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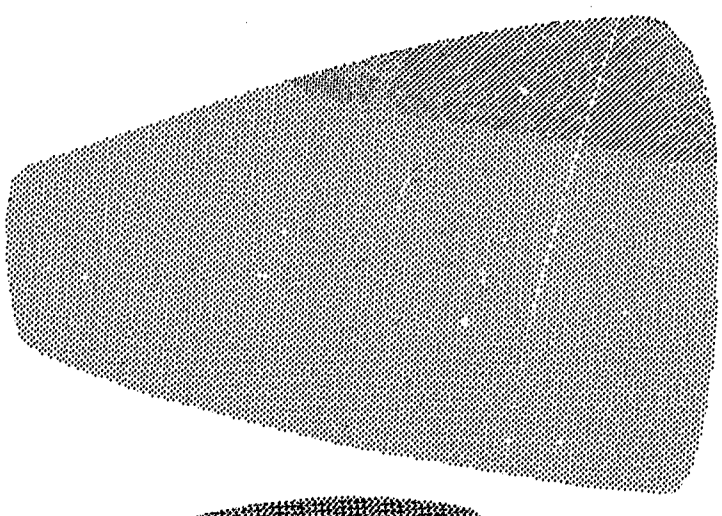
ABSTRACT

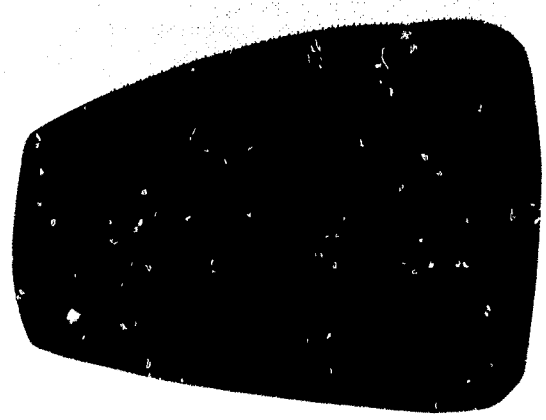
THE DATA ON WHICH THIS REPORT IS BASED WERE GATHERED FROM 1,074 MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS BETWEEN AGES 45 AND 64 WHOSE EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT WAS BETWEEN GRADES 1 AND 8. RESPONDENTS WERE FARMERS, OPERATIVES, CRAFTSMEN, FARM LABORERS, AND OTHER LABORERS. THE PURPOSES OF THIS REPORT WERE (1) TO DESCRIBE THE OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LOW-INCOME EMPLOYED MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS; (2) TO ANALYZE THE RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THEIR WORK SITUATIONS; (3) TO PRESENT THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF THE MASS-URBANIZED SOCIETY AND THEIR WORK SITUATION WITHIN IT; (4) TO RELATE THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF THE RELATIVE PRESTIGE OF OCCUPATIONS, AND (5) TO REPORT THEIR ASPIRATIONS FOR OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR CHILDREN. THE DATA SUGGEST DEVELOPMENT OF 2 ACTION PROGRAMS FOR EXPANSION OF OCCUPATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN LOW-INCOME RURAL AREAS: (1) A VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAM FOR NONFARM WORK AND (2) FOR THOSE WHO REJECT OCCUPATIONAL HIERARCHY, A PROGRAM AIMED AT CHANGING PERCEPTIONS AND GOALS FROM A SUBCULTURAL TO A NATIONAL ORIENTATION AND THEN A VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAM. (AN)

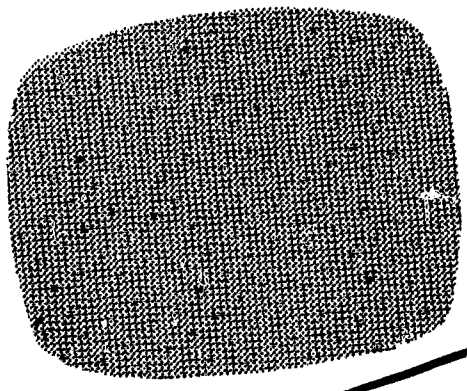
Occupations and Low-Income Rural People

A Southern Regional Study

LEE TAYLOR AND
CHARLES W. GLASGOW







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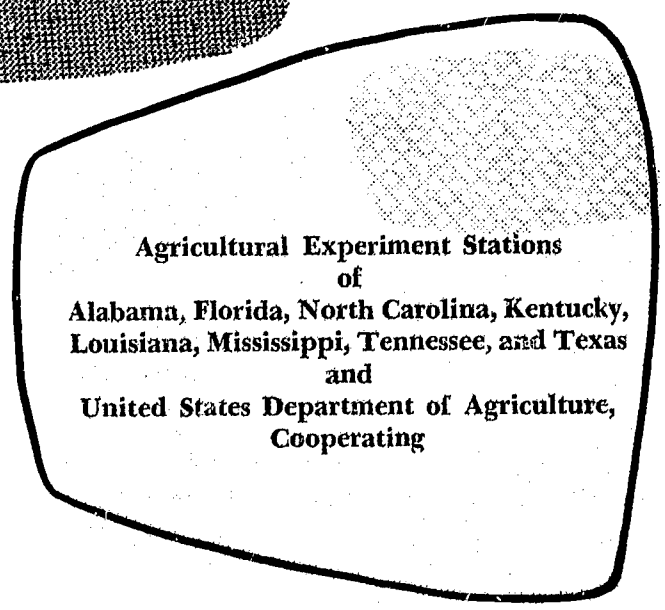

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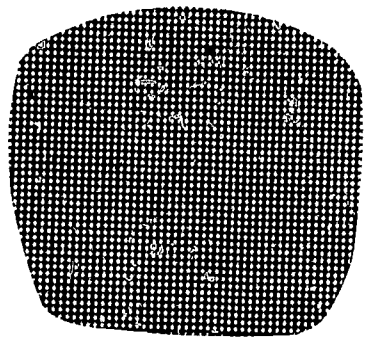

SOUTHERN COOPERATIVE SERIES

BULLETIN NO. 90

This bulletin is the 90th in the series of Southern Cooperative Bulletins. It summarizes the findings of the occupational phases of the research being conducted cooperatively concerning low-income rural people by the Southern Regional S-44 Committee. This committee is composed of representatives from the Agricultural Experiment Stations of Alabama, Florida, North Carolina, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Texas. The interpretation of the data reported in this bulletin is the responsibility of the author, and not the regional committee.

Bulletin No. 90, like others in the Southern Cooperative Series, is in effect a separate publication by each of the cooperating stations and is mailed under the frank and indicia of each.

Since the bulletin is identical for the several cooperating stations, it is suggested that a copy, or copies, be requested from only one source. Requests from outside the cooperating states should be addressed to the Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

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Summary and Implications

The data on which this report is based were gathered as part of a Southern Regional Research Project carried out in Alabama, Florida, North Carolina, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Texas. Interviews were taken in 1961. This particular report is based on the analysis of the characteristics of 1,074 employed male household heads.

The purposes of this report include: a description of the occupational characteristics of low-income employed male household heads; an analysis of the respondents' attitudes toward their work situations; a presentation of their perception of the mass-urbanized society and their work situation within it; their understanding of the relative prestige of occupations; their aspirations for occupational achievement for themselves and their children.

In addition to these several descriptive purposes, special attention is called to two action programs which suggest avenues for bringing greater occupational opportunities to the respondents and others in their general circumstances.

Occupational Structure

On the average, the respondents were old and less educated than the national population. Nearly 50 per cent of the respondents were between the ages of 45 and 64, compared to only 20 per cent in the nation. Over 60 per cent of the respondents had an educational attainment between grades one and eight, compared to only 37 per cent of the national population. Accordingly, the respondents were at a tremendous disadvantage for achieving occupational success.

The respondents' major occupations were: farming, 33 per cent; operatives, 18 per cent; craftsmen, 15 per cent; farm laborers and other laborers, about 10 per cent each; and all other occupations, fewer than 3 per cent each. White-collar occupations were greatly under-represented.

In terms of attitude toward work, it was found, as hypothesized, that respondents with low educational attainment tended to view their work more favorably than did those with higher educational attainment.

Most respondents (84 per cent) liked their current job. The greatest uncertainty toward the job was expressed by manager-proprietor-professional workers, and the greatest dislike of job was expressed by domestic and labor workers, approximately 10 per cent in each case.

Age of respondent was not directly related to attitude toward job.

Perception of the goals of mass-urbanized society was expressed by 55 per cent of the respondents who were dissatisfied with their income.

Respondents wanted more extensive retirement and fringe benefits. Only 40 per cent indicated a favorable attitude toward their current situation.

Primary group relationships were strong. For example, 84 per cent of

the respondents reported favorable attitudes toward their fellow workers. Satisfaction with local workers was proportionately least on the part of the more contractual manager-proprietor-professional workers.

The prestige hierarchy of occupations was generally perceived. White-collar workers typically thought their work was more desirable than average in the community, while laborers less frequently indicated a high evaluation of their job. Nevertheless, 70 per cent of the resident farm laborers did indicate that they believed their job was as favorable as other jobs in the community.

Occupational Aspirations

Occupational preferences were overwhelmingly for the type of work in which the respondent was currently employed. Interest in glamour and diversity of occupations was conspicuously absent. The low income subculture boundary was drawn strongly around the existing work situation.

Workers in laboring jobs were most willing to work longer hours to increase their income, while those in manager-proprietor-professional occupations were less willing to work longer hours.

Factory work was not a readily acceptable alternative to current work situations. Only 37 per cent of the respondents said they would take a factory job at twice their current income; others expressed hesitancy or said they would refuse such a job completely.

Most respondents were not favorably impressed with their opportunities for getting ahead occupationally. Accordingly, over half of them anticipated they would be in their present type of job five years in the future.

High-prestige occupations were universally desired for the sons of the respondents. These aspirations were oriented to the structure of the national society rather than to the subculture.

Major obstacles to occupational achievement as perceived by respondents were: old age and poor health, lack of training, lack of money, and a general answer, namely no opportunity.

The implications of such findings suggest that the occupational hierarchy of white-collar work above blue-collar work was generally understood. Fringe benefits were also perceived and desired. Factory employment, as a major avenue whereby the respondents could improve their occupational position, however, was not widely acceptable. Indeed, respondents often reported they would reject factory work.

Aspirations were widely being transferred to the younger generation. But even the universal desire for white-collar employment for sons would soon be frustrated by social structural barriers if social mechanisms to facilitate their training were not advanced.

The occupational structure of the nation sets sharp limits on the type of job opportunities individuals in these low-income areas will have.

The occupational structure of farming, as expressed in replacement ratio terms, sets rigid limits on the chances to become business farmers. These occupational structures were beyond the immediate control of the respondents, who, therefore, must measure up to the national work structure or accept a substandard work situation.

Action Program Directions

The data of this report suggest two action programs for maximum expansion of occupational opportunities in low-income rural areas. First, for those people who understand and accept the widespread occupational hierarchy of the nation, systematic vocational training programs for nonfarm work is needed. Second, for those people in low-income rural areas who do not understand or who reject the widespread occupational hierarchy, a more complex action program is needed. An educational program aimed at changing their perceptions and goals from a subcultural to a national orientation must precede a specific vocational training program.

Occupations and Low-Income Rural People

A Southern Regional Study

LEE TAYLOR AND CHARLES W. GLASGOW*

Introduction

Manpower considerations are among the most basic concerns of modern, urbanized societies. Manpower characteristics such as size, distribution, education, and age have long been recognized for their vital national significance. From the individual's point of view, manpower is largely a matter of job opportunities. Selection of an occupation and participation in the work world constitute two of the most basic individual experiences.[1]

The importance of manpower and occupations in the United States is illustrated by attention given to these subjects in early census reports. The 1820 Census was the first to include occupational data. (See Table 1.) The population was divided into three broad categories, namely, agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing. In the 1950 Census, inquiry was made concerning specific occupations rather than employment categories. The 1960 Census presented an even more complete record of occupational characteristics.

Since the early decades of the nineteenth century, nonfarm work has increased more rapidly than farm work. Much of the middle period of the nineteenth century was characterized by a frontier-westward movement, which has been most often superficially considered a rural movement. It may indeed have been a rural movement, but it was not a farm movement.

> During each decade since 1820, the non-farm occupations have grown much more rapidly than the farm occupations. In other words, during our much-discussed frontier period, when thousands of migrants were rushing westward to homestead the land, so many people were turning to non-farm occupations that these occupations were growing at an even more rapid rate. In no decade of the last 130 years did the non-farm occupations fail to grow at least 25 per cent faster than the agricultural occupations, and in most decades they grew twice as fast or faster. It is this very large and persistent differential that has caused the percentage of farm workers to decline from 72 per cent of all workers in 1820 to one-eighth of this share, or 9 per cent in 1957. The steady decrease in the number of farm workers since 1910 was preceded by two decades of very slow growth, while the number of non-farm workers was continuing to grow very rapidly.[2]

Since 1870, white-collar occupations have increased more rapidly than manual or service occupations. (See Figure 1.) By the middle of the

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TABLE 1.—Per Cent Distribution Among Four Broad Groupings of Occupations for the Experienced Labor Force, and Intercensal Rates of Change: 1820 to 1950

Year	Percent of workers classed as:					Percent change during preceding decade:				
		Nonfarm workers					Nonfarm workers			
	Farm workers	Total	White-collar workers	Manual workers	Service workers	Farm workers	Total	White-collar workers	Manual workers	Service workers
1950	11.8	88.2	36.6	41.1	10.5	-22.7	21.8	34.3	17.8	1.8
1940	17.4	82.6	31.1	39.8	11.7	-12.9	11.4	12.3	6.9	27.2
1930	21.2	78.8	29.4	39.6	9.8	-9.4	24.5	36.0	13.5	44.1
1920	27.0	72.9	24.9	40.2	7.8	-1.2	19.6	32.2	19.2	-7.0
1910	30.9	69.2	21.4	38.2	9.6	5.9	42.0	55.7	36.8	35.6
1900	37.5	62.4	17.6	35.8	9.0	10.6	34.7	46.1	34.4	17.5
1890	42.2	57.8	15.0	33.2	9.6	15.9	51.5	62.8	48.2	46.6
1880	48.9	51.2	12.4	30.0	8.8	25.4	44.6	59.3	47.2	21.6
1870	52.4	47.5	10.4	27.4	9.7	9.1	42.3	(a)	(a)	(a)
1860	59.0	41.0	(a)	(a)	(a)	26.7	54.3	(a)	(a)	(a)
1850	63.6	36.4	(a)	(a)	(a)	31.7	64.7	(a)	(a)	(a)
1840	68.6	31.4	(a)	(a)	(a)	34.3	46.6	(a)	(a)	(a)
1830	70.5	29.5	(a)	(a)	(a)	33.8	43.2	(a)	(a)	(a)
1820	71.9	28.1	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)

(a) Data not available.

Source: Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States 1789-1945*, Tables D-47-61 and D-90-106; Alba M. Edwards, *Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States, 1880 to 1940*, Tables xxi, 9; David L. Kaplan and M. Claire Casey, *Occupational Trends in the United States, 1900 to 1950*, U. S. Bureau of the Census Working Paper No. 5, 1958.

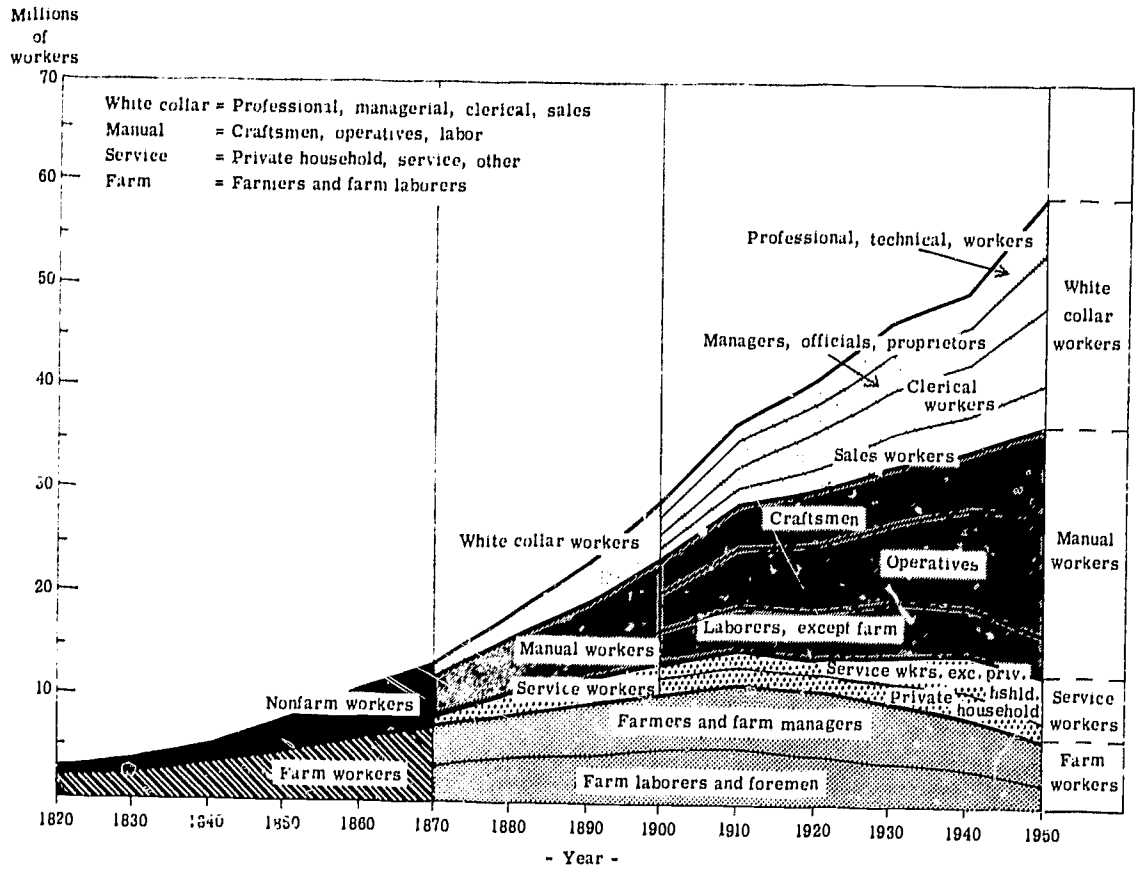

FIGURE 1.–Occupational Composition of the Experienced Labor Force, 1820 to 1950. [From: Donald J. Bogue, *The Population of the United States* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959), p. 477.]

nineteenth century, large numbers of people were no longer needed to till the soil; farm production had reached such magnitudes that great numbers of workers from rural areas were free to seek industrial employment and other types of nonfarm occupations.

Manual workers, including craftsmen, operatives, and laborers (except farm workers), constituted the largest category of workers in 1960. They were followed closely by white-collar workers, who included professionals, managers, clerical and sales workers. Service workers and farm workers constituted the smallest proportions in the occupational hierarchy by the middle of the twentieth century.

Important differences existed in the occupational structure of the various regions of the nation. (See Table 2.) The smallest proportions of rural-farm people with nonagricultural occupations were found to be in the West North Central states, the Mountain states and the West South Central states. Those regions of the nation with major cities, by contrast, had larger concentrations of workers in craft, operative, and general manufacturing jobs. Urban areas of the nation also tended to have a disproportionate number of sales and managerial workers. The accelerated urbanization of the South in recent years has brought a precipitous decrease in the proportion of people in agricultural employment.

TABLE 2.—Rural-Farm People Employed in Nonagricultural Jobs

Geographic division	Per cent of employed persons among the rural-farm population having nonagricultural occupations: 1950
Total	32.7
New England	44.9
Middle Atlantic	44.7
East North Central	35.0
West North Central	20.9
South Atlantic	40.3
East South Central	32.9
West South Central	28.5
Mountain	25.1
Pacific	35.8

Source: Donald J. Bogue, *The Population of the United States* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, Inc., 1959), 520.

This includes both farm operators and farm laborers. Also, equally important increases in the number of clerical, craft, and operative workers have occurred.

Urbanization in the South is a pull factor attracting many men away from farms to city jobs. But the migration from farm labor is insufficient. There are still fewer opportunities for employment on southern farms than in other regions of the nation. (See Figure 2.) The re-

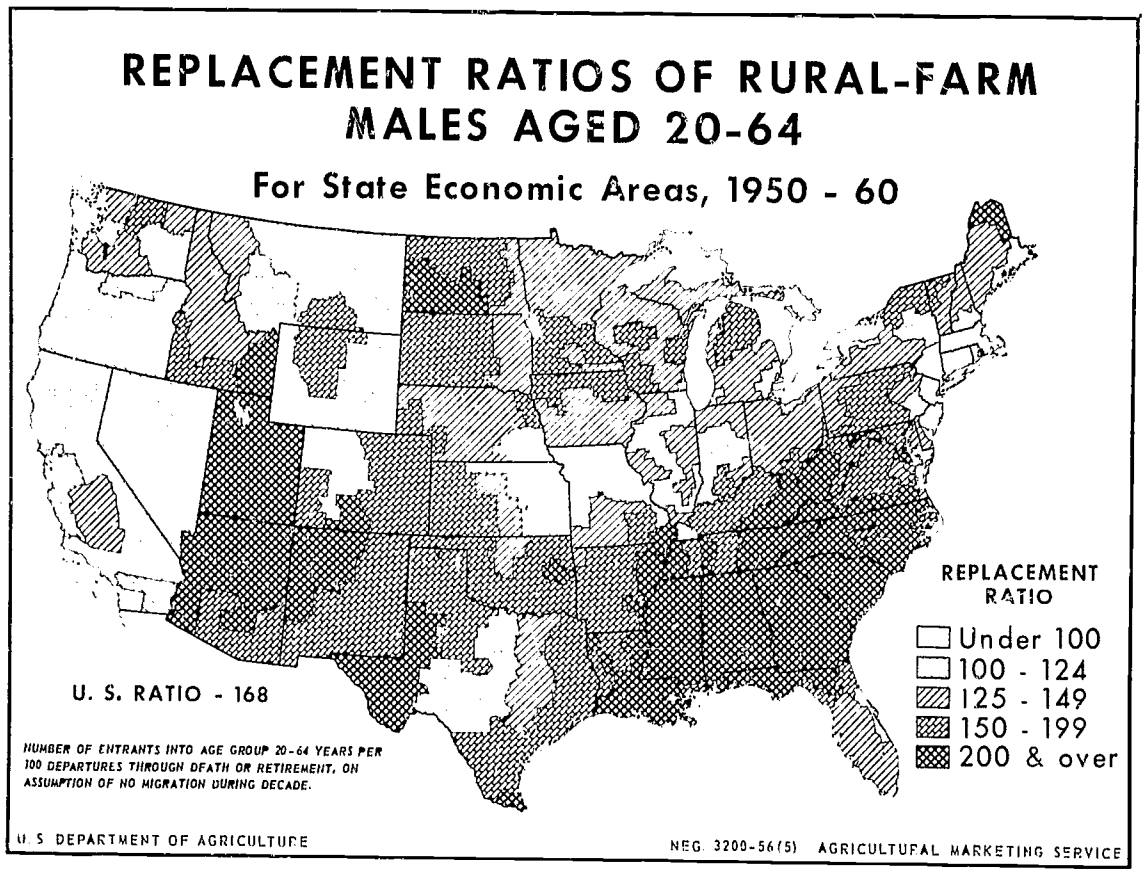

FIGURE 2

placement ratio for the United States was 168 in 1956, but for much of the southern region it was 200 or over. Replacement ratios are defined as:

> the expected number of entrants into the specified working age group during the decade to the expected number of departures resulting from death or from reaching retirement age during the decade. The replacement rate is the number of entrants minus the number of departures as a percentage of the number in the specified working ages at the beginning of the decade.[3]

Expanding occupational opportunities throughout the nation are greatest in white-collar work and second greatest in blue-collar work. They are sharply declining in farming. However, considerable opportunities still remain in agri-business.

The situation of rural people in the low-income areas is essentially that of inappropriate occupational skills, inadequate occupational training, insufficient education, limited industrial opportunities, and misunderstood vocational training. Most of the rural males in these areas are traditionalistic farmers, thereby out of step with recognized business agriculture. Some areas have had strong programs in vocational agriculture, but studies show that the majority of vocational agriculture students do not become farmers.[4]

It has been suggested in some studies that more effort should be made to obtain information about nonfarming employment opportunities and to disseminate this information among people in these rural areas.[5] Other studies have shown that large proportions of workers in the low-income areas prefer nonfarm employment.[6] Still other studies have suggested diversification of employment opportunities. This would combine part-time farming with work in industries being developed in open country and small town areas.[7]

Conceptual Frame of Reference

Statistics on occupational trends reveal the normative structure of the work world. For example, in the urbanized society most workers are employees. Among the masses of employees, white-collar workers are the most prestigeful.[8] Consequently, for those who perceive their culture "correctly" (if they are conformists and accept both the means and the goals of society) every effort is made to compete for achievement in white-collar occupations, particularly in the professions.

Competition, ego, success, and achievement are all dominant themes in the nation's work world. Most of the workers of the nation are conversant with these normative patterns, and most accept them. Indeed, most workers thrive on them. In any society, however, which is oriented to such success themes, less desirable situations are inevitable, in this case, the failures. Success in the urbanized society is pyramidal in structure. For a few to have high achievement, many must achieve less, and some must fail.

With mass communication and comparative statistics, failures as well

as successes now become widely known throughout the society. The plight of migrant farmers and the depressed condition of low-income rural people are announced emotionally, and publicized throughout the length and breadth of the society. Moreover, America's rural slums often become a matter of negative international publicity. Hence, in the structure of society, much of the concern about low-income rural people is a catharsis for "do-gooders" and social engineers. For others, it is a matter of cultural pride that all Americans should achieve at a designated high level. Both of these points of view express a common notion, namely, that the dominant cultural universals of a mass society should be experienced by most of the people most of the time, but not by all of the people all of the time. It is possible, therefore, that at least some of the low-income rural people are not consciously depressed by their condition. Indeed, they may not accept the dominant cultural universals. They may constitute a subculture in which the dominant values of the "significant others" are not those of their greater society. The good life[9] for many of these people may be more traditional than urbanized.

The conceptual framework of this report involves the projection of a dominant social system and a subcultural social system. In the dominant cultural system, low-economic and low-prestige occupational situations constitute elements of disorganization for urbanized society. Dominant urbanized social structures involve ego, aggrandizement, and success themes as cultural goals. Several categories of people either do not accept these goals or cannot accept them. They include ethnic and religious minorities, low-income farm people (like the respondents in this study) and others. Studies of low-income and low-occupation people have been cast more often in a "problem" frame of reference. The problem, if it is this at all, consists of the following factors. (1) Significant numbers of people accept the cultural goals but do not have the means[10] for achieving them. (2) Significant numbers of people reject the cultural goals. (3) Significant numbers of people accept the cultural goals of society and assume some sort of responsibility[11] for the so-called "under-privileged classes." The latter do so as part of their social perceptions, either as a catharsis or because they are actually interested in social welfare. Individuals in the subculture system are those who cannot achieve the goals or who reject the goals.

A further dimension of this conceptual framework is that multiple forms of society exist to which individuals can be adjusted. For most contemporary Americans, high standards of living and prestigeful, white-collar work are manifestations of an urbanized societal configuration. These ideas and values are in sharp contrast to the traditionalistic values held by many Americans during the colonial and early national period, Europeans during the Middle Ages, and many Oriental peoples until recently. Some, possibly many, of the low-income and low-occupation people are adjusted to one system of values or form of societal configura-

tion, but not to the dominant urbanized configurational system. To those who accept urbanized values, these low-income people appear to be maladjusted. The low-income and low-occupational individuals who perceive both value systems also realize their lack of adjustment to both systems.

It is hypothesized that low-income and low-occupation farm people (a) adjust to a traditional or ideational system of values and reject the urbanized value system or (b) they perceive and accept the urbanized value system but do not have the means for achieving the goals.[12] Some indexes used for observing these relationships included the following questions: (1) Do you like or dislike the amount of money you earn on your most recent job? (2) Do you like or dislike the retirement and other benefits of your most recent job? (3) Compared to the occupations of other people in this community, is your occupation more desirable, just as desirable, or less desirable? (4) If you were offered a job working eight hours a day in a factory at twice what you earn now, would you take it at once, think it over and decide later, or refuse it? (5) If you had a job working the usual number of hours a week which enabled you to live comfortably, would you prefer to work longer hours and make more money, continue working the regular work week as required, or work shorter hours and make less money? (6) Of the following activities, which three give you the greatest satisfaction in life?: job, family and kin, service as a citizen, spare time and recreation, religion, or learning new things.

The analysis in this report suggests two action programs for rural leaders. The first action program, for those respondents who accept the culture universals of the dominant society, would be designed to facilitate training for nonagricultural occupations (for the youth) and occupational rehabilitation (for the older individuals). Such individuals presumably desire to accept the cultural goals for success and achievement and have failed to do so only because they lack the means.

For the category of respondents who do not perceive their position as deprived, under-developed, and under-privileged, a double-phase program will be necessary. Action program leaders will find it advantageous to develop, first, a program aimed at modifying the attitudes and values of respondents who exhibit a traditionalistic or subcultural orientation. They should be encouraged to accept the cultural values of the dominant society. Only after such individuals have come to accept the cultural values of the greater society, can programs to provide the means for achievement at the dominant level reach any major degree of success. In short, for this latter category of respondents, two action programs rather than one will be required.

Scope and Data of the Study

This bulletin is one of a series of reports based on data collected in the Southern Regional Rural Sociology Research Project, S-44, "Factors in the Adjustment of Families and Individuals in Low-Income Rural Areas of the South." The study involved the participation of the states of Alabama, North Carolina, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, and Florida.[13]

Data were collected in interviews conducted in 1961. The occupational data used in this report are for employed male household heads. The sample includes 1,074 respondents, of whom 768 are white and 306 are nonwhite. The data were collected regionally, with the same questions utilized in all states. Sample areas (a stratified probability sample) were drawn and interviews were conducted under a common set of instructions and conditions.

Occupational Structure

The respondents were characteristically too old and too poorly educated to achieve success effectively in the occupational marketplace. (See Tables 3 and 4.) They were so much older and poorly educated than the average person in the national population that they constituted a subculture on the basis of these two characteristics alone. The modal category, ages 45 to 64, included nearly 50 per cent of the respondents. Another 7 per cent of the household heads were 65 and over. Only 12 per cent were 29 or younger. The age distribution between whites and nonwhites was not significantly different. It was reported in the 1960 Census that only 20 per cent of the national population was in the age category 45 to 64. More than twice that proportion was included in this category for the sample studied. The nation had only 20 per cent of its people in the age category 30 to 44, and more than 33 per cent of the sample fell within this range. Over 50 per cent of the nation's population was reported to be 29 years of age or younger, compared to only 12 per cent for the sample. The 1960 Census also reported the median age for the nation at 29.5; for rural-farm areas, 29.6; and for rural nonfarmers, 26.8.[14] Regardless of the manner in which one compares the age composition of the sample to that of the nation, the sample was a more aged population.

TABLE 3.—Age of Respondents, by Race

Age	Total		White		Nonwhite	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
29 and under	133	12.4	87	11.3	46	15.0
30 to 44	358	33.3	266	34.7	95	31.0
45 to 64	509	47.4	369	48.0	137	44.8
65 and over	74	6.9	46	6.0	28	9.2
Total	1074	100.0	768	100.0	306	100.0

TABLE 4.—School Years Completed, by Race

School years completed	Total		White		Nonwhite	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
None or no information	71	6.6	32	4.2	39	12.7
1 to 8	679	63.2	459	59.7	220	71.9
9 to 12	282	26.3	241	31.4	41	13.4
13 and over	42	3.9	36	4.7	6	2.0
Total	1074	100.0	768	100.0	306	100.0

The aged condition of the sample population was sufficiently great to minimize opportunities for upward occupational mobility. Social structures influencing occupational choice and attainment favor individuals in the younger ages. Occupational choice is typically determined in the teenage years for the less skilled occupations, and in the middle to the late twenties for the more advanced white-collar and professional occupations.[15]

Vocational training programs now constitute an important social mechanism by retraining older individuals for new occupational skills. There are special adult courses in addition to the curriculum for younger people. In other words, some social mechanisms for occupational mobility are available to individuals at virtually all mature ages. It must be clear at the outset, however, that one of the most salient characteristics of the occupation structure in the sample area is its age structure, which minimizes occupational mobility.

In addition to the age structure, other conditions of the sample area further limit occupational opportunities. Opportunities for occupational attainment are traditionally more developed in large urban centers than in small rural areas. Social life in the sample area does not provide adequate opportunities for the people to become acquainted with the multitudinous types of occupations that exist in the nation. Schools in these areas characteristically have inadequate occupational counseling. The social environment does not provide a rich experience for learning more about diverse occupations. The indigenous occupational environment is characterized more by subsistence farming than by scientific farming occupations. There are few industrial employment opportunities in the local communities. Consequently, acquaintance with many occupations by informal socialization is minimal. In such an environment, occupational stagnation and downward occupational mobility are strong probabilities.

Two-thirds of the respondents had a low educational attainment, or between one and eight years of school. (See Table 3.) About one-quarter of the respondents had some high school training. Fewer than 5 per cent had training beyond the high school level. Educational attainment of the respondents was strikingly lower than that for the nation as a whole.

It was reported in the 1960 Census that only 37 per cent of the national population had an educational attainment between grades one and eight; nearly 44 per cent had an educational attainment between grades nine and twelve, and more than 16 per cent had an educational attainment beyond high school. The median educational attainment for the national population was 10.6 years of school.[16]

Nonwhites in this study had even less educational attainment than the whites. But the level of educational attainment for both whites and nonwhites was so extremely low that its significance for analysis in the occupational structure was virtually the same for both races. In short, in the urbanized mass society, occupational attainment at skilled levels and above typically requires education above the eighth grade level. An eighth grade educational attainment or less destines the individual for low-level occupations almost automatically.

The culture structure of the greater society establishes conditions which sharply limit the occupational opportunities of many individuals in the sample area.[17] Consequently, even if the respondents accepted the cultural goals of the national society, they would encounter major difficulties in achieving them. Arbitrary social mechanisms will have to be constructed if they are to achieve such goals.

Respondents who achieve a high degree of adjustment to their indigenous environment are "retreatists,"[18] accepting neither the national cultural goals nor the cultural means for attaining the goals. For retreatists, action programs must necessarily be designed to stimulate the respondents' acceptance of the national cultural goals and to provide mechanisms that facilitate their achievement of these goals.

Occupations at the Time of Interviewing

The respondents' occupations are reported in Table 5. Farm operators constituted the most prevalent occupational type. About one-third of the respondents were farmers (29 per cent of the whites and 47 per cent of

TABLE 5.—Current Occupation of Respondents, by Race

Current occupation	Total		White		Nonwhite	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Farm operator or manager	358	33.3	225	29.3	144	47.1
Manager, proprietor, or professional	80	7.4	75	9.8	2	.7
Sales or clerical	31	2.9	31	4.0	0	.0
Craftsman	162	15.1	143	18.6	19	6.2
Operative	195	18.2	158	20.6	31	10.1
Domestic or service worker	36	3.4	31	4.0	4	1.3
Laborer	110	10.2	63	8.2	47	15.4
Farm laborer	102	9.5	42	5.5	59	19.2
Total	1074	100.0	768	100.0	306	100.0

the nonwhites). Operative and craft workers were the next largest categories, having 18 and 15 per cent, respectively. Farm laborers and nonfarm laborers each constituted about 10 per cent of the respondents. Fewer than 3 per cent of the respondents were in sales or clerical occupations. This was the most underrepresented occupational category. Only 7 per cent of the respondents reported occupations of a managerial-proprietary-professional nature. Compared to the occupational structure of the nation, farmers were greatly overrepresented in the sample area. The large operative and craft occupational categories were comparable to those of the nation. The laboring categories—or the low socio-economic occupations—were also overly represented in the sample area.

Attitudes Toward Most Recent Work Situations

In terms of the conceptual framework of this study, respondents in low-prestige occupations with low-educational attainment should manifest more favorable attitudes toward their current work than their fellow workers who have more education. To the extent that education is an index of one's ability to manipulate his culture, or to influence his own life chances, individuals with less education will see fewer occupational alternatives. Consequently, they should have a more favorable attitude toward their work, regardless of its status.[19] Individuals with more educational experience will understand and perceive more occupational opportunities than those available in the local community and, thereby, view their occupational condition less favorably.

The attitude of respondents to their current occupation by their educational status is reported in Table 6. The majority of individuals with low educational attainment viewed their occupation favorably. By contrast, the few respondents with more than 12 years of school most frequently had mixed or ambivalent feelings about their current occupational position. These first observations tend to support the above

TABLE 6.—Attitude Toward Current Occupation, by Education of Respondent

Education	Attitude toward current occupation							
	Favorable		Mixed		Unfavorable		No information	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
No information or none	31	43.7	17	23.9	13	18.3	10	14.1
1st to 8th grade	270	39.8	176	25.9	127	18.7	106	15.6
9th to 12th grade	101	35.8	92	32.6	47	16.7	42	14.6
More than 12 grades	10	23.8	15	35.7	2	4.8	15	35.7
Total	412	38.4	300	27.9	189	17.5	173	16.1

hypothesis. The support, however, is suggestive rather than conclusive. It is also reported in Table 6 that 16 per cent of the respondents did not indicate their attitude toward the current position. Furthermore, 14 per cent of the respondents did not report their educational attainment. Such high "no information" responses render the conclusions drawn from this table more tentative than final.

It was anticipated that attitudes toward the current occupation would be more favorable on the part of individuals in the mature and older age categories and less favorable on the part of individuals in the younger age categories. Data which reveal the relationship between age and attitude toward current occupation are reported in Table 7. These data do not clearly support the anticipated condition, nor do they show any direct pattern supporting other theoretical positions. Between 34 and 39 per cent of the respondents in all age categories reported favorable attitudes toward their current jobs. Similarly, the range of unfavorable attitudes was from 15 to 18 per cent for all age categories. In actuality, age had little impact on the occupational evaluation of these respondents.

Respondents were asked if they liked or disliked their current jobs. (See Table 8.) The overwhelming majority, 84 per cent, reported that they liked their current work. Only 5 per cent of the respondents indicated that they did not like their type of work. Seventy-one per cent of the manager-proprietor-professional workers signified that they liked their work. Twenty-five per cent of them indicated ambivalence. They were more unsure of the desirability of their work than any other single occupational category. Dislike of work was most prevalent among the domestic or service workers, of whom 11 per cent responded negatively. Closely following the same pattern were farm laborers (10 per cent disliked their work) and other laborers (9 per cent disliked their work).

Attitudes toward working conditions were generally favorable. But when respondents were interrogated in more detail concerning their work situations, they often gave inconsistent responses. Respondents were asked specifically about their attitudes toward the amount of money they

TABLE 7.—Attitude Toward Current Occupation, by Age of Respondent

Age	Attitude toward current occupation									
	Favorable		Mixed		Unfavorable		No information		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
29 and younger	51	38.3	47	35.3	20	15.0	15	11.3	133	100.0
30 to 44	140	39.1	102	28.5	65	18.2	51	14.2	358	100.0
45 to 64	196	38.5	133	26.1	93	18.3	87	17.1	509	100.0
65 and over	25	33.8	18	24.3	11	14.9	20	27.0	74	100.0
Total	412	38.4	300	27.9	189	17.6	173	16.1	1074	100.0

TABLE 8.—Attitude Toward Kind of Work, by Current Occupation

Current occupation	Attitude							
	Likes		Dislikes		Don't know		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Manager, proprietor, or professional	57	71.3	3	3.7	20	25.0	80	100.0
Sales or clerical	26	83.9	0	.0	5	16.1	31	100.0
Craftsman or foreman	145	89.5	6	3.7	11	6.8	162	100.0
Operative	173	88.7	12	6.2	10	5.1	195	100.0
Farm operator or manager	299	83.5	12	3.4	47	13.1	358	100.0
Farm laborer	85	83.3	10	9.8	7	6.9	102	100.0
Domestic or service worker	28	77.8	4	11.1	4	11.1	36	100.0
Laborer	92	83.6	10	9.1	8	7.3	110	100.0
Total	905	84.3	57	5.3	112	10.4	1074	100.0

earned, and in this case the attitudes were more decisive. (See Table 9.) Fewer than half of the respondents, 45 per cent, were satisfied or liked the amount of money they earned. Forty-four per cent were dissatisfied and 10 per cent did not respond to the inquiry. The amount of money available to individuals in the urbanized society is one of the most basic amenities of social life. The most pronounced dissatisfaction with monetary income was manifested by farm laborers (63 per cent). Dissatisfaction was indicated by 54 per cent of the farm operators and by 51 per cent of the other laborers. Satisfaction with the amount of money earned was greatest among craft workers (62 per cent satisfied), and about the same for domestic or service workers (58 per cent satisfied), and operative workers (58 per cent satisfied). The great dissatisfaction

TABLE 9.—Satisfaction With Amount of Money Earned, by Current Occupation

Current occupation	Satisfaction with money earned							
	Like		Dislike		No information		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Farm operator	121	33.8	192	53.6	45	12.6	358	100.0
Manager, proprietor, or professional	38	47.5	22	27.5	20	25.0	80	100.0
Sales or clerical	17	54.8	9	29.0	5	16.1	31	100.0
Craftsman	101	62.3	48	29.6	13	8.0	162	100.0
Operative	113	57.9	71	36.4	11	5.6	195	100.0
Domestic or service worker	21	58.3	11	30.6	4	11.1	36	100.0
Laborer	46	41.8	56	50.9	8	7.3	110	100.0
Farm laborer	32	31.4	64	62.7	6	5.9	102	100.0
Total	489	45.5	473	44.0	112	10.4	1074	100.0

with the monetary income manifested among the farmers suggests their perception and acceptance to some extent of the national cultural goals and their general frustration with the absence of means for achieving the goals. This behavior casts some question on the historic family-farm ideology. To the extent that the family farm is owned and operated by the local members, the ideology may be well sustained. However, these responses generally negate the notion that subsistence farming is adequate. In any event, it would be an inconsistency to dislike the amount of one's income as measured by the urbanized society's standards and at the same time to support an ideology favoring subsistence agriculture. The boundary around the low-income subculture is being permeated by dominant cultural values for economic attainment.

Questions concerning retirement and other benefits related to the respondents' occupations revealed that the dominant culture was invading the subculture. (See Table 10.) Only 40 per cent of the respondents indicated a favorable attitude toward the retirement and related benefits of their occupation. Thirty-four per cent of the respondents were careful to explain that they did not like their retirement benefits. Workers who most often disliked their retirement benefits were the farm laborers, general laborers, craftsmen, and operatives. In the two laboring categories, there is a conspicuous absence of any cultural structure to provide for substantial retirement and related benefits. The respondents, therefore, perceived that such benefits were available in other occupations. Craft and operative workers in many areas of the nation are strongly organized into unions. Unions as a social structure have continually worked for improved retirement and related fringe benefits for their workers. Accordingly, such workers in the sample area were keenly aware of the more abundant fringe benefits obtained by their occupational coworkers in other geographical locations. Farmers were less vehement in their pronouncement of dislike for retirement benefits. This was generally consistent with findings of other studies in which farmers were reported to have several retirement advantages.[20]

Workers who reported the most favorable attitudes toward their fringe benefits were the sales and clerical employees and the domestic or service workers. There were, however, only 18 respondents reporting in each of these occupational categories. Generalizations from these few cases are not advisable.

Respondents were asked to express their attitudes toward the working conditions of their current job. (See Table 11.) They were in general logically consistent. Those who liked their current occupation most often liked their general working conditions also. Individuals who did not like their current position liked their general working conditions less frequently than others. However, considerably more of the respondents who held unfavorable attitudes toward their jobs still liked their working conditions.

TABLE 10.—Attitude Toward Retirement and Other Benefits, by Current Occupation

Current occupation	Attitudes toward benefits									
	Like		Don't know		Dislike		No information		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Farm operator	122	34.1	20	5.6	106	29.6	110	30.7	358	100.0
Manager, proprietor, or professional	34	42.5	2	2.5	11	13.8	33	41.3	80	100.0
Sales or clerical	18	58.1	2	6.5	5	16.1	6	19.4	31	100.0
Craftsman	73	45.1	5	3.1	68	42.0	16	9.9	162	100.0
Operative	94	48.2	8	4.1	78	40.0	15	7.7	195	100.0
Domestic or service worker	18	50.0	2	5.6	11	30.6	5	13.9	36	100.0
Laborer	47	42.7	1	.9	45	40.9	17	15.5	110	100.0
Farm laborer	26	25.5	17	16.7	42	41.2	17	16.7	102	100.0
Total	432	40.2	57	5.3	366	34.1	219	20.4	1074	100.0

TABLE 11.—Attitude Toward Working Conditions, by Attitude Toward Current Occupation

Attitude toward current occupation	Working conditions					
	Like		Dislike		No information	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Favorable	377	91.5	19	4.6	16	3.9
Mixed	263	87.7	29	9.7	8	2.7
Unfavorable	146	77.2	38	20.1	5	2.7
No information	78	45.1	6	3.5	89	51.4

Attitude toward one's job has been insufficiently studied in the general occupational structure. However, isolated bits of information from other sources report that individuals may not like a particular job but will be satisfied with the general work situation. The reverse condition is also found. The particular job which provides the greatest material advantage may offer the least desirable working conditions. In this research specific inquiry was made into the desirability of jobs that offered more money but involved working night shifts, being away from family or relatives, and other typically unattractive characteristics. The findings are reported in the following pages.

Strong primary relationships have been discovered repeatedly in the subcultures of isolated rural areas, and this study was conducted in rural areas where these relationships were anticipated. Accordingly, respondents were asked to indicate if they liked or disliked the people with whom they worked. (See Table 12.) Eighty-four per cent of the respondents reported favorable attitudes toward their fellow workers, thereby supporting the expectation of primary-group solidarity. It is singularly significant that only 1 per cent clearly indicated that they disliked those with whom they worked. Fifteen per cent were ambivalent or inarticulate

TABLE 12.—Attitude Toward People Worked With, by Current Occupation

Current occupation	People worked with					
	Like		Dislike		Don't know	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Manager, proprietor, or professional	55	68.8	2	2.5	23	28.7
Sales or clerical	26	83.9	0	.0	5	16.1
Craftsman or foreman	145	89.5	4	2.5	13	8.0
Operative	182	93.3	1	.5	12	6.2
Farm operator or manager	270	75.4	0	.0	88	24.6
Farm laborer	91	89.2	2	2.0	9	8.8
Domestic or service worker	32	88.9	0	.0	4	11.1
Laborer	99	90.0	2	1.8	9	8.2

concerning the subject. The most notable discovery generated from this question of attitude toward one's fellow workers was that manager-proprietor-professionals and farm operators liked their fellow workers proportionately less than those in other occupational categories. Certain cultural structures make it possible for both of these categories of workers to have frequent interaction with individuals outside of their local community. They are thereby able to compare the local work situation with outside conditions—and often judge the outside conditions to be superior.

The respondents' perception of the dominant, national, cultural system was revealed clearly when they were asked to compare their own occupation with other occupations in the community. (See Table 13.) Over 30 per cent of the respondents working in manager-proprietor-professional, sales-clerical, and craft occupations perceived their type of employment to be more desirable than the average for their community. Farm laborers, other laborers, domestic workers, and farm operators indicated less frequently that their jobs were more favorable than other types of employment in the community. In terms of the national socio-economic and prestige systems, white-collar workers and skilled workers who indicated that their occupations were more favorable than average were behaving rationally. However, most respondents (62 per cent) felt that their work was just as desirable as that of others in the community. Seventy-one per cent of the farm operators, 66 per cent of the operatives, and 53 per cent of the craft workers reported that their jobs were just as desirable as others. Ironically, nearly 70 per cent of the farm laborers reported that their type of work was as desirable as other employment in the community. Other information about the position of farm laborers in these communities suggests that this was a non-rationalistic response in terms of objective and materialistic indexes. On the other hand, respondents who considered their work to be less desirable than average for the community were most often represented among the farm laborers and other laborers. Nearly 14 per cent of the farm laborers and 13 per cent of other laborers reported their work as less desirable than other occupations in the community. In terms of the low prestige of laboring work in the nation, such responses were highly rationalistic and evidenced a perception of the national cultural structure.

Respondents were asked to indicate their source of greatest personal satisfaction from categories including relations with family and kin, citizenship activities, spare time and recreation, religion, and education and learning. Most of the respondents indicated that their greatest satisfaction came from family, religion, and to a lesser degree from their jobs. The first two responses, namely family and religion, suggested a traditional rather than urbanized behavioral orientation. The smaller proportion who indicated their job as the greatest source of personal satisfaction were manifesting a relatively more urbanized pattern of behavior.

TABLE 13.—Respondent's Comparison of His Occupation With Others in His Community, by Current Occupation

Current occupation	Comparison with others in community									
	More desirable		Just as desirable		Not as desirable		Don't know		No information	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Farm operator	43	12.0	254	70.9	24	6.7	7	2.0	30	8.4
Manager, proprietor, or professional	25	31.3	30	37.5	2	2.5	4	5.0	19	23.8
Sales or clerical	11	35.5	13	41.9	1	3.2	1	3.2	5	16.1
Craftsman	59	36.4	86	53.1	4	2.5	3	1.9	10	6.2
Operative	46	23.6	128	65.6	7	3.6	3	1.5	11	5.6
Farm laborer	9	8.8	70	68.8	14	13.7	5	4.9	4	3.9
Domestic or service worker	10	27.8	20	55.6	2	5.6	1	2.8	3	8.3
Laborer	21	19.1	62	56.4	14	12.7	5	4.5	8	7.3
Total	224	20.8	663	61.7	68	6.3	29	2.7	90	8.4

However, no evidence from the data obtained in the study indicated that this was a careerism orientation.

In spite of the fact that these first two satisfactions were traditionalistic and the third urbanized, the type of satisfaction made very little differential impact on the things which the respondents most liked about their current job. It is reported in Table 14 that respondents were most negatively critical about their retirement and other benefits, chances of getting ahead, and the amount of money they earned, regardless of their type of satisfaction. Curiously, they were most critical about materialistic factors related to their work even though their life's satisfaction factors were primarily family and tradition oriented. Factors which respondents liked least about their jobs indicated their considerably accurate perception of the national cultural goals. They were far from satisfied with a simple, isolated, rural way of life. The degree to which these respondents saw a direct conflict in life satisfaction and occupational goal orientation was not reported. It has already been indicated that differential attitudes existed toward the hours they worked, the reputation of their job, the treatment by their boss, and so forth. These factors, however, did not vary with the source of major life satisfaction.

In summary, the respondents who had a favorable job orientation had an even more favorable evaluation of the amount of money they earned, their retirement and related benefits, and their chances of getting ahead. (See Table 15.) By contrast, those who had an unfavorable judgment of their jobs seldom viewed favorably the amount of money

TABLE 14.—Things Liked About Current Occupation, by Source of Respondent's Greatest Satisfaction

Things liked about current occupation	Source of greatest satisfaction					
	Family N = 602		Religion N = 233		Job or work N = 145	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Hours he must work	439	72.9	174	74.7	106	73.1
Steadiness of work	420	69.9	179	76.4	107	73.8
Repetition of same job	475	78.9	180	77.3	112	77.2
Treatment by boss	416	69.1	160	68.7	98	67.6
Working conditions	489	81.2	189	81.1	124	85.5
Amount of responsibility	482	80.1	186	79.8	114	78.6
Importance of job to others	474	78.7	182	78.1	111	76.6
Chance of getting ahead	274	45.5	111	47.6	64	44.1
Retirement and other benefits	246	40.9	106	45.5	52	35.9
Amount of money earned	278	46.2	103	44.2	71	49.0
Kind of work	511	84.9	201	86.3	130	89.7
People worked with	521	86.5	196	84.1	119	82.1

TABLE 15.—Things Liked About Current Occupation, by General Attitude Toward Job

General attitude toward job	Things liked						
	Importance of job	Repetition of work	Hours worked	Steadiness of work	Amount of money earned	Retirement benefits	Chances of getting ahead
	Per cent						
Favorable (N=412)	85.9	85.9	83.7	84.0	59.7	50.2	60.2
Mixed (N=300)	82.7	86.0	76.0	74.0	46.7	42.3	47.0
Unfavorable (N=189)	76.2	74.1	67.7	63.0	27.5	33.9	32.3

TABLE 16.—Kind of Work Liked Most, by Current Occupation

Current occupation	Kind of work most liked						
	Farm operator	Manager, proprietor, professional	Sales or clerical	Craftsman	Operative	Farm laborer	Domestic or service worker
	N=300	N=77	N=10	N=223	N=166	N=41	N=75
	Per cent						
Farm operator	57.8	2.2	.6	9.8	6.4	.3	4.2
Manager, proprietor, or professional	7.5	52.5	1.3	7.5	1.3	.0	1.3
Sales or clerical	22.6	9.7	16.1	19.4	3.2	.0	.0
Craftsman	7.4	4.3	.0	68.5	4.3	.0	6.2
Operative	15.4	3.6	.5	14.9	47.7	.0	3.6
Farm laborer	13.7	.0	1.0	13.7	15.7	38.2	4.9
Domestic	19.4	8.3	.0	22.2	11.1	.0	27.8

they earned, their retirement and related benefits, and their chances of getting ahead. Importance of job, reputation of work, hours worked, and steadiness of work were less meaningful considerations for all the respondents. Whether their job attitudes were favorable, ambivalent, or unfavorable, more than two-thirds of the respondents indicated in most cases that they liked these aspects of their work situation. These considerations of one's work situation involve intangible and diffuse judgments. Money earned and retirement benefits, by contrast, are critical real-life factors. The long history of union struggle and the rise of blue-collar working people have established a set of standards by which Americans can judge these materialistic benefits. In this low-level, rural, subculture area, it is quite apparent that materialistic judgments have been widely communicated.

Goals of the national society are known and frequently accepted. The means for achieving these goals, however, are conspicuously absent and/or not understood by the local people.

Occupational Aspirations

The notion of occupational aspiration is an urbanized idea. Appraising one's situation and one's society in order to select from alternatives the greatest opportunity is American, democratic, and an index of open-class society. Aspirational freedom is not a part of the structural organization of a caste society. The major importance of an occupational analysis of the type reported here is the unique opportunity it affords to study the functioning or dysfunctioning mechanisms for aspirations in a subcultural area that has been called a social problem.

Preference Pattern

The kind of work the respondents most liked was analyzed by comparing it to their current occupation. (See Table 16.) The relationship between the work most liked and the current type of job was direct. In all occupations except sales and clerical, the respondents liked their current employment more frequently than any other type of work. Over 68 per cent of the craft workers indicated that they liked craft work more than other types of employment. Similarly, 58 per cent of the farm operators desired farm work, and 52 per cent of the manager-proprietor-professional workers preferred their current type of work. Nearly half (48 per cent) of the operatives desired their type of work, and almost 40 per cent of the farm laborers preferred their work. In the case of farm laborers, the next most favorable occupation was that of operative work, followed by farm operator and craft work. Fewer than 30 per cent of the domestic or service workers desired domestic and service work, but they expressed preference for domestic and service work more frequently than for any other single type of work. Their second preference was craft work and their third was farm owner-operator employ-

ment. Only 16 per cent of the sales and clerical workers desired sales and clerical work, while 23 per cent preferred farm operator work and 19 per cent preferred craft work. Work perception and career opportunities according to this analysis did not proceed far beyond the current type of employment. This indicated that few devices existed to inform the local people about the nation's many occupational opportunities and/or that the devices were not effective.

The nation's normal work week has been shortened from approximately 70 to fewer than 40 hours in the past one hundred years. The appropriate number of hours to be worked by children and women (and now, by men) has varied sharply with reduction of human energy-input and the increase of mechanical energy-input. To work a short number of hours has become a matter of prestige. The time of day during which one worked influenced the matter of prestige. Being one's own boss and consequently being able to avoid time clocks, shift work, or week-end work are socially prestigeful. In the first decades of the second half of the twentieth century, the work week has been shortened extensively. Less prestige now results from short hours of work, and, ironically, concern is increasing about the meaning of life for individuals who spend many hours unoccupied. Unemployment has increased. There has also been an increasing trend toward multiple jobs, resulting from the short hours required in one position that make it possible for employees to maintain a second regular job, even if it is part-time. These are some of the more significant norms associated with the desirability of hours worked in the national cultural structure.

Respondents in this study were asked about the desirability of the hours they worked, including their interest in working longer hours, the same number of hours, or a shorter number of hours. (See Table 17.) Responses to this inquiry showed remarkable perception of the dominant cultural structure. Sixty-seven per cent of the farm laborers and 58 per cent of the other laborers signified their willingness to work a longer number of hours. This response was logically consistent with the low-level position which they had in the socioeconomic and occupational hierarchy. One means for achieving the cultural goals would be longer hours of work, which, presumably, would result in a greater income.

Manager-proprietor-professionals, by contrast, were less willing to work longer hours. Their position, particularly in the local environment, was considerably more favorable than that of workers who favored longer hours. Accordingly, they were less motivated to work longer hours. Domestic or service workers and craft workers indicated most frequently a desire to work the same number of hours they were currently working. Only 3 per cent of the respondents in these categories indicated a desire to work fewer hours. Six per cent of the sales and clerical workers preferred to work shorter hours. However, the reliability of this response as a social pattern was greatly limited by the small number of

TABLE 17.—Desirability of Hours, by Current Occupation

Current occupation	Desirability							
	Longer hours		Same schedule		Shorter hours		No information	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Farm operator	162	45.3	132	36.9	10	2.8	54	15.0
Manager, proprietor, or professional	15	18.8	38	47.5	3	3.8	24	30.0
Sales or clerical	13	41.9	9	29.0	2	6.5	7	22.6
Craftsman	55	34.0	87	53.7	7	4.3	13	8.0
Operative	90	46.2	91	46.7	2	1.0	12	6.2
Farm laborer	68	66.7	23	22.5	4	3.9	7	6.9
Domestic or service worker	8	22.2	21	58.3	2	5.6	5	13.9
Laborer	64	58.2	36	32.7	2	1.8	8	7.3

cases involved. On the other hand, the variety of studies of small-town shopkeeping suggest that the competition with chain stores and franchise operations often required the local independent operator to work unusually long hours. Nearly 6 per cent of the domestic or service workers also indicated a desire to work shorter hours. Most farm operators did not reply to the inquiry about hours worked.

In contrast to the national pattern of the shorter work week, respondents in this subcultural area most frequently indicated their willingness to work a longer number of hours. This was viewed as a means of competing more effectively for the achievement of national goals. In addition, respondents who were most willing to work longer hours occupied positions at the most disadvantaged end of the occupational continuum.

Preference for Factory Work and More Income

Industrialization has been taking place in many rural areas, particularly in the post World War II years.[21] Some of this industrial development in rural areas has been accelerated due to the labor force or potential labor force in these local environments. Early studies of rural life, however, revealed a general resistance on the part of the local inhabitants to accept industrial employment. In the second half of the twentieth century, it has become apparent to many rural people that subsistence agriculture is not an effective occupation. They recognize also that industrial, business agriculture requires proportionately more mechanization than laborers and that in the absence of local industries, young people from the rural areas are forced by the culture structure of the nation to migrate to the large industrial centers. In recognition of this situation, local communities are reported to have established industrial

development corporations of one type or another in an effort to provide local employment for their people.[22]

Respondents were asked to indicate their preference for factory work —at double the income of their current occupation. (See Table 18.) Thirty-seven per cent indicated that they would take such a job at once if it were available. Thirty-two percent of the respondents said that they would think the situation over and would not accept it at once. Only 12 per cent indicated that they would refuse such an offer, and nearly 20 per cent did not respond to the inquiry. Farm laborers and other laborers were most willing to accept the factory employment. This illustrates again their perception of the national cultural goals, their low-level position, and their willingness to take advantage of many opportunities to elevate their condition. In general, however, these findings suggested that considerable caution would be warranted in planning for wide-scale industrialization of rural areas. Most of the respondents did not signify a strong preference for such work. Following the conceptual framework of this analysis, such a finding supports the position that a dual action program is needed. First, a program is needed to develop an understanding of the opportunities in factory work, and a second program is needed to develop a favorable attitude toward such work. Otherwise, the labor force for factory work in rural areas is more latent than real. After a program of cultural indoctrination, action programs designed to train local individuals for industrial work and to further the movement of industry into these localities would be appropriate. With such an approach an adequate labor force could be more assured.

Respondents who liked craft and operative work or one of the lowest prestige occupations most were also most willing to take factory work at double the income. (See Table 19.) Nearly 50 per cent of those who liked operative work, domestic or service work, and craft work most were willing to accept factory work. Only 12 per cent indicated that they

TABLE 18.—Preference for Factory Job at Double Income, by Current Occupation

Current occupation	Preference for factory job							
	Take at once		Think it over		Refuse it		No information	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Farm operator	127	35.5	117	32.7	62	17.3	52	14.5
Manager, proprietor, or professional	10	12.5	20	25.0	16	20.0	34	42.5
Sales or clerical	9	25.0	11	35.5	3	9.7	8	25.8
Craftsman	54	33.3	58	35.8	18	11.1	32	19.6
Operative	73	37.4	60	30.8	14	7.2	48	24.5
Farm laborer	55	53.9	30	29.4	11	10.8	6	5.9
Domestic	12	33.3	13	36.1	3	8.3	8	22.2
Laborer	53	48.2	32	29.1	4	3.6	21	18.9

TABLE 19.—Kind of Work Most Liked, by Preference for Factory Job at Double Income

Kind of work most liked	Preference for factory job							
	Take at once		Think it over		Refuse it		No information	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Farm operator	77	25.7	127	42.3	65	21.7	31	10.3
Manager, proprietor, or professional	19	24.7	27	35.1	18	23.4	13	16.9
Sales or clerical	4	40.0	5	50.0	0	.0	1	10.0
Craftsman	102	45.7	74	33.2	20	9.0	25	11.2
Operative	88	49.3	47	28.3	11	6.6	19	11.4
Domestic or service	37	49.3	25	33.3	7	9.3	6	8.0
Farm laborer	18	43.9	6	14.6	0	.0	17	41.5
No information	49	27.7	16	9.0	3	1.7	109	61.6

would refuse the factory job. Over 23 per cent of the manager-proprietor-professionals and over 22 per cent of the farm operators indicated that they would refuse such employment. Respondents in other occupational categories seldom indicated that they would refuse such employment.

Anticipated Occupations

The subject of occupational aspiration in the urbanized society involves notions of getting ahead and achievement. To study this it is meaningful to ask people what kinds of work they anticipate for themselves in future years. It has been reported in some studies that workers ultimately see few opportunities for themselves but transfer their occupational aspirations to their children.[23] In this study respondents were asked questions of the above type.

Respondents' attitudes toward their chances of getting ahead are reported in Table 20. Nearly 60 per cent of the sales or clerical workers and the craft workers manifested a favorable attitude toward their opportunities for getting ahead. Fewer than one-half of all workers in the various other types of occupations were favorably impressed with their opportunities. Fifty-one per cent of the farm laborers, by contrast, manifested a general dislike for their chances of getting ahead. They were more decided in the negative view than all other types of workers. However, 48 per cent of the general laborers, 44 per cent of the operative workers, and nearly 40 per cent of the domestic or service workers also manifested a negative attitude toward their opportunities for occupational achievement. Few respondents were ambivalent concerning their chances of getting ahead. Also, only a few failed to respond to this inquiry. Although the notion of "getting ahead" was not defined specifically for the respondents, it communicated well since the response was sharp, either favoring or disfavoring their condition. The responses were

TABLE 20.—Attitude Toward Chances of Getting Ahead, by Current Occupation

Current occupation	Attitude toward getting ahead							
	Like		Don't know		Dislike		No information	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Farm operator	153	42.7	18	5.0	143	39.9	44	12.3
Manager, proprietor, or professional	38	47.5	5	6.3	17	21.3	20	25.0
Sales or clerical	18	58.1	0	.0	8	25.8	5	16.1
Craftsman	94	58.0	3	1.9	54	33.3	11	6.8
Operative	90	46.2	8	4.1	86	44.1	11	5.6
Domestic or service worker	15	41.7	3	8.3	14	38.9	4	11.1
Laborer	46	41.8	3	2.7	53	48.2	8	7.3
Farm laborer	33	32.4	12	11.8	52	51.0	5	4.9

rationalistic in that those workers who were represented in the lower prestige occupations most often viewed their situation negatively.

Respondents' judgments of their opportunities for getting ahead were affirmed further by an inquiry concerning the type of work which they expected to be doing in five years. (See Table 21.) One-half or more of all the respondents anticipated the same kind of employment five years later. Nearly 70 per cent of the farm operators indicated that they would still be farm operators. Sixty-two per cent of the craft workers and 62 per cent of the farm laborers anticipated that they would be in their same occupation in another five years. Sixty-one per cent of the manager-proprietor-professional workers also believed that they would be in their same type of occupation.

The responses to these occupational inquiries suggested that position in the occupational structure alone, should make a great impact on personality organization or disorganization. Many respondents perceived, by the indexes of the dominant culture structure, that their position in the occupational hierarchy was low and unfavorable. They further anticipated that they would experience little mobility out of these low and unfavorable positions. This accurate perception of the occupational market-place which is combined with an objective perception of their few occupational opportunities must be viewed as a clear ultimatum in the design of action programs.

Respondents in High- and Low-Prestige Occupations

As a means of further understanding the extent to which the respondents perceived the national occupational structure, occupations were grouped into two categories, namely high-prestige and low-prestige categories, and the respondents' behavior was studied accordingly. Tables 22, 23, and 26 are based on this analysis of high-prestige and low-prestige

TABLE 21.—Work Expected in Five Years, by Current Occupation

Current occupation	Farm operator	Manager, proprietor, professional	Sales or clerical	Craftsman	Operative	Farm laborer	Domestic	Retirement	No information
	Per cent								
Farm operator	68.2	.6	.6	1.6	2.5	.3	.6	8.6	17.0
Manager, proprietor, or professional	3.7	61.3	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	10.0	25.0
Sales or clerical	.0	3.2	54.8	6.5	.0	.0	.0	3.2	32.3
Craftsman	3.7	2.5	.0	62.3	2.5	.0	6.2	6.2	16.6
Operative	7.7	2.1	.0	2.6	59.5	1.0	.5	4.6	22.0
Farm laborer	4.9	.0	.0	1.0	5.9	61.8	1.0	7.8	17.6
Domestic	5.6	2.8	.0	16.7	.0	.0	50.0	11.1	13.8

occupations. Farm operators, manager-proprietor-professionals, and sales-clerical workers were included in the high-prestige occupations. Farm laborers, craftsmen, operatives, and domestic or service workers were included in the low-prestige occupations. It is reported in Table 22 that respondents who most liked high-prestige occupations were also currently employed in these occupations. Those who most liked low-prestige occupations were most often found in such occupations. Over two-thirds of the respondents in high-prestige occupational categories indicated that they liked the high-prestige occupations best. Fewer than 28 per cent of all other respondents indicated a preference for these occupations. By contrast, more than two-thirds of the respondents in low-prestige occupations indicated a preference for those occupations. Fewer than 32 per cent of the respondents in each of the high-prestige occupations indicated a preference for the low-prestige occupations. In terms of action planning, such an analysis throws into full perspective the culture boundness of occupations and the boundary-maintenance of occupations.

The high-prestige occupations constitute a way of life as well as a source of monetary remuneration. In our society, there are very few social mechanisms with which to present this way of life to individuals who were socialized by lower-class families. Boundary maintenance among such occupations is rigid in its requirements for admission, which include training, commitment, and licensing. Admission is generally impossible if the commitment and training are not started at early ages. The task of occupational socialization is doubly great in low-income rural areas where informal socialization is conspicuously absent.

The tendency for closure of occupational experience was less pronounced in the analysis of (higher and lower prestige) occupations by the type of work which respondents anticipated doing in five years. (See Table 23.) Over 91 per cent of those respondents who anticipated being in manager-proprietor-professional work in five years most liked the high-prestige occupations. Similarly, respondents who anticipated sales-clerical

TABLE 22.—High-Prestige and Low-Prestige Occupations Most Liked, by Current Occupation

Current occupation	Kind of work most liked			
	High-prestige occupations		Low-prestige occupations	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Farm operator	217	74.6	74	25.4
Manager-proprietor-professional	49	86.0	8	14.0
Sales or clerical	15	68.2	7	31.8
Craftsman	19	12.9	128	87.1
Domestic or service worker	10	31.3	22	68.7
Operative	38	22.8	129	77.2
Laborer	24	27.6	63	72.4
Farm laborer	15	16.9	74	83.1

TABLE 23.—High-Prestige and Low-Prestige Occupations Most Liked, by Work Expected in Five Years

Work expected in five years	Work most liked			
	High-prestige occupations*		Low-prestige occupations**	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Farm operator	216	80.0	54	20.0
Manager, proprietor, or professional	54	91.5	5	8.5
Sales or clerical	12	70.6	5	29.4
Craftsman	7	5.6	119	94.4
Operative	20	14.5	118	85.5
Domestic or service work	13	22.4	45	77.6
Farm laborer	10	15.4	55	84.6
Retirement	30	45.5	36	54.5
No information	25	26.9	68	73.1

*Farm operator, manager-proprietor-professional, and sales-clerical.
**Farm laborer, craftsman, operative, and domestic.

work and farm operator work favored the high-prestige occupations by 70 per cent and 80 per cent respectively. More than three-fourths of all the respondents who anticipated work in the low-prestige occupations in five years also indicated that they liked these occupations most. This acceptance of low-prestige occupations is partly a reflection of the disproportionate number of respondents in the upper-age categories. Other explanations for this behavior include a lack of comparative occupational information and a rejection of the cultural goals of the national society.

Parents' occupational aspirations for their children constitute a major index of occupational values. The transfer of aspirations to sons was found particularly among parents whose opportunities were limited.[24] Even in the open-class society of North America, occupational mobility has not typically been from rags to riches, or from one extreme to the other. Most people enter the occupation of their fathers or enter an occupation at one hierarchical rung above or below that of the parental generation.[25]

With the greater automation and communication techniques of the mass society, it can be anticipated that occupational mobility and occupational aspiration will be oriented in the direction of the greater demand and greater opportunity in white-collar and technical-specialty occupations. Already in this rural low-income area, workers most frequently aspire to white-collar occupations for their sons. Findings reported in Table 24 show that respondents in every type of occupation most frequently want their sons to enter manager-proprietor-professional occupations. If they cannot achieve such work for themselves (or even if they personally reject it), they appear to favor such occupations for their sons. Even with expanding opportunities in white-collar work, it is improbable

TABLE 24.—Occupational Aspiration for Sons, by Current Occupation of Respondent

Current occupation	Occupational aspirations for sons								
	Farm operator	Manager, proprietor, professional	Sales or clerical	Craftsman	Operative	Farm laborer	Domestic	Military	Not specified
	Per cent								
Farm operator	8.9	44.1	2.2	12.6	2.5	.3	1.1	1.4	14.8
Manager, proprietor, or professional	2.5	65.0	1.3	5.0	.0	1.3	.0	1.3	12.5
Sales or clerical	6.5	48.4	9.7	3.2	.0	.0	.0	.0	19.4
Craftsman	1.2	51.9	.6	11.7	.6	.0	.0	.0	18.5
Operative	1.5	51.8	2.1	9.2	2.6	.0	.5	1.5	18.5
Farm laborer	7.8	36.3	2.0	12.7	8.8	.0	2.9	3.9	10.8
Domestic or service worker	2.8	12.2	.0	11.1	.0	.0	.0	.0	5.6

that demand for such employment in the local areas will be sufficient to provide satisfaction of these aspirations.

Obstacles to Occupational Attainment

In addition to understanding the occupational structure and the occupational aspirations of workers, it is essential to understand some of the reasons perceived as blocking occupational attainment. Respondents who indicated reasons for the conflict between their occupational aspiration and their attainment generally listed factors like age and health, lack of training, lack of capital, and no opportunity. (See Table 25.) Age and health factors are part of the biosocial structure of society, and they are elements largely beyond the control of the occupational conditions. Lack of training is a factor that might be clearly within the structure of occupational organization. Lack of capital is a factor that could be manipulated by social organizational structures in the greater society, if not by the occupational structures themselves. "No opportunity" is a diffuse response, which signifies obstacles to occupational achievement. But it suggests also an inability to size up accurately the occupational market-place and its structure. Fewer than 4 per cent of the respondents viewed their lack of training as a reason for conflict, and fewer than 4 per cent of the respondents viewed their lack of capital as a reason for conflict. Social mechanisms to supplement training and to provide capital are in existence. However, with so few respondents recognizing these factors as significant obstacles to their achievement, the earlier thesis of this report is sustained, namely, that ideologies must be changed before specific programs can be implemented.

Reasons for conflict between actual occupational experience and job expectation vary with the desire for high-prestige occupations and low-prestige occupations. (See Table 26.) Respondents who desired high-

TABLE 25.—Reasons for Conflict Between Job Expectations and Aspirations, by Current Occupation

Current occupation	Reasons for conflict							
	Age-health		Lack training		Lack capital		No opportunity	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Farm operator	48	13.4	14	3.9	7	2.0	12	3.4
Manager, proprietor, or professional	5	6.3	2	2.5	5	6.3	1	1.3
Sales or clerical	6	19.4	0	.0	2	6.5	1	3.2
Craftsman	12	7.4	1	.6	4	2.5	13	8.0
Operative	13	6.7	9	4.6	9	4.6	20	10.3
Farm laborer	8	7.8	6	5.9	2	2.0	14	13.7
Domestic or service worker	2	5.6	0	.0	1	2.8	3	8.3

TABLE 26.—High-Prestige and Low-Prestige Occupations Most Liked, by Reasons for Conflict Between Job Expectation and Job Experience

Reasons for conflict	Work most liked			
	High-prestige occupations*		Low-prestige occupations**	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Age and health	25	28.7	62	71.3
Lack training	15	41.7	21	58.3
Lack capital	30	88.2	4	11.8
Low income job	6	35.3	11	64.7
Low income farm	21	95.5	1	4.5
Away from family	2	66.6	1	33.3
No opportunity and other	6	6.3	89	93.7
Total	105	100.0	189	100.0

*Farm operator, manager-proprietor-professional, and sales-clerical.
**Farm laborer, craftsman, operative, and domestic.

prestige occupations generally indicated reasons for conflict such as low-income farms, lack of capital, or moving away from their families. The first two of these three responses were highly rationalistic in terms of the judgment of our sensate society. The last, namely moving away from the family, involved an ideational judgment. Other conflict reasons were less important for respondents aspiring to high-prestige occupations. Respondents more favorably disposed to low-prestige jobs generally indicated conflict reasons such as no opportunity, age and health, and low income. The first two of these three responses were also rationalistic in terms of the empirical condition in which they found themselves in the urbanized society. They were unable to specifically articulate their reasons for conflict, and, accordingly, they were unable to manipulate the occupational structure of society to their advantage. Many of these people fell into the older age categories and were faced also with its accompanying health decline. The low-income job was a variable more dependent upon their other situations than one determining them.

Footnotes

[1]Alba M. Edwards, *Comparative Occupational Statistics for the United States, 1870-1940* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1940), p. xi; see also Lee Taylor and Arthur Jones, Jr., *Louisiana's Human Resources, Part II: Agribusiness and the Labor Force,* (Louisiana: Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 562, 1962); and Lee Taylor and Arthur R. Jones, Jr., *Rural Life and Urbanized Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 267-287.

[2]Donald J. Bogue, *The Population of the United States* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959), 478.

[3]Gladys K. Bowles and Conrad Taeuber, *Rural-Farm Males Entering and Leaving Working Ages, 1940-1950 and 1950-1960: Replacement Ratios and Rates* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Agriculture Series Censuses AMS) (P-27), No. 22, August 1956, p. 1.

[4]*Development of Agriculture's Human Resources: A Report on Problems of Low Income Farmers* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Agriculture, April 1955), 36.

[5]*Ibid,* p. 37; and Everett M. Rogers, *Social Change in Rural Society* (New York: Appleton, Century, Cross, Inc., 1960), 434-435.

[6]Nelson L. LeRay, *Employment and Under Employment of Rural People: Low Income Groups in Arkansas, Maryland, and West Virginia* (Washington, D. C.: U.S.D.A., Agricultural Research Service, 43-109, December 1959).

[7]Arthur B. Mackie and E. L. Baum, *Problems and Suggested Programs for Low Income Farmers: With Special Reference to the Tennessee Valley* (Knoxville, Tennessee: Tennessee Valley Authority, Division of Agricultural Relations, T60-2AE, October 1959); and Robert E. Galloway and Howard W. Beers, *Utilization of Rural Manpower in Eastern Kentucky* (Kentucky: Agricultural Experiment Station, RS-3, January 1953).

[8]C. Wright Mills, *White Collar* (New York: Oxford University Press, Galaxy Book, 1956).

[9]Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, *Small Town in Mass Society* (New York: Doubleday and Company, Anchor Books, 1960); and James West, *Plainville, U.S.A.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945).

[10]Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949), 125-149.

[11]William Graham Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1954).

[12]M. Lee Taylor, discussion of "A Regional Study of Adjustment in Southern Low Income Rural Areas" by Charles L. Cleland, *Proceedings: Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Section, Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, 1962* (Annual Meeting, Jacksonville, Florida, February 5-7, 1962) Vol. I.

[13]Florida's participation was limited, and basic data were not collected in that state. Because of the small number reporting occupational data in Louisiana, respondents for that state are not included in this particular report.

[14]U S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population: 1960. General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary.* Final Report PC (1)-1C. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1962, pp. 1-199.

[15]Theodore Caplow, *The Sociology of Work* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954); and other materials.

[16]Population Census, *op. cit.,* PC (1) 1-C, U. S.

[17]Peter M. Blau, *et al.,* "Occupational Choice: A Conceptual Framework," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review,* 9 (July 1956), 531-543.

[18]Merton, *op. cit.,* pp. 125-149.

[19]James West, *op. cit.*

[20]Philip Taietz, *et al., Adjustment to Retirement in Rural New York State* (New York, Cornell: Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 919, 1956); and Lowry

Nelson, *Farm Retirement in Minnesota* (Minnesota: Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 394, 1947).

[21]Sheridan T. Maitland and Reed E. Friend, *Rural Industrialization: A Summary of Five Studies* (Washington, D.C.: Agricultural Information Bulletin No. 252, 1961); and Alvin L. Bertrand and Harold W. Osborne, *Rural Industrialization in A Louisiana Community* (Louisiana: Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 524, 1959).

[22]M. Lee Taylor, *et al.* "Changing Goodhue County 1946-1958," *Sociology of Rural Life* (Minnesota: Agricultural Experiment Station, 1961).

[23]Eli Chinoy, *Automobile Workers and the American Dream* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1955); and Charles Coates and Roland J. Pellegrin, "Executives and Supervisors: A Situational Theory of Differential Occupational Mobility," *Social Forces,* 35 (December 1956), 121-126.

[24]cf. Pellegrin and Coates.

[25]P. E. Davidson and H. D. Anderson, *Occupational Mobility in an American Community* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1937); and N. Rogoff, *Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953).