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## ABSTRACT

Relocation of workers from areas of severe labor surplus to areas of labor shortage can yield a high investment to public manpower funds and will assist in meeting employer manpower needs. A mobility program such as the Iowa-Mississippi project must be selective for potential workers and employers. Relocates must not be chosen from the hard core disadvantaged but from those with a value structure close to that of the middle class in rural Iowa, and employers with high turnover rates ought to be excluded from the program. The optimum number of persons that can be moved each year is about 25 families. Iowa farmers have shown receptivity in considering the hiring of Mississippi blacks. Successful families have generally been those with stable marital and family relationships and have possessed a mature approach to work. The project has offered hope of social and economic improvement to a small number of Delta families and the experience to date indicates that continuation of the project would provide benefits to workers, employers, and society as a whole. (Author/BC)

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FINAL REPORT

Evaluation of the  
Mississippi-Iowa Farm Labor Mobility Project

Prepared for the U.S. Department of Labor  
Manpower Administration

by

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This report was prepared for the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor under research contract No. 87-17-68-09 authorized by the Manpower Development and Training Act. Since contractors performing research under government sponsorship are encouraged to express their own judgment freely, the report does not necessarily represent the Department's official opinion or policy. Moreover, the contractor is solely responsible for the factual accuracy of all material developed in the report.

## PREFACE

This report constitutes an evaluation of the Mississippi-Iowa Farm Labor Mobility Demonstration Project which was sponsored and funded by the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor. Consequently, the points of view expressed are solely those of the authors and do not necessarily correspond to the viewpoints of either the contracting parties (STAR and the Iowa Manpower Development Council) or the U.S. Department of Labor.

The role of the Industrial Relations Center of Iowa State University in the Mobility Program was that of an "outside observer" in analyzing all aspects of the demonstration project including such areas as the operational effectiveness of agencies involved; techniques used in selecting, preparing, and orienting the relocatees; arranging and carrying out the actual move; job preparation including on-the-job training; and absorption of families into Iowa communities. The Center's evaluation study was also concerned with personal and family characteristics of successful migrants, those migrating initially but deciding to return to Mississippi, and those interviewed for jobs in Iowa but deciding not to relocate.

The evaluation contract with the U.S. Department of Labor specified that an analysis of the adjustment patterns of migrants would be made, as well as the readiness of employers to utilize workers whose backgrounds, traits, and customs were significantly different from those found in the "receiving area."

At a more detailed level the Center's contract specified that the evaluation would be concerned with such questions as:

- (1) Is OJT a feasible instrument in small employer situations? (In this case, farm employers.)
- (2) What are the characteristics of "successful" relocatees which differentiate them from the "unsuccessful" (returnees and those who reject an offer to move)?
- (3) Do successful migrants attract friends and relatives to the receiving areas?
- (4) What happens to the applicants who are rejected (or drop out) of the mobility program in Mississippi or Alabama as compared to the ones who make it to Iowa? (It was anticipated that initial data obtained on relocatees through the use of forms 260-264 would be utilized in analyzing and comparing the employment experiences in Iowa.)
- (5) What are the approximate costs and benefits of the initial phase of the program? (The cost/benefit item was deleted in the final contract by the Department of Labor and is, therefore, not reported in this evaluation. Cost/benefit was developed, however, for "in-house" purposes.)
- (6) What happens to the family structure of the candidates who move to Iowa as compared with those who stay in Mississippi?
- (7) What are the handicaps of the Mississippi disadvantaged which must be overcome before they successfully move to Iowa?

The evaluation contract also suggested consideration of:

- (1) The selection process of identifying suitable employers.

- (2) Any significant relationship between successful migration and:
  - (a) size of farm
  - (b) community size
  - (c) degree of community preparation
  - (d) proximity of other migrants
  - (e) prior interview trips to Iowa before migration vs. no prior interviews
- (3) The role of news media, churches, and other organizations in preparing the community for change.
- (4) The role of community leadership in providing for change.

This evaluation report is also concerned with the overall operation of the Mobility Project as well as with the specific items indicated above. Separate final reports have been submitted by organizations directly involved in operations (STAR and MDC) and the evaluation report should not be considered either as a substitute for the operations' reports or as a "fill-in" for items which were not submitted in the operations' reports.

It is also possible that viewpoints expressed in this report may be at variance with the perception of reality of those involved in operations, or of those who sponsored and funded the overall program. The role of an "outside observer" (free from a vested interest in the organization, funding, or outcome of a project) is to obtain all of the factual material which can be obtained on persons and organizations involved in a project, and to organize the information in providing insights which would not have been available without this evaluation report.

This is not a compendium of the month-to-month operations of the Mobility Project. This material is covered in the final reports of the

operating agencies. Nor is our report an investigation of "errors" or "things which should have been done." It would be an inappropriate task for anyone who has not participated in the decisions reached in operations to presume to know whether "errors" were made, or whether external constraints were so great as to preclude decisions which were more optimal.

We are, therefore, most concerned with identifying significant decisions and processes with the purpose of providing "feedback" which would improve future programs of this nature.

We are grateful for the information and assistance supplied by staff members of the contracting agencies, the U.S. Department of Labor, and the Mississippi workers and families who participated in this project. The views expressed in this evaluation and observations of the program remain solely the responsibility of the authors of this report.

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## I. The Organizational Structure of the Mobility Project

### A. Organizations Involved

The Mississippi-Iowa Labor Mobility Program was initiated in May 1968 and terminated in April 1969. The purpose of this program was twofold: (1) to suggest an alternative source of underutilized manpower in meeting farm labor shortages in Iowa, and (2) to study the process of relocating underemployed Southern farm workers to year-round farm jobs in Iowa which would hopefully serve as a demonstration of how the South to North, rural to urban migration pattern might be deflected to smaller Northern communities.

The Farm Mobility Project was conducted by two separate manpower agencies: (1) Systematic Training and Redevelopment Inc. (STAR), Hattiesburg, Mississippi, operating the recruitment and intake of applicants in the Mississippi Delta supply area, and (2) the Iowa State Manpower Development Council, Des Moines, Iowa, handling job development and placement in the Iowa demand area.<sup>1</sup>

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1. STAR's operations encompass more than the Iowa project and include the mobility of labor to industrial areas of Mississippi and the South, as well as other basic education programs, community action, and training. The Iowa State Manpower Development Council is organized to conduct demonstration projects in manpower training and program coordination, operating directly under the Governor of Iowa. Recently the Manpower Development Council was merged with the State Office of Economic Opportunity.

Separate contracts were developed by the Manpower Administration with each agency, and in addition, an evaluation contract was developed with the Industrial Relations Center at Iowa State University.

Expenses of on-site job visits, as well as actual relocation allowances were paid to those who were interested in considering employment in Iowa. OJT funds were also available to employers to defray any unusual costs of training manpower. No classroom training was conducted either in Mississippi or Iowa.

#### B. Supply Areas

The supply area for potential relocatees comprised the states of Mississippi and Alabama.<sup>2</sup> Within Mississippi, two areas were primary sources of manpower: (1) a portion of the Delta, with recruitment centered at Clarksdale, and (2) the hill country region of Northeastern Mississippi centered at Booneville. A secondary recruiting area was in Leake County, located in the central portion of the state.

Racial characteristics differed in the three target areas. Nearly all those eligible for the Mobility Project in the Clarksdale area were Black. The supply area around Booneville had many Whites who were eligible, as well as Blacks. In the Leake County area the potential recruits were both Black and Indian.

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2. A number of individuals came to Iowa from Alabama in a group for job interviews but there was some question in regard to the sincerity of the Alabama people to relocate in Iowa. The job interviews appeared to be a part of a training program in Alabama.

The economy of the target areas (and the state as a whole) has been dominated heavily in the past by lumbering and agriculture. These industries have been significant users of unskilled labor, most of which has been supplied by the Black segment of the population.

In recent years sources of lumber have been rapidly depleted, and technological changes have drastically reduced labor requirements in agriculture. Manufacturing in the Gulf region of the state has been a significant growth sector, but skilled job opportunities have gone heavily to Whites.

Technological change and racial discrimination have worsened the economic position of Blacks in Mississippi. Traditional employment has evaporated, and new skilled jobs have not been made available in any significant number to Blacks.

#### C. Demand Area

The whole of rural-farm Iowa constituted the potential area for labor demand. In many respects rural-farm Iowa represents a paradox in manpower utilization. The farm labor force has been shrinking over the past few decades, yet manpower shortages and unfilled job orders with State Employment Security Offices have been noted each year. Although technology and farm consolidation have displaced direct labor dramatically, workers who have been "pushed" off farms have found better job opportunities in the Mid-West's growing urban industrial centers.

Shortages of manpower at wages very often above the federal minimum level have emerged on many of Iowa's large commercial-sized farms. These

jobs offer year-round employment, and often housing and other fringe benefits. Wage levels are far above the level that could be anticipated even under the best conditions in farming in Mississippi or possibly even the South.

D. Evaluation of Organizational Structure

A variety of contracting agencies and organizational structures were considered during the initial planning phase. Consideration had at one time been given to a cooperative operation between the respective State Employment Offices of Mississippi and Iowa. Discussion had also taken place with the Extension Service of Iowa State University, Ames, for possible community preparation for relocatees on Iowa farms.

Due to the "experimental and demonstration" nature of the mobility project, and possibly for other reasons not known to the evaluators, a decision was made to contract with STAR in Mississippi and with the Iowa Governor's manpower coordinating agency -- the Iowa State Manpower Development Council. On the surface, this appeared to be a suitable arrangement. STAR was respected and had a close relationship with Mississippi Blacks. The Manpower Development Council was the creation of Iowa's Governor Harold E. Hughes, and this agency was actively involved in a number of innovative, experimental projects. A critical decision, which in the opinion of the evaluators resulted in a low number of families relocating to Iowa, was the establishment of dual responsibility and separate control for the overall program.

STAR had the responsibility for: (1) locating individuals and families who might have an interest in migrating to Iowa; (2) interviewing

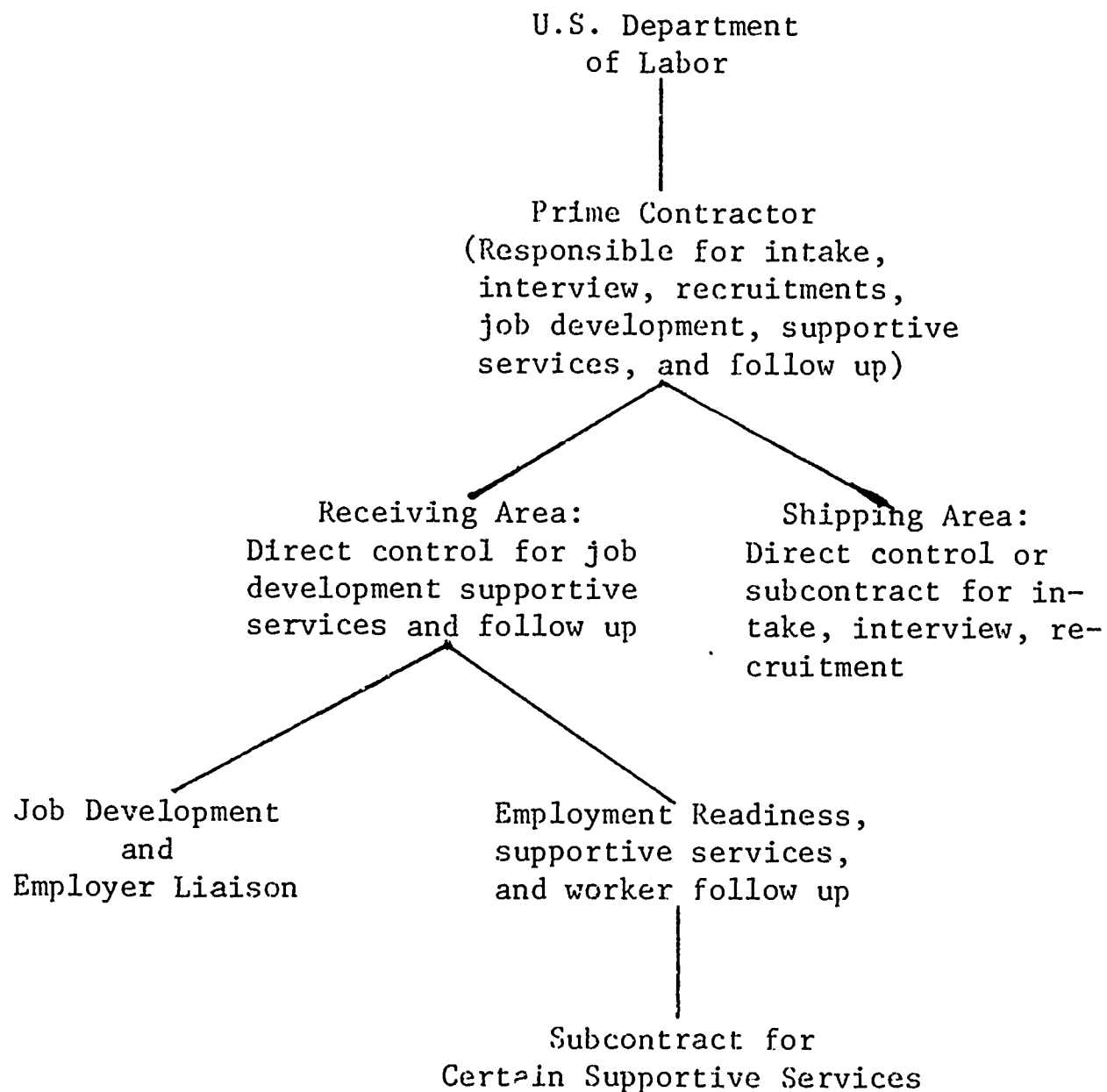
interested persons and providing information on Iowa communities and employers; (3) providing transportation for those interested in an interview (or relocation) in Iowa. STAR, of course, was not responsible for the nature of Iowa farm jobs, nor for the reluctance of workers to take jobs or to remain in Iowa.

The Manpower Development Council's responsibility began at the time that workers arrived in Iowa. The Council had no responsibility (or authority) over promotion of Iowa jobs in Mississippi or in the choice of those who eventually came to Iowa.

The organizational structure of the mobility project made it entirely possible for each of the contracting parties to follow the letter of its contract, and yet to place the entire project in jeopardy. A far better arrangement would have been to assign full contractual responsibilities to either STAR or MDC, and to permit the prime contractor to develop ways and means of operating in areas not normally within its comparative advantage. For example, if MDC were given full contractual responsibility, it might have explored the possibility of hiring its own staff in Mississippi, which could easily have been attached to STAR. In this case responsibility for all operations would have been clearly lodged with MDC.

STAR and MDC lacked control over the development of the organizational structure, and cannot be held completely accountable for the volume of workers interested in migrating to Iowa, or actually placed on jobs. Perhaps it may have been possible for MDC to exert more influence at the contractual stage, but the evaluators were not "observers" at this stage and full information is lacking on constraints which operated on the parties during that period.

Based upon the operations of the mobility project, we suggest the following organizational structure for future programs of this nature:



## II. Recruitment and Intake: Operations of STAR

### A. Selection, Preparation and Orientation of Workers

Given the organizational structure of the project, our inquiry is next concerned with the process of informing Mississippi families about Iowa and Iowa's farm employment opportunities. STAR's staff was not acquainted with Iowa's farm needs nor could they have been expected to develop this special knowledge on their own. The Iowa program was but a small part of a larger mobility operation which was assisting the movement of people from rural to urban Mississippi. A campaign and an explicit strategy of operation was called for, with the possibility of prior preparation of promotional materials such as films, slides, etc. depicting work and life in Iowa.

To our knowledge information on employment in Iowa was conveyed in the same fashion as employment in urban Mississippi areas. Yet, what was called for was an extraordinary and highly sophisticated promotional operation on the one hand, and a careful selection process on the other. The split in organizational responsibility precluded the effective development of the former, while lack of experience with required attributes for relocation to a new environment such as Iowa, precluded the effective operation of the latter.

Between June 1968 and April 1969 fifteen Mississippi families were brought to Iowa to interview for farm jobs. Of this number, five



families are currently employed in Iowa, four families started jobs in Iowa but subsequently returned to Mississippi, and six families never accepted a job in Iowa and returned to Mississippi after the job interview.<sup>3</sup> Given the organizational structure and lack of acquaintance by STAR staff with Iowa, and the absence of a promotional strategy in Mississippi, this is probably the best that could have been achieved under the circumstances.

B. Arranging and Carrying Out the Move

The logistical problem of moving people from Mississippi to Iowa appeared to work smoothly. Without the payment of expenses for interviews none would have been interested in leaving Mississippi. It was neither feasible nor desirable to conduct any type of training in the Mississippi area, inasmuch as the nature of farm work in the two states differed so markedly. Perhaps some supportive services might have been given, although even this is questionable. The type of services required (special education, medical, etc.) are simply not available in quantity or quality to Mississippi Blacks as a whole.

C. Evaluation of Recruitment and Intake

Given the organizational structure which had been decided for the project, how successful was the recruitment, intake, and orientation operation in the shipping area? The recruitment of workers to a wholly different working environment required exploratory, innovative methods. Moving people from rural to urban Mississippi was a much

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3. As of August 15, 1969.

simpler process than encouraging workers to relocate to an area which differed so markedly in all cultural, social, and economic aspects.

Much more could have been done to encourage the migration of people in groups of families, rather than as individual family units. It is an elementary fact of life that people seek to maintain some aspects of a familiar home environment. This might have been achieved if efforts had been made to locate two or more families in close proximity in Iowa, in order to minimize loneliness and the insecurity of a drastically new environment. This is not, we should make clear, intended to be a criticism of STAR. Even if all aspects of their contract had been met, these shortcomings would have remained. The basic problem emanated from the original experimental design of the overall project, and the utilization of routine measures in a situation which required the serious consideration of innovative procedures.

III. The Development of Farm Jobs and Placement of Relocates: Operations of the Manpower Development Council

A. Selection, Preparation, and Orientation of Employers

In this section we will be concerned with the process of developing farm jobs, selecting employers, and preparing the receiving communities for change.

Farm jobs were developed by MDC staff in a variety of ways. Publicity through newspaper advertisements, cooperation with the Iowa Employment Security Commission, and referrals from farm organizations, churches, church-related organizations, interested citizens, and a booth at the annual Iowa State Fair were the principle methods used. No one single method of job development seemed to stand out, although the fact that the MDC mobility project director was a church minister gave the program excellent entree with other ministers and church groups. There appeared to be no shortage of good farm jobs. The problem was one of selecting employers who were willing to work with relocatees who were different not only in color, but also in culture, training, and work orientation.

In evaluating the process of job development we find great strength in this aspect of the project. The project director, Mr. Eldon Ringle, operated effectively in locating interested farm employers, and made full use of community resources in locating jobs. There appeared to

be no shortage of interested farm employers who were willing to take workers from Mississippi and to pay adequate wages and develop good working and living conditions.

Due to the limited staff (director and an assistant for most of the period), job development activities tended to be concentrated largely in the Des Moines area. Given the limited staff which was available, this was the only way in which the operation could have been carried out. Given a large number of relocatees (and staff) more and better jobs might have been developed by tapping areas more distant from Des Moines. Since the number interviewed and relocated was so small, job development did not emerge as a problem.

#### B. Community Preparation

A critical area of concern in the development of the Mobility Project was the question of the need for (and the nature of) community preparation for change. At one stage of program development it was even contemplated that the Extension Service of Iowa State University would be a sub-contractor for community preparation.

An overall community preparation program is neither wise nor necessary. In some cases it is well to involve a particularly influential farmer in the program. This was done in a number of cases with good results. If a particular farmer is well-respected and exerts a leadership role, the community will accept his judgment on the introduction of new and "different" workers and families. An overall and general program for community development would, in our estimation, have resulted in loud outcries from a small but vociferous group with needless intra-community hostility and divisiveness.

The relative isolation of farms from towns tends to minimize the impact of change upon the community. A relocated worker can be working in Iowa for perhaps a number of weeks before being "noticed" by the community. By that time, having incurred no adverse effects, the community will fail to develop hostility toward the relocatees.

A minimum "rule of thumb" on the community preparation appears to be:

- (1) avoid large-scale community preparation campaigns.
- (2) minimize contacts in the community to those who are basically sympathetic to the program.
- (3) if you must have some community preparation, work through the community's power structure, and possibly sympathetic church people.

#### C. Arrival of Relocatees and Placement on Jobs

The process of placing workers in jobs upon arrival in Iowa worked smoothly and efficiently. A close personal relationship was needed with newly-arrived workers and families, and the staff of MDC succeeded in establishing this relationship.

No formal institutional training had been provided for, either in Mississippi or in Iowa. Some training might have been useful, but lack of appropriate skill did not seem to hinder placement on jobs. On-the-job training (OJT) under the provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act was provided for in this program. In fact, most of the relocatees who had been placed on farm jobs were to be trained under OJT. As an inducement to employers, OJT was unnecessary in

some cases, insufficient in others, and actually created problems for the project. For employers who had resolved the question of hiring Blacks, OJT was unnecessary. The financial subsidy was viewed with suspicion, and there was some fear of "paperwork and control." For farmers who had strong reservations about hiring Blacks, OJT was insufficient to overcome fears, suspicions, and ingrained habits and prejudices. Lastly, undesirable effects were introduced by a few marginal employers who were interested solely in the monetary subsidy of OJT. These were appropriately excluded from the program. In addition to the problems mentioned above the Iowa OJT program as a whole was in the process of being transferred from the Manpower Development Council to the State Employment Security Commission during the middle of the contract period of the mobility program. This precluded the full utilization of OJT as a manpower tool as well as a fair evaluation of its use in future programs of this nature.<sup>4</sup>

Pre-employment problems of workers and families necessitated a close interpersonal relationship with MDC staff. As a whole supportive services of a wide assortment were provided swiftly and efficiently. Due to the importance of supplying supportive services to workers and families participating in this project, a detailed analysis is presented in section VII.

#### D. Evaluation of Job Development and Placement

Since only a relatively small number of workers were interviewed and placed in Iowa, there was no difficulty in developing adequate

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4. At least one relocatee was cited by MDC staff as unable to be enrolled because of this agency transition.

farm jobs. MDC staff used a variety of methods in locating jobs, and in general operated effectively. No relocatee who desired a farm job was kept waiting.

Our evaluation of the mobility process from the time of arrival of families in Iowa to placement on jobs, is a favorable one in regard to MDC staff. An immediate and close working relationship was developed by staff with both relocatees and farm employers, and in no case could we detect any shortcomings on the part of staff which might have made employers reluctant to hire relocatees, or for relocatees to lose interest in Iowa jobs.

One unanticipated aspect of this project, however, was the large volume of work which had to be done in providing supportive services to relocatees. It was unanticipated in the sense that background information supplied on farms in Mississippi did not adequately cover individual and family handicaps. Once again, if MDC could have had control over recruitment in Mississippi, the extent of supportive services could have been planned for, or families too greatly handicapped could have been kept out of the program. Given the nature of the group that came to Iowa, and the need for close interpersonal relationships, MDC staff was very heavily involved in supplying supportive services. Some of this was sub-contracted out, but MDC staff was nevertheless heavily involved on a day-by-day basis with relocatees. Retention was directly a function of the degree of attention given by staff to relocatees.

Selection of workers and families and the provision of supportive services presents a dilemma to a project of this nature. One could

reduce supportive services to a minimum by screening out families that are handicapped. "Skimming the cream," however, would not meet national policy goals of helping the disadvantaged. Manpower programs have been criticized in the past for helping those who are not truly disadvantaged. On the other hand, by including families with severe and multiple handicaps, we tax the limited resources and capacity of staff personnel and become involved in a broad-gauged rehabilitation process which is virtually all "supportive-service" in nature. Involving those who are strongly disadvantaged also tends to develop a high dropout rate, a poor image to employers, and enhances the overall probability of failure of a program of this nature. We have no strong recommendations in regard to this problem. As a general rule we would suggest that families be screened out from the program if major supportive services are required. The handicaps of cultural and racial differences, and low educational and skill levels are great enough without the additional burdens of family instability, poor mental or physical health, and emotional immaturity.

As a guide for future programs of this nature, we would recommend that those responsible for placement and job development have some control over the intake of families, in order to plan for the required volume and nature of supportive services and to enhance the probability of retention on the job.



#### IV. The Successful Relocatee

##### A. Characteristics

Between June 1968 and April 1969 fifteen Mississippi families were brought to Iowa to interview for farm jobs. Of this number five families are currently employed in Iowa.<sup>5</sup> Table 1 gives the characteristics of these five successful relocatees.

Examining Table 1, we can see that the age of the successful migrants ranges from 20 to 51, the number of dependents ranges from 2 to 9, their education level ranges from 5 to 11 years,<sup>6</sup> they were all low income earners in Mississippi,<sup>7</sup> most were renting their homes, all had lived in their last Mississippi community all of their lives, all were married, and all were Black.

##### B. Economic Status Before and After Move

There is no question that these successful relocatees improved their economic status due to their move to Iowa. Table 2 reveals the average

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5. As of October 15, 1969.

6. The head of family "C" was illiterate even though he indicated that 6 years of school were completed.

7. The head of family "E" was earning only \$1.00 per day in Mississippi for 6 months prior to arrival in Iowa.

Table 1. Mississippi Families' Characteristics - Successful Relocates

Head of Family	Age	Sex	Race	Marital Status	Number of Dependents	Years of Education	Last 12 mos. Income in Mississippi		Occupational Training		Mississippi Living Arrangements	Lenth of Time in Last Miss. Community
							Amount	Source	Program	Occ.		
A	42	Male	Black	Married	6	7	<3000	E	Work Ex. Program	Labor	Renting	42 years
B	25	"	"	"	9	5	<3000	E	None	--	"	25 years
C	20	"	"	"	3	6	<1200	E	None	--	"	20 years
D	22	"	"	"	2	11	<3000	E	None	--	"	22 years
E	51	"	"	"	7	8	<1200	E	Yes		Free Rent	51 years

(E = Earnings) Source: Questionnaires supplied by Mississippi.

before and after relocation earnings.<sup>8</sup>

Table 2. Income Comparisons of Successful Relocateses and Mississippi Controls

	Mobility Program Data Annual Average Reported Income		1960 Census Data Annual Median Earnings (Average)
	<u>Before Move</u>	<u>After Move</u>	
Five Stayers (Mississippi to Iowa)	\$2,286 <sup>a</sup>	\$5,454 <sup>b</sup>	-----
Area of Fifteen Relocateses (Mississippi)	-----	-----	\$1,000 <sup>c</sup>

Source: (a) Questionnaires supplied by Mississippi, and supplemented by data collected in Iowa and Mississippi.  
 (b) Data supplied by Iowa employers.  
 (c) 1960 Census Data. The average figure was derived by taking the reported male median earnings (by race) for each county in Mississippi from which the mobility program relocatees came. The county figures were weighted by the number of relocatees from each county.

Checking Table 2, we see that the successful relocatees increased their earnings as a result of their move from Mississippi to Iowa. Moreover, Table 2 allows us to compare the successful relocatees to an "average" group from their home counties in Mississippi. This comparison gives us an idea of the economic background of the successful relocatees.

Using the median male earnings reported by race in the 1960 Census, for the Mississippi counties from which the relocatees came, as our controls, we seem to find that the mobility program relocatees are very much above

8. The authors have developed an economic benefit/cost analysis for this program which is available upon request.

"average". However, when we realize that the \$1,000 figure is a 1959 figure as compared to the 1968 figures for the relocatees, we see that much of the apparent difference between the groups is simply due to inflation and normal wage growth. Moreover, the relocatees' income data are a conservative estimate of their income which doesn't take into account unemployment and is, therefore, biased upward. Thus, it would seem that from our limited information the successful relocatees are average, or somewhat above average, when compared to other males in their Mississippi counties (from an economic point of view).

#### C. Evaluation of the Successful Relocatees

We should emphasize at this point that two of the five successful relocatees have made successful moves from farm jobs to non-farm jobs. The data in Table 2 reflects the Iowa non-farm wages for these two individuals.

Considering the above we can attempt an evaluation of the successful relocatees. Although we cannot expect to uncover a large number of definite "mobility patterns" from a small sample, this project indicated that a wide range of possible Mississippi low income families can make the transition to Iowa jobs. The successful migrants can be very young or middle aged, they can have large or small families, etc. If a family wants to make the transition, the data in Table 1 indicate that no special characteristics need be present (such as high education, small family size, very young age, etc.).

A fact that is not revealed in Table 1 but seemed to come out clearly in our interviews is that the successful relocatees had to be emotionally mature and had to have a stable marriage. It would seem that too much cannot be said for the advantages that a stable marriage gives to a family trying to make a transition like the one demanded in this project.

The tentative evidence is that the number of successful relocatees could have been increased if the screening procedure in Mississippi could be sensitized to detect the level of desire to make the transition, the maturity level of the relocatee and his wife, and the stability level of the marriage. An information system which accurately portrayed the "Iowa scene" would help a great deal, especially in detecting the desire level of the perspective relocatees to make the move. Table 2 reveals that the individual economic gain from such a move is quite real and families from an "average" economic background in Iowa can make the move. Moreover, the fact that all the successful relocatees were Black seems to speak well for the lack of a serious racial barrier for such a mobility project.

The successful relocatees (in follow-up interviews) all felt that loneliness was a problem in this program and that they needed more supportive services. Two of the relocatees felt that long "farmer's" hours were a problem; however, both of these relocatees subsequently made successful moves to non-farm jobs. Some of the relocatees thought the Iowa weather was severe, and four believed personal transportation was a problem on farm jobs. Finally, all the relocatees believed that an orientation program would be a beneficial addition to the project.

## V. The Successful Employer

### A. Selection of Employers

There is a self-selection process involved in a program such as the Mississippi-Iowa Mobility Project. Employers who have strong racial prejudices will avoid involvement and will not submit requests for workers. Those applying will have resolved the question of racial prejudice in their own minds.

Of those interested in hiring workers through the mobility project, a number of distinct types emerge. At one end of the spectrum, a farmer who has had a poor record as an employer--high labor turnover, poor contractual relations and working conditions--will look to the mobility project as a cheap source of supply. These employers are known to the local community, and it is obvious that their requests for workers should not be considered.

At the other extreme we have employers who offer excellent wages and working conditions and are considered to be model employers in the community. The primary problem of this group is an attempt to do "too much." An employer's wife may take a strong interest by suggesting household hints, child care methods, and general management of personal affairs. An employer himself may attempt to regulate behavior out of a sincere desire to be helpful. For an employer of this type, a pre-employment orientation session as well as counseling would be required before an effective relationship could be established.

Within the non-prejudice spectrum we find that in addition to a lack of bias on the part of successful employers, there is a significant moral and religious orientation. A number of employers participating in this program became aware of the program through church groups and clergymen. These employers were strongly motivated with a sense of social justice and a sincere desire to offer employment opportunities to the disadvantaged.

B. The Nature of Available Farm Jobs

Though much of the farm labor needed in Iowa is permanent in nature, hiring practices appear to be seasonal. A farm owner may seek farm labor at critical times of the year; finding none, he is then content to "get by" in the off season period.<sup>9</sup>

The Iowa farmer is most interested in hiring help in the spring and in the fall. February and March are the peak hiring months in farm employment, with a carryover of demand in May. June, July, and August tend to show a decrease in employment opportunities of a permanent nature. Employers find high school youth to be an abundant source of labor supply during the summer months. In September, October, and early November employment peaks somewhat because of harvest time, but not to the February and March levels.

Most year-round employment opportunities, at relatively desirable wage levels, have strict experience and training requirements. Also complicating the hiring process is the tendency of Iowa farmers to

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9. Seventh Progress Report, Labor Mobility Project, Contract No. 87-17-18-08, Iowa State Manpower Development Council, December 1968, pp. 6-7.

put off hiring of year-round labor until there is a significant amount of work to be done. Experience and training requirements, and the tendency to put off hiring until there is an accumulation of work to be done, tends to create a serious adjustment problem to the Mississippi migrant. Mississippi farm labor is considered only when all other sources have proved to be unavailable.

Also, other placement problems emerge in that what appear to be the best jobs and areas in Iowa, turn out to be only second-best for Black relocatees. Dairy farms offer relatively higher wages than grain or cattle feeding operations. Yet, dairy operators are less willing to consider untrained or inexperienced workers, and the confining nature of work on a dairy farm adds considerably to the loneliness of migrants.

Another point is that the highest paid jobs and the most job orders placed with state employment offices are in the 27 counties located in northwest Iowa. The absence of large communities in this area makes adjustment problems more difficult.

The 49 counties in central Iowa constitute a mixed farm-industrial belt. Isolation from other Blacks in cities is lessened, and ever-present competition from urban-industrial employers makes Iowa farmers in this region more willing to consider lesser experienced workers.

### C. Evaluation of Employer Selection

Since only a very small number of relocatees were involved, there was no difficulty encountered by MDC staff in locating employers who offered excellent working conditions, and who were sympathetic to the



problems of employees. Had there been a larger number of workers and families relocated, problems of employer selection may have emerged.

Initially MDC staff attempted to cover a broad area of Iowa, but as the project developed it became apparent that a wiser policy was to select and work with employers who were located close to Des Moines and MDC staff offices. If a large number of relocatees had been involved, it would have been desirable to establish regional project offices within Iowa.

Our evaluation of employer selection is, in general, a favorable one. Our only recommendation is that a written specification of contract terms between the worker and employer would have been useful. A closer "meeting of the minds" would have been beneficial to both parties. In most cases it simply did not occur to relocatees to ask appropriate questions on working and living conditions.

We also recommend that for a project of this type it is appropriate and wise for staff to work closely with church social action committees in communities in locating suitable employers. We particularly recommend this for the demonstration phase of the program. As the project becomes operational, state employment security offices should bear the prime responsibility for job development and employer selection.

## VI. The Unsuccessful Relocatee

### A. Characteristics

Table 3 reveals the characteristics of the ten Mississippi families who interviewed in Iowa and either refused a job offer or accepted a job offer but then returned to Mississippi after working a short time.

The unsuccessful relocatees range in age from 19 to 44, the number of dependents range from 2 to 9, their education level ranges from 1 to 14 years, they are all low income, most were renting homes in Mississippi, most had lived in their last Mississippi community over a decade, all were married, and 60 percent were Black.

### B. Current Status in Mississippi

Table 4 reveals the average before and after unsuccessful relocation earnings.

Although it would seem that the unsuccessful relocatees experienced an increase in earnings after the return to Mississippi, this is not quite correct. The \$3,182 figure is calculated only for the employed leavers. If we included the unemployed leavers, the figure would have been cut in half. Moreover, Table 4 reveals that while the ten leavers earned about the same as the successful relocatees before the mobility project, the leavers earned substantially less than the successful relocatees after the project.

Table 3. Mississippi Families' Characteristics - Unsuccessful Relocates

Head of Family	Age	Sex	Race	Marital Status	Number of Dependents	Years of Education	Last 12 mos. Income in Mississippi		Occupational Training		Mississippi Living Arrangements	Length of Time in Last Miss. Community
							Amount	Source	Program	Occ.		
<u>Returned After Working</u>												
F	26	Male	White	Married	2	5	<5000	E	None	--	Free Rent	26 years
G	22	"	Black	"	2	12	<1200	E	"	--	Free Rent	4 months
H	32	"	White	"	4	4	<3000	E	"	--	Renting	5 months
I	19	"	Black	"	4	6	<1200	E	"	--	Free Rent	19 years
<u>Never Employed</u>												
J	35	"	Black	"	9	5	<1200	G.T.	Farm Eq. Operator	Farm Labor	Renting	35 years
K	33	"	Black	"	6	10	<1200	E	Trade School	Prod. Mach. Oper.	Free Rent	11 years
L	38	"	White	"	7	7	<1200	Son's E	None	--	Renting	38 years
M	44	"	White	"	4	14	<3000	E	None	--	Renting	44 years
N	38	"	Black	"	6	1	<3000	E	Work Ex. Program	Day Labor	Renting	38 years
O	21	"	Black	"	2	12	<1200	E and G.T.	Adult Ed.	--	Renting	21 years

(E = Earnings, and G.T. = Government Training Program.) Source: Questionnaires supplied by Mississippi.

Table 4. Income Comparisons of Unsuccessful Relocates

	Mobility Program Data Annual Average Reported Income	
	<u>Before Move</u>	<u>After Move</u>
Ten Leavers (Mississippi)	\$2,126 <sup>a</sup>	\$3,182 <sup>a,b</sup>

Source: (a) See Table 2  
(b) Includes only employed leavers.

Looking at the ten leavers in more detail (with data supplied by STAR), we discover that one of them could not be located after leaving Iowa, one was drafted, four were unemployed, and four had jobs -- two at 1.30 an hour, one at \$1.60 an hour for 10 hours a week, and one at \$3.12 an hour.

#### C. Evaluation of the Unsuccessful Relocatee

Considering the above, we can attempt an evaluation of the unsuccessful relocatees. It would seem that their characteristics are about the same as the successful relocatees, except for the fact that four of them are White. However, we doubt very much if this means that only Blacks can make the transition to Iowa. Thus, merely getting a person's age, race, education level, etc., is not valid indicator of whether the relocatee will be successful or not in a project of this nature.

We did seem to uncover some leads in pinpointing problem areas which cause unsuccessful relocations by analyzing the questionnaires

supplied by the Mississippi STAR Corporation.<sup>10</sup> Among the reasons given for leaving Iowa, the two predominant ones were loneliness for other Blacks and unhappiness of the wife with Iowa. In at least two cases fear due to severe lack of education was a reason for the return to Mississippi. The severity of Iowa weather was mentioned three times, and there was a housing problem in two cases. In only one case did it seem that the unsuccessful relocatee really had no intention of ever moving to Iowa.

The evidence would seem to support screening the wife along with the relocatee in order to decrease the number of unsuccessful relocatees. Also, the relocatee's marriage must be stable, and the relocatee must have a serious intention of moving to Iowa. The relocatee should also be informed about the loneliness he will encounter at the beginning as he overcomes the cultural and geographical gap.

Of course, it is possible that the project's success rate was as high as it could possibly be. During the period 1966-68, STAR Corporation screened 1,212 persons to determine eligibility for relocation. Of these 1,212 persons, it was determined that 1,145 were initially eligible for relocation assistance and 1,116 were both eligible and willing to make a move. From this group of 1,116 persons, 898 were actually referred to out-of-area jobs; 448 of those referred accepted out-of-area jobs and were physically relocated; 331 or 74% of those relocated stayed on their new job for 60 days or more and were thus classified by STAR Corporation

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10. We should add at this point that this section of the report would have been impossible without the cooperation of the STAR Corporation staff and the data they supplied us.

as being successful relocatees. If we compare this STAR Corporation data with similar data for the Iowa relocatees, we find that the respective percentages as shown in Table 5 are quite similar.

Table 5. Comparison Ratios of Individuals Referred to Jobs and Relocated by STAR Corporation: Iowa Project vs. Mississippi Project

<u>Comparison Ratios</u>	<u>STAR-Iowa Relocatees (In Iowa)</u>	<u>STAR Corp. Relocatees (In Mississippi)</u>
Successful Relocatees/ total job referrals	5/15 = 33%	331/898 = 38%
Number accepting job when referred/total job referrals	9/15 = 60%	448/898 = 50%
Successful Relocatees/ total number relocated	5/9 = 55%	331/448 = 74%

Source: Final report and records of STAR Corporation

This similarity could, of course, be an accidental relationship and of no significance, but alternately, it might be an indication that the two groups of relocatees were roughly equal with respect to their willingness and ability to migrate and become successful relocatees.<sup>11</sup> This would suggest that although the Iowa relocatees are a very small group

11. The percentages of successful relocatees is very close with 33% and 38% respectively for Iowa and STAR. The percent of those accepting jobs if referred is again quite close with percentages of 60 & 50 respectively. There is a greater difference for the percentage of successful relocatees with Iowa having 55% and STAR Corp. having 74%. This difference of 19% is not a terribly large difference when we consider that those relocatees judged successful by STAR stay on the job for only 60 days whereas Iowa relocatees judged successful stay for at least six months. This difference in defining success may be a partial explanation for the discrepancy of 19%.

(and are, in fact, a subset of the entire STAR Corporation population), they are a fairly representative sample of STAR Corporation relocatees. This is not too surprising considering that all the relocatees come from roughly the same economic and cultural background.

## VII. Supportive Services

### A. Employment and Mobility Readiness

Supportive services in a project of this type must deal with two sets of problems--employment readiness and mobility readiness. Employment readiness involves preparing the relocatees for the job they will be undertaking after the move. This means becoming accustomed to new farming methods, new working hours, and perhaps new machinery. This part of the supportive services can be undertaken either in the shipping or receiving area. However, it would probably be best administered in the receiving area, in the form of a training and orientation program. The relocatee can be introduced to the new culture, farming techniques, weather conditions, etc. in the receiving area perhaps even before he accepts a specific job. Once he has accepted a job, the relocatee can be given further job training assistance with on-the-job training (OJT). With the job orientation and training being done in the receiving area, it is a great deal easier to assure relevancy in the training and thus help the relocatee prepare for useful employment as quickly as possible.

Of even more importance in a project of this type are the supportive services dealing with mobility readiness. Mobility readiness involves preparing the relocatees (individuals and families) for the problems they will encounter (such as loneliness) in making the transition from a state such as Mississippi to a state such as Iowa. These services



must be supplied on a continuing basis in the receiving area. However, to make the services as relevant as possible the information supplied to the relocatees about the receiving area, and the information available concerning the relocatees must be very accurate and extensive. If for example, a relocatee or a member of his family has a health problem, then this information must be available in depth so that the staff in the receiving area can make sure the correct health services are included among the supportive services.

The provision of supportive services is an absolute necessity in any mobility project of this nature. Without this on-going support many families would never be able to make the move to a better paying job no matter how high the wage differential goes. In the current study we doubt if any of the five successful relocatees would have remained if no supportive services had been available. Moreover, it is very possible that a higher level of supportive services would have increased the number of successful relocatees.

#### B. Evaluation of Need for and Availability of Supportive Services

What conclusions we reach from an evaluation of the need for and the delivery of supportive services in this project? First, the only employment readiness service supplied was on-the-job training. Four of the five successful relocatees were given OJT when they started their farm jobs. The fifth relocatee was brought to Iowa at a time when the OJT program was in transition in Iowa and therefore unavailable. OJT did not play a crucial role in the current project. In fact, many Iowa farmers were not too impressed with the OJT feature

and a few farmers wanted to associate with the mobility project just to receive the OJT money. Of course, in the latter case these farmers were screened out of the project. Our conclusion would be that OJT by itself will probably never play an important role in a program such as this one, but that it should be available for those cases where it might be helpful.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, OJT would probably play a more important role if it were available as a "finishing program" after job training had been made available in an orientation and training program (preferably in the receiving area). This orientation-training program could be fairly short and rely on OJT for giving the relocatees specific skills. Of course, any farmer who was more interested in the OJT money than the relocatee would have to be kept out of the program.

Second, interpersonal relationships are vital in the area of supportive services. Thus the person (or persons) responsible for the supportive services must be under the direct supervision of the project director and must meet the relocatees right from the beginning of the project. The relocatees will discuss their problems only with people they identify with and consider to be friends. If the supportive services are given by an "outsider," the relocatee will hide his problems and seek out the mobility project staff for help or return to the shipping area. Of course, outside agencies can be used to supply the supportive services but they must be present during the first contact the relocatee has in the receiving area so that the relocatee can identify with the supportive service person immediately.

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12. If used, it would be extremely helpful if OJT were incorporated within the prime contract, rather than sub-contracted from another agency.

Third, health problems were very serious in some of the cases encountered in this project. The relocatees and their families must have a physical examination (either in the shipping area or immediately after arriving in the receiving area) so that any health problems are detected and treated quickly. Moreover, serious consideration should be given to incorporating a health insurance program into the mobility project. Some of the successful relocatees encountered high medical bills and did not qualify for private insurance policies or welfare programs.<sup>13</sup>

Fourth, the quality of information concerning the relocatees is vital if the supportive services are to be very helpful. The biggest problem in this respect in the current project was the separation of responsibility in the shipping and receiving areas. If recruitment and job development had been coordinated by the same director (in the receiving area) the flow of information between the two areas would have been greatly improved and this in turn would have resulted in a higher quality level of supportive services.

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13. MDC staff tried to contract with Blue Cross-Blue Shield for coverage, but money allowed in the mobility contract was not sufficient for adequate protection. All of emergency fund money would have been exhausted if it had been allocated for health and medical insurance.

## VIII. Summary and Conclusions

### A. Summary

The relocation of workers from areas of severe labor surplus to areas of labor shortage can yield a high investment to public manpower funds, and will assist in meeting employer manpower needs.

The Mississippi-Iowa Mobility Project has demonstrated that racial discrimination need not be an insurmountable problem, if migrants are carefully chosen, and adequately prepared for change.

A mobility program such as the Iowa-Mississippi project must be selective of both potential workers and employers. Relocates cannot be chosen from the truly disadvantaged, but rather must be selected from those whose value-structure is close to that of the middle-class in rural Iowa. In turn, employers who have a reputation in the community for high labor turnover among hired hands ought to be excluded from the program. Potential workers with family problems, or those who show immaturity in personal or work attitudes should also be excluded.

Relocation of workers should take place in multiples of two or more families within a relocation area.<sup>14</sup> The receiving area should

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14. Multiple mobility would, of course, increase operational problems. Nevertheless we feel that it would still be a worthwhile and effective way of relocating families successfully.

be no more than 30-40 miles away from an urban center, in order to provide maximum supportive services, and also to offer alternative employment opportunities to relocatees if Iowa farm employment proves to be unworkable.

An optimum number of relocated families that can be moved on an experimental project of this nature is about 25 per year. A smaller number produces high administrative costs, while a larger number may tend to develop opposition in the receiving area, and possibly among Black leaders in the home community who may view large-scale mobility as an erosion of political power.

For the best farm jobs in Iowa, occupational training should be considered. If 25 families can be identified for relocation, a farm residential training center in Iowa could be considered as both a transitional relocation point and as a training center in its own right. Completion of a farm training program could impart valuable skills on operation of farm equipment, basic education, and orientation on what to expect as a "way of life" on Iowa farms. A training center could also serve as an interview point for employers, where actual on-site job placement tests could be given to workers.

Iowa farmers have shown receptivity in considering the hiring of Mississippi Blacks, and have shown tolerance and understanding in difficult adjustment cases. In turn, some Mississippi Black families have been able to overcome difficult differences of culture, climate, and race. Successful families have been those with stable marital and family relationships, and in addition, have possessed a "mature" approach to work. Successful families have also been able

to incur short-run hardships in working toward long-run improvement in socio-economic status.<sup>15</sup> In short, successful relocatees have been those who have not fit the stereotype of the disadvantaged Mississippi Black farmer. Nor should we have anticipated any other outcome in this program. Successful migration to another climate and culture cannot be accomplished by those who are "anchored-down" by family or personal handicaps.

A rural to rural manpower relocation project which involves the movement of Blacks from Mississippi to Iowa is not likely to serve the needs of the "bottom-of-the-ladder" disadvantaged worker even with a heavy expenditure of funds for supportive services. A mobility program of the Mississippi-Iowa type is likely to serve only the best of the Mississippi Delta manpower pool.

The Mississippi-Iowa Mobility Project has offered hope of social and economic improvement to a small number of underemployed Delta families. Five families and 32 individuals in these families have exchanged dependency and underemployment for self-sufficiency and permanent employment. These findings suggest that a continuation of the Mobility Project could yield significant economic and non-economic benefits to workers, employers, and society as a whole.

#### B. Policy Implications of Mississippi-Iowa Mobility Project

It is a difficult task to reach conclusions from a project in which

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15. Successful relocation was also very strongly related to the amount of supportive services made available by MDC staff.

only 15 applicants visited Iowa, and where only 5 took jobs and remained in Iowa.

Like the paleontologist who reconstructs the proverbial dinosaur from a few bones discovered in an excavation, our conclusions must be tentative and qualified by the small sample size. Yet, though the sample is small, it is the only sample of its type that we have to work with.<sup>16</sup>

Our first observation is that the Mississippi-Iowa Mobility Project should be continued and broadened to include more workers and employers. From a worker's economic point of view the project represents an excellent investment. It is also a worthwhile investment for employers, government, and society.

A state of permanent underemployment can be transformed into permanent employment for the individual worker, and as a by-product, greater educational and social opportunity for the workers' children will take place over time.

One may argue that workers have not achieved "final" mobility. Continued displacement of labor on Iowa farms may eventually affect those who have migrated from Mississippi. If this occurs, the prospect

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16. The Iowa Conference of the United Church of Christ operated a selective, private Mississippi mobility project over a three-year period, and has relocated four families on Iowa farms. Three of the four families relocated by the United Church of Christ remained in Iowa for more than six months. One family left after one month in Iowa. One family remains in Iowa after having been with the same employer for two years. This family recently moved from the farm to a job in a factory at Fort Dodge, Iowa. Two of the families returned to Mississippi, and the other family moved to Detroit and the man is employed in a factory. Source: Ninth Progress Report, Labor Mobility Project, Iowa State Office of Economic Opportunity, Des Moines, Iowa, February 1969, p. 2.

for the Mississippi migrants is even better -- they will move to Iowa's towns and cities and work at an even higher wage scale.<sup>17</sup>

Current employment on Iowa farms constitutes "transitional mobility". Farm employment for the relocated families is an intermediate point in the mobility process from rural Mississippi to eventual employment and residence in Iowa's urban centers.

Although it would appear on the surface that racial discrimination should play a large role, this actually proved to be less important than first anticipated. A self-screening process was at work which eliminated Iowa farmers and communities with strong negative racial feelings before interviews were made. Those interested in hiring Blacks had first resolved racial problems within their own consciences, or adverse feedback from community had removed those who might have been interested, but had withdrawn themselves from the interviewing process after community pressures had been brought to bear.

Three items appear to be most important in overcoming problems of racial discrimination:

- (1) An obvious and persistent shortage of farm labor, and the inability to meet this shortage from local supplies of manpower;
- (2) A recognition of this shortage and an absence of strong racial feelings on the part of the employer and community;
- (3) Strong support from the religious leaders of a community which

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17. By August 1969 two of the five relocated families moved to Des Moines to non-farm jobs which pay \$80-100 a week.



provides moral leadership on the racial problem.<sup>18</sup>

Given the presence of these three factors, a community's response can be favorable with friendly reception and an absence of overt hostility.

At that time of initiation of this project there was considerable discussion by program planners regarding the advisability and feasibility of "preparing the community for change." The experience gained on this project seems to indicate that for rural-farm areas it is best to avoid large-scale community planning efforts. Too much planning seems to exaggerate the fears of people in the community, and to initiate organized opposition to the hiring of Blacks. A far better procedure is to deal directly with individual employers, on a person-to-person basis. This, of course, might not be an optimum procedure in relocating large numbers of Blacks to an all-White community. In this case it may be preferable to convince the leaders of a community before initiating a relocation program.

It appears that cultural differences constitute serious handicaps in relocating workers to Iowa, possibly greater than the problem of racial discrimination. None of the Whites who migrated from Mississippi to Iowa were successful in their move. All returned to Mississippi,

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18. The role of church groups and clergymen is significant in relocating Mississippi farm families. As previously indicated, the Iowa Conference of the United Church of Christ, working through an interdenominational task force, has supported a private Mississippi to Iowa Mobility Project. Also the Manpower Development Council's project director, Mr. Eldon Ringle, is an ordained minister. Reverend Cyril Engler, a Catholic priest, provided considerable assistance to relocated farm families. Also, assistance was provided by Reverend James Nicholson, Methodist minister, Norwalk, Iowa.

being unable to overcome the culture-gap. The pace of work, differences of climate, and the expectations of Iowa farmers in recruiting a highly motivated, hard-working work force were serious factors in discouraging a number of White families from staying on jobs in Iowa. (Also, it should be noted, the educational level of Whites was less than that of Blacks.)

The importance of family stability and cohesiveness cannot be overestimated. The shock effect of moving to a new culture simply cannot be sustained with a weak marriage which faces serious stress and conflict.

One strong recommendation which emerges from the mobility project is that in all cases the wife (and often the whole family) must accompany the worker on the job interview. The decision to migrate must be a shared one by the whole family.

Also, much more emphasis needs to be placed on developing a case history of the family prior to relocation. This information should be made available to those providing supportive services prior to job placement. In addition, a medical examination of all members of a family should be a routine part of the relocation process, and possibly even educational achievement tests for children.

While the project has enjoyed a favorable response from Iowa farm operators, there is a need for a more concentrated emphasis upon the preparation of the potential farm employer to change. In turn, there is a need for considerably more orientation of potential recruits in Mississippi on life in Iowa communities and on Iowa farms.<sup>19</sup>

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19. Iowa State University television station, WOI-TV in Ames, developed a documentary film which depicts the Iowa experiences of one of the relocated farm families. This film is available on rental or may be purchased.

The success of relocation appears in part to be a direct function of supportive services and assistance given to workers by the mobility staff. Assistance, in turn, is a function of the geographical proximity of the mobility staff to placed workers.

It is interesting to note that three of the four returnees had been placed more than 100 miles from Mobility staff offices in Des Moines while the fourth was 60 miles away. Four of the five relocated families, however, were placed less than 40 miles from Des Moines.<sup>20</sup> Project workers (a total of two in Iowa) found difficulty in giving adequate supportive services to those who were located on farms which were distant from Des Moines.

Two of the returnee families had very unstable marital relationships, with open division and hostility between spouses. In at least five out of nine families "immaturity of attitude" was noted by both the mobility staff and outside project evaluators. "Immaturity of attitude" was defined as an inability to anticipate future rewards by structuring current behavior in a meaningful and rational manner. Also included in this concept was an inability to overcome homesickness and isolation from friends.

To properly administer a mobility project of this nature, staff in both supply and demand areas must be adequate in number and operationally coordinated. Splitting contractual responsibilities between

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20. The fifth family was relocated about 110 miles from Des Moines, but since this was the last family that arrived in Iowa, MDC staff was able to give closer attention to placement and pre-employment supportive services.

two separate agencies in the two areas, as was done in this project, dilutes responsibility and authority.

Numerous supportive services must be planned and provided for -- most of which are unanticipated at the time of job interview.

The mobility project must be fairly long-term and results must be evaluated over a long-term period. A three-year horizon is probably optimum, with annual evaluation of the operation. The relocation area should be located in counties close to staff offices.

Interviewers in the labor supply area will have to screen applicants and to reject those who have family, personal, or social handicaps which create a high probability of failure. The decision to move must be a family decision. The hardcore individual or family is most unsuited for relocation in Iowa. In fact, a potentially successful worker must have the following characteristics:

(1) A stable marriage, with a mature wife who is willing to endure isolation from friends in order to improve the family's economic position;

(2) A male family head possessing a strong sense of self-discipline, and a will to succeed in spite of difficulty in the short-run. Hostility of the community is not as significant as isolation from friends and a completely different cultural environment;

(3) The family must have a latent middle-class value structure that somehow must emerge in spite of environmental features in Mississippi which tend to stunt the growth of middle-class values among Blacks.

C. A "Model" Farm Mobility Program

To provide guidelines for future programs of this nature we will bring together the salient experiences gained under the Iowa-Mississippi Mobility Project into a "model" framework. If an evaluation report is to have any function at all, it should address itself to the question of developing effective programs and to avoid the pitfalls, errors, and shortcomings of past experiences.

Our model will be concerned with organizational structure, intake operation in the shipping area, job development and placement in the receiving area, followup case work, and program evaluation.

1. Organizational Structure

a) Establish direct responsibility and authority

The most important aspect of organizational structure is the establishment of responsibility and authority in a single contracting party. Some aspects of a project can be contracted out, but one and only one organizational entity must assume basic responsibility.

b) In-service staff training

Staff directly associated with the mobility project should receive adequate in-service training. Familiarity with conditions in receiving and shipping areas should be emphasized.

c) Project demonstration by operating agency

If the goal of the demonstration project is eventual adoption by an established manpower agency,

it is most advisable for the contract to be developed with the agency which will eventually handle the program. If State Employment Security Offices will handle the operational program, they should be involved in the demonstration phase. The experience gained by "ad hoc" contractors cannot be efficiently transmitted to an operational agency.

In the Iowa-Mississippi project, MDC staff had become highly trained during the program. Skills gained, however, were lost when the project terminated.

2. Intake Operation in Shipping Area

a) Use of visual aids and promotional materials

Potential relocatees must be sought out through an active promotional campaign. It is not enough to specify wages and working conditions and then to expect any number of individuals to apply.

Existing, and even new, promotional materials must be developed and made available to counselors in the shipping area. Also, these materials should focus upon families that have made a successful move in the past.

b) Screening applicants

Although we do not recommend administering written tests, we do suggest that severely handicapped persons and families be screened out of a

program of this type. Relocation to a new and significantly different environment is enough of a handicap without the burdens of a weak marriage, severe health problems, or emotional immaturity. At the same time, we do not recommend screening out those with a low educational record. This does not appear to us to be a significant handicap.

c) Skill development, supportive services, and on-the-job training

Inasmuch as farming in Iowa differs significantly from Mississippi farming, it would be beneficial to develop a training component. We recommend that families be relocated in groups to a farm training center in the Mid-West's Corn Belt Region. Such a center already serves this region and is located in Lincoln, Nebraska. Alternatively, a new training facility could be established on a farm in Missouri or Iowa. In addition to training, such a center could act as a "funnel" in eventually moving families to farms. Employers would have the opportunity of meeting workers at this training center, and observing work habits and skills.

The need for pre-employment supportive services, even if the most disadvantaged are excluded,

is apparent. These services should be provided by mobility staff members, since the element of trust and confidence is so important to relocatees. A family case worker should be brought in to work with families as soon as interest in relocation develops.

On-the-job training was not utilized effectively on the Iowa-Mississippi Project. Our recommendation is that OJT be coupled with institutional training provided at a proposed farm labor training center, with a curriculum spelled out for OJT as a continuing part of institutional training.

### 3. Placement and Job Development in Receiving Area

#### a) Placement

Since there are differences of culture between employers and relocatees, problems may develop in defining and understanding hours of work, working conditions, wages, and other aspects of work and life on the farm. To minimize misunderstanding and to improve the "meeting of the minds" between employer and relocatees we recommend that a written work contract be developed and a copy made available to the employer, relocatee, and the project staff. For example, some of the items in the contract would specify use of an employer's car for personal transportation, time off for



shopping and personal affairs, hours per day, days per week, overtime and compensatory time, wages and wage related benefits, medical and hospital insurance, work duties, and possible wage increases and changes in work duties. Additional items could be included depending upon special conditions facing an employer's operations or a worker's abilities and preferences.

b) Job development

Mobility staff should concentrate upon developing jobs which are in close proximity to project offices. To reduce travel costs and staff time, and maximize the effectiveness of supportive services, jobs should be developed within a manageable area of possibly ten counties surrounding a central city.

Care must be exercised in selecting employers and developing jobs for a project of this type. Some employers, offering poor working conditions and unable to recruit permanent workers through normal labor market activities, may seek to obtain relocatees through the mobility project. Only the best employer, offering good working conditions, should be permitted to participate in this program.

4. Followup Case Work

Relocatees are in need of varied and heavy inputs of

shopping and personal affairs, hours per day, days per week, overtime and compensatory time, wages and wage related benefits, medical and hospital insurance, work duties, and possible wage increases and changes in work duties. Additional items could be included depending upon special conditions facing an employer's operations or a worker's abilities and preferences.

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4. Followup Case Work

Relocatees are in need of varied and heavy inputs of

supportive services. These can be utilized effectively only if there exists a close interpersonal relationship between those supplying services and relocatees. We recommend that a family case worker who is known and trusted by a relocated family, accompany each person supplying supportive services. Relocatees will not, on their own volition seek out supportive services, nor will full cooperation be given unless the person supplying services is known and trusted.

#### 5. Program Evaluation

We recommend the continuation of an outside observer for the purpose of providing evaluation. Periodic evaluation reports should be provided as "feedback" information for the mobility project and possible changes implemented during the course of the program. Since some aspects of the evaluation may at times reflect upon the sponsoring agency, we recommend that alternate means of funding be set up, possibly through foundation sources, to prevent possible leverage effects upon the evaluators by those controlling funds supplied for the evaluation contract. An alternative arrangement would be for the sponsoring agency to conduct its own in-house evaluation, thereby avoiding possible substantive and procedural conflicts with outside observers on observations and recommendations.