low opportunities and subculture factors and facilitate mobility? To what extent is its success relative to the opportunity structure and subcultural background? These three dimensions of the problem are reviewed in later chapters.

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CHAPTER III

DIMENSION ONE: THE IRREGULAR OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE AND THE IRREGULAR ECONOMY

The debate sketched above concerns the influence of social stratification as a set of motivating rewards as opposed to being seen as a source of obstacles to mobility. The debate continues in the '60's in some of the voluminous research stimulated by the so-called war on poverty during the Johnson administration. The debate has begun to stimulate an exploration and conceptualization of the nature of the opportunity structure. In an attempt to analyze the influence of the opportunity structure Ferman (cited in U. S. Dept. of Labor, 1968: 94) has begun to develop the concept of the irregular economy.

The Irregular Economy

The concept of the irregular economy marks a step forward in conceptualization since it moves into an area of the economy given little attention. It provides a new perspective which allows the analyst to avoid using terms which impute blame to the poor, terms such as apathetic poor and hard core unemployed.

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The irregular economy is characterized by erratic wage fluctuations and overlapping of the wage and welfare systems. The available jobs are "dead end, low wage, sporadic, extra legal, and so forth." The work may be "physically exacting, job security low, and employment offered only on a short-time basis," (U. S. Dept. of Labor, 1968: 94). The effects of the irregular economy are concentrated on certain sectors of the population and create and maintain an underclass forced into irregular labor force participation.

Ferman, Kornbluh and Haber state the basic assumption of their view of the irregular economy in terms of opportunities:

> In each case, the lack of opportunities, and not the ability of the poor to take advantage of opportunities, is the factor limiting mobility. The question of causation must focus on those forces outside the control of the poor which limit their opportunity for economic well being. These are the forces which determine the availability of jobs and skill training, wage scales, size of transfer payments, availability of credit, race discrimination, etc. They are part of the total functioning of the American political economy (1965: 135).

The irregular economy helps preserve the stability of the regular economy. The unemployment and subemployment which result can be regarded as deviant forms of behavior generated by processes which function to preserve stability (see Erickson, 1964: 15). In social class terminology, the middle class is able to maintain its participation in the regular economy by exploitation of those in the underclass through the irregular economy. Similarly the welfare,

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police, penal, and custodial institutions which process the deviant products of the irregular economy depend upon the existence of these deviants in order to assure a flow of clients to support their own segment of the regular economy.

Sources of the Irregular Economy

Some possible sources of the irregular economy are listed below:

(1) Low wages resulting from the: (a) cultural definitions of the relative value of wages for persons at lower skill levels vs. corporate profits or capital expansion; (b) marginal economic enterprises; and (c) inadequate level of minimum wage laws and the exclusion of 15 million workers in retail trade, restaurants, hotels, launderies, and hospitals, domestic service, agriculture, and small logging operations (AFL-CIO, 1965: 124).

(2) Adjustment in the size of the labor force resulting from: (a) depressions and recessions; (b) adjustment in production relating to seasons, new products, relocation of industry, cessation of production because of poor management and low profit, and exhaustion of natural resources; and (c) automations' effect which can be partly seen in the decade 1950-60 in the decrease of almost 10 percent in non-farm laborers in the labor force, and the 40 percent decrease in farmers and farm workers (Slocum, 1966: 105). Blue collar workers had by 1960 replaced farmers as the largest

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occupational group in rural areas (1968 Manpower Report: 136). This shift out of farm work into blue collar occupations, occurred, in the decade 1950-1960; a comparable shift during 1960-70 will be more difficult if the predicted changes occur involving expansion by 40 percent in professional and technical occupations, as compared with "15 percent for semi-skilled jobs and no growth at all in unskilled jobs"(Kahn, 1965: 167). The result is to further constrict channels of mobility into blue collar jobs available to persons in the underclass.

(3) Demographic pressures create a surplus of unskilled labor relative to the demand: At the same time that automation leads to a decline in the number of positions for manual workers, a number of demographic trends accentuate the consequences: (a) differential fertility; (b) migration; (c) immigration; (d) changes in the proportion of persons in different age cohorts, and (e) changes in frequency with which a particular age-sex cohort seeks employment.

(4) Discrimination patterns: On the basis of scattered reports Ferman (1966b: 3) concludes that "job discrimination is widespread both in the North and in the South." Also of significance is the worker's perception of the equality of his opportunities. One study reports that Negro workers feel that their:

> . . . lack of opportunity was more a matter of their skin color than their lack of training. Over half of the Negroes reported that there was a job in the

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> company for which they were qualified by seniority and training, but they had not applied. The reasons for this vary, but they reflect a certain awareness of hostility in the work environment or lack of confidence that they would be fairly considered for the job (Ferman, 1966b: vi).

Consequences of the Irregular Economy: The Irregular-Opportunity Structure

The irregular economy confronts those who work within it, with a series of job opportunities which are not regular opportunities because they do not offer desirable work conditions and satisfactions, adequate wages, sufficient duration of employment, and adequate social status. The consequences of irregular-opportunities can be seen in such subcultural aspects of life as family structure, ethnic patterns, inadequate incomes, irregular work patterns, alienation, and depressed aspirations. In the section below consequences for work patterns and aspirations are discussed.

Irregular Opportunities and Work Patterns

A common approach to the study of work patterns is one centering around forms of unemployment. For example Wolfbein (1965: 5-6) lists four types:

(1) Transitional unemployment is a result of the lag in matching people to jobs. It is also called frictional and is described as being of short term. More than two-fifths of unemployment is of this type lasting less than 5 weeks. Wolfbein regards this type as the "least serious

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(2) Seasonal Unemployment is found in agriculture or construction and tends to be of short duration, Wolfbein claims.

(3) Cyclical Unemployment is produced by periodic declines in the economic situation and the effect can be widespread.

(4) Joblessnes is due to "deep-seated structural changes in the economy . . ." such as automation, technological change, shifts in natural resources, migration of industries, population shifts, and occupational shifts (Wolfbein, 1965: 56).

Utilizing Wolfbein's presentation does not lead one to perceive the irregular economy clearly enough since he de-emphasizes the transitional unemployment which is a major characteristic of the irregular economy. Equally serious is the fact that the long-term unemployed and part-time workers are given no clear location in the system, yet part-time workers in an average week in 1966 numbered two million, and persons unemployed 15 or more weeks in 1966 numbered 2.4 million (U. S. Dept. of Labor, 1969: 20 and 35). A modified model of work patterns will be suggested in a later chapter, on the basis of data gathered in this study, in order to clarify the considerable shifting from

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The question arises as to how significant a factor such irregularity of work patterns may be, as contrasted with such factors as income or job status:

> Industry, retail commerce, and even the private household maintain a continuous demand for "hands" hired on a day-to-day basis for clean-up jobs, moving, heavy construction, snow removal, digging, carrying, hewing of wood, and draining of water. The exact size of this population is not known; of all the labor markets, this is the least studied, . . . (Caplow, 1954: 173).

Caplow points out that the:

> more accurate criterion with which to identify the least privileged class of urban workers is regularity of employment . . . (1954: 173).
>
> It seems evident that pronounced irregularity of earnings must have important consequences for family life and for social participation in general, and this is confirmed by the few studies of occupational groups in which irregularity of earnings is conspicuous (1954: 178).

The question of regularity of work is a crucial problem in rural areas for both farm and non-farm workers, especially the less skilled who are most affected by:

> . . . underemployment in terms of irregular work and low earnings, rather than total lack of work (1968 Manpower Report: 136).

Contributing to the irregularity of opportunities is the fact that the unskilled are easily replaced. Morris and Murphy (1959: 239) hypothesize that situs mobility is greatest in the extremes of the occupational structure where skills are more interchangeable.

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The Influence of Irregular Opportunities on Worklife Aspirations

Irregularity of work, as an aspect of the irregular opportunity structure, may have influence on a number of aspects of workers' attitudes such as aspiration and alienation. The influence of opportunities upon aspirations has been treated by sociologists in two different ways depending upon whether the consequences are analyzed within the life cycle of the worker or on an intergenerational basis. For convenience we may refer to the worklife versus intergenerational view. This distinction relates to two traditions of sociological research which have been labelled by Cloward (1959) as: (1) "anomie," and (2) subcultural, or "cultural transmission-differential association." Both schools of research relate to the concern of Tumin with how the differential rewards of social stratification systems generate further inequalities. The anomie tradition can be restricted to worklife consequences or viewed as if passed on through family structure transmitting limited human motivation, alienation, and low access to opportunities. The subcultural tradition is discussed in the next chapter and that of anomie is taken up below as it relates to worklife aspirations.

The anomie tradition stems from Merton's (1957) systematization of Durkheim's (1951) theory. Merton's conception is that of widely shared high aspirations which

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cannot be fulfilled because of blocked access to legitimate opportunities. The discussion of irregular work patterns in the preceding section would be an example of blocked access to legitimate opportunities. The result of blocked access has been studied by many sociologists in terms of: (a) anomie, a state of normlessness, or (b) anomia, a state of hopelessness, or of depressed aspirations. It is this latter result that is discussed below in a brief survey of major research efforts which examine the effects of work opportunities on aspirations.

(1) Automobile Workers and the American Dream

Chinoy (1955: 31) studied the effect of opportunities upon aspirations among 62 urban dwelling auto workers, of working class and lower middle class origin, approximately 1/3 being high school graduates. He found the structure of opportunities in the automobile plant extremely limited. For every one worker who climbs the ladder to any degree there are 50 or more who remain at approximately the same job level. Chinoy found that among the 62 workers interviewed, only one "spoke of any ambitions in the plant higher than foremanship" (1953: 47). Thirty-seven of the forty-seven nonskilled workers indicated "no active interest in skilled work" (1955: 63). Chinoy argues that in the American dream the

> . . . values of the tradition of opportunity played only a small role in determining the . . . order of preference among nonskilled jobs . . . (The) values

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> which played the greatest part in determining the order of preference among nonskilled jobs were regularity of employment and the relative absence of physical and psychological strain. These values stem primarily from the nature of work in an automobile factory itself rather than from the tradition of opportunity (1955: 66-67).

A related point is made by Baake for workers in New Haven:

> Time and again men said they had started out with big ideas about the dignity of labor and tried to get a 'big kick' out of work itself. It soon wore out and work became a routine to be faced if they wanted to avoid pain and get some comfort out of life (1940: 15).

It appears that frustrated aspirations are channeled towards substitute goals, and that the worker becomes primarily concerned with security. In relation to the present research problem, and the Davis-Moore-Tumin debate, such workers and their sons (see Chinoy, 1955: 126) would be hypothesized to respond very well to new opportunities, but no hypothesis is possible from the study of blue collar workers as to how persons born in intergenerational poverty would respond to new opportunities.

A number of studies of the depression exist which document, often through case studies, the <u>despair</u> which resulted. Similar responses, varying with the age of the worker, were reported when plants shut down in non-depression periods (Wilcox and Franke, 1963: 82-93). Aspirations are analyzed or are mentioned only indirectly in most of the studies, but it can be inferred that most often aspirations remained about as they were prior to the depression (see for example: Stouffer and Lazarsfeld, 1937; Cooley, 1936; Cavan and Ranck, 1938).

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Komarovsky's study (1940) of workers in the depression reported their feelings of "deep humiliation." In her 1962 study of blue collar workers (280-282) she found that among her sample of 58 male heads of households that 10% felt they had "made good" at skilled or semi-skilled jobs, 14% were content with their present jobs, 45% had no plans for upward mobility, 22% desired upward mobility and had formed serious plans, and 9% felt completely defeated.

The studies by Komarovsky, Baake, and Angell concern unemployment which was not long enough in duration to have a clear-cut intergenerational effect. The research also has limited implications because it deals primarily with classes above the underclass level or it fails to explicitly distinguish the classes. Chinoy acknowledges that he interviewed no worker who was what Marx called "lumpen proletariate," although one or two were pointed out to him. These would be persons who have

> . . . totally rejected American success values . . . (and have) no alternative values to replace those which they rejected; they were in a state of anomy (1955: 128).

Others have pointed out the characteristics of low aspirations, emphasis upon security, and avoidance of economic or occupational risk taking (see A. Davis, 1946: 89; Herbert Hyman, 1953). Mizruchi points out the implicit assumption, in accord with the opportunity school's point of view, that if

> . . . physical security were obtained, middle-class aspirations would spontaneously emerge (1967: 442).

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But it is not clear how frequently such aspirations would emerge in different classes, especially in the intergenerational segment of the underclass.

(2) Irregular-Opportunities and the Aspirations of the Underclass

Liebow's research looks at the effect of the irregular economy on people in the underclass, and presumably, being black, most are more than second generation members yet he emphasizes the direct effect of the irregular economy and irregular opportunities:

> . . . the man-job relationship is a tenuous one. At any given moment, a job may occupy a relatively low position on the street corner scale of real values. Getting a job may be subordinated to relations with women or to other non-job considerations; the commitment to a job one already has is frequently shallow and tentative. The reasons are many. Some are objective and reside principally in the job, some are subjective and reside principally in the man. The line between them, however is not a clear one . . . (1967: 35-36).

> Objective economic consideration are frequently a controlling factor in a man's refusal to take a job. . . . Some jobs, such as dishwasher, may dip as low as eighty cents an hour. . . . One of the principal advantages of these jobs is that they offer fairly regular work. . . . Construction work, even for unskilled laborers, usually pays better, with the hourly rate ranging from $1.50 to $2.60 an hour. . . . Construction work, (is) however seasonal work . . . and even during the season the work is frequently irregular (1967: 41-42).

> . . . The streetcorner man puts no lower value on the job than does the larger society around him. He knows the social value of the job by the amount of money the employer is willing to pay him for doing it. . . . Nor does the low-wage job offer prestige, respect, interesting work, opportunity for learning or advancement or any other compensation. Typically they are hard, dirty, uninteresting and underpaid. The rest of society . . . holds the job of the dishwasher or

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> janitor or unskilled laborer in low esteem if not outright contempt. So does the streetcorner man. He cannot do otherwise. He cannot draw from a job those social values which other people do not put into it (1967: 57-59).

Finally, Liebow states that he has attempted:

> . . . to see the man as he sees himself, to compare what he says with what he does, and to explain his behavior as a direct response to the conditions of lower-class Negro life rather than as mute compliance with historical or cultural imperatives (1967: 208-209, emphasis added).

In short, Liebow, emphasizes the worklife effects of the irregular economy and denies the intergenerational consequences.

Issues for Research

The foregoing review indicates that existing studies do not make explicit the nature of opportunities, nor do they distinguish between worklife and intergenerational consequences of constricted opportunities.

The Nature of Opportunities

In the studies reviewed above the nature of what was meant by speaking of an "opportunity" was varied. Clarification is needed of the varied meanings of the term opportunity. Yet there seems to be an assumption on the part of some sociologists that the nature of opportunities has been clarified. Thus Glasser and Navarre explicitly state that much research has been carried out on opportunities:

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> Recent concern about the problems of people who are poor has led to renewed interest in the sources of such difficulties. While these are manifold and complexly related to each other, emphasis has been placed upon the opportunity structure and socialization process found among lower socio-economic groups. Relatively little attention has been paid to family structure, which serves as an important intervening variable between these two considerations (1965: 98).

The interpretation of Glasser and Navarre seems peculiarly lopsided. Much research has been devoted to the family, and emphasis may have been given to opportunity structure but it has often been a theoretical emphasis, and when extended into research has been at a broad level such as in terms of labormarket demand or educational opportunities, but not at a social-psychological level. There is a vacuum so far as clarifying the social-psychological or subjective nature of job opportunities. Several possible meanings are suggested below in relation to this research:

(1) Job satisfaction.

(2) The status of the job.

(3) Wages per week, and hourly rate.

(4) Regularity of employment.

(5) The frequency with which jobs are available, locally and nationally.

This list is not exhaustive, but it does include some possible major components. These components will be used in an <u>opportunity scale</u> with the exception of regularity since it is felt that regularity might too often be the result of the other aspects of opportunity. Hence regularity

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is conceptualized in terms of duration of employment and is defined as an aspect of labor force mobility, the dependent variable. There is need to clarify the relative influence of these dimensions in relation to each other and their combined influence in relation to labor force mobility. In connection with the latter problem the following hypothesis is advanced:

> Hypothesis 1. The greater the opportunity available the greater will be the post-training labor force mobility.

Worklife and Intergenerational Consequences

Worklife experiences may give rise to depressed aspirations which are sustained or further depressed in succeeding generations and become part of a subcultural tradition. This accumulation of desperation and its incorporation into a subculture is denied by some, such as Bott:

> I do not believe it is sufficient to explain variations . . . as cultural or sub-cultural differences. To say that people behave differently or have different expectations because they belong to different cultures amounts to no more than saying that they behave differently--or that cultures are different because they are different (1957: 218).

Obviously the author leaves only the possibility that we believe it is sufficient to explain all human social differences without the use of the culture concept.

But Bott, Liebow, Cloward and Ohlin seem to prefer to stress the worklife aspect of constricted opportunities. Clinard's summary of criticisms of numerous anomie and social

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> . . . many deviant acts can be explained as part of the expectations rather than disjunctions between goals and means (1964: 55-56).

According to Clinard (1964: 55-56) there is also failure to consider that values or cultural goals are not likely to be universal in a complex society, that goals will vary somewhat from one ethnic group to another. It would appear that research studies do not yet consistently distinguish and clarify the nature of anomie in relation to which generation is studied and the possible existence of a subculture. The following hypotheses are therefore advanced:

Hypothesis 2. Aspirations will be lower among the intergenerational poor than among the downwardly mobile.

Hypothesis 3. The greater the opportunity available, the greater will be post-training labor force mobility among the downwardly mobile.

Hypothesis 4. The greater the opportunity the greater will be the post-training labor force mobility among those of high aspiration.

Confirmation of hypothesis one and rejection of hypothesis two, three, and four will lend support to the concept that opportunities do motivate despite subcultural influences stemming from inequities.

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CHAPTER IV

DIMENSION TWO: OPPORTUNITIES AND INTERGENERATIONAL PATTERNS IN THE UNDERCLASS

In the Davis-Tumin debate over the influence of social stratification we have seen that Davis and Moore emphasized the motivating influence of opportunities on upward mobility during the worklife of the individual, while Tumin emphasized the negative influence of inadequate opportunities upon aspirations which are then presumably passed on in the family as part of its structure. In the previous chapter worklife consequences were considered. In this chapter interpretations of intergenerational consequences are briefly reviewed.

Two competing frameworks can be used in relation to the intergenerational consequences of unequal opportunities. One view uses the idea of a subculture of poverty. The second view interprets the poor in relation to social class conditions.

Two Frameworks

The subculture of poverty conception holds that the intergenerational poor are caught in a trap or a cycle of

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poverty passed on through family life and centered on apathy, hence they cannot respond to opportunities (Lewis, 1965, 1966).

The social class view (Ferman et al., 1965) holds that the intergenerational poor are constrained by the context of external structural conditions such as inadequate opportunities, and when presented with new opportunities will respond with efforts at achievement. This view, cited earlier, is that:

> In each case, the lack of opportunities, and not the ability of the poor to take advantage of opportunities, is the factor limiting mobility. The question of causation must focus on those forces outside the control of the poor which limit their opportunity for economic well-being. These are the forces which determine the availability of jobs and skill training, wage scales, size of transfer payments, availability of credit, race discrimination, etc. They are part of the total functioning of the American political economy (Ferman et al., 1965: 135).

Both frameworks view economic factors as the source of intergenerational poverty but in the first view the poor have been socialized into a subculture, while in the second view they are the victims of immediate circumstances. The first view stresses the differences between the poor and the dominant culture pattern and explains why it is not possible to achieve upward mobility. The second view stresses the similarity of the poor to those above, and claims that upward mobility is easy once opportunities are presented.

Neither of these views seem to adequately fit the behavior which occurs. In particular, they either hold that mobility is not possible or simply depends on the availability

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of opportunities. In addition the theory of opportunity that claims to explain mobility possesses significant contradictions. For example, Ferman while highly critical of the culture of poverty concept also states that:

> It is true that the situation of economic marginality and deprivation is, in some cases, associated with personal attributes which limit an individual's ability to take advantage of social opportunity. And, in a clinical sense, these personal attributes--the so-called "culture of poverty"--must be altered if an individual's full potential is to be released (Ferman et al., 1965: 135).

The result of the authors' qualification is to leave the reader quite unclear as to where they stand. Their fence straddling is even clearer in the following statement:

> If we assume that the poor have the "wrong" values, the solution might be educational programs for the poor that emphasize the emergence of new values. On the other hand, if the assumption is that values reflect differentials in life chances, some effort would have to be made to change the opportunity structure. It may well be that an antipoverty program might emphasize both approaches (1965: 261).

One must conclude that despite their emphasis on opportunities, they cannot easily dismiss the culture of poverty idea.

Of the two major opposing frameworks that attempt to explain poverty, the subculture of poverty theory uses the notion of low opportunities to explain movement into poverty, but ignores the influence of opportunities on movement out of poverty. On the other hand, the opportunity framework does grant some small degree of validity to the opposing view of the subculture of poverty. In between the two theories there is therefore a large area of behavior in

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which the poor neither respond strongly and frequently to opportunities, nor do they fail to respond. It is to this area of slow or moderate response to opportunities that the following discussion is directed.

The Interaction of Subculture and Opportunities

Three conceptions about the interaction of subculture and opportunities in the underclass are reviewed below.

Allison Davis: Culture of Underprivileged Workers

Allison Davis' 1946 formulation precedes the views of Oscar Lewis by sixteen years, and is a very clear statement of the subculture of poverty theory but without its limitation on mobility:

> Just as the members of the higher skilled working class and of management act in response to their culture, to their system of social and economic rewards, so do the underprivileged workers act in accord with their culture. The habits of "shiftlessness," "irresponsibility," lack of "ambition," absenteeism, and of quitting the job, which management usually regards as a result of the "innate" perversity of underprivileged white and Negro workers, are, in fact normal responses that the worker has learned from his physical and social environment. These are realistic and rational in that environment in which the individual of the slums has lived and in which he has been trained (1946: 86).
>
> The actual daily pressure of 5 to 10 hungry stomachs to fill, backs to clothe, and feet to cover forces the working class parent to reduce his ambitions to this level of subsistence . . .

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> This terrible pressure for physical survival means that the child in the average working-class family usually does not learn the "ambition," the drive for high skills, and for educational achievement that the middle-class child learns in his family.
>
> A society that pens families into this kind of physical and social environment actually cripples both the ability and the work motivation of its workers (1946: 89-90).

To Allison Davis the culture of poverty could only be escaped by altering the motivations of the worker by training him to work for "increasing rewards" (1946: 90). The implication of "increasing rewards" and "training" is that of gradual raising of aspirations through successful achievement:

> . . . men cannot be motivated successfully to work hard, or to learn well, simply by putting the screws upon them. But the analysis of our system of economic and social prestige, as well as the finding of psychologists, make it clear to any realist that men work hard and learn well only when they have been trained to work for increasing rewards (1946: 89-90).

Unfortunately, Davis does not suggest what processes shape and influence this training to work for increasing rewards.

Schwartz and Henderson: Social Psychology of Poverty

Schwartz and Henderson (1964) use Merton's framework and develop an analysis of the social psychological processes involved in the subculture of poverty. They hold that dissonance develops among adolescent lower-class male Negroes between:

> . . . stated societal work values . . . (and their) perception of a closed opportunity structure and chronic unemployment (469).

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To resolve the dissonance there develops a:

> . . . devaluation of work as a means of obtaining money and the substituting of other means . . . a new community . . . comes into existence in which new values are communicated and shared and to which adolescent males are resocialized (469).
>
> Culture patterns decline slowly, and the community of the unemployed will not dissolve overnight . . . even though (some) organizations have opened all positions to qualified Negroes, none have applied. There is an enormous time lag. Access to the structure of opportunities is a very new phenomenon for the Negro. Motivation to work depends upon the perception of the ability to find work and to do it well (473).

Again, there is a need for clarification of the processes involved but the same theme is present: that opportunities slowly motivate workers, and the subculture changes slowly.

Gans: The Urban Villagers

Conceptualization of mobility over the long run of several generations is also provided by Gans (1962) in a statement which makes the assumption that the subcultures of social classes change slowly:

> In the long run . . . the existence of a specific subculture is closely related to the availability of occupational opportunities (1962: 249).
>
> When these opportunity factors are lacking, the cultural responses made by people are frustrated. Should opportunities be deficient over a long enough period, downward mobility results. Should they disappear entirely, the subculture will be apt to disintegrate eventually. Eventually, the family circle begins to break up under the strain, and its members adopt many if not all responses identified with the lower-class subculture (1962: 250).

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> Conversely, when opportunity factors are increasingly available, people respond by more fully implementing their subcultural aspirations, and by improving their styles of life accordingly (1962: 251).
>
> Periods of increased opportunity also encourage marginal members of each subculture to move into others to which they are aspiring (1962: 251).
>
> Upward mobility that involves movement into another class subculture is relatively rare because of the considerable changes which people must make in their own lives, often against great odds. Thus the majority are content to improve the style of life within their own subcultures. They may, however, encourage their children to make the move in the next generation (1962: 251).
>
> Although opportunities can increase or decrease rapidly and drastically over time, the subcultures I have described are relatively slow in changing their basic structure and content. . . . Improvements and changes in the level of living take place all the time, as modern ideas, habits, and artifacts replace traditional ones. But the focal concerns of each subculture change more slowly (1962: 252).
>
> In short, new opportunities bring higher incentives, which in turn encourage people to move into other subcultures, although a generation or two may pass before they adopt all of the primary focal concerns of their new way of life (Gans, 1962: 252).

The foregoing review seems to suggest a process in which: (1) in the short run aspirations are slowly lowered when opportunities are scarce, (2) the intergenerational consequences of continued constricting of the opportunity structure is that a social class with a style of life develops which perpetuates itself through its subculture, (3) expansion of opportunities leads to a <u>slow</u> reversal of the process.

There is the clear implication that opportunities and subcultures are interrelated influences with subculture being

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the stronger factor, but there is no explicit conceptualization of the nature of these opportunities or the nature of the subcultural influences in Gan's statement beyond the notion of parental encouragement and marginality.

In order to explore the influence of subculture, the following definition is advanced: Subculture is a segment of the culture of a human society differing from other segments in the frequency with which its structure and life style corresponds to those found elsewhere in that society. Three major levels of subculture to be considered are (1) social class, (2) ethnic group (or ethclass aggregate--see Appendix 1), and (3) family structure. Emphasis will be placed on the subculture at the family level.

Research Issues

The frameworks reviewed above suggest the very simple conclusion that there are three basic types of responses to opportunities: failure to respond to opportunities, maximum response to opportunities, and intermediate response to opportunities. The hypothesis stated below is expressed from the viewpoint of the subcultural theorist emphasizing the greater influence of subculture as compared to opportunities:

Hypothesis 5. The less positive are family influences, the lower the labor force mobility.

Acceptance of Hypothesis 5, and rejection of Hypothesis 1, will lend support to the subcultural approach.

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CHAPTER V

DIMENSION THREE: JOB TRAINING AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

Studies of job training have evaluated the degree of success of the training program or the influence of some particular variable in the training situation. But if movement out of intergenerational poverty is a gradual process of responding to improved opportunities then obviously the movement depends on the nature of the opportunity and the degree to which the intergenerational subculture of poverty blocks or facilitates movement. The rehabilitation process to be discussed below is conceived as a way of bridging the gap between opportunities and the results of intergenerational poverty.

Rehabilitation as a Wholistic Process

According to this view job training is ideally a process of rehabilitation in which a kind of channeling occurs by which persons are moved out of a dead end situation and given access to new opportunities. In order to achieve this goal, training center staff cannot rely on one particular procedure or service such as job skill training but must utilize a number of approaches aimed at improving basic

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education, health, self-confidence, job skills, and knowledge about job opportunities. Ideally, job training for the underclass is not merely skill training, but is rehabilitation in that it aims at creating a set of changes. Studies measuring only one factor may miss the broader rehabilitation process and be unable to state which influence is more important.

Viewing "job training" from the framework of social stratification also leads one to avoid directing attention solely to the question of the acquisition of specific occupational skills. The social stratification framework calls attention to the existence of variations in class subcultures. Mobility for the underclass seems to involve modifying some aspects of the subculture which reinforce each other so as to make mobility difficult. Hence a job training center must utilize a more comprehensive approach than merely focusing on vocational skills. The emerging sociology of rehabilitation (see Sussman, 1966) seems to provide the concepts appropriate not only to the social stratification framework but also to the particular job training program studied here, and the population it served. It is therefore desirable to investigate the claim that rehabilitation achieves a set of changes in the individual, and it is desirable to ask which influences are more important. This is done by using a scale composed of several variables (see Chapter XI).

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Processing Trainees into Deviants and Normals

We can turn to two writers who seem to suggest two differing models of rehabilitation. The two authors present views which distinguish a normal role and a deviant role in the sense that a normal role is unstigmatized. However, they differ in that one author emphasizes the normal outcome, the other the deviant.

Scott regards rehabilitation as producing deviant roles. He distinguishes trainees, clients, and patients. A patient receives treatment for illness, a trainee receives training, and a client is one who is under the protection of another. The term client and trainee are closely related with the term client implying that the probability of successful rehabilitation is lessened.

Interest here is focused on Scott's contrast of the trainee with the patient. A patient has rights which involve control over choice of physician whereas a client or trainee has little choice. A patient may sue for malpractice, while malpractice suit is not even conceived as a possibility by trainees or their professional pathologists. Patients are treated for illness, and illness is a trait to which "a non-stigmatized form of deviance is attributed." An ill person usually expects to return to a nondeviant role. But a disabled person, a trainee or client, "remains in a deviant role." As a result Scott holds that rehabilitation is not an aspect of healing, it is "a process of determining

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> The rehabilitator is the agent of socialization. He seeks to change the behavior of the disabled person in order to make it conform more closely to what the rehabilitator believes to be the potentialities and limitations of someone with this particular handicap (Scott, 1966: 134-135).

Albert F. Wessen takes an approach which emphasizes the normal role outcome. He contrasts the rehabilitation model to the hospital care model which:

> . . . emphasizes acute and emergency situations, usually of short term duration, and rehabilitation model deals with chronic handicaps which, if they respond to treatment at all, do so only over a relatively long period of cure. In place of the classical emphases on disease, diagnosis, and therapeutic procedure, the rehabilitation model stresses restoration of normal function, prognosis, and adjustment and retraining. It therefore defines patients not as the passive recipients of care, but as persons whose motivation to master their handicap must be enlisted in what is a joint endeavor of patient and staff to achieve maximal benefits for the former. The reintegration of patients into their normal social roles, instead of being merely a problem requiring special help for the few, is at the very center of the rehabilitation endeavor (Wessen, 1966: 173).

Thus Wessen's rehabilitation model assumes a long slow period of restoration, enlists the motivation of the trainee, and reintegrates the trainee into a <u>normal</u> social role.

The general orientation to be followed below in examining data about one particular job training center is that socialization into both deviant and normal roles occurred and that the training process began with the staff assuming the normal role as the goal for everyone, but slowly as the training process progressed, and difficulties in rehabilitation became more apparent, trainees were defined by training

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staff as: (1) those moving into normal roles, and (2) those who could not or would not move into the normal roles, and moved into a deviant role as the unrehabilitated, the failures who were terminated or withdrew from the center and/or retreated from participation in the labor market.

The above statement suggests the viewpoint of the training staff, but from the viewpoint of the concept of the irregular economy the following question must also be considered: What proportion of trainees were able to develop labor force mobility sufficiently to leave the irregular economy and enter a normal role in the regular economy? When entry occurs into the regular economy is it on one involving significant movement into the working class or is it merely into a marginal working class level very close to the underclass?

Summary of Research Issues

Several issues have been suggested: (1) To what extent is "job training" a wholistic rehabilitation process involving a number of influences on the individual? (2) Which influences are most important? (3) To what extent did movement into normal roles through labor force mobility result in significant degrees of movement out of the irregular economy into the regular economy?

Issue three is discussed in Chapter VIII. Issues one and two are explored in Chapter VIII and XI through a scale

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of variables aimed at measuring the influence of the job training center as expressed in the following hypothesis:

> Hypothesis 6. The greater the influence of the job training center the higher the post training labor force mobility.

Acceptance of Hypothesis 6 and rejection of all other hypothesis would indicate the primary importance of training center influences over the influence of opportunities or subculture. But if rehabilitation is a process of overcoming subcultural limitations or influences then one would expect that when opportunities are high and subcultural influences low that high job training influences would be associated with high labor force mobility.

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CHAPTER VI

A SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESES

In the foregoing discussion we have reviewed several lines of research which relate to the Davis-Moore-Tumin debate over opportunities and subcultural traditions, and hypotheses were derived to provide a focus for the research exploration.

It was earlier suggested that three areas of concern constitute the relationship of the debate to the research problem. The exploration of these relationships will occur through the use of scales by which family subculture, training, and opportunity structure are operationalized. The specific hypotheses to be used are listed below, as they were stated in earlier chapters.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. The greater the opportunity available the greater will be the post-training labor force mobility.

Hypothesis 2. Aspirations will be lower among the intergenerational poor than among the downwardly mobile.

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Hypothesis 3. The greater the opportunity available the greater will be the post-training labor force mobility among the downwardly mobile.

Hypothesis 4. The greater the opportunity the greater will be the post-training labor force mobility among those of high aspiration.

Hypothesis 5. The less positive are family influences, the lower the labor force mobility after training.

Hypothesis 6. The greater the influence of job training the higher the post-training labor force mobility.

Table 1-VI

Hypotheses Classified by the Theory They Support

Hypothesis	Theory
1	Opportunities motivate.
2, 3, 4, 5	Subculture blocks mobility among the intergenerational poor regardless of opportunities.
6	Training center influences labor force mobility.

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Related Aspects of Research

Research on mobility has tended to ignore a number of other problems which relate to the issue considered in this thesis. These are downward and horizontal mobility, upward mobility within a stratum, processes of mobility, ethnic-class-regional variations, community factors, and labor force mobility. These neglected aspects of mobility research are briefly discussed below since they relate to the coverage of the research reported in this thesis.

(1) Neglect of mobility within a stratum

The first major works explicitly focusing on social mobility was Sorokin's Social Mobility (1927). The very thorough work presented sociologists with a number of concepts such as vertical and horizontal mobility.[1] Yet in their survey of 30 years of research[2] and theory on social mobility, Mack, Freeman and Yellin (1957) show that vertical mobility was studied in 134 out of 168 published reports and downward and horizontal mobility was studied very little.

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[1]Carlsson (1963: 128-129) indicates that Sorokin presents many of the concepts in the position taken 20 years later by Davis and Moore in their article on principles of stratification. Carlsson (1963: 125) also cites Sorokin's position that there is no long range trend towards increased mobility, decreased inequality, or increased overall prosperity. Fluctuations occur but they are cycles which are goalless.

[2]From 1924 to 1953 appearing in the American Journal of Sociology, American Sociological Review and Social Forces.

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They conclude that the American dream of upward mobility led to this focus except in the aftermath of the depression. As a result of the interest in vertical mobility much of the research has concentrated on movement across rather broad, easily measured, levels such as manual to nonmanual (Lipset and Zetterberg, 1964).[1]

(2) Neglect of processes of mobility

Since the Mack-Freeman-Yellin survey of mobility literature, considerable emphasis has developed in the 50's on the problem of the degree of mobility in the United States and whether or not greater rigidity was developing. In the 60's the issue grew into a series of comparisons of mobility rates cross-culturally, among industrial societies. The conclusion was that mobility rates have not declined and that there is a great deal of similarity between rates of various European nations. The concentration on these topics led to a neglect of the processes or variables affecting mobility.

In 1956, Lipset and Zetterberg (1956: 561-573) argued that enough descriptive studies had been made of mobility and it was time to ask about the cause and consequences of rates of mobility. Emphasis in the 60's has grown on

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[1]Lipset and Bendix (1952) in an earlier study did conclude that much mobility occurs within manual and non-manual occupations rather than between them, and that a great deal of the mobility from manual to non-manual level is due to self-employment.

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aspirations and education, but the earlier (see Chapter III) interest in opportunities such as in the study by Chinoy has declined until recently.

(3) Neglect of ethnic, class, and regional variations

The minority ethnic groups and classes studied prior to 1953[1] in relation to mobility were primarily Negro, and no studies were found in the journals surveyed dealing with mobility among Mexican-Americans, and only one study involved American-Indians. Since that survey, an increase has occurred in the number of studies of Mexican-Americans and American Indians as well as a sizeable increase in the number of studies of Negroes.

But it is still true that, despite interest stimulated by the rediscovery of poverty as a social problem in the 1960's, few community studies or studies of particular groupings have been completed which might clarify how mobility varies from group to group among the poor and what variables affect mobility as the dependent variable. Thus little is known of poor whites, Indians, black, and Mexican-Americans in rural non-farm areas.

(4) Narrow focus on occupational mobility

Occupational status mobility is but one aspect of a workers experience. Others which have been neglected by

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[1]Ten studies of mobility among Negroes, seven of mobility out of farm backgrounds, and six of migrant's mobility.

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sociologists include wages, adequacy of wages, duration of a job, and proportion of time working. These factors are aspects of labor force participation which is investigated in this research.

Conclusion

As an exploratory study, this research enjoys the luxury of being able to examine a wide range of issues without necessarily claiming definitive clarification of them. Emphasis will however be given to the issues raised in the Davis-Moore-Tumin debate, but in the course of that effort the above named research aspects will also be involved.

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CHAPTER VII

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The design of this research can be briefly described as follows: (1) An exploratory procedure was followed rather than a more positivistic approach involving the use of a control group. (2) A comparison was made of diverse populations in central Michigan: Chippewa, poor white, and blue collar white, two smaller groups were also included: Mexican-American and Negro. (3) A longitudinal study compared trainees' social characteristics and labor force participation, prior to completion of training with a period of about one year after training. (4) Data gathering utilized several procedures:

(a) Observations of trainees during training and in their family and community setting.

(b) Case records of the training center were utilized as a source of information about such items as family influence, training progress, and health.

(c) Trainees were interviewed during and after training using an interview schedule incorporating both open ended items and Likert type scales.

(d) Mailed questionnaires were sent to employers to provide a basis for estimating job opportunities in the area and to assess the results of training from the employer's point of view.

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The People and the Research Design

The people studied constitute two social class levels: job trainees mostly from underclass families of origin, and a random sample of blue collar workers in Isabella County. The trainees were part of a group of 209 persons enrolled in an experimental and demonstration job training center established under the 1962 Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA). The program was operated in Mt. Pleasant, Michigan during 1966, having started late in 1965 and ending the last of its training phases early in 1967. Of the original 209 trainees, it was possible to complete 182 interviews covering the period prior to completing or leaving training, and 165 interviews were obtained for the period after training (see Table 1-VII). The trainees were of four differing ethnic and ethclass backgrounds (see Table 1-VII on the following page). Obviously it will be impossible to analyze a number of relationships when the data is from 4 groups, two sexes, and ages from 18 to 62 in a set of 165 before-after interviews. Of necessity more comparisons will be possible for the larger groupings, but in all cases general statements will be exploratory in significance, and most comparisons will be of poor whites, and Chippewa Indians. The comparison will be directed at identifying and explaining differences and similarities within the underclass.

Beyond these comparisons it would be desirable to utilize a control group of underclass persons who did not go through

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Table 1-VII

Ethnicity of 209 Trainees and Ethnicity of Trainees in Before and After Interviews

Ethnic Group of Ethclass** Aggregate	Trainee Population		Interviewed Before		Interviewed After	
	%*	N	%*	N	%*	N
White	62.7	(131)	67	(122)	69	(113)
Chippewa	25.8	(54)	23	(42)	22	(37)
Mexican-American	7.2	(15)	6	(10)	4	(8)
Negro	4.3	(9)	4	(8)	4	(7)
Total	100.0	(209)	100.0	(182)	99.0	(165)

* Percents are rounded off.

** See Appendix 1.

training in order to see what degree of changes might have occurred without training and by what processes. A control group was not utilized because: (1) Time and resources required would not be available to reach a group that would be scattered in a rural non-farm area. (2) They would be difficult to contact. (3) It would be difficult to establish rapport with persons not contacted initially at the center. (4) A control group would logically be stratified into white and Indian but the population of Indians in Isabella county is only around 500, a number so small that a properly matched control group would be especially difficult to obtain for the

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Indian segment. (5) The emphasis on family influences, derived from trainee case records and interviews would be difficult to obtain from nontrainees given the absence of comparable case records and the lack of the same degree of rapport as existed with trainees. (6) It is worth noting that a number of studies (see Somers, 1968) of job trainees have used control groups of persons derived from Employment Security Commission roles but have given little attention to kinship variables, and very often have merely demonstrated that training had an effect without providing very much explanation or insight into the changes.

For the above reasons a control group was not used, instead for comparison a random sample of working class family heads was chosen. Although problems of rapport also existed here, it is also desirable to make comparisons of the labor force mobility achieved by the trainees as compared to labor force participation at the blue collar level. It is felt that this provides a more meaningful measure of change than mere reference to the federal poverty line.

Characteristics of the Trainees

The characteristics of the trainees are summarized in Table 2-VII in comparison with all trainees enrolled in MDTA projects in the United States in 1966. The central Michigan trainees and the nationwide trainees population differ in age, number of dependents, and education.

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Table 2-VII

Characteristics of Trainees Enrolled in Institutional Training Programs Under the MDTA, in 1966 in the Nation, and in Mt. Pleasant

Trainee Characteristics	Nationwide Percent[1]	Mt. Pleasant Percent and Number[2]
Sex		
Male	57	61(100)
Female	43	39 (65)
Age		
Under 19	12	2 (4)
19-21	22	16 (27)
22-34	37	35 (57)
35-44	17	22 (37)
45 and over	12	24 (40)
Education		
Under 8	6	39 (64)
8	10	30 (49)
9-11	36	27 (45)
12	41	4 (7)
Over 12	6	0 (0)
Nonwhite	38	31 (51)
Number of dependents		
0	47	33 (54)
1-2	28	25 (41)
3-4	16	24 (39)
5 and more	10	19 (31)
Prior employment status		
Unemployed under 5 weeks	32	33 (54)
Unemployed 5-14 weeks	24	18 (30)
15-26 weeks	13	14 (23)
27-52 weeks	11	9 (15)
Unemployed over 52 weeks	20	26 (43)
Years of gainful employment		
Under 3	36	28 (46)
3-9	39	43 (71)
10 or more	26	29 (48)
Prior military service		
Veteran	25.6	27 (21)
Non-veteran	74	73(144)
Total	68,000	--(165)

[1]Manpower Report of the President, U. S. Department of Labor, April 1967, p. 278.
[2]Trainees with both before and after interviews.

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The most striking difference is that of education. Sixty-nine percent of the local trainees in 1966 had eight or fewer years of education as compared to 16% at or below that level among all MDTA trainees in the United States, and 13% in the state of Michigan (Ferman, 1968: 222). These characteristics suggest that the trainees were in the lower level of the class system and that we may expect a sharply lower level of improvement in labor force participation after training than would be found in projects with higher education levels if other factors are similar.

A number of trainees populations are being studied at this writing in a number of research projects financed by the United States Department of Labor, Manpower Administration. These research projects are focusing on such populations as long term unemployed, unemployed but employable, laid-off workers, released prisoners, Negro workers, youth who do not meet mental requirements for induction, unemployed blue-collar workers, mature women, and unemployed youth (see Dept. of Labor, 1966). By contrast the central Michigan trainees differ in that a number of other types found in the underclass are present which are given little attention in research or lost in some broader census category; thus: (1) Indians are distinguished from the broad "non-white" census category; (2) rural non-farm whites are distinguished from the categories of "white" and "rural," and (3) irregular job holders are distinguished from among the "hard core unemployed."

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Most significant in relation to the purpose of this research project is the claim that many of the trainees are members of the underclass. This claim is based on a classification of social class using case records and interview data (see Chapter IX). According to this classification 111 of the trainees were born into the underclass, and 54 were downwardly mobile from their family or orientation. The trainees, therefore, constitute an opportunity to examine two segments of the underclass and the processes of occupational mobility.

Representativeness

The most significant limitations of the research design is that it does not permit generalization to any broader population in the underclass. This fact, and the absence of a control group, constitutes the exploratory nature of the research. Any utility in this research project must therefore be found in its claim of: (1) clarifying the relationship of opportunities, subculture, and training in the population studied, (2) developing the related scales, particularly for opportunities, and (3) comparing different ethnic and class segments among the trainees.

This last purpose might be severely challenged by demonstrating that the trainees are a welfare population and hence unrepresentative of many of the poor. Fortunately, the recruitment of trainees was through a number of channels (see Table 3-VII). The population is thus more representative

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Table 3-VII

How Trainees Heard About the Training Center

Source	All Trainees Interviewed Before		165 Trainees Interviewed Before and After	
	%*	N	%*	N
Relatives and friends	30.0	(55)	30.9	(51)
Training Center Staff	26.4	(48)	24.8	(41)
Welfare Worker	26.4	(48)	27.8	(46)
Employment Security Commission	7.1	(13)	7.3	(12)
Radio Newspaper Letter	5.5	(10)	5.5	(9)
Other	4.4	(8)	3.6	(6)
Total	99.8	(182)	99.9	(165)

* Percentages are rounded off.

of the range of types of poverty in central Michigan than would be the case if they had been recruited exclusively from welfare roles or any other single source. The efforts of the staff were especially useful in recruiting persons fearful of schools, persons from the reservation, and persons that had come to be classified as unemployable by welfare offices.

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In order to obtain a representative working class population a random sample was taken in a manner aimed at obtaining a random sample which would not contain members of the underclass, hence the attempt was to include steady workers, with income above the poverty line. Thus the working class sample represents the stable worker in a rural non-farm area, and in a small city in the central Michigan area. The workers also represent an upper level of the blue collar class because the use of the city directory, discussed more fully in the next section, meant a selection from those workers who change residences less often.

Stages of the Research

(1) Establishing rapport and observing at the Job Training Center occurred for six months before interviews began (April to September 1966). Interviewing started late in September, further delays being made undesirable since trainees were about to complete some of the shorter skill programs and would be leaving the center. After interviews began, observations continued at the center. Observations were also carried out by visits to the reservation on such occasions as pow wows, church services, tent meetings, tribal council meetings, and interviews in homes. The process of observation in this study was aimed first of all at developing the sensitivity necessary to clarify the research problem and, it was hoped, the sensitivity necessary to interpret the data.

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(2) The selection of the problem for this research proceeded from observation of the members of the underclass during their training period, together with influence during that period of a critique (Ferman, 1966) of the culture of poverty concept in which it was held that the concept encouraged government efforts to provide job training while ignoring the necessity of creating new jobs. This polarization of ideas between opportunities and the culture of poverty related to a set of observations which I was formulating at the same time in which I emphasized three views about what was happening to the trainees: These views were that: (a) Kinship and related subculture influenced trainees in a number of ways relevant to training and occupational mobility. (b) Training of members of the underclass involved much more than merely acquisition of job skills, a broad set of factors was involved. (c) Opportunities for jobs was a limiting factor upon training outcome, but the nature of the job opportunities was not simply a matter of the status of the job.

These three middle range views were in turn placed back within the framework of social stratification, as discussed in earlier chapters, in order to clarify the sociological significance of the research problem. In examining the literature in the field of social stratifications it became apparent that there was a very close relationship between the observations made during training, the issue posed by Ferman, and the Davis-Moore vs. Tumin debate.

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(3) Before-interviews were conducted aimed at collecting work histories, family patterns, orientations towards training, and other information. Almost all the before interviews were conducted by the researcher. The location of the interview varied (see Table 4-VII).

Table 4-VII

Location of Before and After Interviews

Location	Before		After	
	%*	N	%*	N
Training Center	47	(85)	0.6	(1)
Skill Training Shops	24	(44)	--	--
Place of Work	--	--	5.5	(9)
Homes	23	(41)	76.4	(126)
Automobile	3	(6)	6.7	(11)
Jails	1.6	(3)	1.8	(3)
Bar	0.5	(1)	0.6	(1)
Returned by Mail	--	--	3.6	(6)
Other	1.0	(2)	4.8	(18)
Total	100.1	(182)	100.0	(165)

* Percentages rounded off.

Duration of the interviews averaged 2 hours and 10 minutes. About one-half of trainees were interviewed prior to completion of training, and most of the rest were interviewed

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shortly after the end of training. Of the 209 trainees, 87% (182) were located and given the basic interviews. Only two refusals occurred. Trainees were widely scattered and considerable traveling was necessary to interview those in Grand Rapids, Baldwin, Midland, and rural non-farm areas of central Michigan. Because of this time consuming process, the last interviews were conducted in July of 1967.

(4) Follow-up interviews were conducted of 91% (165 of 182) of the trainees interviewed the first time. The aim was to interview each trainee so that one year of post-training experience was recorded. In practice, this was difficult to do. The follow-up interviews occurred on the average, 15 months after training but ranged from 3 to 27 months after (see Table 5-VII). It was therefore necessary to prorate some calculations of LFM for a few trainees in order to obtain comparability.

Interviews were conducted by several persons since the trainees became more widely dispersed and because jobs made many of them unavailable during the day. Most white trainees were interviewed by a widow of a farmer who had been a trainee and knew most of them. She had passed the high school equivalent test (General Educational Development) while at the center and was a competent and resourceful interviewer able to establish good rapport. Indians were interviewed by an older Indian male who had retired from work as a stock clerk at Oldsmobile. He was able to locate and reach the

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Table 5-VII

Number of Months Between Termination of Training and Follow-up Interviews

Months Between Termination and Follow-up	Number of Trainees
3 to 6	6
7 to 10	14
11 to 14	57
15 to 18	54
19 to 22	26
23 to 27	8
Total	165

Indian trainees, but he probably had some difficulty with rapport since he may have been viewed as a possible critic because he was older, retired, and active in the housing authority on the reservation and in the Nazarene church as a lay preacher. Several interviews were conducted by the researcher and a few by former training staff members who were able to locate hard to find trainees. Follow-up interviews averaged 50 minutes in duration.

(5) An employer's questionnaire was mailed to employers named by trainees in their follow-up interviews. Of 162 forms mailed, 70% (113) were returned. The results are compared to the trainees reports and it was also possible

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to use the results in developing one variable in the scale of job opportunities.

(6) A random sample of workers was selected and interviewed. The 1966 City Directory (Johnson) was used.[1] Every 40th name was assigned a number indicating its numerical position in the alphabetical listing. Numbers in the table of random digits were then used to locate members of the sample. Interviewers were instructed to interview the person listed in the directory if that person (1) had a working class occupation as identified by a list provided the interviewer, (2) had worked at least 11 months in the past twelve, (3) was the supporter of the family or was single and lived alone, and (4) had an income which was above the federal poverty line in relation to family size. If the person had moved they were to interview the new resident if he or she satisfied the above criteria. If not, an attempt was made to locate the former resident at his new locale. The desire was to interview 100 workers who were heads of household. An original sample was drawn of 300 names, but since too few had working class occupations, and because a number of persons could not be located the sample was expanded to include 722 persons. The distribution of working class occupations in the random sample (44%) yields a reasonable approximation of the proportion of workers reported by the census (49.4%).

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[1]The use of a city directory is discussed by Goldstein (1954), and use of a directory is made by Form and Geschwender (1962).

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There is however a definite bias in this sample in the sense that the use of the 1966 City Directory, the latest available in early 1968, meant a time lag of possibly 3 years in which the effect of workers changing residence would be magnified.

The major bias in the sample would be due to the fact that it would have included the most settled workers. But since the purpose of the working class sample was to permit comparisons between the underclass and a definitely stable working class sample, then the bias was in the more useful direction since it included neither underclass persons nor middle class, but probably represents the middle and upper level within the working class.

Interviews of the working class members were conducted by students enrolled in Sociology 304 Field Course in Community Survey (Central Michigan University). Twelve students in the class volunteered for class projects in which they would interview workers and after pooling their data prepare reports interpreting a segment of the data. Prior to interviewing training sessions were held in which general instructions about procedure were given, and specific questionnaire items were discussed.

(7) Coding open ended questions and classifying occupations into the Duncan SEI scale was done by the researcher. This procedure, although extremely time consuming, was followed because it was regarded as requiring careful judgment difficult to train in another, and because it provided an

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Assessing Validity

Valid information is one of the essential goals in any research project. Interviews of the workers conducted by students were checked only to ascertain if they had been conducted, and if the person interviewed were part of the random sample. As a result of this check, nine interviews were eliminated of persons who were not in the sample.

Follow-up interviews of trainees were checked by discussing each interview with the interviewers when it was submitted, and this also enhanced understanding of the trainee's situation. Concern is focused here upon the trainee group because of the supposed difficulty of obtaining valid information from members of classes different than the interviewer's. As one trainee put it:

> I'll bet that one-third of what you get in interviews is lies, people are just fooling themselves.

For this reason it is pertinent to ask about checks on the data's consistency with the trainees' life situations. The data gathered about job trainees had a number of checks on validity. (1) Trainees reports in interviews were subject to checking for internal consistency on several questionnaire items. (2) External consistency with reports from counselors also existed. Often this information would also originate from the trainee, but much of what the

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counselor said would represent reports of observations of the trainees action and family situation. In some cases the counselor had rapport with trainees because of more frequent contact in counseling, and because of similar ethnic background. All of the foregoing statements would be more true of data from whites and Mexicans than from Negro and Indian. There seemed to be more of a tendency for Indians to give the answers they thought were expected by the interviewer. Two young Indians gave answers to scale questions measuring alienation and anomie which were highly integrated and normative whereas there was little in their life experiences to support such responses. (3) A check operating upon data from a number of trainees of all ethnic groups was the existence of other trainees who were kinsmen, most often parent-child or siblings. Eighty-eight out of the 182 trainees given basic interviews during training had one or more kinsmen in training (48 white, 32 Indians, 6 Mexicans and 2 Negroes). Most of this information was consistent, but occasional contradictions appeared such as a father who reported his several sons were doing "just fine," but his daughter reported they were "no goods," several having prison records. (4) Observations of trainees during interviews in their homes and on other occasions also provided opportunities for cross-checking data. (5) The small size of the town in which training occurred also provided a number of sources of information about trainees such as newspaper items, and

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people who knew trainees, and chance contact with trainees. (6) Questionnaires mailed to employers provided information challenging the report of one trainee from Lake County. He claimed a work record of several months in a factory in a nearby city. His employer could not be located, and was unknown in the nearby city. His wife, who he had claimed worked in a local Community Action Program as a teacher, was unknown at that agency.

The question of rapport enters into the problem of validity, not in the sense that rapport necessarily guarantees truthful answers, but rather that it provides opportunities to observe and cross-check data. Thus there were such events as trainees who came up to me on the street in town and chatted awhile, there was lunch with three trainees at the invitation of one of them, and attending a New Year's Eve family gathering on the reservation.

The most important limitation on validity was the personal willingness and ability of the researcher to frame probing questions and pursue them relentlessly. A definite conflict existed between the researcher's tasks and norms against intrusion into privacy. I believe I felt inhibited against such intrusion more than the trainees themselves could have resented it.

Interviewing of trainees, at their home or in the training center, seemed generally to be viewed by them as a pleasant occasion. In training it freed them from the

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routine of classwork and let them talk about themselves. At home interviews were generally in a friendly atmosphere, accompanied by coffee on a number of occasions.

Home interviews were the occasion to ask about what other trainees were doing and sometimes to request assistance and this necessitated some degree of involvement to the extent of referring trainees to appropriate channels. One trainee asked how his son could comply with court order to get a summer job:

> We don't want him to get in any more trouble, and he will if he has time on his hands.

The mother of a trainee asked for information about doctors for the epilepsy which affected her son. Another trainee's father asked how he could get government help to start an automobile salvage yard to sell used car parts. Other trainees asked how they could get more training, one saying the training was the best job he had ever had. One trainee asked when his stipend check would be ready. Requests for aid of a more serious sort were very frequently received by staff members of the center. They provide useful insights into the life problems of trainees in the underclass.

The extent of validity and the depth of insight resulting can best be summarized in the words of one trainee talking about the author to a follow-up interviewer:

> He liked to talk to you and knew about things like this. He knew about them in his head--but didn't really live it, he didn't have to go through it.

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The reporting of statistical levels of significance in this thesis is for the convenience of the reader who may wish to know the answer to a traditional question. The writer cautions all readers that because the group of trainees is not randomly selected it is not possible to attribute any clear meaning to the test of so-called significance (see Selvin, 1957, and Morrison and Henkel, 1968).

Problems in Measurement of the Underclass

Several problems in measuring the underclass have been identified by Culhane (1965) and are reviewed below as they apply to the trainees.

(1) The trainees tend to be less skillful verbally than would middle class individuals. In interviews of trainees it was necessary to restate questions for several persons, and for several others it was impossible to utilize a number of items because the individual did not comprehend them. In two cases, Spanish was the native tongue and questions had to be asked through an interpreter.

(2) The range of scores for individuals from lower socio-economic levels tends to be narrower, perhaps because of their verbal limitations. The result is that it is more difficult to analyze covariance of variables.

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(3) Culhane reports the difficulty arising from fear of strangers and negative attitude to tests. These factors were minimized among the trainees by being able to interview them after several months of contact at the center, although there were still a few who were cold or hostile. Another type of difficulty existed with Indian trainees who seemed to exhibit the acquiesence response set and gave very positive answers to questions, rather than more alienated responses.

(4) Culhane argues that valid interpretation of results is

> . . . strongly dependent on an adequate understanding of the social and cultural background of the group.
>
> The normative interpretation of the test results does not show how much the status of the disadvantaged may change if their environmental opportunities and incentives for learning and acquiring skills are improved. Attempts to appraise an individual's "potential" will be futile unless there is a defining of the setting in which the individual will be given the opportunity to develop.
>
> The best guage of the success of efforts to upgrade the disadvantaged individuals is to use him as his own control and the test norms principally as "bench marks".
>
> The test results should be used to indicate the disadvantaged individual's present status and what must be done to improve his status, not to predict what he can do (Culhane, 1965: 8-9).

The before-after design of this research permits assessment of degree of change in achievement, but the relationship of such change to opportunities is one major issue explored in this study.

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Scale Analysis

Four scales were developed to measure: (1) Labor Force Mobility, (2) Opportunities, (3) Job Training, and (4) Family Influences. Scale analysis was conducted using inter-item correlations and item-total correlations. Results are reported in the chapters that follow. All references to correlations or associations are to Pearsonian or zero order correlations.

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CHAPTER VIII

GENERAL FINDINGS

Reported in this chapter is the influence of opportunities, family subculture, and job training upon labor force mobility one year after training (Hypotheses 1, 5, and 6). The general pattern of results for the entire trainee population is emphasized. Later chapters analyze, interpret, and examine the other hypotheses and variation among the ethnic groups. Also analyzed in later chapters is the relationship to labor force mobility of the variables which make up the scales.

Labor Force Mobility (LFM)

Mobility in at least one aspect of labor force participation had occurred after training for 78% (129 out of 165) of the trainees for whom follow-up interviews were possible. However, trainees will usually be classified in this report in terms of low-medium-or high labor force mobility as shown in Table 1-VIII.

Labor force mobility was measured on a scale of 0 to 5 based on one point being assigned for satisfying any of the

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Table 1-VIII

Labor Force Mobility after Training for 165 Trainees

Degree of Labor Force Mobility	Number of Dimensions Improving	Percent	Number of Trainees
Low or none	0	22	(36)
	1	14	(23)
Medium	2	15	(24)
	3	17	(28)
High	4	19	(32)
	5	13	(22)
Total	--	100	(165)

following five criteria in the year after training. Correlation with the scale total is listed in parentheses.

(1) Movement of five points or more in occupational socio-economic prestige for the longest held job after training as compared to the longest held job before training (60).

(2) Improvement in annual wages of $300.00 or more (75).

(3) Movement or maintenance of income of $100.00 or more above the federal poverty level when adjusted for family size (68).

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(4) Increase in proportion of time worked after training by 15% or more; or reaching, or maintaining, employment for 90% of the period after training (eleven months in a year) (79).

(5) Developing or maintaining a work history including employment of eight months or more at one job (74).

The largest group includes those 59 trainees with 0 LFM scores. The figure is larger than the others because the LFM scale assigns a value of 0 to negative changes in labor force mobility. The 0 and 1 LFM score includes 45 trainees who would constitute a minus category. They are classified as being "low" in labor force mobility in this study.

Empirical Examination of Basic Hypotheses

Hypotheses 1, 5, and 6 were developed in Chapters III, IV, and V; and were summarized in Chapter VI. Each of these hypotheses is restated below at the empirical level and illustrated in tabular form in Table 2-VIII:

Hypothesis 1: There will be a positive relationship between trainees measured level of opportunity and their measured level of labor force mobility after training.

Hypothesis 5: There will be a positive relationship between trainees measured level of family influence and their measured level of labor force mobility after training.

Hypothesis 6: There will be a positive relationship between trainees measured level of job training influences and their measured level of labor force mobility after training.

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Table 2-VIII

Labor Force Mobility as Associated with Scales Measuring Opportunities, Job Training, and Family Factors

	Labor Force Mobility			
	Low 0-1	Medium 2-3	High 4-5	Total
Opportunities				
Low 0-3	54	31	14	99
High 4-7	5	21	40	66
Total	59	52	54	165
	$X^2 = 51.64$		2df, $p < .01$	$\tau = .67$
Job Training				
Low 0-5	39	22	13	74
High 6-11	20	30	41	91
Total	59	52	54	165
	$X^2 = 20.33$		2df, $p < .01$	$\tau = .41$
Family Influences				
Low 0-7	37	25	18	80
High 8-25	22	27	36	85
Total	59	52	54	165
	$X^2 = 9.75$		1df, $p < .01$	$\tau = .27$

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Since all the hypotheses are significant at the .01 level (Table 2-VIII), there is evidence to support the applicability of each of the underlying frameworks of opportunities, subculture, and rehabilitation in relation to the trainee population studied here. This interpretation does not take into account the issues of scale validity which is examined in later chapters, or the applicability of the chi-square test as discussed in Chapter VII.

It can be argued that since all three frameworks receive support, then the Davis-Moore-Tumin debate can not be resolved by a simple affirmation of one side or another, but rather the position receiving support thus far is the one involving the idea that opportunities, subculture, and training, are influences which interact with each other to bring about a relatively low frequency and degree of labor force mobility in the underclass population studied in this research project.

It is also necessary to consider the relative influence of the three types of factors. Correlation coefficients (Table 3-VIII) suggest a definite magnitude of influence in which opportunities are the strongest, training second, and family third. These relationships are maintained when the correlation of each scale with labor force mobility is examined for males and females.

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Table 3-VIII

Correlation of Three Scales with Labor Force Mobility

Scale	Correlation with LFM for all Trainees (165)	Correlation for Males (100)	Correlation for Females (65)
Opportunities	.67	.62	.80
Job Training	.41	.40	.46
Family	.27	.24	.32

The Paradox of Mobility and Poverty

The preceding discussion has been intended to provide general findings about the labor force mobility of trainees. Their progress was interpreted in relation to opportunities, training, and subculture. The following chapters will explore these influences. The purpose of the present section is to place the progress of the trainees back into a social problems perspective by asking about the degree to which their progress meant escape from poverty.

Sixty-four per cent (106 of 165) of the trainees had medium or high LFM (2 or higher), and 51% of these had take-home wages over $3,000 a year after training. Yet 64% of trainees (105 of 165) were also still poor after training in terms of take-home wages in relation to the national poverty line of $3,130 for a family of four.

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After training annual wages were distributed as follows:

(1) Six trainees had wages in the $6,000 to $9,999 range.

(2) Eighteen trainees had wages between $4,000 and $5,999.

(3) Thirty-four trainees had wages between $3,000 and $3,999.

(4) One hundred and eight trainees had incomes of $2,999 or less.

In short 85% (142 of 165) trainees had annual take-home pay under $4,000 as compared to 22% of the blue collar sample.[1]

Comparison of trainees and blue collar workers (Table 4-VIII) can be made in terms of what proportion of each group: (1) worked 8 months or more at one job, (2) had an annual wage above the poverty line, (3) had annual wages of $4,000 or more, and (4) had a socio-economic status score (SEI) of 10 or more. One or more of these criteria are met by from 78% to 99% of blue collar workers. By contrast, while more of the trainees met these criteria after

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[1]It should be noted that the sampling procedure for the blue collar workers involved filtering out persons who had worked under 11 months in the past year or did not have a blue collar occupation. The result was to select a population which may be more typical of the upper levels of the blue collar group and which provides a clear-cut norm for comparison with the underclass trainees.

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Table 4-VIII

Four Criteria of Labor Force Participation in Percent of 165 Trainees and 93 Blue Collar Workers

Criteria of Labor Force Participation	Trainees				Blue Collar Workers in 1967	
	Before training		After training			
	100%	(165)	100%	(165)	100%	(93)
Worked at one job 8 months or more	41%	(67)	52%	(85)	99%	(92)
Annual wages above poverty line of $3,130 for family of four, etc.	16%	(26)	36%	(60)	82%	(76)
Annual wages of $4,000 or more	3%	(5)	15%	(24)	78%	(73)
Having an SEI occupational score of 10 or more	44%	(73)	58%	(96)	96%	(89)

training, the highest proportion meeting any one criteria was 58%.

Another dimension of the outcome of training, subculture, and opportunities is that of alienation. Alienation is defined here as being multi-dimensional (see Seeman, 1959, and Blauner, 1964). Two of its dimensions discussed here are normlessness and powerlessness.

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Did the achievement of labor force mobility result in a decrease in their alienation?

The scale of post-training powerlessness (Srole, 1956) correlates .19 with LFM. While the scale of normlessness (Form 1966) correlates .04. Trainees were just about as often of high normlessness and high powerlessness before training as during training (Table 5-VIII).

Table 5-VIII

Two Dimensions of Alienations Among Trainees and Blue Collar Workers

Dimension	Trainees During		Trainees After		Blue Collar Sample	
Powerlessness (Srole's anomie)						
Low (0-1)	19%	(29)	20%	(31)	39%	(36)
Medium (2-3)	40%	(62)	38%	(60)	39%	(36)
High (4-5)	42%	(65)	42%	(65)	23%	(21)
Total	101%**	(156)	100%	(156)	101%**	(93)
Normlessness (Form's anomie)						
Low (0-1)	8%	(12)	8%	(12)	12%	(11)
Medium (2-3)	42%	(66)	38%	(60)	41%	(38)
High (4-7)	50%	(78)	54%	(84)	47%	(44)
Total	100%	(156)	100%	(156)	100%	(93)

* Excludes 9 trainees who did not answer both scales, before and after.

** Percents are rounded.

Blue collar workers measure highly powerless about half as often as trainees, but they measure highly normless almost as often as do trainees.

It is the interpretation of this researcher, that the opportunity structure is in need of modification if job training efforts are to be maximally effective. Until such modifications are made job training centers will provide the comforting illusion of progress without its economic or social substance.

Conclusion

The functionalist assumption that opportunities will motivate was originally advanced in relation to occupations of high status which presumably would be more available to members of higher class levels. The theory was extended by Ferman, Kornbluh, and Haber to the underclass while attempting to exclude or minimize the influence of subculture. The above results do not support the influence of either opportunities or subculture to the exclusion of the other. The position involving the interaction of the three factors seems to be supported, and the data indicates the consistently greater influence of opportunities, followed by the influence of job training, and the somewhat lesser degree of influence from family factors.

Further examination of each scale will occur in the chapters that follow. The data seem to support the

conclusion that opportunities of a level moderately above the trainees pre-training experiences are most likely to motivate the members of the underclass studied here when aided by comprehensive job training activities, and positive family influences. It is also clarified that even among trainees with high labor force mobility almost half remained poor. Therefore it appears that opportunities can be associated with mobility yet sustain inequities.

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CHAPTER IX

THE IRREGULAR OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE AND LABOR FORCE MOBILITY

In this chapter a description will be presented of the irregular economy and opportunity structure of the middle Michigan area in order to provide a broader basis for understanding the hypotheses examined in this and the preceding chapter. The chapter begins with a consideration of the variables making up the scale used to measure opportunities available to trainees. The sources of the irregular economy are then discussed and the effects are considered upon work patterns, hopes for the future, and job aspirations. The chapter concludes with a discussion of hypotheses examining the relationship of opportunities, job aspirations, and subculture.

The Operational Nature of Opportunities

Opportunities have been measured in this report by using a scale of seven items. The scale total correlates .67 with labor force mobility. The components of the scale are grouped below on the basis of similarity and listed in Table 1-IX on the basis of rank order of correlation.

(1) Job Satisfaction

Pre-post job satisfaction: Satisfaction with job held at time of interview is claimed by trainee to be greater after training than before.

Level of satisfaction with job: Trainee says he is very satisfied with his present job.

(2) Wages Earned

Hourly rate of pay: Pay is ten or more cents an hour greater on longest job after training, than on longest job before training.

(3) Availability of Jobs

Nationwide availability: Type of job held longest after training is available at a level designated as good or excellent by the United States Labor Department (1966b).

Local availability: Type of job held longest after training is available at a level designated as good or excellent, a measure based on information from employers.

(4) Status of Job

Socio-economic status of job: Job held longest after training is of same status or higher status than that of job wanted most during training. The Duncan (1961) SEI scale was used.

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Table 1-IX

Correlation of Dimensions of the Opportunity Scale with Scale Total and with Labor Force Mobility

Scale Dimension	Correlation with: Scale Total*	Labor Force Mobility**
Pre-post Job Satisfaction	.68	.48
Hourly Rate of Pay	.57	.43
Level of Satisfaction with Job	.55	.44
Nationwide Availability	.54	.15
Local Availability	.50	.15
Weekly Salary	.49	.49
Socio-economic Status of Job	.49	.43

* A correlation of .38 is required in a seven item scale to indicate an item contributes more to the total than would be expected by chance alone.

** A correlation of .128 is required for .05 level of significance with 328 d.f. on a one-tailed test.

Several assumptions are involved in the measurement of opportunities. The primary assumption was that items should be used reflecting the workers point of view as often as possible. Four of the seven items do this: pre-post job satisfaction, level of job satisfaction, hourly rate of pay, and weekly salary. The first two are self evidently subjective, the last two are used assuming that a worker is more likely to evaluate a job on the basis of hourly and weekly wages than annual wages.

Two of the seven items represent the availability of jobs. Nationwide availability was based on the United States Department of Labor's description of job opportunities in the Occupational Outlook Handbook (1966b). An attempt was made to measure the actual frequency of opportunities in the area for trainees after completion of training. Employers of the trainees were asked by mail to indicate how many persons were employed in positions comparable to the trainees' and how many were currently available. Out of 99 firms reporting, 72 said they did not need any one in a position at the level held by the trainee, and 28 openings were indicated among the 27 remaining firms. In order to compute a measure of opportunities the responses were grouped by type of occupations and the total number of jobs reported were multiplied by the number of openings, converting "0" openings into a value of 1. The resulting products were ranked and assigned to levels 1 through 5 (see Table 2-IX) with 1 representing worst opportunity, 2 poor, 3 fair, 4 good, and 5 excellent to correspond to the same scale used to code the United States Department of Labor's description of job opportunities. The results of the two scales place jobs at the same level very frequently and both scale items correlate well with the scale total (.50 local availability, .54 nationwide availability).

It is assumed that if the trainee is assigned a point on one of the scale items that the job is, in part desirable to

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him, that he would be more likely to try to keep the job, and hence, his labor force mobility would be higher. Labor force mobility is measured then in terms of the longer range consequences such as significantly improved annual wages, duration of time on one job, proportion of time worked, placement above federal poverty line, and the socio-economic status of the job.

The strong association of opportunities may be partly an artifact stemming from the nature of the items used to measure opportunity, such as increased weekly wages, which is by its nature related to the items in the LFM scale such as increased annual wages. In defense of the measurement of opportunities it can be noted that one week's wages does not guarantee an annual wage, especially in the irregular economy, but a weekly wage higher than previously experienced does imply that the job will appear to be more of an opportunity to the worker. The same line of reasoning would apply to other items in the scale.

Examination of Table 1-IX indicates that those items in the scale which correlate most strongly with labor force mobility have a potential subjective appeal as rewards. The items with lowest levels of correlation relate to local and national availability of jobs. These results suggest, in support of the theory of the irregular economy, that mere availability of a low reward job is insufficient to encourage a worker to stay with it long enough to increase his labor force mobility.

Table 2-IX

Estimating Opportunities in Middle Michigan

Table 2-IX

Estimating Opportunities in Middle Michigan

Type of Occupation	1 Number of Firms Reporting	2 Number of Positions	3 Number of Openings	Column 2x3	Local Opportunity Code
Factory laborer, or operator	26	24	2	48	5
Nurses aids, orderlies	7	48	1	48	5
Welders, body work	11	10	4	40	5
Office clerk	12	21	0*	21	4
Janitor	6	6	0*	6	3
Gas station attendant & mechanic	9	6	0*	6	3
Cleaning lady	9	5	0*	5	3
Kitchen help	7	4	1	4	3
Guard, truck driver, repairmen	6	4	0*	4	3
Beautician, seamstress	2	2	0*	2	2
Technician: x-ray, t-v, etc.	4	2	0*	2	2
Farm labor, pulpwood	**	**	**	**	1
Total	99	132	8	--	--

* Treated as if it had a value of 1.
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A further criticism of the opportunity scale is that two items, pre-post job satisfaction and level of job satisfaction, could be the consequences of LFM rather than the antecedent. It is assumed here that job satisfaction is related more to the short term reward factors than to long run mobility factors.

It can also be argued that the opportunity scale is not a pure measure because the training center staff helped trainees find jobs. If one is arguing that opportunities automatically motivate people to find the job, then the opportunity scale is invalid since workers do not regularly seek out or fully know about opportunities. But the position examined in this thesis is that opportunities motivate a worker when he has access to them and defines them as opportunities. In that sense then it is necessary to use training center staff or other personnel to match opportunities and workers and we have an illustration of the interrelationship of training and opportunities.

Although the opportunity scale provides a measure of opportunities relative to each trainee's prior experience, it is still possible to ask how it was possible that the trainees were attracted to jobs with such low pay and low status as janitors or kitchen helpers. The answer is found in their generally low level of aspirations, and these are discussed in a later section of this chapter.

One of the major difficulties of the opportunity scale is the classification of 18 trainees who did not have any

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employment after training. All of these automatically score low on opportunities and 14 are low on job training influences. It is therefore necessary to examine the data after removing these eighteen without work in order to see if the association of the three scales is not influenced in a spurious direction. After removing the 18 cases (Table 3-IX), the relationships of each scale to LFM remain in the same order and the only chi-square that declines much in magnitude is in the table relating opportunities and LFM. However the correlation of opportunities and LFM with the 18 trainees removed is .61 as compared to .67 for all trainees. This suggests that the correlation of opportunities to LFM is not unduly distorted by the presence of the 18 trainees.

Given the modest requirements for many of the criteria on the opportunity scale, one might also ask if the opportunities are not measured at an unrealistically low level, and if there are not many better opportunities which are not being identified. These possibilities are partly guarded against by using each trainee's own pre-training labor market experience as a bench mark for identifying post-training improvements. The likelihood of better opportunities being ignored are also low, given the nature of the irregular economy in middle Michigan. The following section describes that economy, and is followed by sections dealing with aspirations, and finally the related hypotheses are examined.

Table 3-IX

Opportunities, Training, Family Influence and Labor Force Mobility of 147 Trainees who Worked at One or More Jobs After Training

	Labor Force Mobility			
	Low 0-1	Medium 2-3	High 4-5	Total
Opportunities				
Low 0-3	36	31	14	81
High 4-7	5	21	40	66
Total	41	52	54	147
	$X^2 = 36.73$	2 d.f.	$p < .01$	
Job Training				
Low 0-5	28	22	13	63
High 6-11	13	30	41	84
Total	41	52	54	147
	$X^2 = 18.62$	2 d.f.	$p < .01$	
Family				
Low 0-7	28	25	18	71
High 8-25	13	27	36	76
Total	41	52	54	147
	$X^2 = 11.41$	2 d.f.	$p < .01$	

Sources of the Irregular Economy in the State of Michigan

In Chapter III the general nature of the irregular economy was described. Four major sources were suggested: low wages, adjustments in size of the labor force, demographic pressures, and discrimination. A major factor operating in the state of Michigan has been the trend towards a reduction in the labor force. From 1953 to 1958 employment declined by 350,000 jobs (Barcus 1962: 35). Barcus estimates that up to 150,000 jobs were lost through decline in defense employment; up to 95,000 through decentralization, reduction or discontinuance of the automobile industry in Michigan and up to 160,000 through production improvement and technological changes.

Not only has there been a decline in employment in Michigan but the pattern of fluctuations in unemployment during recessions far exceeds those of the United States in general. During the 1958 recession the national unemployment rate was just over 7%, but it reached over 16% for Michigan (Barcus 1962: 33).

In the 1960's in Michigan, while the demand for workers is reduced, approximately 1,250,000 young people will become 18 year olds and about one million of them will enter the labor force. In order to maintain the present rate of unemployment of 200,000, some 90,000 jobs must be added annually and the economy must grow at a rate of 5 or 6% annually (Barcus 1962: 36).

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Yet during 1967, the year in which the trainees were seeking employment after their period at the training center, the unemployment rate for Michigan increased from the 3.5% level of 1966 to a rate of 4.6% (Manpower Report 1968: 282). This increased unemployment rate would suggest that the trainee's LFM after training was not the by-product of a general period of increased employment, but occurred despite a trend towards greater unemployment.

This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the middle Michigan area is one in which opportunities are scarcer and less desirable than in the industrial centers of the state. The economy of Michigan varies in a south to north gradient with the degree of industrialization decreasing in a northern direction. So pronounced is the variation that the upper peninsula of Michigan, and almost the entire northern half of the lower peninsula has been declared part of the Great Lakes Development area sometimes referred to as Northern Appalachia.

The central Michigan area from which most trainees came consists of the counties of Isabella and Gratiot and a portion of the adjacent areas. It is a zone of transition into Northern Appalachia. Just south and east of the central area are to be found an arc of moderate size industrial cities including Midland, Saginaw, Flint, Lansing, and Grand Rapids. Proceeding into the middle Michigan area one finds only small cities and these are likely to have only

one or a few small industries or shops. South of Gratiot County in the decades ending 1950 and 1960, seventeen of 28 counties had in-migration of population, a high percent of persons employed in manufacturing, and a high level of living for farmers (Klietsch et al., 1964: 7).

Moving north into Clare county one leaves the zone of transition and enters Northern Appalachia. North of Isabella county 30 out of 42 counties have high outward migration and were low both in the level of living for farmers and percent of persons employed in manufacturing.

The tier of counties occupied by Isabella and Gratiot counties is a mixture of these characteristics with Gratiot county being high in outward migration and high in farm operator level of living, and low in industrialization while Isabella county located north of Gratiot corresponds fully to the Northern Appalachian pattern of high out migration, low percent employed in manufacturing and low farm operator level of living.

Given this regional pattern it is evident that the level of opportunities in middle Michigan would be low. This is more easily shown and explained by examining the four major factors affecting levels of opportunity.

Sources of the Irregular Economy in Middle Michigan

Adjustments in Size of Labor Force

It is first essential to repeat that the irregular

economy is not merely the result of absent or low opportunities, but of opportunities which fluctuate in their availability.

This is summarized accurately in the 1968 Manpower Report of the President (136) describing the rural situation generally found in the United States:

> . . . The pervasive problem for rural workers is underemployment in terms of irregular work and low earnings, rather than total lack of work. . . . (136)

The only urban center in Isabella county (population 36,200, 1960 census) is Mt. Pleasant (population 15,400, 1960 census). The city has gone through a series of fluctuations in its economy and labor force. It began as a trading post and lumbering center. Farming next became the major activity. In the depression era an oil boom occurred which enabled Mt. Pleasant to pass through the depression and post-depression era with few challenges, and left the city the dubious distinction of being the oil producing capital of a state that produced relatively little oil.

Currently the economy of Isabella county can best be understood in terms of the labor force required by public organizations, industry, and farms. The public organizations provide stability of employment, and tend to expand their demand, the industrial labor market fluctuates, and the farm work force contracts. The level of opportunities is given stability in large part by the federal, state, county, and local government units. The chamber of commerce

describes the situation accurately in its promotional brochure:

> Mount Pleasant's county office employees, the presence of an ever growing university (Central Michigan University) and the Michigan State Home and Training School provide the area with a stable year around payroll that adds to the economic stability of the community. Federal and state agencies including Social Security, Farmers Home Administration, Soil Conservation, Internal Revenue, Agricultural Stabilization, service recruiting offices, Norcap, Social Welfare, State Police post and Department of Conservation offices provide an employment in excess of 100 persons.

The degree of stability provided by these public institutions is evident for the skilled workers, professionals, and local merchants. But for the least skilled, these institutions offer the irregular side of the economy either by paying low wages or in irregular work seasons.

An example is provided by one trainee who worked for the university as an entry level welder, but because of his inability to read was transferred to grounds and maintenance, and then layed off during the midwinter period and rehired in the spring. Another trainee worked after training for the city for brief periods raking leaves and shoveling snow with a long period of inactivity between. Another trainee, a woman of 56 years of age, worked for the local community action program as a community aid in the war on poverty but was fired after several months. She described her job as follows:

> We were all getting starvation wages there and I had to support a husband and two fifteen year old boys. They told me I didn't have training for the job, but

> if I,d been fifteen years younger they wouldn't have. If I got to wear rouge and lipstick to keep a job, I don't want it (30).[1]

Farms in Isabella county decreased 30% between 1952 and 1967 from 2,249 to 1,570. There was also an increase in part-time farmers from 20% to 42% over the same period (Webb, 1967: 1). Increased mechanization also reduced demand for farm laborers. Park-time farming and farm labor are both aspects of the irregular economy and yet even these types of opportunities are constricted. The labor force of almost 12,000 workers in 1959 contained only 11% (1,283) employed in agriculture and listed only 236 farm laborers and foremen, the remaining 1,031 being listed as farmers (U. S. Census 1960: 24-343).

In the area of industry the only city in Isabella county, Mt. Pleasant, offers few job opportunities. Forty companies related to oil production employ 5 to 35 persons and beyond that the industries include plants which produce ice, automotive hardware, stock and dog feeds, petroleum products, refrigeration parts, and concrete tile. The lack of opportunities for blue collar workers is indicated in the 54% of male workers in Mt. Pleasant engaged in professional, managerial, or service occupations as compared to 28% for the urban statewide average (Master Plan, city of Mt. Pleasant, 1965: 15).

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[1]Numbers after statements by trainees refer to the number assigned to them when interviewed.

The largest factory in Mt. Pleasant employs 300 people at periods of peak production. It manufactures seat tracks, window adjustments, and tail gates under contracts with Ford, Chrysler, and American Motors. The fluctuations in labor force at this factory are tied into fluctuations in auto production in southern Michigan. In February of 1967, the period when the trainees would have been seeking work a company representative is quoted in the local newspaper as saying that slack auto sales led to a cut-back in auto production and 150 persons were layed off. In June of 1967 after operating for 3 months with 150 workers laid off, the company representative is quoted in the local newspaper as saying that:

> . . . As soon as the '68 models start rolling we hope to have all our people back to work. . . .

In November of 1967 it was announced that 35 persons had been laid off as a result of a strike at Ford Motor Company.

A number of trainees had worked at the plant prior to job training. One trainee had worked as a laborer in the plant while waiting to get an opening on a machine or as a welder, and before a month had passed was layed off:

> The boss there is nice, and talks to you. He don't go along with his nose stuck in the air, but they do have a bad habit of lay off before 30 days when a guy is in Union (84).

Another trainee left the job training center to take a job at the plant, having waited 3 years for the call. She then worked 8 months and was laid off.

A person looking for a job might look at the classified advertisment, although trainees reported they seldom check them. Had a trainee looked in the local newspaper he might have seen the following set of fifteen opportunities on Tuesday, Oct. 17, 1967.

> waitresses (3)
> housekeeper
> companion, live in to care for elderly lady
> handicapped to work at telephone answering service
> oil field workers
> service station attendant
> student for part-time drafting
> registered nurse
> drive-in waitress (2)
> part-time drive-in waiter
> secretary
> laboratory technologist

The same page carries larger advertisements from plants outside the county. One advertisement was from Fisher Body, Lansing for production workers, with or without experience. Also present is a call from Dow Chemical Company of Midland for secretaries, clerk typists, teletype operators, and key punch operators.

Of the 11,354 persons in the labor force in 1959, 19% (2,137) worked outside the county (U. S. Census 1960, 24: 296). Dow Chemical, 25 miles away, is generally considered to be a highly desirable place to work. One trainee who lives in Midland said that:

> I always desired to work there. I have a hundred friends there already and my family (15 or 20 cousins and aunts). Everyone in our neighborhood works at Dow. There may be one along there that doesn't. Dow is good to work at. Good benefits, work facilities, a nice place to work with insurance, medical, retirement, vacations, and sick leaves (46).

Many workers commute to Dow, and 100 or more workers came from Gladwin, Clare, Shepherd, Saginaw, and Bay City. Mt. Pleasant contributes 388 workers (Mt. Pleasant Daily News, Sat. July 18, 1967).

Low Wages

The kinds of jobs held frequently by trainees pay low wages, are not covered by minimum wage laws, and often they are not covered by unemployment insurance. Yet trainees did not claim to want much more. No systematic effort was made to identify the wages trainees consider adequate, but one single male commented about farm work:

> . . . it just doesn't pay enough and it's not steady employment--If I could get 75 or 100 steady I could make a living at it (151).

A female with children, and separated from her husband, commented that:

> It depends--if your on clerical work and married, $50 would be o.k. but if supporting two kids it should be $70 or more (155).

An Indian female, separated, with children said:

> I'd like good pay--close to $60-$70 week but I need more than that to get by--need $90 to get by (29).

Although these wage aspirations fluctuate around $4,000 a year, it was difficult to reach them since the mean annual take-home wage after training was $2,610 (Table 4-IX).

Table 4-IX

Mean Hourly Wage and Mean Annual Take-Home Wages of Blue Collar Workers and Trainees*

	Trainees Before Training			Trainees After Training			Blue Collar Workers		
	M	FM	ALL	M	FM	ALL	M	FM	ALL
Mean hourly wage on longest held job	1.37	1.00	1.27	1.94	1.34	1.79	2.70	2.08	2.60
	(81)	(29)	(110)	(81)	(29)	(110)	(81)	(12)	(93)
Mean annual wage (take home)	1,933	1,083	1,709	2,885	1,834	2,610	6,300	3,030	5,820
	(81)	(29)	(110)	(81)	(29)	(110)	(81)	(12)	(93)

* Omits any trainee without employment either before or after training.

Discrimination

In a sense many of the poor in every ethnic group are discriminated against because they can often be identified by dress, speech, and mannerisms. But the proportion of persons who are discriminated against is probably greater among Indians, Mexicans, and Negroes.

One does not see the Chippewa working in Mt. Pleasant in stores or offices, but they can be found in farm labor, and other low status jobs. Those who work in factories find their jobs in more distant locations such as Grand Rapids or Midland. The Indians chances for work in larger factories are sometimes better. According to trainees, some firms prefer not to hire Indians, some are merely skeptical but continue hiring them, and a few are reported to prefer them. In one of the latter firms in Grand Rapids some 80% of the work force is said to be Indian. Placement activities of the job training center took advantage of this fact by attempting to place Indians in large cities, and some of the more successful male Indians were placed in Bay City and Grand Rapids.

The pattern so far described is not the simple and direct result of discrimination as it is presently practiced. There is also the perception and expectation of discrimination and the fear of being unable to perform the job which keeps many from applying.

Also involved are the relationships and perception of relationships among workers in a shop. In Indian white relationships the perception of relationships involves the assumption by some Indians that whites do not want to talk to them. Similarly some of the whites assume that an Indian does not want to talk to them. This kind of situation was reported among trainees in the welder training program, and after training, was reported in an auto dealers repair shop. It was claimed that two white workers quit because one Indian would not talk to them. Later the Indian quit. He felt the white workers would not talk to him.

Demographic Pressures

Migration and differential fertility are two demographic factors influencing the opportunities available. Between 1940 and 1967 some 20 million people left the farms of the United States and moved to the cities. The movement from the farms was largely due to the constriction of opportunities with the mechanization of farms after World War I and the pull of opportunities in the defense industry in 1940 (Beale cited by Stevins, 1969). But many did not move out of middle Michigan. Many of the trainees parents had small farms or were farm laborers and stayed on in the area trying to make a living through the combinations of jobs available in the irregular economy. In general, the trainees represent

those who want to stay. Remaining in the area restricts them to the local opportunity structure, and the larger size of their families puts further pressure on the opportunities available to the next generation.

Consequences of the Irregular Economy

Presumably the irregular economy has a number of effects on the workers caught up in it by birth or by downward mobility. Considerable influence is exerted on their work patterns, hopes for the future, and levels of aspiration. Before evaluating the effects of opportunities, training, and family it is first necessary to consider the nature of the trainees work patterns, hopes, and aspiration.

Work Patterns

In attempting to combat poverty in the so-called war on poverty of the 1960's it was customary to refer to the "hard core unemployed," and almost any group of trainees was labelled "hard core." But that term only refers to one type of trainee, the long-term unemployed, and it is prejudgment to impute a hardness or softness, or a core. Several types of work patterns are obscured by the term "hard core unemployed." In addition a stigma of irresponsibility and laziness is attached to trainees as a result, and attention is directed away from the maladjustments of the irregular economy which give rise to these work patterns.

Described briefly below are six types of work patterns defined in terms of duration of work.

(1) Full-time employment: working eight months or more at one job.

(2) Steady part-time employment: working eight months or more for 20-35 hours a week, at one or more jobs.

(3) Intermittent employment: under eight months per job, and working at more than two jobs in a year.

(4) Seasonal employment: working at one or two jobs in a year of four months or more each.

(5) Brief, occasional employment: working 19 hours or less per week, or working a few days, not over a month, at two or three jobs in the year.

(6) Unemployed: one year or more without work.

(7) Not in labor force:
(a) institutional confinement: prison, mental hospital, etc.
(b) illness, disability.

Table 5-IX

Work History Patterns for Trainees Prior to Job Training

Pattern of Employment	Frequency		
	Male	Female	Total
Full-time	18	7	25
Steady part-time	2	2	4
Intermittent	27	8	35
Seasonal	33	9	42
Brief, occasional	9	14	23
Unemployed	11	18	29
Not in labor force:			
illness, disability	--	7	7
Total	100	65	165

The work history patterns of trainees prior to training are summarized in Table 5-IX (on the preceding page). Earlier the suggestion of Caplow (1954: 173) was cited in which he emphasized the importance of irregularity of earnings and work. The proportion of intermittent and seasonal workers among the trainees (see Table 5-IX) is 47% (77) while the long-term unemployed were 18% (29). Intermittent and seasonal employment represents one very frequent type of work pattern developed in response to the characteristic of the irregular economy. In its extreme the pattern is one of working for a week or a month at each job:

> If I told you all the jobs I done it would take too long. I had so many jobs last year I don't remember. I had a lot for one week (75).

One pulpwood cutter was advised by his father, also a pulpwood cutter to get a good job and stay with it. The response to the advice also indicates the lowered levels of aspiration (discussed more fully below) and the difficulties perceived in jobs defined as better:

> My father advised me to try and get a good job and stay with it--but it don't seem to be as easy as it sounds. --But they don't really think it would make much difference. I wouldn't mind getting my welder's degree and if I get good pay I wouldn't mind staying with one job all the time, but I can go out here and get a 100 different jobs digging ditches or plumbers' helper and I don't care much for it because mainly for plumbers' helper you need a good education and keep records and its a job that's awful hard and tiresome (183).

Irregularity of job opportunities force workers to seek supplements to their income from public sources. A major

source of assistance is unemployment insurance for those who quality, or sometimes social security for children of disabled workers. For those who don't quality for the above there is Aid to Dependent Children, which is the major stigmatized form of aid. A combination of sources is often necessary in the irregular economy; as one trainee and his wife put it:

> He: I'll probably be layed off in December; I can draw unemployment till March, but I think I'll go back to the welding.
>
> She: I wish I was still getting ACD--I should get it for my kids--I have four by first marriage and three by John--I was getting some help when we got married.

While ADC helps pay for some necessities, it is rarely adequate, and frequently it is restricting and a source of alienation. If one works the amount is reduced, or it is cancelled, and then it takes time to get back on it. When one is on ADC there are restrictions, questions, and the feeling that others think one is doing something one should not do.

Hopes for the Future

Trainees were asked to state their wishes for the best possible life in the future (see Cantril, 1965: 22-29). A number of these wishes are cited below in order to provide insight into the viewpoint held by the trainees. Rarely was concern expressed for interesting work. But it is necessary to recall that the question deals with hopes for the future

and does not explicitly ask about jobs. When jobs were mentioned it was as a means to other ends, or part of a list of other desires.

> I hope to lead a cleaner life, go to church, and quit drinking. In 5 years I want to tend to my job more, build a better house, lead a cleaner life and quit drinking. I intend to try to do it (116).

> If I get a break and get a good job I'm going to fix my place and buy a nice bed for my woman--and get a new bedroom suite right away and water in the toilet and I want what I've got now--my kids, wife, a pleasant living. And a pleasant living involves money and all that stuff--money is nice to have, but you can only buy material things and nothing else--have to have it to survive (2).

One trainee held that one should still strive for the attainable and not shoot too high:

> (I want) a good steady job and finish up on the home and trade it in later for 20 or 30 acres with a little house. I just want a common life nothing too extra. Now I got a house payed for and things are going okay. In five years I want to have the house finished, five years ago it was just wishful thinking.
>
> A lot of people shoot too high and miss and drop out--why shoot so high that by the time I reach it I'd be so discouraged I'd drop back? (41).

It's better to have a little if it's yours and you have worked for it yourself, than to have a lot that is given to you or isn't paid for:

> In another 5 years I should have what I want and it will be paid for. I've got to start at the bottom step and work up--some think that's stupid--actually I've got more by being on the bottom than people with 50,000 in debt. What I've got is payed for and I'm not worried about having to pay it off. I have more than them that get meat and gravy handed to them on a silver platter like a kid whose parents buy him a new car--I've got to earn it myself--it builds more character and makes him more responsible when he has to work for what he gets (151).

Having a farm with lots of room is good, along with a steady job:

> I'd like to go on a big farm and thats it, own it, with lots of room--20 acres and a good job. If gettin' enough, I'd hire someone to take care of the farm--most farmers nowadays work and let someone else take care of the farm (75).

Being able to live decently and get along with people was a hope expressed by one young trainee:

> Five years ago I was 16, not at home, just traveling and I just wanted to get away from everything and everybody and get out of it and forget myself.
>
> Before marriage I wanted a car, nice clothes, and to have my folks live in a decent house. After marriage I'd have to work and make a happy life, I've proved to Sally I can give her a good life as well as myself. (A good life is) going out and visiting people and talking to people without feeling I am wrong. I just talked before and it sounded foolish, and I just couldn't communicate about it (142).

And even more modest hopes for the future were expressed. Sometimes they were the hopes of those anticipating old age.

> All I can wish for us is just to keep working--I just wish I can keep up work there for 10 years so I can be on a pension--if my health holds out. Five years ago--I was just a junkin then--its just labor, a job where nobody's your boss, you just do it yourself. It ain't dependable--can make $200 today and not have a dime tomorrow (143).
>
> Just to stay well and make my own way till I'm old enough to draw social security that's saved up for us--but if I'm able to work longer so much the better--my big worry is to depend on someone else--I hope I never have to be (133).
>
> If everything comes okay--without sickness and with better working conditions, I'll live to 1975 anyway--it don't take much to satisfy me cause never had much--just run the country better (7).

Seldom did trainees express hopes for the future that suggested any orientation above the blue collar level of aspiration for security. An example of one was an older male, age 53, with five children, he expressed hope for respectability mixed with job success and security:

> I'm preparing myself for better knowledge to make a better living for my family and a chance for vocational training to be an expert mechanic or refrigerator man, and to know how it feels to have people look up to my family and me instead of down (25).

Another trainee, a male aged 24, where wife worked as a nurse, had been injured in an auto accident and as a result of spine injury had no control over excretion of waste products and if he became fatigued, lost control of his legs in a temporary paralysis lasting one or several days. He was asked to express his hopes in relation to a ten rung ladder. He said:

> I want to be on the top of the ladder in five years. But if I had no accident and the ladder were two times as large, then in five years time I should be three-quarters of the way to it. If I had no accident I could have retired for life in five years. You can go all the way if you don't slip on one of the first ones.
>
> I want a fairly good income, have nice things, live nice, a decent running and fairly nice looking car and well dressed family and enjoy life itself and lots of friends (131).

Their answers as illustrated so far were seldom expressive of the apathy attributed to the poor. The few cases of apathy are illustrated by the following comments about hopes for the future by a Negro male:

> You want me to be truthful? I don't have any hopes--there's never been a future for me. I just let every day take care of itself. Everytime I get my hopes up I just end up on the rocks. So I won't even think about it (166).

Three Indians expressed similar views about their hopes for the future:

> I don't have--I just live from day to day (156).

> I was reading at my daughter-in-law's house about silver and gold buried in mud in a river and you can't get it out because with each shovel the mud just covers it up again (128).

> I don't know. Get a job in this place, but I'd get payed every two weeks. Maybe marry. In five years maybe be in jail, I don't know. Maybe in a grave. Indians never predict what he's going to do. He don't even look ahead a couple of months--just got that habit (38).

In general, hopes for the future were modest but seldom did they seem apathetic. In the following section the related job aspirations are discussed.

Job Aspirations

Given the modest hopes for the future cited above then what would be the jobs to which trainees would be likely to aspire? The status of jobs to which they aspired at the time trainees left school was high for none, moderate for some, low for many, and uncertain for most, if they accurately recalled and stated those aspirations of years before (Table 6-IX).

Given the general low level of job aspirations prior to training, one should also ask about the aspirations

Table 6-IX

Job Aspirations When the Trainee Left Public School

Duncan Socio-economic Index (SEI)* for Job Wanted When Trainee Left Public School	Labor Force Mobility									
	Low 0-1			Medium 2-3			High 4-5			
	M	FM	ALL	M	FM	ALL	M	FM	ALL	Total
No particular job in mind	24	14	38	20	10	30	21	10	31	99
1-19	8	2	10	7	5	12	9	2	11	33
20-39	3	-	3	2	-	2	4	2	6	11
40-59	-	4	4	1	5	6	-	3	3	13
60-79	1	3	4	-	2	2	-	3	3	9
Total	36	23	59	30	22	52	34	20	54	165

* Duncan 1961.

during training (see Table 7-IX). It appears that aspirations were low prior to training and some increase did occur. Much of the increase relates to an acceptance by trainees of the occupational goals of the training center.

The nature of trainee's job aspirations are illustrated below in their own words. This will also concern the question about whether the low level of opportunities available to trainees would appeal to them.

Women were trained for clerical work, food service worker, maintenance, and hospital aids. Food service work appealed to older women:

> I kind of enjoyed the work at the college putting salads and recipes together (154).

But it also exceeded their aspirations and frightened some:

> I had an interview at Cozy kitchen but I got scared and I didn't think I knew enough--I never been a fancy cook (steaks) I might of made it if I tried--I'm hoping for cook job after this. I'd like to get a job as a helper to get the experience. There's an awful lot of responsibility, that's one thing I did learn (95).

Work as a hospital aid also appealed to older women:

> I love it. I just love being with the people trying to help them. The critical ward needs constant care, major surgery--its not terminal and they get intensive care (160).

The characteristics of trainees for different jobs seemed to be roughly matched to the jobs, partly because of job training center staff efforts. Thus older women with less education trained for housekeeper or kitchen helper. Younger and more educated women for office work. Their aspirations for these jobs must be judged accordingly.

A similar principle occurred of matching men by age to the type of job. Education seems less significant a factor. Thus older men trained for custodians, and the younger men for auto mechanic, machine operator, and welder. An additional factor operating was the self-concept of the trainee. Thus men who were in training as welders tended to be those who in dress, and manner of conduct seemed more interested in their manliness. Older males spoke well of janitor work:

> I don't mind floor mopping--but not the automatic (40).
>
> I want a long life--a successful life--job as head custodian could earn 6 or 7 thousand a year--that would be successful--but I probably wouldn't be that fortunate (140).

The young males spoke of auto mechanics work in favorable terms:

> I want to be a mechanic like every other guy wants to be (150).
>
> I get along pretty good and like that work. I can see I'm accomplishing something--a car comes in and I can fix it--especially if I know off-hand what's wrong with it (111).
>
> I like filling station--never doing the same thing twice and always on the go and no limit to what you can make (110).

Machinists work aroused more enthusiasm:

> Machinist--I really like it--I just put my whole heart into it--I hope I get something out of it (69).

Some trainees aspired to jobs not available at the training center, for example: parachute jumping and putting out fires, computer programming, sketching, barbering, and hairdressing:

> I didn't like the work they wanted to give me here--janitor--it's one job I don't care for--it doesn't appeal to me (120).

> I really didn't want this custodial work. I wanted to be a barber. I love to cut hair, or mechanics. So they said try housekeeping and I went and tried it and kind of liked it at the State Home (72).

A few trainees wanted factory work. A number mentioned farm labor (76, 77, 41, 155, 150, 176) saying they liked being on the move, outdoors work, being around different people, or getting a place of your own:

> I'll go to work in pickles this summer and each week bring home $80 and we can buy a house out in the country someplace--but you can never know what will happen--like someone going to the hospital--I think he was scared by me pushing on him to get married when I was pregnant, and now he is asking me--but he's never been married he might be afraid--but the ADC lady said maybe they'd pay the hospital if he couldn't (155).

Pulpwood attracted some:

> Pulpwood--I went to the center to learn more about the pulpwood business (168).

> My favorite work is in the woods. I just like it--I maybe been brought up to it--when I was driving a yoke of cattle out of woods pulling logs (69).

Some preferred unskilled labor such as housekeeper (53), oil field (161), furniture (128), chambermaid (130). One trainee explained his preferrence for unskilled labor:

> It sounds silly, but being a common laborer--it's better for your health. Bricklayer, carpenter--I have done 'em and know how to--you don't use your body as much in machinist work and I consider being physically fit very important--I can do physical things well, but am slow thinker. It's better to do it well what you do--take pride in it (15).

A few of the trainees wanted to go into business for themselves in welding (65 and 76), hauling and cleaning (131), refrigeration (25), farm equipment repair (103), service station and auto repair (117), and television repair (171).

Don't be too particular is the advice one trainee got from his father:

> My dad has always said, "keep working, don't be too particular" the job I have is just as good as any I've had. They're all alike just do your work, is all (41).

Some define work as a necessary evil.

> Let's be honest. I highly detest work--I don't like lying around the house either--I like a job that's always changing (110).

Summary

The nature of the opportunities available to most trainees after training was very modest: janitor-maintenance, food services worker, cook (entry level), auto service station mechanic, clerical (general office work), machine operator, and welder (combination). The fact that so modest a range of opportunities may have motivated trainees must be understood in relation to their modest hopes. It is therefore argued that the Davis-Moore position as extended to the underclass by Ferman and others seems to apply for the members of the underclass studied here if the qualification is added that: opportunities that are too high would evidently be defined as unattainable, and hence would fail to motivate most trainees.

Hypotheses about Aspirations, Opportunities, Subculture, and Labor Force Mobility

The preceding presentation has been directed at clarifying the low level of opportunities available in middle Michigan and the low level of hopes and aspirations which are expressed by the trainees. At this point it is possible to resume the examination of hypotheses (summarized in Chapter VI) concerning the relationship of opportunities to aspirations and class of origin.

It has already been demonstrated that in the population studied the influence of opportunities, training, and family factors were all operating, but that opportunities had a stronger degree of association with labor force mobility than did the other two scales. In order to further pursue the debate over the influence of opportunities vs. subculture it is necessary to ask about the issues raised in Chapter III. These issues are briefly stated below together with the three hypotheses. Rejection of these hypotheses will lend support to the concept that opportunities do motivate despite subcultural influences stemming from inequities.

Aspirations and Subculture

Do depressed aspirations become part of a subculture which is passed on to the next generation? If so, aspirations may be lower among the intergenerational poor than the downwardly mobile. The following hypothesis, restated

in empirical form, explores this issue:

> Hypothesis 2: Measured aspirations will be lower among those trainees measured as intergenerationally poor than among the downwardly mobile.

Aspirations are measured on the basis of the trainees statement of his job preference. The job was then classified using the Duncan socio-economic status scale. Early job aspirations refer to the job the trainee said he desired when he left public school. Aspirations were also measured during and after training.

Distinguishing the intergenerational poor from the downwardly mobile was done by dichotomizing a social class scale based on three variables: (1) Father's job as classified on the Duncan SEI scale ($r = .89$ with the scale total). (2) Father's highest grade finished ($r = .56$ with the scale total). (3) Sewell's Farm Family Index, short form ($r = .63$ with scale total).

Among the trainees of differing levels of class origin, the pattern of job aspirations before, during, and after training is presented in Table 7-IX. Starting with job aspirations claimed to exist when the trainee left public school the distribution of aspirations is very similar among trainees at the two class levels, and the chi-square is below the level of significance.

Less similarity between the two levels is found in examining aspirations during training. Trainee aspirations in both classes were raised during training but change was

Table 7-IX

Job Aspirations and Generation of Poverty

Generation of Poverty	Early Job Aspirations				Job Aspirations During Training				Job Aspirations After Training			
	Low 0-5	Medium 6-32	High 33-72	Total	Low 0-5	Medium 6-32	High 33-72	Total	Low 0-5	Medium 6-32	High 33-72	Total
Intergenerational Poverty (social class, family of origin: 48-76)	62% (50)	28% (23)	10% (8)	100% (81)	11% (9)	67% (54)	22% (18)	100% (81)	33% (27)	59% (48)	7% (6)	99% (81)
Downwardly Mobile (social class, family of origin: 77-154)	57% (48)	21% (18)	21% (18)	99% (84)	7% (6)	51% (43)	42% (35)	100% (84)	21% (18)	52% (44)	26% (22)	99% (84)
Total	98	41	26	165	15	97	53	165	47	92	26	165
	$X^2 = 4.50$ 2 d.f. $p > .05$				$X^2 = 11.75$ 2 d.f. $p < .01$				$X^2 = 23.62$ 2 d.f. $p < .01$			

greater for the downwardly mobile and the differences are significant at the .01 level.

The number of trainees with low job aspirations after training, as compared to early aspirations, was cut in half for the intergenerationally poor, but reduced by three-fifths among the downwardly mobile. The number of intergenerationally poor with high aspirations was slightly lower after training than earlier, and the number of downwardly mobile trainees with high aspirations was somewhat higher. The largest frequency of raised aspirations for both classes was in the movement from low aspirations to medium aspirations.

In general, a large proportion of both class levels responded to training with raised aspirations. Thus, 79 percent of the downwardly mobile retained raised aspirations, and 67 percent of those born poor retained raised aspirations. The level of aspirations seems to rise for more of the downwardly mobile with training, and it seems to remain higher more frequently after training.

The null hypothesis is accepted for Hypothesis 2 in relation to early aspirations, but is rejected in relation to aspirations during and after training. It is concluded that expressed <u>early</u> aspirations are not significantly lower among the intergenerational poor than among the downwardly mobile in the populations studied, and that opportunities raise aspirations in both class levels and have a more frequently lasting effect among the downwardly mobile.

This would suggest that the irregular economy reduces level of recalled aspiration of those who move into it to about the same level as those born into it, but the subcultural aspirations acquired by those born poor are somewhat harder to raise. These results show that both opportunities and subculture are operating as influences.

Opportunities, Aspirations, and Labor Force Mobility

Do opportunities motivate those of low aspirations less than those of high aspirations? If so there will be greater labor force mobility among those of high aspiration and high opportunities than those of low opportunity.

> Hypothesis 4: The greater the measured opportunity the greater will be the measured post-training labor force mobility among those trainees who have measured high aspirations.

Examination of Table 8-IX indicates that labor force mobility increases with higher opportunities, but does not vary with level of aspiration. The null hypothesis is accepted.

Opportunities, the Intergenerational Poor, the Downwardly Mobile, and Labor Force Mobility

Do opportunities motivate the intergenerational poor less than the downwardly mobile? If so, then there will be greater labor force mobility among the downwardly mobile with high opportunities than among those born poor.

Table 8-IX

Opportunities, Aspirations and Labor Force Mobility

Opportunities	Early Aspirations	Labor Force Mobility Low 0-1	Medium 2-3	High 4-5	Total
Low 0-3	Low 0-5	60% (36)	27% (16)	13% (8)	100% (60)
	High 6-72	49% (18)	35% (13)	16% (6)	100% (37)
High 4-7	Low 0-5	-- (2)	36% (14)	59% (23)	-- (29)
	High 6-72	-- (3)	31% (9)	59% (17)	-- (29)
Total		59	52	54	165

The following hypothesis explores the issue:

> Hypothesis 3: The greater the measured opportunity available, the greater will be the measured post-training labor force mobility among those measured as downwardly mobile.

Among the trainees with high opportunities and among those who were downwardly mobile as compared to the intergenerationally poor the proportion of trainees with increasing labor force mobility seems very similar (Table 9-IX), although the degree of decreasing labor force mobility is higher among those born in the underclass.

Table 9-IX

Opportunities, Class of Origin and Labor Force Mobility

Opportunities	Class of Origin	Labor Force Mobility Low 0-1	Medium 2-3	High 4-5	Total
Low (0-3)	Underclass (48-76)	64%	27%	9%	100%
		(35)	(15)	(5)	(55)
	Blue Collar (77-154)	45%	33%	21%	99%
		(19)	(14)	(9)	(42)
High (4-7)	Underclass (48-76)	--	27%	62%	--
		(3)	(7)	(16)	(26)
	Blue Collar (77-154)	--	38%	57%	--
		(2)	(16)	(24)	(42)
Total		59	52	54	165

Class scores were simply dichotomized in Table 10-IX in order to arrive at approximate blue collar and underclass levels.

A second approach to measuring generation of poverty was to read the trainees case history along with answers to questionnaire items, especially those concerning father's source of poverty and then to classify the trainee as downwardly mobile or as being born poor. This reduces the downwardly mobile group in size to one-half of the number

Table 10-IX

Opportunities, Class of Origin (According to Case Records) and Labor Force Mobility

Opportunities	Class of Origin According to Case Records	Labor Force Mobility Low 0-1	Medium 2-3	High 4-5	Total
Low (0-3)	Born Poor	54%	32%	14%	100%
		(38)	(23)	(10)	(71)
	Downwardly Mobile	62%	23%	--	--
		(16)	(6)	(4)	(26)
High (4-7)	Born Poor	--	35%	60%	--
		(2)	(14)	(24)	(40)
	Downwardly Mobile	--	32%	57%	--
		(3)	(9)	(16)	(28)
Total		59	52	54	165

of intergenerational poor. The results (Table 10-IX) indicate a set of relationships to aspirations which are very similar to those found when generation of poverty was simply a dichotomy of class scores for all trainees.

The null hypothesis is accepted and it is concluded that although downwardly mobile trainees more often retained higher aspirations after training, there is no significant difference between trainees of high and low opportunity in their labor force mobility whether they are born into a poor family or became poor during their own working life.

Conclusion

It has been shown that the level of aspirations of the trainees are low, it has been related to the irregular opportunity structure in middle Michigan. Some support was found for the contention in Hypothesis 2 that the effect of low opportunities is lower aspirations in succeeding generations. But the degree of support was too weak to support the concept of a culture or cycle of poverty.

Hypothesis 3 was aimed at examining the assumptions of the opportunity school and the culture of poverty school by examining the influence of opportunities on mobility among those of the first or second generation of poverty. Hypothesis 4 was aimed at examining the influence of opportunities among those of low and high aspirations. Insofar as the population studied here is concerned, Hypotheses 3 and 4 relating to the culture of poverty are rejected and the position is supported that in the population studied opportunities motivate about the same proportion of persons whether their aspirations are high or low, and whether their poverty is intergenerational or due to downward mobility. The findings lend support to the contention of the opportunity school in that opportunities motivate, but the level of opportunities which can motivate seems limited by the subculture. Hence the framework that is supported holds that opportunities and subculture are interrelated influences.

CHAPTER X

SUBCULTURE AND LABOR FORCE MOBILITY

In earlier chapters it has been pointed out that the culture of poverty theorists, assume that the subculture blocks mobility, the opportunity theorists assume a high frequency of mobility, and in between the two schools is a third view in which Gans and others believe that the degree of mobility will be moderate, the frequency not large, and this will occur through processes involving the influence of both subculture and opportunities.

The influence of subcultural factors upon labor force mobility are explored in this chapter by considering three dimensions of underclass subculture: social class of origin, ethnicity, and family. Emphasis will be given to family factors since they provide more information about the processes intervening between the influences of opportunities and the resulting degree of labor force mobility. It is however desirable to look at class of origin and ethnic factors in order to avoid an overly narrow view of subculture. The chapter begins with a brief discussion aimed at clarifying the relative influence of social class of origin, ethnic group, and family background.

Social Class, Ethnicity, Family and Labor Force Mobility

Social Class of Origin

As a dimension of subculture, social class, is used here to refer to the social class of family or origin. There is a very slight tendency for LFM to increase (Table 1-X) with an increase in the social class level of family or origin. Class of origin correlates .22 with LFM and is significant at the .02 level.

Table 1-X

Social Class of Family of Origin and of Labor Force Mobility

Social Class of Family of Origin	Labor Force Mobility			Total
	Low 0-1	Medium 2-3	High 4-5	
Underclass 48-76	47%	27%	26%	100%
	(38)	(22)	(21)	(81)
Blue Collar 77-154	25%	36%	39%	100%
	(21)	(30)	(33)	(84)
Total	59	52	54	165

$X^2 = 8.74$ 2 d.f. $p = < .02$

$r = .22$

The influence of social class of the family of origin can be explored further by considering the measurement procedure and by relating class influences to the family and ethnic dimensions of subculture.

The measurement of social class is composed of three variables which are summed: (1) father's occupational status (longest held job) on the Duncan (1961) socio-economic index (SEI), (2) father's highest grade of school completed, and (3) Sewell's socio-economic status scale, short form (1943).

The use of a compound variable to measure social class has been advocated in preference to using either prestige or community reputation alone (Duncan and Artis 1951). Sewell's form was used here together with the other variables because it was found that the compound scores coincided more closely with observations of trainees than did classification only on the basis of Duncan's SEI. Sewell's scale has also been proven in numerous research studies to correlate strongly with other behavioral factors such as social participation (Duncan and Artis, 1951).

Sewell's scale has been critized for consisting of a hodge podge of unrelated items and for being out of date. The diversity of items on the scale can be defended on the basis of the diversity of aspects that comprise the life style of any social class. The issue of being out of date was examined by Belcher (1951) and he reported the scale, although originally standardized in 1937, was still valid

and reliable for farm families, and revision was not necessary. He did caution (1951: 254) against use of the scale with persons of unusually high or low economic status. It is possible that since 1951 the scale has become obsolete. It is argued here that it does fit blue collar workers and the poor in Central Michigan in the 1960's on the basis of similarity with mean scores found in other studies (Table 2-X).

Table 2-X

Mean Scores of Occupational Levels on the Sewell Socio-economic Status Scale (short form)*

Occupational Level	Oklahoma	Louisiana	Kansas	Middle Michigan
Farm owner	61.4	61.5	71.8	--
Farm laborer	50.0	47.0	60.4	--
Trainees	--	--	--	61
Blue collar workers	--	--	--	75

* As cited by Miller, 1964: 21.

Problems are also found in the use of the Duncan scale such as the range of occupations receiving the same score. Thus farming, whether it was part-time or large corporate farming, would have a SEI of 15. Duncan states (Blau and Duncan, 1967) that the SEI only explains four-fifths of the variation in the North-Hatt ratings. Despite these

difficulties the Duncan (1961) SEI was used because its range of 99 points allowed maximum differentiation of occupations. This is especially important in underclass occupations which are highly compressed beneath the 25 point level. In a number of cases occupations named by trainees were not listed by Duncan and it was necessary to classify them by identifying the most similar occupation. Use of this scale, and the fact that most scores were under 25 meant that it was not necessary to give a weighting to education since both scores were in about the same range.

Comparison of the scale measuring social class of origin and social class of procreation indicates generally similar low levels of association with LFM. Class of procreation correlates .23 with LFM as compared to the earlier mentioned .22 for class of origin. Each scale is composed of similar items. Sewells scale used in the scale for social class of origin correlates .26 with LFM and in the scale for class of procreation correlates .29 with LFM. This suggests Sewell's scale alone operates more strongly than either the class scales or the family scale discussed later. Father's socio-economic status was used in both scales and associated .12 with LFM in both cases. But father's education (highest grade completed) correlates .17 with LFM as contrasted with an association of .02 between the trainees education and his LFM.

Class and Ethnic Influences

The relationship of ethnicity to labor force mobility (Table 3-X) is weak (correlation .25, not significant) but when social class is introduced as the intervening variable (Table 4-X) then the nature of the association is clarified as follows: for whites the higher the class the greater the LFM, but for Indians LFM decreases with higher class.

Class and Family Influences

Evidence has already been presented that the more favorable the influence of family factors the greater the LFM (Table 6-VIII). When social class is introduced as the intervening variable, low family influence associates with decreasing LFM, and the negative trend is strongest when class scores are low. Among those with high family influence LFM increases with higher class scores. It would appear (Table 5-X) that high class scores are not as strong an influence as low family influences, and that low class scores are not as strong an influence as high family influence. The correlation of family influences and LFM is .27, while class of origin correlates .22 with LFM. Thus the strength of family influences outweighs that of class.

Summary

The subcultural factors examined in this chapter so far associate with LFM in the following order of strength of relationship:

Table 3-X

Ethnicity and Labor Force Mobility

Ethnicity	Labor Force Mobility Low 0-1	Medium 2-3	High 4-5	Total
White	34	39	40	113
Indian	18	8	11	37
Mexican	2	3	3	8
Negro	5	2	-	7
Total	59	52	54	165

Table 4-X

Ethnicity, Class of Origin, and Labor Force Mobility

Ethnicity	Class of Origin	Labor Force Mobility Low 0-1	Medium 2-3	High 4-5	Total
White	Underclass (48-76)	20	13	12	45
	Blue collar (77-154)	14	26	28	68
Indian	Underclass (48-76)	11	5	7	23
	Blue collar (77-154)	7	3	4	14
Mexican	Underclass (48-76)	2	2	2	6
	Blue collar (77-154)	-	1	1	2
Negro	Underclass (48-76)	5	2	-	7
	Blue collar (77-154)	-	-	-	-
	Total	59	52	54	165

Table 5-X

Family Influence, Class of Origin and Labor Force Mobility

Family Influence	Class of Origin	Sex	Labor Force Mobility Low 0-1	Medium 2-3	High 4-5	Total
Low 0-7	Underclass 48-76	M	20	10	9	39
		F	9	5	4	18
	Blue collar 77-154	M	4	5	2	11
		F	4	5	3	12
High 8-25	Underclass 48-76	M	6	5	7	18
		F	3	2	1	6
	Blue collar 77-154	M	6	10	16	32
		F	7	10	12	29
	Total		59	52	54	165

(1) family: correlates .27 with LFM, significant at .01

(2) ethnicity correlates .25 with LFM, not significant

(3) class of origin: correlates .22 with LFM, significant at .05

It would appear that all three factors have a relatively low level of influence. Other attempts to measure subcultural influences were made. The highest correlation obtained was between current family influences, an item in the family influence scale discussed below, and labor force mobility (r = .35). A compound measure of subculture was constructed using the family influence scale, Sewell's Farm

Family Index, Srole's anomia scale, Form's anomie scale, and peer's work history. The scale total correlated .18 with LFM. The evidence so far reviewed suggests that subcultural influences have a slight positive association with LFM.

Family Influences and Labor Force Mobility

The influence of the family is an issue raised by Tumin in his criticism of Davis and Moore's principles of stratification. As Tumin presented the issue, the influence of unequal rewards is seen to be negative, since families whose members are rewarded irregularly pass on lowered levels of aspiration, lower self image, low motivation, alienation, and lesser access to education. It has already been shown that opportunities and job training have stronger degrees of association with labor force mobility than do family factors as one major aspect of the interaction of subculture and opportunities. However modest it may be, the Pearsonian correlation of .27 is above the level of chance, and examination of the scale of family influence may provide further understanding of the nature of the family influences involved.

The Family Influence Scale

As a dimension of subculture, family influences were measured in a multi-item scale. Scale analysis was used

to refine the first version of the scale by eliminating 6 items from a 19 item scale. The six items were below the .23 level of association required in a 19 item scale.[1] Those items left were used to form a shorter scale of 13 items. The short scale correlated .27 with labor force mobility as contrasted with the .24 of the 19 item scale, and only two items were present which were below the .28 level of association required of 13 variables. The scale items are listed in Table 6-IX.

The relationship of the scale items to LFM (Table 6-IX) is however significant for only four variables: (1) current influences, (2) father worked steadily, (3) socio-economic status of sister's occupation or her spouses, and (4) father's highest grade completed.

The low correlations may be the result of several factors such as incorrect measurement, or selection of inappropriate cutting points for assigning scores. Presumably family influences would operate more favorably in higher class levels. The reasons for exploring the relationship of these factors to labor force mobility are discussed in the sections that follow together with a statement of the findings.

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[1]It was necessary to remove the scale items intended to measure father-in-laws influence (occupation) and brother's influence (occupation and education). In the second set of correlations sister's influence fell below the level of significance and would be eliminated in a third refinement of the scale.

Table 6-X

Correlation of Family Scale Dimensions with Scale Total and with Labor Force Mobility

Scale Dimension	Correlation with Scale Total*	Correlation with Labor Force Mobility**
Current influence	.56	.35
Socio-economic status of father's job	.51	.08
Father worked steady	.46	.21
Present family integration	.46	.04
Family of origin's integration	.45	.05
Mother worked steady	.42	.03
Mother's highest grade completed	.40	.05
Socio-economic status of mother	.39	.02
Spouses highest grade completed	.32	.11
Father's highest grade completed	.30	.13
Spouse's occupation	.29	.04
Sister's highest grade completed	.25	.01
Socio-economic status of sister's occupation or her spouses	.22	.14

* Correlations of .28 or higher is required in a 13 item scale to indicate an item contributes more to the total than would be expected by chance alone.

** Correlations of .128 are significant at the .05 level with 328 df on a one-tailed test.

(1) Current Family Influences

An ignored area of influence on trainees concerns their immediate and current family situation in terms of the nature of the interaction process and the pressures on the

trainee in relation to LFM. The current family influence might be that of a spouse or a parent if the trainee was single and living with parents. This influence can be important in terms of providing pressures which reinforce or help alter the influence of subculture. The association of .35 with LFM is higher than the .22 correlation of social class of family of origin with LFM. It appears that the current family influences are stronger than either class of origin or of the entire scale of family influences. These results suggest that current family influence does play a role in helping trainees achieve mobility. Discussion of this process is presented in the following section of this thesis.

(2) Work Patterns

A matter given little attention has been the influence of parent's work patterns. If the parents are seasonal or intermittent workers will the child's work pattern be influenced? If so, it might be an indication of a subcultural pattern. Scale items measuring the association of parents work pattern with labor force mobility were assessed by scoring one positive point for each parent or family supporter who worked steadily as reported by the trainee in describing his parent's longest held job. The Pearsonian correlation of father's steady work pattern with trainees LFM was .21.

The degree to which the trainees work pattern is associated with the parents pattern of work is illustrated in Table 7-X. Seasonal work is the most frequent in both generations, but the closely related intermittent employment is second in frequency in both generations. The modal work pattern among trainees corresponds to their father's pattern when he was a seasonal or intermittent worker, this does not however support the primacy of subculture because seasonal and intermittent opportunities are the most available in middle-Michigan.

(3) Occupation in Family Structure

Occupation and education of parents and siblings provides an index of the role models and reference groups to which the child was exposed in forming aspirations and role conceptions which influence his labor force participation. The Duncan (1961: 109-161) socio-economic index (SEI) was used to provide a status score for occupations. The SEI for sisters occupation associated significantly with LFM (.14). Not significant was the association between LFM and occupation of father, spouse, or mother. Nor was the association significant with mother having a steady work pattern.

The slight influence of father's occupation deserves comment since it is so often a factor considered important. Most (48%) of trainee's fathers or head of household had unskilled occupations (Table 8-X) and 90% had semi-skilled occupations or below, and had SEI scores of 20 or less.

Table 7-X

Father's Work Pattern and Son's or Daughter's Work Patterns Before Training

Father's Work Patterns	Son's or Daughter's Work Patterns							Total
	Housewife	Unemployed 1 yr, or more	Occasional	Seasonal	Intermittent	Part-time	Full-time	
Housewife	-	1*	1*	-	-	-	-	2
Unemployed 1 yr, or more	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2
Occasional	1	2	-	2	1	-	1	7
Seasonal	-	7	3	12	8	1	8	39
Intermittent	1	5	4	8	12	1	5	36
Part-time	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	3
Full-time	5	13	13	17	10	3	15	76
Total	7	28	22	40	33	5	30	165

* Father absent.

Table 8-X

Father's Occupation and Socio-economic Index Score

Socio-economic Index Score	Level of Occupation	Percent	Number
1-10	Unskilled	48	(79)
11-20	Semi-skilled	32	(53)
21-50	Skilled	12	(19)
51-78	Clerical, Semi-professional, business, etc.	5	(8)
Don't know	--	4	(6)
Total		101*	(165)

* Percentage does not add up to 100 because of rounding.

Those particular occupations occurring most frequently were as follows: 26 farm laborers, 23 farmers, 15 pulpwood or lumber workers, and 10 factory laborers.

It is important to note that among trainees with father's who were farmers 200 acres was the largest size farm reported, the mean size being 130 acres, and that often the soil was reported to be poor, and the father supplemented his income with other jobs such as pulpwood, farm labor, or factory labor.

A number of trainees, in addition to pointing out the kind of work their father had done, stated that his work did not amount to a significant contribution to the family.

Some father's work was described by the child in very negative terms:

> He just never cared to work--just laid around (75).
>
> I kept the house for a while, and kicked Dad out at 14 because he wouldn't work--I did the work (51).
>
> I don't remember too much about him. I never lived with him. He didn't do too much work, period (3).

(4) Education

Education and LFM of trainee were significantly associated for father (.13) but not for spouse (.11), mother (.05) or brother (.07) or sister (.01). These results do not agree with those of Blau and Duncan who found that:

> The educational climate in the family, as indicated by eldest brother's education, has a pronounced impact in the schooling of sons (1967: 318).
>
> Most of the influences of family structure are mediated by education. . . . (1967: 328).

It is possible that the low correlations for brother and sister are the result of using the most highly educated sibling rather than eldest sibling.

(5) Family of Origin's Integration

Integration of family or origin is often assumed to be a significant factor in that it determines the availability of role models, agents of socialization, and provides part of the basis for social integration. Low integration of family of origin was defined as: the disruption of the family by loss or absence of a parent, or the presence of a high degree of conflict between family members which occurred

prior to the trainees's eighteenth birthday. The association of integration with LFM was .05 for family or origin.

These results can be better understood by briefly reviewing how the issue has been approached in other research. Blau and Duncan (1967) view skeptically the relationship of broken homes and achievement:

> We found that being reared in a broken family is a handicap for subsequent status achievement. Virtually the entire amount of this handicap, however, can be attributed to the educational disadvantages that such rearing confers (Blau and Duncan, 359).

Rosenberg's research clarifies some of the effects of the disrupted home on the child's emotional state.

> . . . if the child is Catholic or Jewish, there appears to be a clear effect, if the child is Protestant there is little or no effect. . . .
>
> . . . if the mother was very young, there appears to be a clear effect; if the mother was older, there appears to be little effect. . . .
>
> . . . children whose mothers remarried appear to be more disturbed than those whose mothers did not remarry. The negative effect of remarriage is particularly strong among older children (1965: 85-106).

Herzog and Sudia (1968: 178) review studies of the effect of fatherless homes and find that 29 studies support the "classic view that fatherless homes are associated with adverse characteristics or behavior in the child," 17 studies challenge the classic position and 13 report conclusions of those studies challenging or supporting the classic view. Herzog and Sudia (1969: 161) criticize the tendency of sociologists to generalize about the relationship of fatherless homes to juvenile delinquency. And they note a

tendency of some researchers to drop items about fathers in low-income groups because either it did not add enough to prediction of juvenile delinquency or because too large a proportion of low-income homes were fatherless.

Given the foregoing survey of problems relating to family stability one would expect that stability would have a low relationship to labor force mobility. However, the low degree of association does obscure some patterns which are made apparent in Table 9-X. There seems to be a 50-50 chance of having either low or high LFM if a trainee had been raised by one parent, both parents, uncles and aunts, or with a stepparent and a natural parent. Low LFM is more likely for those raised by grandparents (11 out of 16) or raised in institutions, by siblings or having left home early (7 low out of 8). The issue is whether the overall pattern in Table 9-X is one of chance or whether it is the influence of broken families, or of social class.

(6) Current Family Integration

Integration of family of procreation is also of importance because it can provide the immediate situation and pressures necessitating or interferring with work.

Low integration in present family circumstance was defined as being divorced or separated without remarriage. For persons who had not been married the integration score was positive unless the person was living with a relative, in which case his score was based on the relationships with

Table 9-X

Structure of Family or Origin and Labor Force Mobility

Form of Family Prior to Age of Eighteen	Labor Force Mobility Low 0-2	High 3-5	Total
Raised in Institution or by sibling or left home early	7	1	8
Raised by Grand-parents	11	5	16
Raised by Uncles and/or Aunts	4	4	8
Raised by one parent	18	21	39
Both parents present	36	42	78
Step-parent present	7	9	16
Total	84	81	165

them as reported by the trainee. The association with LFM was .04. It would appear that family integration among underclass trainees works neither in a consistently positive or negative direction.

Summary of Scale Influences

Factors in the family influence scale which relate to LFM are: (1) current family influences, (2) father's steady work pattern, (3) socio-economic status of sister's

occupation (or her spouse), and (4) father's highest grade completed. It is concluded here that those factors which are significantly correlated with LFM are of two kinds: (1) the pressure in the present in support of participation in the labor force, (2) models such as those involving steady work patterns, highest achieving sister, and educational achievement of the father.

Scale Validity

The .27 Pearsonian correlation of the family scale with LFM is low. The preceding discussion and that which follows should clarify that the low correlation is not the result of chance but of influences operating in opposite directions for different types of trainees. It is possible to further evaluate the scale by asking about its relationship to pre-training work characteristics. If the training center and opportunities do help to overcome negative family influences, then we would expect to find the correlation of the family scale with pre-training work characteristics to be even lower or more negative. This position is taken on the assumption that the presence of opportunities and training constituted influences which challenged family members to respond, and that the response was in a supporting direction. Examination of Table 10-X indicates this anticipated pattern.

It was not possible to utilize the LFM scale for this before-after comparison. However, the same five variables

Table 10-X

Family Influences and Labor Force Participation
Before and After Training

Family Influences	Labor Force Participation: Before Training Low 0-2	Before Training High 3-5	Before Training Total	After Training Low 0-2	After Training High 3-5	After Training Total
Low 0-7	56	24	80	36	44	80
High 8-26	52	33	85	21	64	85
Total	108	57	165	57	108	165
	$X^2 = 1.4188$ df 1 $p > .20$			$X^2 = 7.5062$ df 1 $p < .01$		

were used and a procedure devised for adding up the trainees position on each variable so as to produce a score representing labor force participation (LFP) before and after training.

Among trainees with either high or low family influences, prior to training, the most frequent pattern was low labor force participation. After training the pattern is altered and low family influences no longer have a strongly negative outcome (44 trainees are high in LFP out of 80). Among those of high family influence, 64 out of 85 have high LFP.

Validation of the family scale in this manner is open to question on the grounds that all components of the scale cannot be assumed to have been constant both before training and after. This would be especially true of current family influence in the family scale. But it is possible to utilize those items dealing only with family of origin. The Pearsonian correlation of family of origin's influence with LFP after training is .19 while the correlation with pre-training labor force participation is .05. These results support the contention that the training center was able to influence trainees in such a way that they could maximize positive influences in their family background.

Ethnic Influences and Labor Force Mobility

Labor Force Mobility in Four Groups

The multiple correlation of .25 between ethnicity and LFM declares the two to be weakly related. Yet income differentials among ethnic groups and aggregates in the United States are sizable. In 1960 while 21.4% of all American families had incomes below $3,000 (U. S. Census, 1960: 226), there were 37% of white rural families below that level (U. S. Census, 1960: 225) and 54% of American Indian families on reservation (Council of Economic Advisors, 1964: 92-106), as well as 75% of non-white rural families (U. S. Census, 1960: 225). Thirty-five per cent of

Mexican-American families in 1960 had incomes less than $3,000 (Moore, n.d.).

Given these large differentials, it can be hypothesized that the four groups in this study will differ in their labor force mobility in the following order from highest to lowest: (1) Mexican-Americans, (2) White, (3) American Indians, (4) Black. If the resulting labor force mobility differs in the order hypothesized, and differs by a sizable degree then support is provided for there being differences between ethnic groups not solely explained by their similar experiences in the irregular economy.

The differences between ethnic groups among the trainees in relation to high LFM (LFM of 3 or higher) is as follows: (1) Mexican, 75% (6 out of 8); (2) White, 55% (62 out of 113); (3) Indian, 38% (14 out of 37); and (4) Negro, none (see Table 11-X).

The order of the results and the degree of differences lends support to the existence of sizable subcultural influences. These differences are not reflected in the .25 multiple regression of ethnicity with LFM perhaps because of the small numbers in three of the ethnic groups. The small numbers also suggest that little confidence can be placed in the reliability or validity of the results since a movement of only two Mexicans off of the list of those who are successful, and adding only four cases to the list of successful Indians would leave three ethnic groups at the same level.

Table 11-X

Number and Percent of Trainees by Sex and Ethnic Group in Relation to Labor Force Mobility and Its Dimensions

Labor Force Mobility and Its Five Dimensions	Sex			White			Indian			Mexican			Negro		
	M	FM	T	M	FM	T	M	FM	T	M	FM	T	M	FM	T
	100	65	165	71	42	113	21	16	37	4	4	8	4	3	7
LFM or 3 or more	51 (51)	48 (31)	49 (82)	54 (38)	57 (24)	55 (62)	43 (9)	31 (5)	38 (14)	- (4)	- (2)	- (6)	- (0)	- (0)	- (0)
Improved job status 5 or more SEI points on longest held job	35 (35)	45 (29)	39 (64)	38 (27)	52 (22)	43 (49)	29 (6)	19 (3)	24 (9)	- (1)	- (3)	- (4)	- (1)	- (1)	- (2)
Annual Wages improved $300 or more	66 (66)	63 (41)	65 (107)	66 (47)	69 (29)	67 (76)	67 (14)	50 (8)	59 (22)	- (4)	- (2)	- (6)	- (1)	- (2)	- (3)
Annual Wages above Federal Poverty Line	45 (45)	25 (16)	37 (61)	46 (33)	24 (10)	28 (43)	48 (10)	25 (4)	38 (14)	- (2)	- (2)	- (4)	- (0)	- (0)	- (0)
Worked 90% a year or improved 15% or more in proportion of year worked	52 (52)	60 (39)	55 (91)	55 (39)	71 (30)	61 (69)	48 (10)	38 (6)	43 (16)	- (3)	- (2)	- (5)	- (0)	- (1)	- (1)
Worked at one job 8 months or more	44 (44)	34 (24)	42 (69)	46 (83)	46 (19)	46 (52)	38 (8)	31 (5)	35 (13)	- (2)	- (1)	- (3)	- (1)	- (0)	- (1)

Ethnic differences between whites and Chippewa are also suggested by examination of the dimensions of labor force mobility. Comparison of the dimensions of labor force mobility (Table 11-X) indicates that the same proportion of whites and Indians were above the federal poverty line after training, and about the same proportion in each group had improved their annual wages by $300 or more. But Indians improved less frequently than whites on job status (see also Table 12-X), percent of the year worked, and duration of time on one job.

Table 12-X

Job Mobility: Socio-economic Status (SEI) of Job Held Longest After Training in Comparison to Longest Job Before Training

Ethnicity	Job Mobility			Total
	Down 5 of more	Same	Up 5 or more	
White	21	45	47	113
Indian	6	22	9	37
Mexican	0	4	4	8
Negro	1	4	2	7
Total	28	75	62	165

Because of the limits imposed by sample size it is necessary to declare once again the tentative nature of the conclusions. It is claimed that the exploration suggest

ethnic differences have an impact on LFM. The sections that follow deal with the ethnic differences in family influences in an effort to further explore the nature of the influences operating.

A Typology of Current Family Influences Among White and Chippewa

Although family influences and ethnic influences do not correlate strongly with LFM, there are several reasons for exploring further the nature of the processes operating: (1) The scale of current family influences should be examined since it correlates .35 with LFM. (2) There are possible differences in types of family patterns in the ethnic groups which may influence LFM yet because of their small numbers they would have little influence on the correlation. (3) The processes involved may have operated more negatively for the trainee prior to training in the absence of opportunities and job training. (4) The impressionistic hypothesis developed during observations was that: (a) family influences would be very strong, and (b) that there would be a high frequency of negative influences overcoming the influence of opportunities and training and blocking LFM among poor white families, and (c) that among Indian families there would be a high frequency of families in which the wife's influence would be too weak to influence LFM.

This last reason is related to a dispute which exists in the anthropological literature on the nature of the Chippewa family and personality. Barnow (1950) and Wallace (1952) claim that the Chippewa atomistic personality, a kind of "asocial individualism" (James 1954, 283), is traced back to the hunting and gathering economy with a thin population distribution and emphasis on self-reliance while precluding close social relations.

In writing of the Chippewa, Caudill (1949: 421) describes the family as the only social grouping, although it is loosely and casually held together, and within it emotional ties are weak. The children receive neither very much warmth or hostility and these are inconsistently expressed, with parents or siblings being present one moment and gone the next.

James holds that these claims are mistakenly generalized to the southern Chippewa, that the patterns were becoming more organized in the trading period, and that to explain present day patterns one must look at the:

> . . . here and now" of Chippewa life, factors such as conflicts and confusion of roles and social definitions. More attention must be given to the functional sociology of Indian life (1954: 286).

The same theme is further expanded by Friedl (1958: 815) by adding that there has been persistence in Chippewa personality but this is not due to continuity in "family patterns, kinship and other social roles!"

> The persistence in Chippewa culture history is rather to be found, I suggest, in the nature of the expectations which the successive phases of Chippewa culture engendered in its participants. Regardless of whether a Chippewa hunted or fished, or worked in a lumber camp; whether he was brought up by a mother or grandmother, with or without a father regularly in the home; whether he was trained by his relations or went to a government school, he acquired the same expectations concerning the nature of human events (815).

Friedl goes on to argue that throughout his history and into the present, during a variety of changing circumstances over the centuries, change and uncertainty were present:

> . . . The conditions of aboriginal Chippewa culture were conditions of change . . . for the individual Chippewa, the expectations that any given situations will be unique and short-lived in its consequences may well have resulted from these conditions of incessant change . . . such an expectation is congruent with the development of a detailed, practical, and non-creative approach to problems; and finally . . . these conditions of change were maintained throughout Chippewa acculturation history, thus making it possible for the same expectations to continue and for the same approach to problems to continue to have some adaptive value (823).

Given the above discussion, then the issue of whether the Chippewa are poor Americans of the underclass or possess a subcultural tradition becomes intertwined with the issue of subculture versus opportunities. The irregularity of opportunities becomes a condition sustaining the incessant change and uncertain expectations that result. But the subculture becomes a vehicle for the passing on of influences out of the past. Hence it is desirable to compare Chippewa and white families in the irregular economy in order to identify possible ethnic differences in family types.

In order to assess current influences an attempt was made to utilize case records and scale the degree to which current family influence operated to aid labor force mobility.

The classification of cases was done by reading the case record of the trainee and extracting a summary of the possible influences present and then writing these down on separate cards with the trainees' number. These cards were then sorted into categories of similar influence and the categories assigned a score from 0 to 3. If trainees influences were negative a score of 0 was assigned. If the influence was absent, slightly positive, or mixed, a score of 1 was assigned. If the influence was clearly positive a score of 2 was assigned. A score of 3 was assigned to a strongly positive and consistent influence. The resulting pattern is described below in the sections about each ethnic group and a typology is presented.

It must be noted that the strength of the information must be judged in relation to several problems in methodology: (1) It would be desirable to validate the classification through the use of a panel of judges. (2) The information for each case is extracted from case records, interviews, and observations in terms of what related to possible influences on LFM. There is no guarantee that the selection represents that which is typical of the experiences of the trainee or that which actually exerted an influence.

The typology must therefore be regarded as provisional and exploratory and is subject to future revision. The typology used is listed below (the related data is presented in Table 13-X).

I. Men:

a. With women who are:

1. Significant others
2. Insignificant others
3. Negative others

b. Without women

4. Unmarried
5. Widowed
6. Divorced, separated, deserted

II. Women:

a. With men

7. Husband able to work
8. Husband unable to work

b. Without men

9. Unmarried
10. Widowed
11. Divorced, separated, deserted

In the discussion of the typology below the major findings will be presented and a brief illustration usually will be given of the type of family situation involved. A list and description of the indicators used to classify the trainees is given in Appendix 2.

(1) Wives as Significant Others

Among males with significant others, that is females exerting positive influence in favor of LFM, 10 out of 11 trainees had a LFM of 3 or higher. In the one case of low

Table 13-X

Typology of Current Family Influences and Labor Force Mobility Among White and Chippewa

Type of Current Family Influence	Ethnic Group					
	White LFM			Chippewa LFM		
	0-2	3-5	All	0-2	3-5	All
Men with Women:	23	25	48	7	3	10
1. Significant others	1	10	11	-	-	-
2. Insignificant others	5	7	12	4	2	6
3. Negative others	17	8	25	3	1	4
Men without Women:	10	13	23	5	7	12
4. Unmarried	8	10	18	4	5	9
5. Widowed	-	1	1	-	1	1
6. Divorced, separated, deserted	2	2	4	1	1	2
Women with Men:	6	4	10	1	-	1
7. Able to work	4	0	4	1	-	1
8. Unable to work	2	4	6	-	-	-
Women without Men:	12	20	32	9	5	14
9. Unmarried	1	3	4	1	3	4
10. Widowed	2	6	8	1	-	1
11. Divorced, separated, deserted	9	11	20	7	2	9
Total	51	62	113	22	15	37

LFM the wife is an Indian who exerts support for her husbands working, but he has asthma, ulcers, and stutters severely.

The fact that there are no Chippewa males with wives classified as significant others suggests that a strong ethnic difference may exist unless some selective factor can be said to be operating in which Chippewa males with wives who exert signigicant influence are not recruited for training programs.

Wives influence was classified as significant on the basis of indicators such as: expressing support for trainees in doing his work, being defined by the trainee as someone whose opinion he valued, stating he can do better, support for job training, helping husband in his work, finding a job for husband.

(2) Wives as Insignificant Others

Wives were classified as insignificant others when their influence was contradictory or where the husband was dominant. Only two out of six trainees with insignificant others among the Chippewa are of high LFM, and only seven of twelve cases are of high LFM among the whites.

Among the white trainees, the indicators used to classify wives as insignificant because of contradictory influences is illustrated by a wife who supports a husband's work but also prefers that he work near home.

Indicators of insignificant influence among Chippewa wives included a wife who is deaf and dumb, and a wife whose efforts to control her husband led to his beating her up and forcing her to drop out of training. Two other examples are described in more detail below.

One older male had been out of work for a number of years because of a car accident. His wife, a non-Indian who provides an example of influences on mobility through endogamy, had worked steadily as a hospital cook. He had busied himself caring for the children and working on the house. When the training center opened he was persuaded to enroll by his son-in-law who was its assistant director. His wife said:

> You don't have to go to school, you can stay home and you can do a lot more around the house.

In regard to one of the jobs he had had years before, he reported that his wife used to discourage him from going to work because the boss kept him late. But since all of his sons were working at blue collar type jobs, and his son-in-law was assistant director of the center, and his wife worked steadily, then there was an atmosphere which defined the work role as normal, and once the training center came along it provided him with a channel back into a working class male role as a school custodian. His wife could not easily discourage him because her son-in-law recruited the trainee, and it was an important part of his job with the training center to get enough Indians into training to

fulfill the terms of the grant.

One trainee with a high LFM of 5 had been employed for 12 years prior to training following an accident which on a construction job led to the paralysis of one arm, and for a period of 20 years he had been a heavy drinker. After training he took a job as a nightwatchman in Bay City. During the long years of drinking his wife pursued a non-interference policy. As she put it:

> I didn't tell him to stop drinking, I figured it was his business, but I made sure he left us money to buy groceries and I worked too. He decided to stop. I did tell him about the evils of drinking. It's like church. I never coaxed him to go but I and the kids always went.

(3) Wives as Negative Others

The negative other is one who blocks LFM. Among the 25 white trainees classified as having negative others there were 17 with low LFM. Among the 3 Chippewa with negative others 3 out of 4 had low LFM. Almost half (25 out of 48) of white trainees had negative others and about the same proportion (4 out of 10) of the Chippewa trainees had negative others.

Indicators of negative influence upon white trainees with wives were as follows: conflict with the wife, repeated separation, wife prefers trainee to stay home, wife works and supported husbands not attending training, wife's brother quits job and trainee quits too, wife is unable to care for children so husband must stay home and do so, and wife receives ADCU.

Among the Chippewa,three of the four wives who exerted negative influence were all part of one family which is described below in order to more fully illustrate the influences operating.

The family was headed by a trainee (50, with a LFM of 2 who was regarded as the bad old man of the reservation in terms of drinking, and living in the most run-down of the half-houses surrounded by old automobile chassis, and having children whose pattern was similar. His wife, worked as a nurses aid. The wifes influence is exerted in the direction of keeping the family members near-by. Thus she persuaded one daughter to quit high school so she could be at home. One daughter was persuaded to return home from California where her husband was in a relocation program. After training the family moved to Grand Rapids as a unit, later the trainee and his wife moved back to the reservation when the wife heard their half-house was being taken back by the Tribal Council, but the Council told them they would have to move along with the old cars. They moved to a kinsman house in a rural non-farm part of the county, and left the cars. Two male trainees had earlier married into this family. One wife (of trainee 71) opposed the husband going to the training center, she worked, and he worked less regularly (LFM 1). They lived in a house in the reservation only a little better than that of the father-in-law. The wife of the second trainee (90, LFM 4) dominated him, and

brought him back from the California relation program, and they moved in with the wive's mother and father and joined in with them in heavy drinking. It was a drunken incident with his peers at the training center that led to his termination from training. At the follow-up interview he reported that he worked as a roofers foreman. His LFM score was 4. It is possible that he presented his work history in over-positive terms since at his interview in the county jail, he also glossed over the fact, reported more fully by others, that his children had been placed by the court with his brother after he and his wife went off partying and left the children in some one's care, but were unable to pick them up later as a result of being arrested for drunk and disorderly conduct.

(4) Unmarried Men
(5) Widowed
(6) Divorced, Separated, Deserted Males

Men without women seem to have about the same pattern of LFM among Chippewa (7 high LFM out of 12) and poor white (13 high LFM out of 23).

Among the males there is only one widower a fact understood partly in terms of the males ease of remarrying and their earlier age of death.

Among the white males and Chippewa males who were divorced and separated the pattern of LFM involves low LFM as often as high. The divorced and separated white and Chippewa males were all left by the wife. An example of

this situation is provided by the wife of one white trainee who threatened to leave him if he did not get a steady job. She also wanted him to complete job training. He did not and she left. He describes the situation:

> My wife left because I wouldn't work, couldn't keep a job--I'm just stubborn and bullheaded. I had a lot of good jobs but just can't keep 'em. I'm going to family service in Midland for people with divorces, alcoholism, and stuff like that--they're trying to straighten me out--I'm trying to do everything to get my wife.
>
> This is the first time my wife left--I haven't worked four months at one job in 2 years. I got her a job at restaurant on corner here and she's working down there and living there. I can only see my boy one day a week. Before she left she was hollering at me all the time--and guys just told her of jobs at $1.50 but I didn't want it, I just goofed around. Right now, I'm on 3rd week for a guy tearing down houses for $50 take home. I just can't get along on it--my wife left--she had the kid and I'm paying support of $15 week--plus my other bills in Midland credit bureau--I owe the pool $1600 and I'm paying $20 week--I'll do it till I get on my feet, but they can't garnishee me (141).

Finally, it is worth noting that over half of the Chippewa males (12 out of 22) were without women as contrasted to one-third of the white males (23 out of 71). This relates in part to the excess 13% (32) Chippewa males over females in the county. As contrasted with the excess of 1.2% (216) white males over females (U. S. Census 1960: 156).

(7) <u>Women with Husbands Able to Work</u>
(8) <u>Women with Husbands Unable to Work</u>

Where the husband is able to work all women trainees (4 white and one Chippewa) had low LFM. No Chippewa husbands were unable to work and among the white female trainees

with disabled husbands 4 out of 6 had high LFM. Husbands are unable to work for such reasons as: tuberculosis, alcoholism, disabled, heart condition, and arthritis. The remaining women's husbands are able to work.

The pattern seems to be that there is pressure on the wife to work when the husband is disabled and a pressure not to work when he is able. This seems to apply despite the fact that among the six women with husbands unable to work there are 5 with children at home.

(9) Unmarried Women

Three out of four of the single women among both whites and Chippewa had high LFM. The four white women ages 20 to 33 live with their parents. The three with high LFM have families in which the head of the household is a steady workers. The one single woman with a low LFM has a mother who works part-time as a charwoman and has disruptive relations with her. The four Chippewa women (52,57,78,112) who have not yet found their men are all under 21. What also characterizes the three with high LFM is that their fathers were steady working class Indian males, although occupationally bordering on the underclass. One worked in maintenance at one place for 19 years (weeding, painting). One worked for many years as a janitor. The father of the third worked in an automobile factory in Flint but was separated from the family and the mother supported them through housework. The fourth trainee, with low LFM, had a father who

worked as a gardener and received unemployment checks in winter.

(10) Widowed

Widowed whites had high LFM in 6 out of 8 cases. The two widows with low LFM can best be explained in terms of one being almost totally deaf. The second person, had a father who was a farmer and skilled labor and her mother was a school teacher, but she married a farm laborer and spent years working in migrant labor, she now relies on ADC. There was only one widowed Chippewa and she received a widows pension.

(11) Divorced, Separated, or Deserted Women

Among white women whose husband was absent eleven out of 20 had high LFM while among Chippewa females 2 out of 9 had high LFM. Among the seven Chippewa with low LFM are five with children who are receiving ADC or some other form of aid.

Summary

The typology of family influences sketched above offers a number of exploratory suggestions for further inquiry and provides support for expectations developed during the period of observation of a high frequency of negative or ineffective influences.

The expectation of a high frequency of negative influences is found in the form of negative others among white

males (25 out of 48) and Chippewa males (4 out of 10), and low LFM is associated about half of the time with this influence among whites (17 low LFM out of 25) and Chippewa (3 out of 4 have low LFM).

The expectation developed from the observation period of a high frequency of insignificant others as wives among the Chippewa was found among 6 out of the 10 married men (4 out of 6 have low LFM), while among whites only 12 out of 48, have insignificant others (5 of the 12 have low LFM).

The lack of female-influence is also seen in that 12 out of 22 Chippewa males are without females while only 23 out of 72 white males are without women. In the absence of females, the males have high LFM slightly more often than they have low LFM, in both ethnic groups.

In the case of women the pattern is not one of negative influences so much as an adaptation to the males absence or presence and to his performance of his bread winner's role. Thus in the presence of men able to work, white and Chippewa women have low LFM. Where husband is unable to work white women are more often of high LFM (4 out of 6) there are no cases in the sample of Chippewa women with husbands unable to work. Among women who are unmarried both Chippewa and white more often have high LFM (three out of 4 cases). Among women who have been divorced or separated whites had high LFM in 11 out of 20 cases while the Chippewa had high LFM in only 2 out of 9 cases.

In short, Chippewa males had no significant others and more often have insignificant others and low LFM. Chippewa males are also more often without females, although the relationship to higher LFM can not be given much confidence because of the small numbers in the cells. The most general conclusion that can be suggested is that family influences more often favor low LFM among the Chippewa and high LFM among the whites. But high LFM is found among whites only in 55% of the cases. It appears that the generally negative level of influences is a social class phenomena, but that the difference between family influences is an example of ethnic influences. It may be, as suggested earlier, that in the absence of the influence of training and opportunities these influences would be more strongly negative.

Aspects of Four Ethnic Groups

The Chippewa

(1) Blue Collar Indians, Underclass Indians, and Stereotypes

In talking about the local Indians, residents in the Central Michigan area express a stereotype not much different from that held by white Americans about Indians in much of the rest of the United States. There is a romantic idea or two about pow wows, feathers, and baskets but basically the stereotype is a negative conception. The Indian is said

to be supported by government stipends on a reservation, drink excessively, avoid work, and live in decrepit, filthy housing. A local variation of the stereotype is that the reservation houses are narrow half-houses which the Bureau of Indian Affairs left to be extended by the Indians and which they never finished. The half-houses give the appearance of having been sawed in half because they appear to end in the middle of the normal length of a rectangular shaped one-story frame house. Placement of the chimney at the end of the building accentuates the sawed-off appearance.

The stereotype so far detailed, like most stereotypes, has a few elements of truth, but it ignores a great many facts. The Indians of the Central Michigan area are much more acculturated than are other Michigan Indians to the North, or Indians in many areas of the United States, although they are little assimilated into primary group life of the dominant white community. The degree of acculturation can be described as one involving the emergence of two social classes among the Indians: blue collar and underclass.

This is not to imply that there are no ethnic Indian characteristics. These consist of the family characteristics discussed above and an awareness of Indian identity, often expressed in terms of the desirability of keeping the language alive, such as in prayers printed in Chippewa. There are also baskets made by painstakingly stripping annual tree rings, shaving, shaping, and dying them, and then

weaving them into a Navajo design. There are pow wows at which dancing occurs in styles from a number of tribes. Plains Indian warbonnets are worn, old friends are greeted and baskets are sold to tourists. The dances occur next to the Methodist Church on the reservation, and in a clearing above which stands the totem pole, carved, by one of the chief's sons, in Northwest Coast Indian style. In short, being a Chippewa today involves sharing a pan-Indian ethnic pattern which has begun to serve as a focus for a revival of ethnic identity among the more successful working-class Indians.

The degree of acculturation so far reached can be partly understood in terms of the low degree of isolation of the Indian population. There were only 440 Indians recorded in the 1960 Census in Isabella county. Over half lived scattered in rural non-farm residences in Isabella county in which some association occurs with the white population. The others live on the reservation in 23 houses on 400 acres located 3½ miles east of Mt. Pleasant. Although inhabitants of the reservation associate mostly with each other, the close proximity of the Indians to Mt. Pleasant and the small size of the reservation results in a high degree of contact with non-Indians.

The availability of opportunities for work in surrounding cities has been crucial in bringing about the emergence of the blue collar level, also the Indian is more often

willing to live in other localities such as Grand Rapids or Lansing where more opportunities are available. He will visit the reservation on weekends, or between jobs, and a few have returned to live there after retirement.

The occupational structure of the reservation, as it existed during the period training was in progress, is listed in Table 14-X. About half of the persons listed are blue collar workers. The blue collar level is nearer the borderline with the underclass than with the lower middle class. The underclass level extends further over the range from the blue-collar borderline downward. It should be reiterated that the dichotomy between blue collar and underclass is overstated since steady working low payed persons such as custodians seem to fit squarely along the borderline.

The houses on the reservation reflect the working class style of life. There are only three half-houses which have had no improvements made. All others have had some outside work such as completing the other half or adding a porch. But many have had considerable work on the inside. Like working-class homes elsehwere the facade is ignored and the inside is decorated with wall paneling and carpets in several houses. The occasional tourist remembers vividly only the few half-houses without modification. He also fails to note that there is only one tar paper shack on the reservation.

Table 14-X

Occupational Structure of Reservation Prior to 1966

Skilled: 6

1 - Testing chemicals, Dow
1 - Supervisor cook, hospital
1 - Supervisor, factory
1 - Carpenter
1 - Machinist
1 - Painter

Semi-skilled: 7

1 - Attendant nurse B.
2 - Custodians
3 - Factory laborers
1 - Entertainer

Unskilled: 8

1 - Curio seller (retired)
1 - Construction laborer
3 - Farm laborers
3 - Unemployed laborers

The blue collar class dominates the reservation social and political structures and to a lesser extent the Indian community of Isabella county. The tribal council consists of elected persons who, in turn, elect a chief. The council members are mostly blue collar workers, they are usually Methodists, and several are related to the chief. The council, subject to the approval of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), leases land for farming purposes usually to

neighboring white farmers. Houses and land for residential purposes are leased to Indians. Houses can also be purchased.

Three religious organizations exist: Methodist, Nazarene, and Pentecostal. The blue collar Indians are predominantly Methodists. Underclass Indians seldom go to church. Thus there is a power structure based on social class, religion, political office, and membership in the chief's family. Cleavages in the Indian communities gravitate around this power structure. Resentment exists over the lease of the community center to the Methodist Church by the Methodist dominated tribal council. The resentment is focused on the conversion of the center from recreational uses to a church. Younger Indians and underclass Indians feel a recreation center is needed, and feel they do not know what functions the tribal council carries out and they believe that new leadership is needed.

Another cleavage is over religion. Some of the dominant Methodists, not understanding the need for another religion such as the Nazarene, argue that the Methodist and Nazarene religions are really the same. The Nazarene church has a reputation among the Indians for greater strictness about drinking, smoking, card playing, and dancing. But little drinking is indulged in by active Methodists either, and they are only a little more lenient about smoking, cards, and dancing.

(2) Life Cycle, Alcohol, and Labor Force Mobility

Drinking among the Chippewa seems to be related to the stages of the life cycle. The Chippewa trainees between the ages of 22 and 44 have low LFM in 9 out of 14 cases (Table 15-X). By contrast, whites are distributed about equally as to degree of LFM, and Chippewa over 44 are more often of high LFM than are the younger Chippewa.

Table 15-X

Ethnicity, Age, and Labor Force Mobility

Ethnicity	Age	Labor Force Mobility Low	Medium	High	Total
White	21	4	3	8	15
	22-44	23	25	27	75
	45	8	11	5	24
Indian	21	4	5	3	12
	22-44	9	1	4	14
	45	4	2	4	10
Mexican	21	-	-	-	--
	22-44	1	-	3	4
	45	1	3	-	4
Negro	21	2	-	-	2
	22-44	3	1	-	4
	45	0	1	-	1
Total		59	52	54	165

In this section some explanation for use of alcohol are explored, as seen by the Indians themselves, and an explanation is offered based on the data which seems to support the notion that drinking among Indians is tied in with the stages of the life cycle.

Most blue collar Indians do not drink, or drink less, most underclass Indians do drink and drink more often and in greater quantities. Yet some do avoid or minimize drink. The Indians explain how some of them avoid drinking in a number of ways:

(a) A few think it is a wife or girlfriend who prevents excess drinking (16,29), but one (29), also thinks this will work for some persons and not others. One trainee turned to alcoholics anonymous.

(b) A few tell stories about Indians whose children get hurt (7,50) and then they stop drinking:

> My sister went to her next door neighbor to get beer--her house caught fire and burnt up the baby and then she turned to the book (7).

(c) Sometimes a person is known of who stops drinking because of medical reasons such as an operation (103), or one trainee stopped because of his ulcer (7).

(d) One trainee thinks a person must just wrestle with the problem and solve it by herself because:

> I only live alone for a year, never had a home before or support a family or make choices and make my own decisions. I have to make my own decision to be a Christian or a drinker. It will be my decision. I have to pray about it--I can climb the ladder or drink it up (29).

(e) Some Indians, probably the largest number, believe that people get saved and stop drinking. Nine trainees (139, 177, 125, 90, 129, 134, 73, 138, 158) know of some one who got saved and stopped drinking. Three of them refer to one common relative, the minister:

> My Uncle Rev. R. before he turned Christian used to live North of the church. He quit drinking and started preaching. His girls don't drink, but the boys do. The oldest boy delivers beer for the brewry.

But two Indians also knew of someone who backslid (95, 116) and three trainees themselves were backsliding (95, 125, 158).

Of the trainees who don't themselves drink or who drink little, those who clearly attribute their <u>own</u> situation to religion there is only one, and he gives some credit to other forces:

> I stopped drinking when I got in trouble--and God saved me then. . . . I came to realize God sees us everywhere . . . . It was partly my own idea and partly my uncles helped me. He just died and told me to keep right up there--keep at it--and try hard and I do (16).

As rare as the actual event may be the rumor and expectation of it lingers on and the event is a very special occasion:

> The preacher prays about what is wrong and if God forgives you and gives you his blessing you make a lot of noise (50).

Yet some Indians do not seek out divine forgiveness and the powers of salvation which leads to goodness, but rather they avoid church because they are not good enough:

> I don't go to church I believe if you go and then misbehave its not good. Services let out at 12 and beer gardens open at 12 and you can see guys come in all dressed up for church (7).

> I'm afraid to go because I've been away so long--I'm too scared to walk in the door. The older people are more religious. On Sunday the younger people turn around and swing back and forth to the (liquor) store (13).

Drinking no doubt contributes to problems of holding a job and performing successfully. In daily life excess drinking reinforces the irregular nature of opportunities, by making it even more difficult to keep an already undesirable job. One Indian expressed awareness of some relationship between drinking and opportunities:

> When I was drunk it was 22 days out of the month and it took a case before I felt good--but I never passed out. Those that stopped moved away--this town don't offer opportunity (7).

Some Indians are aware of the difficulties in holding a job as it relates to their drinking:

> I'm ready to settle down--I'd prefer office work--actually I drink quite a bit and that would stop me from getting most jobs I like (73).

The relationship of drink to marriage is also seen by some:

> When people drink it breaks up their home. When I look for a husband he can drink one or two, but if they drink every night they come home and beat up their wives. I went with a guy who wanted to marry me--we broke up--he married a girl and drinks every night and beats her. I prefer a white husband (52).

> I had three brothers they all drink--two are married with families and just go out on weekends, the third is not married and drinks every chance (36).

> On Friday night you see all the little kids running around and folks drinking up the money (7).

Drinking begins in early adolescence along the model set by parents and supported by peers:

> Most of the kids started to drink at 12 or 13, outside behind their home (99).
>
> My folks drank--and when they passed out I'd take off with car and ride around all night (177).

At first drinking makes one feel big:

> They didn't think it was wrong but thought it was something big (99).

A little later, drinking is for fun and to be with friends:

> They just want to have a good time (13).
>
> They drink to get sense of well-being and away from their environment (103).
>
> I just go in there (to the local bar) to talk to friends--its full of Indians on Friday from different parts of the country (115).

For those who continue to drink and drift into alcoholism the view changes:

> When I was first drinking I was like a big shot, a big man, not afraid of nothing. I drink (now) because its just on my mind--its a bad impulse. I do it anyway I go in and take a drink and start to sweat all over and get hot (73).

It is friends who keep one drinking:

> My friends say just one more (and) because its with friends I have to treat them (13).

Drinking with the friends is essential for maintaining ones self image, but their pressure acts to retard LFM:

> When they made me a foreman at Central most of the guys tried to jump on me and said I was trying to be a big shot. I drank with them--mostly Indians--I wanted to be the simple fellow--I used to drink and always got into trouble (73).

Some Indian trainees were aware of the negative effect of peer group influence and resisted it:

> I don't want to go back to where I was because I'll wind up back in jail--the boys will bring beer and spoil my life right then. In my teenagehood because I wouldn't do what they want to do, some boys called me names: "Sissy," "Christian Boy," "Ugly John." I'd mostly be by myself (16).

The above trainee and one of his friends represents an exceptional pattern because he is only 17 years old and is avoiding drinking. His uniqueness is reflected in his statement that:

> I lived with Isaac, he doesn't drink, but he likes to play rock and roll and I like old fashioned country music. So I moved out. He goes to bed too early and I like to play guitar (16).

More typical is trainee 90 who is in his twenties, and unable to control drinking or change his peer environment:

> I used to miss job training mostly on Mondays because of drinking over weekend. I used to drink a bottle (of beer) a month. I started drinking when I got married. I take her drinking with me and she drinks too. We both hint around that we should do something. She drank before we got married too--but less than I did. I'm thinking about moving so we can be by ourselves--not live with in-laws. I can always say no, but we haven't said no recently, but haven't drank much in a month (90).

Although trainee 90 had a LFM of 4 he nevertheless had difficulties with drinking reflected in the fact that his children were placed in a foster home because he and his wife neglected them. This trainee, and two other Indians (129, 138) were expelled from the training center, after repeated absences and when they appeared drunk at the school and created a disturbance there.

Pulling out of the drinking trap seems easier later in the life cycle: Of the males who have reduced or eliminated

drinking one trainee moved to a small city near Grand Rapids, got a job as a janitor and visits home on weekends:

> I'm away from the crowd that's the main thing (58).

Another controlled drink by avoiding peers at the JTC. He also attributes his not drinking to an ulcer and gives some credit to supernatural factors too:

> I drank for 25 years till my stomach gave out--somebody up there had it in mind for me to quit. I count it as a blessing I opened my eyes and saw what I looked like then (7).

The influence of the wife is not strong in the sense of being directed at reducing the husband's drinking. The wife said that she would not tell him what to do because he would do it himself when he was ready. For trainee #2 the wife's respect is important, and the family provides protection against the dangers of drinking:

> All my sons drink. They drink more than I do. They must, they're regular booze hounds. I did as much when their age, but I got a wife and kids and I got to have respect. I drink every Saturday or Sunday but it takes money and she takes the check. I usually drink at home. I don't like to expose myself--at Frank's the kids come after me. My kids watch me pretty close (2).

The life cycle of the Indian thus seems characterized by weak family of orientation, weak family of procreation, strong peer group influence, irregular opportunities accentuated by excessive drinking patterns, and finally if he reaches middle age he begins to straighten himself out:

> I had trouble, guys came around and bother you to go get a drink and you can't say no.
>
> But I stopped--I joined a church--I was 40 years old--it's been 30 years since I drank or smoked except

> chewing tobacco inside the factory. I was layed off and didn't have no work insurance coming--I decided I just couldn't take those kinds of beatings anymore and I decided to be a Christian and my wife then got a job in cafeteria for the Elks building and she stood in the breach (J.S.).

The influence of peers is also seen in the fact that all 5 Chippewa at the training center who were able to maintain isolation from peer group ties (Table 16-X) had LFM of 3 or higher whereas among the 6 white isolates 4 had a LFM of 2 or less.

Table 16-X

Peers, Isolates,* and Labor Force Mobility

Ethnic Group	Presence or Absence of Peers*	Labor Force Mobility Low 0-1	Medium 2-3	High 4-5	Total
Indian	With peers	18	6	8	32
	Without peers	-	2	3	5
White	With peers	28	37	42	107
	Without peers	4	1	1	6
Total		50	46	54	150

* Naming no peer, and named by no one.

(3) Summary

Although the Chippewa of Middle Michigan seem better interpreted in relation to the opportunity structure of the

area, there are ethnic characteristics present including the relationship of their life cycle to the use of alcohol.

Understanding the use of alcohol in relation to the life cycle begins with viewing the family of orientation which lacked role models, and was fairly frequently broken, and with the child fairly often being raised by aunts, uncles, or grandparents. The strength of the peer group must be understood in relation to the weakness of the family, the lack of clear identity of the young Indian, and the lack of any alternative forms of fun or opportunity. Thus the peer culture with its fun orientation offers automobiles, alcohol, and acceptance.

By the adult years from 22 to 44 the pattern of peer group influence is clearly set and the chance of counter influences from a wife are slim because of the high frequency of wives as negative and insignificant others.

In the case of the intervention of the training center those trainees who can avoid peer group influences are better able to avoid drink and increase their LFM.

Poor White

(1) Origins

Most of the present day poor white have lived in Michigan all their life and their grandparents were often born in Michigan. It is possible that many trainees are descendants of early woodsmen and farmers who moved into Michigan in

the 19th century only a few generations after the arrival of the Chippewa who began to move into the lower peninsula of Michigan in the early 18th century (Quimby 1960: 109; Greenman 1963: 30).

The two groups today have many similarities, among them being occupations that are only temporary, and which are largely confined to unskilled and semi-skilled levels. The similarity between the two groups is seen in Table 17-X dealing with occupations of trainees parents. The largest difference is that a greater proportion of father's of Indian trainees had unskilled occupations, and a lesser proportion had semi-skilled occupations than did parents of poor whites.

Table 17-X

Father's Occupation and Socio-economic Status (SEI) in Relation to Ethnic Group

Socio-economic Score (SEI)	Level of Occupation	Ethnic Group			
		White	Indian	Mexican	Negro
1-10	Unskilled	42%(48)	54%(20)	-- (6)	--(5)
11-20	Semi-skilled	37%(42)	24% (9)	-- (2)	-- -
21-50	Skilled	13%(15)	-- (4)	-- -	-- -
51-78	Misc: supervisory, white collar, semi-professional, professional	5% (6)	-- (2)	-- -	--(2)
Don't know	--	- (2)	-- (2)	-- -	--(2)
Total		113	37	8	7

(2) Residence Pattern

The groups also differ in their residential location yet the similarity is very strong. While the Chippewa live concentrated on the reservation and in Mt. Pleasant, and scattered in the countryside, the white are concentrated along state highway M-20 between Mt. Pleasant and Midland, and in Mt. Pleasant and are also scattered in the countryside. In both cases the concentrations are due to lower cost of land and housing and the desire to be among one's own kind. For those living in scattered isolated locations there is the desire to be left alone.

(3) Extended Family Clusters

An example of more clearly differing characteristics is provided by the existence of extended family clusters which are found among whites and only rarely among Indian trainees. This cluster is evidently a rural non-farm phenomenon and may occur in three forms:

(a) Extended Nuclear: One house with 2 or more related nuclear families residing in it. Two Indian households were of this type containing a total of five Indian trainees but it was a temporary arrangement which had ended before the follow-up interviews occurred.

(b) Parallel: Two or more adjacent houses arranged parallel to the side of the road and inhabited by related nuclear families. Nine white trainees

lived with this arrangement in seven different clusters.

(c) Compound: Two or more closely adjoining houses on a small lot and arranged in a U or L shaped compound. Eight trainees lived in three of these compounds (Table 18-X).

Table 18-X

Extended Family Clusters and Labor Force Mobility

Type of Extended Family Cluster	Labor Force Mobility			Total
	Low 0-1	Medium 2-3	High 4-6	
Compound	7	1	-	8
Parallel	4	2	3	9
Extended nuclear	1	1	1	3
Total	12	4	4	20

The data suggests that those who live in compounds have very little probability of high LFM. The compound resident may represent a level of poverty close to the lowest levels of the underclass.

Although only 3 family clusters are matrilocal, there is a high frequency of negative female influence which can be interpreted as being possible because of the low status

and weak economic resources of the male. In six of these clusters the female exerts negative influence towards keeping the male close at home where he can assist her (58, 41, 183, 50, 93, 90). In two cases (141, 165) positive influence is exerted.

The most obvious possible function of family clusters is that of a low cost of living. It is also possible that other helping patterns exist but no data were gathered on this point. However, two trainees volunteered information suggesting strains exist in being close to kin:

> Here I see relatives everyday--and you don't get along with them too well if every day you see them and especially with little kids around. I'd rather be by myself and before too long I will be. Help me? There's no danger in them helping me. They'd help a stranger first--when my car had trouble I had to walk. My dad wouldn't so much as drive me (173).

As another trainee put it:

> The land was wedding present from my uncle--my half brother lives next door--he promised to pay the light bill, and now its behind $45 they've shut it off (141).

Another trainee, after job training moved into a family cluster by buying a small collapsible building from a farmer and setting it up on his father-in-laws land:

> Her cousin picks us up every morning. I wish I had a license because if something happened to him it would be hard--Soon my wife will have a baby. We are having a hard time for money and need a house. I'd like to move into town but everybody says we'd be <u>crazy</u> to do it. We don't get along too well with her grandmother and mother. Sometimes they help by taking me to the store to get groceries or something like that, but last week I was broke and they wouldn't help me. Her mother did give me a dollar she owed me--but they don't have much. They say it's cheaper to live out here and have your own place. My wife would like to move into town--her

> folks like to tell us what to do, but I hate to tell them off because it hurts their feelings (174).

This trainee represents a case of downward mobility from the working class. His father had worked as a mechanic for a number of years, his mother worked as a nurse's aid at the state home and training center, and the eldest brother ran the farm. His downward mobility can be partly understood in relation to his inability to read, hence he could not get an automobile drivers license and was relatively helpless. He worked in a plant producing burlap bags near his family cluster. Sometime later his parents asked him and his wife to move in with them in the farm house, thus forming an extended household containing a working class and an underclass family.

The presence of compounds among the poor white and not the Indians can partly be understood as subcultural influences in interaction with the opportunities available to them. The Indians have less need for the highly condensed arrangement of the compound because low rent housing has been available on the reservation, and the land itself has been available for lease at a very low cost. The poor white utilizes the compound because of the low cost of locating several housing units on one lot. In a sense it is a poverty shrunken echo of the common rural pattern in which a family subdivides a farm and lives on adjoining acreages some distance apart.

(4) Psychosomatic Illnesses and Alcoholism

A third symptomatic pattern of subcultural differences is provided by the pattern of health problems and drinking problems. Health problems are more frequently reported among the whites than the Indians and only 19% of whites report no problem as compared to 41% of Indians (Table 19-X). Of these health problems those that are possibly psychosomatic in nature are found among only 8% (3) of Indians but among 17% (20) of whites.

Table 19-X

Number of Health Problems Reported and Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Number of Health Problems 0	1	2	3	Total
White	19% (21)	40% (45)	27% (30)	15% (17)	113
Indian	41% (15)	35% (13)	14% (5)	11% (4)	37
Mexican-American	(2)	(4)	(2)	-	8
Negro	(3)	-	(2)	(2)	7
Total	41	62	39	23	165

While health problems, including those that are potentially psychosomatic, are found more often in whites, drinking problems are more frequent among Indians. Some 46% (17) of Indian trainees were heavy users of alcohol or were

alcoholics. It is argued that physical illnesses and heavy use of alcohol are functional equivalents of each other and are in part symptomatic expressions of the stresses of the irregular economy.

(5) Summary

Similarities between white and Chippewa seem to relate to the opportunity structure and the resulting class levels. The two groups are similar in their occupations and residence pattern. The extended family cluster and psychosomatic illnesses are found more frequently among the white. These differences are possible examples of the interaction of the opportunity structure with each groups subcultural traditions, and in turn these differences may further reduce the access to opportunities and labor force participation.

Mexican

Most of the Mexican trainees were recruited from the growing numbers of persons who have dropped out of the migrant stream and settled in Michigan. Of the fifteen trainees eight were interviewed both during and after training. Of these eight, five of the older trainees had been migrants but had settled down in the small city of Alma or in the rural-non-farm area around it. The younger trainees were the children of former migrants, two of the trainees are exceptions: one was a Cuban whose father was a small farmer with 2 acres of sugar cane. The second trainee stated his

father had owned a 240 acre farm in Texas until the depression.

Migration to Michigan was sometimes financed by the company that wanted its crop picked, usually sugar beets around Alma. In one case the move was motivated by a clearly formulated desire for better working and living conditions:

> In Texas there are fathers like me with 12 kids who go to work--whole family for 7½¢ (in 1941) working in packing shed with asparagus, chikol, dill, everything. You pack and they shovel in ice and at 11 a.m. you have ice around up to here (stomach), so people there have rheumatism, TB and all that. So I told her I'd go to Michigan and she wanted to go, and now I told her I go to school because to get better education and schooling and job (83).

The older males in Michigan stayed with farm labor, seasonal usually, supplemented by welfare. Many of the children moved into factory work in Alma.

Of the 15 Mexicans in the training program seven were interviewed during and after training. There were two trainees without follow-ups and 6 who could not be located and interviewed at all. The labor force mobility after training was as follows: low 2, medium 3, high 3.

Since almost half of the Mexican trainees could not be interviewed after training it is necessary to ask if their presence would have altered the above distribution. Three trainees would probably record in the lower LFM levels: one went back into farm labor (185), one went into the service (184), and one went to Texas (82). No information is available about one other. But the other four would

Probably be distributed in medium or high LFM categories, if reports about them are correct: one worked as a hairdresser after training and then entered the army. One began working as a welder in Lansing after completing training at the Marquette job training center. A third finished welding training in Marquette and went to work in the Upper Peninsula. A fourth trainee established a bakery in a small town in Michigan and is reported to be doing well. It is therefore possible that the LFM of these eight trainees would distribute in about the same pattern as those shown above.

In attempting to explain the pattern of LFM it is necessary to consider the nature of family influences. In the discussion below the small number of cases does not permit systematically applying the typology of family influences. Those influences will be presented which seem most important. The most obviously important factor is the dominance of the father over family life.

(1) Male Dominance

The authority of the father usually extends over to work activities of the wife and children and the father expects the entire family to work together:

> Dad never thought we should go to school--just felt everyone should work. He had a fit when I went to work for that restaurant because he wanted us working together (63).

The father's insistence on family members working as a unit has considerable consequences for LFM, since it prevents the children from getting enough education. This becomes clear

in those cases where none of the children finish high school until after the death of the father. One trainee with a LFM of 0 was affected by this situation. She (122) helped her father work at crops and was only able to get a 3rd grade education. After the fathers death the trainee's mother went on ADC, and the other siblings were able to complete 10, 11, or 12 years of schooling.

Another male trainee (113) was able to get to the second grade as were the other 6 siblings, then his father, a farm laborer died, and two of the four youngest children finished the 11th grade, and 2 finished high school. The trainee himself was unable to read English well enough to make out bills or follow instructions in auto repair. Consequently his hourly rate was held down by his employer. After job training his reading improved and he went to work for another body shop at $120 a week (LFM 5).

(2) Women without Men

A type of influence related to the husband's dominance is provided by a white woman who married a Mexican farm laborer who later died:

> I was born on a farm near Ithaca--it burnt out when I was almost 12 and I married about 14 and my first husband was a farmer. We separated when I was 20 and I married when I was 32. I was working in a restaurant in St. Louis and met Mr. R. there--and married him and went to San Antone; for 14 or 15 years we'd winter in Texas and summer up here. He and I worked in woods in Texas in winter, and in summer here there's cherries and tomatoes, and apples. Mr. R's older son had been coming up here to work in beets and his older son talked him into coming up here.

> My husband wanted us to work together he didn't like the idea of women working by herself. My husband was boss and I just followed. I had to learn to stand on my own. The man is unquestioned boss--he'd be 76 now, he was from the older generation where man was boss. I had not too much say so in what happened--I think of a puppet on a string. He was kind, he thought that it was right to lead, and when he drank his imagination would run away. He was jealous--he thought that all women were alike (133).

A related source of influence is the death of a husband which makes work necessary for the mother when ADC is not available because children are getting older. The two older women in this situation were trained as cooks helpers and went to work at the kitchen of a large hamburger chain, and reached a LFM of 1 and 3, and possibly would have gone higher had one not become ill, and the other been layed off when a change in management occurred and staff was cut in size. Still another woman, from Cuba with only experience as a household worker, had a son about to finish high school, and accepted on-the-job-training as a seamstress, and reached a LFM of 4.

(3) Negative Other

Another source of influence is that of the wife in relation to the husband (108).

> I used to have trouble myself: my wife is 48 and i'm 63--I marry her at 14, I 31 and she a jealous woman--she put me out she say if I go to that school, because there is too many women and I rode home with Guadalupe, she is 25, 26 now I finished school and got my job, I don't care if someone say I old and die soon I want to be better--learn more. In 1950-52 a colored man came from Georgia and went to night school and got a diploma and he kissed it--he say because I give it thank to the God for the opportunity--he said he do it not for him but for his race and people--and me to do it for my children and my grandchildren (83).

The trainee took a job as a school custodian because it was close to home. His wife approved of the decision. His labor force mobility after training was 3. It was at that level because he was able to find a job as a custodian, but a heart attack forced him to stop working before his mobility could become higher.

Another related source of influence is from children. One trainee turned down the chance to manage a dairy farm because his children wanted to finish school where they were currently attending. His children and wife seem to control the situation. His LFM of 3 could have been higher had he taken the opportunity. The negative other represents an exception to the pattern of male dominance.

(4) Insignificant Other

One Mexican male reached a LFM of 4 but his white wife had a fundamentalist background and nagged him in an effort to keep him on the straight and narrow path. His preferred recreation was women and drink. The wife objected. The husband persisted. He left her and his job as a meat cutter, to return to a job in another city as a hospital orderly.

One female trainee married a young Indian male trainee. They met at the center. They separated later when the male did not conform to the females expectations. He entered the army soon after.

In conclusion, it appears that the Mexican-American culture has an effect upon lower LFM through the dominance

of the father, and that when he dies his absence allows the widow or children to move in the direction of greater LFM.

Negro

The nine Negroes in the training project came from Lake County, Michigan which is in many ways like the deep South. Lining roads in the county are shacks in which live most of the Negroes. Clustered around the lakes are summer homes of Michigan's urban whites who visit the area a few months each year. Forty-eight per cent of the counties families had incomes under $3,000 per year in 1960 as compared to the national average of 21% below that level (U. S. Census, 1960).

Local rumor has it that the area was colonized as a resort for Negroes from Chicago and Detroit during the prohibition era. It still functions to some extent as a weekend resort for urban Negroes who come up to Idlewild's bars, dance halls, and card casinos. But the Negroes of the county are mostly farm laborers or sharecropers from the south. They and their children seem to prefer the rural slum to the urban ghetto.

Opportunities for work in Lake county are minimal and seasonal. There is no industry. The summer tourist season offers some service type jobs. Farm labor is also possible. None of the seven trainees with complete interviews improved in LFM over a score of 2. Six of the seven trainees had

returned to Lake county after training where the opportunities available were very low. Six of these seven also fit the pattern of being without spouses.

In this small group of trainees is also found a reflection of the stronger role played by the female in Negro family life. All 4 of the males had LFM of 0 or 1 while two of the three females had LFM of 2. All three of the women were heads of households with children, males absent, and receiving ADC. One of the women with LFM of 2 is an older woman, whose last child is nearing completion of school and will soon be without ADC. The other woman is younger, and has 6 children, ranging in age from infancy to 15. She worked at a factory in Reed City for several months after training.

The four males are all under 30 years of age. The oldest is 29, has 5 children, receives ADC and is blocked from LFM by one paralyzed arm, a prison record, and living in a low opportunity area.

Summary of Ethnic Influences

Several ethnic differences have been discussed above including the more frequent positive influence among wives of poor whites than among wives of Chippewa males, the weak male in the black family and the strong father in the Mexican family. These differences suggest that ethnic influences exist which are not solely due to the immediate and current

operation of the irregular economy, but which are passed on from generation to generation as a result of the interaction of subcultural patterns with the irregular economy.

Conclusion

The influences of subcultural factors upon labor force mobility were explored in this chapter by considering three dimensions of subculture: social class of origin, family, and ethnicity. All three factors have a relatively low level of influence. The association of social class of origin with LFM was .22, ethnicity was associated .25 (not significant at the .05 level), and family influences associated .27. It is also crucial to note that the nature of the level of opportunities to which trainees could respond is sharply limited by their subculture, hence there is a strong influence operating which is not adequately taken into account by the research design.

Factors in the family influence scale which relate to LFM are: (1) current family influences, (2) father's steady work pattern, (3) socio-economic status of sister's occupation (or her spouse), and (4) father's highest grade completed. Although the associations are very modest it is possible that the influence of some would be more negative in the absence of the influence of training and opportunities. It was concluded that those family factors which are significantly correlated with LFM are of two kinds: (1) The

pressure in the present in support of participations in the labor force. (2) Models of steady work patterns, highest achieving sister, and educational achievement of the father.

Current family influence correlates .35 with LFM. The typology of current family influences illustrates the nature of processes in underclass families and the differences between family structure of the ethnic groups. The nature of underclass family influences is seen in the high frequency of negative or ineffective family influences. Ethnic differences in family structure were seen among whites in the greater frequency of extended family clusters and low LFM and the greater frequency of significant others and high LFM among white males. Among the Chippewa males there were no wives who were significant others, a higher proportion of insignificant others and low LFM, and more males without any females.

White and Chippewa women with husbands able to work have low LFM more often, but when he is unable to work white women are more often of high LFM. Unmarried Chippewa and white more often have high LFM. Divorced and separated white women have high LFM about half of the time, but Chippewa females had high LFM in 2 out of nine cases.

Among the Mexican families the presence of the dominant father resulted in low LFM and after his death higher LFM occurred for children or spouses. The male Negro trainees had low LFM and the female had slightly greater LFM.

The males and females seemed to be restricted to the low opportunities of Lake County, while the females seemed to play the role of heads of families assumed so often by the Negro woman.

Ethnic differences are also seen in the drinking pattern of the Chippewa, while the functional equivalent among the whites seems to be psychosomatic illnesses.

Many of the family and ethnic patterns explored in this chapter tend to operate in opposing directions with a resulting low level of support for LFM. Further research will be required to clarify these processes.

CHAPTER XI

THE TRAINING CENTER AND LABOR FORCE MOBILITY

The job training center has a degree of influence upon labor force mobility less than that of opportunities and more than that of the family aspect of subculture. In a sense the training center acted as a bridge between new opportunities and the subculture of the poor. In this chapter the nature of the bridge is stressed by looking at the structure of the training center and the processes that operated there in relation to the rehabilitation framework. In the next chapter consideration is given of the outcome of these opportunities after training. The present chapter begins by presenting the scale measuring job training influences.

The Rehabilitation Framework and the Scale of Job Training Influences

The rehabilitation framework call for analyzing a broad range of influences. In order to explore this assumption of the rehabilitation framework a scale was formulated attempting to measure a number of influences.

The items are listed below together with their definition. Except where otherwise indicated a maximum of one point in the scale score was given for each item.

I. Orientation to Training:

Liked the job training:

This refers to the trainees general expression of approval (or disapproval) of the training he was receiving. Approval resulted in one point for the scale total.

Wanted training received:

If the trainee said he wanted the kind of training he was getting, then a point was added to the scale score.

Expect job related to training:

If the trainee expected his training would lead to a related job one point was added to the scale score.

II. Significant Others at Job Training Center

Discusses problems with training center staff:

A point was added to the scale total if the trainee designated a member of the training center staff as a person with whom he talked over problems.

III. Peers Influence

Labor force mobility of peers:

A point was assigned for each peer at the training center, up to three in number, who had a LFM score of 4 or 5.

Alcohol use of peers:

A point was assigned for each peer at the training center, up to three in number, whose drinking patterns involved occasional use or were abstainers.

Work history of peers:

A point was assigned for each peer at the training center, up to three in number, whose work history in the period prior to training involved working 8 months or more at one job.

IV. Self-confidence
V. General Education
VI. Skill Training

Interviews with trainees, case records, and training center reports were read for each trainee and a record made of the areas in which changes were reported to have occurred. Areas frequently referred to were self-confidence, general education including literacy, and skill training. When the reports contradicted each other about an area then it was not scored for that trainee.

VII. Job Placement by Training Center Staff

One point was assigned if a trainee had been placed in a job by a staff member. A maximum of two points were possible.

Inter-item analysis of the job training scale (Table 1-XI) indicates that two items fall below the .30 correlation

Table 1-XI

Correlations of Dimensions of the Job Training Center Scale of Influences with the Scale Total and with Labor Force Mobility

Scale Dimension	Correlation with: Scale Total*	Labor Force Mobility**
Peer's labor force mobility	.59	.22
Peer's alcohol use	.50	.10
Liked training	.49	.07
Expects training related job	.45	.29
Wanted training received	.43	.07
Peer's work history	.41	.27
Placed on job by staff	.40	.34
Talks over problems with staff	.38	.19
Self-confidence improved	.37	.36
General education improved	.29	.02
Skill training acquired	.15	-.05

* A correlation of .30 is required in an eleven item scale to indicate an item contributes more to the total than would be expected by chance alone.

** A correlation of .128 is required for .05 level of significance with 382 df on a one-tailed test.

required for an item to contribute more to the total than would be expected by chance alone when eleven variables make up a scale. The two variables were skill training and general education. Earlier scale analysis eliminated several factors: health (Table 2-XI), regularity of attendance, and duration of training (Table 3-XI).

Table 2-XI

Number of Health Problems and Labor Force Mobility

Number of Health Problems	Labor Force Mobility Low 0-1	Medium 2-3	High 4-5	Total
3	7	8	6	21
2	15	17	7	39
1	25	12	26	63
0	12	15	15	42
Total	59	52	54	165

Table 3-XI

Months in Training and Labor Force Mobility

Months in Training	Labor Force Mobility Low 0-1	Medium 2-3	High 4-5	Total
1-5	19	11	13	43
6-10	24	24	22	70
11-14	16	17	19	52
Total	59	52	54	165

Further refinement of the scale would involve elimination of the skill training and general education items. The elimination of these items, and the nature of the items already eliminated suggests that the training center's influence was in areas other than those conventionally regarded as the function of an educational center.

It is also necessary to examine how the items correlate with LFM. Items correlating significantly with LFM (Table 1-XI) in order of their association are:

1. Self-confidence improved
2. Placement by staff on a job
3. Expects training related job
4. Peers work history (before training)
5. Peers labor force mobility
6. Talks over problems with staff

Several items in the scale are below the .128 level of association with LFM which is required for .05 level of significance. The items are: peers alcohol use, liked training, wanted training, general education and skill training.

Again, it would appear that the factors which associate most strongly with LFM are not those usually thought of in relation to an educational institution, but rather relate more to interpersonal influences, the atmosphere of the center, and the channeling or placement function of the center.

Validity of the Scale

A problem of the scale is that it overlaps with opportunities and subcultural influences. The influence of peers

represents the subculture, but the gathering together of the peers for continuous daily association, and the association with new peers, is a training center function.

Job placement efforts of the training center staff also influence the resulting opportunities. The correlation of opportunities and job training is .46, and the correlation of opportunities with placement by staff is .24. It can therefore be argued that job training influenced opportunities in a number of ways in addition to its placement activities. However placement is, like peers influence, partly a function of the training center.

Some support for the validity of the job training scale is provided by the relationship of the scale to the employer's ratings of trainees (Table 4-XI). However, the correlation of job training influence with employer's rating is only .27, which suggests that what the employers were evaluating was not what the training center succeeded in doing. Yet it appears that employer's ratings relate better to job training influences (.27) than to LFM (.21), although the difference is not large (see Table 5-XI).

Summary

The rehabilitation framework suggests that the process of job training should be one involving a broad range of influences. The data so far presented are in support of this view. However the evidence suggests that skill training,

Table 4-XI

Employer's Rating of 94 Trainees in Relation to Job Training Scores

Job Training Influence	Employer's Rating of Trainee Low (0-19)	High (20-27)	Total
Low (0-5)	29	10	39
High (6-11)	20	35	55
Total	49	45	94

$X^2 = 13.20$ df = 1 $p < .01$

Table 5-XI

Employer's Rating of Trainees and Labor Force Mobility

Employer's Rating	Labor Force Mobility Low 0-1	Medium 2-3	High 4-5	Total
No reply from employer	38	21	12	71
Low (0-19)	15	13	21	49
High (20-27)	6	18	21	45
Total	59	52	54	165

$X^2 = 24.10$ df = 4 $p < .01$

general education, and duration of training have little influence on LFM. The factors that do influence LFM seem to be those involving: (1) interpersonal influences from peers, and staff, (2) those aspects of the atmosphere of the center which might influence self-confidence, and (3) the channeling function of placement in jobs by staff members. The nature of these influences are explored in the remainder of this chapter.

Nature of the Training Center: The Gemeinschaft Organization

The type of program to be analyzed here is not one adequately or accurately described in terms of processes of stigmatization such as have been developed in the sociological study of mental institutions or the processes of alienation observed in public schools or associated with welfare organizations. Instead, the "Michigan Catholic Conference, Chippewa Job Training Center" was an experimental project characterized by a high degree of effectiveness in its task. It is a program of the type described by Beck:

> The citation of promising pilot projects is common. But the kinds of morale and individual effectiveness that can occur in a pilot project are exactly the features that we expect to be routinely absent in large programs aimed at millions of people (1967: 111).

The job training center to be described here was just such a pilot project. This can best be discussed by

describing the formal statement of purpose of the program, and then examining the way in which the program functioned.

The Formal Statement of Purpose

The job training program in Mt. Pleasant was designed and administered by the Michigan Catholic Conference and financed by the United States Department of Labor under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) of 1962. The program grew out of the Michigan Catholic Conference job training program in Lansing where a Chippewa trainee from Isabella county created awareness that other Chippewa needed job training. The program was also jointly sponsored by the Chippewa Saginaw Tribal Council and a committee of citizens in Mt. Pleasant.

The purposes of the training program was described as follows in a report from the Michigan Catholic Conference to the Labor Department prior to the start of the program:

> A training project is to be located in Mt. Pleasant, Michigan, geared primarily to the needs of members of the Chippewa Indian Community located near Mt. Pleasant. Two hundred and fifty persons who are unemployed or under-employed will be interviewed in depth and tested. These persons will be characterized by lack of formal education, possession of unmarketable skills, and institutional alienation from occupational resources. One hundred and eighty of these disadvantaged persons will be selected for the basic education multi-occupation project described by the Job Training Center. For the purpose of experimentation and demonstration, American Indians will be given selection preference.
>
> This demonstration project, employing guidance and counseling, basic education, vocational training, and comprehensive supporting services is designed to enable

> each trainee to achieve a performance level more in accord with his general ability and render him employable as the result of successful completion of vocational training. . . .
>
> The goals will be as follows:
>
> a. To demonstrate that unemployed and unemployable people from the above mentioned groups can be trained for meaningful employment.
>
> b. To demonstrate that the community will accept and employ these persons upon completion of their training (1965: 1).

In May of 1965 an administrative grant permitted the recruiting of staff and trainees. Six months passed before funding of the training center occurred on November 29, 1965. In that period before funds were available, about 40 trainees, mostly welfare clients, and six teachers, voluntarily attended training sessions. On November 29, 1965 regular classes in basic education began for the first group of trainees. Later two other groups would begin training. Training ended in January 1967 and follow-up services for trainees took place until June 1967 when the program closed.

The formal aspects of the program included:

(1) Recruitment of trainees with preference to American Indians.

(2) Basic Education: reading, writing, and arithmetic.

(3) Counseling

(4) Health Services

(5) Skill training in one of the following settings:

a) Vocational training in a program set up at the university, high school, or state home and training center

b) On the job training

c) Transfer to programs in other cities for training not offered in Mt. Pleasant

(6) Job Placement

(7) Follow-up of trainees

Informal Characteristics of the Program

In the discussion to follow it will be argued that the nature of the center which largely influenced its success stemmed not from its formal organization so much as from such informal characteristics as the nature of the leadership and staff, the nature of its existence as a temporary and detached bureaucracy, and the scarcity of the trainee population, as well as the scope of problems which their life involved.

The major informal characteristics of the training center were:

(1) Scarcity of trainees and difficulty in recruiting them.

(2) Trainees who had a high frequency of problems in terms of education, health, self-confidence, family relations, etc.

(3) Informality and high frequency of communication between staff and director.

(4) A flexible approach to working with the trainees either in a non-directive or directive fashion.

(5) An evolution towards the directive approach in terms of greater use of what was called "pursuit" as the training program moved toward its completion.

(6) A high degree of pseudo-gemeinschaft relations between trainees and staff.

(7) Maintenance of organizational autonomy from local government units.

Pseudo-Gemeinschaft Relations

It is argued here that the most important characteristic of the center was the kind of atmosphere that generally prevailed, an atmosphere of a pseudo-gemeinschaft nature in the sense of staff and trainees knowing and being friendly towards each other either as if co-equals or in a paternalistic style. The term pseudo-gemeinschaft is not used to suggest a negative quality, but rather a relationship that did not begin with equality of position, but tried to avoid visible appearance of inequality.

Statements by trainees reflecting this atmosphere were given in answer to the question: Is the Job Training Center just about the same as things were in elementary school (or high school)?

> I went to 8th grade--this is different in about all ways--instead of grades they give a test, split them up and start from there--teachers aren't as strict as most and this is better--they make people feel like they need the work--and they're more friendly and care more about trainees (8).

> Teachers are pretty nice; willing to help out if you're behind. In regular school they'll let Indian guy fall behind and not care (16).

> It's more friendly--it's one of the biggest differences in the world--they were there to help you not slap your hand when you're wrong (171).

In some cases the comments of trainees suggest how their role in the irregular economy affects their perception of the center:

> Happiest job I ever had in all my life was Job Training Center learning to read and write (89).
>
> If this was done over, I'd say, close this place down in summer and open it in winters so we could work in summer at something (72).

Not all comments were as laudatory and many trainees, after prodding, could think of a way to improve the center, but the positive evaluation of 64% (105) is reflected above.

Evidence which indirectly supports the importance of the pseudo-gemeinschaft relationship is presented in Table 6-XI which shows that LFM is more often higher where the training center was said to have helped trainees self-confidence.

Table 6-XI

Area* of Help by Training Center and Labor Force Mobility

Area of Help	Labor Force Mobility Low 0-1	Medium 2-3	High 4-5	Total
No area of help indicated	21	10	8	39
General education	17	15	14	46
Skill training	24	20	25	69
Self confidence	10	15	32	57
Total	72	60	79	211

$X^2 = 18.58$ df = 6 $p < .01$

* Up to three areas per trainee were counted.

The relationship of LFM to general education and skill training is evenly distributed, and where no area of influence was reported LFM is more frequently low. The importance of the pseudo-gemeinschaft relationship is indicated by this pattern. The sources of the pseudo-gemeinschaft atmosphere are discussed below.

Sources of Pseudo-Gemeinschaft Relations

Leadership and Orientation of the Program

The leadership of the training center was provided by a director whose prior experience was working as director of a service to move inmates out of a mental hospital. He joined the program after the proposal had been written and submitted. He commented on it in relation to his prior work:

> When I sat down and read this proposal, I thought it was a completely workable process and the techniques they advocated were just challenging enough and the smack of idealism in it was personally attractive.
>
> I didn't see it as a hell of a lot different from what I was doing.
>
> My work was getting people out of a state mental institution. My sole purpose was to have about 300 people and be moving them out of the hospital a step at a time. In this society we have developed a fine art of beating a group into the dirt. Everything we do drives a nail into the person. The people in the mental institution were just as alienated or more so.

The director was characterized by his blunt, but not hostile, honesty. One young Indian female who had been recurrently absent commented on him as follows:

> Mr. T. would ball us out. H'd call us out of class and tell us just frankly. He wasn't nice <u>or</u> mean about it (126).

The tone of an institution, especially a pilot program, can be highly influenced by its leadership. The director instructed his staff, when the center opened, that every person who entered the door was to be treated with respect. The trainees very often perceived it that way:

> My mother asked if they really treat you as good as they say they do, and I said yes--they respect you there and she came to the graduation and said it's true, you're more important, they way they talk, than they are (80).
>
> To me they treat you like you're a human (66).
>
> They treated people with respect, never mistreated nobody while I was in there (68).

Staff

The staff of teachers were selected partly by the director and partly by his educational coordinator, a retired elementary school principal. The director hired most of the counselors. He described the process of staff selection as follows:

> She knew the real dedicated educators. . . . I was concerned with whether they were just 22 year olds with a new degree looking for a job or were they well motivated. John was one of few with prior experience at a skill center in Detroit. I looked for sincere activist. Action people. Sometimes for them it's action and not its validity--for some to do <u>anything</u> is better than to think.

In a sense the contact of the staff and trainees is a rejection of the nativistic conception which held that

immigrants would destroy the American way of life. The poor white trainees were by and large persons who had been in America the longest. These were persons who had lived in middle Michigan for generations and they had surnames suggesting their English background. They were old stock Americans. But over half of the training center staff, who were there to reintegrate the trainees into the society, were sons or grandsons of immigrants, and one was a recent immigrant from Mexico and another from Guam.

The staff can be analyzed on the basis of the type of approach to trainees, as one staff member stated:

> The type of teacher is important. The normal elementary teacher is no good. You need more 2.0 (GPA) from the street and less Phi Beta Kappas. What is needed is the earthy touch. This type of teacher is crucial.

The staff members with the earthy touch were often cited by trainees in favorable ways and were sometimes people who had a background of difficulties. One had learned to resist drinking through AA, one had a father who drank heavily, one was an immigrant from Mexico who had worked as a migrant laborer and later became a factory foreman. Those teachers who were seldom commented on by trainees, negatively or positively, were persons with marked middle class styles of life and thought. The director felt that some of them were too remote from the trainees:

> The people who've been most active in community activity have had least contact with trainees.

Two staff members were part of the latter group but did receive frequent comment. One was a teacher spoken of negatively because he was cold and formal, and moved from topic to topic before students were ready. The second was a counselor who was most often mentioned in positive terms. He was a retired army officer, strongly dedicated to his church, active in Boy Scouts, finishing a master's degree at the university, active in sports, and he was the most active of the staff, and pursued a missing trainee in the style of an ombudsmen combined with the Royal Canadian Mounted.

Informal Communication

The training center offices were arranged along two sides of the building, and the classrooms along the other two sides. A staff member or a trainee could move along the classroom "L" and then through the office "L", and if it were during a break mingle with trainees, continue his circle into the office side of the building and on into the open door of the director's office and after a chat move out the other door of the office. In this fashion staff members and sometimes trainees moved through the director's office and little huddles occurred repeatedly during the day as various problems were discussed.

Despite the possible reticence of some staff members to participate with the director, the total interaction

with staff and the number of staff involved was probably significantly greater than in an organization in which the director had to be reached through a chain of command. Staff members of all ranks who had the closest working relations with the director simply walked into his office. Higher rank staff tended to observe more formal etiquette by poking their head in the doorway first.

Other Factors

A number of other factors contributed to pseudo-gemeinschaft relations between staff and trainees. One of these was the building structure. It was a 100' by 88' cement block building, and it was plain to the point of being without a sign to identify it. It was furnished with old office and classroom furniture donated by the public schools and the university. The trainees helped to ready the building by painting the walls. It was not the fancy kind of building that might make the rural poor uneasy or wary, and the operating of the cement mixer and painting of the walls in the early days of the program made for greater informality. This first group of trainees, mainly volunteers, developed an enthusiasm which they conveyed to later trainees entering the program.

It should be made clear that the pseudo-gemeinschaft atmosphere would involve unavoidable inequalities. Staff did park in front and trainees in the rear, but there were

only two restrooms, used along sex lines rather than rank. The coffee break was one in which staff and trainees mingled in the large open space between offices and classrooms. But more basically there was the quality of relationship in which trainees were treated as if they were wanted. This stemmed from the feeling of the staff that trainees were hard to get, after all recruitment had been a difficult task, and then the program started with a period they called pre-basic, in which no funds for stipends were available.

Another aspect of the pseudo-gemeinschaft relationship was the director's desire to avoid any emphasis on the idea that the project was Catholic sponsored or intended especially for the Chippewa. He felt that either emphasis would make it difficult to keep the confidence of one or another group of trainees.

Numerous other activities of the job training center should be briefly mentioned to indicate the scope of activities in which staff and trainees interacted. The weekly baseball games (in season) with a team of staff and trainees playing a team from some other organization functioned to create an atmosphere of friendliness. A Christmas eve party was held at the center with food provided by trainees, and an entertainment program by staff members and trainees. The party drew large numbers of trainees and their families in December of 1966 after most had completed training and could no longer draw checks. The equalitarianism is further

illustrated by cups of coffee together, or the director talking all night with one of the Indian trainees.

But the equalitarianism emphasized in personal relations had its limits and its difficulties. The director asked staff not to have dinner at trainee's homes. And there is the probability that guiding and pressuring trainees was made more difficult by the attempt to maintain equalitarian relations. One trainee expressed an aspect of this problem in answer to a question about how the school might be improved:

> It's all right the way it is now--except they shouldn't excuse so many from school all the time--some just stay home for no reason at all (78).

Recruitment of Trainees

Recruiting of trainees for the center is important because it influences the attitude of staff towards trainees, and it also influences the nature of the training process. Trainees were difficult to recruit and this tended to lead to their being regarded as precious and requiring gentle and careful relationships of the pseudo-gemeinschaft type. On the other hand the recruitment effort tended to seek out more difficult trainees who had seldom experienced such gentle treatment from bureaucracies.

The process of recruiting trainees is a process by which any institution can select those persons with problems that seem easily solved. This procedure is common in many institutions of education and training. But in the Mt. Pleasant

center there was very little evidence of the filtering out of the less promising trainees. The director described the recruiting procedure as follows:

> We were aggressive in recruiting the American Indian--like for a ship's crew. Many didn't come in when we said doors were open. We talked to 110 and only one-half would come in to talk voluntarily--we had to go out and talk--just talk.
>
> We went to some houses 24 times and we were criticized since others wanted to come in.
>
> Some who resisted us most are some of our best trainees. It was like pulling bears teeth to get them in. Also we were aggressive about some of local people obviously out of the main stream. We would drive down a road and see a tar paper shack and stop if kids were outside--stop and talk to adults about the program. We also aggressively recruited other ways: when talking to a welfare worker or school teacher and they would refer to someone by name we took it as a challenge and we were hoping it would influence community attitudes. We did give selection preference to Indians.
>
> We sent out notices but they wind up in outhouses. I guess 75% came from our direct contact.

Many channels were used in recruiting (see Table 3-VIII). This helped provide a population of a broader range of types than would be possible if trainees had been recruited from any one source such as welfare roles or the Employment Security Commission. It is also worth noting that 30% (55) of the trainees heard about the center from a relative or friend. Among the channels used to attempt to reach potential trainees were newspapers, radio, directly mailed circulars, a field team of the Michigan Employment Security Commission, and welfare referrals.

The criteria followed in choosing trainees were as follows:

(1) American Indian
(2) Head of household
(3) Need for basic education
(4) Unemployed or partly employed, but having a minimum of a two year work history

By the end of July of 1965 some 280 eligible persons had been identified in the recruiting process. The recruiting had started in May and occurred over the peak of the construction and farm labor period. Had recruiting occurred from October to December when employment drops off, then the total population identified, and the range of persons, might have been different, and would have included more persons with stronger work histories, whereas by recruiting at the height of seasonal opportunities the people available were those with more problems and less resources and skills. The director stated that:

> If I had used my clinical experience to select candidates I wouldn't pick many we did pick for the center. Those we had the least confidence in, came through the strongest.

Trainees were difficult to recruit, and various approaches were used to persuade them. References to going to school were avoided, instead they were asked if they liked to get job training. Many trainees said that schools frightened them, and perhaps the bare factory like appearance of the center helped reduce their fears.

Two Images of Trainees

Once having recruited a population from the poor, the staff then had to develop an interpretation of them. The working orientation of the job training center was that the trainees were disadvantaged persons capable of being helped. Whatever attitude staff members had that did not agree with this were put aside for the time being. As one staff member put it:

> I came into the JTC thinking some people couldn't be helped, but I realized that was the wrong attitude.

Efforts were made by various staff members to understand the trainees. The images that emerged interpreted the trainees from a social and a personalistic point of view. The social image saw the trainee in terms that did not hold them personally responsible for their behavior, but saw it as the consequences of social conditions over which the trainee had no control. Thus various staff members expressed the following views:

(1) Trainees fear authority:

> . . . trainees are afraid of authority, they fear it is set up to subdue them. When they find the police can and will help them they change attitudes.

(2) Indians are unmoral:

> The Indians are not immoral they are unmoral.

(3) Lack of understanding of society:

> These people don't understand job mobility either laterally or vertically, and aren't alert to how to do all this. . . . One kid in Detroit program had good potential. He went for a job--was told

he could come on as machine operator, he wanted welding and turned it down--failed to see horizontal mobility.

(4) Dependancy:

Director:
If you don't give them a ride immediately or say yes without three second delay they go off and find another ride.

Counselor:
They hurt real easy!!!
They think they have it coming like a child with the breast. The Appalachian people don't want to be on welfare--but the Negroes do probably because color makes job getting difficult. It takes some combination of money and a disability such as color to make one desire to be dependant.

The personalized image was applied to the trainees that did not seem to respond. These were seen as being personally responsible for their action. It was a view that grew stronger as the training program drew close to its termination and the awareness grew that some trainees seemed unlikely to show much change. One teacher states it this way:

> My personal feelings are different now than in November. They don't want to be helped. A few want to better themselves.

And in the final report other aspects of the image were listed:

> Little value was placed on jobs or on training even though trainees in general expressed themselves as eager to find work. The least excuse was sufficient cause to stay home--dislike of fellow workers, need for sleep, unseasonable cold, and a minor ache or pain would, in their thinking, justify an absence.
>
> Many lived simply from day to day with no future goals. A job would be dropped on a moment's notice, then welfare was expected to step in with immediate help.

> Often a trainee could not control his own life--he let circumstances control him. He utterly lacked foresight, then unable to deal with consequences of his acts, he became furious and vocally angry when facing unpleasant results.
>
> Many in the group were content and happiest when satisfying the basic needs of man; food, shelter, clothing, sex. Many felt that progress threatened and made these satisfactions more difficult to acquire.
>
> Most thought of individuals out of his own milieu as a stereotyped group. Doctors as a group, know little, and teachers are not too smart.

The final report of the training center (June 30, 1967) represented both of these views, reflecting also perhaps the basic ambivalence of Americans toward the poor:

> Many made a moderate effort to do what the teacher wanted, but some definitely felt little desire to progress.

Prejudice should be discussed here as a possible ingredient in the images. Prejudicial attitudes among the staff and trainees at the center were seldom encountered probably because the process of recruitment of a staff and trainees for a multi-ethnic project for the poor would eliminate the more prejudiced and tend to bring about a repression of any negative attitudes.

Most of the staff were scrupulous in expressing and following equalitarian ideology. Some exceptions exist. One counselor teacher said:

> We talk about moral issues and cleanliness--and I don't know what I'm doing telling them this when they have no rules at all that they follow. They are so irresponsible--they follow no rules. The only day present may be Friday to fill out form so he can get payed. Many have had illegitimate babies. I think their moral

> codes are lower than that of American Negro in this area--they are hard to motivate.

One counselor, after wrestling with trainee problems expressed his discouragement with the Indians:

> I don't think any counselor or maybe any counseling can really help the Indian.

Counseling

After recruitment of trainees was completed, the three major activities of the training center were basic education, skill training, and counseling. Counseling activities could occur as a part of the other two areas. The counselor assumed a kind of role as ombudsman in which they were actively engaged in assisting the trainee in solving the problems interferring with recruitment into the center, attendance at the center, progress in the program, and work after the program.

In order to achieve these ends each counselor was directly responsible for a specific trainee. The counselor was ideally supposed to know why a trainee was troubled, missing, or not progressing in his training; and to do what he could to help the trainee achieve training goals. The conventional images of a counselor as one who sits at a desk and listens or dispenses advice, does not adequately describe the procedure counselors followed. The counselor was not bound to his desk and a calendar of appointments, but instead followed a policy which came to be called <u>mobile pursuit</u> in

which the counselor included going out to visit an absent trainee at home, finding out the nature of the problems keeping him home, and attempting to help him resolve them. In the course of working with the trainee the counselors were involved in the following:

(1) Trying to cut red tape in state agencies so trainees could get dental care, glasses

(2) Making appointments for visits to doctors or dentists

(3) Assisted trainees in making claims for back pay

(4) Attended court with trainees as in a divorce case

(5) Furnished transportation to some trainees to get to the center.

(6) Persuading court officials that a trainee might be better off with a fine rather than a jail sentence so he could continue training

(7) Cosigning for an automobile, and help in choosing the automobile

(8) Finding housing for trainees and or moving a trainee

(9) Assisting trainees with probation officers

(10) Assisting trainees in getting clothing

(11) Assisting trainee with their finances, and placating their debtors

(12) Helping children of trainees through counseling

In terms of general goals counseling was aimed at "motivation":

> . . . unless the trainees are motivated our best programs will not help them achieve the goals and purposes of the program (Progress Report, June-July 1965).

The Counselors were encouraged to:

> . . . be very careful that they were not trying to promote the so-called "middle-class values". He is primarily trying to get each trainee to function to the best of his ability without attempting to bring this trainee to the middle-class level. . . . (Progress Report June-July 1965).

Building the "self-image" was stressed in terms of building a sense of "worth" as a person. The counselor was urged to remember that:

> . . . the client is capable of change, he is seeking to change himself. Being a voluntary client of the counselor is an effective means of getting change (Progress Report, June-July 1965).

From the viewpoint of trainees counseling was either all good or all bad:

> We looked forward to our counseling classes--to let off steam--bring out things bothering us, and to know us better (53).

> It was not too much help--one guy always did all the talking--and about things not useful to me--they'd say tell about yourself--it would take 5 years to do that--they want to show how the other guy acts (2).

Two Approaches to Counseling

The nature of counseling as seen by the director of the training center (Director T) was not the way counseling is conceived for the middle class:

> The textbook of counseling had to be thrown out. It calls for appointments, privacy, and non-directional approaches. We have to get 'em, counsel 'em anywhere and be very directive. In day to day contact middle class people don't talk to people like our trainees, that's why it's so important we do it here (Director).

> We have had three people here doing excellent counseling. What do they have in common? They let nothing go unsaid. These three people are talking all the time with their trainees--its about 90% bullshit--they're flooding them with examples of problems. They leave nothing unsaid--and even suggest what a normal response is--they have to be told--they have to know the whole range of thought.
>
> The difference between the counselors is their approach to others and their attitude to them. I have a chance to influence people's lives says Counselor R. R. started with 15 trainees lost one--and is still upset about it--he has got guys back after two weeks. He works with 30 trainees. R. gets closest, G. and N. are more remote and idealistic--they show movies. N's case load includes men who have bluffed out welfare agencies for years and want to continue to. . . .

The role of the counselor as seen by the most directive counselor (Counselor R.) was not to counsel:

> Our work is not counseling but trouble shooting. You've got to have different approaches to each trainee. I rode Y. hard--he didn't want cuddling. I got tough with N. and refused him payment--and even if sick he drags in. With E. got to be firm but careful. He takes everything personal. Y. says he'll stay out Monday morning if he doesn't want to come in. I said that makes you half a man because you can't hold a job. D. has really resisted change, but at least now he agrees that I tell him the truth and he will sit in the office and let me chew him out.
>
> J. and I just spent a half hour with D. We told him all the mean facts we could. That if he wanted to earn $1.25 he didn't deserve more. He said he's been pushing apples and can anytime. K. told him he will drive a junk car, have a small home, be a drunken father, be a jailbird--look at your buddies, they dropped out and are still in the gutter.

The nature of counseling as seen by the non-directive counselor was by no means uniformly non-directive:

> I learned the non-directive approach but at times with this population you've got to be more directive. I've become more directive over time.

> I think we needed to say you have these traits and there are these choices--what will you do? I'd give the Indians a choice: attend and work or poverty, and they say: "I guess I want this."
>
> B.N. was truly dependent at first. I made choices for him, and later let him make choices, I had to because he was so problem-ridden as to be immobilized.
>
> For short term results R's way is best because Indian prefers to go along rather than fight. R. pats guys on the back and builds self-conception. He often takes fathers role and I don't because of age, largely. I don't feel comfortable.
>
> I do believe the results of the non-directive approach I have used should be visible within a few years.

From the trainees point of view, the non-directive counseling was seen as follows:

> I was like a little kid--I was not mature--I was afraid to say what I thought--afraid of failing--G. talked to me and without saying so he let me know it's okay to fail if you try again (15).
>
> G. has been awful good--done all he could to help me--he signed a bank note for me (14).
>
> G. helped with personal problems especially with children--with questions about life and sex. My nerves were on edge--get away from the children--he said (135).

Another counselor said of Mr. G. that:

> G. was low key in his approach. I think I made myself more available--G. made schedules--was more professional--you can't do it by schedule. He didn't get as much involved I don't think he related to them. There was a fence between them--I think rest of counselors were liked more. He was very good on testing.

Directive counseling was seen as follows by the trainees:

> I was having troubles at home--it was mother-in-law and father-in-law--they put me in jail and accused me of a lot of things like hitting mother-in-law--I was on probation a year--R. accused me of doing it too--and I got angry and threatened to quit when R. didn't understand me. He talked me back into staying. My wife took baby that night and then I had a drink and went to get baby,

> they wouldn't let me and so I wrecked house and maybe I shoved mother-in-law and whole family pressed charges--she had beef because I said I didn't want mother and father around because we always argued when they were around--they tried to tell me what to do. Now they don't bother me no more. R. kept me in school, I was gonna quit, he talked with me and explained what I'd be missing. He's a pretty nice guy--tried to help a lot of people.
>
> And then R. came over and got me to try welding job at Johnson Welding. If they will just be patient with me--I don't know why he does this for people--maybe he just feels they should have a chance (145).
>
> A. and L. would listen to you and explain their opinion--R. is a little more aggressive--he's military--he wouldn't give a damn if you were dying, he'd want you to make it (161).
>
> Well when I first came here I didn't respect anyone--but with R. around he was like a big brother and showed me how to do things right, like when we first got married and was fighting all the time. It takes two to tangle (132).
>
> Being around people scares me to death. Different people scare me--I couldn't get up in front of class--I settled down as much as I could--I felt it was almost a home because of the staff--they're one of the best I've seen in something like this. R. was like a father to me. Well he'd put everything he had into it without wanting anything in return and same was true of others (107).
>
> R. helped a lot with my children--talked to two oldest a lot (age 14 and 15). He helped them and oldest girl a lot (age 15). Mike is still a problem rebelling (34).
>
> R. made important phone calls, went to a trial with me. I had problems and he more or less talked to me and more or less straightened 'em out (45).

In evaluating the two approaches, it is worthwhile to consider the following: (1) the trainees will differ as to which type of approach is most effective; (2) counselors will differ as to which type of approach they can use most effectively, and (3) the ability of trainees to accept a

counselor's advice may vary depending on the way it is presented and by whom.

One of the problems of the center was the lack of the right type of person to counsel the Indians. Their complaints were primarily about the directive counselor:

> R. didn't talk about important stuff, he talked mostly about sex and other people. Once he was talking about my mother--and not by name but she and I knew--and I didn't think it was very nice. R. wanted to know all our business and tried to run our own lives, he tried to be helpful but he'd go behind our backs and talk about us. I'd hear from other people he was saying stuff (134).

One staff member, a Chippewa Indian, who was assistant director, wanted to work with Indians in counseling:

> . . . but I thought it might undercut counselors, and they could learn to work with someone strong as in the job.

The director felt the assistant director was not willing to be critical about problems of his people. But he acknowledged that the assistant director was "doing the work of five agencies." He was referring to his placement of Indian trainees in jobs and helping in their moving and finding a place to live.

The one person who seemed able to work as a counselor with the Indians, also used a modified directive plan. He would usually try to direct only if they brought up a problem--but he also grew more directive over time:

> Many of the culturally deprived have a short fuse and the first time they're criticized on the job they would quit.

> We started out being gentle and at their service, and weaned them slowly. I never gave too much advice. I felt they needed some one to talk too. I never felt you should sit down and tell them about all the ideal things--it would be just too much.
>
> I felt to overcome one problem at a time would be enough. I felt they had good ideas and needed to test them out themselves. I asked some to write and list all of the things they'd like to change about themselves--and pick one and try to change it. And when get one licked maybe in two years, will start on next one, but you'll find while on one the others will start to change. They don't know where to start, this gives them a plan.
>
> It's not what you say--but how you say it--if you talk to them as an equal. We made a point to move around as the floor during breaks because they could say "Well Bill what about _____ _____."
>
> You can't walk into a house and look shocked or become over-solicitious. You can't be a phony. Indians need to be able to trust you. I never pushed my way of doing it down their throats. I'd suggest they try to do something, and they think and think about it.

Unfortunately counselor E. was transferred to another project of the Michigan Catholic Conference and later returned near the end of the training program and was unable in the time remaining to resume an effective role as counselor. Trainees said of him:

> I liked E. He put me more at ease when I could talk to him--and I got more used to being around people when I could talk. When I'm in a crowd I wouldn't go around and talk to them and in a party I can't join in the fun they have (87).
>
> E. used to treat me all right. Most of them tried to run your life--he didn't (129).
>
> No--I liked E. for counseling--but he seemed to like to mold everyone over to his ideal (178).
>
> I got a lot out of E., but after Mrs. N. took over I didn't get too much (87).

Paradoxically, it was not prejudice that seemed to interfere with counseling the Chippewa, but rather the equalitarian orientation of the center. Equalitaranism led them to try to treat the Chippewa the same as the other types of trainees. Thus white counselors worked with the poor white, the Negro, and the Indian, while a Mexican American counseled the Spanish speaking trainees. But equal treatment of unequals is unequal in impact. Equality might have been achieved on other grounds: an Indian counselor for Indians, or a counselor for trainees selected apart from ethnic identity so as to provide the best style of counseling for different types of trainees, if that style could be identified.

The Directive Trend

The centers early month of operation were more experimental in that both directive and non-directive policies were encouraged. But as the date of completion of the project approached, the emphasis switched towards the more directive approach. The director took the term "pursuit," used first to recruit trainees, and began to emphasize it in terms of helping trainees attend regularly, resolving their problems and achieving placement on jobs. A factor aiding in this change was the arrangement of offices which were much to the liking of the director although it was not equally effective for all staff since those who were most aggressive would

maximize their interaction with the director. As one staff member who favored the non-directive approach said, "you feel like a fool just sitting around there."

Those staff members less successful in gaining access to the director felt they were being judged wanting because they did not talk up their work:

> T. is growing very impatient with some of the staff now. Perhaps because those who talk the loudest get his ear. And so K. is getting a hard time, and B. did.

Counseling and Labor Force Mobility

Assessing the degree of success of the two approaches to counseling involves a great number of difficulties. Trainees were not counseled by one counselor throughout the program; and the counselors tended to change their approach and become more directive and what was good for one trainee may not have been good for another.

An attempt was made to examine the influence of type of counseling by classifying trainees according to the staff member they said had helped them the most and their labor force mobility. The result is shown in Table 7-XI, and indicates a very slight tendency for labor force mobility to increase among those with directive counselors, and to decrease among those with non-directive counselors. There is also a slight decrease in labor force mobility among trainees who could not specify some one who had helped them.

Table 7-XI

Type of Staff Member Who Helped Trainee Most at Job Training Center and Labor Force Mobility

Type of Staff Member Who Helped Trainee Most	Number of Staff	Labor Force Mobility Low 0-1	Medium 2-3	High 4-5	Total
Directive Counselors	3	15	16	22	53
Non-director Counselors	4	22	16	18	56
Instructors	13	9	12	8	29
Administrators	3	3	-	1	4
Don't know; left too soon; none of them	-	10	8	5	22
Total	-	59	52	54	165

Basic Education

Basic education was intended to prepare trainees for the skill training portion of the program. Basic education began on November 29, 1965 with 80 trainees sitting in a large bare room which was being converted by cement block walls into small classrooms where later 10 to 15 students would be grouped on ability basis from first grade up to junior high school levels.

Reading was stressed, along with vocabulary development. The need for stress on reading is suggested by these statements:

> I had to go through training because I wanted to learn and didn't want to be on ADC all my life. I don't know how to read--so I can't get a job (40).
>
> Reading is my trouble--I couldn't learn. I had a teacher for two years I didn't like and got behind on it. I gave it up then--and dread it each day. That teacher thought she was better than us and made fun of me (6).
>
> I don't have a driver's license because I can't read and pass the test--and they read it to you too fast. I took Ma in to read it like they said and they wouldn't let her read it--and she said she'd buy me a license plate and let me drive, and dad said, "No sense in taking a risk like that" (174).
>
> . . . it takes the steam out of a man, makes him feel funny to go up and tell someone he doesn't have an education. I don't think a guy like you, that has education can really know that--how it feels--but you know now and that's O.K. to tell you. Or how would it be if a guy at graduation offered a job and I had to say I couldn't take it because I couldn't read. It almost kept me from marrying till I told my wife. She said she wouldn't marry me for that. . . . I've done all I could to try to learn. I could not read a story till I knew the words, but couldn't read them in another story (41).
>
> You sit in class in high school and get a string of E's and other kids get passing grades and you sit there--you get a shitty feeling about it--you're not getting the grade and you don't understand what's happening (171).

Tutoring was given to those trainees who had the greatest difficulty. A number of techniques were used to teach reading. Some of the difficulties involved are indicated by some trainees comments:

> Mrs. H. . . . was my best teacher - if you couldn't read or write she'd sit down and help you--rest of them didn't--Mrs. E. wanted me to write a capital D and I didn't even do it in my life and she wanted me to sit right down and do it--I never done no writing before (146).

> Mrs. H.--she had a way of putting the English around--real basic. It wasn't humiliating, in regular school I asked to go to 3rd grade--they thought it would be too embarrassing for me--it was embarrassing for me in the 8th grade--I'd put my head down on the desk--I sat at the rear of the room (171).

One instructor described her technique as: "anything that works . . . sight or identification, context clues, phonics . . ." In a class of slow readers that had been studying reading from November of one year to July of the next she had a student who could not distinguish THIS from THAT. Her method was to draw a diagram as follows:

She indicated this has IS in it and that is high on both ends. Then she tried to ask him which word fits a particular sentence. The student could not grasp the distinction and returned to his chair where another was instructed to help him. Shortly after, another class entered the room, and it read at a much higher level. The first group was described as the worst, and the second as the next to the best.

The reading training helped some:

> I couldn't read when I first came here--now I can read simple words (22).

> They gave me my start--I couldn't read hardly at all--now I can read enpugh in repair manuals. Before I didn't have nothing,I was living with my folks--I now got a fairly nice car and paid for a trailer, a checking account, a daughter, and shit everythings tuned up so I can make a decent living and I don't have to depend on anyone else and I know where my next meal is coming from (177).

> First time in my life I could write my name and not have to make no X mark. I was proud (89).

But some were still unable to read or to write adequately after training:

> I don't read magazines, too darn complicated--I can read a 2nd or 3rd grade level (183).
>
> In a way it's the same--but before I started I only knew them up to D but now I know them all the way through (149).
>
> That basic education should be longer. Because I just got started, and it went down hill--I can read some but not like I should (144).
>
> I still have trouble reading, its just about the biggest trouble I have--it improved a little bit there (176).
>
> I learned reading there and lost it after I left--I guess it wasn't long enough--I need it on the job--I can't fill out paper on a job I do--I told boss I have trouble spelling and he'd help me fill out the papers--he's a real nice guy--any guy like that wants to help kids who didn't have a good chance, most won't (145).
>
> I tried to make out words but I can't and I hope I can someday. I'm working at high school on sounds of words (106)
>
> I still can't get my reading--I learn it today and forget it again tomorrow--I go home and sometimes cry over it (41).
>
> Since I was in reading here I've forgotten what I learned--I don't know what it is--but I could put a car together blindfolded. It's awful when everyone can read and you can't (15).
>
> Before I came here they didn't want to hire a guy in mechanics unless he had some kind of training--I think I'm about average as a mechanic, I still need a lot of training especially in basic education in reading, writing, spelling. It takes me too long to read instructions to fix cars--you got to be able to look it up in the books and if you put one together wrong it costs you more than you can make (169).
>
> I've picked up a little reading--but my chances haven't improved any--I'm still 6th grade--it hasn't improved me any--they push you through too fast--I've never completed one book. It was a month before I got my vowels--they don't have the system--they have some good teachers (5).

Why men who seem of normal intelligence cannot reas is perplexing. One trainee held:

> I'm nervous and have ulcers--anything that bothers me I just leave or blow my work--most of the time I just blow off a little steam. I had trouble with my eyes as long as I can remember--everything I get is from class work--but my eyes can't concentrate any distance--it blurs and my eyes can't pick up the same line (17).

The coordinator of general education for all trainees had received complaints from some trainees of being in the 1st grade reader. Her answer to them was:

> Yes, but <u>you're</u> reading it and make sure your kids don't stop there.

From her viewpoint each trainee had something to be proud of when they graduated: to write their name or to read 200 or more words.

The number helped is difficult to determine but Table 8-XI shows that labor force mobility did not seem to differ with level of literacy. Unfortunately trainees were measured on verbal ability early in training, but not later, so firm conclusions can not be drawn from Table 8-XI.

One other approach to assessing the outcome of general education's influence is possible. But it only provides a partial glimpse of the outcome. Thus nine trainees (5%) passed the General Education Test. It is the equivalent to high school graduation. It is accepted as a prerequisite for some civil service tests, and as a substitute by employers for high school graduation. More trainees might have taken the test had funds been provided to pay the ten dollar fee.

The labor force mobility of those trainees who passed is presented in Table 9-XI.

Table 8-XI

Language Ability of Trainees and Labor Force Mobility

Language Ability	Labor Force Mobility Low 0-2	Medium 2-3	High 4-5	Total
Low	20	18	12	50
High	21	20	26	67
Total	41	38	38	117

$X^2 = 2.8780$ df 2 $p > .05$

Table 9-XI

Passing the GED Test and Labor Force Mobility

Passed or Not Passed GED Test	Labor Force Mobility Low 0-1	Medium 2-3	High 4-5	Total
Passed GED Test	3	2	4	9
All Other Trainees	56	50	50	156
Total	56	52	54	165

Although it is apparent that there were improvements in litercy and general education, it does not appear that they related to LFM. This lack of relationship may be the result of placement of trainees of low levels of literacy into programs in which they could be as successful as those trainees with stronger language skills who were channeled into other programs.

Skill Programs

The different skill programs attracted different types of trainees. The differences between trainees are reflected in their approach to termination of their training: (1) The secretarial class on its last day gave a surprise lunch at the center with turkey and all the trimmings for all 60 people present. (2) The custodial trainees were given a farewell and graduation party by the training staff at the state home. Graduation certificates were passed out, and the instructor was given a gift. (3) The welding trainees held a party of their own at a bar to mark the end of training. One staff member attended. (4) The auto service station mechanics and machine operators left after training without fanfare.

Women had available skill programs such as: clerk, typist, food services, and housekeeping. The younger females more often were in the clerk typist program when their

educational background was strong enough. Older females turned to food services or housekeeping.

Four skill training programs were available to men: welding machinist, auto service station mechanic, and custodial. Each skill tended to attract a certain type of trainee, a process aided by the channeling efforts of the counselors and other staff members. Welding attracted men who seemed to present a more masculine image in terms of aggressiveness. Machinest operators seemed to attract a less aggressive appearing male and perhaps for this reason seven Indians were in machinist training, 1 in welding, 1 in auto mechanics and 3 in custodial. The men entering the custodial program were more often the older, quieter men, and having the least ability to read. The males going into auto service station training were more often younger and pursuing an interest in automobiles which may have been an outgrowth of the interests of their peer group.

The auto service station mechanics conceived their training as in "auto mechanics." It was in fact taught at a simpler level involving light repairs. The level disappointed a number of trainees, some complained of knowing more than the instructor. Absenteeism was very high. The instructor felt trainees did not adequately comprehend the highly complicated ignition and assessory system. Of thirteen trainees he felt only four could break down and reassemble a carburetor. In discussion between the director and the auto-shop teacher

the problems perceived by the auto shop teachers are reported in relation to one trainee:

> Auto shop teacher:
> He might be ok in maintenance, I wouldn't mind seeing him walk down the hall with a mop.
>
> Director:
> We have to realize some of these guys have little possibilities, but can't he do something in a shop better than anyone else?
>
> Auto shop teacher:
> His hair stands on end and he has filthy, clothes and skin--who would leave him a car to be fixed?
>
> Director:
> He is a guy who was in an institution for the retarded 17 years. Your shop could be the first to save such a guy.
>
> Auto shop teacher:
> But he doesn't have it, we taught him to carry out a routine repair one day and in the review next day he couldn't repeat anything he learned.

Although the director and the teacher differed as to the approach to be used with the trainees, they seemed agreed about their level. If their conclusion is correct then perhaps the difference in trainees in each skill program would relate to different levels of LFM. In addition there are such factors as opportunities and other training factors, including the quality of instruction. The data in Table 10-XI does not allow identification of the independent variables that may have been more salient, but it is evident that where trainees did not complete either general education or a skill program only 6 out of 41 trainees had high LFM and a similar pattern exists where only basic education was completed. More frequent high labor force mobility is found only among trainees in welding (8 out of 14) and auto mechanics (8 out of 12).

Table 10-XI

Type of Skill Training and Labor Force Mobility

Type of Skill Training	Duration in Weeks	Number of Trainees: In Graduating Class	Number of Trainees: In follow-up Interview	No. of M/FM	LFM: Low 0-1	LFM: Med. 2-3	LFM: High 4-5
Welding	40	18	14	14-0	0	6	8
Machine operator	35	12	9	9-0	5	1	3
Auto mechanic	20	13	12	12-0	3	1	8
Custodian	15	11	10	10-0	2	5	3
Clerk typist	30	28	27	1-26	7	9	11
Food services	15	5	14	0-14	5	5	4
Housekeeping	15	5	4	0-4	1	1	2
On the job training	Variable	12	7	5-2	1	3	3
Basic education only	Variable	26	20	13-7	9	7	4
Did not complete either skill program or general education	Variable	-	41	30-11	23	12	6
Transferred to other training centers	--	7	7	6-1	3	2	2
Total		147	165	100-65	59	52	54

Peer Group Influence

The influence of peers work history before training correlates .27 with LFM and peers LFM after training correlates .22 with LFM. Peers light use of alcohol or abstinence correlates only .10 with LFM. Alcohol was in general not a relevant problem (Table 11-XI) but drinking was regarded by the staff as primarily an Indian problem. The proportion of heavy to alcoholic drinkers among the Chippewa was 46% (17) and among whites it was 16% (18).

Among the Indians who drank excessively one staff member described the behavior in training as follows:

> In training in most instances the trainee who is drinking feels very free to come to class, denies he is drinking and resents being asked to leave the training center. He becomes abusive verbally, but thus far, nothing more than that. He can be ejected through the back door and one minute later return to class through the front door.
>
> When he is drinking the American Indian at our Center recaptures what can be considered a normal masculine aggressiveness, and actually becomes, for a time, more pleasant. He will speak, when normally he wouldn't; he will knock on a closed door; he will question staff motivation; he will leave class without being excused; he will make demands on his counselor and he is more outspoken, and even charming, in the classroom. Along with all this, we as a staff feel that the American Indian drinks to get drunk. There appears to be no middle or twilight zone of drinking just to relax.

A number of approaches to dealing with the drinking problem were tried. Alcoholics Anonymous was tried by one Indian male who later said that it was boring listening to people telling their stories. Alternative activities were attempted: a trainees bowling team was set up on Saturday

Table 11-XI

Consumption of Alcohol and Labor Force Mobility

Use of Alcohol	Labor Force Mobility Low 0-1	Medium 2-3	High 4-5	Total
Abstains or seldom uses	28	26	32	86
Moderate, heavy, or alcoholic	31	26	22	79
Total	59	52	54	165
	$X^2 = 1.7107$	df = 2	$p > .05$	

night to compete with four staff members, softball was also used. A conference of local leaders was held about the problem. The state of Michigan sent a representative to the training center where an in-service training program on alcoholism was held.

The eventual solution to the more extreme problem was termination of the trainee's enrollment. But termination was not quickly or lightly decided upon. Consider this series of events preceding the termination of three Indian males as described by a counselor in an event involving three male Indians trying to get a check from the treasurer of the center for a period in which they had been absent:

> It was Jim who wanted his check on Friday morning, and I told the assistant director no--unless Jim had a good reason, he was already drinking and by noon was drunk. I told him not to come to the shop or I would call the police. I fought them for two hours but finally they got into the shop and they were then drunk as skunks. They then left to try and locate the assistant director at a movie theatre--it cost them three dollars and he wasn't there. Come Monday and they were still drinking and also in the group was Phil and Dan.
>
> They followed the treasurer and bumped into her car three times and were yelling and screaming obscenities at her until they were chased away by four men from a gas station. Finally they were arrested for disturbing the peace and were terminated at the center.

While the staff members were trying to solve the alcohol problem for the Indians who were heavier drinkers, there were other Chippewa who managed the situation by avoiding peers, as was shown in Chapter X (see Table 16-X).

Placement

The effort at placing the trainees in a job ended the job training program, although sometimes several placements were necessary before a trainee found a job he could stay with. Placement correlates .34 with LFM, and suggests a moderate degree of influence. Fifty trainees were placed on their longest held job by the staff. Job placement was essential for the trainees who had problems that an employer might define negatively, such as heavy drinking or a prison record.

An example of the importance of placement is seen in the case of one twenty year old trainee who was on the way towards

alcoholism and had been arrested and was about to be sent to prison. The judge gave him the alternative of attending the center or jail. He chose the center and entered the training program for service station mechanics. He was not expected by the shop teacher to be a very good mechanic. His drinking interferred with attendance. His sisters and mother harassed him. The situation continued in this fashion to the end of training. He was placed on a job with a service station, and achieved LFM of 4. His employer wrote of him:

> Tom is still working for me. His biggest problem was lack of confidence in himself. He is still improving and will turn out to be a good citizen I am sure. But boy it sure has taken a long time.

Placement by the staff also helped overcome the trainees lack of awareness of opportunities, and his fear of asking:

> I like the job and everything--I get bored--but I usually find something to do. I never would have thought of going to Smith's I didn't want to ever work in a department store. Without it I'd have a sense of uselessness (112).

> I think it was a good program, gave a lot of guys an opportunity to better themselves, jobs which actually they couldn't get if they hadn't gone here (151).

Placement for most of Mexican trainees and a number of whites was in the small shops and work places of the area. Placement for Indians was very often in larger organizations. The small shops provided the trainee with closer relations to the boss, and the larger shop possibly provided an impersonality which the Indian may have preferred. For some trainees, placement efforts didn't occur:

> Well I thought you'd be done in a year and you'd have a job waiting--I found out later it's not like it is--you just get through and nothing else happens (130).

Placement efforts ran into several difficulties which may have restricted the numbers placed. These difficulties are described in the centers terminal report:

> 1) We might first mention the problem of having our vocational courses ending at the slowest time of employment in the year. This made finding good jobs within commuting distance of our trainees' homes doubly hard.
>
> 2) We have also found that placement for our clerk typists in training related jobs is quite difficult. One big factor in this case is that many employers insist on hiring people who are high school graduates or have passed the GED test. We also found that most employers had a typing test that in most cases require people to type at least 45 words a minute. The inability to pass this test has proven a stumbling block to some of our trainees. Another problem the clerical trainees seem to face is the competition for jobs from young, more attractive high school girls.
>
> 3) Some seemed to feel that because of their training they could step right into a top salary bracket, not realizing that they would have to start in most cases at the entry level and work their way up.
>
> 4) A major administrative problem centered around the tremendous travel necessary to provide the kind of follow-up or job development and placement we were expected to do and wanted to do. Briefly, and we have stated this many times before, a gallon of gas will only take you so far and we could not afford enough gas to do adequate follow-up.

Placement activities were part of the channeling function of the center. Other channeling activities included referring trainees to other training centers with different skill programs. Twenty-two Indians were referred by staff members to programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Chicago. They were

high school graduates or were well advanced and some of the staff said they didn't need basic education. One staff member later felt that they should have been kept at the Mt. Pleasant Center for their training since fifteen out of the 22 didn't finish the Chicago program and came back.

Conclusion

The rehabilitation framework sensitizes the researcher to the idea of a range of influences. But the framework does little to clarify the types of influences operating in one type of institution or another. In the research reported here it was found that the training center and its underclass population were little influenced by conventional school goals such as general education or skill training. They were more affected by interpersonal influences of peers and staff members, the psuedo-gemeinschaft atmosphere of the center as it related to self-confidence, and the channeling function of recruitment into training and placement by staff members on the job.

The training center represents a kind of bridge between two subcultures. The staff were attempting to move the trainees from the underclass subculture into the working class subculture. Their methods of achieving this goal involved use of tactics and styles of relationships which ran counter to those standard middle class bureaucratic procedures which usually operate to keep the underclass in its place at the bottom of the class structure.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSIONS

In the first chapter of this thesis the dual purpose was expressed of contributing to sociological knowledge and to knowledge of social problems. Therefore, this concluding chapter attempts to clarify and summarize the relationship of the findings reported above to the problems of society and to the problems of sociology. The chapter begins with a summary of implications for sociological theory and concludes with a discussion of implications for social policy in relation to job training centers, underclass subculture, and the opportunity structure.

Implications for Sociological Theory

The research problem reported in this thesis stems from one of the central issues raised by Tumin in his criticism of Davis and Moore's theory that the function of social stratification is to provide opportunities which motivate individuals to fill society's most important positions. Tumin held that these opportunities in fact constitute unequal distribution of rewards which build up obstacles to

mobility for succeeding generations. Liebow, Ferman, and others have extended the opportunity theory to apply to the underclass. Other theorists such as Oscar Lewis have developed a concept of the subculture of poverty which relates to Tumin's approach in that it holds that the subculture of the poor prevents mobility. Both the opportunity theorists and the subculture theorists reject or minimize the validity of the competing explanation. A third view has been advanced by Gans and holds that opportunities and subculture are interrelated influences, and that the interaction of opportunities with the subculture of the working class results in a moderate frequency and modest degree of mobility.

The disputed relationship between opportunities and subculture provided the focus for the research reported here which has attempted to formulate an exploration into the relationship of opportunities and subculture in a group of 165 job trainees, most of whom were born into the underclass. A third framework, that of rehabilitation, was also used in order to conceptualize the problem in relation to the job training center.

The thesis therefore examines influences of three types: opportunities, subculture, and training. The research procedure was exploratory and involved comparison of 37 Chippewa trainees and 113 poor whites and a small number of Mexicans and Negroes. Interviews were conducted during training and approximately one year after training. Research procedures

also included observations, use of case records, a mailed employer's questionnaire, and interviews of a random sample of blue collar workers in the middle Michigan area. Four scales were developed intended to measure the major variables suggested by the research problem and the frameworks that were used. These scales were intended to measure labor force mobility, opportunities, training, and the family dimension of subculture. Conclusions apply only to the training group itself and generalization to other populations is not possible given the exploratory design of the research.

On the basis of the data examined above support was found for each of the frameworks of opportunities, subculture, and rehabilitation in relation to the trainee population studied here, if it is also assumed that the three scales are of equal validity. Since all three frameworks receive support then the Davis-Moore-Tumin debate can not be resolved by a simple affirmation of one side or another, but rather the position receiving support is the one involving the idea that opportunities, subculture, and training are influences which interact with each other to bring about the intermediate frequency and degree of labor force mobility in the underclass. The data indicates the consistently greater influence of opportunities, followed by the influence of job training, and the lesser degree of influence from family factors. The data seems to support the conclusion

that opportunities of a level moderately above the trainees pre-training experiences are most likely to motivate the members of the underclass studied here when aided by comprehensive job training activities, and positive family influences.

Dimensions of the opportunity scale which associated most strongly with labor force mobility were weekly salary, pre-post job satisfaction, level of job satisfaction, hourly rate of pay, and job status, but not the frequency with which jobs were available.

The training centers influence was seen not so much in conventional school areas such as skill training but in interpersonal influences of peers and staff members, the psuedo-gemeinschaft atmosphere of the center as it related to self-confidence, and the channeling function of recruitment into training and placement by staff members or the job after training. The training center represents a kind of bridge between two subcultures. The staff attempted to move the trainees from the underclass into the working class subculture. Their methods of achieving this goal involved tactics and styles of relationships which ran counter to the standard middle class bureaucratic procedures which usually help keep the underclass in its place at the bottom of the class structure.

Family factors which associated with labor force mobility were of two kinds: (1) the pressure of spouse or kin in

support or opposition to labor force mobility, (2) models of steady work patterns, father's educational achievement, and sister's job and educational achievement.

Ethnic differences in family structure were seen among whites in the greater frequency of extended family clusters and low LFM, and the greater frequency of significant others and high LFM among white males. Among the Chippewa males there were no wives who were significant others, a higher proportion of insignificant others and low LFM, and more males without females. When the husband of a white women is unable to work LFM is more often high. Among the Mexican families the presence of a dominant father resulted in low LFM, and after his death higher LFM occurred for children or spouses. Among Negro trainees, males were of low LFM and females had a slightly higher LFM. Ethnic differences are also seen in the drinking pattern and life cycle of the Chippewa, while the functional equivalent among the whites may be the greater prevalence of psychosomatic illnesses.

Many of the family and ethnic patterns tend to operate in opposing directions with a general low level of support for labor force mobility.

The interrelationship of the three frameworks is seen in the following conclusions:

1. The range of opportunities which underclass trainees define as desirable is sharply limited by their subculture of origin, and to a somewhat lesser degree

the range is limited by the influence of the irregular economy on the downwardly mobile.

2. The range of opportunities to which trainees responded were influenced by the placement efforts of the training center staff, their recruitment efforts, and the general pseudo-gemeinschaft atmosphere of the center which helped develop trainees self-confidence.
3. The influence of peers from the subculture was intensified by the continual association provided at the center. The trainees who could avoid peers, or who could avoid peers who had low labor force participation prior to training, were more likely to have higher labor force mobility.
4. The influence of family factors is negative about as often as positive, but was more often negative prior to training, suggesting that the training center helped channel the direction of influence of the family, but it may have been more successful in this with whites and Mexicans than with Chippewa and Negro.
5. The high correlation of opportunities and the low correlation of family influences with labor force mobility masks the fact that the actual opportunities available were often at such a low level that despite the great effort of the staff and the trainees,

49% of trainees with medium or high LFM had annual take-home wages of $3,000 or less.

Implications for Social Policy

Social policy is involved in each of the three frameworks in relation to opportunities, training, and the family. Training centers acting as channels for mobility help facilitate the slow movement of people out of poverty into the working class. In the absence of such centers one important channel of opportunity is closed off.

Training programs for the type of underclass population studied here would be more likely to be successful if the nature of a pilot project could be repeated in different locations rather than become bureaucratized in one location. Training programs stressing a wholistic approach seem necessary as a context in which psuedo-gemeinschaft relations can develop. Better matching of types of counselors to types of trainees from different ethnic groups may improve labor force mobility in these groups. Placement activities could be more effective if travel funds for follow-up placement were more adequate and if center staff were not involved in follow-up surveys and evaluations which divert them from placement activities.

Opportunities are crucial if a training center is to achieve its goals. Generally centers make use of existing opportunities. Most of the staff of the center labored

long and hard, as did most of the trainees, but their level of success was limited by the nature of opportunities in the irregular economy. It is essential that the reward system be modified so that opportunities become adequate enough to provide meaningful mobility.

Given the possibility of downward mobility in any complex social system, it appears desirable that channels of mobility be made available for upward return. Given the slow rate of the return trip it appears essential that channels and opportunities be improved. Finally, it is argued that when job opportunities are maximized in conjunction with training centers of the type studied here, the family may respond even more strongly than was found in this study.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

THE FRAMEWORK OF STRATIFICATION: BASIC ASSUMPTIONS AND CONCEPTS

The analytical framework used in this study is that of social stratification. The problem is that of exploring, expanding, and clarifying explanations of social mobility in segments of the underclass.

The Social Bases of Class Position and Behavior

In the attempt to interpret social life, it is useful to note that however similar the members of a society may seem there is very often a range of differences in their life chances. The opportunity for a member of a society to obtain the ingredients of wealth, status, and power for building his life style is associated with his occupation, education, income, and ethnic origins. However, his status in terms of level of occupation, education, income, and ethnic origin may be inconsistent (Lenski, 1954), so that he has a high ranking occupation and education, and a low ranking ethnic group and a middle rank income. Class behavior is the result of the interacting influence of these factors from family of orientation and from family of procreation.

Hence analysis of social class is difficult, and some sociologists prefer to argue that social classes in America do not exist except as statistical artifacts (see Lasswell et al., 1965, and Rose, 1958). Yet there may be no other single concept which is as heuristic in organizing and explaining behavior. It may be that the class concept is resisted because it conflicts with equalitarian values of some sociologists, but to analyze American society as if classes did not exist would be tacit approval of a status quo in which exploitation is not absent.

Social Class

A number of interpretations of the nature of social class in America have been developed (see Lasswell, 1965: 57-67; and Gordon, 1963: 173 ff.). Lasswell (1965: 57-67) discusses several of these assumptions including those of structure, plural structure, functional, continuum, class boundary, interest group, and interactional. Not all of these are mutually exclusive, and their use often depends less on truth claims than on utility in analyses and clarification and/or the biases of the observer. In this research I wish to utilize the assumption of vertical continua across which can be located two polar types of social entities: status aggregates and status groups. These assumptions, and the concepts of status aggregates and status groups are selected on the basis of truth claims, hoped for utility, and

a bias towards lumping rather than splitting. The two concepts are defined below.

Status aggregates are collections of people enjoying approximately the same degree of honor in a community but who are in "potential, capricious, occasional or sporadic social contact" (Stone and Form, 1953: 150-152). The relationship of members of different status aggregates may be one of conflict. Furthermore, their status may overlap, and their relative position shift over time. Because of the low level of interaction the boundary lines of status aggregates can not easily be established, and it is necessary for the sake of analysis to establish arbitrary definitions.

Status groups are groups within which interaction is highly frequent and between which interaction is minimal, such as in reservations, ethnically homogeneous ghettoes, or religious communities such as Mennonites. By comparison to aggregates, status groups are highly exclusive and share a fairly homogeneous life style, and have a high degree of solidarity (Stone and Form, 1953).

Gordon (1964: 52-53) distinguishes what might be considered to be two types of status groups: (1) the ethnic group, bound by historical identification in the sense that what happens to the group happens to its members, and (2) the ethclass which is held together by participational identification in the sense of feeling at home with them, participating frequently with them, and sharing "close behavioral similarities" (Gordon 1964: 53).

The present study deals with persons who seem to fall into each of these three types of entities. This can best be pictured as a continuum ranging from high to low rates of internal interaction:

STATUS GROUP (High Internal Interaction)	Ethnic Group	Ethclass	Ethnic or Ethclass Aggregate	STATUS AGGREGATE (Low Internal Interaction)
	Chippewa Mexican Negro	poor whites with moderate rates of interaction among themselves	poor whites with low rates of interaction among themselves	

Social class in American might be conceived as made up of a number of such continua arranged in vertical strata.

Class and Ethnic Differences

Sociologists tend to assume that:

> With regard to cultural behavior, differences of social class are more important and decisive than differences of ethnic group. This means that people of the same social class tend to act alike and to have the same values even if they have different ethnic backgrounds. People of different social classes tend to act differently and have different values even if they have the same ethnic background (Gordon 1964: 52).

On the other hand status groups and aggregates within the underclass may differ in a number of respects and Gordon's distinction between ethnic group and ethclass suggests some ways in which that is possible. As far as the underclass in this study is concerned a major problem explored is how

these segments differ in relation to influences affecting occupational mobility.

Underclass and Blue Collar Stratum

The conception of the underclass used here defines it as those persons in an industrial society whose occupation, income, and education sharply restricts their access to the opportunities defined as normal in that type of society at that time. Assuming social class to be best conceived as ranging along a set of continua, the upper levels of the underclass merge into the lower level of the blue collar class among workers who are at a full time job year round but whose wage income is below the national median sufficiently to block their access to opportunities. The lowest level of the underclass would consist of those defined as outcasts such as hobos, and tramps.

Recent clarification (Roach and Gursslin, 1965: 504-505) has been made showing that considerable confusion exists in sociological research in which blue collar and underclass strata were confusingly lumped together under the heading lower class or working class, a usage perhaps encouraged by Warner's reference to an upper-lower and lower-lower in his studies of Yankee City (1941). It will be argued in this thesis that the underclass should not be merged into the same classification with the blue collar workers, but that it can not be understood without relating it to that class.

The underclass is a downward extension of the blue collar level, and it is argued here that people in the under class are usually oriented towards the working class in their life aspirations, and they would, if life conditions did not block their aspirations, wish to maintain a blue collar style of life.

APPENDIX 2

CLASSIFICATION OF TYPES OF INFLUENCES FROM SPOUSES

1. Eleven men with wives as Significant Others

Trainee (11 Whites)	Labor Force Mobility	Indicator
12	5	Wife helps him in his gas station by doing clerical work and picking up parts.
15	4	Wife resisted his going to JTC but despite that he "desired to prove himself" and wanted his wife to be proud of him.
17	0	Wife is Indian provides mild support. He has severe asthma, stutters.
40	4	He feels he has little ability and is deaf and reads poorly. His wife says he can do better if he tries.
100	5	Wife expresses desire for him to work at what he likes to do, both wish his job as welder for university payed more.
132	5	Wife and wife's grandmother exert pressure towards work and bringing home pay.

2. Eighteen men with wives as Insignificant Others

Trainee (12 whites)	Labor Force Mobility	Indicator
25	1	In all cases classified here the influences are either mutually contradictory or were weak with the husband being dominant.

Trainee	Labor Force Mobility	Indicator
64	4	In all cases classified here the influences are either mutually contradictory or were weak with the husband being cominant.
69	0	
74	3	
80	4	
84	4	
110	3	
111	4	
136	5	
146	2	
152	2	
169	2	
6 Chippewa:		
2	4	Wife preferred he stay home, but was unable to pressure him strongly, perhaps because the son-in-law was assistant director of job training center.
7	5	Unemployed, 2 years and during that time wife did not pressure him to work or stop drinking.
125	2	Wife and grandmother try to influence him, but he is heavy drinker and has frequent jail sentences.
128	0	Wife is a deaf mute.
129	1	Married into family of persons at bottom of Indian social classes. Mother-in-law was in training but had no LFM (estimated).

Trainee	Labor Force Mobility	Indicator
177	0	Wife pressures him to work and be sober, he beats wife, and is frequently in jail on charges of driving without a license or drunk and disorderly.

3. Twenty-nine men with Negative Others

Trainee (16 whites)	Labor Force Mobility	Indicator
14	0	Wife works as cooks helper. Wife supported his staying away from training and phoned explaining his pneumonia, weak heart, nervous breakdown. He was encouraged to go to train in Marquette but didn't because he said, "Job required moving and kids doing ok in school."
18	2	Wife is semi-invalid, blames him and training center for her troubles, also conflicts with him.
41	1	Wife makes decisions for husband and likes him "close to home." He turned down jobs waiting for school janitors job near home.
68	5	Brother-in-law of trainee #69 and is dominated by brother-in-law and when #69 quit a job in a factory in nearby town he quit too.
72	4	Wife afraid to be left alone during day, while he was a JTC, he dropped out, they returned to small town.
75	4	Wife got husband to drop out of JTC, feared other woman, later he returned. Wife goes home to mother when husband doesn't do as she desires.

Trainee	Labor Force Mobility	Indicator
107	4	Wife prefers to keep husband close to home where he had pulpwood work. After the follow-up interview he injured his back and was unable to work.
131	1	Wife works and supports him.
145	2	Wife and mother-in-law pressured him too much. He tried to leave them, and then had fight with mother-in-law.
148	2	Wife prefers he stay near home, and does not want him living in Lansing during week where he could get better jobs.
173	1	Lives in family cluster which is dominated by female side of family especially step mother, prefers to seek "job around here because I want my boy to go to one school where he knows kids and can do better."
176	5	Wife refused to move with him to a training center in another local, he and wife don't get along well.
178	4	Separated several times, when things get difficult he takes off.
180	3	Wife dominates him.
182	2	Quarrels with current wife, and much quarreling with his own kin earlier, prison sentence and divorce.
183	1	Wife threatened to go back to mother if he attended JTC, saying she was sick and needed his care.

Trainee	Labor Force Mobility	Indicator
9 whites with ADC,ADCU:		
11	0	Quit work because wife expecting 6th baby. Gets ADC of $220 month, "we sit down and talk it over and I'd do it her way and get along with her well."
51	0	Receives ADC.
58	0	Wife functions as if subnormal mentally and he must care for her and children, county welfare feels he should not work so he can care for her and kids.
93	2	Father is a mason and crane operator, lives in family cluster. He claims that the MESC employment office claims he is too old (age 42). He married the daughter of trainee 51 (born in intergenerational poverty) and gets ADCU of $200.
119	1	Wife feels that if he works he will lose ADC status of being unemployable.
143	5	Father was a brick firemen. Trainee is now 56 years old. He works and received ADCU of $240 for 7 children still in school, much delinquency reported among children.
149	3	Father was a railroad laborer. Trainee has 9 children ages 20 to 9 and gets ADCU of $240 month.
159	2	Father rented 200 acre farm. Trainee worked on an uncles farm for many years. Trainees heart condition now prevents work. Receives $200 ADCU for 5 children 12 to 16.

Trainee	Labor Force Mobility	Indicator
4 Chippewa:		
50	2	Wife influences trainee 50 and though her daughters influence son-in-laws 71 and 90 to stay close together as a family unit, thus also sustaining their heavy drinking pattern.
71	1	See comments above.
90	4	See comments above.
103	0	Wife prefers he live in rural area.

4. Ummarried Males

Trainee (18 whites)	LFM	Age	Indicator
3	1	36	Lives in family compound, stepmother rejects him, spent 17 years in a state mental hospital.
5	1	36	No relatives in the area. Injured hands after training and couldn't work.
6	5	38	Took care of his father for many years. After fathers death was able to overcome guilt feelings about going to get training.
8	5	22	Lives with his parents.
10	4	20	Mother and sisters harassed him, but trainee left them, found a girl he later married.
42	5	18	Lives with his parents.
54	1	35	Lives alone.
62	0	19	Father is second generation welfare recipient. He is third generation.

Trainee	LFM	Age	Indicator
77	4	24	Lives with his father.
92	4	20	Lives with parents.
101	0	21	Lives with sister, had 3 stepfathers.
106	4	39	He ran farm with his father from age 11 on. Left after fathers death. Lives alone in Lansing where he moved for better job.
109	3	30	Moved for better job.
118	1	24	Lives with parents.
120	3	36	Lives with brother and sister and built house on 20 acre farm.
144	1	24	Lives with parents. Epilepsy interfers with his working.
151	3	20	Lives alone.
168	1	19	Lives alone.
9 Chippewa:			
1	1	18	Lives with uncle
13	5	22	Lived with mother but moved to take job.
16	3	19	Lives alone.
38	4	50	Lived with parents, but moved to take job.
70	5	27	Lives alone.
116	2	42	Uncle to trainee 1.
138	0	34	Takes care of disabled father.
156	3	19	Lives alone.
158	0	30	Lives alone.

5. Widowers

Trainee	Labor Force Mobility
1 White	
76	3
0 Chippewa	

6. Six Divorced, Separated, Deserted--Males

Trainee (4 White)	Labor Force Mobility	Indicator
72	3	Wife left him.
81	2	Wife divorced him.
140	3	Wife left him.
141	0	Wife threatened to leave him if he did not get a job paying $1.50 an hour and stay with the job longer. He didn't, she left him.
2 Chippewa		
139	?	Wife left him.
37	5	Wife left him.

7. Five women with men able to work.

Trainee (4 white)	Labor Force Mobility	Indicator
55	1	Three trainees have husbands with steady jobs
117	2	
154	0	
165	0	Married another trainee while at center.
1 Chippewa		
126	2	Married another trainee while at center, husband repeatedly in jail, drinks heavily, is part of family at lowest level of Chippewa community.

8. Women with men unable to work.

Trainee (6 white)	Labor Force Mobility	Indicator
30	4	Husband has arthritis, collapsed lung, diabetes.
43	2	Husband is disabled veteran.
86	3	Husband is tuberculosis outpatient.
98	0	Husband is disabled.
135	3	Husband has heart condition.
157	3	Husband is alcoholic.

0 Chippewa

9. Unmarried Women

Trainee (4 white)	LFM	AGE	Indicator
4	2	20	Conflict with mother.
32	5	33	Dominated by mother.
96	4	24	Sisters, dominated by father, possibly identify with him, both have male mannerisms.
137	5	22	

4 Chippewa

52	4	19	Lives with parents.
57	5	20	Lives with parents.
78	2	19	Lives with parents.
112	5	19	Lives alone.

10. Widows

Trainee (8 white)	LFM	Age	Indicator
39	1	51	Receives ADC

Trainee	LFM	Age	Indicator
44	3	56	Husband a farmer.
85	3	57	Husband a lumberman.
94	5	49	Father a veteranarian and husband a car salesman.
105	3	40	Husband was an oil field driller.
114	5	51	Husband was attendant nurse at State Home.
124	0	50	Deafness is almost total.
133	5	56	Husband was Mexican migrant farm labor.
1 Chippewa			
47	0	46	Children are over 18. She receives one or more pensions from deceased husbands.

11. Divorced, Separated, Deserted--Women

Trainee (20 white)	LFM	Age	Indicator
20	1	30	Divorced, 5 children.
26	4	26	Separated, four children
28	2	35	Receiving $25 weekly support from husband.
33	0	35	Husband left her, three children, receives ADC.
34	4	33	Divorced, eight children, receives ADC.
45	4	31	Separated, seven children, receives ADC.
46	5	31	Divorced, two children.
48	4	38	Unwed, one child, receives ADC.

Trainee	LFM	Age	Indicator
53	0	39	Separated, two children receives ADC.
59	4	31	Divorced.
61	3	35	Separated, three children, receives ADC.
67	4	34	Unwed, one child, receives ADC.
87	2	41	Separated, six children.
97	0	41	Separated, lives in family compound with sisters.
102	3	46	Separated.
147	0	33	Unwed, one child, receives ADC.
155	2	33	Separated, one child, receives ADC.
160	3	39	Divorced, four children, receives ADC.
162	2	29	Divorced, two children, receives ADC.
163	4	38	Divorced, one child, receives ADC.
9 Chippewa			
29	0	30	Four young children, husband ran away, receives ADC.
31	0	27	Four young children, husband ran away, receives ADC.
49	3	46	Two children under 18 but without ADC for them.
79	0	22	No children, divorce pending, heart condition prevents work, lives with parents.

Trainee	LFM	Age	Indicator
95	4	42	Two sons attended training center and set example for her youngest daughter is also about to leave and ADC will end.
99	0	19	One young child, father of child absent, receives ADC and lives with parents.
115	1	48	Husband forced her to quit training center and later left her.
130	0	33	Four young children, separated, receives ADC.
170	0	52	No children, divorced, no visible means of support, heavy drinker, spends much of her time in bars or Grand Rapids skid row.