

AN APPRAISAL OF THE SOCIAL FACTORS
IN THE WORK ATTITUDES AND INTERESTS
OF A REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLE OF
TWELFTH GRADE MICHIGAN BOYS

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE
Elmer Grant Youmans
1953



This is to certify that the
thesis entitled
An Appraisal of the Social Factors in the Work
Attitudes and Interests of a Representative Sample
of Twelfth Grade Michigan Boys.
presented by

Elmer Grant Youmans

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Sociology and
Anthropology

Major professor

Date December 1, 1952

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P ~~064~~

AN APPRAISAL OF THE SOCIAL FACTORS IN THE WORK ATTITUDES
AND INTERESTS OF A REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLE OF TWELFTH
GRADE MICHIGAN BOYS

By

Elmer Grant Youmans

A THESIS

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan
State College of Agriculture and Applied Science
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

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THESIS ABSTRACT

Each year thousands of young Americans leave the schools to take full time jobs. The many difficulties and problems connected with this transition pose an important social problem in United States: Are youth being adequately prepared to fulfill adult work roles? Any wise action on such a problem must be based on fundamental research which illuminates the processes by which young people become adults. This study aims to contribute to this knowledge by assessing the relative importance of certain social factors in the socialization of young people for adult work roles in United States.

Four major hypotheses are tested: (1) that social stratification is significantly associated with the differential rearing of young people in the home and to the differential treatment accorded them in the school and community; (2) that the value orientation of sub-cultures of social strata are more important in formulating youths' work attitudes and interests than are the school, incidental work experience, type of community, or certain factors in the home situation; (3) that work experience changes young peoples' work attitudes and interests; and (4) that the American secondary schools are not successful in completely erasing attitudinal differences concerning work which exist among young people who come from different social strata.

The testing of these hypotheses required first-hand information on how youth viewed jobs and occupations in United States. This was obtained by means of a questionnaire administered to a representative

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sample of twelfth grade Michigan boys. The responses of the subjects are analyzed from contingency tables. The degree of relationship existing between each two variables in the tables is shown by the value of the corrected coefficient of contingency. The probability values have been computed by means of Chi Square.

The first hypothesis is confirmed: the differential rearing of the boys in the home and the differential treatment accorded them in the school and community are significantly related to social stratification. The second hypothesis is substantiated by the occupational and educational expectations of the boys: social stratification is the most important social factor in their occupational and educational expectations. Although the students evidence considerable "upward striving" in their future plans, there is a strong tendency for them to expect life work in the same occupational stratum as that of their fathers. The second hypothesis is not supported in terms of the youths' work preferences and interests and security attitudes: these are only slightly related to social stratification, as well as to other significant social factors.

The third hypothesis is confirmed: preliminary work experiences change the boys' work attitudes and interests. The more the preliminary work experience the young men have, the more conservative are their occupational expectations and the less "confident and secure" they are about their futures in the work world.

The fourth hypothesis is supported: the school does not overcome the differences created by social stratification. The occupational plans of the students, their work interests and preferences, and their

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"security" attitudes remain significantly related to the social strata from which they come. Although the school tends to modify these attitudes and interests slightly, this modification appears to result from "informal" rather than "formal" means of education.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to gratefully acknowledge his indebtedness to the Social Research Service of Michigan State College, Charles P. Loomis, Director, and to the Committee which made the survey of Michigan youth for permission to use the data on which this thesis is based.

I wish to express my deep gratitude to Doctor William H. Form who provided guidance and assistance in the development of the thesis and who directed and supervised the study.

I am also greatly indebted to Doctor Duane L. Gibson who contributed invaluable assistance, many helpful suggestions, and generously of his time for personal conferences. Grateful acknowledgment is also made to Doctor Charles P. Loomis, Doctor Wilbur B. Brookover, and Doctor Charles R. Hoffer for their careful reading of the manuscript and for their helpful suggestions.

Grateful acknowledgment is also made to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., for permission to use its tabulating equipment.

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2. The second part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Interior, dated January 3, 1862. It is a very important document, as it contains the Secretary's annual report to the President. The report is written in a formal, dignified style, and it is one of the most important documents in the history of the United States.

3. The third part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Treasury, dated January 3, 1862. It is a very important document, as it contains the Secretary's annual report to the President. The report is written in a formal, dignified style, and it is one of the most important documents in the history of the United States.

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PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND NATURE OF THE STUDY

The Problem Area

Each year thousands of young people in the United States leave schools to enter the adult work world. The transition from a non-monetary to a monetary status is not a simple process. The youths who enter the full time job market confront different social environments to which they must adjust in order to earn a living. The manner in which they make this adjustment is, of course, related to their previous socializing experiences. For some the transition is relatively easy; for others it is fraught with anguish, despair, and emotional disturbances.

Socialization refers to the life-long processes by which the human organism learns a culture, acquires personality, and becomes a social being and a functioning member of groups.¹ In the home the child has many opportunities to observe and participate in some kinds of work

¹ For general examination of the processes of socialization see Kimball Young, Social Psychology (New York: Crofts and Company, 1945); George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self, and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934); Charles Horton Cooley, Social Organization (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912); and R. T. La Piere and P. R. Farnsworth, Social Psychology (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1942).

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activity. He has tasks and chores to perform and observes workers who service the home. In the school the young man or woman participates in a social system managed by adults for the purpose of preparing him for adult responsibilities. In his extra-class activities he participates in a peer culture with its own social expectations and standards. In his part time employment he is somewhat oriented toward occupations and the discipline of the adult work world. As a youth he undergoes various experiences in the home, in the school, in the church, in the community, and in part time work experiences which make an imprint on his personality. These experiences mold and shape his ideas, values, beliefs, and attitudes about the world of work and equip him more or less to perform adult functions.

It is generally recognized that experiences in the home, the school, the community, and in part time work serve to socialize young persons for functioning in adult society. Not so well known, however, and not so well accepted in the United States is the influence of social stratification in the operation of the home, the school, and the community. Americans are strongly imbued with the ideology of equality. They generally assume that regardless of origins everyone has an equal opportunity to share in the advantages and benefits of American civilization. They typically assert that all Americans are equal, that all Americans have equal rights and privileges, and that the differences which do exist arise from individual differences or from the failure of the individual to make use of his opportunities. Most Americans are inclined to deny the existence of rigid "social classes" or any other permanent form of social stratification.

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However, despite the popular notion to the contrary, careful study has recently revealed that important social differences exist between broad strata of people in United States.¹ One significant form of social differentiation is that of occupational affiliation. Since occupational groups tend to correspond to broad social strata, and since each stratum is differentiated from other strata, it is hypothesized that this occupational stratification will be reflected in the attitudes and beliefs of young Americans in the United States. It is hypothesized that American young people, by virtue of their father's occupational level, are differentially socialized for the adult world of work.

Importance of the Study

A study of the socialization of youth for functioning in the adult work world is directed at an important sociological as well as social problem. In every society the young people must be guided and trained to fulfill adult roles. Any study which reveals the factors in operation or illuminates the process by which young persons make this transition will contribute to sociological knowledge as well as provide information for action groups.

¹ See W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, Social Class in America (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949); W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated? (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944); Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941); Robert L. Sutherland, Color, Class and Personality (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1942); W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups, "Yankee City Series," Volume III (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945); and Allison Davis and John Dollard, Children of Bondage (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1942).

In delineating certain of the factors in the socialization of adolescents for work, this study aims to refine certain aspects of the theory of social stratification. Social stratification refers to the differentiation of a given population into hierarchically super-posed groups. Its basis and existence consist in an unequal distribution of rights and privileges, duties and responsibilities, social values and privations, and social power and influence among members of a society.¹ A social stratum is a mass of persons in a given society enjoying roughly the same station and sharing common interests and common problems.²

Although "social stratification is characteristic of all societies, its form and meaning in any particular society vary with prevailing values and operative social forces."³ In Western industrialized society the dominance of economic institutions and economic functions suggest that economic stratification is the basic form.⁴ For this reason

1 Pitirim A. Sorokin, Society, Culture, and Personality (New York: Harpers & Brothers, 1947), p. 276.

2 K. A. Davis, "A Conceptual Analysis of Stratification," American Sociological Review, 7, 309-21, 1943.

3 J. Useem, P. Tangent, and R. Useem, "Stratification in a Prairie Town," American Sociological Review, 7, 331-42, 1942.

4 See A. M. Edwards, "A Social and Economic Grouping of the Gainfully Employed Workers in the United States," Journal of the American Statistical Association, XXVIII, (December, 1933), 377-89; Alfred Winslow Jones, Life, Liberty, and Property (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1941); W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, The Social System of the Modern Factory, "Yankee City Series," Vol. IV (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947); F. S. Chapin, Contemporary American Institutions (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1935); Robert and Helen Lynd, Middletown in Transition (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937).

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occupation, which is a reliable index of economic function, may reflect the general stratification in the society.¹

Occupational stratification refers to the differentiation of occupational groupings on the basis of prestige, income, security, authority, skill, amount of responsibility, complexity of work, or by some other relevant criterion. Occupational stratification means the descriptive ordering of people into "higher" or "lower" categories on the basis of some objective criteria related to work or function performed. The core of an occupational stratum consists of those workers who remain in their occupations for a considerable length of time.²

The occupation of an individual tends to influence the size of his family, his income, his type of home, where his family will live, the type of food consumed, with whom the members of the family will associate, and how vital problems of health, leisure, and security will be solved. Each occupational group tends to mold its members in its own image.³

1 W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, op. cit., pp. 39-41, have developed an Index of Status Characteristics for measuring social class position. The Index uses four status characteristics: occupation, source of income, house type, and dwelling area. Of these, the greatest weight is given to occupation. Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949) has made use of occupation as an index of social class position. Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), pp. 87, 358, and 364, point out the importance of occupation in determining status. See also Wm. H. Form and Delbert C. Miller, "Occupational Career Pattern as a Sociological Instrument," American Journal of Sociology, 54 (January 1949), 317-329.

2 Arthur Saltz, "Occupation," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 11 (New York: Macmillan Company, 1933), pp. 424-434.

3 Ibid. See also Pitirim Sorokin, Social Mobility (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1927).

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The occupational group possesses an ethos or ideology of mores, codes, rules, knowledge, techniques, and attitudes and tends to form a behavioral system.¹ Robert E. Park states that

Adam Smith was one of the first to point out the fact that the differences in character and personality which are ordinarily conceived as biologically conditioned and innate are very largely a product of differences in occupation, and since personality, as we have come to conceive it, is merely the subjective individual aspect of a tradition and culture, it transpires that every occupation becomes, or tends to become, the basis for a new society.²

Occupational stratification is also related to problems of social policy. Some social scientists view with alarm the social stratification which has taken place in American society. One, for example, states:

A society is possible in the last analysis because the individuals in it carry around in their heads some sort of picture of that society. Our society, however, in this period of minute division of labor, of extreme heterogeneity and profound conflict of interests, has come to pass where these pictures are blurred and incongruous. Hence we no longer perceive the same things as real, and coincident with our vanishing sense of a common reality we are losing our common medium of expressing and communicating our experiences. The

1 For evidence of this see Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, Preface to the Second Edition (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1947); Frances R. Donovan, The Woman Who Waits (Boston: R. G. Badger, (1920); The Saleslady (University of Chicago Press, 1929); and The School Ma'am (New York: F. A. Stokes, 1938); E. H. Sutherland, The Professional Thief (University of Chicago Press, 1937); Nels Anderson, The Hobo (University of Chicago Press, 1923); Paul F. Cressey, The Taxi-Dance Hall (University of Chicago Press, 1932); Logan Wilson, The Academic Man (New York: Oxford University Press, 1942); Wm. F. Whyte, Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948); W. Fred Cottrell, The Railroador (Stanford University Press, 1940); and Florian Znaniecki, The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940).

2 Robert E. Park, in the Introduction to the Saleslady, by Frances R. Donovan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), vii.

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world has been splintered into countless fragments of atomized individuals and groups. The description of the wholeness of individual experience corresponds to the disintegration of culture and group solidarity. When the bases of unified collective action begins to weaken, the social structure tends to break and to produce a condition which Emile Durkheim has termed anomie, by which he means a situation which might be described as a sort of social emptiness or void. Under such conditions suicide, crime, and disorder are phenomena to be expected because individual existence is no longer rooted in a stable and integrated social milieu and much of life's activity loses its sense and meaning.¹

Mayo,² in discussing social stratification in American society, maintains that this phenomenon is largely responsible for the lack of cooperation in the industrial world. He suggests that it is within the power of industrial administrators to create within industry itself a partial remedy for the conflicts resulting from the social stratification which has occurred in the United States.

Centers³ also points out the cleavages which exist in the subcultures of America and asserts that the differences in attitude and belief among the strata in America are the stuff out of which social conflicts are made. Schisms and social distinctions are so many and varied in United States and their effects upon human life so pervasive that they raise important questions for social scientists as well as for action groups.

1 Louis Wirth, in the Preface to Karl Mannheim's Ideology and Utopia (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936) xxv.

2 Elton Mayo, The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization (Boston: Graduate School Of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1945).

3 Centers, op. cit., pp. 3-11.

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Although most of the studies in social stratification have examined this phenomenon in terms of adult behavior, a few have focused attention on the behavior of young people. Hollingshead, for example, examined the behavior of youth in seven areas--school, job, church, recreation, clique, dates, and sex--and found significant relationships between social stratification and this behavior.¹ The Maryland Youth Survey, which obtained first-hand information from more than 13,000 youths, stated that the plight of certain groups of young people seems to be the direct result of the economic level of the youths' families.²

Social scientists have also examined American educational practices in terms of social stratification.³ From the days of Thomas Jefferson American educators have asserted that a public school system is a basic and necessary part of democracy. They have assumed that one of the functions of the school is to provide equal opportunity for every child, that through education those at the bottom can compete on equal terms with those at the top for life's values, and that the schools are the most effective means of avoiding a stratified society. In the American faith, every student in the public schools has an equal chance for

1 A. B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1939). Hollingshead stratified the families of the youths in his study according to the way the family lived, income and material possessions, participation in community affairs, background, and prestige in the community.

2 Howard H. Bell, Youth Tell Their Story (Washington, D. C.: 1938), p. 152.

3 See Warner, Havighurst, and Loeb, op. cit. and W. B. Brookover, "The Implications of Social Class Analysis for a Social Theory of Education," Journal of Educational Theory, I (August, 1951), 97-105.

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"success." All that is needed is ambition, plenty of hard work, and the will to "get ahead." Studies in social class, however, have indicated that this faith has not been fulfilled. Studies have shown that the equalizing and levelling function of the schools has been over-emphasized.¹ The social strata from which young people come and the value orientations which coincide with these strata have proved more important in the behavior of youth than the educators realized. Perhaps educators should give serious thought to re-evaluating their educational programs in light of empirical studies on social structure.

It seems apparent that additional information is needed on the socialization of young people for adult roles. How are young people oriented to the full-time adult work world? What is the role of social stratification in this process? What is the role of the school? What is the role of the home and family situation? What is the role of work experience? What is the role of rural-urban residence? The following study aims to contribute answers to these questions.

Statement of the Problem, Hypotheses, and Questions

In view of the above, the significance of the problem is apparent. If occupational stratification exists in American society, the work attitudes and interests of American young people should reflect this stratification. If there is merit to the proposition that occupation is a significant factor in the stratification of human populations,

1 Ibid.

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the following study should partially validate such a statement in terms of a segment of American society.

The purpose of this study is to examine the work interests and attitudes of a segment of American youth and to assess the relative importance of certain social factors related to these attitudes. In assessing the importance of social stratification in comparison to certain factors in the home, in the school, in preliminary work experience, and in the community, the analysis is limited to certain available indices only. Undoubtedly many factors operate in the work attitudes of young people, and all of these are by no means provided in this study.

The working hypothesis is that the work attitudes and interests of youth are a function of position in the social structure. Four major hypotheses are to be tested and answers are sought to a number of questions related to these hypotheses:

(1) Differential socialization. It is hypothesized that social stratification, using the father's occupational level as an index, is significantly related to the differential rearing of young people in the home and to the differential treatment accorded youth in the school and in the community. Is social stratification significantly related to the amount of work youths do at home? To the amount of spending money young people receive? To the kinds of curricula they select in school? To their participation in extra-class activities and in vocational guidance conferences? To the number and kind of jobs they obtain and to the amounts of money they earn?

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(2) Social stratification. It is hypothesized that the value orientations of sub-cultures of social strata are more important in formulating youths' work attitudes and interests than are the school, incidental work experience, type of community, or certain factors in the home situation. To what degree does social stratification affect youths' plans for the future? Their educational plans? Their choices of occupational goals? Their work interests and preferences? Do youth from some social strata view the work world with security and confidence compared to students from other social strata? Are adolescents from some social strata better equipped to perform roles in the contractual, Gesellschaft,¹ bureaucratic, "capitalistic" business world than youth from other social strata?

(3) Work experience. It is hypothesized that work experience produces changes in young peoples' behavior and that these changes are reflected in their work attitudes and interests. Do youths' occupational expectations change with work experience? Does work experience change young persons' views of the work situation? How does work experience relate to the confidence and security with which youth view the world of work?

¹ Acknowledgement for the concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft is made to Ferdinand Toennies, Fundamental Concepts of Sociology (Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft), translated by C. P. Loomis (New York: American Book Company, 1940). Gemeinschaft refers to the primary, face-to-face relationships which are considered ends in and of themselves. Gemeinschaft behavior is motivated by the sacred, the traditional, the spontaneous, and the emotional. Gesellschaft behavior is motivated by "rationalism," in which means and ends are differentiated and the means are chosen according to the norms of efficiency, with little interference of the sacred, the traditional, the emotional, or the sentiments. In the Gesellschaft type, inter-personal relationships are means to ends, not ends in and of themselves.

(4) The role of the school. It is hypothesized that the American secondary schools are not successful in overcoming the differences which exist among young people by virtue of social stratification. Is the American educational system fulfilling its democratic aim of equalizing the opportunities of youth in America? Do children from different social strata have equal opportunity to achieve and share in the benefits of civilization? Do educators in the secondary schools give undue emphasis to the American middle-class, white collar ideology?

Although the following study will not provide complete answers to the questions raised, it does aim to contribute reliable data which may provide fruitful insights into the factors operating in the socialization of young Americans for the adult world of work.

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CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

In order to examine the impact of social stratification and certain other factors upon the socialization of young people for the world of work, it was necessary to have first-hand data on the attitudes, interests, preferences, aspirations, and expectations of young persons relative to work and work situations. These data were obtained by means of a group administered questionnaire. To analyze these data it was necessary to treat them statistically. The manner in which the data were collected and the statistical method used in the analysis are described below.

The Questionnaire

In 1947 the Michigan Bell Telephone Company granted funds to the Social Research Service of Michigan State College to cover the operating expenses of an informational survey of the work interests, attitudes, and preferences of high school youths in the State of Michigan. Doctor Charles P. Loomis, Director of the Social Research Service and Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Michigan State College, appointed a committee to carry out the research project and to

publish a report.¹ It was assumed by the Committee that the most feasible and efficient means of collecting information from youths throughout the State was by questionnaire. In preparing the instrument the Committee consulted with representatives of the Michigan Bell Telephone Company, the Communication Workers of America, and the Institute of Counseling, Testing and Guidance and the Continuing Education Service of Michigan State College. School administrators, teachers, and business officials were also consulted in the course of the project.

Although no explicit hypotheses were formulated by the Committee in developing the questionnaire, information was sought in five major areas. These five areas, it was believed, would reveal significant aspects of how youth viewed the world of work.² Part I of the questionnaire contains questions relative to the family, school, and work experiences of the respondents. In Part II specific work situations are described and the High School students were asked to indicate what they would do if they found themselves in such work situations. In Part III the boys and girls were asked to rate the prestige levels of certain occupations. Part IV contains questions aimed to find out what the youths' preferences were relative to jobs and occupations. Part V includes questions which were used to discover what the young people thought about marriage and the work habits of married people, including

1 Wilbur B. Brookover, William H. Form, Duane L. Gibson, Edgar A. Schuler, John F. Thaden, E. Grant Youmans, and Christopher Sower (Chairman), Youth and the World of Work (East Lansing, Michigan: Social Research Service, Michigan State College, September, 1949).

2 The Questionnaire is shown in Appendix II.

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their parents. The large majority of the eighty items in the questionnaire are multiple choice questions which required the respondents to encircle a number to indicate their responses. A few questions required the students to write in the answers.

To refine the questionnaire and to be sure it was an instrument which high school boys and girls would understand, the questionnaire was pre-tested by group administration in several rural and urban schools and followed by intensive interview with a number of those who had filled out the questionnaires. Those questions which caused difficulty during the pre-test were altered or eliminated. It was found that the students could complete the questionnaire in about forty minutes. Although the instrument was constructed to be almost self-administering, instructions were supplied to assist those teachers and school administrators who administered the questionnaire.¹ Precautions were taken to create a situation in which the youths would give their frank and candid responses to the questions. No interviews were held with any respondents in connection with the final study.

The Sample

The sample used in the informational survey consisted of 6,789 youth from fifty-six public and private high schools in the State of Michigan.²

1 The instructions are shown in Appendix III.

2 The list of high schools used in the survey is shown in Appendix IV.

The sample was drawn in such a way that a representative group of students with a wide range of work backgrounds would be obtained. To assure this, students were selected from communities having various types of occupational distributions. The Counties of the State were divided into six strata in terms of their occupational distributions in 1940. These were: First, those counties whose workers were predominately farmers. Second, those in which the majority of the workers were farmers, but not as heavily farm as stratum one. Third, those counties in which workers were evenly balanced between farm and manual workers. Fourth, those in which the majority were manual and related workers rather than farmers. Fifth, those upper peninsula counties in which manual and related workers heavily predominated. Sixth, those counties in the southern part of Michigan in which manual and related occupations were heavily predominant. These latter counties all included relatively large cities.

In order to make sure that students responding came from places of varying sizes, the schools in each stratum were divided into sub-strata in terms of the size of the senior class of the previous year. The sub-strata were: First, below twenty-five seniors, second, twenty-five to one hundred seniors, and, third, over one-hundred seniors.

Within each of the strata and sub-strata, a sample of high schools was drawn which would yield approximately six per cent of all Tenth and Twelfth graders. All the students in these two grades were asked to answer the questionnaire with the following exception. In order to obtain students from a larger number of cities and large schools, thirty per cent of the large schools in stratum six were selected and one-fifth of the students from each of the two grades were then selected at random to respond to the questionnaire. By this method, responses were obtained from students in five different Detroit high schools and from schools in several other large cities. This produced a more representative sample than the selection of a single large school would have given.¹

The completed questionnaires were coded by the Social Research Service and the data were tabulated on Hollerith cards.

1 Youth and the World of Work, pp. 77-80

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The following study is a special analysis of the responses of the twelfth grade males only.¹ This group was selected for several reasons. In the first place, an analysis of the total sample would require treatment of the additional variables of grade and sex. As indicated in Chapter One, the purpose of this study is to ascertain the relative importance of social stratification in the socialization of young people for the world of work. In order to reduce the number of variables and thus render the data more manageable, grade and sex are not treated in this study. These factors have been delineated in the report published by the Committee.²

In the second place, the twelfth grade males constitute a relatively homogeneous population in terms of age.³ They have virtually completed their secondary school education and most are on the threshold of entering the full time work world. Their attitudes about the world of work should thus reveal the kinds of socializing experiences they have been subjected to up to the time when they will make the transition of the adult work world.

1 For the purpose of analysis the occupational groupings of the fathers of the boys are placed into three levels or strata: (1) white collar workers, such as professional, managerial, proprietors and officials, and clerical workers; (2) manual workers, such as skilled workers and foremen, semi-skilled workers, and unskilled workers; and (3) farmers (owners and tenants).

2 Youth and the World of Work.

3 According to the data in Table XVI there is no statistically significant relationship between the ages of the respondents and the occupational levels of the boys' fathers.

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The distribution of the twelfth grade males in the sample by occupational level of father and by rural-urban residence¹ is shown in Table I. Of the 1,456 males in the twelfth grade sample drawn, 102 revealed that their fathers were not living and seventy-five failed to respond to the question about their father's occupation. The remaining 1,279 usable cases constitute the sample used in the following analysis.

Slightly over one-third of the adolescents in the sample are sons of white collar workers, over one-half are sons of manual workers, and about one-tenth are sons of farmers. About four-fifths of the sons of manual and white collar workers live in urban communities and about three-tenths of the farm boys live in or adjacent to urban communities. Of the total sample about three times as many seniors live in urban as in rural communities.

Since samples of broad occupational strata are used in this study, a distortion in responses of the boys would result if each stratum were not representative of its counterpart in the State of Michigan. If the white collar sample, for example, contained a disproportionate number of professionals, it is probable that a distortion would be reflected in the attitudes of the boys of this stratum. In Table II the occupational distribution of each stratum in the sample is compared with the occupational distribution reported for Michigan by the United States Census Bureau in 1940. The sample contains a

¹ As used in this study, "urban" refers to communities over 2500 in population; "rural" refers to communities under 2500 in population or in open country. The questionnaire did not include a question on rural-urban residence. Consequently rural-urban residence is determined by the location of the school the twelfth grader attended.

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE OF 1279 12th GRADE MICHIGAN BOYS, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER,
AND BY RURAL-URBAN RESIDENCE*

Occupational Level of Father	Number	Per Cent Rural	Per Cent Urban	Total
White collar worker	452	21.9	78.1	100.0
Professional	84	23.8	76.2	100.0
Managerial**	224	27.7	72.3	100.0
Clerical	144	11.8	88.2	100.0
Manual worker	719	20.0	80.0	100.0
Skilled	339	17.7	82.3	100.0
Semi-skilled	319	22.9	77.1	100.0
Unskilled***	61	18.0	82.0	100.0
Farmer (owner & tenant)	108	69.5	30.5****	100.0
Total cases	1279	24.8	75.2	100.0

* The total sample drawn was 1456. Of these 102 indicated that their fathers were not living and 75 failed to respond.

** Includes proprietors and officials but not farmers.

*** Farm laborers 3

Servants 14

Other laborers 44.

**** Living in or adjacent to urban communities.

TABLE II

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE FATHERS OF THE 12th GRADE BOYS IN THE SAMPLE AND
THE TOTAL MALE EMPLOYED WORKERS IN THE STATE OF MICHIGAN
IN 1940, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level	Fathers of 12th Grade Boys in Sample	Total Male Employed Michigan Workers, 1940*
White collar worker	35.4	27.7
Professional	6.6	4.9
Managerial	17.5	9.1
Clerical	11.5	13.7
Manual worker	56.2	62.5
Skilled	26.5	19.6
Semi-skilled	24.9	25.6
Unskilled	4.8	17.3
Farmer (owner & tenant)	8.4	9.8
Total	1279	1,427,459

* Alba M. Edwards, Population: Comparative Occupational Statistics for the United States, 1870-1940 (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1943), p. 192.

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somewhat larger proportion of professional, managerial, and skilled workers and a slightly smaller proportion of clerical, semi-skilled, unskilled, and farm workers than existed in Michigan in 1940. The sample thus contains a larger proportion of sons of higher status occupational groupings. This difference is expected, since a sample of 12th grade males in Michigan would probably represent fathers of slightly higher socioeconomic status than would a sample of all the youth in Michigan. Many young men from families of lower socioeconomic status drop out of school before reaching the 12th grade.

The Statistical Method

In order to measure the relative importance of the factors associated with the socialization of the youth and their work attitudes, it is necessary to treat the data statistically. Since the variables selected are discrete, or qualitative, non-continuous variables, the accepted statistical method employed is that of contingency, as prescribed by Hagood.¹ Hagood recommends not using the contingency method for any table smaller than 5 x 5-fold, but adds that this is frequently done.² The purpose of each contingency table is to indicate in numerical terms the existence and degree of statistical association between the variables considered and to provide numerical data which permit an explanation of the direction and nature of the association.

¹ Margaret J. Hagood, Statistics for Sociologists (New York: Henry Holt, 1947), p. 478.

² Ibid., p. 508.

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Since the results of computation do not indicate whether a contingency value is plus or minus, the direction and nature of the association for each table must be determined by inspection and are explained in narrative form.

To discover the existence and degree of association between two variables, the method of Hagood is followed.¹ The degree of the association is found by computing the contingency value, which is shown in the tables as the value of "C". According to Mc Cormick,² this coefficient of contingency has the defect of understating the amount of correlation actually present, in inverse proportion to the number of cells in the table. In order to correct C to some extent for this fault, Mc Cormick³ provides a formula and a table. All C values in the tables of this study have been corrected according to the formula of Mc Cormick. For purposes of description and interpretation, all cell values in the tables have been converted into percentages. The percentages have been rounded at one place beyond the decimal.

The probability values have been computed by means of Chi Square, taking into account the appropriate number of degrees of freedom in each case. Consistent with standard statistical procedure, in making computations cell values are combined so that no cell will have an expected value of less than five. To simplify the presentation of

1 Ibid., p. 521.

2 T. C. McCormick, Elementary Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1941), p. 207.

3 Ibid., p. 207.

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the tables, the Chi Square values and the degrees of freedom are not shown. Also, to simplify the presentation in the tables, the following method of showing the probability values is used.

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3. When probability is .02 or less but greater than .01 . . P .02
4. When probability is .05 or less but greater than .02 . . P .05

In accordance with standard statistical procedure, the level of probability required is .05 or less. However, in a very few tables the C value is computed when the probability value is between .05 and .10. These cases are shown as "P .10."

The term "significant," which appears frequently in the study, is always used in the statistical sense. Likewise, the terms "independent and dependent" variable are always used in the statistical sense. An independent variable in one table may later be used in another table as a dependent variable.

For simplicity of expression, the youths in this study are sometimes referred to as "white collar" youths, "manual worker" youths, and "farm" youths. In actuality these terms refer to the occupational levels of the fathers of the boys.

The small number of farm youths in the sample limit the analysis in many instances to comparison between white collar and manual worker youth. However, these cases are clearly indicated. Also notations are made on the tables in those cases in which the N value is too small for statistical reliability.

Summary

It is the contention of this study that the socialization of young people for the world of work and the impact of social stratification in the process is an important sociological and social problem. It is hypothesized that the value orientations of the sub-cultures of social strata are more important in the socialization process than are the school, work experience, type of community, and certain factors in the home situation.

In delineating the relative importance of certain social factors in the socialization of young Americans, it is hoped that some reliable information will be provided educators, employers, labor leaders, vocational guidance counselors, and parents who have devoted thought and effort to devising more effective means of rearing youth. From the data assembled, from the problems raised, and from the methods used, it is hoped that some addition will be made to the available knowledge of how adolescents view jobs, work, and occupations in the United States.

PART TWO: THE OCCUPATIONAL STRATA

CHAPTER III

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OCCUPATIONAL STRATA

One of the purposes of the American educational system is to equalize the social differences existing among children from various backgrounds and social strata. This study hypothesizes that the school system is not entirely successful in overcoming these differences and that occupational differences existing among workers in various social strata are important factors in the socialization of the children of these workers. It is thus relevant to reveal the differences in the social environments in which the socialization of the young men in this study takes place. Whether or not these differences among the three occupational strata are significantly related to the work attitudes of the twelfth graders is examined in later chapters.

The differences among the white collar workers, manual workers, and the farmers, who are the fathers of the boys in this study, are evidenced by the responses of the students to certain items in the questionnaire. Some of these questions required responses of a factual nature, such as questions on family size, sibling position, and number of brothers and sisters working. Others required the respondents to make an estimation or judgment on such questions as the work habits of the parents. This chapter examines four indices of differences among

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the three social strata: family size, formal education of father, work habits of father, and working status of mother.¹

Family Size

One of the most significant social changes in Western civilization has been the declining birth rate.² Many explanations have been given for this decline, the most common of which is the invention and

1 The questionnaire contained twelve questions about the home and family situation of the seniors in this study: family size, number of brothers and sisters working for pay, sibling position, formal education of father, working status of mother, with whom does the respondent live, father's work habits, mother's work habits, father's occupational expectation for his son, mother's occupational expectation for her son, amount of allowance received at home, and amount of work the respondent does at home.

The occupational expectations of the parents for their sons are examined in Chapter V. The amount of allowance the youth receive and the amount of work they do at home are examined in Chapter IV. With size of the family held constant, preliminary examination of the data showed that there was a slight but not statistically significant relationship between the number of brothers and sisters working and the father's occupational stratum.

The respondents indicated their birth-order in the family by answering the question: "Are you the oldest, in-between, or youngest child in your family." Consequently, sibling position as evidenced in this study is a function of family size.

The data revealed no statistically significant differences among the three occupational strata in terms of whether the respondents lived at home with both parents, lived with one parent, lived with relatives, or lived in an orphanage or childrens' home. There was no statistically significant association between the occupational strata and work habits of the mothers of the boys.

2 Warren S. Thompson, Population Problems (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1942), pp. 153-158.

diffusion of effective birth control devices. However, "birth control, like any other technique, may or may not be used according to the values and beliefs of the people."¹ It has been proposed that one of the dominant values of the Western world is "rationality" in human behavior and that this belief is the basic cause of the decline in the birth rate.² This theory is evidenced by the fact that those strata or groups in Western society most influenced by the rationality of the "capitalistic mentality" have the lowest birth rates.³ Since larger proportions of the middle or white collar class than of other classes have had to plan their lives to fit into specialized occupations, their behavior is largely dominated by rational action. This stratum

1 Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 73. These authors point out that the older-order Amish, for example, reject birth control. This rejection is related to the traditional and sacred features of their society and to their unwillingness to plan and rationalize the emotional urge to sex activity within the family.

2 For discussion of this theory see Ibid., pp. 73-97. Roderick von Ungern-Sternberg, The Causes of the Decline in Birth-Rate Within the European Sphere of Civilization (Cold Spring Harbor, N. Y.: Eugenics Research Association, Monograph Series IV, August 1931), p. 202, states:

"Whatever other causes may be quoted in connection with the declining birth-rate, like urbanization of the population, prosperity, popularization of contraceptive methods, emancipation from church, competition of pleasures, housing problem, unfavorable economic situation, etc., they cannot be called independent causes for declining birth-rate since all these manifestations can finally be traced to the main cause--they are but enhancing and favoring factors.

"Therefore, the causa causans of the declining birth-rate within the western European sphere of civilization is the striving spirit, a derivation of capitalistic mentality."

3 Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, op. cit., pp. 73-97.

tends to emphasize competence and efficiency. Since children in this class have to be educated to qualify for positions in the bureaucratic systems, raising children imposes a financial hardship on the parents. As a consequence the middle or white collar class tends to have small families, while those groups and strata, such as manual workers and farmers, not so strongly oriented to the rational, Gesellschaft, capitalistic values tend to retain the more traditional and larger family systems.¹

The data on family size of the twelfth graders in this study support the findings stated above. Using the occupational levels of the fathers of the boys as criteria of the social conditions and values associated with the positions in the social structure, the data reveal a low but statistically significant association between occupational stratification and family size. Table III shows that the sons of white collar workers have the fewest brother and sisters; the sons of manual workers have an intermediate number; and the sons of farmers have the largest number of brothers and sisters. This generalization applies to

¹ Robert M. Dinkel, "Occupation and Fertility in the United States," American Sociological Review, Vol. 17, No. 2, 1952, pp. 178-183 found a consistent rank order in family size from low to high for four broad classes or strata of occupational groups: (1) the white collar combination of professionals, clerks, and proprietors; (2) service and craft workers; (3) operatives and laborers; and (4) a top fertility group of farm owners and farm laborers.

Pitirim Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929), pp. 205-220, have shown rural families are larger than city families throughout the world.

TABLE III
NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Mean	Number of Children per Family						No Response	Total
			1	2	3	4	5	6 or more		
Michigan Total Sample	1279	3.6	11.6	25.3	22.2	13.8	10.3	16.6	0.2	100.0
A White collar	452	3.1	13.3	33.2	23.9	11.1	8.4	10.7	0.2	100.0
B Manual worker	719	3.8	11.5	22.0	21.1	14.7	10.8	19.6	0.3	100.0
C Farmer	108	4.5	4.6	14.8	22.2	19.4	14.8	24.2	0.0	100.0
D Urban	955	3.4	12.9	28.1	21.6	13.5	9.3	14.6	0.0	100.0
E White collar	351	3.0	14.2	35.3	21.7	11.1	8.3	9.4	0.0	100.0
F Manual worker	571	3.6	12.3	24.3	21.7	14.2	10.0	17.5	0.0	100.0
G Farmer	33	4.2	9.0	15.1	18.2	27.3	9.1	21.3	0.0	100.0
H Rural	317	4.1	7.6	18.3	24.6	14.2	13.6	21.8	0.0	100.0
I White collar	98	3.4	9.2	26.5	33.6	10.2	9.2	11.3	0.0	100.0
J Manual worker	144	4.3	9.0	14.6	18.7	16.0	14.6	27.1	0.0	100.0
K Farmer	75	4.5	2.7	14.7	24.0	16.0	17.3	25.3	0.0	100.0

ABC	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.25
EFG	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.21
IJK	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.33
DH	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.19

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families in urban communities and to families in rural communities.¹

The data in Table III also reveal that rural families are very slightly but significantly larger than urban families.²

The inference based on the number of children in the family is that occupational stratification and rural-urban residence are statistically significant indices of different ways of living and different values and beliefs, and these differences are reflected in the differential birth rates.

Formal Education of Father

Another index of social differentiation in United States is formal education. Most Americans have great faith in the power of formal education to produce "good citizens" and "good people." The fact that education is one of the big businesses in this country and that countless young persons and adults continue their formal education in evening

1 The degree of association between father's occupational level and family size for the Statewide sample is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.25; for the urban sample, 0.21; and for the rural sample, 0.33. In each case the associations are significant above the .001 level of probability.

The mean number of children per family in the three occupational strata are: white collar 3.1; manual worker 3.8; farmer 4.5. The mean number of children in the total sample is 3.6. This figure is probably higher than the mean figure for all families in Michigan, since the sample does not include childless families.

2 The mean number of children per urban family is 3.4, per rural family, 4.1. The degree of association between rural-urban residence and family size is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.19, significant above the .001 level of probability.

schools attest to the importance placed on this value by some segments of the population.

To many Americans formal education is a means of achieving higher social status.¹ It is often considered an investment: the higher the formal educational level achieved, it is believed, the greater the returns forthcoming in income, prestige, security, job status, and working conditions. That this belief is not without some foundation is attested by the United States census data in 1940, which shows that experienced workers in the labor force were significantly differentiated in terms of formal educational level.² Edwards maintains that formal educational level is a meaningful criterion for measuring the socio-economic status of workers.³

The data on the education of the fathers of the respondents in this study indicate that formal education is also differentially distributed among occupation groups in Michigan. According to Table IV, there is a substantial and statistically significant association between the occupational and formal educational levels of the fathers of the boys.⁴

1 W. L. Warner, R. J. Havighurst, and M. B. Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated? (New York: Harpers & Brothers, 1944).

2 Alba M. Edwards, Population: Comparative Occupational Statistics For United States, 1870-1940 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 181.

3 Ibid., p. 176.

4 For the Michigan total sample the corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.47, for the urban fathers 0.42, and for the rural fathers 0.51. These associations are significant above the .001 level of probability.

TABLE IV

FORMAL EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, BY OCCUPATIONAL
LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Educational Level of Father							Total
		Less than 8 Grades	Grade School Graduate	Some High School	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduate	No Response	
Michigan Total Sample	1279	21.0	20.4	22.7	11.6	8.0	7.6	8.7	100.0
A White collar	452	11.3	14.8	20.6	15.0	14.6	17.7	6.0	100.0
B Manual worker	719	26.7	21.6	25.1	9.4	3.8	2.1	11.3	100.0
C Farmer	108	23.2	36.1	14.8	12.0	8.3	1.8	3.8	100.0
D Urban	955	23.4	18.1	22.7	11.4	7.3	7.5	9.6	100.0
E White collar	351	13.1	15.4	20.5	14.5	13.7	16.8	6.0	100.0
F Manual worker	571	29.8	18.9	24.3	9.6	3.5	2.1	11.8	100.0
G Farmer	33	24.2	33.3	18.2	9.1	6.1	3.0	6.1	100.0
H Rural	317	13.9	26.8	22.7	12.3	10.1	7.6	6.6	100.0
I White collar	98	5.1	12.2	21.4	17.3	18.4	20.5	5.1	100.0
J Manual worker	144	15.3	31.2	28.5	8.3	4.9	2.1	9.7	100.0
K Farmer	75	22.7	37.3	13.3	13.3	9.3	1.3	2.8	100.0

ABC	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.47
EEG	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.42
IJK	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.51
DH	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.18

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The data indicate that the white collar fathers possess the highest level of formal education and that there are only slight differences existing between the manual workers and the farmers.¹ Whereas a slightly larger proportion of farmers than manual workers ended their formal education with the completion of grammar school, a slightly larger proportion of farmers than manual workers graduated from high school and went on to college.² A slightly larger proportion of manual workers than farmers ended their formal education with some high school education.

The data in Table IV also indicate that urban fathers have slightly less formal education than rural fathers. The degree of association between rural-urban residence and formal educational level is negligible but statistically significant.³

The data on the educational level of the fathers reveal the differential values placed upon formal education. Formal education is important and meaningful to white collar workers, especially professional and managerial groups. The intellectual skills required in such

1 Whereas 47.3 per cent of the white collar workers are high school graduates or more, the corresponding figures for the manual workers and farmers are 15.3 and 22.1 per cent respectively. Conversely, whereas 59.3 per cent of the farmers are grade school graduates or less, the corresponding figures for the manual workers and white collar workers are 48.3 and 26.1 per cent respectively.

2 The proportion of farmers with grade school education or less exceeds the proportion of manual workers by 11.0 per cent. On the other hand, the proportion of farmers who are high school graduates or more exceeds the proportion of manual workers by 6.8 per cent.

3 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.18, significant above the .001 level of probability. Whereas 26.2 per cent of the urban fathers have a high school education or more, 30.0 per cent of the rural fathers have this amount of education.

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occupations necessitate considerable formal education. The occupations of manual worker and farmer do not necessarily require a high degree of formal education. The fact that a slightly larger proportion of farmers than manual workers attended college probably reflects two factors in this study: (1) the farmers interest in college agricultural courses and (2) the high socioeconomic (and therefore probably also educational) status of the farmers whose sons were able to remain in school to complete the twelfth grade.

Work Habits of Father

The differences in family size and the formal educational levels of the fathers existing among the three occupational strata in this study tend to support the theory that occupational strata in United States represent sub-cultural systems with their distinctive "ways of life." Since work habits are an important "way of life" of any group, it is pertinent to ask whether significant differences exist in the work habits of the workers of the three strata. Does the white collar father work harder than the manual worker or the farmer? Do those groups strongly oriented toward the "capitalistic way of life" reflect this orientation in the belief of hard work?

In the United States work is one of the important virtues.¹

Persons who have the reputation of being hard workers hold a certain

¹ Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, Industrial Sociology (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), p. 558, assert that the influence of Puritanism makes hard work a virtue. These authors stipulate that four values of Puritanism have special reference to work: (1) It is man's duty to know how to work and how to work hard. (2) Success in work is evidence of God's favor. (3) The measure of success is money and property. (4) The way to success is through industry and thrift.

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degree of prestige by virtue of this reputation. In the schools and in the work world there is an established belief that everyone should work hard and that the "road to success" is the road of hard work. Many so-called "captains of industry" have asserted that the key to their "success" lay in hard work. There is little doubt that continued hard effort is one factor in "getting ahead" in United States. However, the factors in "individual success" are not necessarily meaningful in explaining the occupational achievement of social strata. It is highly doubtful that the position of one occupational stratum in the social structure can be ascribed to the willingness of the workers in that stratum to work hard. It may be illuminating to describe how the boys in this study judge the work habits of their fathers.

In the questionnaire the students were asked to estimate whether their fathers worked an average amount or little or whether they worked very hard. It is recognized that the judgments of the youths do not constitute reliable criteria for assessing the work habits of the fathers. However, the responses of the twelfth graders to this question probably do reflect the differential value orientations existing among the three occupational strata. On the basis of the responses obtained, Table V has been prepared. The data show that in terms of occupational stratification there are statistically significant but extremely slight differences among the workers.¹ In comparing the three occupational strata, it is observed that almost two-thirds of the sons of white collar

¹ The differences are significant above the .01 level of probability. The corrected coefficient of contingency is .05.

TABLE V
STUDENT JUDGMENT OF WORK HABITS OF THEIR FATHERS, ACCORDING TO
OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Father Works Average Amount or Little	Father Works Hard	No Response	Total
Michigan Total Sample	1279	34.8	60.7	4.5	100.0
A White collar	452	32.5	63.7	3.8	100.0
B Manual worker	719	35.9	59.5	4.6	100.0
C Farmer	108	37.0	55.6	7.4	100.0

ABC P .01 \bar{C} 0.05

workers judged that their fathers worked hard; a slightly smaller proportion of sons of manual workers made this estimation; and fewer sons of farmers than sons of manual workers made this judgment about their fathers work habits.

On the basis of the data in this study the generalization can be made that although very slight differences exist in the beliefs of sons concerning the work habits of the three occupational strata, these differences are so slight that they can have no bearing on the prestige, social status, or position of the strata in the social structure. There is no doubt that considerable variations in work habits exist within each occupational stratum. Some farmers probably work much harder than other farmers and, similarly, certain sub-groups of manual and white collar workers probably work harder than other sub groups in the same stratum. The factors associated with such differences are not provided in the data of this study.

Working Status of Mother

Is occupational stratification in United States associated with married women working for pay outside the home? Are the changes in the traditional family relationships, brought about by the mother working outside the home, manifested differentially in occupational strata? The increasing number of women in gainful employment in United States is associated with many changes in the traditional functions between

man as the breadwinner and woman as the homemaker.¹ By participating in the work world, by earning an income, and by holding the status of a breadwinner, the married woman is somewhat relieved of her economic dependency upon the male. For many married women, gainful employment offers an escape from the dull and boresome task of keeping house.

It may offer the married woman opportunity to associate with people in a congenial work group; it may offer a degree of adventure and excitement; and it may provide insights into some of the problems confronting workers in an industrialized society. From her experiences in gainful employment, the married woman may bring into the home many of the ideas and folkways of work society. Because she is away from the home during the day, the husband frequently plays a more important role in caring for the children and in performing household duties.

It is a traditional belief among many middle class and white collar groups in United States that the married women should not work for pay

1 John F. Durand, The Labor Force in the United States (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1948), pp. 23-24, points out that the degree of participation of women 20 to 64 years of age in gainful employment has increased continually from 1890 to 1940. He states that the proportion of the whole female population of this age group in the labor force has almost doubled in this period of time. He estimates that by 1960 out of every 100 workers 29 will be female, as compared with 24 out of 100 in 1940 and 17 out of 100 in 1890.

Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, Industrial Sociology (New York: Harpers & Brothers, 1951), p. 129, state that the proportion of married women working has grown faster than the proportion of single working women. In 1900 married women were only 15 per cent of all working women. Their proportion steadily increased until in 1940 they constituted over 36 per cent of all working women. These authors point out that this fact reflects the general aging of the population, the growing proportion of married people, and a change in the cultural definition of the role of the married woman in American society.

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outside the home. Frequently this belief is rationalized by the statement that working women take jobs away from men who need them to support families. Basically, the white collar belief that married women should not work for pay is related to the white collar male's concept of status. Typically white collar males feel that if their wives work for pay they will lose status in the community. However, accumulating evidence suggests that such traditional beliefs and values are breaking down, that more and more married women are entering the labor force, and that the traditional values are being replaced by the "rationalistic." One of the important factors related to this change in values is that of economic necessity. Many married women enter the labor market because their families need the income.¹ Typically, the lower the socioeconomic status of the family, the greater the need for the additional income and the greater the proportion of married women working for pay.²

Using the occupational level of the fathers of the twelfth graders in this study as an index of the positions of the families in the social structure, the data show a negligible but statistically significant relationship between occupational stratification and the working status of the mothers. As the data presented in Table VI show, a slightly

1 Hazel Kyrk, "Who Works and Why," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 251, (May 1947), pp. 44-52.

2 Ivan Nye, "Adolescent-parent Adjustment--Socio-Economic Level as a Variable," American Sociological Review, Vol. 16, No. 3, 1951, pp. 341-349. In a study of 1472 youths in grades 8 and 11 of fifteen public schools in Michigan, Nye reported that 12 times as many mothers are employed full time in the low as in the high socioeconomic group. Nye determined socioeconomic level by weighting equally the occupation of the husband, estimated income, church attendance, education of parents, number of members in organizations, and working status of mother.

TABLE VI

WORKING STATUS OF MOTHER, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL
OF BOY'S FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Mother Not Working	Mother Working	No Response	Total
Michigan Total Sample	1279	76.0	21.0	3.0	100.0
A White collar	452	75.6	21.7	2.7	100.0
B Manual worker	719	74.8	22.2	3.0	100.0
C Farmer	108	85.2	9.3	5.5	100.0
D Urban	955	76.4	21.1	2.5	100.0
E White collar	351	75.8	21.6	2.6	100.0
F Manual worker	571	76.2	21.4	2.4	100.0
G Farmer	33	87.9	12.1	.0	100.0
H Rural	317	74.7	20.2	5.1	100.0
I White collar	98	74.5	22.4	3.1	100.0
J Manual worker	144	69.4	25.7	4.9	100.0
K Farmer	75	85.3	6.7	8.0	100.0

ABC	P	.05	\bar{C}	0.12
EFG	P	.50		
IJK	P	.01	\bar{C}	0.27
DH	P	.10		

greater proportion of the wives of manual workers than of white collar workers are employed outside the home.¹ The pronounced differences are between the wives of farmers and the wives of other workers in the study. In both rural and urban communities a low proportion of mothers of farm boys work for pay outside the home, compared to the wives of manual and white collar workers. Probably the heavy burden of home duties associated with a large family plus the many chores of the farm tend to discourage farmer wives from seeking employment outside the home. As Loomis states:

On the farm in United States, the wife customarily helps the husband. She may make a general practice of helping him or may help him only in cases of emergency. Whether or not she does general field work will depend upon class and regional variations. In general, the wives of more well-to-do families work less in the fields than wives of lower class status. The wife generally helps the husband in the field and about the homestead, doing men's chores during that part of the life cycle in which the children are too young to work.²

The data in Table VI indicate that in the urban communities there is no statistically significant relationship between occupational stratification and the working status of the mothers of the youth in

1 The degree of association between occupational level and working status of mother in Table VI is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.12. The association is significant above the .05 level of probability. The differences between the occupational strata are by no means as great as those reported by Nye, *ibid.* A probable explanation of the disparity is that Nye studied a population of children in grades 8 and 11. In such a population there would be a greater diversity in status backgrounds and these grades would include a higher proportion of lower socioeconomic status youths than would a population of twelfth grade boys. Many lower status youths drop out of school before reaching the 12th grade.

2 Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 79.

this study. In the rural communities, however, there is a low significant association.¹ This fact is partially accounted for by the small proportion of farmer wives in rural areas working for pay. However, in comparing the total of urban mothers with the total of rural mothers, there is no significant association between their working status and their place of residence.

Summary

The data in this chapter indicate that the workers in Michigan are differentially oriented to the rationalistic, Gesellschaft, capitalistic way of life and that this differentiation in orientation is reflected in the different beliefs, values, and characteristics possessed by the three occupational strata. Based on the responses of the twelfth graders to questions concerning their families and parents, the white collar workers, manual workers, and farmers in Michigan appear to be significantly differentiated in terms of family size, formal education, work habits, and working status of wives.

The white collar worker in Michigan, more than the manual worker or the farmer, has to plan his life to fit into the specialized occupational structure of bureaucratic systems. As a consequence he places considerable emphasis upon the value of formal education. To him, formal education is a means of achieving occupational status, and, in

¹ The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.27. The association between occupational level and working status of mother is significant above the .01 level of probability.

turn, his children must be educated to take similar positions in the work world. The raising of children by the white collar worker is thus a financial burden. As a consequence, the white collar worker, who is largely motivated by the Gesellschaft value of efficiency and thrift, tends to control the size of his family in keeping with his values and beliefs. The white collar worker tends to have the small family, while the manual worker and the farmer, not so strongly oriented to the rationalism and striving of the capitalistic way of life, tends to retain the more traditional and larger family system.

The white collar workers exhibit their orientation to the values and virtues associated with Gesellschaft behavior by their belief in hard work. According to the data in this study, the white collar father in Michigan works harder than the manual worker, and the manual worker works harder than the farmer. The data in this study indicate also that the traditional belief in woman as the homemaker and man as the breadwinner is being replaced by a more rationalistic adjustment to economic necessity. In Michigan as in the Western world the cultural definition of the role of the married woman is changing. Since a greater proportion of the wives of white collar and manual workers than wives of farmers are employed outside the home in Michigan, it can be said that the farm areas tend to retain the more traditional conception of woman as a homemaker.

CHAPTER IV

THE DIFFERENTIAL SOCIALIZATION OF YOUTH

Since sociological studies have indicated the pervasive character of social stratification in American life, it is expected that this phenomenon will be reflected in the customs and practices of rearing youth. It is hypothesized that social stratification, using the father's occupational level as an index, is significantly related to the differential treatment accorded young people in the home, the school, and the community. How different is the socialization of the white collar worker's son from that of a manual worker's son? How different is the socialization of a manual worker's son from that of a farm boy? Are these youths reared differently in the home? How differently are they treated in the school? Do they have different work experiences by virtue of their social backgrounds?

If social stratification is significantly related to the differential rearing of youth, and if this differential rearing results in attitudinal differences concerning the work world, it would suggest that the value orientations of workers in an occupational stratum have been transmitted to their sons. It would suggest that the school system does not overcome the differences existing among youth by virtue of their social backgrounds.

Socialization in the Home

The socialization of the child in the home is an important aspect of preparing young people for adult roles in society.¹ In the home the child learns to speak, how to feed, dress, and care for himself, and he learns the values, beliefs, and attitudes of his parents. In the home the child is oriented toward the world of work by performing household tasks and chores. He gains his first experience in handling the small sums of money which his parents give him. If differences exist in the treatment of youth in the home, it is assumed that they are differentially socialized for the adult work world.

It is rather difficult in a questionnaire study to gain rich insight into the socialization process. For the purposes of this study only a few indices of socialization are inspected. Those that refer to orientation to the world of work are of primary interest. In the questionnaire the respondents were asked how much work they did at home, how much spending money they received at home, and whether this allowance was given regularly or whether they had to ask for it. Using these items as indices of treatment in the home, an examination is made of the relative importance of certain social factors in this treatment.

Work done at home. It is customary for children to perform certain tasks in the home. With the impact of industrialization and urbanization on the Western world and with the spread of the contractual, Gesellschaft,

¹ Charles Horton Cooley, Social Organization (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912). Cooley emphasized the importance of the primary group in the fundamental socialization of the child.

and rationalistic way of life, more and more of the work of the home has been absorbed by other institutions.¹ In urban communities most families are no longer economic producing units. In the rural areas the family is likewise affected. The loss of these functions by the home has considerably reduced the importance of the family in the socialization of young people for the adult work world.

The amounts of work the twelfth grade Michigan boys do at home are shown in Table VII. This table shows that almost nine-tenths of all the boys do some work at home. This table also shows a significant and substantial association between the father's occupational level and the amount of work done at home.² The pronounced difference in the amount of work done at home is between the farm boys and the other youth. A greater proportion of the sons of farmers than sons of white collar or manual workers perform work at home, and the farm boys work longer hours at home tasks.³ Very slight differences maintain between the sons of white collar workers and the sons of manual workers. As expected, a

1 Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, op. cit., pp. 64-88.

2 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.50; for the urban youth 0.29; for the rural boys 0.57. These associations are significant above the .001 level of probability.

3 Whereas 97.1 per cent of the farm boys perform some work at home, the figure for the sons of white collar workers and manual workers is 86.5 per cent each. Whereas 75.9 per cent of the farm youth work 10 hours or more each week at home, the figures for the manual worker sons and white collar worker sons are 23.1 and 16.2 per cent respectively. Whereas 48.1 per cent of the farm youth work 20 hours or more each week at home, the figures for the manual worker and white collar sons are 7.1 and 5.1 per cent respectively.

TABLE VII

WORK DONE AT HOME EACH WEEK, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL
OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	Number of Hours of Work Per Week					
	N	No Hours	1-9 Hours	10-19 Hours	20 Hours or More	No Response Total
Michigan Total Sample	1279	11.0	62.4	15.2	9.8	1.6 100.0
A White collar	452	11.9	70.3	11.1	5.1	1.6 100.0
B Manual worker	719	11.8	63.4	16.0	7.1	1.7 100.0
C Farmer	108	1.9	22.2	27.8	48.1	0.0 100.0
D Urban	955	12.1	67.1	13.6	5.8	1.4 100.0
E White collar	351	12.2	72.4	9.7	4.3	1.4 100.0
F Manual worker	571	12.8	65.7	15.1	5.1	1.3 100.0
G Farmer	33	0.0	36.4	30.3	33.3	0.0 100.0
H Rural	317	7.9	47.6	19.9	22.7	1.9 100.0
I White collar	98	11.2	63.2	15.3	8.2	2.1 100.0
J Manual worker	144	8.3	53.5	20.1	15.3	2.8 100.0
K Farmer	75	2.7	16.0	25.3	60.0	0.0 100.0

ABC	P	.001	C	0.50
EFG	P	.001	C	0.29
IJK	P	.001	C	0.57
DH	P	.001	C	0.35

greater proportion of rural than urban boys work at home, and they also work longer hours.¹

The greater amount of work done at home by the farmers' sons probably reflects the conditions under which farming is done in United States. Farming is predominantly a family undertaking and all available hands are required to operate the farm. Whether the farmer lives in or adjacent to an urban community and operates a farm or whether he lives in a rural area the results are similar: he requires more work from his son at home than do the fathers of the other boys. This fact indicates that the farm family still retains to an outstanding degree its function as an economic producing unit. The fact that urban boys do less work at home than rural boys reflects the impact of urbanization and industrialization upon the family life in the cities in Michigan.

Spending money and allowance. Since most children in school are dependent on their parents for financial support and because they need money to function in the school society, it is a prevalent custom in the United States for parents to provide their children with certain

¹ There is a low but statistically significant association between rural-urban residence and the amount of work done in the home by the boys. The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.35, significant above the .001 level of probability.

Whereas 42.6 per cent of the rural boys work 10 hours or more each week at home, the figure for the urban boys is 19.4 per cent. Whereas 22.7 per cent of the rural boys work 20 hours or more each week at home, the figure for the urban boys is 5.8 per cent.

The Louisiana Educational Survey reported that town and country youth contributed more work at home than did city children. See Henry Harap and Edgar A. Schuler, Louisiana Educational Survey, Section 4, "Home and Community," (Louisiana Educational Survey Commission, 1942), pp. 25-30.

amounts of spending money. Table VIII indicates the amounts of money the subjects under study receive each week. Slightly over fifty-five per cent of the respondents indicated that they received some spending money from home. This figure is strikingly similar to that reported in the Louisiana Educational Survey, which showed that over one-half of all children were supplied with spending money every week by their parents.¹

According to Table VIII, there is a very slight but statistically significant relationship between the father's occupational level and the amount of the allowance received.² However, in the rural communities in this study there is no significant association between occupational level of father and the amount of the allowance. There is also no significant relationship between rural-urban residence and the amount of allowance the boys receive each week.

According to the data in Table VIII, the three occupational levels can be ranked from high to low in terms of the amounts of allowance given to the youths: (1) farmer, (2) white collar, and (3) manual worker.³ The higher proportion of farm boys receiving money at home probably reflects the conditions under which farm youth live. These

1 Ibid., p. 31.

2 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.14, significant above the .02 level of probability.

3 Whereas 74.1 per cent of the farm boys received some allowance, the figures for the white collar and manual worker sons are 61.7 and 58.4 per cent respectively. Whereas 29.6 per cent of the farm boys received \$3.00 each week, the figures for the white collar and manual worker sons are 27.9 and 20.2 per cent respectively.

TABLE VIII

WEEKLY ALLOWANCE RECEIVED, BY OCCUPATIONAL
LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	None	Amount of Allowance		Total
			Under \$3.00	\$3.00 or More	
Michigan Total Sample	1279	39.1	32.1	23.6	100.0
A White collar	452	38.3	29.6	27.9	100.0
B Manual worker	719	41.6	32.5	20.2	100.0
C Farmer	108	25.9	38.9	29.6	100.0
D Urban	955	40.6	31.0	23.2	100.0
E White collar	351	40.1	28.5	27.6	100.0
F Manual worker	571	42.3	32.0	20.1	100.0
G Farmer	33	15.2	39.3	30.3	100.0
H Rural	317	34.7	34.7	24.6	100.0
I White collar	98	32.6	32.6	26.5	100.0
J Manual worker	144	38.2	38.2	21.5	100.0
K Farmer	75	30.6	30.6	28.0	100.0

ABC	P	.02	C	0.14
EFG	P	.01	C	0.19
IJK	P	.90		
DH	P	.30		

boys have numerous chores to perform at home and they have fewer opportunities to earn money away from home. Because of this fact and because they need money for school expenses they receive more spending money from home than do the other young men.

The amounts of money the boys receive at home is also significantly but slightly associated with the size of the family, as shown in Table IX. The smaller the family the greater the proportion of the boys who receive an allowance and the greater the amount of the allowance.¹ Probably the larger families have to apportion the available spending money more thinly than do the smaller families.

As might be expected, the amounts of spending money the twelfth graders receive at home each week are also significantly associated with the amounts of work the boys do away from home each week. There is a very substantial relationship between these two variables.² Table X indicates that the son who earns a considerable amount of money away from home each week receives little money from home; the boy who receives considerable spending money at home earns little money away from home. These generalizations apply to sons of white collar workers, manual workers, and farmers. The data do not indicate which of the factors is the "dependent" variable. No doubt there are gradations in the financial statuses of the families in each of the occupational strata. Within the white collar stratum, the manual worker stratum, and the farmer stratum,

1 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.22, significant above the .001 level of probability.

2 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.61, significant above the .001 level of probability.

TABLE IX
WEEKLY ALLOWANCE RECEIVED, BY FAMILY SIZE, IN PERCENTAGES

Number of Children in Family	N	None	Amount of Allowance		No Response	Total
			Under \$3.00	\$3.00 or More		
A One	143	27.3	34.3	33.6	4.8	100.0
B Two	323	35.3	34.7	26.3	3.7	100.0
C Three	284	39.8	30.3	25.7	4.2	100.0
D Four	177	45.2	30.0	19.7	5.1	100.0
E Five or more	302	47.3	30.5	14.2	8.0	100.0

ABCDE P .001 \bar{C} 0.22

TABLE X

WEEKLY ALLOWANCE RECEIVED, BY NUMBER OF HOURS WORKING PER WEEK
AWAY FROM HOME, IN PERCENTAGES

Allowance	Number of Hours Working on Jobs Each Week					No Response	Total
	N	None	1 to 9	10 to 19	20 or More		
A No Allowance Received	500	12.8	16.0	25.6	44.8	0.8	100.0
B White collar	173	9.2	14.4	29.5	46.2	0.7	100.0
C Manual worker	299	11.7	15.7	25.1	47.2	0.3	100.0
D Farmer	28	46.4	28.6	7.1	10.7	7.2	100.0
E Some Allowance Received	713	53.7	21.0	14.0	9.0	2.3	100.0
F White collar	260	48.8	23.1	17.7	8.1	2.3	100.0
G Manual worker	379	53.0	21.1	12.9	10.8	2.2	100.0
H Farmer	74	74.3	13.5	6.8	2.7	2.7	100.0

AE P .001 \bar{C} 0.61
BCD P .001 \bar{C} 0.45
FGH P .001 \bar{C} 0.20

those families of high income probably supply their sons with more spending money than do the families of lower income. The young men from the high socioeconomic status families in each occupational stratum, in turn, probably spend less time working for money away from home.

Manner of getting allowance. The manner in which the boys in this study get their allowance is shown in Table XI. According to these data approximately one-half of the young men receive their allowance regularly, whereas the other half "must ask for it." This differential in the manner of getting their allowances is not significantly related to the occupational levels of the boys' fathers but it is very slightly and significantly related to rural-urban residence.¹ A slightly greater proportion of the urban than the rural youth receive their allowances regularly.

This slight difference in the manner of receiving allowances probably reflects the greater degree of patriarchy existing in the rural communities.² In the more conservative rural communities the father is probably more frequently asked for money. In the urban communities apparently there is a stronger tendency for children to receive their allowance regularly without having to ask for spending money.

1 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.15, significant above the .02 level of probability.

2 Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, op. cit., pp. 49, 61, and 64, point out that patriarchy tends to persist in the Gemeinschaft rural communities in United States more than in the urban communities.

TABLE XI

TYPE OF ALLOWANCE RECEIVED, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Receive Regular Weekly Allowance	Receive Allowance When Asked For	Total
Michigan	713	50.1	49.9	100.0
A White collar	260	52.3	47.7	100.0
B Manual worker	379	48.6	51.4	100.0
C Farmer	74	50.0	50.0	100.0
D Urban	528	52.6	47.4	100.0
E White collar	197	53.8	46.2	100.0
F Manual worker	298	51.3	48.7	100.0
G Farmer	33	57.6	42.4	100.0
H Rural	188	42.0	58.0	100.0
I White collar	60	45.0	55.0	100.0
J Manual worker	79	38.0	62.0	100.0
K Farmer	49	44.0	55.1	100.0

ABC P .70
 EFG P .80
 IJK P .70
 DH P .02 \bar{C} 0.15

Socialization in the School

In addition to the home an important institution for socializing young people is the school. In many respects the school is a limited work world which serves to socialize youth for functioning in the adult work world. The pupil is trained to stay on the job and learn his lessons; he is trained to obey the authority vested in the teachers and to develop initiative and character; and he is trained to get along with his teachers and schoolmates.¹ In the classroom, in the gymnasium, and in extra-class activities, American youths probably participate in the largest volume of social experiences outside the home and the community.

Since young people make some choices concerning the school activities in which they wish to participate, it is of importance to discover certain of the factors significantly associated with these choices. The purpose of this section is to examine three indices of differential choice on the part of the boys in this study and to measure the relative importance of certain social factors associated with these choices. These indices are: (1) curriculum in which enrolled, (2) extra-class activities, and (3) number of vocational guidance conferences held.

Curriculum. In the questionnaire to which the twelfth graders responded the boys were asked to indicate the curricula in which they were enrolled. On the basis of their responses Table XII has been prepared.

1 Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, Industrial Sociology (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), pp. 523-529. These authors also point out that the school is deficient in providing life experiences with adults in work plants. This failure is also shared by the community, which increasingly denies jobs to its youth.

TABLE XII

CURRICULUM IN WHICH ENROLLED, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Curriculum				No Response	Total
		Academic	General	Business & Commercial	Vocational*		
Michigan Total Sample	1279	40.2	8.6	13.1	30.1	8.0	100.0
A White collar	452	50.2	5.9	14.4	23.4	6.1	100.0
B Manual worker	719	37.5	10.8	12.4	32.4	6.9	100.0
C Farmer	108	25.0	4.6	13.0	42.6	14.8	100.0
D Urban	955	40.8	9.1	12.6	30.3	7.3	100.0
E White collar	351	50.7	6.0	13.1	25.1	5.1	100.0
F Manual worker	571	36.1	11.0	11.9	33.3	7.7	100.0
G Farmer	33	18.2	9.1	18.2	33.3	21.2	100.0
H Rural	317	38.8	7.3	14.5	28.4	11.0	100.0
I White collar	98	50.0	6.1	19.4	14.3	10.2	100.0
J Manual worker	144	36.8	10.4	13.2	29.2	10.4	100.0
K Farmer	75	28.0	2.7	10.7	45.3	13.3	100.0

ABC P .001 \bar{C} 0.25
 DEF P .001 \bar{C} 0.36
 IJK P .001 \bar{C} 0.31
 DH P .20

* Includes Agricultural curriculum

About one-half the students revealed they were taking the kinds of curricula which would prepare them for college entrance and the remainder were enrolled in curricula which would give them a degree of training for occupations.

The responses in this table show a low but statistically significant association between the curriculum in which enrolled and the fathers' occupational levels,¹ but no significant relationship to rural-urban residence.² The rank order from high to low for the boys enrolled in the academic curriculum is: (1) sons of white collar workers, (2) sons of manual workers, and (3) sons of farmers.

The larger proportion of the sons of white collar workers in the academic curriculum undoubtedly reflects the expectations of their parents and the white collar youth with whom they probably associate. Professional people, especially, usually exert strong pressure on their sons to enroll in the academic curriculum in order to prepare for college entrance. Apparently manual workers and farmers do not stress the importance of college education but tend to place greater emphasis upon vocational training for their sons.

1 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.25, significant above the .001 level of probability. Whereas 50.2 per cent of the sons of white collar workers chose the academic, college-preparatory curriculum, the corresponding figures for the sons of manual workers and farmers are 37.5 and 25.0 per cent respectively. Conversely, whereas 42.6 per cent of the farm boys enrolled in the vocational curriculum, the figures for the sons of manual workers and white collar workers are 32.4 and 23.4 per cent respectively.

2 A slightly larger proportion of the rural than the urban boys failed to respond to the question and a slightly larger proportion of the farm than the non-farm youth did not respond. Probably these youth were attending small schools which do not have the numerous curricula prevailing in the larger urban schools. As a result these boys were probably not aware of the title of the curriculum in which they were enrolled.

The curriculum choices of the respondents are also slightly and significantly associated with the educational levels of their fathers.¹ The choices tabulated in Table XIII support the generalization that the higher the formal educational level of the father, the greater the proportion of the boys who enroll in the academic curriculum. The data thus reveal the tendency of the upper-strata white collar workers to expect their sons to obtain the kind of secondary school education which will qualify them to enter college.

Extra-class activities. The peer culture of the school plays an important role in the socialization of American youth. The small and intimate play and congeniality groups elicit a high degree of personality involvement. In these primary groups the child is vitally concerned with achieving a satisfactory status. In extra-class activities the boy must "win" his place in much the same way that adults do in the world of work. Each youth is rated by his classmates in terms of his ability to "fit-in" with the group.

Failure to win acceptance or make good adjustments in the play groups may have far reaching consequences. Indeed, many years later, the graduating youth may discover with some shock that monetary work positions test different abilities and reward achievements by different standards from those he learned in the classroom. He may discover painfully that the more important determiners are the kind of values which were dominant in the play and comradeship groups in which he failed to participate successfully.²

1 The degree of association between the educational level of the father and his son's curriculum choice is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.34, significant above the .001 level of probability.

2 Ibid., pp. 527-8.

TABLE XIII

CURRICULUM IN WHICH ENROLLED, BY EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Educational and Occupational Level of Father	N	Curriculum in Which Enrolled					No Response	Total
		Academic	General	Business and Commercial	Vocational*			
A Some college or more	188	66.5	3.7	9.6	16.4		3.7	100.0
B White collar	146	68.5	2.7	8.2	17.1		3.5	100.0
C Manual worker	42	59.5	7.1	14.2	14.2		5.0	100.0
D Some high school or high school graduate	438	45.1	5.2	22.8	20.6		6.3	100.0
E White collar	163	43.2	4.0	28.9	18.5		5.4	100.0
F Manual worker	275	39.4	6.2	21.2	26.7		6.5	100.0
G Grade school or less	464	33.3	11.8	14.4	30.8		9.6	100.0
H White collar	117	44.4	6.8	20.5	19.7		8.6	100.0
I Manual worker	347	29.7	13.5	12.4	34.6		9.8	100.0

ADG P .001 \bar{C} 0.34

*Includes Agricultural curriculum

It is assumed that any data which serve to describe the kinds of extra-class activities youth select and to explain the factors associated with these choices are relevant to an important aspect of the socialization of youth.

The answers of the respondents concerning their extra-class activities are shown in Table XIV. These responses show a low but statistically significant association with the occupational levels of the fathers.¹ The most popular extra-class activity is athletics, and the second is orchestra or band. The sons of white collar workers appear to dominate the extra-class activities in Michigan schools. According to Table XIV, the sons of white collar workers, in comparison to the other youths, have the greater proportion of their number participating in all extra class activities excepting 4-H Club activities. The farm boys have the greatest proportion in 4-H Club activities. The sons of manual workers showed the greatest proportion of their number who did not respond to the question on extra-class activities. Assuming that "no response" means no participation in extra class activities, it may be interpreted that the sons of manual workers participate least in extra-class school activities.

The larger proportion of sons of white collar workers in all extra-curricular activities in the Michigan schools, with the exception of the 4-H Clubs, probably reflects the operation of two factors: (1) the orientation to the values and beliefs of the white collar stratum, which

¹ The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.31, significant above the .001 level of probability.

TABLE XIV

EXTRA-CLASS ACTIVITIES IN WHICH ENGAGED, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	Extra-class Activities								Total
	N	4-H Club	Athletics	Orchestra	Debate and Dramatics	Student Government	Unclasi- fied	No Response	
Michigan Total Sample	1279	10.8	31.7	17.0	6.5	1.6	10.6	21.8	100.0
A White collar	452	6.4	35.7	20.6	9.4	2.4	12.9	12.6	100.0
B Manual worker	719	8.6	30.5	15.1	5.0	1.5	9.8	29.5	100.0
C Farmer	108	40.0	24.5	17.8	6.7	0.0	2.7	8.3	100.0
D Urban	955	6.3	31.0	18.0	6.7	2.0	12.5	23.5	100.0
E White collar	351	5.6	32.6	21.4	9.7	2.7	15.0	13.0	100.0
F Manual worker	571	4.6	30.5	16.0	5.1	1.6	11.6	30.6	100.0
G Farmer	33	38.4	22.2	16.2	4.0	0.0	10.2	9.0	100.0
H Rural	317	19.3	34.1	16.0	6.3	1.0	6.3	17.0	100.0
I White collar	98	7.8	43.1	18.7	8.9	1.6	7.7	12.2	100.0
J Manual worker	144	17.3	32.1	12.6	4.4	1.0	7.6	25.0	100.0
K Farmer	75	40.7	25.3	18.4	6.8	0.0	0.8	8.0	100.0

ABC	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.31
EFG	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.29
IJK	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.25
DH	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.25

they receive in the home, and (2) the selective role of the teachers. Since the middle class white collar family is strongly oriented to "striving for status" in the capitalistic culture,¹ this value orientation is no doubt reflected in the white collar worker son's attempt to achieve high status in the school system by participation in extra class activities. In addition, the teachers in secondary schools are predominantly recruited from middle class backgrounds² and tend to encourage and select youth of similar backgrounds to participate in extra-class activities. The high proportion of farm youth in the 4-H Clubs reflects the occupational interests of these youth as well as the selective role of the teachers who probably encourage them in this work. The relatively high proportion of manual worker sons who participate in no extra-class activities probably reflects their weaker orientation to and lesser interest in typically middle class, white collar, school activities. Since a considerable proportion of the sons of manual workers are probably minority group members, it is possible that this fact also accentuates the more limited number of extra class activities open to them.³

The data in Table XIV also show a low but statistically significant association between rural-urban residence and extra-class activity

1 Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, op. cit., p. 65.

2 W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb, Who Shall be Educated? (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), p. 101 and Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, op. cit., p. 485.

3 The questionnaire does not include questions on minority group membership.

selection.¹ The urban boys have a slightly larger proportion of their number in orchestra, debate, dramatics, and student government. The rural twelfth graders have the larger proportion in 4-H Clubs and athletics. This differential between rural and urban youth may be partially explained by the more limited school activities offered in some of the rural schools. In the larger urban schools a greater variety of extra class activities are usually offered, whereas in many rural schools such activities as debate, dramatics, and school band are unavailable.

Vocational guidance. The discontinuity in the socialization of young persons for the adult world in the United States, the difficulties confronting them in the selection of an occupation, and the gravity of the many instances of occupational maladjustment have provided the social need for a professional group called vocational counselors. It is the task of this group to assist young persons, as well as adults, to make wise vocational choices.

Many of the larger secondary school systems in United States operate a vocational guidance program for their students. That this important service is not available to a large portion of the seniors in Michigan, or at least has not been used by them, is indicated by the data in Table XV. According to the responses of the boys concerning their use of vocational guidance services in the schools, which are tabulated in this table, only about half of the young men in this study

¹ The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.25, significant above the .001 level of probability.

TABLE XV

NUMBER OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE CONFERENCES HELD, BY OCCUPATIONAL
LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Number of Conferences					Total
		None	One	Two or Three	Four or More	No Response	
Michigan Total Sample	1279	45.6	17.3	27.3	8.7	1.1	100.0
A White collar	452	39.8	18.8	28.5	11.7	1.2	100.0
B Manual worker	719	49.5	15.4	26.4	7.5	1.2	100.0
C Farmer	108	49.2	14.8	31.1	3.3	1.6	100.0
D Urban	955	46.8	16.1	27.4	8.4	1.3	100.0
E White collar	351	43.0	16.2	28.7	11.1	1.0	100.0
F Manual worker	571	49.6	15.4	26.6	7.0	1.4	100.0
G Farmer	33	39.4	27.3	27.3	3.0	3.0	100.0
H Rural	317	41.3	20.8	26.8	9.1	2.0	100.0
I White collar	98	27.5	27.5	28.6	14.3	2.1	100.0
J Manual worker	144	48.6	16.0	25.7	8.3	1.4	100.0
K Farmer	75	45.3	21.3	26.7	4.0	2.7	100.0

ABC	P	.02	\bar{C}	.15
EFG	P	.10	\bar{C}	.12
IJK	P	.02	\bar{C}	.26
DH	P	.30		

have made some use of such services. Although vocational guidance programs are probably more prevalent in large urban schools than in the rural schools, the data show that rural seniors made more use of the service than the urban boys.¹ Apparently, many teachers in the rural schools are performing the role of vocational counselor.

The degree to which the youth in this study used the vocational guidance services in the schools is very slightly but significantly related to their father's occupational level.² The sons of white collar workers made the greatest use of the service, whereas the sons of manual workers and farmers made approximately equal but less use of it.³ The sons of white collar workers obtain the greater amount of vocational guidance in school probably for two reasons: (1) they probably find it easier to discuss their vocational plans with their teachers than do the other youth and (2) they probably manifest greater concern and anxiety about their vocational futures than do the other youths. In the first place there is probably less social distance between the teachers and the students from white collar families than between the teachers and boys from manual worker and farm families. Teachers in secondary schools are recruited predominantly from the middle class, white collar stratum in America and they undoubtedly show more interest in the white collar boy than in the son of the manual worker or farmer. The middle class

1 The differences are very slight and not statistically significant. Whereas 56.7 per cent of the rural boys used the vocational guidance service, the figure for the urban students is 51.9 per cent.

2 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.15, significant above the .02 level of probability.

3 Sons of white collar workers 59.0 per cent; sons of manual workers 49.3 per cent; sons of farmers 49.2 per cent.

teacher also is probably more familiar with white collar occupations than with manual or farm occupations. As a result, the sons of white collar workers probably have easier access to the teacher's time and advice than do the sons of manual workers and farmers and, as a result, they obtain the greater amount of vocational guidance.

In the second place, a greater proportion of the sons of white collar workers than the other youths are enrolled in the college preparatory curriculum. The prospect of going to college poses the rather serious problem of choosing a field of specialization and ultimately a profession or career. These youths apparently feel a need for guidance and assistance in making these choices and they turn to their teachers and counselors for help. On the other hand, a smaller proportion of the sons of manual workers and farmers are enrolled in the college preparatory courses. These youths tend to choose the vocational courses in high school which generally lead to manual worker jobs. The tendency of the sons of white collar workers to use education as a means to qualify for positions in the bureaucracies leaves less and less choice open to the sons of manual workers as to the specific occupations they will enter. The jobs they do get do not make such a sharp distinction in skill and ability as do the professions and white collar jobs. As a result, apparently the sons of manual workers and farmers do not evidence as much concern about their choice of jobs as do the sons of white collar workers.

The data in this study tend to confirm the statement of Ginzberg¹ that occupational choice among youth of the lower status groups can be characterized by two terms: "passive and stunted." Boys from lower status families typically believe that there is little they can do about preparing for an occupation beyond pursuing a vocational course.

Age. In the United States as in other societies youth have different social experiences by virtue of the age-groups to which they belong. In the play group, in the school, and in the church the children are generally classified by their chronological age and placed in different groups. The step by step progress of children through the elementary and secondary schools is virtually dependent upon age. It is thus expected that a sample of twelfth grade males of Michigan would be of approximately the same age. The data in Table XVI substantiate this expectation. Almost ninety per cent of the boys in the study are ages seventeen and eighteen. However, there is a very slight but not statistically significant tendency for the ages of the seniors to coincide with their father's occupational level and with rural-urban residence. The data show that the urban adolescents are slightly younger than the rural boys and that the sons of white collar workers are slightly younger than the sons of manual workers or farmers.²

1 Eli Ginzberg, Sol W. Ginsberg, Sidney Axelrod, and John L. Herma, Occupational Choice (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), p. 155. See also Chapter 11, "The Lower Income Group."

2 The percentage of boys 17 years of age and less are: sons of white collar workers 59.7; sons of manual workers 56.0; sons of farmers 50.0. Whereas 60.0 per cent of the urban youth are 17 years of age and less, the figure for the rural boys is 47.1 per cent.

TABLE XVI

AGES OF THE TWELFTH GRADE BOYS, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Ages				Total
		16 and Under	17	18	19 and Over	
Michigan Total Sample	1279	5.6	51.3	35.5	7.6	100.0
A White collar	452	5.3	54.4	33.2	7.1	100.0
B Manual worker	719	5.7	50.3	36.1	7.9	100.0
C Farmer	108	5.6	44.4	40.7	9.3	100.0
D Urban	955	5.8	54.2	33.1	6.9	100.0
E White collar	351	4.5	57.3	31.6	6.6	100.0
F Manual worker	571	6.5	52.7	33.6	7.2	100.0
G Farmer	33	9.1	45.4	39.4	6.1	100.0
H Rural	316	4.7	42.4	42.8	10.1	100.0
I White collar	98	8.1	43.9	38.8	9.2	100.0
J Manual worker	143	2.8	40.6	46.2	10.4	100.0
K Farmer	75	4.0	44.0	41.3	10.7	100.0

ABC	P	.90
EFG	P	.70
IJK	P	.80
DH	P	.90

On the basis of the ages of the young men in the sample, a "common sense" judgment might be made that urban youth are inherently more capable than rural youth and that the sons of white collar workers are inherently the most capable of the boys from the three occupational strata. Such a common sense judgment is inadequate and equally fallacious. The more probable explanation of the age differential lies in the differential social-cultural orientation of the boys. The sons of workers in white collar occupations in United States are expected to "make good" in school. There is greater emphasis exerted in the home on the value of education. The typical white collar boy is also better oriented in the home to the skills and symbols used in the educational system. He frequently begins his formal education at an earlier age than boys of manual worker and farm fathers. As a result, the white collar youth usually reaches the twelfth grade at a slightly younger age than the youths from the manual worker and farm occupational strata.

The sons of the manual workers, on the other hand, do not usually place as much importance on success in school as the sons of white collar workers. In his home the manual worker son is oriented to the skills of manual worker occupations. His home situation does not exert as much pressure on "school success" as does the white collar home.

The farm youth is even less oriented toward the skills and symbols of school life than the manual worker son. His home life is oriented to farm life and manual activities, rather than the intellectual skills of the school. Frequently, he spends less time in school because he is needed at home to help with the farm work. If he reaches the twelfth

grade, he does so at a slightly older age than either the manual worker or the white collar youth.

The difference in age between urban and rural youth is probably explained in similar fashion. Urban youth are better oriented by the home and the urban environment to the folkways and requirements of the educational system. The urban boy probably enters the school system at a slightly earlier age than the rural child. As a result he usually reaches the twelfth grade at a slightly younger age than the rural boy.

The explanation of the differences in the ages of the twelfth grade boys in the three occupational strata and in urban and rural communities thus probably lies in social-cultural factors rather than in inherent differences in abilities. By virtue of belonging to different social-cultural systems, the seniors have been differently oriented to the educational system and this differential is reflected in the rapidity with which they reach the twelfth grade.

Socialization in the Work World

There are several implications involved in examining the initial work experience of youth. By virtue of accepting different kinds of jobs while in school and during school vacations, young people are subjected to different social experiences which may profoundly influence their viewpoint and personalities. In this phase of socialization they are subject to office or factory discipline, they intimately associate with adult workers, and, in many cases, they mingle for the first time with persons of different social classes, races, and nationalities.

The initial work experience of a boy may profoundly influence his choice of life work. In taking a job for pay the young worker feels a sense of independence and identifies himself with his work associates. In many instances he learns to manage his income in the manner of his fellow workers. In many subtle ways he gradually assimilates the values and beliefs of his work group. Not infrequently the first job of a youth may be the determining factor in his choice of a career. As Form and Miller point out, "once started on an occupational level, a worker tends to remain at that level."¹

Thus an examination of the initial work experience of youth in Michigan is directed at a problem of considerable importance to society. The purpose of the following Section is to use three indices of work experience and to assess the relative importance of certain factors associated with these experiences. The indices are: (1) the number of jobs the students have held, (2) the kind of jobs they have held, and (3) the amount of money earned.

Number of jobs held. Apparently Michigan youth are not unfamiliar with the world of work. Tables XVII and XVIII show that about sixty-five per cent of the students in this study have held full time jobs and about eighty per cent have held part time jobs. The data show low but statistically significant relationships between the father's

1 Wm. H. Form and D. C. Miller, "Occupational Career Patterns as a Sociological Instrument," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LIV, No. 4, pp. 317-329.

TABLE XVII
NUMBER OF FULL TIME JOBS HELD, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Number of Full Time Jobs Held				Total
		None	One	Two	Three or More	
Michigan Total Sample	1279	35.3	33.3	19.2	10.2	100.0
A White collar	452	35.8	33.2	19.7	11.3	100.0
B Manual worker	719	36.6	30.0	19.2	14.2	100.0
C Farmer	108	21.3	55.5	16.7	6.5	100.0
D Urban	955	38.1	30.7	19.7	11.5	100.0
E White collar	351	38.4	32.5	19.1	10.0	100.0
F Manual worker	571	38.3	28.9	19.8	13.0	100.0
G Farmer	33	30.4	42.4	24.2	3.0	100.0
H Rural	316	25.7	41.4	17.4	15.5	100.0
I White collar	98	26.6	35.7	21.4	16.3	100.0
J Manual worker	143	29.3	35.0	16.8	18.9	100.0
K Farmer	75	17.4	61.3	13.3	8.0	100.0

ABC P .001 \bar{C} 0.29

EFG P .50

IJK P .01 \bar{C} 0.29

DH P .001 \bar{C} 0.18

TABLE XVIII
NUMBER OF PART TIME JOBS HELD, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Number of Part-Time Jobs Held				Total
		None	One	Two	Three or More	
Michigan Total Sample	1279	19.1	30.5	28.7	21.7	100.0
A White collar	452	19.0	29.2	29.2	22.6	100.0
B Manual worker	719	17.7	29.1	29.6	23.6	100.0
C Farmer	108	28.6	45.4	20.4	5.6	100.0
D Urban	955	17.0	29.5	29.6	23.9	100.0
E White collar	351	18.3	28.5	28.7	24.5	100.0
F Manual worker	571	16.7	28.5	30.5	24.3	100.0
G Farmer	33	9.1	57.6	24.2	9.1	100.0
H Rural	316	25.0	34.2	25.6	15.2	100.0
I White collar	98	21.5	32.6	29.6	16.3	100.0
J Manual worker	143	21.1	32.2	26.6	20.3	100.0
K Farmer	75	37.3	40.0	18.7	4.0	100.0

ABC	P	.001	C	0.20
DEG	P	.10	C	0.11
IJK	P	.01	C	0.29
DH	P	.001	C	0.17

occupational level and the number of full and part time jobs held.¹

There are extremely slight differences between the sons of white collar and manual workers in both full and part time jobs held. The pronounced differences are between the sons of farmers and the other high school seniors.

The data support the following generalizations: a greater proportion of the sons of farmers than the sons of other workers have held full time jobs. A greater proportion of the sons of white collar and manual workers than the sons of farmers have held part time jobs. A greater proportion of the sons of farmers than the sons of other workers have held one full or part time job. A slightly greater proportion of the sons of white collar and manual workers than the sons of farmers have held two or more full or part time jobs.

There is also a very slight but statistically significant association between the number of full and part time jobs held and rural-urban residence.² A greater proportion of rural than urban boys have had full time work experience, whereas a greater proportion of urban than rural boys have had part time job experience.

The responses in tabulated tables XVII and XVIII undoubtedly reflect the conditions under which the seniors live. As is to be expected,

1 For full time jobs held the corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.29; for part time jobs 0.20. Both associations are significant above the .001 level of probability.

2 For full time jobs held the corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.18; for part time jobs 0.17. Both associations are significant above the .001 level of probability.

the nature of farming in United States typically requires a greater proportion of the farm boys to work full time during vacations on the farms, and they tend to limit themselves to one full time job.

A smaller proportion of the sons of white collar and manual workers, on the other hand, are obliged to work at full time jobs, but those who do full time work hold a greater variety of jobs. Probably the farm boys tend to be limited to working on their own farms, whereas the sons of white collar and manual workers have a much wider choice in job opportunities.

A similar interpretation applies to the urban young man in contrast to the rural. Since there are probably more opportunities for part time paying jobs in the cities than in the rural communities, the urban youth thus typically holds a greater number of part time jobs than does the rural youth. The fact that a greater proportion of rural than urban boys have held full time jobs probably reflects the tendency of the rural students to do agricultural work in the summers, which is typically full time work.

The fact that sons of white collar and manual workers have held a greater number of part time jobs than the sons of farmers probably reflects the limited opportunities of farm youth for part time jobs. Farm boys are typically required to help on their father's farm and probably do not have the opportunity to obtain part time jobs away from home.

There is a very slight but statistically significant association between the number of full time jobs held by the boys in this study and

the number of brothers and sisters in the family working for pay.¹ Miller and Form suggest that a working brother or sister may serve as a "model" for a youth.² The model brings the life of the occupational world into the home. In conversations about the work plant or office, the non-working boy probably becomes somewhat oriented towards the world of work. From this orientation it is a plausible hypothesis that the non-working youth may wish to "follow in the footsteps" of the model. The non-working son in his desire to achieve status and recognition may also want to get a full time job.

In order to test this hypothesis, the size of the family is held relatively constant in Table XIX. This is done because large families would probably have more children working than small families. The results tabulated in the table tend to refute the hypothesis just stated. It is the boys without brothers and sisters working who take the greater proportion of full time jobs. The responses of the twelfth graders in this study indicate that the existence of a model in the home does not influence the boys in getting full time jobs. Consequently the explanation must lie in a different direction. The inference is as follows: there is apparently an economic factor in operation: some youths in the family must take full time jobs to contribute to the family budget. If a boy has brothers and sisters in the family who are working, then he tends to be exempted. On the other hand, if the young man does not

1 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.17, significant above the .05 level of probability.

2 Op. cit., pp. 521-2.

TABLE XIX

NUMBER OF FULL TIME JOBS HELD BY BOYS IN FAMILIES OF TWO AND THREE CHILDREN,
BY NUMBER OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS WORKING, IN PERCENTAGES

Number of Brothers and Sisters Working	N	Number of Full Time Jobs Held				Total
		None	One	Two	Three or More	
A No Brothers or Sisters Working	361	35.1	32.4	21.1	11.4	100.0
B White collar sons	176	33.5	36.9	18.8	10.8	100.0
C Manual worker sons	185	36.8	28.1	23.2	11.9	100.0
D One or More Brothers or Sisters Working	204	44.6	28.9	12.8	13.7	100.0
E White collar sons	81	45.7	33.3	13.6	7.4	100.0
F Manual worker sons	123	43.9	26.0	12.2	17.9	100.0

AD P .05 \bar{C} 0.17

have brothers and sisters working, then he tends to be the one to get a full time job.¹

Since the seniors with no brothers and sisters working hold a greater number of full time jobs, in comparison with the seniors with brothers and sisters working,² the question may be raised as to whether the former tend to be more unstable than the latter and thus unable to hold a full time job for a long period of time. If this explanation is applied, then it must also be applied to the urban youth in comparison to the rural youth and to the sons of white collar and manual workers in comparison to the sons of farmers,³ The explanation of the differences in the number of jobs held by these large groups of youth probably lies in the opportunities to get jobs rather than in the stability or instability of personality.

Kinds of jobs held. In the questionnaire the boys were asked to indicate the kinds of full and part time work they had done for pay. On the basis of their responses, Table XX and XXI have been prepared.

1 Whereas 64.9 per cent of the seniors with no brothers and sisters working have held full time jobs, 55.4 per cent of the youths with one or more brothers and sisters working have held full time jobs.

2 Whereas 21.1 per cent of the seniors with no brothers or sisters working have held two full time jobs, 12.8 per cent of the boys with brothers or sisters working held such jobs.

3 The evidence in Tables XVII and XVIII show that the urban youth have held more part time jobs than the rural youth and that they are approximately equal in the number of full time jobs held. These tables also show that the sons of white collar and manual workers in contrast to the sons of farmers have held the greater number of both full and part time jobs.

TABLE XX

KINDS OF FULL TIME WORK DONE FOR PAY, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	Kinds of Work Done					Total
	N	Farm Work	Manual non-farm Work	White collar Work	No Response and Unclassified	
Michigan Total Sample	1279	19.3	35.9	43.4	1.4	100.0
A White collar	452	12.1	36.9	49.0	2.0	100.0
B Manual worker	719	16.3	36.7	45.9	1.1	100.0
C Farmer	108	66.0	27.4	6.6	0.0	100.0
D Urban	955	13.6	36.4	49.0	1.0	100.0
E White collar	351	11.7	37.8	48.9	1.1	100.0
F Manual worker	571	12.0	36.1	50.9	1.0	100.0
G Farmer	33	59.5	28.0	12.5	0.0	100.0
H Rural	316	34.7	36.2	27.6	1.5	100.0
I White collar	98	14.1	36.8	46.1	3.0	100.0
J Manual worker	143	32.2	40.2	27.1	0.5	100.0
K Farmer	75	68.9	27.0	4.1	0.0	100.0

ABC	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.47
EFG	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.38
IJK	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.57
DH	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.36

TABLE XXI

KINDS OF PART TIME WORK DONE FOR PAY, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	Kinds of Work Done					Total
	N	Farm	Manual non-farm	White Collar	No Response and Unclassified	
Michigan Total Sample	1279	11.8	36.1	51.4	0.7	100.0
A White collar	452	6.8	34.1	58.2	0.9	100.0
B Manual worker	719	11.8	36.9	50.8	0.5	100.0
C Farmer	108	50.5	36.6	12.9	0.0	100.0
D Urban	955	8.3	38.3	52.4	1.0	100.0
E White collar	351	5.6	43.3	49.6	1.5	100.0
F Manual worker	571	7.9	36.0	55.5	0.6	100.0
G Farmer	33	43.6	35.9	20.5	0.0	100.0
H Rural	316	27.0	40.2	32.8	0.0	100.0
I White collar	98	16.4	37.7	45.9	0.0	100.0
J Manual worker	143	24.6	43.0	32.4	0.0	100.0
K Farmer	75	54.8	37.1	8.1	0.0	100.0
		ABC	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.39
		EFG	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.33
		IJK	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.56
		DH	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.36

The data in the tables show a substantial and statistically significant association between the kinds of full and part time work experience of the students and their father's occupational level.¹ The farm youth and the sons of white collar workers show the strongest tendency "to follow in their father's footsteps." The sons of the manual workers show the greatest variety in full and part time work experience.²

This differentiation in the kinds of work experience is probably accounted for by the social conditions associated with the position of the boys' fathers in the social structure. As mentioned previously, the help of the farm boy is needed on the farm and consequently he has few opportunities to work in non-farm activities. The sons of white collar workers tend to confine themselves to white collar work. Probably white collar employers give preference to sons of white collar workers; they probably prefer a boy whose manners, behavior, and appearance is similar to their own and who will make a good impression on white collar clientele. In addition, the white collar boy may consider it a slight loss in prestige to do farm or manual work and he may object to the strenuous nature of these occupations.

The sons of manual workers probably obtain the greater variety of jobs because (1) their financial status may require that they accept part or full time jobs where and when they can get them; (2) they are

1 For full time jobs held the corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.47; for part time jobs held 0.39. These associations are significant above the .001 level of probability.

2 Approximately 60 per cent of the sons of manual workers have both full and part time work experience outside of their father's occupational stratum. The corresponding figures for the sons of white collar workers and farmers are 50 per cent and 35 per cent respectively.

not averse to doing hard physical labor; and (3) they do not place as much importance on the prestige value of certain jobs as do the sons of white collar workers. The fact that the sons of manual workers do not obtain as many white collar jobs as sons of white collar workers probably reflects the tendency of white collar employers to prefer sons of white collar workers as employees.

Tables XIX and XX also show a low but statistically significant relationship between rural-urban residence and the kinds of full and part time jobs held by the seniors in this study. A larger proportion of the rural than urban young men have experience in farm jobs. The limited number of white collar jobs available in the rural communities probably accounts for this fact. The fact that urban youth in contrast to rural youth have a greater variety in the kinds of jobs held is also probably explained by the greater variety of job opportunities in the cities. The greater variety in part time than in full time jobs held by the boys in both rural and urban communities undoubtedly reflects the greater number of part time jobs generally available to adolescents in United States.

Money earned. The amounts of money the seniors earned each week are tabulated in Table XXII. Slightly over three-quarters of them earn some money each week. Over one-half earn over five dollars each week. The amounts of money earned are very slightly but significantly related to their father's occupational level.¹ There is also a very slight but

¹ The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.14, significant above the .02 level of probability.

TABLE XXII

MONEY EARNED EACH WEEK, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	None	Amount Earned				No Response	Total
			Under \$1.00	\$1.00 to \$2.99	\$3.00 to \$5.00	Over \$5.00		
Michigan Total Sample	1279	23.5	1.2	10.2	9.4	52.5	3.2	100.0
A White collar	452	24.6	0.8	10.4	8.2	53.3	2.7	100.0
B Manual worker	719	22.5	1.5	9.6	9.2	54.0	3.2	100.0
C Farmer	108	25.0	0.9	13.9	15.7	38.9	5.6	100.0
D Urban	955	24.8	1.6	9.3	7.6	53.6	3.1	100.0
E White collar	351	25.1	0.8	9.1	6.0	56.7	2.3	100.0
F Manual worker	571	24.3	1.9	9.3	8.6	52.7	3.2	100.0
G Farmer	33	30.3	3.0	12.1	9.1	36.4	9.1	100.0
H Rural	316	19.3	0.3	13.3	14.2	49.1	3.8	100.0
I White collar	98	21.4	1.0	15.3	15.3	42.8	4.2	100.0
J Manual worker	143	16.1	0.0	11.2	11.2	58.0	3.5	100.0
K Farmer	75	22.7	0.0	14.7	18.7	40.0	3.9	100.0
			ABC	P	.02	\bar{C}	0.14	
			EFG	P	.50			
			IJK	P	.20			
			DH	P	.01	\bar{C}	0.15	

statistically significant relationship between rural-urban residence and the amounts of money earned each week.¹ The data show that a slightly greater proportion of the sons of manual workers than the sons of white collar workers or the sons of farmers earned some money each week. The proportion of the sons of white collar workers and the sons of farmers are approximately equal in this respect. On the other hand, a slightly larger proportion of the sons of manual and sons of white collar workers in comparison to the sons of farmers earned over five dollars each week.

A slightly larger proportion of the rural than the urban boys earned some money each week. However, a slightly larger proportion of the urban than the rural boys earned five dollars or more each week.

The fact that the sons of manual workers and white collar workers appear to earn slightly more money than the sons of farmers is consistent with the data in the two previous sections. The opportunities for jobs outside the home are more limited for the farm boys than for the other boys. The fact that more rural than urban boys appear to earn money is consistent with the data in Table XVII, which showed that the rural boys held more full time jobs than their urban cousins.

Summary

This Chapter has shown that social structure is significantly related to the differential rearing of Michigan youth in the home and

¹ The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.15, significant above the .01 level of probability.

to the differential treatment they receive in the school and community. Social stratification is a significant variable in the amount of work young men do at home and the amount of money they get; in their curriculum choices, in their extra-class activities, and in the amount of vocational guidance they obtain; and in the numbers and kinds of jobs they get and the amounts of money they earn. These differences are significantly related to the occupational strata of their fathers.

Up to this point no evidence has been presented to indicate whether or not this differential socialization is reflected in the students' occupational interests and attitudes, despite any presumed leveling of school experiences. The remainder of the dissertation attempts to determine this relationship.

PART THREE: WORK ATTITUDES AND INTERESTS

CHAPTER V

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

The analysis has shown that the twelfth graders in this study are differentially reared according to their father's occupational stratum. Since the young men have been treated differently in the home, in the school, and in the work community, it is expected that this differential socialization will be reflected in their ideas and attitudes about work, jobs, and occupations. It is hypothesized that the value orientations of the sub-cultures of social strata are more important in forming youths' work attitudes and interests than are the school, work experience, type of community, and certain factors in the home situation. How do the occupational plans of the son of the white collar worker differ from those of the son of the manual worker or farmer? To what degree does work experience affect youths' occupational expectations? What is the role of the school in these plans? Do these plans vary by rural-urban residence? What factors in the home situation are related to the future plans of the young men in this study?¹ If social stratification proves to be the most important factor in the youths' future plans, additional

¹ Analysis of the data revealed no statistically significant association between the future plans of the young men and such factors in the home and family situation as the amount of work the youths do at home, the amounts of spending money they receive, and whether they receive this allowance regularly or not.

evidence will be added to the accumulating data which suggest that the leveling influence of the schools is not as important as commonly believed in overcoming the social differences in the backgrounds of students.

In the questionnaire the boys were asked to indicate the kinds of life work they would like to do most, the kinds of life work they actually expected to do, and what they expected to do immediately after completing high school. The responses of the subjects to these questions are related to a traditional and flourishing belief in United States. This belief is related to the American dream that all men are born free and equal,¹ that every person should do his best to succeed and try to reach the top, and that the promise of American life² is that economic abundance and success are available to all. An accumulating number of scientific studies in United States have severely challenged this belief.³ Various studies have suggested that regardless of how much Americans

1 W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, Social Class in America (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949), p. 3.

2 Herbert Croly, The Promise of American Life (New York: Macmillan Company, 1911), p. 13.

3 W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, op. cit., pp. 3-32. W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated? (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), pp. 16-32. Robert L. Sutherland, Color, Class, and Personality (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1942). Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941). W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups, Volume III, "Yankee City Series," (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945). Allison Davis and John Dollard, Children of Bondage (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1942).

assert they are equal, important differences exist. Research in social caste, social class, and other forms of social stratification have produced evidence of differences in social status and corresponding differences in opportunities and achievements. In occupational studies similar findings exist.¹

Occupational Aspirations and Expectations

Social stratification as a factor. According to Tables XXIII and XXIV there is a substantial and significant association between the occupational level of the father and the occupational aspirations and occupational expectations of the young men in this study.² The degree of association between occupational stratification and occupational

1 For example, F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, American Business Leaders (New York: Macmillan Company, 1932), p. 234, found that the present American business leaders have been recruited in greater part from the sons of business men and only to a minor extent from the sons of farmers and manual laborers.

Percy C. Davidson and H. Dewey Anderson, Occupational Mobility in an American Community (Stanford University Press, 1937), p. 91, in a study of 466 San Jose workers report that the climbing of the occupational ladder is limited to rather few persons and that additional work experience does not alter this fact.

William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller, "Occupational Career Patterns as a Sociological Instrument," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. VLIV, No. 4, 1949, pp. 317-329, in a study of 276 occupational histories report that "once started on an occupational level, a worker tends to remain on that level." In job histories these authors found strong internal strains toward consistency; workers do not wander accidentally from one occupational level to another.

2 The degree of association is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.49 in the case of occupational aspirations and 0.60 in the case of occupational expectations. Both associations are significant above the .001 level of probability.

TABLE XXIII

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Occupational Aspirations							No Response	Total
		Farmer	Un- skilled Worker	Semi- skilled Worker	Skilled Worker	Clerical Worker	Manu- gerial	Profes- sional		
Michigan Total Sample	1279	6.0	0.7	4.1	15.7	6.6	13.5	37.1	16.3	100.0
A White collar	452	2.2	0.4	2.7	11.9	7.1	20.4	42.4	13.1	100.0
B Manual worker	719	3.3	0.8	5.4	17.1	6.7	10.6	36.4	19.7	100.0
C Farmer	108	39.8	0.9	1.8	22.2	4.6	4.6	19.4	6.7	100.0
D Urban	961	3.2	0.7	4.8	14.8	6.7	13.3	38.5	18.0	100.0
E White collar	353	1.7	0.6	2.8	11.6	6.8	18.4	44.8	13.3	100.0
F Manual worker	575	1.9	0.9	5.6	16.3	6.6	10.8	36.0	21.9	100.0
G Farmer	33	42.4	0.0	3.0	21.2	6.1	3.0	15.2	9.1	100.0
H Rural	318	14.5	0.6	3.1	18.5	6.6	14.1	29.6	13.0	100.0
I White collar	99	4.0	0.0	2.0	13.1	8.1	27.3	33.3	12.2	100.0
J Manual worker	144	9.0	0.7	4.9	20.1	6.9	9.7	31.2	17.5	100.0
K Farmer	75	38.7	1.3	1.3	22.7	4.0	5.3	21.3	5.4	100.0

ABC	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.49
EFG	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.57
IJK	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.39
DH	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.28

TABLE XXIV

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Occupational Expectations							
		Farmer	Un- skilled Worker	Semi- skilled Worker	Skilled Worker	Clerical Worker	Man- gerial	Profes- sional	No Response Total
Michigan Total Sample	1279	7.3	3.4	12.6	13.3	7.9	10.9	23.5	21.1 100.0
A White collar	452	2.6	3.1	7.5	9.1	8.4	17.5	30.7	21.1 100.0
Professional	84	4.8	3.6	6.0	6.0	2.4	10.7	52.4	14.1 100.0
Managerial	224	1.3	3.6	6.2	9.8	5.8	25.9	26.3	21.1 100.0
Clerical	144	3.5	2.1	10.4	9.7	16.0	8.3	25.0	25.0 100.0
B Manual worker	719	3.6	3.8	16.6	16.0	7.4	7.6	20.6	24.4 100.0
Skilled worker	339	3.5	2.7	13.6	20.4	8.3	7.4	22.4	21.7 100.0
Semi-skilled worker	319	3.8	2.2	21.3	12.2	6.6	7.5	20.4	26.0 100.0
Unskilled worker	61	3.3	18.0	8.2	11.5	6.6	9.8	11.5	31.1 100.0
C Farmer	108	51.9	1.8	7.4	7.5	5.3	4.1	12.0	10.0 100.0
D Urban	961	3.3	3.5	13.5	13.1	8.2	10.4	25.1	22.9 100.0
E White collar	353	1.7	3.4	7.6	8.5	8.5	15.9	32.3	22.1 100.0
F Manual worker	575	2.1	3.7	17.6	16.3	7.8	7.3	21.7	23.5 100.0
G Farmer	33	42.4	3.0	6.1	6.1	12.1	6.1	6.1	18.1 100.0
H Rural	318	19.2	3.1	9.7	11.9	6.0	11.6	18.5	20.0 100.0
I White collar	99	6.1	3.0	7.1	11.1	8.1	23.2	25.2	16.2 100.0
J Manual worker	144	9.7	4.2	12.5	14.6	5.6	9.0	16.0	28.4 100.0
K Farmer	75	54.8	1.3	8.0	8.0	4.0	1.3	14.6	8.0 100.0
		ABC	P.	.001	C	0.60			
		EFG	P.	.001	C	0.53			
		IJK	P.	.001	C	0.55			
		DH	P.	.001	C	0.33			

expectations of the boys is slightly higher than that found by Hollingshead, who examined the relationship between class position and youths' ideas about desirable jobs.¹ In terms of aspirations and expectations to achieve the higher status occupations, the sons of the workers in the three occupational strata can be ranked in the following order: (1) the sons of the white collar workers, (2) the sons of manual workers, and (3) the sons of farmers.²

In terms of the boys' aspirations to become manual workers, the opposite generalization is made: the farm boys show the greatest proportion of their number who aspire to these occupations; the sons of manual workers show a slightly smaller proportion who make this choice; and the sons of white collar workers show the smallest proportion of

1 A. B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949), p. 285. Hollingshead reported a corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.51. He classified families into five strata on the basis of the way the family lived, income and material possessions, participation in community affairs, family background, and prestige.

2 Thus, whereas 42.4 per cent of the sons of white collar workers aspire to the professions, the corresponding figures for the sons of manual workers and farmers are 36.4 and 19.4 per cent respectively. A similar tendency is observed in terms of occupational expectations. Whereas 30.7 per cent of the sons of white collar workers expect to achieve professional occupational status, only 20.6 per cent of the sons of manual workers and 12.0 per cent of the farm boys expect to achieve this status. The same relative ranking is observed in the case of both aspirations for and expectations of achieving managerial and clerical worker statuses. The sons of white collar workers predominate in the proportion of their number who aspire to and expect to achieve managerial and clerical occupations, the sons of manual workers are next in rank, and the farm boys occupy the lowest position. In terms of all white collar occupations, whereas 69.9 per cent of the sons of white collar workers aspire to these occupations, the comparable figures are 53.7 and 28.6 per cent respectively for the sons of manual workers and farmers.

the three groups who aspire to be manual workers.¹ A similar phenomenon is observed in the youths' aspirations to become farmers: in terms of the proportion of the boys from each occupational stratum who make this choice, the rank order is (1) farm boys, (2) sons of manual workers, and (3) sons of white collar workers.²

The occupational expectations of the boys coincide fairly closely with their occupational aspirations: the same relative rank order maintains for the proportion of the boys from each occupational stratum who expect to become white collar workers, manual workers, and farmers, with one deviation--the farm boys show the smallest proportion who actually expect to become manual workers.³

The responses of the boys in Tables XXIII and XXIV can be interpreted in terms of "mobility attitudes." As used in this context, the term "mobility attitudes" refers to the tendency of the boys to express a desire to "move out" of the occupational stratum of their father. Of the boys in the three groups, the sons of white collar workers show the least desire to move out of their occupational stratum, while the sons

1 Farm boys 24.9 per cent; sons of manual workers 23.3 per cent; and sons of white collar workers 15.0 per cent.

2 Farm boys 39.8 per cent; sons of manual workers 3.3 per cent; and sons of white collar workers 2.2 per cent. The aspirations of the farm boys to become farmers do not preclude the possibility that they expect to achieve higher status within the farmer occupational group.

3 The proportion of boys in each stratum who expect to become manual workers are: farm boys 16.7 per cent; sons of white collar workers 19.7 per cent; and sons of manual workers 36.4 per cent.

of manual workers and farmers are approximately equal in this respect.¹ The large proportions of the sons of farmers and manual workers who desire to move out of their respective occupational strata, and the small proportion of the sons of white collar workers who desire to do this, strongly suggest the "upward striving" of the boys in their occupational goals. This interpretation is further attested by the tendency of the boys' aspirations to exceed their expectations mainly in their choices for the professional and managerial occupations.² This tendency

1 Whereas over one-half of the sons of farmers and manual workers aspire to move out of their respective strata, only 17.2 per cent of the sons of white collar workers have this aspiration. Whereas about four-fifths of the sons of farmers and sons of manual workers actually expect to move out of their respective occupational strata, the figure for the sons of white collar workers is about one-fifth. Of the three occupational strata, the sons of the white collar workers show a greater proportion expecting to move out of their stratum than aspiring to move out. The comparison between aspirations and expectations may be summarized as follows:

<u>Sons of</u>	<u>Per cent who aspire to move out of their father's stratum</u>	<u>Per cent who expect to move out of their father's stratum</u>	<u>Excess of aspiration over expectation</u>
White collar worker	17.2	22.3	-- 4.9
Manual worker	57.0	39.2	+ 17.8
Farmer	53.5	38.1	+ 15.4

2 The comparison is shown in the following summary:

<u>Occupational goal</u>	<u>Per cent who aspire</u>	<u>Per cent who expect</u>	<u>Excess of aspiration over expectation</u>
White collar	57.2	42.3	+ 14.9
Professional	37.1	23.5	+ 13.6
Managerial	13.5	10.9	+ 2.6
Clerical	6.6	7.9	- 1.3
Manual worker	20.5	29.3	- 8.8
Skilled worker	15.7	13.3	+ 2.4
Semi-skilled	4.1	12.6	- 8.5
Unskilled	0.7	3.4	- 2.7
Farmer	6.0	7.3	- 1.3

indicates that the boys aspire to occupations which they do not hope to actually achieve. On the other hand, a smaller proportion of the boys aspire to the manual worker and farmer occupations than actually expect to enter these occupations. Apparently the boys are "shooting" for a higher occupational status than they expect to achieve. Since the sons of white collar workers do not have a "higher" occupational stratum to strive for, it is understandable that so few either aspire or expect to move out of their stratum. Any "moving" of the white collar boys would be in a "downward" direction.

The question may be raised as to whether the boys are motivated by the idea of "status" in indicating their occupational aspirations and expectations. Unfortunately, the questionnaire did not include questions on "why" the students made their choices. They may have been motivated by the desire to achieve higher social status; their choices may reflect their estimation of the chances they have of achieving the various occupations; or they may reflect the orientation they receive in the home and school regarding higher status occupations in United States. Whatever their reasons may be, the data indicate that the occupational stratification of their fathers is substantially and significantly associated with the occupational aspirations and expectations of the boys in this study.

Parental expectations. Among the many factors which influence the occupational expectations of young people, it is assumed that parents play an important role. However, when the boys in this study were asked what kinds of life work their fathers and mothers expected them to enter, over one-half of them failed to answer. Apparently less than one-half

of the boys had discussed this important question with either their fathers or their mothers.

According to the responses shown in Tables XXV and XXVI, a slightly larger proportion of the boys were familiar with their fathers' expectations than with their mothers' expectations. This extremely small difference is rather surprising.¹ In a society in which the males are traditionally the breadwinners and the females are traditionally the homemakers, it would be expected that the fathers would play a much more important role in guiding their sons' occupational choices. That this does not maintain probably reflects the rising status of women in American society and the corresponding decline in the patriarchal type of family. Of the three occupational strata, the farm boys show the greatest proportion who are familiar with their fathers' expectations in contrast to knowledge of their mothers' expectations.² This fact probably indicates the greater degree of patriarchy existing in the farm areas as well as the greater opportunity for association between father and son. In the non-farm areas the father typically works away from home. Thus the non-farm youth, in comparison to the farm youth, has less opportunity to learn of his father's expectations and more opportunity to learn of his mother's expectations.

1 The proportion of boys who knew their fathers' expectations exceeded the proportion who knew their mothers' expectations by only 1.3 per cent.

2 The proportion of sons of white collar workers who knew their fathers' expectations exceeded the proportion who knew their mothers' expectations by 0.9 per cent; the sons of manual workers by 1.1 per cent; and the sons of farmers by 5.6 per cent.

TABLE XXV

FATHER'S EXPECTATION FOR SON'S LIFE WORK, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Father's Expectation							Total
		Farmer	Un- skilled Worker	Semi- skilled Worker	Skilled Worker	Clerical Worker	Mana- gerial	Profes- sional	
Michigan Total Sample	1279	4.5	0.2	3.3	8.7	4.5	7.8	17.7	53.3 100.0
A White collar	452	0.7	0.0	2.0	6.0	6.0	13.1	21.9	50.3 100.0
Professional	84	0.0	0.0	2.4	6.0	3.6	7.1	38.1	42.8 100.0
Managerial	224	0.0	0.9	0.9	5.8	3.6	21.4	18.7	48.7 100.0
Clerical	144	2.1	0.0	3.5	6.2	11.1	2.8	17.4	56.9 100.0
B Manual worker	719	2.1	0.3	4.6	11.1	3.8	5.3	16.7	56.2 100.0
Skilled worker	339	2.4	0.3	4.7	12.1	3.5	3.8	16.5	56.7 100.0
Semi-skilled	319	2.2	0.3	4.7	9.4	4.7	6.3	16.0	56.4 100.0
Unskilled	61	0.0	3.3	3.3	14.8	0.0	8.2	19.7	50.7 100.0
C Farmer	108	37.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	3.7	2.8	6.5	46.3 100.0
D Urban	955	2.2	0.5	3.8	9.2	5.0	7.7	18.8	52.8 100.0
E White collar	351	0.9	0.6	2.6	6.0	6.0	12.0	21.9	50.0 100.0
F Manual worker	571	0.9	0.5	4.7	11.4	4.4	5.3	17.7	55.1 100.0
G Farmer	33	39.4	0.0	0.0	6.1	6.1	6.1	6.1	36.2 100.0
H Rural	317	12.0	0.0	1.6	6.9	2.5	7.8	14.5	54.7 100.0
I White collar	98	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.1	5.1	16.3	22.4	50.1 100.0
J Manual worker	144	6.9	0.0	3.5	9.7	1.4	5.6	13.2	59.7 100.0
K Farmer	75	37.3	0.0	0.0	2.7	1.3	1.3	6.7	50.7 100.0

ABC P .001 \bar{C} 0.57
 EFG P .001 \bar{C} 0.26
 IJK P .001 \bar{C} 0.41
 DH P .001 \bar{C} 0.27

TABLE XXVI

MOTHER'S EXPECTATION FOR SON'S LIFE WORK, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF
BOY'S FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Mother's Expectation							No Response	Total
		Farmer	Un- skilled Worker	Semi- skilled Worker	Skilled Worker	Clerical Worker	Mana- gerial	Profes- sional		
Michigan Total Sample	1279	4.1	0.1	2.4	6.6	4.9	6.2	21.1	54.6	100.0
A White collar	452	1.5	0.0	1.5	4.2	5.1	10.2	26.3	51.2	100.0
B Manual worker	719	2.1	0.1	3.1	8.6	4.7	4.3	19.8	57.3	100.0
C Farmer	108	27.8	0.0	1.8	2.8	5.6	1.8	8.3	51.9	100.0
D Urban	955	2.3	0.0	2.5	6.9	5.1	5.9	22.5	54.8	100.0
E White collar	351	1.7	0.0	2.0	4.6	4.8	8.5	26.8	51.6	100.0
F Manual worker	571	1.1	0.0	3.0	8.4	5.2	4.2	20.7	57.4	100.0
G Farmer	33	30.3	0.0	.0	6.1	6.1	6.1	9.1	42.3	100.0
H Rural	317	9.5	0.0	2.2	5.0	4.1	7.2	17.3	54.7	100.0
I White collar	98	1.0	0.0	.0	3.1	5.1	16.3	25.5	49.0	100.0
J Manual worker	144	6.2	0.0	3.5	8.3	2.8	4.9	16.7	57.6	100.0
K Farmer	75	26.7	0.0	2.7	1.3	5.3	0.0	8.0	56.0	100.0

ABC P .001 \bar{C} 0.46
 EFG P .001 \bar{C} 0.24
 IJK P .001 \bar{C} 0.49
 DH P .001 \bar{C} 0.21

Tables XXV and XXVI also show that the fathers' expectations for their sons are more closely associated with the fathers' occupational levels than are the mothers' expectations. The mothers have slightly higher occupational expectations for their sons than do the fathers. The mothers favor the professional and clerical occupations for their sons, whereas the fathers favor the managerial, skilled worker, and farmer occupations for the sons. The following rank order shows the correlations between (1) the occupational level of the father and (2) the occupational expectations of the mothers and fathers for their sons and the young men's occupational aspirations and expectations:

Rank order	Corrected coefficient of contingency
1. Mothers' expectations for their sons	0.46
2. Youths' occupational aspirations	0.49
3. Fathers' expectations for their sons	0.57
4. Youths' occupational expectations	0.60

The mothers have higher occupational expectations for their sons than their sons' occupational aspirations; the sons' occupational aspirations are higher than their fathers' expectations for them; and the sons actually expect to move up the occupational ladder even less than their fathers expect them to.¹

¹ The generalizations made are evidenced by the contingency values shown: the larger the contingency value, the closer the association between the occupational stratum of the father and the characteristic being measured. Conversely, the smaller the contingency value, the greater the deviation of the characteristic from the occupational stratum variable. It has already been demonstrated that the deviations are in an upward direction.

The fact that the mothers of the boys in this study have higher occupational expectations for their sons than the fathers do, and also higher expectations for their sons than what the boys themselves aspire to, probably reflects two things: (1) the mother's desire for her son to achieve higher socioeconomic status than that of her husband and (2) the mother's lack of intimate knowledge of the chances of achieving higher occupational status. Numerous social scientists have shown that occupation is the most important item in socioeconomic status in United States¹ and the status of the wife is largely determined by her husband's occupational status. Strive as she might, the typical housewife usually cannot elevate herself above the standing ascribed to her family by virtue of her husband's occupation. As a consequence, very often the mother urges her sons to achieve higher socioeconomic status than she or her family has. In her acceptance of the belief in vertical social mobility existing in United States, she wants her sons to have the things she does not have. The "upward striving" she attempts to instill in her sons is accentuated by the fact that the typical housewife has had very little work experience. Her strivings are not tempered by intimate knowledge of working conditions and of the ever increasing difficulty of workers rising from bottom to top places in industry and business.² The fact that the father's expectations for his son is lower than the mother's and that the son's aspirations and expectations are

1 Evidence of this is cited in Chapter One.

2 W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, op. cit., p. 25.

significantly lower than the mother's expectations attest to the tempering effect of work experience on the father's and son's expectations.

Relation to work experience. In the preceding two sections of this chapter, the relationships between the occupational plans of the boys and their father's occupational level and their parental expectations have been examined. Since it has been demonstrated that the occupational aspirations of the boys tend to exceed their expectations, it is assumed that the latter reflect the more carefully considered judgments of the young men. For this reason the analyses are confined to the occupational expectations of the boys in the remaining portion of this chapter.

Do the occupational expectations of youth change with work experience? If they do, to what degree and in what manner? It is a common belief in United States that work experience on the part of young people is a desirable thing. Employers place great emphasis on the amount as well as kind of work experience applicants for jobs have had. The underlying assumption of this belief is that work experience produces desirable changes in the behavior of youth. While the data in this study do not permit an analysis in terms of the "desirableness" or "undesirableness" of these changes, they do permit analyses in terms of whether or not changes have occurred in youths behavior. The hypothesis to be tested is that work experiences produce changes in young peoples' behavior and that the changes are reflected in their occupational expectations. To test this hypothesis use is made of Table XXVII, which shows the association between the amount of time spent on full time jobs and the boys' occupational expectations. In this table the boys are placed in four categories according to the time they have spent on full time jobs.

TABLE XXVII
OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS, BY TIME ON FULL TIME JOBS, IN PERCENTAGES

Months On Full Time Jobs	N	Occupational Expectations							No Response	Total
		Farmer	Un- skilled Worker	Semi- skilled Worker	Skilled Worker	Clerical Worker	Mana- gerial	Profes- sional		
A No months	487	1.9	2.3	11.5	11.1	8.2	13.1	29.3	22.6	100.0
B 3.0 - 5.9	234	7.0	3.5	12.5	13.4	7.0	10.4	25.1	21.1	100.0
C 6.0 - 17.9	308	7.5	4.9	13.6	14.3	7.8	10.0	20.7	21.2	100.0
D 18.0 or more	190	9.8	6.3	13.6	14.7	6.3	9.7	18.5	21.1	100.0

ABCD P .05 \bar{C} 0.14

On the basis of these categories, Table XXVII shows a very slight but statistically significant association between time on jobs and occupational expectations.¹

The responses computed in the table support the following generalization: the less the experience in the work world, the higher the occupational expectations of the boys.² Conversely, the more the work experience, the lower the occupational expectations.³ Apparently the boys with considerable work experience are more conservative in their occupational expectations than the young men without this work experience.⁴ Probably the experienced youth have grappled with the realities of full time employment; they have gained insights and understandings denied the inexperienced boys; and they consequently have a more realistic

1 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.14, significant above the .05 level of probability.

2 For example, whereas 29.3 per cent of the boys with no months full time employment expect to become professional workers, only 18.5 per cent of those with 18.0 months experience or more have this expectation. Whereas 50.6 per cent of the young men with no months job experience expect to become white collar workers, 34.2 per cent of those with 18.0 months or more experience have this expectation.

3 Whereas 34.6 per cent of the boys with 18.0 months or more job experience expect to become manual workers, 24.9 per cent of those with no months job experience have this expectation. Whereas 9.8 per cent of the students with 18.0 months or more employment experience expect to become farmers, 1.9 per cent of those with no months work experience have this expectations.

4 This generalization is also supported by the responses tabulated in supplemental Table LXVI, which show a very slight but statistically significant association between the number of full time jobs held and the occupational expectations of the young men. The greater the number of full time jobs held, the lower the occupational expectations; the fewer the number of full time jobs held, the higher the occupational expectations. In this table the degree of association is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.18, significant above the .05 level of probability.

basis against which to measure their expectations. It is observed that a greater proportion of the experienced than the inexperienced responded to the question on occupational expectations. Presumably some work experience tends to aid youth in making judgements about occupational expectations.

As Table XXVIII indicates, the occupational expectations of the students in this study are also slightly but significantly associated with the kinds of full time jobs held.¹ The boys who have held only white collar jobs have slightly higher occupational expectations than the boys who have held only manual jobs.² Among the sons of the white collar workers and among the sons of manual workers, the same generalization applies: it is the sons of workers in both of these strata with white collar job experience who have the higher occupational plans.³

Sibling position. With the decline in the size of the family in Western civilization,⁴ researchers have directed their attention to the differential socialization which occurs in the family by virtue of the differences in the ages of the children. The fewer the children in the

1 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.27, significant above the .01 level of probability.

2 Whereas 51.9 per cent of the boys who held only white collar jobs expect to become white collar workers, 40.1 per cent of those who held only manual worker jobs have this expectation.

3 Whereas 42.7 per cent of the sons of manual workers with only white collar work experience expect to become white collar workers, 33.3 per cent of those with manual work experience have this expectation.

4 From 1790 to 1940 the mean number of persons per family in the United States declined from 5.7 to 3.8. See P. C. Glick, "Family Trends in the United States, 1890 to 1940," American Sociological Review, Vol. 7, No. 4, (August 1942), pp. 505-514.

TABLE XXVIII

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS, BY KINDS OF FULL TIME JOBS HELD, IN PERCENTAGES

Kind of Full Time Job Held	N	Occupational Expectations							No Response	Total
		Farmer	Un- skilled Worker	Semi- skilled Worker	Skilled Worker	Clerical Worker	Manu- gerial	Profes- sional		
A White collar jobs <u>only</u>	237	0.8	2.5	12.7	12.2	11.4	13.1	27.4	19.9	100.0
B White collar sons	94	2.1	2.1	7.4	4.2	13.8	16.0	36.2	18.2	100.0
C Manual worker sons	143	0.0	2.8	16.1	17.5	9.8	11.2	21.7	20.9	100.0
D Manual worker jobs <u>only</u>	187	1.1	8.0	10.2	21.9	4.8	9.1	26.2	18.7	100.0
E White collar sons	70	0.0	7.1	7.1	14.3	7.1	17.1	27.1	20.2	100.0
F Manual worker sons	117	1.7	8.5	12.0	26.5	3.4	4.3	25.6	18.0	100.0

AD P .01 \bar{C} 0.27

family the greater the differences in the ages. Ogburn, for example, claims that the oldest child is more variable in nature, the middle child more ordinary and nearer the mode, and the youngest child more variable than the middle child but not so much so as the only child.¹ Davis maintains that the only child, the first child, or a child separated by about six years from his nearest sibling, has to face a tremendously steep age-barrier; he is stimulated by his parents to strive for adult privileges; and he sets his goals too near the adult level.²

It is extremely difficult to study the influence of birth order in the socialization of children because it is difficult to eliminate other factors in operation. For the purposes of this study, it is hypothesized that if the oldest child in the family sets his goals too near the adult level this tendency will be revealed in the occupational expectations of the oldest child compared to the other children. To test this hypothesis the occupational stratum has been held constant in Table XXIX. The data in this table do not support this hypothesis to a statistically significant degree. Among the white collar families in this study there is a very slight but not statistically significant tendency for the oldest child to have higher occupational expectations than either the middle child or the youngest child. Among the manual worker families a similar tendency is observed, but the differences are likewise not statistically significant. On the basis of the evidence in this study

1 W. F. Ogburn, "The Changing Family with Regard to the Child," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 151: 20-24.

2 Allison Davis, "American Status Systems and the Socialization of the Child," American Sociological Review, Vol. 6, No. 3, (June 1941), pp. 345-356.

TABLE XXIX

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS, ACCORDING TO SIBLING POSITION IN THE FAMILY, IN PERCENTAGES

Sibling Position in Family	N	Farmer	Occupational Expectations			Total
			Manual Worker	White Collar Worker	No Response	
White collar family						
A Oldest child	151	2.0	17.2	58.9	21.9	100.0
B In-between child	117	3.4	25.6	53.8	17.2	100.0
C Youngest child	120	0.8	21.7	51.7	25.8	100.0
Manual worker family						
D Oldest child	205	3.9	40.0	37.6	18.5	100.0
E In-between child	241	5.8	34.4	32.8	27.0	100.0
F Youngest child	180	1.7	36.7	35.6	26.0	100.0

ABC P .90
DEF P .99

it may be concluded that sibling position is not significantly related to the occupational expectations of the twelfth grade males in Michigan.

Other social factors. It is axiomatic that many social factors play an important role in the socialization of young persons for the adult work world. In addition to the factors of social stratification, parental expectations, and work experience, which show a statistically significant relationship to youths' occupational plans, six other factors have been selected for analysis to illustrate the multiplicity of factors in operation in the family situation, school, and type of community. These are rural-urban residence; formal education of father, working status of mother, and size of family; and curriculum in which enrolled and vocational guidance.

The responses of the boys tabulated in Table XXIV reveal that the twelfth graders living in or adjacent to urban communities have slightly higher occupational expectations than the boys living in rural communities.¹ The fact that a slightly greater proportion of the urban than rural youths expect to become white collar workers probably reflects three factors: (1) the slightly greater degree of "upward striving" among the city boys; (2) the greater chances of achieving white collar jobs in the urban communities, and (3) the slightly stronger orientation to the contractual Gesellschaft behavior found predominantly in urban communities.

¹ The degree of association between rural-urban residence and the twelfth graders' occupational expectations is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.33, significant above the .001 level of probability. Whereas 43.7 per cent of the urban youth expect to achieve white collar occupations, 37.1 per cent of the rural youth have this expectation. The higher expectations of the city boys maintains for the youths in each occupational stratum.

Sons of college educated fathers have higher occupational expectations than sons of fathers with grade school education or less.¹ The data in Table XXX support the generalization that the higher the formal educational level of the father, the higher the occupational expectation of the son. The data in the table show that whereas about sixty per cent of the sons of fathers with college education expect to become managerial or professional workers, only about thirty per cent of the sons of fathers with grade school education or less have this expectation. Since in United States a large proportion of the white collar workers with college education enter the professional and managerial occupations, it is expected that their sons would tend to follow them in their occupational expectations.

From Table XXXI it is seen that there is a statistically significant relationship between the working status of the mother and the occupational expectations of her son. The sons of non-working mothers have higher occupational expectations than the sons of working mothers.² It has already been pointed out that the boys without work experience have higher occupational expectations than those with work experience.³ It has also been shown that the fathers of the boys do not have as high occupational expectations for their sons as do the boys' mothers.⁴ Apparently experience

1 Table XXX shows a corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.38, indicating a low association between the educational level of the father and the son's occupational expectations. The association is significant above the .001 level of probability.

2 The degree of association between the working status of the mother and her son's occupational expectations is indicated by the corrected coefficient of 0.15, significant above the .05 level of probability.

3 See Table XXVII.

4 See Tables XXV and XXVI.

TABLE XXX
OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS, BY OCCUPATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Educational and Occupational Level of Father	N	Occupational Expectations							Total
		Farmer	Un- skilled Worker	Semi- skilled Worker	Skilled Worker	Clerical Worker	Man- gerial	Profes- sional	No Response
A Some college or more	188	3.2	2.1	3.7	6.9	6.4	16.5	42.6	18.6
B White collar	146	2.7	2.1	2.1	6.8	6.2	20.5	43.1	16.5
C Manual worker	42	4.8	2.4	9.5	7.1	7.1	2.4	40.5	26.2
D Some high school or high school graduate	438	3.5	2.6	6.2	10.1	20.1	15.1	25.2	17.2
E White collar	163	3.0	2.5	4.1	9.5	20.2	17.0	28.0	15.9
F Manual worker	275	3.6	2.7	6.9	11.5	19.9	16.0	21.0	18.4
G Grade school or less	464	3.7	4.1	17.0	15.9	8.4	9.5	19.0	22.4
H White collar	117	3.4	3.4	12.8	12.8	9.4	17.9	20.5	19.8
I Manual worker	347	3.7	4.3	18.4	17.0	8.1	6.6	18.4	23.5

ADG P .001 \bar{C} 0.38

TABLE XXXI
OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS, BY WORKING STATUS OF MOTHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Working Status of Mother	N	Occupational Expectations			No Response	Total
		Farmer	Manual Worker	White Collar Worker		
A Mother works for pay	144	3.2	23.8	53.9	19.1	100.0
B Mother does not work for pay	412	1.1	18.0	55.6	25.3	100.0

AB P .05 \bar{C} 0.15

in the work world tends to make workers more cautious and conservative in their expectations. This statement, according to Table XXXI, applies also to the working mothers in comparison to the non-working mothers. The working mothers probably have a more realistic knowledge of working conditions and the possibilities of achieving high status occupation. The son, in turn, is apparently influenced by the more conservative expectations of his working mother and does not have as high occupational expectations as the son of the non-working mother.

According to Table XXXII the occupational expectations of the young men in this study are associated very slightly but to a statistically significant degree with the size of their family.¹ The generalization supported is that the smaller the size of the family the higher the occupational expectations of the twelfth graders; the larger the size of the family the lower the occupational expectations. The interpretation is that family size probably operates as a status variable. Since the small family is obliged to distribute its income among fewer persons it probably enjoys a slightly higher status than the larger family. This higher status is probably reflected in the higher occupational expectations of the young men from the smaller families. Additional evidence to support this interpretation is provided in Table XXXIII, which shows that a

1 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.20, significant above the .05 level of probability.

2 Whereas 50.4 per cent of the boys from one-child families expect to become white collar workers, only 31.1 per cent of the boys from families of five or more children have this expectation.

TABLE XXXII
OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS, BY SIZE OF FAMILY, IN PERCENTAGES

Number of Children in Family	N	Occupational Expectations							Total
		Farmer	Un- skilled Worker	Semi- skilled Worker	Skilled Worker	Clerical Worker	Manu- gerial	Profes- sional	
A One	143	3.5	0.7	9.8	12.6	9.8	7.7	32.9	100.0
B Two	323	4.3	3.1	11.8	14.9	6.2	13.1	26.6	100.0
C Three	284	5.6	3.2	11.3	10.9	8.4	13.0	25.4	100.0
D Four	177	7.3	6.2	15.8	11.9	6.8	10.2	23.7	100.0
E Five or more	302	6.3	3.6	14.9	14.9	8.6	5.6	16.9	100.0

ABCDE P .05 \bar{C} 0.20

TABLE XXXIII

POST HIGH SCHOOL PLANS, BY SIZE OF FAMILY, IN PERCENTAGES

Number of Children in Family	N	Expectations after High School							Total
		College	Part-Time Job and College	Business or Vocational School	Full Time Job and Night School	Appren- tice	Self- employed	Full Time Job	
A One	143	30.8	23.1	2.8	5.6	8.4	0.0	16.1	100.0
B Two	323	31.0	21.0	3.4	5.3	5.0	1.0	20.1	100.0
C Three	284	26.4	17.6	3.5	5.3	3.5	1.0	30.0	100.0
D Four	177	21.5	15.8	3.4	6.2	6.2	2.3	30.5	100.0
E Five or more	302	15.2	16.6	4.3	9.6	7.9	1.7	31.8	100.0

ABCDE P .01 C̄ 0.24

greater proportion of youth from small families than from large families plan to go to college after completing high school.¹ Apparently the youth from the smaller families are more disposed to strive for high occupational status than the students from the larger families, and they plan to make use of the educational facilities to achieve these ambitions.

Tables XXXIV and XXXV reveal how the "upwardly oriented" seniors in this study make use of the available means to achieve their higher occupational expectations. Among sons of both white collar and manual workers those youth with the higher occupational expectations predominate in the academic curriculum and they make greater use of the vocational guidance facilities of the schools.² Apparently these "upwardly oriented" youth realize that to qualify for entrance into the higher status white collar occupations they should have some college education. In order to prepare for college entrance they enroll in the academic curriculum in high school. These young men probably are also concerned about the specific qualifications for the jobs they expect to get, and, as a result, they seek information and guidance from the counselors in the school. On the other hand, the young men who are not so "upwardly oriented" tend to enroll in the vocational curriculum and do not seek as much vocational guidance.

1 Whereas 53.9 per cent of those from one-child families plan to go to college, only 31.8 per cent of those from families of five or more children have such plans. In Table XXXIII the corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.24, significant above the .01 level of probability.

2 In Table XXXIV there is a low but statistically significant association between curriculum and occupational expectations. The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.35, significant above the .001 level of probability. The degree of association between the occupational expectations of the boys and vocational conferences held is evidenced by the corrected contingency coefficient of 0.26, significant above the .001 level of probability (Table XXXV).

TABLE XXXIV

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS, BY CURRICULUM IN WHICH ENROLLED, IN PERCENTAGES

Curriculum in Which Enrolled	N	Occupational Expectations							Total
		Farmer	Un- skilled Worker	Semi- skilled Worker	Skilled Worker	Clerical Worker	Man- gerial	Profes- sional	
A Academic	487	2.1	3.1	6.2	11.7	8.0	13.1	34.5	100.0
B White collar sons	227	2.6	3.5	3.5	6.6	7.0	18.5	38.7	100.0
C Manual worker sons	260	1.5	2.7	8.5	16.2	8.8	8.5	30.8	100.0
D Vocational	206	5.8	6.3	18.9	18.4	5.3	7.3	18.0	100.0
E White collar sons	52	3.8	3.8	17.3	11.5	11.5	11.5	25.0	100.0
F Manual worker sons	154	6.5	7.1	19.5	20.8	3.2	5.8	16.9	100.0

AD P .001 \bar{C} 0.35

TABLE XXXV
OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS, BY NUMBER OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE CONFERENCES HELD, IN PERCENTAGES

Number of Vocational Guidance Conferences	N	Farmer	Occupational Expectations					Profes- sional	No Response	Total
			Un- skilled Worker	Semi- skilled Worker	Clerical Worker	Mana- gerial				
A None	535	2.1	3.6	14.8	14.1	8.2	9.2	22.6	25.4	100.0
B One	219	4.2	2.3	14.2	13.7	8.2	13.5	22.9	21.0	100.0
C Two and three	348	3.5	2.6	11.5	11.5	7.5	12.1	31.6	19.7	100.0
D Four or more	107	2.8	6.5	4.7	14.0	7.5	8.4	39.4	16.7	100.0

ABCD P .001 \bar{c} 0.26

POST HIGH SCHOOL PLANS

The analysis has shown that the occupational aspirations and expectations of the boys in this study are significantly related to social stratification in spite of any leveling effect of the American school system. Does this relationship also exist in terms of what the boys plan to do upon completing high school? If these young men are serious about their occupational aims and goals, their plans after completing high school should bear some relationship to their occupational expectations.

There are two main roads open to young men upon graduating from high school: either they continue their formal education or they go to work. A small number join the military organizations or remain unemployed and idle. Those youths who have their eyes on the professional and managerial jobs will want to go on to college to prepare for these occupations. Those youths who do not have such aspirations will probably enter the full time work world immediately after high school. The important questions to which answers are sought are thus: What factors motivate some youths to make use of the educational institutions in order to achieve higher social and occupational status? What factors are related to the choices of those who plan to enter the full time work world? The answers to these questions would throw some light on the differential socialization which has taken place in the lives of the young men in this study.

For purposes of presentation the factors revealed in this study are divided into two categories: (1) occupational level of father and (2) other factors, such as number of brothers and sisters working, curriculum

in which enrolled, vocational guidance conferences held, rural-urban place of residence, and father's formal educational level.¹

Occupational stratification. The post high school plans of the boys in this study are tabulated in Table XXXVI. About forty-five per cent of the young men plan to go on for additional formal education; about forty per cent plan to enter the full time work world; and about ten per cent plan to enter military organizations. The plans of the boys are significantly and substantially associated with the occupational levels of their fathers.² The relative ranking of the seniors of the three occupational strata in terms of their plans to continue their formal education are: (1) sons of white collar workers, (2) sons of manual workers, and (3) sons of farmers. The converse ranking maintains in terms of the plans of the twelfth graders to enter the full time work world.³ These relative rank orders maintain for the rural youth and for the urban youth.⁴

1 Analysis of the data showed no statistically significant relationship between post high school plans and (1) work experience, (2) working status of mother, or (3) sibling position.

2 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.45, significant above the .001 level of probability. Whereas 62.8 per cent of the sons of white collar workers plan to continue their formal education (in college, business, or vocational school), the figures for the sons of manual workers and farmers are 37.7 and 24.1 per cent respectively. Among the sons of white collar workers there are pronounced differences in terms of those who plan to go to college: whereas 67.8 per cent of the sons of professional workers plan to go to college, the figures for the sons of managerial and clerical workers are 58.4 per cent and 50.7 per cent respectively.

3 Whereas 26.9 per cent of the sons of white collar workers plan to enter the full time work world, the figures for the sons of manual workers and farmers are 45.7 and 62.0 per cent respectively.

4 The degree of association between the post high school plans and the occupational level of father for the urban youth is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.31; for the rural boys, 0.51. These associations are significant above the .001 level of probability.

TABLE XXXVI

POST HIGH SCHOOL PLANS, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	Post High School Plans											
	Part-time Business or job and Vocational College School			Full-time job and Night School		Appren- tice	Self- Employed	Full- time Job	Join Military	No Response	Total	
N	College	College	School	School	Night	School	Appren- tice	Self- Employed	Full- time Job	Join Military	No Response	Total
Michigan total sample	1279	23.8	18.1	3.5	6.3	5.7	1.9	27.1	10.2	3.4	100.0	
A White collar	452	39.6	18.1	5.1	4.6	3.5	0.7	18.1	7.3	3.0	100.0	
Professional	84	47.6	20.2	3.6	4.8	3.6	1.1	9.5	6.0	3.6	100.0	
Managerial	224	44.6	13.8	5.8	2.7	4.5	0.9	18.7	5.8	3.2	100.0	
Clerical	144	27.1	23.6	4.9	7.6	2.1	0.0	22.2	10.4	2.1	100.0	
B Manual worker	719	15.8	19.5	2.4	7.9	7.8	0.7	30.2	11.7	4.0	100.0	
Skilled	339	18.0	20.9	2.1	9.1	10.3	0.3	23.9	11.2	4.2	100.0	
Semi-skilled	319	15.0	18.5	2.8	7.2	5.0	1.2	35.1	11.0	4.2	100.0	
Unskilled	61	8.2	16.4	1.6	4.9	8.2	0.0	39.3	18.0	3.4	100.0	
C Farmer	108	10.2	9.3	4.6	2.8	0.9	14.8	43.5	13.0	0.9	100.0	
D Urban	961	24.3	19.6	3.3	7.3	6.0	1.1	24.8	10.0	3.6	100.0	
E White collar	353	37.4	19.3	5.1	5.4	4.2	0.6	17.3	7.4	3.3	100.0	
F Manual worker	575	17.2	20.2	2.4	8.5	7.5	0.7	28.2	11.5	3.8	100.0	
G Farmer	33	9.1	12.1	0.0	6.1	0.0	15.2	45.4	12.1	0.0	100.0	
H Rural	318	22.0	13.8	4.1	3.5	4.7	4.1	34.0	11.0	2.8	100.0	
I White collar	99	47.5	14.1	5.1	2.0	1.0	1.0	21.2	7.1	1.0	100.0	
J Manual worker	144	10.4	16.7	2.1	5.6	9.0	0.7	38.2	12.5	4.8	100.0	
K Farmer	75	10.6	8.0	6.7	1.3	1.3	14.7	42.8	13.3	1.3	100.0	

ABC	P	.001	C	0.45
EFG	P	.001	C	0.31
IJK	P	.001	C	0.51
DH	P	.001	C	0.19

According to these data, the higher educational institutions in Michigan are used to reinforce the rigidity of the occupational strata. It is the sons of the white collar workers who are planning to make the greatest use of the educational institutions in achieving occupational status. Consistent with other studies in occupational stratification,¹ it is from the ranks of the white collar workers that the greatest proportion of professional, managerial, and other white collar workers will be drawn. Thus in the post high school plans of the seniors in this study, and in the probable results of these plans, is reflected the differential value orientation associated with occupational stratification in Michigan. The workers in the white collar stratum tend to place emphasis upon formal education as a means of achieving occupational status.² Since a considerable amount of formal education is required to qualify young people for positions in the white-collar bureaucracies in United States, the white collar parents see to it that their sons obtain this requirement.

The sons of manual workers and farmers likewise reveal the value orientations of the occupational strata from which they come. Among these young men less formal education is usually required to perform the adult

1 F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, op. cit., and Davidson and Anderson, op. cit.

2 W. Lloyd Warner, M. Meeker, and K. Eels, Social Class in America (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949), p. 24, point out that today education is the principle route to success. The prudent man today, these authors state, must prepare himself by education if he wishes to fill an important job and provide his family with the money and prestige necessary to get "the better things in life."

roles held out to them. They can obtain jobs in farming or in manual work without additional formal education. In typically following the values and beliefs of their occupational strata, they thus tend to limit their horizons to those of their strata. They have made choices and plans which will place them in positions in the occupational structure similar to those of their fathers. Thus in the post high school plans of the twelfth grade males in Michigan is reflected the persistent phenomenon of social stratification.

Other social factors. Social stratification is only one of the many factors in the socialization of young people for adult roles in the world of work. According to the data tabulated in Table XXXVI, there is a significant but very low relationship between rural-urban residence and the post high school plans of the young males in this study. A slightly greater proportion of the urban than the rural seniors expect to continue their formal education; a slightly greater proportion of the rural than the urban boys expect to enter full-time employment after high school.¹ These slight differences probably reflect the more abundant opportunities for post high school education in the urban communities, the slightly greater tendency of the urban than the rural boys to "strive upward" in occupational expectations, and the greater emphasis among rural than urban people upon the value of manual work.

The post high school plans of the twelfth graders are also slightly and significantly associated with the formal educational level of their

¹ The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.19, significant above the .001 level of probability. Whereas 47.2 per cent of the young men in the cities expect to continue their formal education, 39.9 per cent of the rural youth expect to do this.

fathers, as shown in Table XXXVII.¹ The evidence supports the generalization that the higher the educational level of the father the greater the proportion of the boys who expect to continue their formal education, and, conversely, the lower the educational level of the father, the greater the tendency of the boys to expect to enter the full time work world.²

The low association between the formal educational level of the father and the post high school plans of his son probably reveals the importance of formal education to those already possessing a rather high degree of formal education. As the data indicate, it is the fathers with college education who have sons who plan to go on with their formal education. The sons of fathers without the advantage of college education tend to enter the full time work world immediately after completing high school. There is thus revealed in the plans of the boys the tendency of the sons to perpetuate the value orientations of their fathers. This does not imply that there is no aspiration for upward mobility. The numbers of twelfth graders, regardless of their fathers' educational levels, who plan to go to college reflect the vertical mobility attitudes of the boys.

1 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.38, significant above the .001 level of probability.

2 Whereas 78.2 per cent of the boys whose fathers have some college education or more expect to continue their formal education, 37.7 per cent of those whose fathers have grade school education or less have such plans. On the other hand, whereas 20.2 per cent of the sons of college educated fathers expect to take full time employment after high school, 58.1 of the boys whose fathers had grade school education or less have this expectation.

TABLE XXXVII

POST HIGH SCHOOL PLANS, BY EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Educational and Occupational Level of Father	N	College		Part time job and College		Business or Vocational School		Full time Job and Night School		Appren- tice		Self Em- ployed		Full time Job		Mili- tary		No Re- sponse		Total
		College	College	College	College	School	School	Night School	Night School	tice	tice	played	played	Job	Job	tary	tary	sponse	sponse	
A Some college or more	188	55.3	19.7	3.2	3.2	2.7	0.0	9.0	5.3	1.6	100.0									
B White collar	146	59.6	19.9	3.4	2.7	2.1	0.0	7.5	3.4	1.4	100.0									
C Manual worker	42	40.5	19.0	2.4	4.8	4.8	0.0	14.3	11.9	2.3	100.0									
D Some high school or high school graduate	438	36.6	17.0	5.0	6.0	4.0	0.5	21.0	7.2	2.7	100.0									
E White collar	163	42.5	17.8	7.2	7.0	3.2	0.0	14.0	6.5	1.8	100.0									
F Manual worker	275	32.0	16.9	4.1	5.7	4.2	1.4	23.8	8.9	3.0	100.0									
G Grade school or less	464	17.7	15.5	4.5	8.4	7.3	1.1	31.0	10.3	4.2	100.0									
H White collar	117	32.5	13.7	6.8	8.5	2.6	0.9	21.4	8.5	5.1	100.0									
I Manual worker	347	12.7	16.1	3.7	8.4	8.9	1.2	34.3	11.0	3.7	100.0									

ADG P .001 C 0.36

As is to be expected, there is a substantial association between the post high school plans of the students in this study and the curriculum in which enrolled.¹ A large proportion of boys who enroll in the academic curriculum do so in order to prepare for entrance into college. Regardless of the occupational stratum of their fathers, those who enroll in the academic curriculum predominantly plan to go on to college. Conversely, the youth who enroll in the vocational curriculum predominantly plan to take full time jobs after finishing high school.²

As indicated in Table XXXIX, the boys who plan to go to college, in contrast to those who plan to take full time jobs after high school, make the greater use of the vocational guidance facilities of the schools.³ The probable explanation of this tendency is that the young men who plan to go to college are concerned about their careers and they have ready access to their teachers' advice and assistance. Since they have a great variety of choice among the various professional, managerial, and other

1 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.56, significant above the .001 level of probability (Table XXXVIII).

2 Whereas 70.4 per cent of the boys in the academic curriculum plan to go to college, 21.3 per cent of the boys in the vocational curriculum have this expectation. Whereas 80.1 per cent of the sons of white collar in the academic curriculum plan to go to college, 28.8 per cent of the sons of white collar workers in the vocational curriculum have this plan. Whereas 61.9 per cent of the sons of manual workers in the academic curriculum plan to go to college, only 18.8 per cent of the sons of manual workers in the academic curriculum have such plans

3 Whereas 65.5 per cent of the boys who plan to go to college had four or more vocational guidance conferences in high school, the comparable figure for the boys who plan to take full time jobs is 14.0 per cent. The degree of association is evidenced in Table XXXIX by the corrected coefficient of 0.26, significant above the .001 level of probability.

TABLE XXXVIII

POST HIGH SCHOOL PLANS, BY CURRICULUM IN WHICH ENROLLED, IN PERCENTAGES

Curriculum in Which Enrolled	N	Post High School Plans				Self Employed	Full-time Job	Join Military	No Response	Total
		College	Part-time job and College	Business or Vocational School	Night School	Apprentice				
A Academic	487	41.5	28.9	2.5	3.7	2.1	0.2	12.3	6.4	2.4
B White collar sons	227	55.9	24.2	3.5	3.1	0.4	0.4	7.0	3.5	2.0
C Manual worker sons	260	28.8	33.1	1.5	4.2	3.5	0.0	16.9	8.8	3.2
D Vocational	206	9.2	12.1	3.9	11.6	11.2	1.4	37.4	11.2	2.0
E White collar sons	52	19.2	9.6	9.6	5.8	3.8	0.0	38.5	13.5	0.0
F Manual worker sons	154	5.8	13.0	1.9	13.6	13.6	1.9	37.0	10.4	2.8

AD	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.56
BE	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.54
CF	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.53

TABLE XXXIX

POST HIGH SCHOOL PLANS, BY NUMBER OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE CONFERENCES, IN PERCENTAGES

Number of Vocational Guidance Conferences	N	Expectations after High School							Total
		College	Part time Job and College	Business or Vocational School	Full time Job and Night School	Appren- tice	Self Em- ployed	Full time Job	
A None	535	18.3	15.9	3.0	7.8	5.8	0.4	32.9	100.0
B One	219	23.3	19.6	5.5	5.9	7.8	2.7	24.2	100.0
C Two or three	348	30.3	20.0	4.2	6.3	5.9	3.3	17.7	100.0
D Four or more	107	44.9	20.6	3.7	3.7	5.6	0.0	14.0	100.0

ABCD P .001 \bar{C} 0.26

white collar occupations, they are probably curious about the specific requirements and training needed. Because of this curiosity and because their teachers usually encourage aspirations for more formal education, the upwardly oriented youth obtain assistance, guidance, and information regarding the higher status occupations.

Summary

Contrary to the popular notion that all American youths have similarly upward occupational plans and expectations, this study shows that there are significant differences among twelfth grade Michigan males. Instead of uniformity and homogeneity, their occupational plans show diversity and heterogeneity. The evidence in this study indicates that the school system, which is supposed to create a similar ideology toward upward mobility, does not abolish the differences already existing in the various social strata from which the youths come. Typically Americans, the boys do subscribe to an ideology of "upward striving." They aspire to jobs they do not expect to get. Portraying the "rationalism" of the Gesellschaft leit motiv of the Western world, those youths who are striving for the higher status occupations make use of the educational institutions as a means of achieving their ends. The upward oriented youth tend to enroll in the academic curriculum, they plan to go to college, and they make use of the vocational guidance facilities in the schools to assist them in their vocational choices. Sons and parents alike who have participated in the work world for a substantial period of time are more cautious and conservative in their occupational expectations: fathers

have lower expectations than mothers for their sons; working mothers have lower expectations than non-working mothers for their sons; and the young men with work experience behind them have lower occupational expectations than those without this experience.

Although the boys generally want the higher status job and the better paying position, there is a strong tendency for them to expect a job in the same occupational level as their fathers: there is a strong tendency for the farm boy to expect to become a farmer, for the son of a manual worker to expect to become a manual worker, and for the son of a white collar worker to expect to become in turn a white collar worker. Despite the "leveling" effect of the American educational system, the occupational and educational plans of Michigan twelfth graders substantially and significantly reflect their positions in the social structure, and this position is largely set by their father's occupational level.

CHAPTER VI

WORK INTERESTS AND PREFERENCES

The analysis has revealed that the future plans of the Michigan youths are significantly related to the social strata from which they come and that the school system does not overcome these social differences. When these twelfth graders enter the adult world of work upon the completion of high school, they will be confronted with numerous issues and problems to which they must adjust. It is a plausible expectation that social stratification would bear some relationship to the views youth have about such issues. Are the value orientations of sub-cultures of social strata the most important factors in formulating the young men's work interests and attitudes? Does the school overcome these differences in social backgrounds? Does the school with its barrage of formal courses and numerous activities effectively capture young peoples' minds or does social stratification persist as the important factor in youths' work interests and preferences? What is the role of the family situation, work experience, and type of community in the process?

In attempting to find some of the answers to such questions, this chapter is concerned with an important social problem of contemporary Western civilization. This problem confronts all workers in all occupations in the United States. Succinctly stated, the problem is: can man

find satisfaction and pleasure in performing semi-automatic and highly specialized jobs?¹ Is it possible for man to be happy in his work situation? Can he obtain social satisfaction in doing his job?

To provide basic information on this problem, many social researchers have directed their efforts to an analysis of the factors in job satisfaction and morale. The many studies on this problem indicate that the total job situation must be studied in order to find the significant factors.² To understand this problem, it is probably as important to

1 See Henri de Man, Joy in Work (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1929); T. N. Whitehead, Leadership in a Free Society (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947); and F. J. Roethlisberger, Management and Morale (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949).

2 S. N. F. Chant, "Measuring the Factors that make a Job Interesting," Personnel Journal, Vol. XI, No. I, pp. 1-4, in a study of 250 young men in a wide variety of occupations, reports eleven factors selected by the workers as being important to job satisfaction. In order of importance they are: (1) opportunity for advancement, (2) steady work, (3) opportunity to use own ideas, (4) opportunity to learn, (5) good boss, (6) high pay, (7) good working companions, (8) good working conditions, (9) clean work, (10) good hours, and (11) easy work.

Daniel Katz and Herbert Hyman, "Industrial Morale," in Readings in Social Psychology by T. M. Newcomb and E. L. Hartley, editors, (New York: Holt, 1947), p. 447, state: "If production is going well, if his superiors treat him fairly, if promotional opportunities are good, if earning are satisfactory, if the health and safety conditions in the factory are superior, then job satisfaction will be high."

L. G. Reynolds and Joseph Shister, Job Horizons (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), p. 34, state that the three most important factors related to job satisfaction are (1) human relations on the job--the degree of independence and control, fairness of treatment, and relations with fellow workers; (2) the intrinsic nature of the job; and (3) wages in an absolute sense.

Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, op. cit., p. 478, state that three major considerations are associated with morale: (1) the social approval which the job holder feels he has acquired from his job; (2) the opportunity he feels he has for advancement; and (3) the return he feels he is getting for his labor.

know what interests, preferences, attitudes, and ideas the worker brings with him to his job as it is to know how he feels after working at his job for some time. Since the young men in this study are on the verge of entering full time employment, it should prove illuminating to discover what work beliefs and attitudes they bring with them. A study of their work interests and preferences may contribute knowledge and insights useful to those who are concerned with the adjustments of young people to an industrial civilization. If the value is accepted that workers should obtain some degree of satisfaction from their labors, then this study of prospective workers should contribute some knowledge of how this value may be achieved.

In the questionnaire the boys were asked various questions about their interests and preferences in jobs and occupations, such as their preferences regarding labor unions at work, their preferences concerning the age and sex of future supervisors, what the bases for promotion should be, what type of vacations and work clothes they preferred, and their preferences about the place of work.¹ The following analysis is made in

1 Among the questions answered by the students relative to the work situation, the following showed no statistically significant relationship to social stratification:

- a. Preference for a supervisor who praises workers frequently or seldom.
- b. Preference for the supervisor who checks work frequently or seldom.
- c. Preference for the supervisor who mixes with workers frequently or seldom.
- d. Preference for the supervisor who is hired from outside as opposed to promoting someone from within the plant.
- e. Preference for associates with an equal or greater amount of formal education than themselves.
- f. Preference for positions which permitted or required travel.
- g. Preference for size of company.

reference to these items.¹

Labor Unions

One of the important issues facing many prospective workers in United States is the question of whether or not to join a labor union. In order to obtain a manual job, a new worker, in many instances, must join a local union. In other manual job situations he may have a choice of joining or not joining. For the young men who enter white collar occupations the question of joining or not joining a union is not so acute, but for many it is still a problem which must be resolved. The twelfth graders' attitudes about unions are thus related to an important question to which many of them must make a decision when they enter the full time work world.

When the seniors in this study were asked their attitudes toward labor unions, about one-fifth indicated that they preferred a job where there was no labor union, six-tenths preferred a job where the workers had a choice about joining a labor union, and one-tenth preferred a job where the workers must join a labor union. In other words, about eight-tenths favored the "open shop" and one-tenth favored the "closed shop."

The responses of the boys to the question about labor unions are shown in Table XL. The data show a low but statistically significant

¹ Analysis revealed no statistically significant relationship between work interests and preferences and such factors in the home and family situation as the amount of work the youths do at home, the amount of spending money they receive, or whether they receive this allowance regularly or not.

relationship between the occupational level of the father and the boy's attitude toward labor unions.¹ Of those from the three occupational strata, the sons of manual workers show the greatest proportion of their number favorable to unions; and there is little difference between the sons of white collar workers and farmers. Conversely, a smaller proportion of sons of manual workers than sons of white collar workers and farmers express a negative attitude about labor unions.² These same generalizations apply to both urban and rural youth. In both cases there is a low but significant association between the father's occupational level and the son's attitudes toward unions,³ and it is the sons of manual workers who possess the more favorable attitudes toward labor unionism.

The boy's attitudes about labor unions are also related to rural-urban place of residence, working status of mother, and curriculum in which enrolled. Although these associations are slight, they are statistically significant.⁴ As may be expected, the urban boys have a

1 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.29, significant above the .001 level of probability.

2 Whereas 76.4 per cent of the sons of manual workers favor labor unions, the figures for the sons of white collar workers and farmers are 63.0 per cent and 60.9 per cent respectively. Whereas 32.7 per cent of the sons of white collar workers prefer a job where there is no labor union, the corresponding figures for the farm boys and sons of manual workers are 28.7 and 14.0 per cent respectively (Table XL).

3 The corrected coefficient of contingency (0.33) is slightly higher for the urban than rural youth (0.25), indicating that the urban boys' attitudes are more closely related to their fathers' occupational levels than are those of the rural young men.

4 As shown in Table XL, the degree of association between rural-urban residence and union attitude is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.12 significant above the .02 level of probability; between working status of mother and union attitude, 0.17 significant above the .05 level of probability, (Table XLI); and between curriculum in which enrolled and union attitude, 0.26 significant above the .001 level of probability (Table XLII).

TABLE XL

ATTITUDES TOWARD LABOR UNIONS, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Prefer a Job where Workers: Have Choice				Total
		Have No Labor Union	About Joining Labor Union	Must Join Labor Union	No Response	
Michigan total sample	1279	21.9	59.3	10.5	8.3	100.0
A White collar	452	32.7	55.1	5.8	6.4	100.0
B Manual worker	719	14.0	62.4	14.0	9.6	100.0
C Farmer	108	28.7	56.5	6.5	8.3	100.0
D Urban	961	20.2	60.0	11.6	8.2	100.0
E White collar	353	32.0	57.8	5.4	4.8	100.0
F Manual worker	575	12.7	61.4	15.8	10.1	100.0
G Farmer	33	24.2	57.6	6.1	12.1	100.0
H Rural	318	26.7	57.6	6.9	8.8	100.0
I White collar	99	35.4	45.4	7.1	12.1	100.0
J Manual worker	144	18.7	66.6	6.9	7.8	100.0
K Farmer	75	30.6	56.0	6.7	6.7	100.0

ABC	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.29
EFG	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.33
IJK	P	.05	\bar{C}	0.25
DH	P	.02	\bar{C}	0.12

TABLE XLI

ATTITUDES TOWARD LABOR UNIONS, BY WORKING STATUS OF MOTHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Working Status of Mother	N	Prefer a job where workers: Have Choice				Total
		Have No Labor Union	About Joining Labor Union	Must Join Labor Union	No Response	
A Mother does not work for pay	412	24.5	56.5	11.9	7.1	100.0
B White collar sons	189	37.6	49.7	6.9	5.8	100.0
C Manual worker sons	223	13.4	62.3	16.1	8.2	100.0
D Mother works for pay	144	17.4	62.5	7.6	12.5	100.0
E White collar sons	63	20.6	68.2	1.6	9.6	100.0
F Manual worker sons	81	14.8	58.1	12.3	14.8	100.0

AD P .05 \bar{C} 0.17

TABLE XLII
ATTITUDES TOWARD LABOR UNIONS, BY CURRICULUM IN WHICH ENROLLED, IN PERCENTAGES

Curriculum in Which Enrolled	N	Prefer a Job where Workers: Have a Choice About Joining				Total
		Have No Union	Labor Union	Must Join Union	No Response	
A Academic	487	24.2	60.4	8.8	6.6	100.0
B White collar sons	227	35.2	56.4	3.1	5.3	100.0
C Manual worker sons	260	14.6	63.8	13.8	7.8	100.0
D Vocational	206	14.1	54.8	18.9	12.2	100.0
E White collar sons	52	23.1	50.0	15.4	11.5	100.0
F Manual worker sons	154	11.0	56.5	20.1	12.4	100.0

AD P .001 \bar{C} 0.26
BE P .001 \bar{C} 0.33
CF P .10

slightly greater proportion of their number who are pro-union; the rural youth, conversely, have a slightly greater proportion of their number who prefer a job where there is no labor union. In each of the three occupational strata it is the urban boys who are more favorable to unions. Sons of working mothers are slightly more favorable to unions than sons of non-working mothers.¹ This latter generalization applies also when the white collar occupational stratum is held constant: it is the sons of white collar working mothers who are more favorable to unions than the sons of white collar non-working mothers.² Youth who are taking the vocational curriculum in high school tend to be more favorable towards unions than the boys in the academic courses. With the sons of white collar workers held constant, it is the boys in the vocational curriculum, in contrast to those in the academic curriculum, who are more favorable to unions. With the sons of manual workers held constant, the same generalization maintains, although the differences in the attitudes in this group are not great enough to be statistically significant.

What is the probable explanation of these associations? Do these differences in the attitudes about unions, which the boys have expressed, reflect the differential socialization to which they have been exposed? The answer probably is in the affirmative.

1 However, work experience on the part of the youths does not influence their attitudes towards unions to any statistically significant degree. The analysis showed no statistically significant relationship between union attitudes and number of full time jobs held, time on full time jobs, or kinds of full time jobs held.

2 Whereas 69.8 per cent of the sons of white collar working mothers are favorable to unionism, only 56.6 per cent of the sons of white collar non-working mothers are favorable to unions.

Since labor unions in the United States gain their greatest membership amongst the manual workers, it is the sons of these workers who probably are the most familiar with the objectives and goals of labor unions. In their home situation they become oriented toward the issue of unionism. The same explanation is also probably true of the urban youth, since labor unions are more characteristic of urban than rural life.¹ On the other hand, it is the white collar workers, especially the managerial group, which constitute the greatest anti-union force in United States. This sentiment is probably reflected in the attitudes of the sons of white collar workers in this study, since they exhibit the greatest degree of anti-union attitudes. The fact that farm boys are closely allied with the sons of white collar workers in their attitudes about labor unions probably reflect their occupational orientation: farmers are managers and owners, and typically the ownership class is anti-union in sentiment. On the other hand, as Whyte points out, the farm youths anti-union sentiments may be related to the patriarchalism and authoritarianism existing in the farm areas.²

The fact that the boys enrolled in the vocational curriculum tend to be more favorable toward unions (whether they are sons of white collar workers or sons of manual workers) may be explained in two ways. It may be

1 William F. Whyte, "Who Goes Union and Why," Personnel Journal, Vol. XXIII, No. 6, (December 1944), pp. 215-230, proposes that the gang experiences of urban youth may make them more susceptible to joining labor unions.

2 Ibid. Farm youth typically are accustomed to obey institutionalized authority within the family system. Since they have little organization experience outside of the family, they probably tend to react negatively to such an organization as the labor union.

that the sons of white collar workers who enroll in the vocational curriculum thereby become somewhat identified with the interests of manual workers and thus develop more favorable attitudes towards unions. It may be that the "upwardly oriented" sons of manual workers who enroll in the academic curriculum "take on" the attitudes of the white collar class and thereby become more anti-union in sentiment. On the other hand, the differences in union attitudes may be ascribed to the social positions of the families from which the boys come.¹ It may be that the sons of lower status white collar workers are favorably oriented at home to the issues of unionism and carry this orientation to school where they tend to enroll in the vocational curriculum. It may be that the sons of the higher status manual workers have been somewhat negatively oriented toward unionism in the home and they carry this sentiment to school where they tend to enroll in the academic curriculum. Probably both explanations apply and indicate the social forces in operation in the socialization of youth.

1 This interpretation is supported by the data in supplemental Tables LXVII and LXVIII. Using family size and educational level of father as social status variables, the tables show a very slight but statistically significant association between these variables and the boys' attitudes about unions. It is the boys from the small families and the youths with college educated fathers who tend to be anti-union in sentiment; it is the young men from large families and those whose fathers have grade school education or less who tend to be pro-union. The degree of association between family size and union attitudes is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.16, significant above the .02 level of probability; the degree of association between father's educational level and union attitudes is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.23, significant above the .001 level of probability.

Supervision

While the adjustment to the issue of unionism is one that most boys will make when they enter the world of work, the adjustment to supervision is one that all new workers must make. Every boy who enters the work world, with the exception of those very few who become "their own bosses," will be subject to the exacting requirements of a supervisor.

The first-line supervisor, or foreman, as Roethlisberger has described him, has to get results: he has to turn out production, maintain quality, hold down costs, and keep his employees satisfied. He has to know how to induct, instruct, and train new workers; how to handle and prevent grievances; how to correct workers and maintain discipline; how to never lose his temper and always be "fair;" and how to get and obtain cooperation from the wide assortment of people with whom he has to deal.¹ One of the most important relationships in the modern business structure is that existing between the worker and his immediate supervisor.²

The ideas prospective workers have about supervisors are thus related to an important aspect of industrial relations.³ If some knowledge is available of youths' preferences about supervisors, presumably better selection and placement programs can be introduced; more harmonious

1 Fritz J. Roethlisberger, "The Foreman: Master and Victim of Double Talk," in Human Factors in Management by S. D. Hoslett, Editor, (Parkville, Missouri: Park College Press, 1946), pp. 52-73.

2 B. B. Gardner, Human Relations in Industry (Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1945), p. 47.

3 Henri de Man, Joy in Work (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1929), p. 204, points out that one of the chief sources of dissatisfaction of workers lies in the disciplinary authority of the supervisor.

relations between supervisor and subordinate could be achieved; the adjustment problems of new workers could be made less difficult; and both management and the workers would benefit.

As has been stated, when the boys in this study were asked their preferences about supervision, only two questions yielded statistically significant results. The two questions dealt with the age and the sex of the supervisor.¹ As shown in Table XLIII over three quarters of the boys indicated that the age of the supervisor was an important item in accepting a job. Slightly less than one-quarter indicated that the age of the supervisor did not matter. Over six-tenths said they preferred to work under a supervisor who is older than themselves; about fifteen per cent preferred a supervisor about their own age; and another fifteen per cent preferred a supervisor much older than themselves.

There is a very small but statistically significant relationship between the boys' preferences about the ages of supervisors and their fathers' occupational levels.² The evidence supports the generalization that the sons of white collar workers show the greatest preference for the "older" supervisor; the sons of manual workers slightly less; and the farm boys have the least preference for the older supervisor.

There is also a very slight but statistically significant association between rural-urban residence and the boys' preferences in the age of

1 Analysis showed no statistically significant association between the boys' preferences about the age of the supervisor and such variables as family size, sibling position, and fathers' educational level.

2 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.14, significant above the .05 level of probability.

the supervisor.¹ A slightly greater proportion of the urban than the rural boys prefer the older supervisor.

The probable explanation of these slight associations is that the young men in this study relate "age" to "experience and competence." They probably assume that the "older" man is more competent than the "younger" man. The responses tabulated in Table XLIII show that a slightly greater proportion of the sons of farmers, in contrast to the sons of the white collar and manual workers, prefer a supervisor of "about their own age." The sons of white collar and manual workers are approximately equal in this choice. Apparently the farm youth tend to have greater confidence in the younger supervisor. The sons of white collar and manual workers tend to prefer the older supervisor. It may be that the farm boys are influenced by physical prowess. Farm work requires physical strength and endurance, and the younger man probably possesses these characteristics to a greater degree than the older man. This may account for the tendency of the rural boys, in contrast to the urban boys, to give a slight preference for the younger supervisor.

However, experience in the work world appears to change the boys' preferences concerning the ages of supervisors. With experience in the work world there is a very slight tendency for the boys to place emphasis

1 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.12, significant above the .05 level of probability.

TABLE XLIII

PREFERENCE FOR AGE OF SUPERVISOR, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Prefer Supervisor Who is:					Total
		About Same Age as Self	Slightly Older Than Self	Much Older Than Self	Age Doesn't Matter	No Response	
Michigan total sample	1279	14.6	47.9	14.4	22.8	0.3	100.0
A White collar	452	13.5	47.8	17.2	21.2	0.3	100.0
B Manual worker	719	14.5	48.4	12.9	23.9	0.3	100.0
C Farmer	108	20.4	45.4	12.0	22.2	0.0	100.0
D Urban	961	13.4	48.3	15.8	22.2	0.3	100.0
E White collar	353	13.9	48.2	17.8	19.8	0.3	100.0
F Manual worker	575	12.5	48.9	14.4	23.8	0.4	100.0
G Farmer	33	24.2	39.4	18.2	18.2	0.0	100.0
H Rural	318	18.2	46.9	10.1	24.8	0.0	100.0
I White collar	99	12.0	46.5	15.2	26.3	0.0	100.0
J Manual worker	144	22.2	46.5	6.9	24.4	0.0	100.0
K Farmer	75	18.7	48.0	9.3	24.0	0.0	100.0

ABC	P	.05	\bar{C}	0.14
EEG	P	.30		
IJK	P	.30		
DH	P	.05	\bar{C}	0.12

upon elements in supervision other than age.¹ Apparently through work experience the students have learned that age does not necessarily mean competence and skill, and they are willing to accept either a younger or older supervisor so long as he is qualified and competent.

The twelfth graders preferences for a male or female supervisor are also very slightly but significantly related to the amount of full time work experience they have had. As indicated in Table XLV, the greater the number of full time jobs held, the greater the proportion of the young men who prefer a male supervisor.² Apparently the experienced boys have assimilated the prevailing attitudes of older workers. It is a rather

1 This is evidenced in Table XLIV, which shows the association between the number of full time jobs held and preferences for the ages of supervisors. The greater the number of full time jobs held the greater the tendency of the boys to state that age does not matter in supervision. Whereas 15.8 per cent of the students with no work experience stated that "age doesn't matter," 33.0 per cent of those with three or more jobs to their credit held this opinion. The degree of association is evidenced by the very slight coefficient of contingency of 0.13, significant above the .05 level of probability.

Analysis revealed no statistically significant association between the students' preferences about the ages of supervisors and time on full time jobs or kinds of full time jobs.

2 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.17, significant above the .02 level of probability. Whereas 65.4 per cent of the experienced boys prefer a male supervisor, only 34.6 per cent of the non-experienced youth have this preference. This tendency is further evidenced in supplemental Table LXIX, which shows that the amount of time the boys have spent on full time jobs is also very slightly but significantly related to their preferences for a male or female supervisor. The longer they have worked, the greater the proportion who prefer the male supervisor. In this table the degree of association is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.14, significant above the .05 level of probability.

Analysis revealed no statistically significant association between the boys' preferences for a male or female supervisor and such variables as the occupational stratum of the boys' fathers, kinds of full time jobs the boys had held, or rural-urban residence.

TABLE XLIV

PREFERENCE FOR AGE OF SUPERVISOR, BY NUMBER OF FULL TIME JOBS HELD, IN PERCENTAGES

Number of Full Time Jobs Held	N	Prefer a Supervisor Who is:					No Response	Total
		About Same Age as Self	Slightly Older Than Self	Much Older Than Self	Age Doesn't Matter			
A None	425	15.1	43.6	13.5	15.8	0.0	0.0	100.0
B One	411	15.6	45.5	13.1	25.3	0.5	0.5	100.0
C Two	242	15.1	45.2	12.8	26.7	0.2	0.2	100.0
D Three or more	153	14.9	44.2	7.8	33.0	0.1	0.1	100.0
ABCD P .05 \bar{C} 0.13								

TABLE XLV

PREFERENCE FOR MALE OR FEMALE SUPERVISOR, BY NUMBER OF FULL TIME JOBS HELD, IN PERCENTAGES

Supervisor Preferred	N	Number of Full-Time Jobs Held			Total
		None	One or Two	Three or More	
A Male supervisor	827	34.6	52.1	13.3	100.0
B Female supervisor	33	63.7	24.2	12.1	100.0

AB P .02 \bar{C} 0.17

common belief among adult workers that women do not make good supervisors.¹ It is a general belief that women are too emotional to make proficient supervisors, that they cannot command the loyalty and respect of their subordinates, and that they cannot win the co-operation of their equals in the hierarchy. As a result the woman supervisor is placed in a difficult position. Her superiors are always doubtful of her ability to fulfill the role, and the other supervisors tend to stand aloof and watch her critically, expecting her to fail. In this atmosphere of distrust the probability of failure is high; if she asks for help, it shows she does not know her job; if she does not ask for help, she is acting as if she knew everything; if the strain begins to get her down so that she is irritable, then she is acting "just like a woman." In the eyes of adult workers it all goes to prove that women do not make good supervisors. The ascendant role of female supervisors is contrary to the traditional and subordinate role ascribed to women in Western society. The more the work experience the young men in this study have had, the more they assimilate these prevailing beliefs.

Bases for Promotion

In addition to the problems of unionism and supervision, there is another aspect of the work world to which new workers must make an adjustment. They must adapt themselves to the constant appraisal of their superiors in the work plant hierarchy. In addition to being subjected

¹ Burleigh B. Gardner, Human Relations in Industry (Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1945), p. 269.

to the rather exacting requirements of supervision, they are also continually being evaluated by the supervisor. Upon accepting a job, the young man is usually told that his promotions will depend on his ability and industry. If he works hard, he is told, he will be rewarded by advancement to more responsible jobs and by more pay. Although the validity of this simple formula is subject to serious questioning, it is a popular and prevalent notion of how to become a "success" in the American world of work.¹

The problem of being subjected to continual appraisal is not entirely foreign to youth who pass through the American educational systems. In the school, the student is formally rated in examinations. He receives grades which symbolize his standing in the formal structure. He also is informally rated by his peers on the basis of his performance in athletics, clubs, and other school activities. However, the evaluation given in the school is considerably different from the day-to-day production records maintained in most industries and businesses in United States. For the new worker, especially, the adjustment to this system of evaluation is not easily made.

¹ Melville Dalton, "Informal Factors in Career Achievement," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LVI, No. 5, pp. 407-415, points out that an examination of the managerial handbooks of a factory gave no pertinent information of how individuals were advanced through the hierarchy. These manuals merely indicated that "ability," "honesty," "co-operation," and "industry" were qualities essential for promotion. After interviewing numerous officers throughout the hierarchy, Dalton concluded that there was no formal procedure for promotions. Selection for advancement was carried on informally, with persons rising from lower strata by conforming to social characteristics of the persons in upper strata. The chief criteria were ethnicity, religion, participation in certain social activities, political affiliation, and membership in accepted secret societies.

To reveal the ideas of the twelfth graders of Michigan on this problem, they were asked what they thought should be the bases for promotions on the job. According to their responses, which are tabulated in Table XLVI, the prevailing conception of the bases for promotion was thought to be quality of work done. This choice was approximately ten times more recurrent than quantity of work and about six times more prevalent than seniority on the job.

The choices of the young men on this question are very slightly but significantly related to the occupational levels of their fathers,¹ to rural-urban place of residence,² to the kinds of full time work experience,³ and to the curriculum in which the students were enrolled.⁴

The sons of white collar workers place the greatest degree of emphasis upon quality of work and the farm boys place the least emphasis on this choice. The sons of manual workers stress seniority to a greater degree than do the others. The farm youth stress quantity of work done more so than do either the sons of white collar or manual workers. The urban

1 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.15, significant above the .02 level of probability (Table XLVI).

2 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.16, significant above the .05 level of probability (Table XLVI).

3 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.21, significant above the .05 level of probability (Table XLVII).

4 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.22, significant above the .001 level of probability (Table XLVIII).

However, analysis revealed no statistically significant association between the boys' ideas on the bases of promotion and such variables as family size, sibling position, working status of mother, father's educational level, number of full time jobs held, or amount of time spent on full time jobs.

TABLE XLVI

ATTITUDES CONCERNING PROMOTION ON THE JOB, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Promotion on the Job Should be Based on:					Total
		Seniority	Quality of Work	Quantity of Work	All Three Preceding Factors	No Response	
Michigan total sample	1279	11.6	61.9	6.6	13.6	6.3	100.0
A White collar	452	9.3	63.9	8.0	13.7	5.1	100.0
B Manual worker	719	13.5	61.3	4.9	13.2	7.1	100.0
C Farmer	108	9.2	57.4	13.0	15.7	4.7	100.0
D Urban	961	12.4	61.6	5.4	13.6	7.0	100.0
E White collar	353	9.3	61.8	7.9	14.2	6.8	100.0
F Manual worker	575	14.4	61.7	3.5	13.4	7.0	100.0
G Farmer	33	9.1	57.6	12.1	12.1	9.1	100.0
H Rural	318	9.4	60.7	10.4	13.5	6.0	100.0
I White collar	99	9.1	63.6	8.1	12.1	7.1	100.0
J Manual worker	144	9.7	60.4	10.4	12.5	7.0	100.0
K Farmer	75	9.3	57.3	13.3	17.3	2.8	100.0

ABC	P	.02	\bar{C}	0.15
EFG	P	.99		
IJK	P	.98		
DH	P	.05	\bar{C}	0.16

TABLE XLVII
ATTITUDES CONCERNING PROMOTION ON THE JOB, BY KIND OF WORK DONE, IN PERCENTAGES

Kind of Full-Time Work Done for Pay	Promotion on the Job should be Based on:					
	N	Seniority 1	Quality of Work 2	Quantity of Work 3	Combined 1, 2 & 3 4	No Response 5 Total
A White collar work done <u>only</u>	237	10.1	62.4	5.1	16.9	5.5 100.0
B White collar sons	94	6.4	61.7	7.4	20.2	4.3 100.0
C Manual worker sons	143	12.6	62.9	3.5	14.7	6.3 100.0
D Manual work done <u>only</u> (non-farm)	187	17.6	57.2	5.3	10.2	9.7 100.0
E White collar sons	70	20.0	51.4	5.7	10.0	12.9 100.0
F Manual worker sons	117	16.2	60.7	5.1	10.3	7.7 100.0

AD	P	.05	\bar{C}	0.21
BE	P	.05	\bar{C}	0.29
CF	P	.70		

TABLE XLVIII
ATTITUDES CONCERNING PROMOTION ON THE JOB, BY CURRICULUM IN WHICH ENROLLED, IN PERCENTAGES

Curriculum in Which Enrolled	N	Promotion on the Job should be based on:					Total
		Seniority	Quality of Work	Quantity of Work	Combined 1, 2 & 3	No Response	
A Academic	487	6.8	66.5	4.5	14.4	7.8	100.0
B White collar sons	227	6.2	69.2	5.3	12.3	7.0	100.0
C Manual worker sons	260	7.3	64.2	3.8	16.2	8.5	100.0
D Vocational	206	16.0	56.3	8.2	12.1	7.4	100.0
E White collar sons	52	13.5	46.1	17.3	15.4	7.7	100.0
F Manual worker sons	154	16.9	59.7	5.2	11.0	7.2	100.0
		AD	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.22	
		BE	P	.01	\bar{C}	0.31	
		CF	P	.05	\bar{C}	0.21	

boys stress seniority as a factor in promotions and the rural boys stress quantity of work.

As shown in Table XLVII, the boys who have had only white collar work experience tend to emphasize quality of work as a factor in promotions, whereas the youth with only manual work experience tend to stress seniority on the job. This statement applies to both sons of white collar workers and sons of manual workers.¹

Boys enrolled in the academic curriculum tend to stress quality of work as a factor in promotion on the job, whereas those enrolled in the vocational curriculum tend to emphasize seniority. This tendency maintains among the sons of white collar workers and among the sons of manual workers.²

These differences in the responses of the seniors in Michigan to the question about the bases for promotion on the job undoubtedly reflect the differential socialization to which they have been subjected: in the

1 Whereas 6.4 per cent of the sons of white collar workers with only white collar work experience choose seniority as a factor in promotions, 20.0 per cent of the sons of white collar workers with only manual work experience make this choice. Whereas 61.7 per cent of the sons of white collar workers with only white collar work experience choose quality of work as a factor, 51.4 per cent of the sons of white collar workers with only manual work experience make this choice.

Among the sons of white collar workers, the degree of relationship between their choices and their work experience is evidenced by a corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.29, significant above the .05 level of probability. Among the sons of manual workers, the choices as a variable of the kinds of work experience are not statistically significant.

2 As shown in Table XLVIII, the degree of association between the choices of the sons of white collar workers and the curriculum in which enrolled is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.31, significant above the .01 level of probability; between the choices of the sons of manual workers and the curriculum in which enrolled, 0.21, significant above the .05 level of probability.

United States the white collar workers probably are more concerned with the unique qualities of each piece of work done than are farmers. The white collar workers as a group include many professional workers who characteristically stress the quality of their professional services rather than "mass production of quantity." Managerial and clerical workers, to a lesser degree, are also concerned about the unique aspects of each piece of work.¹ The farmer, on the other hand, although desirous of producing a high grade of product, is probably more oriented to producing quantities of agricultural products. The typical farmer calculates his returns in terms of bushels of grain and gallons of milk of a high grade rather than in the unique qualities of one bushel against another or the unique qualities of one gallon of milk against another. The sons of these workers in these occupational groups probably reflect this orientation to work in their views about the bases for promotion.

Manual workers in United States place considerable emphasis upon seniority as a basis for promotion or advancement. One of the objectives of most labor unions has been to insist on the principle of seniority. The last man hired is supposed to be the first one fired in case of a reduction in employment, and the man who has been longest on the job is supposed to be the first considered for promotion. This practice has been

¹ Leonard D. White, The Study of Public Administration (New York: Macmillan Company, 1939), p. 304, points out that considerable judgement and discretion are required in most white collar positions in Government. In the various supervisory positions, for example, discretion and judgement in handling staff and in reaching decisions on substantive matters are inherent. Amongst clerical workers there is also room for the exercise of good judgment. Many clerical operations require an accurate knowledge of laws, rules, and judicial decisions. What is characteristic of governmental bureaucracies is probably also characteristic of private bureaucracies.

instigated to provide a degree of security for the manual workers. This characteristic of manual workers is probably reflected in the views of the sons of manual workers, who stress seniority as a basis for promotion on the job. (Table XLVI) It is likewise probably reflected in the views of the urban boys, who similarly stress seniority as a factor in promotion on the job. Rural twelfth graders, on the other hand, apparently are more closely allied with the ideology of the farm workers, since the rural young men tend to stress quantity of work as a basis of promotion.

The relationship between the kind of work experience and attitudes about promotion on the job (Table XLVII) indicate that the students tend to assimilate the ideas of the older workers with whom they associate. Boys who have done only white collar work tend to emphasize quality of work as a factor in promotion, whereas the students who have done only manual work tend to follow the ideology of the manual workers by stressing seniority as a basis for promotion on the job.

Vacations

In addition to the problems of unionism, supervision, and criteria for promotion, the young people who enter the world of work must make an adjustment to severely curtailed vacations. This adjustment is a rather difficult one for most young persons. They are obliged, for the first time probably, to work "day-in and day-out" for about fifty weeks of the year. For two weeks in each year, or even less, they are free to do as they wish. This restriction in free time is especially onerous for youth in the United States who probably have more "free" time than youths

in other countries. With the decline in the functions of the family, children and youths have less and less responsibilities in the home. With the passage of child labor laws, young persons are protected from long hours of work in industries and businesses. With the emphasis upon "progressive" education in United States, pupils are encouraged to be "free" from parental control.

The abrupt transition from school to full time work means a loss in the many freedoms young people have enjoyed. However, according to the responses of the twelfth grade boys in this study, the large majority appear to be aware of the limited vacations in the work world; only a small proportion preferred long vacations. When they were asked how long a vacation they preferred on a job, almost two-thirds chose the typical two-week vacation with pay; only about one-third chose a vacation of a month or more.

Table XLIX shows that the choices of the boys for vacations are very slightly but significantly associated with their fathers' occupational levels.¹ The sons of manual workers are the most typical: they tend to select the two-week vacation with pay. The farm boys make this choice only to a slightly less degree, and the sons of white collar workers emphasize this choice least of boys in the three social strata. Conversely, the sons of white collar workers tend to prefer longer vacations than the sons of manual workers or farmers.

¹ The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.16, significant above the .01 level of probability. No statistically significant association was found between the boys' ideas about vacations and sibling position, working status of mother, job experience, or rural-urban residence.

TABLE XLIX

PREFERENCE IN REGARD TO VACATIONS, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Vacation Preferences:					Total
		Two Weeks Vacation With Pay 1	One Month Vacation at One-half Pay 2	Two Months Vacation at No Pay 3	No Vacation and Double Pay for Two Weeks 4	No Response 5	
Michigan total sample	1279	62.8	27.7	3.9	1.2	4.4	100.0
A White collar	452	58.2	31.8	5.1	0.4	4.5	100.0
B Manual worker	719	65.5	26.0	2.9	1.7	3.9	100.0
C Farmer	108	63.9	21.3	5.6	1.9	7.3	100.0

ABC P .01 \bar{C} 0.16

On the basis of their vacation choices it is inferred that the boys reflect the conditions of the occupational stratum from which they come. It is the manual workers and the farmers in United States who typically receive the short vacations with pay or no vacation at all, and it is the sons of these workers who choose the short vacations. Although most white collar workers receive only two weeks vacation each year, a portion of them--particularly professionals--receive longer vacations. This is probably reflected in the responses of the sons of white collar workers, a greater proportion of whom prefer vacations longer than two weeks.

The students' preferences concerning vacations are also very slightly but significantly related to their fathers' educational levels.¹ The boys with fathers of grade school education or less tend to choose the regular two-week vacation; boys with college educated fathers tend to choose the longer vacation period.² A large proportion of college educated white collar workers are professionals, and they probably enjoy longer vacations than the remainder of the working population. This practice is probably reflected in their sons' preferences for the longer vacations. If educational level of father is used as a status variable, the conclusion seems warranted that the boys' ideas about vacations reflect their positions in the social structure.³

1 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.16, significant above the .01 level of probability, as shown in Table L.

2 Educational level of father operates as a variable among the sons of white collar workers. Sons of white collar workers with college education tend to choose the longer vacations; sons of white collar workers with grade school education or less tend to choose the two-week vacation.

3 This statement is also supported when family size is used as a status variable. As supplemental Table LXX shows, the boys from small families tend to prefer the longer vacations, while those from large families tend to choose the regular two-week period. The degree of association is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.17 significant above the .02 level of probability.

TABLE L

PREFERENCE IN REGARD TO VACATIONS, ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL
LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Educational and Occupational Level of Father	N	Vacation Preferences				Total
		Two Weeks With Pay	One Month at One-Half Pay	Two Months at No Pay	No Vacation and Double Pay for Two weeks	No Response
A Some college or more	188	49.5	38.3	6.9	0.5	4.8
B White collar	146	43.8	42.5	7.5	0.7	5.5
C Manual worker	42	69.0	23.8	4.8	0.0	2.4
D Some high school or high school graduate	438	58.0	31.3	5.4	1.1	4.2
E White collar	163	50.8	38.1	6.1	1.0	4.0
F Manual worker	275	68.0	24.2	4.5	1.1	4.2
G Grade school or less	464	65.5	26.1	3.2	1.3	3.9
H White collar	117	64.1	29.1	0.8	0.8	5.2
I Manual worker	347	66.0	25.1	4.0	1.4	3.5

ADG P .01 \bar{C} 0.16

Work Clothes

As Warner¹ has stated, some form of rank and status is always present in contemporary societies. When societies are complex, they always possess some kind of status system which places people in higher or lower positions. In order to maintain itself, the society must co-ordinate the relationships of all its members. As the division of labor increases the need for co-ordination also increases. One of the means of co-ordinating relationships in a society is a system of social stratification which places segments of the population into "higher" or "lower" strata. Each stratum has its particular symbols for "placing" people. One of these symbols is that of dress. All young workers entering the labor force must adjust to the kinds of clothing appropriate to the different occupational levels.

In United States the white collar worker usually has higher prestige than the worker in overalls. The successful banker or business man usually has relatively high "standing" in his community, and he can be identified by his neatly pressed street clothes. The clergyman, the military man, the policeman, the fireman, and nurses, ushers, and waitresses can readily be detected by their dress and according to this can be "placed" in the occupational structure. Clothing is an easily identifiable symbol of status, and persons may be assigned positions in their social milieu according to the kinds of clothing they wear. The emphasis upon clothing as a mark of status may be carried to a ludicrous degree in a work place,

1 Warner, Meeker, and Eells, op. cit., p. 8.

and it is incumbent upon the new worker to learn these gradations and scrupulously observe them.¹

When the boys in this study were asked which kinds of work clothes they preferred to wear, the most popular choice was dress clothes.² Undoubtedly many more of the boys aspired to wear dress clothes at work than will actually wear them. The emphasis the boys place on the symbol of the white collar worker probably reflects the values of American society, which typically ascribes the higher status to the white collar worker.

The twelfth grade males' choices in clothing bear a low but statistically significant relationship to the occupational levels of their fathers. These relationships maintain for the total sample as well as for the urban and for the rural boys.³ The sons of white collar workers show the greatest preference for "dress clothes" at work; the sons of manual workers are intermediary in this choice; and the farm boys show the least preference

1 Miller and Form, *op. cit.*, p. 356, illustrate the gradations of status symbolized by minute differences in clothing in a small garage. "The owner worked in his "business suit." The stock and order clerk wore no special uniform but had to remove his coat and worked in his shirt sleeves. The supervisor of the mechanics in the shop also removed his coat, but he wore a nonfunctional piece of clothing, a white smock. The mechanics wore full-length blue jumpers, and the apprentices and cleanup men wore overalls or discarded clothing of darker hues. Although this hierarchy of garb was not formally instituted, it was nonetheless scrupulously observed. No one could presume to rise above his status by wearing the costume "inappropriate" to his job."

2 Dress clothes 44.7 per cent. Overalls 21.8 per cent. Either dress clothes or overalls 29.0 per cent.

3 As shown in Table LI, the corrected coefficient of contingency for the total sample is 0.27; for the urban boys 0.19; and for the rural boys 0.37. These associations are significant above the .001 level of probability. (Footnote 3 continued next page)

for dress clothes.¹ The converse order maintains in the preference for overalls.

The boys' preferences in work clothes are also very slightly but significantly related to rural-urban place of residence. A slightly greater proportion of the boys who live in cities than in rural areas prefer "dress clothes" at work; a slightly greater proportion of rural than urban boys prefer to wear overalls. These differences maintain for each of the occupational strata.²

There is also a low but statistically significant relationship between the kinds of jobs the boys have held and their preferences in work clothes. The boys who have held only white collar jobs tend to prefer dress work clothes; the seniors who have held only manual jobs show a greater degree of preference for overalls. This generalization maintains among the sons of white collar workers and among the sons of manual workers. In each occupational stratum it is the boys with white collar work experience who express the greater preference for dress work clothes, and in

(Footnote 3 continued) No statistically significant relationship was found between the boys preferences in work clothes and such variables as family size, sibling position, working status of mother, or amount of work experience. A very slight but statistically significant relationship was found between the educational level of the boys' fathers and the twelfth graders' preferences in work clothes. Sons of college educated fathers tend to prefer "dress clothes" at work, while sons of fathers with grade school education or less tend to prefer "overalls." The corrected coefficient of contingency, as shown in supplemental Table LXXI, is 0.19, significant above the .001 level of probability.

1 Whereas 50.4 per cent of the sons of white collar workers chose dress clothes, the figures for the sons of manual workers and farmers are 44.6 and 20.4 per cent respectively.

2 In each occupational stratum the boys in the urban communities showed a greater preference for dress clothes than did the boys in the rural areas (Table LI).

TABLE LI

PREFERENCE CONCERNING WORK CLOTHES, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Prefer a Job where I wear:				Total
		Overalls	Dress Clothes	Overalls or Dress Clothes	No Response	
Michigan total sample	1279	21.8	44.7	29.0	4.5	100.0
A White collar	452	15.5	50.4	30.3	3.8	100.0
B Manual worker	719	22.1	44.8	28.4	4.7	100.0
C Farmer	108	46.3	20.4	27.8	5.5	100.0
D Urban	961	18.8	48.2	28.5	4.5	100.0
E White collar	353	14.7	53.3	28.3	3.7	100.0
F Manual worker	575	20.3	46.4	26.7	4.6	100.0
G Farmer	33	36.4	24.2	27.3	12.2	100.0
H Rural	318	30.8	34.3	30.5	4.4	100.0
I White collar	99	18.2	40.4	37.4	4.0	100.0
J Manual worker	144	29.2	38.2	27.1	5.5	100.0
K Farmer	75	50.6	18.7	28.0	2.7	100.0

ABC	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.27
EFG	P	.01	\bar{C}	0.19
IJK	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.37
DH	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.08

each occupational stratum it is the boys with manual work experience who express the greater preference for overalls.¹

According to Table LIII, the boys who enroll in the academic curriculum tend to prefer dress work clothes and the boys who enroll in the vocational curriculum show a greater preference for overalls.² This generalization maintains among the sons of white collar workers and among the sons of manual workers.³

The four factors stated above--father's occupational level, work experience, rural-urban residence, and curriculum--reflect the differential socialization of the boys in this study. The sons of white collar workers identify with adults who wear "dress clothes" to work; the sons of manual workers and farmers are familiar with "overalls" as the proper and customary form of work dress. Urban boys are likewise oriented to "dress clothes" and rural boys to "overalls." This orientation is in turn reflected in the boys' choices in work clothes.

1 In Table LII the degree of association between kinds of jobs held and preferences for work clothes is evidenced by a corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.24. Among the sons of white collar workers the degree of association between work experience and preferences in clothing is shown by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.18; for the sons of manual workers the coefficient of contingency is 0.26. These associations are significant above the .01 level of probability.

2 The association is low but statistically significant. The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.23, significant above the .001 level of probability.

3 For the sons of white collar workers the corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.26; for the sons of manual workers 0.21. These associations are significant above the .02 level of probability.

TABLE LII

PREFERENCE CONCERNING WORK CLOTHES, BY KIND OF JOB HELD, IN PERCENTAGES

Kinds of Full Time Held	N	Prefer a Job where I wear:				Total
		Overalls	Dress Clothes	Dress Clothes or Overalls	No Response	
A White collar jobs only	237	13.9	54.0	29.5	2.6	100.0
B White collar sons	94	12.8	57.5	27.7	2.0	100.0
C Manual worker sons	143	14.7	51.7	30.8	2.8	100.0
D Manual (non-farm) jobs only	187	23.0	39.0	31.6	6.4	100.0
E White collar sons	70	18.6	45.7	28.6	7.1	100.0
F Manual worker sons	117	25.6	35.0	33.3	6.1	100.0

AD	P	.01	\bar{C}	0.24
BE	P	.01	\bar{C}	0.18
CF	P	.01	\bar{C}	0.26

TABLE LIII

PREFERENCE CONCERNING WORK CLOTHES, BY CURRICULUM IN WHICH ENROLLED, IN PERCENTAGES

Curriculum in Which Enrolled	N	Prefer a Job where I wear:				Total
		Overalls	Dress Clothes	Either or Overalls Dress Clothes	No response	
A Academic	487	14.6	52.8	28.3	4.3	100.0
B White collar sons	227	10.6	54.6	31.3	3.5	100.0
C Manual worker sons	260	18.1	51.2	25.8	5.1	100.0
D Vocational	206	25.2	35.9	34.5	4.4	100.0
E White collar sons	52	23.1	34.6	36.5	5.8	100.0
F Manual worker sons	154	26.0	36.4	33.8	3.8	100.0

AD	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.23
BE	P	.02	\bar{C}	0.26
CF	P	.02	\bar{C}	0.21

The orientation the boys receive in their work experience is thus reflected in their preferences in work clothes. The boys from each occupational stratum tend to internalize the values and beliefs of the workers with whom they associate. Sons of manual workers who work with white collar people tend to prefer "dress clothes" at work; sons of white collar workers who work with manual workers tend to prefer overalls as the proper garb.

This differential socialization in terms of preferences for work clothes also maintains in the classroom of the school. Sons of manual workers who enroll in the academic curriculum tend to assume the values and beliefs of the sons of white collar workers who predominate in this curriculum: they tend to prefer "dress clothes" at work. Conversely, the sons of white collar workers who enroll in the vocational curriculum tend to "take-on" the values of the sons of manual workers and farmers who predominate in this curriculum: they tend to prefer overalls as work clothes.

Place of Work

The differential socialization reflected in the boys' preferences for kinds of work clothes is similarly reflected in their preferences to work "indoors" or "outdoors." The farm boys show the greatest degree of preference to work outdoors and the least preference to work indoors. The sons of white collar and manual workers are approximately equal in their choices on this question, and they exceed the farm boys in their preference to work indoors. The boys who live in or adjacent to the

cities, in contrast to the rural boys, show a greater preference to work indoors. Both the sons of white collar workers and the sons of manual workers who have done white collar work tend to prefer to work indoors, whereas the sons of white collar and manual workers who have done manual work tend to prefer to work outdoors.

The associations between occupational level of father, rural-urban residence, and kinds of work experience and the boys' preferences to work outdoors or indoors are slight but statistically significant.¹ These associations reflect the experiences and conditions to which the boys have been subjected. Farmers work outdoors continually, and the sons of farmers tend to prefer this place of work. White collar and manual workers (non-farm) typically work indoors and the sons of these workers in contrast to the farm boys show the greater preference to work indoors. Rural workers probably work outdoors more than urban workers, and it is the sons of rural workers who give the greater preference for working outdoors. White collar workers who are employed in offices and stores probably spend more time indoors than manual workers: the sons of both white collar and manual workers who have had white collar work experience

¹ As Tables LIV and LV show, the degree of association between father's occupational level and the boy's preference in place of work is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.14, significant above the .02 level of probability; between rural-urban residence and preferences by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.20, significant above the .001 level of probability; and between kinds of work experience and preferences by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.22, significant above the .02 level of probability.

No statistically significant relationship was found between the boys' preferences for place of work and such variables as family size, sibling position, working status of mother, or the amount of work experience the boys had.

TABLE LIV

PREFERENCE FOR WORKING INDOORS OR OUTDOORS, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Outdoors	Prefer to work: Part Outdoors and Part Indoors		Indoors	No Response	Total
			Part Outdoors	Part Indoors			
Michigan total sample	1279	30.5	51.2		14.1	4.2	100.0
A White collar	452	26.8	53.1		14.6	5.5	100.0
B Manual worker	719	31.2	50.5		15.0	3.3	100.0
C Farmer	108	41.7	48.1		5.6	4.6	100.0
D Urban	955	27.0	51.9		16.6	4.5	100.0
E White collar	351	25.6	51.6		16.5	6.3	100.0
F Manual worker	571	27.1	52.5		17.2	3.2	100.0
G Farmer	33	39.4	45.4		6.6	6.1	100.0
H Rural	318	40.6	48.4		6.6	4.4	100.0
I White collar	98	31.6	56.1		8.2	4.1	100.0
J Manual worker	145	45.5	42.8		6.9	4.8	100.0
K Farmer	75	42.7	49.3		4.0	4.0	100.0

ABC	P	.02	C	0.14
EFG	P	.20		
IJK	P	.10	C	0.18
DH	P	.001	C	0.20

TABLE LV

PREFERENCE FOR WORKING INDOORS OR OUTDOORS, BY KIND OF WORK DONE, IN PERCENTAGES

Kind of Full Time Work Done for Pay	N	Outdoors	Prefer to Work:			No Response	Total
			Part Outdoors and Part Indoors	Indoors			
A White collar work done <u>only</u>	237	25.7	52.7	17.7	3.9		100.0
B White collar sons	94	24.5	48.9	20.2	6.4		100.0
C Manual worker sons	143	26.6	55.2	16.1	2.1		100.0
D Manual work done <u>only</u> (Non-farm)	187	37.4	49.7	8.6	4.3		100.0
E White collar sons	70	41.4	44.3	10.0	4.3		100.0
F Manual worker sons	117	35.0	53.0	7.7	4.3		100.0

AD P .02 \bar{C} 0.22

show a greater preference to work indoors than do the boys with manual work experience. In their preferences to work indoors or outdoors the young men in this study reveal the kinds of socialization which has taken place. The youth tend to prefer to follow in the footsteps of the adults with whom they have associated.¹

Summary

This chapter has indicated that the twelfth grade males in Michigan are differentially oriented toward many of the problems and issues in the work world to which they must adjust when they enter full time employment. These young men are differentially oriented toward labor unions, supervision, bases of promotion, vacations, work clothes, and place of work. These differentials are related significantly to numerous social factors, among which are their fathers' occupational levels, rural-urban residence, educational level of father, working status of mother, curriculum in which enrolled, and their experience in the work world.

According to the data in this chapter, the school appears to play a relatively insignificant role in the differential orientation of the seniors to the issues and problems which they will confront when they enter the

¹ This statement is also supported by the data in supplemental Table LXXII, which shows a very slight but statistically significant association between the educational level of the father and his son's preference to work indoors or outdoors. College educated persons tend to enter white collar occupations and work indoors, and it is the sons of college educated fathers who tend to prefer to work indoors. Conversely, sons of workers with grade school education or less tend to prefer to work outdoors. The degree of relationship is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.18, significant above the .01 level of probability.

full time work world. Although the evidence is by no means complete, it indicates that the young men view the work world differently mainly by virtue of the socialization which has taken place outside the school. However, it would be incorrect to imply that the school does not influence the work interests and preferences of students. The evidence indicates that this influence is exerted through "informal" means rather than through "formal" courses: the sons of white collar workers who enroll in the vocational curriculum tend to portray the values of the sons of manual workers who predominate in this curriculum. Conversely, the sons of manual workers who enroll in the academic curriculum tend to portray the values of the sons of white collar workers who predominate in this curriculum.

CHAPTER VII

SECURITY ATTITUDES

Chapters V and VI have shown that social stratification is significantly related to the work attitudes, interests, and preferences of young men in the twelfth grade in Michigan in spite of any ameliorating influences of the school. Since undoubtedly workers in the various social strata view the work world with different degrees of security, it is expected that this value orientation will be reflected in youths' views of the occupational world which they are on the verge of entering. Do some youth approach this work world with greater "security and confidence" than others? What is the relative importance of social stratification, of the school, of work experience, and of type of community in their security attitudes? Perhaps an analysis in terms of social structure will cast some light on this aspect of the socialization of young people.¹

The problem of security is an important question confronting all workers in the United States.² With the development of large scale industries and mass productive enterprises, with the infinite division of labor which has taken place in all phases of production, with the

¹ Analysis revealed no statistically significant relationship between security attitudes and such factors in the home and family situation as the amount of work youth do at home, the amount of spending money they receive, or whether they received this money regularly or not.

² See Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, "Measuring Patterns of Occupational Security," Sociometry, Vol. 10, No. 4, (continued next page)

treatment of labor as a commodity to be bought and sold in a theoretically "free" market, and with the owners controlling the means of production and the workers controlling only their labor and skill--with the ever increasing incidence of the conditions and circumstances over which the employee has no control, there is an ever increasing sense of impotence and insecurity on the part of workers in the Western world. The worker is a small cog in a huge machine. When the machine for some reason does not function properly, the worker is unemployed. This persistent fear of unemployment is one of the important elements in the insecurities of workers.

To meet this condition to a certain degree, many workers have united in forming labor organizations. These organizations are dedicated to the task of safeguarding the interests of the members and gaining greater control over those factors which make workers insecure. For reasons too numerous to state in this context, labor unions have gained greater foothold among the manual workers than among the white collar workers in the United States. However, on the basis of this fact, it would be incorrect

Footnote 2 continued--(November, 1947), pp. 362-375; Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, Industrial Sociology (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951); Burleigh B. Gardner, Human Relations in Industry (Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1945); Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950); Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949), Chapter XIII, "The Machine, the Worker, and the Engineer;" Arthur K. Davis, "Bureaucratic Patterns in the Navy Officer Corps," Social Forces, 27: 143-153, (December 1948); F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, Management and the Worker (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949); Robert Dubin, Human Relations in Administration (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951), Chapter Ten, "Bureaucracy;" and William E. Henry, "The Business Executive: The Psychodynamics of a Social Role," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LIV, No. 4 (January 1949), pp. 286-291.

to assume that white collar workers are secure in their occupations. Although there may be significant occupational differentials in the degree of insecurity, all workers share in the many insecurities concomitant to a highly industrialized society.

The question, then, of discovering the security-insecurity attitudes of a group of young men on the threshold of entering the adult work world is an important one. The huge majority of youth in America are dependent upon their parents and families. By virtue of this dependency they enjoy a reasonable degree of security. Many are provided with some spending money; most are provided with clothing, food, and housing; and virtually all share the emotional security which comes from being a member of a primary group--the family. However, when young people enter the adult world of work, they are supposed to be "on their own." They are supposed to make the transition from an economic dependent status to a self-supporting status in one quick step. That many young people make this step with reluctance, timidity, fear and pronounced feelings of insecurity is without question.

If there are occupational differentials in the security-insecurity attitudes of adult workers, it is assumed that these attitudes will be shared by the sons of the workers. It is hypothesized that the security attitudes of the boys will reflect their father's occupational position in the social structure.

The important questions to be answered, if possible, are: Do some young people stress security in jobs more than others? Which boys prefer secure jobs, even with low pay? Which prefer high paying jobs, even if these jobs are insecure? Which prefer jobs with high retirement benefits?

Which prefer jobs with low retirement benefits? Which young people want to make decisions on the job? Which boys possess sufficient confidence about the world of work to want jobs which require dealing with the public? It is assumed that the responses of the young men in this study to questions such as these will reveal the varying degrees of confidence and security with which they view the world of work, and the varying degrees of security and insecurity with which they leave their high school life to enter the adult work world.

Job Security

It has been assumed that all strata of workers in United States tend to feel somewhat insecure in the work world and that the insecurities of adults are shared by the youth. These assumptions are substantiated in terms of the boys' responses to the question on income and job security. When the young men were asked which they preferred, "a secure job with low income or an insecure job with high income," the majority stressed the security choices. As the data in Table LVI show, almost seven-tenths of the boys preferred the secure job. There is a very slight but statistically significant relationship between the responses of the boys on this question and their fathers' occupational levels.¹ A greater proportion of the sons of white collar workers than sons of manual workers or farmers preferred an insecure job with high pay.² Conversely, a greater

1 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.15, significant above the .01 level of probability.

2 This coincides with the Fortune Survey, Fortune (January, 1947), which reported that a greater proportion of the professional, executive, and salaried workers than the factory workers preferred an insecure job with high pay. This survey did not include farmers.

TABLE LVI

ATTITUDES CONCERNING RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF INCOME AND JOB SECURITY, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL
OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Low Income But is Secure	Prefer a Job which Pays:			Total
			Moderate Income with 50-50 Chance of Keeping	High Income But is Insecure	No Response	
Michigan total sample	1279	21.3	47.6	28.7	2.4	100.0
A White collar	452	19.0	44.5	33.6	2.9	100.0
B Manual worker	719	22.5	47.8	27.7	2.0	100.0
C Farmer	108	22.2	59.3	14.8	3.7	100.0
D Urban	961	20.5	45.8	31.3	2.4	100.0
E White collar	353	18.7	41.9	36.6	3.1	100.0
F Manual worker	575	21.9	46.8	29.4	1.9	100.0
G Farmer	33	15.2	69.7	12.1	3.0	100.0
H Rural	318	23.6	53.1	20.4	2.9	100.0
I White collar	99	20.2	53.5	24.2	2.1	100.0
J Manual worker	144	25.0	52.1	20.1	2.8	100.0
K Farmer	75	25.3	54.6	16.0	4.1	100.0

ABC	P	.01	C	0.15
DEF	P	.02	C	0.13
IJK	P	.90		
DH	P	.01	C	0.14

proportion of the farm boys than the sons of manual or white collar workers preferred a secure job with low income.¹

There are probably two explanations of the choices described above. One explanation is that the boys who choose the jobs with the high income and insecure tenure reveal their "upward orientation" to higher status positions in society. These youth in their choices probably emphasize high income because it is a desirable value, a criterion of "success", and a symbol of status.² However, if the choices of the boys are interpreted only in terms of the "income" factor, there is no explanation of why the majority of the boys chose the "low paying" job, except that they do not strive for the higher paying jobs. Consequently, the responses may also be explained in terms of the relative degree of "security" which the jobs offer.

It is a plausible assumption that workers will "take a chance" at an insecure job when they feel reasonably confident that they "can make the grade", that it is "worth the risk," or that they have "something else to fall back upon." Workers who do not have this "confidence" tend to "play it safe" by "hanging on to what they have," by "staying put,"

1 Whereas 33.6 per cent of the sons of white collar workers prefer the insecure job with high income, 27.7 per cent of the sons of manual workers and 14.8 per cent of the farm boys make this choice. Conversely, whereas 81.5 per cent of the farm boys make the security choice (a 50-50 chance or better of keeping a job with moderate or low income), 70.3 per cent of the sons of manual workers and 63.5 per cent of the sons of white collar workers make this choice.

2 As described in Chapter V, a larger proportion of the sons of white collar workers than sons of manual workers or farmers aspired to the higher status jobs.

and by "sticking to the secure job."¹ It is thus assumed that the more secure and confident workers tend to "gamble" on the high-paying but insecure jobs, whereas the more insecure workers tend to stress the security aspect of prospective jobs, even with low pay.

On the basis of this assumption, and on the basis that the work attitudes of youth reflect those of their fathers, it may be interpreted that the sons of white collar workers tend to approach the adult work world with a slightly greater degree of confidence and security than do the sons of manual workers and farmers.² This confidence, security, and optimism about the future, manifested by the sons of white collar workers³ probably reflects the expectations held out to them by society. It is the sons of white collar workers who predominate in the college preparatory curricula in high schools; it is these young men who predominantly look

1 The Fortune Survey, op. cit., states: "There is fresh proof that those who have the least to lose in the way of money and position are the most hesitant to venture the little they have."

2 Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, "Measuring Patterns of Occupational Security," Sociometry, Vol. 10, No. 4, pp. 362-375, conclude that their hypothesis that job security is associated with white collar workers and job insecurity with manual workers is partially validated.

3 That the security attitudes of the young men are a function of position in the social structure is further evidenced by the data in supplemental Tables LXXIII and LXXIV. In these tables size of family and educational level of father are used as status variables. The boys from small families and those with college educated fathers manifest the greater confidence and security about the adult work world. Boys from large families and boys with fathers who have grade school education or less portray less confidence. These relationships are very slight but they are statistically significant: for family size the corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.16, significant above the .02 level of probability; for educational level of father the corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.17, significant above the .01 level of probability.

forward to going to college; and it is these same youths who have been oriented in the home and in the community to expect to achieve the higher status professional, managerial, and white collar jobs. As is expected, and as is evidenced by Table LVI, the sons of white collar workers in both urban and rural communities in Michigan express the greatest confidence about the world of work.¹ Conversely, the farm boys view the work world with a slightly greater degree of insecurity than do the sons of white collar and manual workers.²

Rural-urban residence and the amounts of money the boys earned are also significant variables in their security-insecurity attitudes.³ A slightly greater proportion of the urban than the rural boys prefer the insecure job with the high income, and a slightly greater proportion of

1 Although the differences among the rural boys are not statistically significant, they tend to support the generalization made.

2 The questions on which these responses are based, as are virtually all the questions in this study, are oriented toward the industrial work world. It may be that the farm boys, because of their lack of familiarity with industrial occupations, manifest slightly greater feelings of insecurity than the other boys. If the questions had been put in terms of agricultural occupations, the responses might have been different.

3 The degree of association between rural-urban residence and attitudes is evidenced in Table LVI by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.14, significant above the .01 level of probability. The degree of association between attitudes and amount of money earned is evidenced in Table LVII by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.11, significant above the .05 level of probability.

No statistically significant relationship was found between the job security attitudes of the youths and such variables as sibling position, working status of mother, curriculum in which enrolled, the number of jobs held, the amount of time spent on jobs, or the kind of jobs held.

TABLE LVII

ATTITUDES CONCERNING THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF INCOME AND JOB SECURITY,
BY AMOUNT OF MONEY EARNED, IN PERCENTAGES

Amount of Money Earned	N	Prefer a Job which pays:				Total
		Low Income But is Secure	Moderate Income With a 50-50 Chance of Keeping	High Income But is Insecure	No Response	
A No money per week	300	16.0	47.3	35.0	1.7	100.0
B White collar sons	111	8.2	48.6	42.3	0.9	100.0
C Manual worker sons	162	23.4	43.2	31.5	1.9	100.0
D Farmer sons	27	14.8	66.7	14.8	3.7	100.0
E Some money per week	938	22.6	47.5	27.4	2.5	100.0
F White collar sons	329	21.9	43.5	31.3	3.3	100.0
G Manual worker sons	534	22.5	48.9	26.8	1.8	100.0
H Farmer sons	75	26.7	56.0	14.7	2.6	100.0

AE P .05 C̄ 0.11

the young men who have earned no money also make this choice.¹ The slight rural-urban differences may be explained in two ways: the urban boys may emphasize the "higher income" aspect of jobs, even though these jobs are insecure.² On the other hand, the rural boys may have slightly less confidence in their ability to obtain a high paying job. Apparently the rural youths tend to emphasize the security aspect of jobs, even with lower pay. It is thus interpreted that the boys who live in or adjacent to cities leave high school with a slightly greater degree of confidence and security about the industrial work world than do the boys who live in the rural communities.

The slight differences in security attitudes existing between the boys who earned no money and those who earned some money may be explained in terms of experience in the work world. Apparently, the young men who have earned some money are more cautious than those who have not earned any money. By virtue of having had some work experience, the boys who earned some money tend to prefer a job which is reasonably secure, even though it pays less money. They are comparatively unwilling to "take a chance" on the high paying job which they might lose. It may thus be interpreted that experience in the work world tends to make youth more

1 Whereas 34.0 per cent of the boys who earned no money chose the high paying jobs, 27.4 per cent of those who earned some money made this choice. Among the sons of white collar workers, whereas 42.3 per cent of those who earned no money prefer the insecure job with high pay, 31.3 per cent of those who earned some money make this choice. The differences among the sons of white collar workers are significant above the .01 level of probability; the corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.24.

2 See Chapter V. Urban boys have slightly higher occupational aspirations than rural boys.

cautious and realistic about the world of work; they are more prone to give cognizance to "job security" and less prone to exhibit youthful "confidence" by "shooting for" the high paying job which is insecure.

Retirement

It may seem that the question of "retirement benefits" of jobs would be "academic" to young high school students. Adolescence in United States is assumed to be a period of idealism, optimism and adventure. Young men in America are supposed to be looking ahead to the goals they can achieve, rather than concerning themselves with ideas about security. However, according to the evidence in Table LVIII, the twelfth grade boys in this study appear to put the emphasis upon jobs with fairly good retirement benefits. About seven-tenths of the young men indicated that they preferred jobs which provided modest retirement benefits or more. Only about two-tenths preferred jobs with high income but no retirement benefits. Only about eight per cent failed to respond to the question.

The responses of the boys bear a very low but statistically significant association with their fathers' occupational levels,¹ with rural-urban

¹ The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.18, significant above the .001 level of probability. (Table LVIII).

The boys' attitudes on retirement, as on job security, appear to be a function of social status. This is further attested by supplemental Tables LXXV and LXXVI, in which family size and educational level of father are used as status variables. Youths from small families and those with college educated fathers portray the more secure attitudes about the occupational world. They show the greater preference for the job with high pay even though it provides no retirement benefits. Conversely, the youths from large families and with fathers who have grade school education or less portray less confidence about the occupational world: they tend to stress the retirement aspects of jobs, even though the jobs pay less. The degree of relationship between family size and attitudes is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.16, significant above the .05 level of probability; between educational level of father and attitudes by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.17, significant above the .01 level of probability.

TABLE LVIII

ATTITUDES CONCERNING RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF INCOME AND RETIREMENT, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL
OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Prefer a Job which Pays				Total
		Low Income But High Retirement	Medium Income and Modest Retirement	High Income But No Retirement	No Response	
Michigan total sample	1279	3.5	66.5	22.3	7.7	100.0
A White collar	452	2.9	58.6	29.0	9.5	100.0
B Manual worker	719	3.8	71.1	19.1	6.0	100.0
C Farmer	108	4.6	69.4	15.7	10.3	100.0
D Urban	961	3.8	64.5	23.7	8.0	100.0
E White collar	353	2.8	57.2	29.7	10.3	100.0
F Manual worker	575	4.2	69.6	19.8	6.4	100.0
G Farmer	33	9.1	54.5	27.3	9.1	100.0
H Rural	318	2.5	72.6	17.9	7.0	100.0
I White collar	99	3.0	63.6	26.3	7.1	100.0
J Manual worker	144	2.1	77.1	16.0	4.8	100.0
K Farmer	75	2.7	76.0	10.7	10.6	100.0

ABC	P	.001	\bar{C}	0.18
EFG	P	.01	\bar{C}	0.17
IJK	P	.05	\bar{C}	0.22
DH	P	.10	\bar{C}	0.11

residence, and with the amount of money which the boys had earned.¹

A slightly larger proportion of the sons of white collar workers than sons of manual workers or farmers prefer a job with high income but no retirement benefits.² Conversely, the farm boys and the sons of the manual workers show greater preference than the sons of white collar workers for jobs with medium or low income but modest or high retirement provisions. A slightly greater proportion of urban than rural boys prefer the high income job without retirement benefits, whereas the rural youth place slightly greater emphasis on jobs with retirement benefits.

A slightly larger proportion of the boys who did not earn any money than those who earned some money prefer jobs with high income and no retirement benefits, whereas the boys who have earned some money tend to place greater emphasis on jobs with retirement benefits.

The probable explanations of the choices of the 12th graders relative to the question of retirement benefits are similar to the explanations of their choices concerning job tenure, which were described in the preceding section. Apparently the sons of white collar workers tend to strive

1 The degree of association between retirement attitudes and rural-urban residence is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.11, significant above the .10 level of probability (Table LVIII); between retirement attitudes and amount of money earned by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.19, significant above the .001 level of probability (Table LIX).

No statistically significant relationship was found between the attitudes of the twelfth graders on retirement and their sibling position, their mother's working status, the curriculum in which enrolled, the number of jobs held, the time spent on jobs, or the kinds of jobs held.

2 Sons of white collar workers 29.0 per cent; sons of manual workers 19.1 per cent; sons of farmers 15.7 per cent.

TABLE LIX

ATTITUDES CONCERNING RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF INCOME AND RETIREMENT, BY AMOUNT OF
MONEY EARNED, IN PERCENTAGES

Amount of Money Earned per Week	N	Prefer a Job which Pays:				Total
		Low Income But High Retirement	Medium Income and Modest Retirement	High Income But No Retirement	No Response	
A No Money earned	300	4.7	56.0	27.3	12.0	100.0
B White collar sons	111	4.5	54.1	30.6	10.8	100.0
C Manual worker sons	162	4.9	56.8	24.7	13.6	100.0
D Farmer sons	27	3.7	59.3	29.6	7.4	100.0
E Some Money earned	938	3.2	70.2	20.6	6.0	100.0
F White collar sons	329	2.4	60.5	28.3	8.8	100.0
G Manual worker sons	534	3.4	75.9	17.0	3.7	100.0
H Farmer sons	75	5.3	73.3	12.0	9.4	100.0

AE P .001 C 0.19

for the high paying jobs, even when these jobs provide no retirement provisions. The sons of white collar workers, it seems, pay less attention to the "security" aspects of occupations than do the sons of manual workers and farmers. It may be that the sons of white collar workers tend to subscribe to the ideology of "risk-taking", which is characteristic of the white collar entrepreneur in American business life.¹ Manual workers, on the other hand, probably do not typically subscribe to this business ideology.² Although farmers run considerable risk in operating a farm, their concept of "risk-taking" is not the same as that of the American business man.³ Since the sons of white collar workers tend to strive for the high income jobs with no retirement benefits, it may be interpreted that they exhibit a slightly greater degree of "confidence and security" about the world of work than do the sons of manual workers and farmers.

Since the sons of manual workers and farmers strive less for the high income jobs and place more emphasis upon the security (retirement) aspects of jobs, it may be interpreted that they exhibit slightly less "confidence and security" about the work world than do the sons of white collar workers.

1 See Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, Middletown (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1929) and Middletown in Transition (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1937).

2 Because the white collar workers tend to subscribe to the ideology of "risk-taking" does not necessarily mean that they run greater risks in the occupational world than the manual workers. This ideology refers to the "beliefs" of entrepreneurs.

3 The questions in this study deal primarily with occupations in the industrial work world.

The slight difference between urban and rural boys in their attitudes about "retirement" is consistent with their attitudes about the "tenure" of jobs. Since the boys in the cities tend to strive for the higher paying jobs with no retirement provisions, and since the rural boys tend to place a slightly greater emphasis upon jobs with retirement provisions and low pay, it may be interpreted that the city boys approach the work world with a slightly greater degree of confidence than do the rural boys.

The slight differences in attitudes about retirement between boys who earned money and those who did not earn money are also consistent with their attitudes about the tenure of jobs.¹ Since the boys who earned some money tend to place greater emphasis on "retirement" benefits than the boys who did not earn any money, it may be interpreted that work experience in terms of money earned tends to make the boys less "confident" of achieving the high paying jobs.

The tendency of boys with work experience to be more cautious and conservative than the boys without such experience reflects a significant characteristic of American life. In the home, in the school, in the community, in the work world, and probably in the church, there is constant pressure exerted upon young people to strive for "success." As the data in this study indicate, this pressure may be greater among white collar families than among manual worker or farm families. Success is usually defined in terms of high monetary returns or property values acquired. Young people are constantly urged to strive for "the top" and are perpetually reminded that "there is plenty of room at the top."

1 Table LIX.

Without first hand experience in the American work world, young people tend to aspire for positions and income considerably beyond the possibility of achievement.¹ With some degree of experience in the work world, young persons probably realize that their dreams and visions of quick success must be modified. Their goals become more limited; their "reach" does not so far outdistance their "grasp;" and, as a distinguished philosopher once said, they begin to realize that "every man is a failure in that he never achieves all his aspirations."² With experience in the work world the young American tends to become more like the older American: more cautious, more realistic, more conservative in his occupational expectations, and more prone to place emphasis upon "security" instead of "gambling" for the high income but insecure job.

Decision Making by Workers

Another measure of youths' feelings of security and confidence about the work world is found in their attitudes about "making decisions on the job." It is assumed that the more confident and secure youths would want the privilege of making decisions relative to their work situation, whereas the more insecure would prefer the supervisor to make such decisions. In interpreting the responses shown in Table LX, it is observed that about seven-tenths of the boys selected the "middle of the road" response. That is, they preferred to make a moderate amount of decisions on the job. Consequently it is assumed that the preference for

1 See Chapter V.

2 Thomas V. Smith.

TABLE LX

ATTITUDES ABOUT PARTICIPATION IN MAKING DECISIONS ON THE JOB, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER,
AND BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Prefer Workers to Make:				Total
		Few Decisions	Moderate Amount of Decisions		No Response	
			Almost All Decisions	Almost All Decisions		
Michigan total sample	1279	4.3	71.2	20.5	4.0	100.0
A White collar	452	3.3	68.6	23.2	4.7	100.0
B Manual worker	719	4.7	71.1	20.4	3.8	100.0
C Farmer	108	5.6	81.5	9.3	3.6	100.0
D Urban boys	961	4.5	69.3	22.6	3.6	100.0
H Rural boys	318	3.8	77.7	14.1	4.4	100.0
<div>ABC DH P .05 C̄ 0.13 P .01 C̄ 0.12</div>						

making "almost all the decisions" and "few decisions" on the job are the important items in terms of the boys' feelings of confidence and security.

As the Table shows, there is a very small but statistically significant association between the occupational level of father and the boys' preferences about making decisions on the job.¹ The rank order from high to low for the boys who prefer to make almost all decisions on the job is (1) sons of white collar workers, (2) sons of manual workers, and (3) sons of farmers. The converse rank order maintains in terms of the boys who prefer to make few decisions on the job. On the basis of these responses it is interpreted that the sons of white collar workers tend to express a slightly greater degree of confidence in their ability to make decisions on the job. The sons of manual workers and the sons of farmers, on the other hand, tend to place a slightly greater reliance on someone else to make decisions on the job.

The city boys in comparison to the rural boys also tend to express a slightly greater degree of confidence in their ability to make decisions

¹ The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.13, significant above the .05 level of probability.

That the youths attitudes about making decisions on the job are a function of status position is further attested by the data compiled in supplemental Table LXXVII. In this table father's educational level is used as a status variable. There is a very slight but statistically significant relationship between this variable and the youths' confidence about making decisions on the job. Sons of college educated fathers, compared to sons with fathers of grade school education or less, portray the greater confidence about making such decisions. The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.15, significant above the .05 level of probability.

No statistically significant association was found between the youths' attitudes about making decisions on the job and such variables as family size, sibling position, working status of mother, the amount or kind of work experience, or the amount of money earned.

on the job; the rural boys tend to place a slightly greater reliance upon someone else exercising this authority.¹

The explanation of these slight differences about decision making on the job may lie in the relative degrees of patriarchy existing in the homes of the boys. The sons of white collar workers are probably subjected to less dominance and authority in the home than are the sons of manual workers and farmers.² Since the "equalitarian" type of family is typically found amongst "middle class" Americans, it is assumed that this factor is reflected in the attitudes of the sons of the white collar workers. Since patriarchy is probably more common in rural areas than in urban areas,³ it is assumed that the attitudes of the rural boys reflect their greater subordination to the masculine head of the house.

Another explanation of the boys' differences in attitudes about decision making on the job may lie in their choice of occupational goals. Since a greater proportion of the sons of white collar workers than the sons of manual workers or farmers expect to enter the professional and managerial occupations,⁴ and since these occupations require a considerable degree of decision making, it is probable that the sons of white collar workers have a slightly greater confidence in their ability to make such

1 The degree of association between rural-urban residence and attitudes is indicated by the very slight corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.12, significant above the .01 level of probability (Table LX).

2 See Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, op. cit., p. 48-49.

3 Ibid.

4 As described in Chapter V.

decisions.¹ The same generalization probably applies to urban boys in contrast to rural boys, since a slightly greater proportion of urban than rural boys expect to enter the professional and managerial occupations.²

Dealing with the Public

The responses of the boys to another question also probably reflect the youths' feelings of security and confidence toward the world of work. In this question the boys were asked whether they preferred a job which required dealing with the public. As the data in Table LXI show, approximately six-tenths of the boys selected the "middle of the road" choice: they indicated that they would like to deal with the public some of the time. Consequently, it is assumed that the important responses, in terms of the boys' attitudes of confidence and sense of security, are those which show their preferences for dealing with the public "all the time."

In the United States it is typically professional and other white collar workers which continually deal with the public. Such occupations as physician, lawyer, teacher, executive, manager, salesman, barber, and store-keeper involve dealing with clients from all strata in society. To deal with persons of such wide diversity of background requires a

1 Farming also requires considerable decision making by the owner or manager. However, as previously stated, the questions in this study are oriented toward the industrial work world rather than the agricultural.

2 As described in Chapter V.

certain degree of "front", a degree of verbal skill, and a considerable amount of confidence in one's ability to cope with the situation. Literature abounds with stories of the quaking knees and pounding heart of the salesman as he approaches his first client, of the nervousness of the neophyte teacher as he steps in front of his first class, or of the "ulcer twinges" of the executive as he prepares his speech for his Rotary club. The social skills demanded by many white collar occupations are commonly overlooked by many employers,¹ and the new recruit is usually "on his own" to "make good." Young people who express an interest in jobs which require continual dealing with the public probably possess a degree of confidence in their ability to fulfill such jobs. The important question then is, which youth express this confidence?

According to Table LXI there is a very small but statistically significant relationship between the father's occupational level and the preferences of the young men to deal with the public.² A slightly larger proportion of the sons of white collar workers than sons of manual workers or farmers prefer to deal with the public all the time.³ This tendency maintains in the total sample, as well as among the rural boys and among

1 See Delbert C. Miller, "The Social Factors in the Work Situation," American Sociological Review, 7, No. 3, 1946, pp. 300-314.

2 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.17, significant above the .01 level of probability. No statistically significant relationship was found between the youths' attitudes about dealing with the public and such variables as family size, sibling position, working status of mother, father's educational level, amount of work experience, kind of work experience, or amount of money earned.

3 Sons of white collar workers 28.5 per cent. Sons of manual workers 21.4 per cent. Sons of farmers 12.0 per cent.

TABLE LXI

PREFERENCE FOR JOB WHICH REQUIRES DEALING WITH PUBLIC, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level of Father	N	Prefer to deal with public:				Total
		None of Time	Some of Time	All of Time	No Response	
Michigan total sample	1279	9.8	59.3	23.1	7.8	100.0
A White collar	452	8.0	55.5	28.5	8.0	100.0
B Manual worker	719	11.4	60.1	21.4	7.1	100.0
C Farmer	108	6.5	70.4	12.0	11.1	100.0
D Urban	961	11.1	58.3	23.5	7.1	100.0
E White collar	353	9.1	55.2	27.5	8.2	100.0
F Manual worker	575	12.7	59.5	21.6	6.2	100.0
G Farmer	33	6.1	69.7	15.2	9.0	100.0
H Rural	318	5.7	62.6	22.0	9.7	100.0
I White collar	99	4.0	56.6	32.2	7.1	100.0
J Manual worker	144	6.2	62.5	20.8	10.5	100.0
K Farmer	75	6.7	70.6	10.7	12.0	100.0

ABC	P	.01	C	0.17
EEG	P	.05	C	0.13
IJK	P	.02	C	0.24
DH	P	.02	C	0.12

the urban boys. There is also a very slight but statistically significant difference between the urban and the rural boys: a slightly greater proportion of the urban than the rural young men prefer to deal with the public all the time.¹

The fact that the sons of white collar workers tend to show a slight preference for jobs which require dealing with the public probably reflects their orientation to white collar jobs. In the home they undoubtedly become familiar with the occupations of their fathers' and their fathers' friends. In their work experience they receive some training in white collar occupations.² In the school their teachers probably encourage them to aspire to white collar occupations and channel them into the kinds of curricula which will help prepare them for these jobs.³ As a result, the sons of white collar workers in contrast to the sons of manual workers and farmers exhibit a slightly greater degree of confidence in their ability to fill white collar jobs which require dealing with the public all the time. To a lesser degree, perhaps, the boys in cities in United States in contrast to rural boys are likewise oriented to jobs which require dealing with the public.⁴

1 The degree of association between rural-urban residence and preference is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.12, significant above the .02 level of probability.

2 See Chapter IV. A slightly greater proportion of sons of white collar workers than sons of manual workers or farmers obtain white collar jobs while attending school.

3 As described in Chapter IV the sons of white collar workers predominate in the academic curriculum.

4 As described in Chapter IV, a greater proportion of the urban than the rural boys obtain part and full time white collar jobs while attending school.

The boys' preferences for dealing with the public are also slightly but significantly associated with the curriculum in which enrolled.¹ As shown in Table LXII, a slightly larger proportion of the boys in the academic than in the vocational curriculum prefer to deal with the public all the time.² Among the sons of white collar workers and among the sons of manual workers the same tendency maintains: it is the boys in each occupational stratum enrolled in the academic curriculum who show the greater preference for jobs dealing with the public all the time.³

The probable explanation of the association between curriculum and preference to deal with the public is that the boys in the academic curriculum receive a greater degree of orientation for these kinds of occupations. The emphasis in the academic curriculum is upon intellectual and verbal skills; the emphasis in the vocational curriculum is upon manual skills. As a result, the sons of manual workers who enroll in the academic curriculum tend to prefer white collar jobs dealing with the public, and sons of white collar workers who enroll in the vocational curriculum tend to prefer manual worker jobs which do not, as a rule, require constant dealing with the public.

A similar interpretation is made of the data in Table LXIII. The table shows a very slight but statistically significant relationship

1 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.23, significant above the .001 level of probability.

2 Whereas 27.7 per cent of the boys in the academic curriculum prefer to deal with the public all the time, 13.6 per cent of the boys in the vocational curriculum show this preference.

3 The degree of association between curriculum and preference is identical for the boys in each stratum, namely 0.22.

TABLE LXII

PREFERENCE FOR JOB WHICH REQUIRES DEALING WITH PUBLIC, BY CURRICULUM IN WHICH ENROLLED, IN PERCENTAGES

Curriculum in Which Enrolled	N	Prefer to Deal with Public:				Total
		None of Time	Some of Time	All of Time	No Response	
A Academic	487	7.4	58.7	27.7	6.2	100.0
B White collar sons	227	7.0	56.4	30.0	6.6	100.0
C Manual worker sons	260	7.7	60.8	25.8	5.7	100.0
D Vocational	206	13.6	65.5	13.6	7.3	100.0
E White collar sons	52	15.4	65.4	13.5	5.7	100.0
F Manual worker sons	154	13.0	65.6	13.6	7.8	100.0
AD P .001 \bar{C} 0.23						
BE P .05 \bar{C} 0.22						
CF P .02 \bar{C} 0.22						

TABLE IXIII

PREFERENCE FOR JOB WHICH REQUIRES DEALING WITH PUBLIC, BY KIND OF EXTRA-CLASS ACTIVITY, IN PERCENTAGES

Kind of Extra-class Activity Engaged In	N	Prefer to Deal with Public:				Total
		None of Time	Some of Time	All of Time	No Response	
A Debate and Student Government	111	4.5	61.3	30.6	3.6	100.0
B White collar sons	56	5.4	62.4	26.8	5.4	100.0
C Manual worker sons	55	3.6	60.0	34.5	1.9	100.0
D All other Extra-class Activities	759	9.1	58.4	24.9	7.6	100.0
E White collar sons	309	7.4	56.4	29.4	6.8	100.0
F Manual worker sons	450	10.2	59.8	21.8	8.2	100.0

AD P .05 \bar{C} 0.12

between the kinds of extra-class activities engaged in and the boys preferences to deal with the public.¹ A slightly greater proportion of the boys in debate and student government than those in other school activities prefer to deal with the public all the time. Probably the students in debate and student government, by virtue of being interested in such school activities, are also interested in white collar jobs, which require dealing with the public.

Summary

The problem of obtaining job security in a highly industrialized society confronts all workers in the United States. Young people who enter the world of work must adjust to the relative insecurities which exist in different occupations. The nature of this adjustment will depend, in some measure, upon the degree of "confidence" and "security" with which young persons make the transition from school to work.

The data in this chapter indicate that slightly greater "confidence" about the industrial work world is exhibited by sons of white collar workers in contrast to sons of manual workers and farmers. This greater confidence manifested by the youth from white collar families probably reflects the value orientation of this occupational stratum. The sons of white collar workers expect to achieve jobs in the business, industrial, and governmental bureaucracies. Oriented as they are to the contractual, Gesellschaft, capitalistic way of life, they typically reflect this

¹ The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.12, significant above the .05 level of probability.

orientation in confident attitudes about this milieu in which they plan to play adult roles. These attitudes, in turn, appear to be reinforced by the school system. The young men from white collar families predominate in the academic curriculum in order to prepare for college and higher status jobs and they predominate in the "white collar" extra-class school activities.

The sons of manual workers and sons of farmers, on the other hand, manifest less security and confidence about the industrial world of work. These young men, no doubt, also reflect the value orientation of the occupational strata from which they come. Since they tend to look forward to entering occupations of the same levels as their fathers, they do not look with confidence upon the white collar world of work. These differences which are related to the occupational strata from which they come also tend to be reinforced by the school system, since the sons of manual workers and farmers predominate in the vocational curriculum, which does not lead to higher status jobs.

However, regardless of occupational stratum of father, those young men who have had considerable work experience, in contrast to the inexperienced twelfth graders, tend to be more cautious and less confident about the adult world of work. Apparently, the seniors with work experience tend to be more realistic than those without work experience.

PART FOUR: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has analyzed an aspect of the socialization of young people for adult roles in American society. Since sociological theory indicates that significant differences exist among broad occupational levels, or social strata, in United States, it is hypothesized that this stratification will be reflected in the differential work attitudes and interests of American youth.¹ This study has examined the work interests and attitudes of twelfth grade boys in Michigan and has assessed the relative importance of certain social factors in these attitudes.

Differential Socialization

This study confirms the first hypothesis that social stratification, using the occupational level of father as an index, is significantly related to the differential rearing of the twelfth graders in the home and to the differential treatment accorded these boys in the school

¹ The three occupational levels or social strata used in this study are: (1) white collar workers, (2) manual workers, and (3) farmers.

and the community.¹ The evidence supports the following generalizations: the farm boys work longer hours at home and receive more spending money than do the other boys. The more money the youths earn away from home the less spending money they receive at home. The sons of manual workers, compared to sons of white collar workers and farm boys, obtain the greater variety of jobs and earn more money. The sons of white collar workers predominate in the academic curriculum, in extra-class activities, and in use made of the vocational guidance facilities in the school. The sons of manual workers and farmers, on the other hand, tend to enroll in the vocational curriculum, to participate less in extra-class activities, and to make less use of the vocational guidance facilities provided by the schools.

Social Stratification

Youths' future plans. The occupational expectations of the boys in this study substantiate the second major hypothesis: their father's occupational level or stratum is the most important social factor in these plans. Although other factors are significantly related to the kinds of life work the young men actually expect to enter, the father's occupational level bears the closest relationship.²

1 In addition to social stratification, there are also other factors significantly related to the differential rearing of future workers. Among these are: rural-urban residence, formal education of father, family size, whether the boys work on jobs away from home, and whether they have brothers and sisters working. A summary of the factors and indices of differential socialization used in this study are shown in summary Table LXIV. This Table shows the degree of relationship of the indices to significant factors.

2 This is evidenced in summary Table LXV by the substantial corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.60.

TABLE LXIV

SUMMARY OF FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE DIFFERENTIAL SOCIALIZATION OF YOUTH,
SHOWING CORRECTED COEFFICIENTS OF CONTINGENCY

Indices of Differential Socialization												
Factor	The Home			The School			The Work World					
	Work Done at Home	Amount of Allowance	Type of Allowance	Curr-iculum	Extra-class Activities	Vocational Guidance	Kind of Full Time Work	Kind of Part Time Work	Number of Full Time Jobs	Number of Part Time Jobs	Amount of Money Earned	
Social stratification	0.50	0.14	---	0.25	0.31	0.15	0.47	0.39	0.29	0.20	0.14	
Education of father	----	----	----	0.34	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	
Family size	----	0.22	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	
Working away from home	----	0.61	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	
Brothers and sisters working	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0.17	----	----	
Rural-urban residence	0.35	---	0.15	---	0.25	---	0.36	0.36	0.18	0.17	0.15	

* Analysis revealed no statistically significant association.

TABLE LXV

SUMMARY OF FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH YOUTHS' WORK ATTITUDES AND INTERESTS,
SHOWING COLLECTED COEFFICIENTS OF CONTINGENCY

WORK ATTITUDES AND INTERESTS

Factor	Work Interests and Preferences										Security Attitudes			
	Future Plans		Bases					Place of Work			Income and Job Security	Income and Retirement	Worker makes Decisions	Dealing with Public
Occupational Expectations	Post High School Plans	Labor Unions	Age of Supervisor	Sex of Supervisor	Promotions	Vacations	Clothes	Work	Place of Work	Income and Job Security	Income and Retirement	Worker makes Decisions	Dealing with Public	
social stratification	0.60	0.45	0.29	0.14	---	0.15	0.16	0.27	0.14	0.15	0.18	0.13	0.17	
family situation	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
work done at home	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
amount of allowance	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
type of allowance	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
family size	0.20	0.24	0.16	---	---	---	0.17	---	---	0.16	0.16	---	---	
family position	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
working status of mother	0.15	---	0.17	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
father's formal education	0.38	0.38	0.23	---	---	---	0.19	0.14	0.18	0.17	0.17	0.15	---	
school curriculum	0.35	0.56	0.26	---	---	0.22	---	0.23	---	---	---	---	0.23	
hobbies of extra-class activities	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.12	
number of vocational guidance conferences	0.26	0.26	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
work experience	---	---	---	0.13	0.17	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
number of full time jobs	0.18	---	---	---	0.14	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
time on full time jobs	0.14	---	---	---	---	0.21	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
hobbies of full time jobs	0.27	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.24	0.22	---	---	---	---	
amount of money earned	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.11	0.19	---	---	
type of community	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
rural-urban	0.33	0.19	0.12	0.12	---	0.16	---	0.08	0.20	0.14	0.11	0.12	0.12	

* Analysis revealed no statistically significant association.

The occupational aspirations and expectations of the seniors in this study evidence considerable "upward striving." The boys tend to aspire to jobs they do not expect to obtain. Although they would like the higher status job and the better paying position, there is a strong tendency for them to expect a job in the same occupational stratum as that of their fathers. There is a strong tendency for the farm boy to expect to become a farmer, for the son of the manual worker to expect to become a manual worker, and for the son of the white collar worker to expect to become a white collar worker. Their occupational plans substantially and significantly reflect their positions in the social structure, as set by their fathers' occupational strata.

To a slightly lesser degree, the post high school plans of the seniors--whether to continue their formal education or to take full time jobs--bear a substantial relationship to their fathers' occupational strata.¹ The sons of manual workers and farmers tend to look forward to full time jobs after high school, while there is a tendency for the sons of white collar workers to plan to continue their formal education.

Work interests and preferences. As the summary data in Table LXV show, a variety of factors are significantly associated with the twelfth graders' interests and attitudes about labor unions, supervisions, bases of promotion, vacations, work clothes, and place of work.² In their

1 The corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.45.

2 The degrees of relationships are considerably less than those in the youths' occupational plans. The occupational plans of the boys probably reflect the status positions of their families more than do their work interests and preferences.

attitudes about labor unions, and in their preference for work clothes, the respondents reflect predominantly the influence of their fathers' social strata, since these relationships show the highest contingency values. The most popular view of the boys in reference to the bases for promotion on the job is quality of work. This choice is ten times more popular than quantity of work and six times more popular than seniority on the job. The sons of white collar workers, those in the academic curriculum, those who have held white collar jobs, and the urban young men tend to stress quality of work as a bases for promotion. The sons of manual workers stress seniority and the farm boys tend to stress quantity of work as the bases for promotion on the job.

The twelfth graders preferences for vacations, work clothes, and place of work reflect their differential socialization experiences. The sons of white collar workers and the sons of college educated fathers stress the value of longer vacations. The young men with white collar fathers, those who have had only white collar jobs, those in the academic curriculum, and those who live in the cities also stress the longer vacations. These also prefer to work indoors as opposed to working outdoors. On the other hand, the sons of manual workers and sons of farmers, boys in the vocational curriculum, those who have had manual work experience only, and the rural youth tend to prefer to wear overalls at work and to work outdoors.

Security attitudes of youth. The security attitudes of youth toward the world of work are very slightly but significantly related to their father's occupational stratum, as well as to other factors, as is shown

in the summary Table LXV.¹ This study indicates that the sons of white collar workers appear to be slightly more "confident and secure" about themselves in the world of work. This confidence is manifested in (1) their preferences for the higher paying jobs even though these jobs offer no security of tenure or retirement benefits and (2) in their preferences for jobs which require dealing with the public and for jobs in which workers make all the decisions. The sons of manual workers and farmers, on the other hand, tend to prefer low paying jobs which offer security of tenure and retirement benefits and to prefer jobs which require no dealing with the public and which require little decision making by workers.

The greater degree of "security and confidence" expressed by the sons of white collar workers about the world of work probably reflects their orientation to the contractual, Gesellschaft, "capitalistic" free-enterprise system. In their relationships in the white collar social stratum they have assimilated the values and beliefs of the white collar work world. They look forward to entering this kind of work world and to achieving gratifications in it. As a result of this orientation they tend to express slightly greater "confidence" about the white collar work world than do the other youths.

Work Experience

This study supports the third hypothesis that work experience changes the young mens' work attitudes and interests. The evidence attests to

1 The very low correlation values for all relationships do not support the hypothesis that social stratification is the most important factor.

the upward mobility ideology existing in United States, which impinges on the youth prior to entering the work world. Work experience tends to bring a downward readjustment in this belief. The more the preliminary work experience the more conservative the youths are in their occupational expectations. Apparently work experience makes the Michigan twelfth graders more cautious and realistic. Sons of working mothers are more conservative in their occupational expectations than sons of non-working mothers. Fathers have lower occupational expectations for their sons than do the mothers, a difference which is probably related to work experience.

The confidence and security with which the seniors in this study view the work world is also significantly associated with the amount of work experience. The young men from each occupational stratum who have had considerable work experience tend to be less "confident and secure" about their occupational future. The "inexperienced" youth, on the other hand, tends to look with "youthful confidence" upon the work world.

How youth view the work situation is also related to their work experience. The adolescents who have had a substantial amount of work experience, in contrast to those without such experience, show the greater preference for the older supervisor and for the male supervisor. Youths from each occupational stratum who have had only white collar job experience tend to portray the value orientation of white collar workers, while youth from each occupational stratum with only manual work experience tend to portray the value orientation of manual workers.

The Role of the School

This study supports the fourth hypothesis that the school is unable to overcome the differences created by social stratification. This is attested by the occupational expectations, work interests and preferences, and security attitudes of youth which remain significantly related to social stratification although the youths have virtually completed their secondary education. The evidence indicates that the school slightly modifies the work attitudes and interests of the young men, but it appears to do so by "informal" rather than by "formal" means. The sons of manual workers who enroll in the academic curriculum tend to portray the values of the sons of white collar workers who predominate in this curriculum, while white collar worker sons who enroll in the vocational curriculum tend to portray the values of sons of manual workers and farmers who predominate in this curriculum.

The predominance of the sons of white collar workers in the academic curriculum, in extra class activities, and in the use of vocational guidance facilities of the school, raises the question as to whether the schools are performing the democratic function ascribed to them. One of the tasks of the school is to make democracy work. This can be done by producing a highly trained and intelligent body of students to which the avenues are open for achieving positions of esteem in American society. To serve democratic purposes the school must give all youths an equal chance to qualify for these positions. The school must select and encourage the pupils with the best abilities regardless of the social stratum from which they come. It is recognized that children of unusual

ability and promise are born in all social strata in United States.

When the school favors the children from the white collar social stratum by selecting and encouraging an unusually high proportion of them to aspire for the higher status positions and occupations and, conversely, when the school tends to deny adolescents from other social strata this same opportunity, the school is not adequately fulfilling its ascribed democratic role.

To attack this problem successfully the teachers, counselors, and administrators in the schools must be familiar with the hard facts of social structure in America. They must understand the effects of social stratification upon themselves and upon the children who enter the schools. They must realize that the social inequalities imposed upon children by virtue of being born into "higher" or "lower" social strata soon become part of their persons. The value orientations obtained combined with the differential treatment accorded them in the school and community quickly imbue children with habits and attitudes over which they have little conscious control. The democratic function ascribed to the American school system demands that teachers, counselors, and administrators provide opportunities for youth in keeping with the students' abilities and potentialities rather than in keeping with the social stratum from which they come.

Not only must the school provide equal opportunity for children of ability from all social strata, but encouragement to seek high status positions should be given to fewer children. Education has replaced the economic institutions as the main avenue of vertical mobility. When the

schools encourage too many students to aspire to the high status positions in society, thwarted ambition and frustrated hope inevitably result. In encouraging more young people to go to college than the colleges can accommodate, the school is wittingly or unwittingly manifesting the leit motiv of the American white collar class. Typically, adults in the American white collar class support the myth of unlimited social mobility and they urge their children to strive for high positions. The school, in turn, reinforces this value orientation of the middle class by encouraging and selecting large numbers of pupils to prepare for college. Only a minority of the high school graduates actually go to college. Instead of perpetuating the values of the American white collar class, which stresses material success, individual striving, efficiency, upward mobility, and the "rationalistic" laissez-faire economic behavior of the contractual Gesellschaft type, the schools in America could do much to temper this striving by placing greater emphasis upon the rewards inherent in the familistic Gemeinschaft type of behavior, which places a premium upon friendliness, kindness, loyalty, tolerance, and spontaneity, and which actually provides the social cement by means of which the "rationalistic" structures and institutions in America are able to function.

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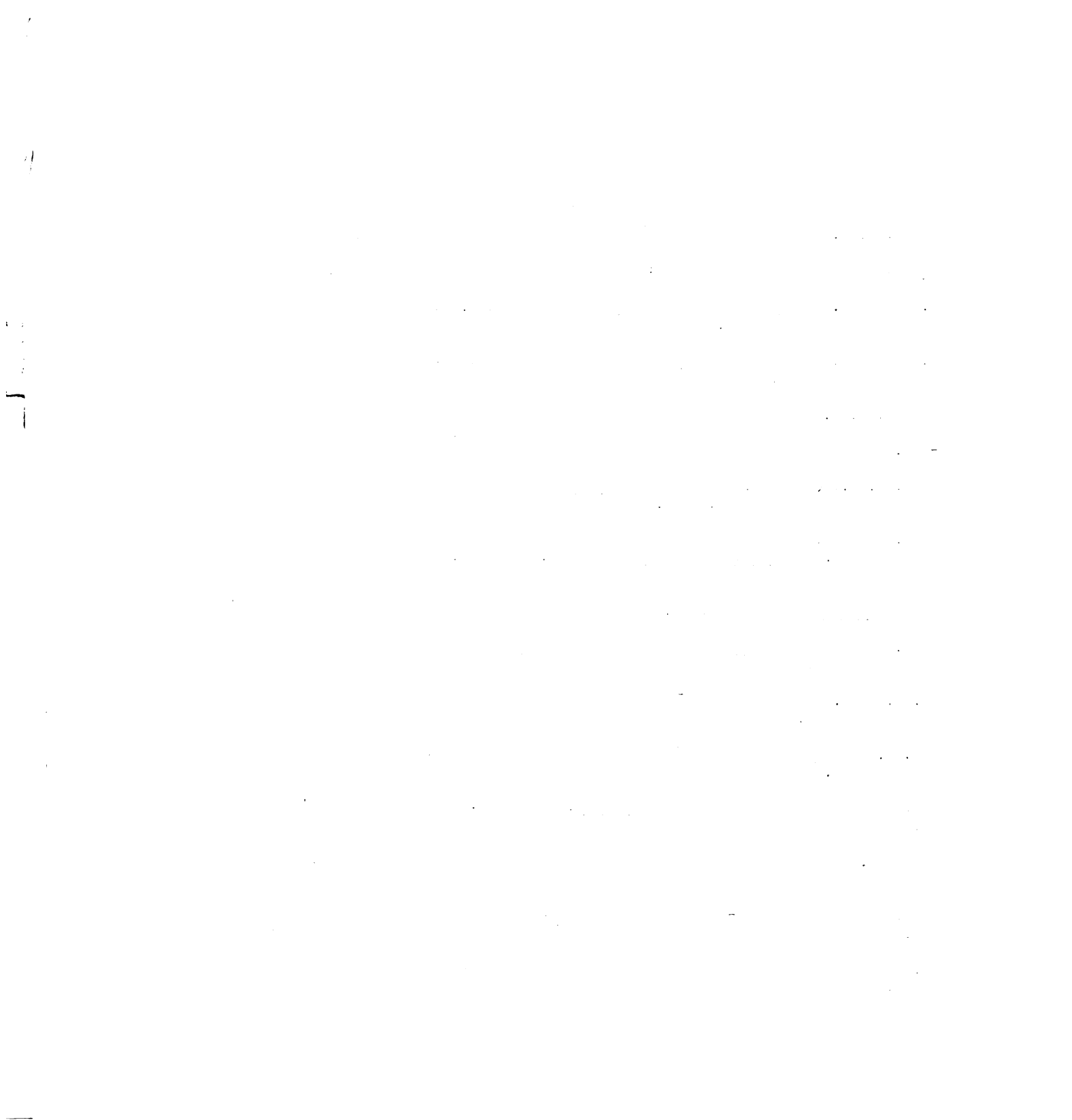
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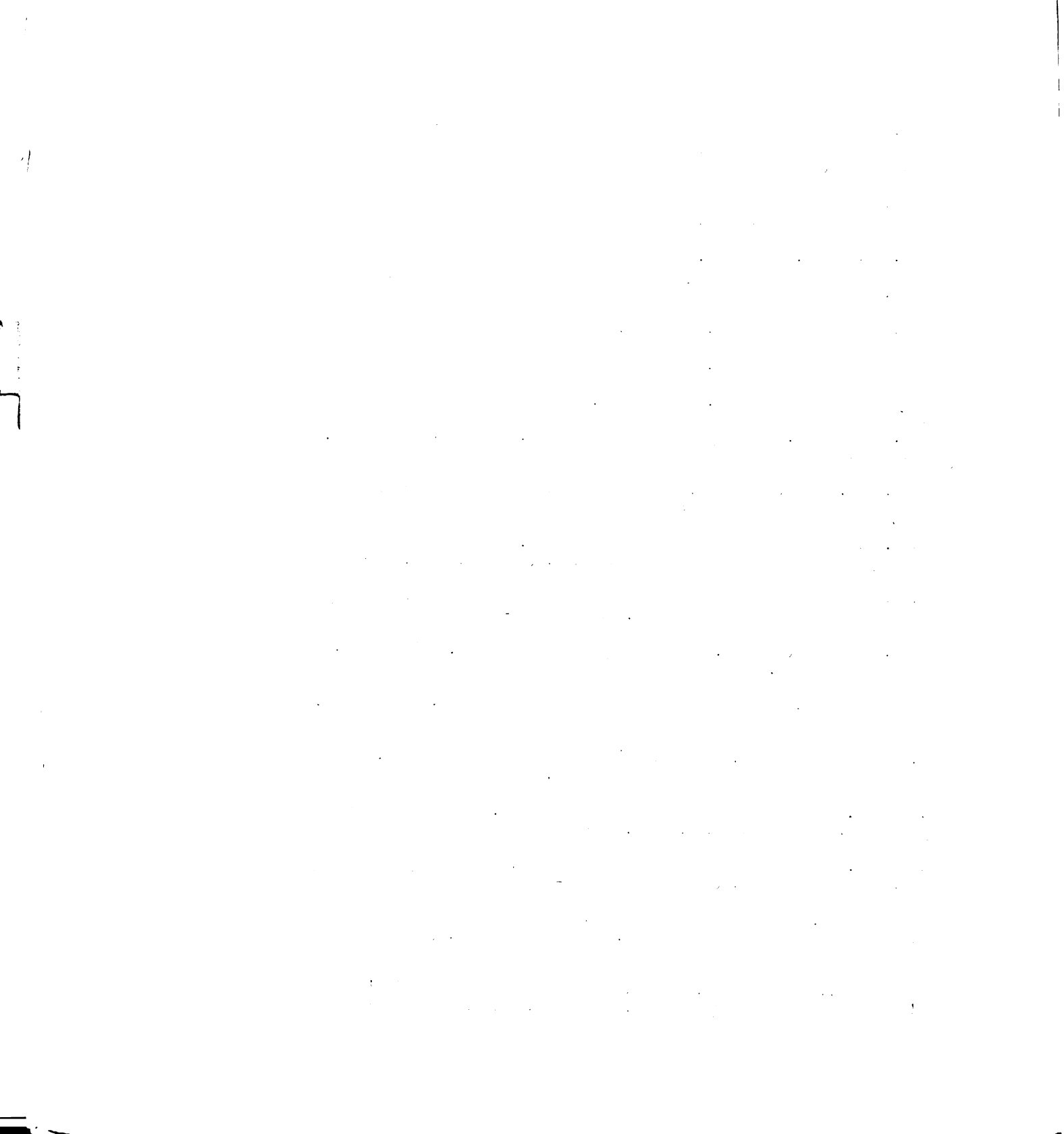
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: SUPPLEMENTAL TABLES

TABLE LXVI
OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS, BY NUMBER OF FULL TIME JOBS HELD, IN PERCENTAGES

Number of Full Time Jobs Held	N	Occupational Expectations						No Response	Total
		Farmer	Un- skilled Worker	Semi- skilled Worker	Skilled Worker	Clerical Worker	Mana- gerial	Profes- sional	
A None	425	1.1	1.9	11.9	11.0	8.5	12.4	27.6	100.0
B One	411	3.6	2.9	13.0	13.0	8.0	11.0	25.3	100.0
C Two	242	4.8	5.3	14.0	13.0	7.1	10.4	21.5	100.0
D Three or more	153	4.9	6.2	14.4	14.4	7.2	10.0	13.4	100.0

ABCD P .05 \bar{C} 0.18

TABLE LXVII
ATTITUDES TOWARD LABOR UNIONS, BY SIZE OF FAMILY, IN PERCENTAGES

Number of Children in Family	N	Prefer a Job where Workers				Total
		Have No Union	Have Choice About Joining Union	Must Join Union	No Response	
A One	143	26.6	55.9	7.7	9.8	100.0
B Two	323	26.3	55.7	9.0	9.0	100.0
C Three	284	18.6	60.6	12.0	8.8	100.0
D Four	177	17.6	61.0	13.1	8.3	100.0
E Five or more	302	14.2	62.9	14.9	8.0	100.0

ABCD E P .02 C̄ 0.16

TABLE LXVIII
ATTITUDES TOWARD LABOR UNIONS, BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Educational Level of Father	N	Prefer a Job Where Workers				Total
		Have No Union	Have Choice About Joining Union	Must Join Union	No Response	
A Some college or more	188	30.8	58.0	3.7	7.5	100.0
B Some high school or high school graduate	438	27.8	58.1	6.1	8.0	100.0
C Grade school or less	464	18.1	60.0	14.2	7.7	100.0

ABC P .001 \bar{C} 0.23

TABLE LXIX
PREFERENCE FOR MALE OR FEMALE SUPERVISOR, BY AMOUNT OF TIME ON FULL TIME JOBS, IN PERCENTAGES

Supervisor Preferred	N	Amount of Time on Full Time Jobs			Total
		No Months	1.0 - 17.9 Months	18.0 Months or More	
A Male	827	39.8	42.6	17.6	100.0
B Female	33	63.7	24.2	12.1	100.0
AB P .05 \bar{C} 0.14					

TABLE LXX
PREFERENCE IN REGARD TO VACATIONS, BY SIZE OF FAMILY, IN PERCENTAGES

Number of Children in Family	N	Vacations Preferences					No Response	Total
		Two Weeks With Pay	One Month at One Half Pay	Two Months at No pay	No Vacation and			
					Double Pay			
A One	143	48.6	40.2	5.2	0.4	5.6	100.0	
B Two	323	62.5	28.9	4.6	0.6	3.4	100.0	
C Three	284	63.7	28.2	3.5	0.0	4.6	100.0	
D Four	177	65.5	26.0	2.8	1.7	4.0	100.0	
E Five or more	302	66.6	21.2	3.6	4.3	4.3	100.0	

ABCD E P .02 \bar{C} 0.17

TABLE LXXI
PREFERENCES CONCERNING WORK CLOTHES, BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Educational Level of Father	N	Prefer a job where I wear				Total
		Overalls	Dress Clothes	Either dress clothes or overalls	No Response	
A Some college or more	188	11.8	55.2	29.8	3.2	100.0
B Some high school or high school graduate	438	15.1	48.2	30.1	6.6	100.0
C Grade school or less	464	24.1	40.1	30.4	5.4	100.0

ABC P .001 \bar{C} 0.19

TABLE LXXII
PREFERENCE FOR WORKING INDOORS OR OUTDOORS, BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Educational Level of Father	N	Prefer to Work			No Response	Total
		Outdoors	Part Outdoors and Part Indoors	Indoors		
A Some college or more	188	23.7	48.4	20.0	7.9	100.0
B Some high school or high school graduate	438	28.1	51.1	15.2	5.6	100.0
C Grade school or less	464	34.0	52.2	10.8	3.0	100.0

ABC P .01 \bar{C} 0.18

TABLE LXXIII

ATTITUDES CONCERNING THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF INCOME AND JOB SECURITY,
BY SIZE OF FAMILY, IN PERCENTAGES

Number of Children In Family	N	Prefer a Job which pays				Total
		Low Income But is Secure	Moderate Income with 50-50 Chance of Keeping	High Income But is Insecure	No Response	
A One	143	17.5	42.7	35.7	4.1	100.0
B Two	323	21.0	42.1	35.3	1.6	100.0
C Three	284	17.6	50.0	29.6	2.8	100.0
D Four	177	23.7	50.3	23.2	2.8	100.0
E Five or more	302	24.5	50.7	22.8	2.0	100.0

ABCDE P .02 \bar{C} 0.16

TABLE LXXIV

ATTITUDES CONCERNING THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF INCOME AND JOB SECURITY,
BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Educational Level of Father	N	Prefer a job which Pays				No Response	Total
		Low Income But is Secure	Moderate Income with 50-50 Chance of Keeping	High Income But is Insecure			
A Some college or more	188	12.9	46.3	38.7	2.1		100.0
B Some high school or high school graduate	438	17.0	46.4	34.3	2.3		100.0
C Grade school or less	464	24.0	47.2	26.2	2.6		100.0

ABC P .01 \bar{C} 0.17

TABLE LXXV

ATTITUDES CONCERNING THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF INCOME AND RETIREMENT,
BY SIZE OF FAMILY, IN PERCENTAGES

Number of Children in Family	N	Prefer a Job which Provides				Total
		Low Income but High Retirement	Medium Income and Modest Retirement	High Income but No Retirement	No Response	
A One	143	3.6	57.3	31.0	9.1	100.0
B Two	323	3.7	63.4	24.2	8.7	100.0
C Three	284	4.8	66.5	22.4	6.3	100.0
D Four	177	3.3	68.9	19.9	7.9	100.0
E Five or more	302	6.6	71.5	15.2	6.7	100.0

ABCDE P .05 \bar{C} 0.16

TABLE LXXVI
ATTITUDES CONCERNING RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF INCOME AND RETIREMENT,
BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Educational Level of Father	N	Prefer a job which provides				Total
		Low Income but High Retirement	Medium Income and Modest Retirement	High Income but No Retirement	No Response	
A Some college or more	188	3.7	55.8	32.4	8.1	100.0
B Some high school or high school graduate	438	4.9	62.5	27.6	5.0	100.0
C Grade school or less	464	3.0	71.1	19.4	6.5	100.0

ABC P .01 \bar{C} 0.17

TABLE LXXVII

ATTITUDES ABOUT PARTICIPATION IN MAKING DECISIONS ON THE JOB,
BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Educational Level of Father	N	Prefer workers to make				Total
		Few Decisions	Moderate Amount of Decisions	Almost all Decisions	No Response	
A Some college or more	188	1.6	69.1	27.1	2.2	100.0
B Some high school or high school graduate	438	2.1	70.2	25.6	2.1	100.0
C Grade school or less	464	5.4	70.7	20.5	3.4	100.0

ABC P .05 \bar{C} 0.15

APPENDIX II: THE QUESTIONNAIRE

WORK INTERESTS OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Boys

What This Is All About

You are being asked to fill out this form to find out what young people think about a variety of things connected with work. The information which you give will be of great value to schools and colleges as well as to business and industries.

What Will Be Done With These Questionnaires

As soon as you have completed these questionnaires, they will be collected and sent to Michigan State College. There, the answers which you and many others like you have made to the questions will be put together in order to prepare a report on what young people like yourself think about jobs and work conditions. No one will ever be "checking up" on what you say in answer to any of the questions.

What We Want You To Do

We want you to answer these questions frankly and carefully. This is not a test or an examination, and there are no right or wrong answers (except for a few questions about your age, year in school, etc.). The only answer we need is your own personal opinion and judgment.

There is little writing to do. Most of your opinions can be shown by making a circle around the number in front of the answer you choose. If the choice of answers does not clearly express your view, circle the number which comes **nearest** to expressing how you feel.

The answer you mark is the answer that will be counted. Therefore, it is important that you read the question carefully and mark the answer you mean.

Remember: This is not a test. Give your honest opinions. If there are any parts you don't understand, raise your hand and someone will come around to help you.

BOYS: This form of the questionnaire is for boys. If you are a girl, please ask for the girl's form of the questionnaire.

PART I

The first part of the questionnaire is made up of items concerning your family, school, and work experiences. You are asked to write in the answers where the space is indicated, or encircle the number of the answer where the answers are given. Be as accurate as possible.

1-6.

Your school.....

City or Town.....

7. Your grade:

1. 12th

2. 11th

3. 10th

4. 9th

5. Other (which one).....

8. Your age at last birthday:

1. 12 or below

2. 13

3. 14

4. 15

5. 16

6. 17

7. 18

8. 19 or above

9. Your sex:

1. Male

2. Female

11. Which one of these courses are you taking or planning to take?

1. Academic (college preparatory)

2. Vocational

3. Academic and vocational

4. Business or commercial

5. Other (explain).....

12. Will you indicate which out-of-class school groups you have taken part in for at least one semester. (Encircle as many as apply.)

1. Athletic squad which competes with teams from other schools.

2. The school band, orchestra or choral group.

3. School debate team or dramatic club which gives public performances.

4. 4-H Club, Future Farmers, or other groups whose members carry on work projects.

5. None of these.

6. Other (explain).....

13. As far as you can tell now, do you expect to graduate from high school?

1. Yes

2. No

14. Which one of these do you expect to do when you leave high school?

1. Get a full time job.

2. Get a full time job and go to night school.

3. Go to college.

4. Have a part time job and go to college.

5. Go to a business or vocational school.

6. Be an apprentice.

7. Join the army, navy, or airforce.

8. Other (explain).....

15. Why do you expect to do this?.....

16. If you had your choice, what kind of life work would you most like to do?.....

17. What kind of life work do you actually expect, not hope, to do?.....

18. Have you ever had a conference about your life work with a teacher, principal or counselor in your school or community?

1. No.

Yes. If yes, how many times?

2. Once

3. 2-3 times

4. 4-5 times

5. 6 or more times

19-20.

List the kinds of work which you have done for pay. Tell exactly what you did, such as deliver papers, wait on tables, or farm work. Then tell how many months you worked full time or part time in each.

KIND OF WORK	NUMBER MONTHS WORKED IN EACH	
	Full time	Part time
-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----

21. What was the size of the largest group of people with which you have worked for one month or more?-----

22. How much work are you now doing around home each week?

1. None
2. 1-9 hours
3. 10-19 hours
4. 20 hours or more

23. How many hours are you now working on a job (or jobs) away from home each week?

1. None
2. 1-9 hours.
3. 10-19 hours.
4. 20 hours or more.

24. Do you get spending money or an allowance from your parents?

1. No. (Receive no spending money from parents).

Yes, regularly. About how much per week?

2. Under one dollar.
3. One to three dollars.
4. Three to five dollars.
5. Five dollars and over.

Yes, when I ask for it. About how much per week?

6. Under one dollar.
7. One to three dollars.
8. Three to five dollars.
9. Five dollars and over.

25. Do you earn any money by working at home or away from home?

1. No.

Yes. If yes, about how much per week?

2. Less than one dollar.
3. One to three dollars.
4. Three to five dollars.
5. Five dollars and over.

26. What do you think is a good hourly starting wage for a high school graduate?-----

27. How many brothers and sisters do you have?-----

28. How many of your brothers and sisters are working full time?-----

29. What is your position in relation to your brothers and sisters?

1. I am an only child.
2. I am the oldest.
3. I am the youngest.
4. I am in between the oldest and youngest.

30. What kind of work does your father do?-----

If father is not living, check here.-----

31. If he is employed, for whom does he work?-----

32. How much schooling did your father have?

1. Less than eight grades.
2. Grade school graduate.
3. Some high school.
4. Graduated from high school.
5. Some college.
6. Graduated from college.
7. Don't know.

33. What does your father want you to do for your life work?-----

34. What does your mother want you to do for your life work?-----

35. Does your mother work for pay outside your home now?

1. No.
2. Yes, part time.
3. Yes, full time.
4. Mother not living.

36. With whom do you live now?

1. Both father and mother.
2. Mother only.
3. Father only.
4. Others (with whom?)-----

PART II

In this part of the questionnaire several work situations are described. After you have read the description in each case, give your reaction to it by putting a circle around the number of the statement that comes closest to stating your opinion. In each case, encircle only one choice.

37. Ed is now working 40 hours a week and makes average wages. However, he is not able to own a car. He has a chance of getting extra work evenings and week-ends. With the income from this, he could buy a car and have a few other things which the family want. Which of the following do you think he should do?
1. Take the extra work as long as it is available.
 2. Take the extra work only until he has enough to buy the things he wants.
 3. Not take the extra work.
38. Suppose you are working for a fairly large concern. You are interested in getting ahead in a normal way. In your opinion, which one of the following is the most important in making advancement in a fairly large business?
1. By working hard.
 2. By knowing the right people, and using their influence.
 3. By learning many of the jobs of the business, so you become more valuable to it.
 4. By getting additional training at night school.
 5. Doesn't matter; just pure luck.
39. Suppose you work with a group of people in a factory. Without working too hard, the workers do enough to satisfy the management. Yet they still have time to talk and relax. At first you go ahead and work hard, but soon the others criticize you and say that you will spoil the plan for the whole group. Which one of the following would you do?
1. Go ahead and work hard and ignore what the others say.
 2. Do what the group wants you to do.
 3. Talk to the representative of the labor union.
 4. Go to the boss and suggest an individual piece work plan, so you will get paid for your extra work.
 5. Go to the boss and suggest a group piece work plan so all the workers will be paid for higher production.
 6. Look for another job.
40. Suppose the school principal has asked your class to accept the responsibility of decorating the auditorium for a school function. A committee is appointed to do the job. What would be your reaction to working on such a committee?
1. I would like to be on all such committees.
 2. I would like to be on such committees sometimes.
 3. I would like to be on such committees only when I happened to be especially interested in the type of work the committee is going to be doing.
 4. I would like to be on such committees only very occasionally.
 5. I prefer never to serve on such committees.
41. Suppose you have been working in a factory and make good money. You like the people you work with. The prospects for advancement into a higher paid level of skilled work are good. You are offered an assistant foreman position with no immediate increase in pay. In this job you would be held responsible for seeing that your present fellow workers get out the work they should. Which one would you do?
1. Keep the job you have.
 2. Keep your present job and take training for more highly skilled work.
 3. Accept the assistant foreman position.
42. Henry has been working in a factory for about five years. He feels that his job is steady enough but the rate of pay is too low. He has asked the boss for an increase but has been refused. Which one of the following do you think he should do?
1. Help organize a union.
 2. Work still harder to try to persuade the boss to give him a raise.
 3. Accept the situation; do nothing.
 4. Look for a job somewhere else.

PART III

Some occupations have higher or lower social standing or prestige than other occupations. Below are five lists of occupations. In each case the problem is to compare a particular occupation with the others in the list. If you believe, for example, that a **high school teacher** has a higher social standing or prestige than a registered nurse, draw a circle around "H"; if you believe the two occupations are about equal in social standing or prestige, draw a circle around "E"; if you believe that a high school teacher has a lower social standing or prestige than a registered nurse, draw a circle around "L". If you can't decide about the social standing or prestige of the two occupations, put a circle around "DK". Then go on down the list of occupations, comparing high school teacher with each one.

43. I think that the SOCIAL STANDING or PRESTIGE of a **high school teacher** is:

H=Higher than
L=Lower than

E=Equal to
DK=Don't know

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|----|-----------------------------|
| 1. | H | E | L | DK | —registered nurse |
| 2. | H | E | L | DK | —social welfare worker |
| 3. | H | E | L | DK | —real estate agent |
| 4. | H | E | L | DK | —tool maker |
| 5. | H | E | L | DK | —cashier in a bank |
| 6. | H | E | L | DK | —manager for 5c & 10c store |
| 7. | H | E | L | DK | —foreman in a factory |
| 8. | H | E | L | DK | —electrician, own business |
| 9. | H | E | L | DK | —librarian |
| 10. | H | E | L | DK | —recreational director |

44. Follow the same directions, but in this case compare **telephone operator**.

I think that the SOCIAL STANDING or PRESTIGE of a **telephone operator** is:

H=Higher than
L=Lower than

E=Equal to
DK=Don't know

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|----|----------------------------|
| 1. | H | E | L | DK | —salesgirl in dept. store |
| 2. | H | E | L | DK | —receptionist for a doctor |
| 3. | H | E | L | DK | —typist in an office |
| 4. | H | E | L | DK | —clerk in a grocery store |
| 5. | H | E | L | DK | —bookkeeper |
| 6. | H | E | L | DK | —file clerk |
| 7. | H | E | L | DK | —waitress in a restaurant |
| 8. | H | E | L | DK | —elevator operator |
| 9. | H | E | L | DK | —house to house saleswoman |
| 10. | H | E | L | DK | —stenographer |

45. Follow the same directions, but now compare **foreman** in a factory.

I think that the SOCIAL STANDING or PRESTIGE of a **foreman** in a factory is:

H=Higher than
L=Lower than

E=Equal to
DK=Don't know

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|----|-------------------------------|
| 1. | H | E | L | DK | —machinist in a factory |
| 2. | H | E | L | DK | —farmer |
| 3. | H | E | L | DK | —telephone lineman |
| 4. | H | E | L | DK | —insurance salesman |
| 5. | H | E | L | DK | —sergeant in peacetime army |
| 6. | H | E | L | DK | —auto mechanic |
| 7. | H | E | L | DK | —supervisor of a small office |
| 8. | H | E | L | DK | —mailman |
| 9. | H | E | L | DK | —ticket agent |
| 10. | H | E | L | DK | —plumber, own business |

46. Follow the same directions, but now compare an **assembly worker** in a factory.

I think that the SOCIAL STANDING or PRESTIGE of an **assembly worker** in a factory is:

H=Higher than
L=Lower than

E=Equal to
DK=Don't know

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|----|-----------------------------|
| 1. | H | E | L | DK | —filling station operator |
| 2. | H | E | L | DK | —waiter |
| 3. | H | E | L | DK | —bus driver |
| 4. | H | E | L | DK | —barber, own business |
| 5. | H | E | L | DK | —corporal in peacetime army |
| 6. | H | E | L | DK | —time clerk |
| 7. | H | E | L | DK | —clerk in grocery store |
| 8. | H | E | L | DK | —miner |
| 9. | H | E | L | DK | —pawnbroker |
| 10. | H | E | L | DK | —hired man on farm |

47. Follow the same directions, but now compare **farmer (owner-operator)**.

I think that the SOCIAL STANDING or PRESTIGE of a **farmer (owner-operator)** is:

H=Higher than
L=Lower than

E=Equal to
DK=Don't know

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|----|-------------------------------|
| 1. | H | E | L | DK | —filling station operator |
| 2. | H | E | L | DK | —insurance agent |
| 3. | H | E | L | DK | —truck driver |
| 4. | H | E | L | DK | —bank teller |
| 5. | H | E | L | DK | —assembly worker in a factory |
| 6. | H | E | L | DK | —mailman |
| 7. | H | E | L | DK | —neighborhood grocer |
| 8. | H | E | L | DK | —auto mechanic |
| 9. | H | E | L | DK | —carpenter |
| 10. | H | E | L | DK | —telephone lineman |

PART IV

Below are a number of situations which you are apt to run into when you are on a job. Encircle the number before the statement which best indicates your preference. If you do not plan to work, answer these questions as if you were going to work.

48. If I had a choice of one supervisor from several who are **well qualified**, I would prefer to work for one who is:
 1. A man.
 2. A woman.
 3. Either a man or woman (no preference).
49. If I had a choice of one supervisor from several who are **well qualified**, I would prefer to work for one who is:
 1. About the same age as myself.
 2. Slightly older than myself.
 3. Much older than myself.
 4. Age doesn't matter.
50. If I had a choice of one supervisor from several who are **well qualified**, I would prefer to work for one who:
 1. Praises workers for all tasks well done.
 2. Praises workers for only exceptionally good work.
 3. Seldom praises workers.
 4. Don't know, or no preference.
51. If I had a choice of one supervisor from several who are **well qualified**, I would prefer to work for one who:
 1. Checks every piece of work done by workers.
 2. Frequently checks work done by workers.
 3. Seldom checks work done by workers.
 4. Don't know, or no preference.
52. If I had a choice of one supervisor from several who are **well qualified**, I would prefer to work for one who:
 1. Expects workers to make very few decisions on the job.
 2. Expects workers to make a moderate amount of decisions on the job.
 3. Expects workers to make almost all the decisions on the job.
 4. Don't know, or no preference.
53. If I had a choice of one supervisor from several who are **well qualified**, I would prefer to work for one who:
 1. Very frequently mixes with the workers.
 2. Occasionally mixes with the workers.
 3. Very rarely mixes with the workers.
 4. Don't know, or no preference.
54. If I had a choice of one supervisor from several who are **well qualified**, I would prefer to work for one who:
 1. Has worked on the job longer than anybody else.
 2. Knows the work but is hired from outside to become a supervisor.
 3. Don't know, or no preference.
55. If I had a job working the usual number of hours a week which enabled me to live comfortably, I would prefer to work:
 1. Longer hours and make more money.
 2. Shorter hours and make less money.
 3. Only the regular work week as required.
56. How would you feel about taking a job which required making trips away from home?
 1. I don't want to travel at all.
 2. I would like occasional travel.
 3. I would like frequent travel.
 4. I would like to travel all the time.
 5. Don't know, or no preference.
57. If I had to work for someone else, I would prefer working for:
 1. Large corporation (General Motors, Bell Telephone, Firestone).
 2. Medium-sized concern.
 3. Small business.
 4. Other (indicate) _____
 5. Don't know, or no preference.
58. If I had to work for someone else, I would most prefer a job with:
 1. The Government.
 2. A religious or educational organization.
 3. A retail sales company.
 4. A manufacturing company.
 5. A railroad, aviation, or bus transportation company.
 6. A telegraph or telephone company.
 7. A farmer.
 8. A labor organization.
 9. Other (fill in) _____

59. I would prefer a job working:
 1. Indoors.
 2. Outdoors.
 3. Indoors part of the time and outdoors part of the time.
 4. Don't know, or no preference.
60. If I had the job I liked best, I would prefer to LIVE:
 1. On a farm.
 2. In a small town.
 3. In a medium-sized city.
 4. In a large city.
 5. In the suburbs of a large city.
61. If I could live where I wanted, I would prefer to WORK:
 1. In a large city.
 2. In the suburbs of a large city.
 3. In a medium-sized city.
 4. In a small town.
 5. On a farm.
62. I would prefer a job with a concern which paid:
 1. A high income but provided no retirement pay.
 2. A medium income and provided modest retirement pay.
 3. A low income and provided high retirement pay.
 4. Don't know, or no preference.
63. Here are three different kinds of jobs. If I had my choice, I would pick a job which pays:
 1. Quite a low income but which I was sure of keeping.
 2. A good income but which I have a 50-50 chance of losing.
 3. An extremely high income if I can make the grade, but in which I lose almost everything if I don't make it.
64. I would prefer a job dealing with the public:
 1. All the time.
 2. Some of the time.
 3. None of the time.
 4. Don't know which I would prefer.
65. I would prefer a job dealing with the public:
 1. Face-to-face all the time.
 2. Partly face-to-face and partly by telephone.
 3. Entirely by telephone.
 4. None of the time.
 5. Don't know which I would prefer.
66. I would prefer a job with a concern where the workers:
 1. Must be members of a labor union.
 2. Can join a labor union if they want to.
 3. Have no labor union.
 4. Don't know which I would prefer.
67. If I had a job which I liked, I would prefer one which gave me:
 1. Two months vacation without pay each year.
 2. One month vacation at half pay each year.
 3. Two weeks vacation at full pay each year.
 4. Double pay for two weeks each year and no vacation.
 5. Don't know, or no preference.
68. I would prefer a job with workers who have:
 1. Less education than myself.
 2. About the same education as myself.
 3. More education than I have.
 4. Don't know which I would prefer.
69. If I were employed by a concern, I would prefer to work:
 1. Entirely by myself.
 2. Mostly by myself but with a few contacts with other employees.
 3. With a small group of workers (under 25).
 4. As a member of a large group of workers.
70. If, without doing any work, I had a guaranteed income on which my family and I had everything we wanted, I would:
 1. Get a job anyway.
 2. Get a part time job.
 3. Not get a job at all.
 4. Follow my hobbies and interests.
71. I think the basis for promotions on a job should be:
 1. The length of time I have worked there (seniority).
 2. How much work I do.
 3. The quality of my work.
 4. Other than #1, 2, or 3 above: (explain)
72. Which kind of job, other factors being equal, would you rather have?
 1. One where you wore dress clothes.
 2. One where you wore work clothes such as overalls.
 3. It doesn't matter.

PART V

This section consists of a number of items about marriage and the work habits of married people, including your parents. It may be hard for you to give answers that state exactly how you feel. Answer the best you can by putting a circle around the number of the statement that comes closest to saying what you think now.

73. How do you feel about getting married?
1. I don't want to get married.
 2. I want to get married right after leaving high school or college.
 3. I want to wait a couple of years after leaving school before I marry.
 4. I want to wait five years or more after leaving school before I marry.
 5. I don't have any feelings on this subject.
74. If you were to marry, what would you prefer your future wife to do about working outside the home before marriage.
1. Work for several years.
 2. Work for a year or two.
 3. Work only if she needs the money.
 4. Get married right after leaving school without working at all.
 5. Not work at all, even though she does not marry for sometime after leaving school.
75. If you were to marry, which of the following comes closest to saying how you feel about your future wife working for pay after marriage?
1. Never work on a paying job.
 2. Work only if financial help is badly needed.
 3. Work only as long as no children enter the picture.
 4. Work a couple years to help get some financial security.
 5. Work whenever she can, whether or not there are children.
76. If your father is living, indicate his work habits.
1. Works only as much as he has to.
 2. An average worker.
 3. A very hard worker, works most of the time, taking little time for rest or vacation.
77. If your mother is living, indicate her work habits.
1. Works only as much as she has to.
 2. An average worker.
 3. A very hard worker, works most of the time, taking little time for rest or vacation.

78. Will you please give the first and last names of the three persons in your school grade with whom you most like to work on a job?

.....

.....

.....

79. Your name

80. Address.....

* * *

You have now finished filling out the questionnaire. If you still have time, however, we would like to have you write any comments you wish about your work experiences or the kinds of work you would like to do when you get out of school.

Subject:.....

Comment:.....

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Subject:.....

Comment:.....

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Subject:.....

Comment:.....

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Subject:.....

Comment:.....

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APPENDIX III: INSTRUCTIONS FOR ADMINISTERING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Instructions for Administering the Questionnaire

1. The questionnaires should be administered on a day when practically all members of the class are present. If more than five per cent of the students in a class are absent, it would be preferable to delay administration for a day or so. Absentees, if fewer than five per cent, need not be required to fill out the questionnaire upon their return to school.

2. There need be no personal interviewing of the students. All questionnaires can be administered to students in groups.

3. Students should be assembled in groups to fill out the questionnaire under the supervision of a leader and should not be allowed to take it to fill out at home or on their own time in a study hour.

4. It is preferable to schedule the groups as part of some regular class period, such as a Social Studies, English, Civics or some other class, rather than to administer it during a study hour.

5. Groups may be of any size. In general, students filling out the form in larger groups will be more frank than those in small groups.

6. Ask the students not to look into the questionnaire booklet until all have received their questionnaire and they have been given their instructions by the leader.

7. The leader should read aloud the explanation printed on the face sheet of the questionnaire, while the students follow the instructions silently.

8. Following the formal explanation, an informal explanation of the questionnaire may be made as the leader sees fit. Care should be taken, however, not to say anything which might bias their replies to specific questions. The leader may want to emphasize the following:

- a. A perfectly frank and free expression is desired
- b. This is not a test
- c. There will be no personal "checking up" on the replies which any one person makes.
- d. They should not talk with each other while they are filling out the questionnaire.

9. A box or table should be provided where the questionnaires can be put after completion. The leader should not inspect the questionnaires after they have been filled in, but should be sure that every person who receives a questionnaire turns it in when he has completed it.

10. If students ask questions about specific items, be sure the answer does not influence their opinion. Reading over the item with the student slowly and with emphasis in the right place, may be enough to answer his question.

APPENDIX IV: LIST OF HIGH SCHOOLS USED IN SAMPLE

LIST OF HIGH SCHOOLS USED IN THE SAMPLE

Alpena - Alpena High School
Bark River - Bark River - Harris High School
Battle Creek - Lakeview High School
Benzonia - Benzonia High School
Berkley - Berkley High School
Bloomington - Bloomington High School
Chatham - Ebon High School
Colon - Colon High School
Dearborn - Dearborn High School
Detroit - Cass Technical High School
Detroit - Eastern High School
Detroit - MacKenzie High School
Detroit - Northwestern High School
Detroit - Southwestern High School
Detroit - St. Anthony High School
Detroit - St. Gregory High School
Detroit - St. Leo's High School
Detroit - Redford Union High School
Dexter - Dexter High School
Eaton Rapids - Eaton Rapids High School
Flint - Technical High School
Flushing - Flushing High School
Frankfort - Frankfort High School
Glen Arbor - Leelanau Boys School
Grand Rapids - Christian High School
Grand Rapids - Creston High School
Grayling - Grayling High School
Greenville - Greenville High School
Hancock - Hancock High School
Hanover - Hanover High School
Hart - Hart High School
Hulbert - Hulbert High School
Kalamazoo - Central High School
Lake Odessa - Lake Odessa High School
Lake Orion - Lake Orion High School
Lansing - Sexton High School
Mancelona - Mancelona High School
Mayville - Mayville High School
Middleville - Thronapple - W. K. Kellogg High School
Milan - Milan High School
Mt. Morris - St. Mary's High School
Muskegon Heights - Muskegon Heights High School
New Baltimore - New Baltimore High School
Okemos - Okemos High School
Plymouth - Plymouth High School

Richmond - Richmond High School
River Rouge - River Rouge High School
Saginaw - St. Joseph's High School
Tecumseh - Tecumseh High School
Trenton - Slocum - Truax High School
Twining - Arenac Twp. High School
Van Dyke - Lincoln High School
Vicksburg - Vicksburg High School
Wakefield - Wakefield High School
Warren - Warren High School

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