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ABSTRACT
                This study surveyed experiences and characteristics
of hard core unemployed black men entering a vestibule training
program conducted by a large manufacturing firm; and a comparison
group of "direct hires." Vestibule trainees were guaranteed an entry
level job after completing several weeks of training. Turnover among
direct hires was attributed largely to monotonous, physically
exhausting, or dangerous working conditions reported; but several
personal characteristics (being young and unmarried, poor job
history, not having to pay most of one's household bills and darker
skin) were also relevant. Training program turnover was related to
trainee attitudes toward the scheduling of training sessions; it was
highest among darker skinned trainees with militant racial attitudes.
Although training may have changed attitudes (especially toward time,
work. and personal sense of achievement), it had no discernible
effect on job skill development or subsequent turnover. Emphasis was
urged on improving working conditions on industrial entry level jobs
rather than training men to adapt to unpleasant, high turnover jobs.
(The document includes questionnaires, 50 tables and figures, and
items used in statistical comparisons.) (LY)

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TURNOVER AND TRAINING:

A SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF DISADVANTAGED WORKERS

by

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ABSTRACT

The experiences and personal characteristics of two groups of disadvantaged workers were studied. The "trainees" were a group of "hard core unemployed" black men entering a vestibule training program conducted by a large manufacturing company. After completing several weeks of training, these trainees were guaranteed employment on an entry-level job in the company. The second group was a matched sample of "direct hires" who began working on entry-level jobs in the same company without receiving vestibule training.

The study asked four general questions concerning turnover among these groups of men and the effects of the training program upon them.

1. What factors were associated with turnover from the job among newly hired disadvantaged workers? Turnover among the direct hires was for the most part attributable to the poor quality of the working conditions they reported experiencing. Although few characteristics of the personalities of the direct hires were associated with turnover, several demographic and background characteristics were associated with high rates of termination: being young; having a poor job history; being unmarried; not having to pay most of one's household bills; and having a darker complexion.

2. What factors were associated with turnover from the training program among disadvantaged workers? The only characteristic of the training program that was related to turnover from the training program was the scheduling of the training sessions. Among the study's measures of trainees' values and attitudes, only their attitudes toward adjusting their lives to time schedules were associated with turnover. Turnover was particularly high among the young black trainees whose complexions

were darker and whose racial attitudes were more militant.

3. What changes did the training program effect in trainees? Training had no discernable effect on trainees' familiarity with the jobs on which they were placed after completion of training. The training program was possibly more successful in modifying some of the trainees' attitudes, particularly their attitudes toward time, the importance which they attached to work for work's sake, and their sense of personal efficacy with regard to achievement. Generally the effects of the training program upon trainees appeared to be slight.

4. Did workers who had completed the training program have significantly greater success in keeping a company job than comparable men who did not get into the training program but instead went directly onto the job? Comparisons between the termination rates of the direct hires and the men who had gone through the training program indicated that the training program had no effect upon subsequent turnover from the job.

The general conclusion was that the company's vestibule training program was irrelevant to the social problem of providing steady jobs for the disadvantaged. Any possible effects of training appeared to be undone by the poor quality of the jobs which the trainees secured after completing training. It was recommended that efforts be directed toward improving the quality of working conditions on entry-level jobs in industry rather than training men to adapt to these unpleasant, high-turnover jobs.

1. INTRODUCTION

An increasing number of industrial concerns are undertaking
programs to hire and train disadvantaged workers. Many such programs
have received wide and glowing publicity in the mass media and enthu-
siastic testimonials from their sponsors. These testimonials are, how-
ever, characteristically based upon rather frail evidence. The amount
of available research concerning the effects of these programs is tiny
in comparison to the amounts of time and money that have been invested
in the development and execution of such programs. Even the bulk of the
research that is available is largely that of a "head-counting" variety,
tabulating the number of workers who enter such programs, the number who
complete such programs, and the number who subsequently secure jobs at
various pay levels. While companies undertaking training programs for
the disadvantaged are seldom at a loss to mention the hundreds or
thousands of disadvantaged people they have hired and trained, they
generally fail to report how many such new employees remain on company
payrolls for significant lengths of time. Hiring statistics are widely
publicized; meaningful turnover statistics are not. For lack of even
modest social-psychological data concerning the effects of training pro-
grams upon those who participate in them, unchallenged publicity has
begun to make training programs sound like panaceas for solving the
economic plight of the disadvantaged. Only in recent months, in a

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series of congressional hearings, have such programs begun to be
scrutinized more carefully.

This document reports the findings from a study of one large
manufacturing company's efforts to provide jobs for the disadvantaged.
The company was simultaneously employing two quite different strategies
for providing these jobs, and in doing so it presented an opportunity to
observe a fairly well controlled "natural experiment" in which the rela-
tive effectiveness of the two strategies could be compared. It further
presented an opportunity to investigate some of the conditions underly-
ing a problem which has troubled many companies' efforts to employ and
train the disadvantaged--the problem of turnover.

The company's first strategy for providing jobs for the dis-
advantaged entailed no more than the practice of priority hiring of dis-
advantaged workers. Workers under this recruitment program were, once
they had passed the company's physical examination, assigned directly to
doing productive labor at one of the company's plants. No initial train-
ing was provided other than a one to three day orientation which some of
the company's plants provided all new employees. Once assigned to the
job, the worker was accorded neither special treatment nor supportive
services. This strategy was therefore strictly a hiring program for the
disadvantaged, since these disadvantaged "direct hires" were treated
like all other entry-level employees.

The second and far more ambitious program employed by the com-
pany provided an opportunity for each newly hired disadvantaged worker
to undergo several weeks of vestibule training prior to beginning work on
an entry level job in the company. The trainee was "hired" by the company

only in the sense that he was paid an hourly stipend during training.
A typical trainee remained in the program for several weeks until he was
either terminated from the program (and thereby terminated from the
company) or was judged by the training staff to be "job ready." If the
trainee was judged to be job ready, and a job opening in a company plant
was available, he was graduated from the training program and assigned
to a job in the company. At the beginning of his training, each trainee
was told by the company that regular employment would be guaranteed him
contingent upon his successful completion of training.

The present study focuses both upon disadvantaged workers who
began working in the company as "direct hires" and upon the disadvantaged
who joined the company's vestibule training program. The study was
designed to answer four general questions:

1. What circumstances and personal characteristics were associated
with turnover from the job among the direct hires?

2. What circumstances and personal characteristics were associated
with turnover from the training program among the trainees?

3. What effects did the training program have upon trainees' skills,
beliefs, and attitudes?

4. Did the training program increase trainees' chances of staying
in the company and remaining on a company job?

2. THE OVERALL RESEARCH DESIGN

The Research Site

The research was conducted in a large company engaged in manu-
facturing both heavy and light machinery. Although the company main-
tains manufacturing facilities throughout the country, interviews and
observations in the present study were obtained only from several of the
company's heavy-manufacturing plants located in one northern metropoli-
tan area.

The company's training program for disadvantaged workers was
supported financially by the Manpower Administration of the U.S. Depart-
ment of Labor through M-1, M-2, and M-3 contracts. The company was
reimbursed by the government for each training program graduate who was
placed on a company job and who remained on the job for a specified num-
ber of days. The program represented a joint business and governmental
effort to provide jobs for the disadvantaged that was carried out within
the more general framework of the National Alliance of Businessmen's
efforts to help the "hard core unemployed."

The impetus for the present study came from the combined
interests of the Manpower Administration and the Survey Research Center.
Although done in the company, the study was not initiated by the company.
The company's participation in the study was entirely voluntary,
although this participation was under the potentially coercive circum-
stance that the government department supporting the study was the same

department that was providing the company with the funds for underwriting its training program. Enthusiasm for the training program among those managerial and training program staff who talked with the investigators in the course of the study was very high. The degree of co-operation of these people with the Survey Research Center was also generally quite high, and--except in some instances where daily company operations superseded the needs of the study--access was provided by the company to all the available information requested by the Survey Research Center.

The Samples

General Characteristics

The population studied were black males who, as either direct hires or trainees, entered the company within an arbitrarily defined time period. All the men entering the training program were certified as being "hard core unemployed" by representatives of the State Employment Service. Direct hires were certified as "hard core unemployed" either by the State Employment Service or by duly-authorized company representatives. Those people who made such "official" certifications indicated that the following criteria entered into this determination of a man's "hard core unemployed" status:

1. being a member of a minority group;

2. being quite young or quite old;

3. being "poorly" educated, generally defined as not having completed high school;

4. having had a bad, spotty, or nonexistent employment history;

5. having recently migrated from the South.

Although these criteria are fairly explicit, how much weight was
assigned to each criterion by various officials to particular individ-
uals was quite vague. The company and State Employment Service repre-
sentatives indicated to the investigators only two "rules of thumb"
which they followed. A man would, according to them, be categorized as
"hard core unemployed" if either (a) he met "several" of the criteria
above or (b) he was a minority group member (especially if he was black)
and met one of the other criteria. In some cases being a young black
man was sufficient for a man to be certified as "hard core unemployed."

In terms of the five criteria listed above that could result in
a man's being certified as "hard core unemployed," the following were
characteristics of the men interviewed in the present study.

1. All were black.

2. They were generally young with a mean age of 23.4 years
   (SD = 7.0 years). Only twelve percent were over 30 years
   of age.

3. Their mean educational level was 10.4 years (SD = 1.7 years).
   Twenty-eight percent were high school graduates.

4. The mean number of jobs they had held in the last two years
   was 2.2 jobs (SD = 1.1 jobs).

5. Seventy-five percent were born in the northern state where
   the company was located. Only 18 percent had migrated from
   the South.

The Seven Samples

Although supplemented at many points by observational and other
types of information, most of the data reported below were obtained from
347 personal interviews with men selected from the population just
described. These men were divided into seven samples defined by:
(1) whether the man was a direct hire or a trainee; (2) whether he had
or had not terminated from the company at the time of his interview;
and (3) the time during his company career at which he was interviewed.
The samples were selected by the Survey Research Center, not the company.
The manner in which these samples were selected, the criteria on which
the samples were matched, and the overlap of some of the samples made
the study's design quite complicated in execution. To describe these
complexities at this point in the report appears premature, since most
of the complexities are not relevant to the following two sections of
the report--which comprise about two-thirds of the data to be presented.

For these reasons, each of the seven samples and relevant method-
ology will be described in detail only at the beginning of each section
that employs data from a particular sample. Each section of the report
will be treated as a "study within a study" oriented towards one of the
four general research questions asked earlier. For the present, it
should be sufficient to know how many men were in each sample, how each
sample was generally defined, and the time at which the interviews were
collected. This information is presented in Table 1.

The Interviewing Situation

All nine young men interviewing the direct hires and trainees
were part-time employees who were advanced undergraduate students at

TABLE 1

THE SEVEN SAMPLES

Sample	Sample size	Description	Weeks during which sample was interviewed[a]
Direct hire inductees	24	Direct hires interviewed just after they had been accepted by the company for employment but just before they had been assigned to a job	10-18
Direct hire terminees	27	Direct hires interviewed shortly after having terminated from the company	13-21
Direct hire stays	39	Direct hires who had been in the company as long as direct hire terminees but who at the time of their interview had not terminated from the company	13-19
Trainee inductees	90	Trainees interviewed just after they had been accepted into the training program but just before they had begun training	2-5
Trainee terminees	55	Trainees interviewed shortly after having terminated from the training program	1-13
Trainee stays	90	Trainees who had been in the training program as long as trainee terminees but who at the time of their interview had not terminated from the training program	1-14
Placed trainees	22	Trainees who had completed the training program and who at the time of their interview were working on company jobs	10-19

[a]Weeks are presented in number of elapsed weeks, beginning with the week the first interview in the study was obtained.

northern colleges. Several had prior experience working in plants
similar to those in the company. One other man was also employed in the
data collection in a rather unusual, but highly valuable capacity. He
was an older man of imposing mien who had had several years of interview-
ing experience and who lived and worked in the inner-city where many of
the men interviewed lived. He was employed exclusively to set up inter-
views wi..; terminees whom the interviewers otherwise found difficult to
locate.

The response rate for terminees was quite high compared to other
in-the-home interview studies of the disadvantaged which require the
location of specific people. According to Table 2, 72 percent of the
terminees who were sought for interviews were located and consented to
be interviewed. The largest percentage of nonresponses was due to a
terminee's not being located. Five percent of the terminees were
located but had moved so far from the geographical area in which inter-
viewing was economically feasible that they were classified among the
nonresponses. Less than 5 percent of the terminees refused to be inter-
viewed once they had been contacted by the interviewer.

One condition favoring such a comparatively high response rate
may have been the payment to each terminee of five dollars in cash at
the completion of his interview. Although five dollars was not a large
amount, it was quite good payment for only an hour or so of the man's
time. This payment also provided the interviewers with a ready answer
to a terminee's question of "what's in it for me?"

All the interviews in the study were face-to-face interviews and
contained no questionnaires to be filled out or any other materials that

TABLE 2

OUTCOMES OF ATTEMPTS TO OBTAIN INTERVIEWS WITH TERMINEES

Outcome	Percentage of interviews (N = 114)
Terminee was successfully located and interview was completed	72%
Terminee was located but was presently living outside the geographical radius within which interviewing was conducted; an interview was therefore not secured	5
Terminee's last known address was nonexistent or vacant	6
Terminee had moved or was "missing," leaving no forwarding address	12
Interview was not completed because of worker's refusal; other reasons	5

the respondent would have to read. Since some respondents would have

had difficulty reading and writing, none was asked to do so.

All workers interviewed were, of course, assured the protection

of complete confidentiality. Considerable effort was also exerted by

the interviewers to make clear to the worker that (a) the interviewer

worked for the Survey Research Center and not the company, and (b) it

was a Survey Research Center and not a company study.

Content of the Interviews

Each of the seven samples was given an interview which was

tailored to the unique circumstance of the particular sample. Two inter-

views which, when taken together, contained all the questions employed

in the full set of seven interviews are presented in Appendix B.
Appendix A further indicates which of the interview questions were com-
bined into multi-item indices.

The seven interviews differed somewhat in their time perspec-
tives. For example, whereas direct hire stays were asked about their
present jobs, direct hire terminees were asked about the company jobs
they had just left. The referents of certain questions also varied from
sample to sample. For example, whereas direct hires were asked about
their foremen, trainees were asked comparable questions about the train-
ing staff. In spite of these differences, the seven interviews for the
most part followed similar lines of questioning. The first part of each
interview concerned a man's reactions to either the content of the train-
ing program (if he was a trainee) or the content of his job (if he was a
direct hire). Included in this series of questions concerning the
"content" of the job or the training program were several questions
dealing with a man's relations with others in the company who were
either his peers or who supervised or trained him. The next major part
of the interview concerned each man's beliefs and attitudes concerning
both himself and selected aspects of his environment. Particularly
emphasized in this part of the interview were a man's self-confidence
and sense of personal efficacy, his attitudes toward work in general,
and his beliefs and attitudes concerning racial matters. The last part
of most interviews was devoted to questions concerning each man's back-
ground and certain of his current life circumstances that might affect
his remaining in the company. For three samples of workers additional
lines of questioning were followed. The two samples of terminees were

asked about the circumstances surrounding their termination, and the

placed trainees were asked to provide hindsight evaluations of how much

help the training program had been to them on their current jobs.

3. JOB TURNOVER AMONG NEWLY HIRED DISADVANTAGED
WORKERS

Assumptions and Analysis
Strategy

The basic assumption of this section is that turnover from a job

is not an idiosyncratic or unpredictable event but is instead consist-

ently and meaningfully related to measurable characteristics of both

jobs and the workers who hold them. Countless studies have demonstrated

that the likelihood of a worker's terminating from his job is related to

the level of his satisfaction with that job. But simply to attribute

all turnover to low job satisfaction is insufficient, since it ignores

why a worker is dissatisfied and many other factors which determine his

decision to leave his job, particularly his perception that he can secure

a better job elsewhere. More importantly, it assumes that most job

terminations are voluntary. Even the most satisfied worker is likely to

terminate from his job, although involuntarily, .f he fails to meet the

demands of his job.

Most of the data in the pages to follow indicate which character-

istics of workers' jobs or the workers themselves were associated with

whether or not a newly hired disadvantaged worker terminated from his

job in the company. The analysis strategy employed was that of the

standard turnover study in which the behavior to be predicted is leaving

the organization, either through dismissal or voluntarily. The relevant

data are the different likelihoods of termination for workers with

different personal characteristics or different experiences in the
organization. Those conditions which are significantly associated with
different rates of term'ration from the organization are regarded as the
reasons underlying the turnover behavior.

This analysis strategy will be applied in the following pages to data
obtained from interviews with two samples of direct hires: direct hire
terminees and direct hire stays.

FIGURE 1

SAMPLES USED IN DIRECT HIRE TURNOVER ANALYSIS

Population: Black men entering the company, all of whom were certified
as "hard core unemployed"

Sub-population: Direct hires going directly onto company jobs without
receiving vestibule training

27 direct hire terminees who
quit or were fired from their
jobs within their first six
weeks in the company

39 direct hire stays who entered the
company at the same time as the ter-
minees but who at the time they were
interviewed were still working.
Stays were selected so as to match
terminees in terms of the distribu-
tions of their ages, the plants
where they worked, and the number of
weeks they had been on the company
prior to being interviewed. Three
men interviewed as stays who subse-
quently terminated before their
first six weeks in the company had
elapsed were excluded from the
analysis.

In order to select the sample of direct hire terminees, a list-
ing of 232 newly hired disadvantaged workers was constructed. All

workers on this listing, or "tracking sample," were drawn from the popu-
lation described in the preceding section. Newly hired workers were
selected from the population according to stratification criteria that
were intended to yield a listing of direct hires which conformed as
closely as possible to the trainee inductee sample in terms of age, edu-
cation, and the plants at which the men were assigned jobs; such a match-
ing of sampleu on these three criteria was possible because data on the
trainee inductee sample had already been collected at the time the list-
ing of direcc hires was constructed. Within these strata, selection of
direct hires to be put on the listing was randon. Company staff members
at each of the plants examined their plants' personnel rolls twice a week
to determine whether any of the men in the "tracking sample" listing had
just terminated. Once a direct hire terminee had thus been identified
and the Survey Research Center had been informed of his termination, an
interviewer contacted the terminee in his home for an interview. All 27
direct hire terminees had terminated within six weeks after joining the
company and were interviewed within two weeks after their termination.

The direct hire stays were all selected from the same "tracking
sample" listing as the direct hire terminees. The difference between
the terminees and stays was that at the time of their interview the
stays were still working on their company jobs. The sample of 39 direct
hire stays[1] was selected to match that of the direct hire terminees in
terms of the distributions of the men's ages, the plants where they

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[1]Shortly after being interviewed, three men who had been inter-
viewed as direct hire stays terminated from the company. In all tables
below which employ termination rate as a dependent variable these three
"false stays" have been excluded.

worked, and the number of weeks they had been on the job prior to being interviewed. All direct hire stays were interviewed on the company's premises.

The Work Situation

The direct hires' experiences in the company, which constitute the basis of most of the data to be presented in this section, can best be understood when the reader has some appreciation of the general quality of working conditions existing in the company's plants. Simply knowing that the direct hires were doing assembly line work in heavy industry is not sufficient, since it invites the application of preconceived notions about such jobs which may not necessarily be applicable to the plants studied. For this reason, the next few pages provide a purely descriptive background for the data to be presented later. This descriptive material has been drawn from personal observations by the investigators and interviewers at the company's plants.

Physical working conditions in the plants were no worse than those of the industry as a whole--dirty, overcrowded, noisy, and (if one failed to take adequate safety precautions) dangerous. Workers unaccustomed to factory life in heavy industry might have found this situation strange and even frightening. There were conveyor lines rumbling on all sides and above, open pits in the floors, and aisles where the worker had constantly to be on guard against the unexpected movement of miscellaneous types of vehicles. The dreary but generally adequate level of lighting was heightened at frequent intervals by efflorescences of hot sparks. The barren set-ups of tables and food-vending machines which

provided lounging and eating facilities were somewhat better than the
work stations. But even these oases could vanish overnight when the
company found itself short of storage space and had to convert a canteen
area into a storage area. In certain areas of the plants, talking with
one's co-workers while working was almost impossible due to the noise
level.

Working conditions in general were definitely above the level of
being intolerable or lethal, but they were hardly pleasant. For example,
although the noise level was below that which would often have caused
hearing impairment, a worker frequently either had to shout to be heard
or else remain silent. As unpleasant as they were, the working condi-
tions were bearable providing the worker learned to sacrifice a few
things, such as privacy, and to adjust his behavior to the existing con-
ditions. Many workers in the company made this adjustment successfully.
But to the worker who was unfamiliar with the more unattractive aspects
of working conditions in heavy industry, the prospect of having to work
under such conditions for an unknown period of time might easily raise
the very appropriate question, "What do I get out of putting up with
this?"

The answer to this question, and the major inducement the com-
pany had to offer its newly hired disadvantaged workers was quite simple
--good pay. The typical direct hire in the study sample was being com-
pensated quite well for his work; he was averaging considerably over
three dollars an hour in gross pay, a respectably high wage for an entry-
level job in any company or industry. He was not, however, working as a
union member, since all men in the study were interviewed within their

first 89 days in the company. After 89 days each worker would automati-
cally become a member of the powerful union which would represent him to
the company and extend to him all the benefits that accompanied union
membership. Once he became a union member he would be able to accumu-
late seniority, thus gaining what the disadvantaged worker rarely enjoys
--some degree of job security and someone to handle his grievances with
his employer.

Since the workers in the study were not union members, they were
often the "first to be fired and last to be rehired" in times of produc-
tion cut-backs. Low seniority in the face of lay-offs and cut-backs
would in many industries be of comparatively little consequence. The
company in the present study, however, was part of an industry that was
sensitive to even small changes in market demands and extremely sensi-
tive to downturns in the national economy. At the time of the initial
drafting of this report, for example, a major lay-off had just occurred.
During the interviewing period of this study there was also another
company-wide lay-off due to a strike in a feeder plant which caused
operations in the assembly plants to be halted for several days and many
employees to be laid off. Some plants routinely closed down every
winter for a period of a few weeks while manufacturing equipment was
being repaired and new equipment installed. The company could there-
fore offer a disadvantaged worker "steady employment" only with the
proviso that he would be probably laid off once a year during the weeks
of annual equipment repair. Moreover, given the frequent strikes, shut-
downs, and lay-offs characteristic of the company during the period of
interviewing in this study, a disadvantaged worker could not have known

for certain whether he would be working from one week to the next.
Since the company had a high rate of turnover among workers at the entry
level, in periods of slow-down the company could usually reduce the size
of its work-force by not hiring new workers rather than by laying-off
presently employed workers. This, however, had troublesome effects on
the company's training program for the disadvantaged. The program some-
times found itself in the awkward position of being about to "graduate"
trainees for whom no jobs were available at the time; as a result, some
"job ready" trainees had to be kept in the program until job openings
became available.

Although the workers studied held company jobs with many dif-
ferent titles, the "typical" worker had a job with the following
characteristics.

a. The job was at the "entry-level" in the company and required
unskilled labor. Adequate performance on the job nevertheless required
that the worker be familiar with certain tools, equipment and operations
that he was to use. Furthermore, certain operations performed by a work-
er could be done far more easily and with considerably less physical
strain to the worker if he was familiar with the "right" way of doing
them.

b. Many jobs consisted of assembly work performed on machinery
carried on a conveyer line. Some of the workers in the study did spot-
welding on the assembled parts rather than assembly work.

c. Almost half the workers interviewed, in their general assignment
to a line assembly position, were not assigned to any one work station.
Instead they were shifted from work station to work station (and in the

process, from foreman to foreman) as dictated by absentee rates at various stations and the needs of foremen at these stations. They were treated as replacement personnel who had no one job focus other than "doing assembly work."

The Termination Event

The sample of 27 direct hire terminees could in principle be further divided into terminees who left the company voluntarily and those who were involuntarily terminated--that is, those who quit and those who were fired. In practice, the division was difficult to make and, once made, was highly questionable. According to the self-reports of the terminees, 56 percent quit and the remainder were fired. But in many cases a worker's report of whether he quit or was fired differed from the company's record of his termination, the only other available source of information upon which the voluntary-involuntary distinction between types of termination could be made empirically. The biggest source of discrepancy between terminees' reports and company records resulted from the company's officially discharging a worker after a specified number of days of unexcused absence from work. A worker might therefore think he was quitting simply by not showing up for work; but according to the company's records, he would be classified as having been discharged because of unexcused absenteeism. More ambiguous and more tragic situations were occasionally encountered in the course of the study. In a few cases the interviewer visited the home of a direct hire who had been officially terminated by the company only to find that the worker was ill and thought he was still employed; no interview was attempted in such cases.

Despite the small sample of thirteen direct hire terminees who regarded themselves as having quit and the ambiguity of this classification, their reasons for quitting (Q317)[1] are of some interest. They cited 20 reasons for quitting, some of the men giving more than one reason:

--five said that their work was too hard, fast, or physically taxing

--three indicated a dislike for a specific task associated with their jobs

--three reported personal difficulties with their foremen

--two felt that they worked under unpleasant or dangerous physical conditions

--two felt that they did not have the skills necessary for their jobs

--three reported miscellaneous work-related reasons for quitting

--two indicated that they quit for reasons not related their jobs.

The most interesting aspect of these figures is the low number of direct hires who reported quitting for reasons not related to their jobs. An earlier study of voluntary terminations of blue-collar workers in one of the company's plants reported that about 40 percent of the reasons given for quitting were not related to a company job.[2] The company's workers in the present study, however, apparently felt quite inclined to attribute their quitting the company directly to disliked characteristics of their jobs.

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[1] The parenthetical entries beginning "I" or "Q" in the text and tables refer to the index or question upon which the relevant data were based. Question numbers correspond to the parenthetical question numbers that appear in the right column of the interview schedules included in Appendix B. Indices are described in Appendix A.

[2] The study cannot be cited without jeopardizing the anonymity of the company.

Among direct hire terminees who reported that they were fired,
a majority indicated that they were fired because of absenteeism or
tardiness (Q318). Almost as many indicated that they were discharged
because their supervisors felt that they were not performing up to
standard in one way or another.

Several tables to be presented in later pages indicate that the
men who terminated reported experiencing significantly poorer working
conditions than those experienced by men who did not terminate. One
possible explanation of the differences reported in these tables is that
terminees, because of (but not prior to) their termination, had adopted
a negative attitude toward the company. If this were the case, most
might be expected not to want to return to their company jobs. Table 3
indicates otherwise, since it shows that almost half (45%) of those who
terminated from the company wished they were back working for the
company again.

Why did these terminees who wanted to be back on the job not
just return to the company and request to be rehired? Other than the
fact that many had just been fired, there were few openings available.
This was especially true for the group of direct hires who joined and
terminated from the company at the time the study was being conducted.
When the interviewing of direct hires began there was a sudden upsurge
of employment to compensate for the personnel losses which had resulted
from a strike-related shutdown occurring just before interviewing began.
As the interviewing got underway and the company's economic health began

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[1]For a further discussion of the implications of this possibili-
ty, see the Summary at the end of Section 4.

TABLE 3

TYPE OF DIRECT HIRE[a] TERMINATION AND DIRECT HIRE TERMINEES' WISHES
TO BE BACK WORKING ON COMPANY JOB

Direct hire terminees' wishes to be back working on company job (Q321)	Type of termination (Q316)		
	Direct hires who quit	Direct hires who were fired	TOTAL
Wished to be back	19%	26%	45%
Did not wish to be back	37	18	55
TOTAL	56%	44%	100% (N=27)

[a]All data in this table and in the remaining tables of this section were obtained exclusively from interviews with direct hire stays or direct hire terminees; no data obtained from direct hire inductees are presented in this section. Therefore the designation "direct hire" in any table in this section should be read as "direct hire stay and/or terminee."

Note:--Tables in this report present data in terms of percentages. In all tables the percentages exclude from their bases men who either (a) provided "missing information" on the question (e.g., could not answer the question, gave an uncodable answer, or failed to be asked the question by the interviewer), or (b) were not asked the question because of their responses to other questions (e.g., a worker who did not want any other job in the company in preference to his present one was not asked the question concerning the likelihood of his ever getting this "other" job). Where, as in the latter case, a subgroup of men has been systematically excluded from a table, the excluded subgroup will be described in a footnote to the table. The base numbers upon which percentages are based will be given parenthetically.

to ebb slightly with the receding tide of the national economy, the pool

of job openings in the company at the entry level began to dry up. The

direct hires joined the company when jobs were comparatively plentiful,

but a direct hire terminee would have had to reapply for a job at a time

when hiring was at a lower level. Furthermore, some of the direct hire

terminees did not apply to be rehired by the company because they had
taken new jobs outside the company. Within the two weeks between the
time of their termination and the time of their interview, a quarter of
the direct hire terminees had secured new jobs, although none of their
jobs paid as well as had their former company jobs.

Data to be presented in Section 6 indicate that the company had
quite a high turnover rate among its newly hired disadvantaged workers.
Among the sample of disadvantaged direct hires whose company careers
were followed in the study, 42 percent terminated within their first six
weeks of work. This turnover could, we suspect, have been reduced some-
what had the company's personnel offices been more responsive to manage-
ment's desires to retain the company's newly hired disadvantaged workers.
Although the company's efforts to meet its commitment to _hire_ the dis-
advantaged were generally successful, once a man had been hired and
began to have difficulty with his job, the company's "business as usual"
personnel practices did not work to his advantage. Job reassignments
which removed him from the job or foreman that was causing him trouble
were few. Being able to request and secure a better job assignment was
one of the benefits of union membership in the company. Union seniority
dictated the granting of such requests. The company's newly hired
workers not only lacked such seniority but were not even union members.
Their requests for reassignment had therefore to be largely informal ones.
The personnel staff at times tried to iron out difficulties between a
man and his foreman, but the staff found little available time in which
to do so. In ambiguous cases of dismissal the foreman's word usually
prevailed over that of the worker, and the worker was fired. An ironic

situation was thereby created. The company's management was making a concerted effort to hire the disadvantaged; it was also to the company's best interest to retain as many qualified disadvantaged workers as possible. At the same time, 42 percent of the newly hired disadvantaged workers terminated from the company before six weeks had elapsed, and almost half of these men wished they were back working in the company (Table 3). The company's personnel offices had therefore terminated some men whom management might have wished to keep on its payroll, many of whom in turn wished they had not been terminated in the first place. The situation seems to have profited nobody.

The Content of the Worker's Job

March and Simon's[1] analysis of turnover suggests that an unsatisfying job will not necessarily lead to a worker's leaving a company if he feels that there is a good chance that he can be reassigned to a job which is more to his liking. But where he feels that his chances for altering his job assignment are poor, the chances he will quit his job will be high. The description provided above of the job of the "typical" direct hire suggested that his job was hardly satisfying in terms of its content, since it was generally a dirty and danger- ous entry level job; data presented below indicate that it was unattrac- tive to the worker in other ways as well. According to March and Simon's hypothesis that turnover from an unsatisfying job will be highest when the worker perceives there is little opportunity for changing his job assignment, the disadvantaged workers in the company who would be least likely to remain on their unsatisfying jobs would be expected to

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[1]J. March and H. Simon, Organizations. (New York: Wiley, 1958).

be those who saw the least likelihood of bettering their job assignments.
Table 4 shows that this is indeed the case. It compares two groups of
direct hires who differed in terms of their perception of how hard it
would be to get a new job assignment if they did not like their current
ones. Sixty-four percent of those who reported that they would find it
hard to change their job assignments had terminated, while only 24 per-
cent of those who reported they would not find it hard had terminated.
The disadvantaged worker's feeling that his job assignment was not
immutable and could be changed by one means or another therefore appears
to have greatly influenced his decision to remain on his present job in
the hope of a subsequent job change.

TABLE 4

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' BELIEFS
OF HOW HARD IT WOULD BE FOR THEM TO OBTAIN A NEW JOB ASSIGNMENT
IF THEY DID NOT LIKE THEIR CURRENT COMPANY JOBS (Q399)

Termination rate among direct hires who felt it would be very hard to get their job assignments changed (N=31)	Termination rate among direct hires who felt it would not be very hard to get their job assignments changed (N=29)
64%	24%

t = 3.11; p < .01 (one-tailed test)

Note:--Many tables in this and the next section follow this format, show-
ing termination rate in relation to some property of the worker or his
experiences. Each table represents, in percentagized form, the top line
of a 2x2 contingency table. Thus, the contingency table upon which the
above table was based looked as follows:

	Very hard to change job assignment	Not very hard to change job assignment	TOTAL
Terminees	20 (64%)	7 (24%)	27 (45%)
Stays	11 (36%)	22 (76%)	33 (55%)
TOTAL	31 (100%)	29 (100%)	60 (100%)

The row totals will of course remain constant from table to
table (except as modified by missing information) since they reflect
only the total numbers of men interviewed who were terminees and stays.
    t values are based on tests of differences between uncorrelated
proportions.

Overall, about half of all direct hires felt that there was
little chance that their job assignments could be changed. In order to
determine why they felt this way, direct hires were first asked, "What
is your best guess about how many men at (the company) speak up and ask
for different jobs if they don't like a new one they're assigned to--all
of them, only a few, or none of them?" Those workers indicating that
not all men would do so were then asked, "Why don't all these men do it?
Why don't all of them ask for different jobs?" The combined answers of
direct hire stays and terminees to the latter question are presented in
Table 5. The most commonly reported reason for hesitating to request a
change in job assignment was fear of retaliation of one sort or another
by the workers' superiors. Thirty-six percent of the workers cited fear
of being fired, and another eight percent cited other forms of super-
visory retaliation. About a quarter of the workers said that it was
necessary to be an employee of the company 89 days before one became a
union member and that only then could one officially request a change in
job assignment. A quarter also felt that requests for change would simply
be futile.

A worker who did not like his present job and saw little chance
of successfully securing a job change did not necessarily terminate from
his job, although Table 4 indicates that he was significantly more like-
ly than other workers to do so. There was still an alternative course
of action--actually nonaction--available to him. He could instead
essentially "hang loose," tolerating the job he had for the time being
in the hope that the forces of job reallocation in the company would
eventually assign him to a job that was more to his liking. Playing

TABLE 5

DIRECT HIRES' REPORTS OF WHY THEIR CO-WORKERS WOULD NOT REQUEST
A CHANGE IN JOB ASSIGNMENT IF THEY WANTED ONE (Q401)

Reason for not requesting change	Percentage of direct hires (N=47)[a]
Fear of being fired	36%
Since they lack seniority, they could not request a change in job assignment	28
Since the change would not be given, it was useless to ask for it	21
Fear of retaliation from superiors (excludes fear of being fired)	8

[a]Excludes workers who felt that all their co-workers would request a change in job assignment if they wanted one. Reasons mentioned by five percent of workers or less are not shown.

this game of job reassignment roulette could at the same time have another far less desirable outcome. Instead of ending up with a job he preferred to his present job, he could conceivably end up with a job that was worse than his present one. In order to estimate the effects upon turnover of differences among workers in terms of the chances they saw of being assigned in the future to both "better" and "worse" jobs in the company, two series of questions were employed. The first series asked workers whether there was any job in the company that they preferred to their present ones;[1] workers who could specify such a job were

[1]Workers did not use this question as a springboard for describing improbable dreams; the "preferred" jobs they cited were all quite modest in company status and were, in principle, obtainable in a few years by entry-level workers.

then asked to estimate the probability that they would be assigned to it. A similar series of questions determined the probability each worker associated with his being assigned to the job (other than his present one) that he _least_ wanted to have in the company.[1]

The effects upon turnover of workers' perceived chances of attaining their "most preferred" and "least preferred" company jobs are shown in Tables 6 and 7. Workers' estimates of their chances of secur- ing their "most preferred" jobs was significantly related to turnover. Although 67 per cent of those who felt it was not likely they would get their preferred jobs were terminees, only 18 percent of those who felt that it was at least somewhat likely they would get these jobs were terminees (Table 6). Consistent with this, but of smaller magnitude and not statistically significant, is the tendency indicated in Table 7 for terminees to be more heavily represented among those who felt it was at least somewhat likely they would get their _least_ preferred jobs.

Tables 5, 6, and 7 are quite consistent in their indication that a man will leave a newly secured job that he may not like at first when he feels: (a) that it is very hard for him to secure a change in his job assignment at his own request, and (b) that the future holds both little chance of his reassignment to a better job and some chance for his reassignment to an even worse job.

The above discussion may suggest that each of the workers in the study had an identifiable job in the company. This was not always the

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[1]For terminees the referents of these questions were (a) the jobs each terminee would most/least liked to have had in the company and (b) his chances of getting such jobs had he remained.

TABLE 6

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' ESTIMATIONS
OF THE PROBABILITY OF THEIR SECURING THE JOBS IN THE COMPANY
THAT THEY MOST PREFERRED TO THEIR PRESENT JOBS (Q389)[a]

Termination rate among direct hires who felt it was "not at all" likely that they would be assigned to their "most preferred" company jobs (N=21)	Termination rate among direct hires who felt it was at least "somewhat" likely that they would be assigned to their "most preferred" company jobs (N=22)
67%	18%

t = 3.25; p < .01 (one-tailed test)

[a]Excludes workers who preferred no job to the ones they had or who were unable to specify a particular "preferred" job.

TABLE 7

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' ESTIMATIONS
OF THE PROBABILITY OF THEIR SECURING THE JOBS IN THE COMPANY
THAT THEY LEAST PREFERRED IN COMPARISON
TO THEIR PRESENT JOBS (Q393)[a]

Termination rate among direct hires who felt it was "not at all" likely that they would be assigned to their "least preferred" company jobs (N=13)	Termination rate among direct hires who felt it was at least "somewhat" likely that they would be assigned to their "least preferred" company jobs (N=12)
31%	58%

t = 1.35; n.s.

[a]Excludes workers who regarded the jobs they had as their "least preferred" company jobs or were unable to specify a particular "least preferred" job.

case. Since the men studied were entry-level blue-collar workers in the
company, they were in many cases utilized as replacement personnel and
were shifted from work station to work station and from supervisor to
supervisor as dictated by the daily needs of foremen for workers to man
their stations. Among the direct hires interviewed:

--Forty-four percent reported that they were moved from work station
to work station, rather than spending most of their time at one
station (Q334).

--Twenty-eight percent reported that they had no idea at all at the
beginning of each day what their work routine was going to be
like (Q364).

--Forty-eight percent reported that there was more than one man whom
they considered to be their foreman (Q374).

For the workers who experienced vague or vacillating assign-
ments such as these, having a job could mean little more than "working
on the assembly line at an entry level," since little else was predict-
able. That many workers were thus exposed to frequently shifting assign-
ments need not imply that they were necessarily dissatisfied with this
situation. Fluidity of assignment can conceivably introduce variety
into otherwise uninteresting work and provide a greater opportunity to
acquire skills in different areas, thereby increasing a worker's chance
for promotion. But systematic job rotation designed for the explicit
purpose of enriching a worker is quite different from the shifting job
assignments experienced by the direct hires.

Tables 8 through 11 indicate some ways in which changes in job
assignments may have decreased the company's retention of its newly-
hired disadvantaged personnel. Table 8 shows that a worker was signifi-
cantly more likely to have left the company if he was moved from work

TABLE 8

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' REPORTS
OF BEING MOVED FROM WORK STATION TO WORK STATION (Q334)

Termination rate among direct hires who were assigned to one work station only (N=36)	Termination rate among direct hires who were moved from work station to work station (N=27)
33%	56%

t = 1.83; p < .05 (one-tailed test)

station to work station in the course of his work than if he spent most

of his time at one work station. These data imply that a worker will

be more likely to terminate if he has little sense from day to day of

what his job in the company might be. This implication is substantiated

by Table 9 which shows that workers were significantly more likely to

have terminated if they had "no idea at all" of what their work routine

was going to be like each day.

TABLE 9

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' CLARITY
ABOUT THEIR DAILY WORK ROUTINES (Q364)

Termination rate among direct hires who had "no idea" of what their work routine would be like each day (N=17)	Termination rate among direct hires who had at least "some idea" of what their work routine would be like each day (N=45)
64%	36%

t = 1.98; p < .05 (one-tailed test)

A possible consequence of shifting man new workers from job to

job is increasing the chance that a worker will eventually be asked to

do something he is incapable of doing and hence make himself a candidate for dismissal. Not only may such switching make it difficult for a worker to acquire skills in doing a particular job well, it also, merely by increasing the number of different things a worker is required to do, increases the probability that he will ultimately be confronted by a job demand that exceeds his capabilities. According to Table 10, frequent confrontation of workers by tasks they were incapable of performing was associated with turnover. Sixty-three percent of those who sometimes were told to do something they did not know how to do were terminees; among those never told to do such a thing, only 28 percent had terminated.

TABLE 10

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' REPORTS
THAT THEY WERE TOLD TO DO SOMETHING
THEY DID NOT KNOW HOW TO DO (Q352)

Termination rate among direct hires who were at least "sometimes" told to do something they did not know how to do (N=27)	Termination rate among direct hires who were never told to do something they did not know how to do (N=35)
63%	28%

$t = 2.76$; $p < .01$ (one-tailed test)

In addition to increasing the probability that a worker will perform poorly, there is still another possible undesirable result of working on ambiguous or shifting job assignments--a sense of alienation from one's work. A sense of alienation is, in theory, likely to be greatest where a worker has no conception of how his activity relates

to the completion of a final product or to the activities of those
around him. That a sense of alienation from the activities of others
was associated with increased turnover is suggested by Table 11. Only
18 percent of those who had a very good idea of how their work fit in
with that of others were terminees. In contrast, half of those who did
not have such a good idea of how their work fit in were terminees.

TABLE 11

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' SENSE
OF HOW THEIR WORK "FIT IN" WITH THE WORK OTHER FACTORY WORKERS
IN THE COMPANY'S PLANTS WERE DOING (Q365)

Termination rate among direct hires who had a "very good idea" of how their work fit in (N=17)	Termination rate among direct hires who did not have a "very good idea" of how their work fit in (N=45)
18%	51%

t = 2.35; p < .05 (one-tailed test)

The question remains as to who in the company was responsible
for the failure to orient newly hired disadvantaged workers to their
jobs. The worker's foreman would at first seem the obvious person to
remedy the situation. He could, for example, devote time to counseling
the new worker in the demands of his job and the operations of the
department. He could indicate to the worker the least strenuous way of
doing his work rather than letting the worker find it out by himself or
from other workers. He could even show the new worker around the plant.
Such a "guided tour" might seem like a luxury, but data from the direct
hire sample indicated that direct hires who had been shown around their
plants (Q366) were significantly less likely to report being confronted

with tasks they did not know how to do (Q352) than workers who had never

been taken around their plants to get an overview of plant operations.

The company indeed encouraged such orientation activities by foremen;

in its training manual for foremen it exhorted them to be tolerant of

the confusion of the newly-hired disadvantaged worker.

> Everything may be confusingly new to the new employee. That it
> will be new is obvious; confusingly new may not be apparent.
> However, if this is his (the inner-city recruit's) first factory
> job, certainly there is basis for confusion. A simple thing
> like direction will confuse. "Where did I come in the building?"
> "What turns did I take to get to my work station?" "Where is
> the washroom, the drinking fountain?" Even well-oriented, mature
> industrial workers require a week or two before new surroundings
> lose their newness and confusion.

But staffing patterns, manpower allocations, and production

quotas were unresponsive to such well-intended exhortations. Although

the foremen were generally overworked and often understaffed, they were

required to meet their production quotas unfailingly, and giving special

attention to new employees was a time-consuming task. Even the best-

intentioned of foremen would have found it hard, given the time, the

number of workers, and the production quotas allotted to him, to do all

the things necessary to make the jobs of newly-hired disadvantaged

employees more comprehensible to them. Moreover, when confronted with

absenteeism at a work station they were compelled to switch a man from

another station to the vacant one or to send out a call for men to be

sent in from other areas. Although the foremen need not have liked such

frequent shifting of personnel, they had no choice given the existing

manpower allocations in the company.

Although a sizeable number of direct hires did not have one

identifiable job in the usual sense of the term, the various job

assignments given to a worker nevertheless had enough in common to permit him to make some generalizations about the type of work he did. That the content of the jobs of direct hires was significantly related to whether they would leave or stay in the company can be inferred from Table 12. Only 28 percent of those who felt the kind of work they did was pretty good had terminated from their jobs; turnover was significantly higher among those who did not feel that the kind of work they did was pretty good.

TABLE 12

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' EVALUATIONS
OF THE "KIND OF WORK" THEY WERE DOING (Q339)

Termination rate among direct hires who regarded the kind of work they were doing as "pretty good" (N=28)	Termination rate among direct hires who did not regard the kind of work they were doing as "pretty good" (N=35)
28%	54%

t = 2.07; p < .05 (one-tailed test)

The two aspects of the content of workers' jobs measured in the present study that had the greatest association with whether they had stayed or left the company were how demanding and how boring their jobs were. Data relevant to how demanding their jobs were are presented in Table 13 which shows a significant association between turnover and the worker's belief that he was required to work too fast or too hard. About two-thirds of those who felt they often had to work too hard or too fast had terminated; there were significantly fewer terminees among those who did not feel that they often had to work too hard or too fast.

An even more sizeable association with turnover occurred with regard to
the extent to which workers were bored by what they did on their jobs.
Sixty-three percent of those who were sometimes bored had terminated
from their jobs, while only 18 percent of those who were never bored did
so (Table 14).

TABLE 13

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' REPORTS
THAT THEY HAD TO WORK "TOO HARD OR TOO FAST" ON THEIR JOBS
(Q345)

Termination rate among direct hires who "often" had to work too hard or too fast (N=23)	Termination rate among direct hires who did not "often" have to work too hard or too fast (N=40)
61%	32%

t = 2.24; p < .05 (one-tailed test)

TABLE 14

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO HOW OFTEN DIRECT HIRES'
WERE BORED BY THEIR JOBS (Q351)

Termination rate among direct hires who were at least "sometimes" bored by their jobs (N=35)	Termination rate among direct hires who were "never" bored by their jobs (N=28)
63%	18%

t = 3.58; p < .01 (one-tailed test)

Table 15 indicates one further aspect of the content of workers'
jobs that may have had some relationship to turnover. The table shows
that terminees were somewhat more heavily represented among those who
during their few weeks of working for the company were on at least one

occasion hurt badly enough on the job to want to see the plant nurse or doctor. While the difference in turnover between those who had been injured and those who had not was just short of statistical significance, the comparison is less important than the sheer number of men reporting job related injuries. Overall, 35 percent of the direct hires (N=66) reported one or more work-related injury in their first six weeks in the company. By comparison, only 16.3 percent of all blue-collar workers in the U.S. report having had a work-related illness or injury in the last three years.[1] For U.S. workers in machine trades occupations, a more relevant comparison group, the incidence of work-related illness of injury over a three year period is 15.1 percent. The incidence of work-related injury experienced by the company's newly hired disadvantaged personnel was by comparison appallingly high. Whether this high rate was unique to the population studied or characteristic of all the company's entry-level employees in assembly work is not known.

TABLE 15

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' REPORTS
OF INJURIES ON THEIR COMPANY JOBS THAT HURT THEM BADLY ENOUGH
TO MAKE THEM WANT TO SEE THE PLANT NURSE OR DOCTOR
(Q368)

Termination rate among direct hires who were injured (N=23)	Termination rate among direct hires who were not injured (N=40)
56%	35%

t = 1.62; n.s.

[1] These data were obtained from a 1969 survey of working members of the U.S. labor force conducted by The University of Michigan's Survey Research Center.

The Hours of the Worker's Job

All the direct hires in this study were on shift-work in the

sense that the plants maintained a three-shift operation. They were not,

however, on shift-work in the sense that they worked rotating or other

types of changinr shift patterns. The workers did not therefore work

the fluctuating hours suggested by the term "shift-work."

A new employee could be assigned to any of the three shifts.

Did such assignment have any effect upon the chances of a newly hired

disadvantaged worker remaining on his job in the company? This question

presumes that one shift was in some way better than another for a dis-

advantaged worker. That the company had an idea of what would consti-

tute a good set of hours for the disadvantaged men it was recruiting is

inJicated in the following quotation from a company training manual for

foremen:

> What may be taken for granted by the average person--things like
> getting up each morning, getting to work on time, and accepting
> work assignments from the boss are not so simple for the [dis-
> advantaged worker]. He may never before have held a regular job.
> So he has had no experience in living by the clock. A man who is
> used to going co bed at three in the morning now has to get up at
> six in the morning.

A common assumption in this and in other statements by company person-

nel was that a major obstacle to the company's retaining its newly hired

disadvantaged workers was their difficulty of getting to work on time

for the morning shift.

The data suggested that the company's assumptions about what

shift newly hired disadvantaged workers would prefer was different from

the workers' actual shift preferences. Table 16 contrasts direct hires

on the morning (beginning at 6 a.m.) shift with direct hires on the

TABLE 16

DIRECT HIRES' EVALUATIONS OF THEIR HOURS
IN RELATION TO THEIR SHIFT ASSIGNMENTS
(Q337)

Percentage of direct hires on the morning shift who felt their shift hours were "pretty good" (N=16)	Percentage of direct hires on the afternoon shift[a] who felt their shift hours were "pretty good" (N=48)
94%	62%

t = 2.42; p < .05

[a] Since most interviewing in this study was begun in the late morning, afternoon shift workers were over-represented in the sample. Two workers from the night shift were excluded from this table and from Table 17.

afternoon (beginning at 3:30 p.m.) shift in terms of the percentage of men reporting that the shift hours they worked were "pretty good." Nearly all direct hires working the morning shift felt that their shift hours were pretty good; fewer men on the afternoon shift felt their shift was pretty good. In this regard the newly hired disadvantaged workers differed little from other workers in the company, since the first shift was generally preferred, and workers with seniority had priority in securing first shift assignments.

Which shift were those direct hires who terminated from the company more likely to have been working--the morning shift which they most preferred or the afternoon shift which the company thought might be best for them? Only a partial and inconclusive answer to this question is available from data in the present study. Table 17 indicates that significantly more workers who disliked their shift hours terminated

TABLE 17

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' EVALUATIONS
OF THEIR HOURS (Q337)

Termination rate among direct hires who felt their shift hours were "pretty good" (N=45)	Termination rate among direct hires who felt their shift hours were not "pretty good" (N=18)
33%	67%

$t = 2.46$; $p < .01$ (one-tailed test)

from the company than did workers who said their shift hours were
"pretty good." Although it might therefore be inferred that placement
on the first shift better insured a worker's remaining in the company
(since workers preferred the first shift), the test could not be made
with data from the present study, since most of the interviewing of
direct hires in the plants was conducted in the afternoon.
Direct hires on the afternoon shift were therefore over-represented
in the sample of stays. As a result no definitive answer could be
obtained to the question of which shift assignment was most likely to
produce the least turnover among the company's newly hired disadvantaged
workers. Although the data in Tables 16 and 17 suggest that the shift
assignment most likely to reduce turnover was the morning one, such an
inference is rather indirect, and the question can be better answered
by more adequate data.

Treatment of the Worker
by his Organizational Superiors

Most of the working conditions shown in the above pages to be
associated with turnover among the newly hired disadvantaged had in

common the possibility of being changed through modifications in company

policies and procedures. Although the workers' foremen or general fore-

men had some control over these conditions, the foremen were for the

most part only implementing decisions that had already been made and

policies that had already been set at less easily identifiable points

higher in the company. Many of the latter decisions and policies were

in turn imposed by the company's technology. In the pages to follow the

focus shifts from those working conditions which were attributable to

the vague abstraction of "company policy" or "technology" to matters

over which direct hires' supervisors had more immediate control.

Tables 18 and 19 show that turnover was substantially related to how

well workers felt they were treated by their superiors. While a

quarter of those who felt that they had been treated

"pretty good" by those over them had terminated from the company, there

were significantly more terminees among those who felt they had not been

treated "pretty good" (Table 18). Table 19 deals more specifically with

the fairness with which the worker felt he had been treated by his

TABLE 18

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' REPORTS
OF HOW WELL THEY WERE TREATED BY THOSE OVER THEM IN THE COMPANY
(Q340)

Termination rate among direct hires who felt the way they were treated by those over them was "pretty good" (N=38)	Termination rate among direct hires who felt the way they were treated by those over them was not "pretty good" (N=24)
26%	58%

t = 2.53; p < .01 (one-tailed test)

superiors. Eighty-one percent of those who felt they had not been
treated completely fairly had terminated; in comparison, turnover among
those who felt they had been treated completely fairly was only nine
percent. Some indication of the types of unfair treatment that workers
reported experiencing is provided in the interview quotations below.
Several forms of unfair treatment that were described by workers were
quite "miscellaneous" in character and did not affect a large number of
workers. For example, one worker's superior required him to attend the
showing of a company safety film on his own time, in spite of the fact
that the worker had already seen the film.

TABLE 19

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' REPORTS
OF HOW FAIRLY THEY WERE TREATED ON THEIR JOBS (Q402)

Termination rate among direct hires who felt they were treated "completely fairly" (N=22)	Termination rate among direct hires who felt they were not treated "completely fairly" (N=31)
9%	81%

$t = 5.17$; $p < .01$ (one-tailed test)

The unfair treatment by superiors reported by workers tended to
be of either of two types. The first occurred when the worker for some
reason did not feel adequate to or suited for his job. Under such con-
ditions workers often reported being treated "unfairly" because their
supervisors either refused to change their job assignments or failed to
provide them with training to do their jobs adequately. Occasional
reference was made by workers to physical limitations which impaired
their performance:

> Well, the general foreman put me on (a product) assembly. The
> doctor said I couldn't do any lifting. But the general foreman
> ignored this.

Other workers reported that their superiors treated them unfairly by

expecting them to do jobs for which they did not train them adequately:

> The job was too hard. And I told the foreman to show me more
> about the job. But he said he didn't have time because there
> were a hundred men.

> Didn't give me a chance to learn the job--only two days. I
> didn't have enough time to learn the job, and I didn't have a
> chance to get transferred.

> I never did get a chance to really learn one job. All during
> the day I was transferred from job to job.

> They kept switching me around from job to job so I wouldn't do
> well so I could make my 90 days (when the worker would be eligi-
> ble for union membership). They also told me that I could go to
> school at the plant to learn a trade. But then I heard nothing
> more about it when I started working.

Still other workers simply complained about unfair treatment because of

their supervisors' decisions to fire them rather than change their job

assignments:

> Well, they knew I couldn't keep up with the (assembly) line. So
> they could of given me another job rather than just put me on
> the street.

> Foreman said I wasn't too fast on the line. I asked him for
> another job and he said "No." He said I wasn't keeping up with
> the line. I mean--at least I _did_ try, so he could of at least
> given me another job.

The second major type of answer to the interview question con-

cerning unfair treatment by superiors involved a worker's having been

discharged for reasons he felt were unfair:

> My mother was sick, and I had to stay home with her. They asked
> for a doctor's excuse. But how do you get an excuse when you
> can't afford a doctor?

> The guy wouldn't let me explain to him the problems I had trying
> to get out (to the plant). He acted like he didn't care, which

he didn't. Hell, I tried to find a quicker way out there, and
when I did it was the same day I got fired.

. . . and then he told me that if I was absent, late, or anything
ever without an excuse, he'd fire me. And he said for the next
90 days it would be this way. And I had only been there a month.
And at the time I was driving to work. How do you bring an
excuse for a flat?

I got some glue in my eye and was in the nurse's office all day.
She gave me a pass to go home, but my foreman asked me to work. I
worked for practically all night, and he kept promising me a relief
man, but wouldn't send one. So I walked off the line. He told me
I was discharged because I walked off the line, but I had an injury
I got my eye messed up.

I missed three days and didn't call in. Word was the line was
moving slow and absenteeism was cracked down on to get rid of some
of the guys. They didn't give me a chance to verify my absences.

The questions which elicited the above answers from workers and

which provided the data in Tables 18 and 19 did not focus the worker's

attention exclusively upon the single foreman who was his immediate

superior. The referent of these questions was the more general group of

"those over you" in the company. This group obviously included workers'

immediate foremen, and in most of the instances of "unfair treatment" cited

workers blamed their immediate foremen of the mistreatment; but the

group could conceivably include as well general foremen and some others

higher than the worker in the managerial hierarchy. For this reason a

series of questions was asked intended to assess the relationship

between turnover and the quality of supervision the worker felt he

received only from the single person who was his immediate supervisor--

the foreman to whom he reported directly.

Data above showed that many direct hires did not have a single

job due to their being switched from work station to work station. It

is hardly surprising, therefore, that many direct hires said that they

reported to more than one foreman as well. Overall, 48 percent of the
direct hires indicated that there was more than one person they thought
of as their foreman, although "officially" each man was assigned to only
one foreman. That such multiple or changing reporting relationships
were associated with turnover is shown in Table 20 which indicates that
significantly more terminees said they maintained multiple reporting
relationships than did stays. The data therefore suggest that both
giving a new worker multiple reporting relationships and assigning him
to multiple work stations and jobs had a sizeable tendency to increase
the chances of his terminating from his newly acquired job within a few
weeks after securing it.

TABLE 20

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO THE NUMBER OF FOREMEN
TO WHOM THE DIRECT HIRE REPORTED (Q374)

Termination rate among direct hires who reported to only one foreman (N=35)	Termination rate among direct hires who reported to more than one foreman (N=28)
31%	57%

$t = 2.07$; $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

Other than (a) the disorientation such multiple reporting rela-
tionships might create for the worker, (b) the lack of continuity in job
training that might result, and (c) the lack of certainty as to whom it
would be appropriate for the worker to approach with a problem, there is
yet another adverse condition that multiple reporting relationships can
create for a worker--role conflict. Role conflict is the situation in

which a person is confronted by demands from two or more sources and
finds it impossible to meet all these demands simultaneously. Ironical-
ly, the role of the foreman constitutes the classic example of a con-
flicted role; he is characteristically regarded as "the man in the
middle" between management on one hand and those whom he supervises on
the other hand. In the present study, however, the foremen were the
agents of role conflict, frequently making competing demands of the men
they supervised. Considering that almost half of the direct hires
thought they were reporting to more than one foreman, it is not unex-
pected that a large number of direct hires said that they were "put in
the middle between two foremen who wanted different things." The rela-
tionship between such role conflict and turnover is shown in Table 21
which indicates that termination was significantly greater among men who
reported that they were "put in the middle" between foremen than those
who were not.

TABLE 21

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' REPORTS
OF BEING PUT "IN THE MIDDLE" BETWEEN TWO FOREMEN
WHO WANTED DIFFERENT THINGS (Q384)

Termination rate among direct hires who were "put in the middle" (N= 25)	Termination rate among direct hires who were not "put in the middle" (N=38)
56%	34%

t = 1.73; p < .05 (one-tailed test)

One of the major aims of the direct hire turnover study was the
assessment of the effect upon turnover of the quality of supervision

received by the worker. Quality of Supervision was a five-item index in which the worker reported how adequately he felt his supervisor performed in several important areas of supervision: being efficient, well organized and in control of the situation, being open to suggestions from his subordinates, and being personally close to, trusted by, and supportive of his subordinates. For those workers who had only one foreman, that foreman was the referent of the five questions comprising the Index. If a worker had more than one foreman, however, he was instructed to use as the referent of the five questions the one foreman under whom he spent most of his time working. Workers who could not even specify such a major foreman were not asked the Quality of Supervision questions. Responses to the five questions were summarized in a Quality of Supervision Index. The subsequently obtained distribution of Quality of Supervision Index scores was then divided at the median, and each worker was assigned a new binary score indicating whether he was above or below the sample median on the Index. According to Table 22, workers reporting receiving poorer supervision as measured by the Quality of Supervision Index were significantly more likely to have terminated from their jobs than those who felt they received better supervision.

TABLE 22

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO QUALITY OF SUPERVISION
RECEIVED BY DIRECT HIRES (I7)

Termination rate among direct hires reporting high Quality of Supervision (N=31)	Termination rate among direct hires reporting low Quality of Supervision (N=26)
32%	62%

t = 2.26; p < .05 (one-tailed test)

Since the Quality of Supervision Index was a summary of five items touching on various aspects of supervision, a relevant question raised by the association between turnover and the Quality of Supervision Index is: were there some aspects of supervision that were more closely associated with turnover than others. It might be asserted, for example, that in the eyes of the direct hires in this study being a "good" supervisor was equated with being a "soft" supervisor. The workers might have been very concerned with their supervisors' being nice to them but might not have cared at all about how competent their supervisors were. The data indicated, however, that turnover was just as closely related to differences in supervisory competence, represented by the Quality of Supervision item "had things well planned out and organized," as to whether supervisors "took a personal interest in" their men. On each of the five items in the Quality of Supervision Index workers' more favorable views of their supervisors tended to be associated with lower turnover, although on three of the items the differences were not statistically significant.

The emphasis often placed upon the training of foremen in supervising disadvantaged workers implies that supervisory behavior is a paramount cause of turnover. The data in this study suggested that poor supervision is important, but is only one among many sources of turnover. Training supervisors to deal with the disadvantaged appears to be only a partial attack on the turnover problem. Exclusive concentration upon such a training strategy, however, ignores technological and organizational sources of turnover (e.g., the assignment of men to demanding, dull, and dangerous jobs or to shifts which they do not like).

Concentration on supervisory training also ignores the organizational
processes which pass problems down the hierarchy until they stop at the
level of the foreman who has little power to change the situations
created by the many levels of company management above him. This may
conceivably lead to increased turnover for which foremen are unfairly
blamed both by their subordinates and by those higher in the company who
passed the buck down to the front line.

Much of the effort expended by companies in retraining super-
visors to enable them to deal better with disadvantaged new employees
either overtly or covertly involves the changing of white supervi-
sors' attitudes and behaviors to enable them to deal more successfully
with black workers. Such an approach assumes that foremen with less
biased racial attitudes are more successful in retaining black personnel
than are more racially prejudiced supervisors. Since no measurement of
foremen's racial attitudes was made in the present study, such a con-
trast was impossible to make with the data at hand. However, the com-
pany had many black foremen, and a few of the direct hires were assigned
to black foremen. Table 23 contrasts the turnover of workers reporting
to black foremen and workers reporting to white foremen. The table shows
that the race of a black worker's foreman was related to the worker's
chances of staying on a job in the company. Over a third of the
direct hires reporting to a white foreman terminated from the company,
while none of the few workers reporting to a black foreman did so. The
observed relationship was, however, confined to those workers who
reported to only one foreman.

TABLE 23

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO RACE
OF DIRECT HIRES' FOREMEN (Q375)[a]

Termination rate among direct hires reporting to a black foreman (N=7)	Termination rate among direct hires reporting to a white foreman (N=28)
0%	39%

t = 1.99; p < .05 (one-tailed test)

[a]Excludes workers who reported to more than one foreman.

The Worker's Attitudes and Other Attributes of His Personality

A general assumption mentioned earlier in this section was that turnover from a job is attributable both to characteristics of the job itself and to characteristics of the worker who holds the job. The preceding pages were concerned exclusively with characteristics of workers' jobs that were associated with turnover. The remaining pages of this section concern the association between turnover and personal characteristics of the direct hires in the study.

Several attitudinal, motivational, and other personality measures were included in the direct hire interviews, and a complete list of those indices or questions employed is presented in Appendix A. These measures covered the following general areas: what the worker wanted out of his job; self-reports of skill level in several areas; self-confidence; sense of personal efficacy; and such "middle class" attitudes as the importance the worker attached to work for work's sake and his attitude toward behaving in accordance with time schedules.

These measures were generally unrelated to turnover. Although
one of the multi-item indices (I15) was significantly ($\underline{t}$ = 2.77; p < .01)
associated with turnover, the direction of the association was not inter-
pretable. An earlier study's factor analysis of what workers wanted out
of their jobs indicated that four aspects of jobs formed a factorially
identifiable cluster of preferred job characteristics: a clean job, a
job that one's friends think a lot of, a job where one does not have to
work too hard, and a job that is steady. In the present study workers
who scored lower on a job preference index based on these four items
(i.e., the workers who least wanted a job with these characteristics)
were more likely to terminate than those with higher scores on the index.
More understandable was the association between turnover and one of the meas-
ures of feelings of personal efficacy (Q144). Workers who indicated
greater feelings of efficacy in response to this question were signifi-
cantly ($\underline{t}$ = 2.05; $\underline{p}$ < .05) more likely to terminate than those who were
more efficacious; this association was not, however, replicated using
the study's other efficacy measures. Inasmuch as (a) one of the two
observed associations between a personality measure and turnover was
uninterpretable, (b) the other observed association failed to be repli-
cated using additional measures from the study with substantively
similar content, and (c) none of the other 19 personality indices or
items was associated with turnover, it cannot be concluded that turnover
was related to the personality measures that were employed. Stated dif-
ferently, the sources of turnover among direct hires did not appear to
be in personality characteristics of the workers but had to be sought
elsewhere.

Racial Attitudes

Racial issues, which have up to this point in the present report been touched upon very lightly, constituted a leit-motif underlying many of the company's efforts to recruit and retain its disadvantaged person-nel. The company was headquartered in a city in which major racial unrest had occurred and in which blacks were a very large minority of the population. Some of the company's major assembly plants were located either in the heart of or on the perimeter of the city's black ghetto. Available white manpower for these and other company plants was rapidly diminishing. A black faction within the union had recently achieved local prominence in its confrontations with the company and the union's leadership. Both the city and the company were highly sensitive to racial issues. The black direct hires were therefore joining a pre-dominantly white company in a potentially explosive racial environment. They might as a result have been highly sensitive to any indications of racial discrimination which they encountered on their jobs.

In the present investigation five brief measures of workers' racial attitudes were employed. The indices, described in Appendix A, were: the worker's beliefs about how widespread discrimination against blacks was in the company; his beliefs about how widespread discrimina-tion against blacks was in "other companies" as a whole; his report of nonjob related discrimination he had experienced in the past; an index of black militancy; and the worker's belief that white foremen in the company made it harder for black workers.

How might these measures be expected to be related to turnover among the company's direct hire blacks? A directional hypothesis was

employed only with regard to the first and last of the above five meas-
ures: workers' beliefs about discrimination in the company and their
beliefs that white foremen in the company made it harder for blacks.
Those who sensed more discrimination on the part of the company in
general and foremen in particular would, it was assumed, be more likely
to terminate than others. No prediction was made about the direction of
association between turnover and the other three indices. The data indi-
cated that only the question concerning the behavior of white foremen
toward blacks was related to turnover. As Table 24 shows, 61 percent of
the men who felt that white foremen made it harder for blacks had ter-
minated. Turnover was significantly less among men who did not feel
this way.

TABLE 24

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO DIRECT HIRES' BELIEFS
THAT WHITE FOREMEN IN THE COMPANY MADE IT "HARDER FOR BLACKS
THAN FOR WHITES" (Q446)

Termination rate among direct hires who believed that white foremen made it harder for blacks (N=23)	Termination rate among direct hires who did not believe that white foremen made it harder for blacks (N=40)
61%	32%

$t = 2.24$; $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

The men who indicated that white foremen made it harder for
blacks were further asked in what ways they made it harder. The way
most frequently mentioned involved foremen assigning blacks to the worst
and most menial jobs, keeping them there by blocking their advancement,

and keeping them out of skilled trades. The second most frequently men-
tioned way foremen made it harder for b'acks was general harassment
("ride you," "call us nigger," "holler," "always watching your back").
Several workers also felt that white foremen tried to make blacks work
harder by adding extra work to their jobs, speeding the line up, and
telling them they were not working hard enough.

Demographic Variables
the Worker's Eackground

Many of the environmental conditions and personality character-
istics examined in the previous pages were potentially alterable by
either the company or the company's training program for the disad-
vantaged. The personality and attitudinal characteristics of workers
described immediately above were less obviously susceptible to change by
the company. Nevertheless, some of these characteristics (e.g., a
worker's sense of personal efficacy and his self-confidence) were
specific targets of change in the training program. The factors related
to turnover to be presented in the remainder of this section were even
further removed from possible alteration by the company, since they were
characteristics of the worker's background.

To what extent were the elements entering into the definition
of being "hard core unemployed"--race, age, education, job history and
migration history--associated with turnover among direct hires? The
data indicated that although turnover was unrelated to a man's education,
it was significantly associated with his age (Table 25) and his previous
work history as measured by the number of times he had been unemployed
in the last two years (Table 26). Significantly more workers under

TABLE 25

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO AGE[a]

Termination rate among direct hires who were under 21 years old (N=86)	Termination rate among direct hires who were 21 years old or older (N=139)
50%	37%

t = 1.92; p < .05 (one-tailed test)

[a]Since the direct hire stays were sampled in a way intended to maximize the correspondence between the distribution of their ages that of the trainees, this table could obviously not be based on direct hire terminee and stay data. Instead, age data were obtained from company records for each of the 232 men in the "tracking sample" listing of direct hires that was described earlier. This table is based on the tracking sample data.

TABLE 26

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO THE NUMBER OF TIMES IN THE LAST TWO YEARS DIRECT HIRES HAD BEEN UNEMPLOYED (I30)

Termination rate among direct hires who were out of work more than twice a year (N=38)	Termination rate among direct hires who were out of work only twice a year or less (N=24)
55%	25%

t = 2.32; p < .05 (one-tailed test)

21 years old terminated than did others. Although statistically signifi-

cant, the percentage difference in turnover between the two age groups

was considerably less than had been anticipated at the onset of the

study. Indeed, findings from earlier research indicating that turnover

among the disadvantaged was related to age were sufficiently con-
sistent that age was employed in the present study as a matching criterion
in selecting the various samples.

A more surprising finding occurs in Table 27 which compares
workers who had lived all their lives in the metropolitan area where the
company was located with those who had not lived all their lives in the
community. Over half of the direct hires had always lived in the com-
munity; of the remainder, three-quarters had migrated from the south,
and about half had moved to the community within the last two years.

TABLE 27

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO WHETHER DIRECT HIRES
HAD LIVED ALL THEIR LIVES IN THE COMMUNITY
WHERE THE COMPANY WAS LOCATED (Q532)

Termination rate among direct hires who had lived all their lives in the community (N=35)	Termination rate among direct hires who had not lived all their lives in the community (N=28)
54%	29%

t = 1.99; p < .05

Although being a migrant from the south was one of the criteria accord-
ing to which a man could be certified as "hard core unemployed," the
men who had lived all their lives in the northern community where the
company was located were more likely to terminate from their jobs than
were others. March and Simon[1] suggest one possible explanation of this.
Turnover from an organization, they maintain, will be high where the
worker perceives a wide range of alternative means of gratification
outside the organization; the worker who feels that there is little

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[1]March and Simon, op. cit.

chance of doing better elsewhere is less likely to leave a job he may

dislike. Those men who had lived in the community all their lives may

have been more sophisticated about the community than those who had

migrated to it; they may have better attuned to alternative job possibil-

ities or more knowledgeable about other means of securing income than

the migrants. As a result they would have felt less constrained to

stick with their company jobs when they did not like them.

Similar themes of mobility and constraint can be used to inter-

pret the associations reported in Tables 28 and 29 between turnover, a

worker's marital status and his responsibility for paying the bills in

his household. Quitting a job obviously means losing income for a while.

Where a young man is unmarried and has no one to support but himself,

the loss affects him alone. When others depend on him for support, how-

ever, his sense of responsibility or pressures from those he supports

might make him think twice about leaving. It is not surprising, there-

fore, that more unmarried than married workers terminated (Table 28) and

that terminees were more heavily represented among men who said they did

not pay most of the household bills where they lived (Table 29).

TABLE 28

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO MARITAL STATUS
(Q552)

Termination rate among direct hires who were unmarried (N=39)	Termination rate among direct hires who were married[a] (N=24)
51%	29%

$t = 1.72$; $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

[a]All but two of the married workers had at least one child. For
all practical purposes this classification therefore means "married,
with one or more children."

TABLE 29

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO WHETHER DIRECT HIRES
PAID MOST OF THE HOUSEHOLD BILLS WHERE THEY LIVED
(Q557)

Termination rate among direct hires who paid most of the bills (N=24)	Termination rate among direct hires who did not pay most of the bills (N=38)
21%	55%

$t = 2.64$; $p < .01$ (one-tailed test)

The present study also investigated the association between turn-over and a variety of other characteristics[1] of direct hires' past and present lives outside the company: whether the worker had grown up in a home that had a father or father-substitute; whether his mother or mother-substitute had worked; whether his family had to accept welfare assistance while he was growing up; how much financial pressure he was under at present; whether he had a second job outside of the company; whether he had previously been in any job training programs for the dis-advantaged ; and the color of his skin.

The only characteristic that was associated with turnover was one which was simultaneously a part of the worker's past, his present, and his future: his skin color. Skin color is not being used here as a euphemism for race, since all the workers in the study were blacks. It means instead how dark- or light-complected the worker was. The skin color of each black worker was rated by the black interviewers on a four point scale ranging from "very light" to "very dark brown or black."

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[1]A complete list of variables used in this analysis is included in Appendix A.

There was not a significant association between turnover and skin color among direct hires as a whole, nor was it expected that there would be. However, Table 30 tests a similar association among a smaller number of workers from whom it was hypothesized that color would make a difference: workers who reported to one white foreman (as opposed to a black foreman or to multiple foremen). The data indicated that in the situation in which a black worker was supervised by one white foreman, the darker-skinned men were more likely to terminate than the lighter-complected ones.

TABLE 30

DIRECT HIRE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO SKIN COLOR
(Q574)[a]

Termination rate among direct hires who were lighter complected (N=8)	Termination rate among direct hires who were darker complected (N=20)
12%	50%

$\underline{t}$ = 1.86; $\underline{p}$ < .05 (one-tailed test)

[a]Excludes workers who reported to black foremen and workers who reported to more than one foreman.

Summary

The associations were investigated between turnover among direct hires and several classes of variables: the content of the worker's job; the hours he worked; the supervision he received; selected aspects of his personality; some of his racial beliefs and attitudes; and characteristics of his background and current life situation. Although in each of these areas more statistically significant associations

appeared than would have been expected by chance, the areas differed considerably in terms of the extent to which their constituent variables were meaningfully related to turnover. The personality variables employed were especially poor predictors of turnover. The only measure of racial beliefs and attitudes related to turnover was a worker's belief that white foremen in the company made it harder for black workers. Several properties of the worker's background or current circumstances of life were also associated with high rates of termination: being young; having a job history marked by frequent unemployment; being unmarried; having someone else pay most of one's household bills; and having a dark complexion. The variables most strongly associated with turnover were those involving the content of the worker's job and the quality of supervision he received. Turnover was significantly higher among workers who reported that: they would find it hard to get their job assignments changed if they did not like them; they did not have consistent job assignments but instead were shifted from work station to work station and treated as replacement personnel; they reported to more than one foreman and were exposed to conflicting demands from these foremen; they were unclear about their work activities and alienated from the production process; they were assigned to jobs that were boring or required that they work too hard or too fast; and they were supervised unfairly or poorly.

4. TURNOVER FROM THE TRAINING PROGRAM

The company's efforts to provide employment for the disadvantaged were not confined to the recruitment of disadvantaged direct hires. At the same time the direct hires were working on their company jobs, the company was conducting an elaborate program of vestibule training for another group of disadvantaged men. The experiences, behaviors, and personal characteristics of these "trainees" constitute the principal focus of the remainder of this report. In the present section, however, the research question remains one of turnover: What factors were associated with turnover from the company's training program?

Prior to presenting data relevant to this and other questions concerning the training program and its effects upon trainees, the pages immediately following will provide descriptive background information concerning the organization of the training program, its goals, its methods, and its personnel. This description is admittedly impression-istic and was not based on the systematic collection of data from trainees. Instead, it was based on formal and informal interviews with or questionnaires sent to the staff of the training program and through direct observation of the training sessions by the investigators and interviewers. The observations began at a time when the more "experi-mental" initial phases of the program were concluding, and the observa-tions ended at a time when the program had achieved a somewhat greater

degree of sophistication. At present the program is, according to the
company's representatives, different from what it was during the time
when the present investigation was being conducted. Although the
description does not detail all the changes in the program that occurred
while the study was being conducted, it should not, therefore, be
inferred that the program remained unchanged from its inception or that
its designers failed to profit from their experiences.

What the Program Offered Trainees

The inducements which the company offered disadvantaged trainees
were quite attractive. Not only was a trainee offered up to six weeks
of remedial education, but he was paid while receiving this training.
In the early days of the training program each trainee was paid a tax-
free stipend of two dollars for each hour he spent in training. Since
training classes were scheduled to last eight hours a day for five days
a week, this amounted to a weekly check of about $80. During the course
of the study, the training stipend was raised to $2.50 for each hour
spent in training.

Since the training program was a "vestibule" one, the trainee
was neither required nor allowed to do any productive labor in the com-
pany while in training. He did not therefore have to split his time
between working on a company job and attending the training classes,
and his full efforts could be devoted to the activities of the training
program.

A number of supportive services were offered to the trainee.
Considerable effort was made in the training classes to help trainees

with their "personal problems." Many such problems could be solved by the two-person training staff assigned to each training class. Many problems, however, were beyond this staff's capabilities--for example, financial, medical, psychological and legal problems. When faced with such problems as these the training staff could refer a trainee to more suitable sources of assistance. Domestic, financial, and medical problems were often referred to community service agencies when these problems could not be handled by some resource within the company. If the training staff felt that the problem of a worker was a psychological one with which the training staff was not capable of dealing, they could refer the trainee to a clinical psychologist who was employed full-time by the training program and whose major responsibility was counseling trainees. Many of the problems faced by trainees were legal ones involving parole violations or arrests. To help in such cases the company retained a full-time legal expert whose exclusive responsibility was to help trainees in their problems with the law.

Each trainee was assured that he would be placed on a job in one of the company's local plants once he had completed the training program. Although trainees were generally expected to spend six weeks in the program, trainees who were judged "job ready" by the training staff could be placed on a job earlier. A man who was not regarded as "job ready" at the end of six weeks was sometimes kept in training beyond this period if the training staff felt that he showed promise. Just after the data in the present study were collected, substantial numbers of trainees were kept in the training program beyond six weeks for quite a different reason. The company's hiring at the entry level had fallen to

a low point, and there were few job openings for "job ready" graduates of the training program.

Even after the trainee was placed on a company job, he was able to receive some assistance from the training program. Each trainee who was placed was assigned to a "follow-up advisor" in the plant where he was working. This follow-up advisor, who was on the payroll of the training program, was supposed to counsel the placed trainee on the job and assist him in any problems he might encounter.

Gurin,[1] in an expectancy analysis of job training programs, has noted that real-world pay-offs as well as personality dispositions determine motivated behavior. If a trainee expected a job at the end of training, and if he furthermore hoped he might be given follow-up assistance and preferential treatment on the job because he had been in the training program, his motivation to remain in the program might well have been higher than if there were no such rewards assured. The promise of such rewards was made salient for trainees by occasional lectures from "successful" training program graduates who were working for the company.

Of course, the promised job would not have been an incentive to those who were in the training program for reasons unrelated to securing a company job, such as fulfilling court custody requirements, or getting training that might be helpful in other kinds of work. One trainer pointed out that many of the men were only there for their tax-free weekly training stipend: "I think they'll have people come for the

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[1]G. Gurin, A national attitude study of trainees in MDTA institutional programs (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Survey Research Center, 1969).

money only, but when they see what a (small) difference they earn on the

job compared with this, they'll quit." Entry-level pay in the company

exceeded the hourly stipend for trainees by about one dollar an hour.

In addition, health and other fringe benefits, which may or may not have

been apparent to the trainee, were provided him once he was placed on a

job. But for the unmarried trainee, taxes would take so much from a

full week's pay that his take-home pay would be only a little more money

for arduous work than it had been while he was in the comparatively

undemanding training program.

The Training Sites

The trainees were trained in "classes" of from 15 to 25. The

classes were conducted on the premises of several of the company's

plants. An attempt was made by the program to accommodate trainees by

assigning each to a training class at the plant nearest his home--

providing an opening in the class was available. Locating training

classes in the plants had the obvious advantage of exposing the worker

to his future work and environment without his having to face the

demands and distraction of daily labor on the assembly line. Due to the

proximity of the training sites to areas where manufacturing was taking

place, trainees could be taken on tours of the plants, and lectures on

various tools in other job relevant subjects could be provided by plant

personnel. The company hoped that due to his exposure to the plant

environment the trainee could gradually make the transition from out-

sider to company employee. During the training program the trainees,

at least in principle, had ample opportunity to become familiar with

the layout of the plant, with the manufacturing process, and with the positions in that process that they were being trained to assume. When a trainee was placed on a job, he should--according to the program's intentions--have viewed the accommodations demanded of him as neither strange, nor capricious, nor impossible to fulfill.

In spite of their proximity to the manufacturing process, the trainees could not actually participate in this process and engage in "on the job" training. This was due in part to a shortage of space and qualified personnel to handle this kind of training. Furthermore, union regulations did not allow nonunion people to engage in productive labor. To offset this limitation the company developed what it termed its "hands on" training site. An unused building was converted to a machine shop where unused company equipment was set up and put into operation. Although the equipment was generally obsolete, it was similar enough to equipment currently being used to familiarize the trainees with some types of tools, machines, and procedures they might be employing on their future jobs. Each trainee did not, however, receive a great amount of this "hands on" training since the site had to be shared by all the training groups. Because this "hands on" training was not in full operation when the interviewing for the present study was being conducted, not all the trainees in the study had received this training.

An unequivocal disadvantage of offering training at sites within the plants was the generally poor physical quarters of the classes. One of the sites was quite pleasant and attractive; it was new, clean, air-conditioned, and--above all--isolated from factory noise. Most of the trainees, however, were trained in quarters that were at the other

extreme. In some classrooms noise from manufacturing made it very dif-

ficult to hear. Privacy was also scarce. One trainer found it diffi-

cult to l /e personal talks with trainees because "The walls are paper-

thin, and you could hear everything." There was commonly insufficient

room, poor ventilation, inadequate lighting and a general dinginess that

posters and pictures scarcely concealed. As one of the training staff

noted, "The heat is terrible." Another said, "At [his plant] it was

full of filthy grease." Staff offices were better, but the overall poor

quality of the physical accommodations could hardly have encouraged

staff and trainees to believe that the company was actively engaged in

providing them with the best learning environment possible.

Training Program Personnel

The "advisor" and the "monitor" assigned to each training site

constituted most of the training staff dealing directly with trainees.

All, save one, of the staff at the sites where trainees were interviewed

were black.

Advisors, recruited from either outside or inside the company,

had backgrounds in such diverse fields as social work, community organi-

zation, athletics, education, and labor relations. Their main task was

to serve as administrators of their training units and as counselors of

the trainees. The advisors were free to structure their own roles in

their units, and differences among them in terms of personal style and

the activities of their units make generalizations about them difficult.

They had in common, however, both a sincerity about what they were doing

in the program and a dedication to helping to build up trainees' self-

confidence and pride.

Many of the advisors, although unwavering in their concern with the trainees, became disenchanted because of what they felt was the company's lack of commitment to the training program. They were also cynical about the opportunities for occupational mobility that they believed the company provided blacks--which included _themselves_ as well as the trainees. Following the completion of the study's interviews with trainees and direct hires, one of the investigators interviewed half of the 20 advisors and monitors and sent short questionnaires to the remainder. During this period there were rumors of several upcoming promotions and a general re-organization of the training program's staff. Many of the advisors had seen their training program participation as a first step to advancement in the white business world. Interestingly, this desire of theirs for mobility was in a few cases coupled with a refusal to play "whitey's" corporate games. To use Merton's[1] typology of acceptance or rejection of cultural goals and the concomitant means to these goals, it seems that although the goals of economic advancement and high status were generally accepted by the advisors, a few did not accept the usual means thereto.

When the rumored promotions were announced, many of the advisors were quite resentful that only those they regarded as "Uncle Toms" who "sold out" to the company had been promoted. According to one advisor it was only the "Oreo cookies--black on the outside, white on the inside" who had been promoted. It is quite possible that these accusations were unfounded "sour grapes" judgements. One of the advisors who

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[1]R. Merton, _Social theory and social structure_ (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957.)

did get promoted said that these promotions were based on "merit alone, not politics." But even if his belief were completely inaccurate, a black advisor who believed that his race stood in the way of his own promotion would probably have been less than enthusiastic in communicating to his black trainees that they would be given a fair deal by the company.

The second member of each training team, the monitor, had the primary responsibility for conducting the "basic education" activities of the training program. Each monitor was hierarchically subordinated to the advisor in the training unit. Unlike the advisors, the monitors had little to complain about with regard to their own recent promotional history in the company. The monitors, all of whom were women, had worked at secretarial or clerical jobs in the company prior to their joining the training program staff. They had received very large pay raises when they became monitors. Their concern seemed less with their own advancement and more with the fate of the trainees. They appeared deeply involved with their trainees, often protective, trying to teach, understand, and help them.

They were, however, often frustrated and sometimes angry at how they perceived the company responding to trainees both in the program and on the job. Few of the monitors believed with deep conviction that their trainees had much of a chance for substantial upward mobility in the company. At the same time, the training program attempted to motivate the trainees by convincing them that they could indeed "make it" in the company. Like the advisors, the monitors sometimes found themselves in the awkward position of having to convince the trainees of something

about which they were dubious themselves--the trainees' chances for
upward job mobility. Yet to have given full expression to some of their
own cynicism about the trainees' chances would simply have discouraged
the trainees. One monitor commented, "We can't promise office jobs.
That's a problem." When asked to elaborate, she shrugged resignedly,
"We can't." Another monitor went to great lengths to warn her trainees
"what the line will be like. It's no picnic. . . . You have former
trainees come in and say that [the trainees] will get jobs and can have
upward mobility. But most of them don't. And you know they won't." An
example given by one monitor illustrates why she was discouraged about
the opportunities for trainees: a trainee with ten years of experience
doing skilled labor was denied a position where he could use his
skills because he could not pass a written test required by the company.
Such tests had been eliminated from entry-level production jobs, but
not from the more skilled jobs.

The monitors complained repeatedly about both the inadequate
training they had received and the poor quality of the educational
materials they were required to use. Despite the fact that the monitors
were not professional teachers, they had been given no training for
teaching in preparation for their jobs. One said, "I wouldn't be quali-
fied [to teach] because I've only a high school education. I'd want
more training for me so I could teach more." As time went on, monitors
developed their own styles and became more comfortable in their teaching
roles, but the initial difficulties of felt inadequacy and actual inex-
perience could have been avoided. Both monitors and trainees would
probably have gained greatly had monitors been provided with greater

opportunities to acquire teaching skills--or even to share among them-
selves their day-to-day experiences in their training classes.

The division of labor between monitors as teachers and advisors
as counselors was somewhat flexible and varied with each pair. For
example, in one unit the advisor spent much time pointing out the impor-
tance of dressing neatly and conservatively. In another unit, the
monitor handled this issue. In yet another, personal grooming was not
discussed. The decentralization of the program encouraged the develop-
ment of personal styles, but lack of staff training and inadequate
materials made such development difficult, and, for the monitors in
particular, often fraught with feelings of self-doubt and anxiety.

Educational Goals and Training
Materials

Perhaps even calling the training program a "program" has been
misleading, because this term suggests a coherent set of fairly stan-
dardized practices th~t each monitor and advisor employed. In such a
training "program," the experiences of trainees, no matter which train-
ing unit they were in, would have been similar, and the procedures fol-
lowed would correspondingly have been written down or in some other way
recorded. Such procedures could have been taught to both new staff and
new trainees. Although the company's training activities did not meet
criteria for identifying it as a unified "program," they were not
intended to do so, since the program was in some respects experimental.
Rather there seem to have been several "themes" that were presented in
all the training units, although in different ways and with differing
emphases. The themes were four: basic education; job attitudes;

feelings of personal efficacy and self-confidence; and feelings about being black.

The closest the company came to providing a systematic "program" in the sense described above was in the "basic education" it provided trainees. The greatest amount of time in the training sessions was devoted to remedial education in reading, writing, and arithmetic--four hours a day for five days a week. That improving his basic skills in these areas would be of direct advantage to the trainee's job and off-the-job activities was only a subsidiary reason why basic education was introduced into the program. The major reason was that many program staff felt that the trainee's self-confidence would increase as his mastery of basic skills in the "three R's" increased. One of the staff was convinced that a trainee's sense of self-esteem would automatically increase if he could be boosted over the hurdle from functional illiteracy to literacy. Most other staff had more realistic ideas of how much could reasonably be achieved in a few weeks of remedial education. They were content with more modest increases in a trainee's skills, using each increase, no matter how small, as an occasion to praise the trainee and to indicate to him that he could indeed do whatever he set out to do.

The monitors found it difficult, however, to provide this basic education to men whose educations ranged from grammar-school drop-out to a year of college. Describing the responses of trainees to this basic education, one staff member said, "Some don't need it and others don't want it. . . . The ones who have only a fifth grade education you can't

teach in six weeks anyhow. And with all the different grades, you can't teach much anyhow."

To solve this problem the company purchased an "off the shelf" set of programmed educational materials from a private test development corporation. These materials permitted each trainee to "learn at his own pace." The reading booklets in the set were of varying difficulty, and each trainee, based on his reading test performance, had a kit of reading materials appropriate to his own level. He could thus progress at the rate he chose. The idea of individual programmed instruction is laudable. It is a procedure that discourages unproductive competition and provides trainees with an opportunity to reach goals he sets for himself. But, according to many of the company's training staff, the content of the Science Research Associates' materials were inadequate for the needs and interests of the men in the training program. Advisors, monitors and trainees alike found stories such as those about heroes of white America insulting and inappropriate. The booklets were regarded by some of the training staff as simplistic and irrelevant at best, and as condescending and (by omission) racist at worst. Said one monitor, "The stuff is ridiculous; it's to the sixth grade." Another added, "I'd like more advanced material. They [the trainees] aren't as dumb as they are thought to be. . . . We are instructed to use only the material [the company] gives us."

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[1]Two such packages of materials were purchased from two different firms. The first, although used for many months, was abandoned after a storm of protest from the monitors, their general criticism being that the materials were too childish for the adults they were teaching. Trainees in the present study received their basic education instruction from the second set of materials that were purchased.

The basic education materials the monitors were required to use were also insufficient for the program time allotted to basic education. "We don't have enough material. After four weeks you run out of things to say," reported one monitor. Many monitors began to bring their own teaching materials. One Xeroxed lessons from her old high school textbooks. Monitors laboriously developed their own lesson plans; one spent time teaching "about bank accounts and about buying on credit--how you pay interest." Using money was an important theme many monitors included in their teaching because, as another said, "I tell them to read the fine print. . . . One of the biggest hang-ups is money." This same monitor added that much discussion ensued after "I gave them a personality profile; I got it from a book at (a local University)." It seemed to be a superficial test of social etiquette or social skills. Such "personality profiles" and some of the other activities used to fill the time seem. a o be simply that--time fillers rather than important learning experiences.

Often, on hot or particularly noisy days, or on Fridays, classes were simply dismissed. In many units the men were rarely expected to spend a full eight hours, five days a week in their classes. Long lunch breaks and frequent free periods were also common, simply because the staff could not find enough to fill the eight hours a day they were in charge of their classes.

The training program also attempted to modify the "job attitudes" of trainees. Although entry level jobs in the company required few skills, holding these jobs required obeying rules about attendance, safety, handling company property, and a few other easily learned norms.

The training program staff repeatedly told trainees about these few
rules, not necessarily in order to have the trainees _accept_ these rules
as fair or reasonable but rather to impress upon them that if they did
not _behave_ according to these rules they would be fired. Public com-
pliance, and not necessarily private agreement, was stressed.

Tours of the plants and lectures from plant personnel on the use
of tools, machines, and other equipment could be scheduled at the discre-
tion of the advisor. There was a vast amount of telephoning, persuading,
and paperwork involved in organizing these activities, and advisors who
found all these arrangements too time-consuming or doubted the value of
these lectures and tours were free not to include them on their training
agendae. Two aspects of the job were given considerable attention in
all the training groups--job safety and time. Frequent and emphatic
reference was made to trainees of the importance of their learning how
critical time was to jobs in the company. It was repeatedly emphasized
to trainees that they could not hope to keep their company jobs unless
they showed up for work _regularly_ and _punctually_. Training classes
began very early in the morning, almost as early as the company's morn-
ing shift. Trainees with difficult home situations, poor transportation,
and erratic living conditions were urged and helped to work out these
problems while they were in training. The emphasis was upon helping the
trainee to develop good attendance habits while he enjoyed the compara-
tive protection of the training program rather than waiting until he was
on the job and a few unexcused absences or late arrivals at work would
get him fired. For this reason, the training staff, while generally
very tolerant of some forms of trainee's violations of program rules,

insisted on regular and prompt attendance. Although the staff tolerated

more absences than would a foreman in the company, they did not hesitate

to terminate a trainee on the grounds of chronic, unexcused absenteeism.

With regard to any company rule the infraction of which could result in

dismissal, advisors and monitors were very strict and attempted to

provide the trainee with a preview of the discipline he would be exposed

to on his job. Unlike many foremen, however, they were willing to give

violators of certain rules a second, or third, or even fourth chance to

stay in the company.

Perhaps the most important goal of the training program, from

the perspective of the advisors and monitors, was helping trainees to

increase their self-confidence, to "feel better" about themselves. The

frequent praising by the staff of the accomplishments of each trainee

would have been comparatively easy had the number of trainees in each

training class been as small as originally intended. It was far harder

for the staff to give such individual encouragement and reinforcement

when the staff were confronted with two dozen men in a single training

group. Even if classes had been smaller, increasing trainees' self-

confidence would have been a formidable task. How, if at all, could

such central notions about the self be changed in a few weeks of train-

ing? The advisors and monitors employed a number of techniques in their

efforts to create these changes, including role-playing, the sharing of

experiences among trainees, being "very supportive" of trainees, and

otherwise indicating that they valued the trainees and that the trainees

should value each other.

In spite of these intentions staff members were sometimes con-
fronted with men whom they felt even their best efforts could not help.
A major problem was that habitual drug users were sometimes unknowingly
accepted into the program. Since the training program was not intended
to serve these men, and since the staff did not have the professional
training needed to assist the men with their problem, the staff felt
helpless in dealing with the problems of the habitual user. It was also
difficult to reach some men for other reasons. First, there was the
"immaturity" of some of the trainees' attitudes and behavior. As one
monitor said, "He's [trainees in general] the age to be a man, but he's
still an adolescent." A second problem was the awkwardness some moni-
tors felt about trying to be both close and frank with the trainees
while simultaneously being women in positions of authority over male
trainees. At the same time, one advisor was talking to his training
class about how black society was "a matriarchy--what, and why this is,
and how they're going to change it."

Such obstacles to reaching trainees notwithstanding, advisors
and monitors consistently and persistently tried to communicate to
trainees a sense of personal worth and self-esteem. Although acquiring
or strengthening such feelings might not have been necessary for a man
to keep his job in the company, these feelings were seen by the program
staff as vital to the health and growth of the trainees, and fostering
trainees' well-being was one of the staff's major goals.

A closely related theme in the training program was that "black
is beautiful" and that a trainee's racial and cultural heritage provided
ample justification for his pride and self-respect. Thus, a man was

urged to be proud of himself <u>not only</u> because he was a <u>good</u> man but also because he was a <u>black</u> man. Pictures of civil-rights heroes and other prominent blacks decorated the training sites, and lectures on black history were initiated to instill in trainees a proud and meaningful sense of black consciousness. Said one advisor, "We look at different heroes like Malcolm X or Martin Luther King. We'd go through his life and see what he did." Another added, "We're talking about self-motivation and pride and seeing the contributions of blacks." The black staff differed among themselves, however, on the importance of black-related studies and discussions in their training classes. Some thought these were the most important things that the program could offer trainees. Others, however, agreed with the advisor who thought them an unnecessary part of a man's training for a factory job: "It has nothing to do with how he'll work a machine. For their hang-ups, yes."

Being black in a predominantly white company was either the open or unspoken issue in many of the discussions between the training staff and trainees, although it was not usually written into the program's formal agenda. There was, however, one time when racial issues <u>were</u> conspicuously included into the training program's curriculum by some of the staff. This was when they began "formally" to set aside time to teach black history. When the teaching of black history became apparent to some of the company's management who were not connected with the training program, such teaching was summarily stopped by executive fiat. Most of the advisors and monitors were reluctant to discuss what one called this "order to get rid of the books," referring to the books that were being used to teach black history. According to one advisor,

"there was a lot of turmoil and rumors. And the company felt, maybe justly so, that black history was a hindrance to productive employment." When asked why he did not continue to teach black history less formally, he replied, "We were told to stop!" A monitor, describing the same episode, reported that "supervisors" were sent to the training sites to make sure that, once the order by the company to "stop teaching black history" was given, it was still not being taught sub rosa in the training units. Most of the resentment of advisors and monitors over the decision to stop the teaching of black history was not, however, aimed at the decision itself. It was instead aimed at the arbitrary way the decision had been made and executed.

Strategy of the Turnover Analysis

In order to identify the factors associated with turnover from the training program just described, an analysis strategy was employed that was comparable to that applied above to the data obtained from direct hires. That is, differences in rate of turnover were investigated for men who differed in terms of their personal characteristics or their perceived experiences in the training program. In order to assess these characteristics and experiences, interviews were conducted with two samples of trainees: trainee terminees and trainee stays.

Trainee terminees were selected from a sample listing of all black men entering the training program between two arbitrarily fixed dates. Termination from the training program was defined as leaving the training program either voluntarily or involuntarily without having been graduated from the program. A trainee terminee interview was

FIGURE 2

SAMPLES USED IN TRAINEE TURNOVER ANALYSIS

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Population:   Black men entering the company, all of whom were        │
│ certified as "hard core unemployed"                                   │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                                  │
                                  ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Sub-population:   Trainees going into the company's vestibule         │
│ training program                                                      │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
        │                                          │
        ▼                                          ▼
┌──────────────────────────┐    ┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
│ 55 trainee terminees who │    │ 90 trainee stays who entered the      │
│ quit or were discharged  │    │ program at the same time as the       │
│ from the training program│    │ terminees but who at the time they    │
└──────────────────────────┘    │ were interviewed were still in the    │
                                │ program.  Stays were selected so as   │
                                │ to match terminees in terms of the    │
                                │ distributions of their ages, their    │
                                │ training sites, and the number of     │
                                │ weeks they had been in training       │
                                │ prior to being interviewed.  Eleven   │
                                │ men interviewed as stays who subse-   │
                                │ quently did not complete the training │
                                │ program were excluded from the        │
                                │ analysis.                             │
                                └──────────────────────────────────────┘
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administered to the first 55 men in the trainee sample listing who

terminated from the training who could be located, and who consented to

be interviewed. All trainee terminee interviews were conducted off the

company's premises, mostly in the terminees' homes; they were all con-

ducted within two weeks (generally one) following a man's termination.

The trainee stays were 90 men from the trainee sample listing

who were interviewed while they were still in the training program.

This sample was selected to match the trainee terminee sample in terms

of the distributions of the men's ages, the training site to which they

had been assigned, and the number of weeks they had been in training

prior to being interviewed.[1] All trainee stays were interviewed in private offices or in other areas near their training sites.

The Termination Event

According to the reports of the trainee terminees, only a quarter of their terminations were voluntary (Table 31). Among those who terminated voluntarily, three major reasons were given for termination (Q38):

1. The trainee anticipated unacceptable job placement upon being graduated from the training program (e.g., he did not want assembly-line work, but felt that assignment to such work was inevitable; he felt he had been initially "promised" a job commensurate with some special skills he had but later found out that he would not be assigned to such a job; or he thought his chances of securing a job he had been "promised" were poor);

2. the trainee reported disliking a particular aspect of the training program;

3. the trainee had personal problems which necessitated his voluntary termination.

The remaining three-quarters of terminations from the training program were, according to the reports of the terminees, involuntary. Most of the involuntary terminations were attributed by trainees (Q39) to difficulties involving regular and prompt attendance at the training sessions. Eighty-seven percent of the trainees who were involuntarily

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[1]Shortly after being interviewed, eleven men who were interviewed as trainee stays terminated from the training program. In all tables below which employ termination rate as a dependent variable, these eleven "false stays" have been excluded.

TABLE 31

CHARACTERISTICS OF TERMINATION SITUATION OF TRAINEES[a]

	Percentage of Trainee Terminees
Type of termination (Q37; N=52)	
Trainees who quit the training program	23%
Trainees who were discharged from the training program	77
Job prospects at time of leaving program (Q2; N=54)	
Trainee had a job pretty well lined up when he left the program	11%
Trainee did not know what he would be doing for work when he left the program	89
Work situation after leaving program (Q3; N=54)	
Trainee was working at time of his termination interview (within the first two weeks after termination)	9%
Trainee was not working at time of his termination interview	91
Desire to be back in training program (Q42; N=55)	
Trainee wanted to be back in the program	75%
Trainee did not want to be back in the program	25

[a]All data in this table and in the remaining tables of the section were obtained exclusively from interviews with trainee stays or trainee terminees. Since no data obtained from trainee inductees are presented in this section, the designation "trainee" in any table in this section should be read as "trainee stay and/or terminee."

terminated reported that their advisors had told them that they were
being terminated for chronic absenteeism or tardiness. Among those men
who had been involuntarily terminated, 37 percent felt that it had been
fair of the company to let them go. By contrast none of the direct
hires who were involuntarily terminated felt that their dismissals had
been fair.

These statistics should, however, be surrounded with all the
caveats concerning the empirical distinction between voluntary and
involuntary terminations that were pointed out earlier with regard to
the direct hires. Whether a trainee had quit the training program or
had been dismissed was no less ambiguous than whether a direct hire had
quit or had been fired from his job. Although the training staff were
less strict than the foremen of the direct hires in firing men because
of repeated absenteeism or tardiness, the importance of regular and
punctual attendance was constantly stressed in the training sessions.
Discharging a trainee because of irregular attendance served to impress
upon other trainees the importance of such regularity. Moreover, tell-
ing a trainee that he was being dismissed because of absenteeism was
more comfortable to the training staff than pointing out to him that he
was being discharged because of other less easily discussed reasons.
The investigators' review of the training staff's termination reports
indicated that in many terminations absenteeism seemed to be an "excuse"
for terminating trainees rather than the real reason. As a result, the
high proportion of trainees who felt they were discharged because of
absenteeism may seriously misrepresent the real conditions surrounding
many dismissals.

The Content of the Training Program[1]

Trainees' evaluations of the content of the training program
were obtained in a series of questions asking whether the training
program devoted "too much," "too little," or "about the right amount of"
time to a variety of job-relevant matters: learning about safety and
the use of machines and tools; learning to read, write, and work with
figures; learning the importance of prompt and regular job attendance;
and learning about techniques for adjusting to other people and crises
on the job. None of the indices (I1 through I5) based on these ques-
tions was associated with turnover from the training program.

The Trainee's Future Jobs

A trainee could conceivably not have liked being in the training
program and yet not have terminated if he felt that the company job that
would materialize for him upon his graduation from the program justified
his "sticking it out" for six weeks of training. For this reason each
trainee terminee was asked to evaluate several aspects of his future job
prospects in the company: how good the type of work he would be doing
would be (Q101); his future chances for promotion (Q100); how easy he
felt it would be to get a change in job assignment if he did not like
his post-training job (Q108); the pay he would be receiving (Q98); the
hours he would be working (Q99); and how well he would be treated by
those over him (Q102). He was also asked to estimate the probabilities
that he attached to securing the jobs he would most and least like to
have in the company (Q90,94). For trainee terminees analogous questions

[1]Some descriptive tables concerning trainees' reactions to the
content of the training program are presented in Appendix C.

were phrased more (and perhaps too) hypothetically to refer to
the jobs they would have received had they completed training.

Only one of these "future job" questions was associated with
turnover, and the direction of association was not that which was pre-
dicted. Those who felt that it was very likely that they would start
out on the company job that they would most like to have were signifi-
cantly more likely to have terminated than those who felt it was less
likely that they would receive such a job assignment (Table 32).

TABLE 32

TRAINEE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO TRAINEES' ESTIMATES
OF THEIR CHANCES OF SECURING THE POST-TRAINING COMPANY JOB
THEY WOULD MOST LIKE TO START OUT WITH (Q90)[a]

Termination rate among trainees who felt it was very likely that they would start out on the job they desired (N=39)[b]	Termination rate among trainees who felt it was not very likely that they would start out on the job they desired (N=79)[b]
61%	35%

$t = 2.76$; $p < .01$

[a]For a trainee terminee the referent of this question was the
job he would have liked to start out with had he completed the training
program.

[b]Excludes trainees who could not specify a particular job they
would like to start out with in the company.

The Hours of the Training Program

There was no association between turnover and trainees' feelings
about the length of the daily training session (Q45). On the other hand,
Table 33 shows that liking the time of day the training session met was
significantly related to turnover. Among trainees who felt that the

scheduling of the sessions was good only 34 percent terminated; but among those less satisfied with this scheduling, 70 percent had terminated. Since tardiness and absenteeism were the primary reasons that trainees were involuntarily terminated, this association between turnover and the scheduling of the training sessions is not surprising.

TABLE 33

TRAINEE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO TRAINEES' EVALUATIONS
OF THE TIME OF DAY THEIR TRAINING CLASSES MET (Q44)

Termination rate among trainees who felt the time of day of training was "pretty good" (N=110)	Termination rate among trainees who felt the time of day of training was not "pretty good" (N=24)
34%	70%

$t = 3.30$; $p < .01$ (one-tailed test)

Rescheduling training sessions to start later in the day probably would not have reduced turnover from the program, because this rescheduling would have been contrary to the wishes of the bulk of the trainees, 81 percent of whom felt the existing training hours were "pretty good." Running two "shifts" of training sessions might have been of some help in reducing turnover from the training sessions. But even this solution to the scheduling problem would, for reasons to be discussed in Section 5, have created unfortunate ramifications for turnover from the jobs on which trainees were later to be placed.

Treatment of the Trainee by His Organizational Superiors

The five items in the Quality of Supervision index employed in the direct hire turnover analysis were phrased in sufficiently general terms that they applied equally well to each trainee's "immediate superiors"--the advisor and monitor who were, for trainees, counterparts of the direct hires' foremen. The data indicated that trainees' reports of the quality of the direction they received from their advisors and monitors were unrelated to termination from the training program.

The only interview question pertinent to supervision that was associated with turnover from the training program was that asking how fairly the trainee felt he had been treated by the company during his training. Twenty-seven percent of the trainees who felt that the company was completely fair to them had terminated; a significantly greater percentage (58%) of those who felt the company was less than completely fair had terminated (Table 34). As was the case with the direct hires, most of the illustrations of unfair treatment reported by the trainees concerned their having been discharged for reasons they felt were unfair.

TABLE 34

TRAINEE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO TRAINEES' REPORTS
OF HOW FAIRLY THEY WERE TREATED WHILE IN TRAINING (Q115)

Termination rate among trainees who felt they were treated "completely fairly" (N=74)	Termination rate among trainees who felt they were not treated "completely fairly" (N=59)
27%	58%

$t = 3.73$; $p < .01$; (one-tailed test)

While most complained that they had not been afforded sufficient oppor-
tunity to explain the absences which resulted in their terminations,
some felt that they had been unfairly singled out for termination
because of their absences. Said one,

> When they cut me loose, it seems like they should have cut half
> the class loose, because it seems like half of the class was just
> as bad as me as far as absenteeism.

Among the situations cited by trainees as examples of unfair treatment
that did not involve termination episodes, the most prevalent form of
such unfair treatment involved trainees' reports that the company or the
training staff had not given the trainee what they had promised him.
Some felt they had been misled about the types of jobs for which they
were being trained. For example,

> The program was nothing I expected. They misled me on job
> opportunities.

> They lied about the job I'm going to get. They lie a whole lot.

> I really thought I was going to get into the clerical cr
> stock handling departments. I had been led to believe I would
> receive training in the industrial or clerical field and would
> get the job at the end of training if I qualified.

Still others felt cheated because the training activities did not suffi-
ciently fill up the time allotted to them and hence wasted the trainees'
time. Particularly singled out for such criticism were the training
activities at the plant where the "hands on" training was held:

> We stay out there too long. We do the same thing over and
> over again. They ain't too much you can do out there. You know,
> they're fixing that place up out there. And after you get through
> doing the little we can do, you just lay dead all day.

> The (hands on training) is messed. . . . There are only
> three instructors out there, and it's not enough. All you do is
> sit down for eight hours.

We wasn't learning nothing. They didn't have the proper
equipment to learn anything.

The Trainee's Attitudes and Other Attributes
of His Personality

The study's personality measures (Appendix A) failed to exhibit

any consistent or interpretable relationships with termination in the

study's analysis of turnover among direct hires. The same measures had

fared scarcely better when used in the analysis of turnover among

trainees.

The only personality-like characteristic of trainees that was

related to turnover was trainees' attitudes toward time schedules.

Table 35 indicates that trainee turnover was significantly higher among

trainees who had a more relaxed attitude toward time. Trainees who pre-

ferred to "let things happen in their own way" rather than scheduling

them were more likely to have terminated than trainees who were more pre-

disposed to organize their activities in accordance with time schedules.

Since so many of the terminations among trainees involved difficulties

with time schedules (i.e., not showing up for training regularly or on

time), it is reasonable that trainees' attitudes toward time should be

related to turnover.

TABLE 35

TRAINEE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO TRAINEES' FEELINGS
ABOUT FOLLOWING TIME SCHEDULES (Q138)

Termination rate among trainees who preferred to "let things happen in their own way" rather than scheduling them (N=68)	Termination rate among trainees who preferred to schedule activities rather than letting them "happen in their own way" (N=66)
51%	30%

$t = 2.73$; $p < .01$ (one-tailed test)

Racial Attitudes

Of the five measures of racial attitudes employed in the study
(Appendix A) only one was significantly related to turnover among
trainees. Trainees with more racially militant attitudes were more
likely to terminate than less militant trainees (Table 36). This was
true, however, only for younger trainees, those 20 years old or less;
for older trainees there was no comparable association between militancy
and turnover.

TABLE 36

TRAINEE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO MILITANCY OF TRAINEES'
RACIAL ATTITUDES (114)[a]

Termination rate among more militant trainees (N=32)	Termination rate among less militant trainees (N=20)
53%	30%

$t = 1.68$; $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

[a]Includes only trainees who were under 21 years old.

There are at least two possible explanations for this associa-
tion between trainees' racial attitudes and turnover. The first assumes
that the terminations of more militant young men were largely voluntary.
The more militant may thus have been more quickly fed up with the pros-
pects of working in the white dominated company. This inference seems
particularly plausible in light of training session discussions about
some of the injustices (real or imagined) toward blacks taking place
in the company. Or perhaps these young men felt uncomfortable about
being "supervised" by women (the monitors) or reacted negatively to

what these men may have perceived as the more middle class and
generally less militant racial attitudes of both the advisors and moni-
tors. The social class differences between the militant trainees and
the training staff--as well as the associated attitudinal differences--
may have created between them a gulf so large that it could not be
bridged by any amount of effort by the training staff to "reach" the
trainees. As one trainee commented:

> When you tried to explain it (to his advisor and monitor), they
> already had the grass under their feet. They have theirs, so why
> should they care? They wouldn't try to understand the ordinary
> problems a person would live, although they pretended to.

Assuming on the other hand that most of the terminations among
the younger and more militant trainees were involuntary, the higher rate
of termination by these trainees may have reflected the more negative
reactions of the advisors and monitors to them. The most militant
trainees might have also have been the least tractable. Being more
difficult to "reach" by the training staff may have led to their
being regarded as not having the "right attitude" toward training or as
being "trouble-makers"--either of which conditions could heighten a
trainee's chances of being dismissed from the program.

But it is impossible to conclude from the data available in the
study which, if either, of these two explanations is correct. The
appropriateness of either explanation could be established were it poss-
ible to show that the young, black, militant trainees who terminated were
more likely to have quit than to have been discharged involuntarily.
The circumstances surrounding so many terminations were, however, so con-
fused that the data would not bear such analysis.

Demograhpic Variables and the Trainee's
Background

All, save one, of the study's demographic and background vari-
ables (Appendix A) failed to be related to turnover from the training
program. The one such variable that was associated with turnover among
trainees was one which was also associated with turnover among direct
hires--the color of a man's skin. Table 30 has already shown that
among black direct hires the darkness of a black man's skin was asso-
ciated with his chances of terminating from the company. Since this
association was observed only among workers whose foremen were white, it
would have been tempting to conclude from Table 30 that some racially
biased white foremen were discriminating against darker skinned workers.
But an association between skin color and turnover was also observed
among trainees whose advisors and monitors were themselves black.
According to Table 37, young, dark-skinned blacks were more likely to
terminate from the training program than young blacks who were lighter-
complected; among older trainees there was no association between skin
color and turnover.

TABLE 37

TRAINEE TERMINATION RATE IN RELATION TO SKIN COLOR (Q293)[a]

Termination rate among trainees who were lighter complected (N=20)	Termination rate among trainees who were darker complected (N=32)
20%	59%

t = 2.85; p < .01 (one-tailed test)

[a]Includes only trainees who were under 21 years old.

The data suggest that although the advisors and monitors con-
tinually sounded the "black is beautiful" theme in their training
classes, perhaps this theme was more appealing to them in principle than
in practice. An alternative explanation of Table 37 is that all
trainees, regardless of their complexions, received equal treatment in
the training program but that the younger and darker-complected workers
responded more negatively to the treatment they received. This might be
expected if they had in the past received worse treatment than their
lighter skinned brothers and had as a result become more bitter and
sensitive toward anything in the company which they might interpret as
racial abuses. They could as a result have become "fed up" with the
company more quickly and left the training program more readily.

Summary

Turnover from the training program was investigated in relation
to several different classes of variables: trainees' evaluations of the
content of the training program; their evaluations of the future jobs
they would receive in the company upon completion of their training; their
feelings about the hours the training sessions met; how well they felt
they had been treated by the company and the training staff; selected
aspects of their personalities; some of their racial attitudes; and
selected background and demographic characteristics. Of the questions
and indices used in the trainee turnover analysis, only six were related
to turnover--barely in excess of what might be expected by chance employ-
ing a 5 percent probability level. Of the few variables that _were_ asso-
ciated with trainee turnover, two concerned time (the trainee's preference
for letting things "happen their own way" rather than scheduling them and

how much he liked the hours his training class met), and two concerned

racial matters (the color of the trainee's skin and the militancy of his

racial attitudes.) But overall it must be concluded that the present

study was unsuccessful in indentifying the relevant factors that might be

associated with turnover from the training program.

That the trainee turnover analysis failed to identify any system-

atic effects of the trainees' experiences on turnover helps, however, to

dispel a reservation that one might otherwise have concerning the validity

of the data in the direct hire turnover analysis. The data in both

turnover analyses were, it should be remembered, retrospective. Terminees

were asked to describe their recent experiences with a company from

which they had just terminated--often involuntarily. It might be

expected, therefore, that terminees would as a result of their termina-

tion experience have developed unfavorable views of the company--if for

no other reason than to justify their termination. The stays, on the

other hand, might bias their reports of the company in the opposite

direction to justify their remaining in the company. It is impossible

to determine the extent to which the data obtained from the terminees and

stays reflected such after-the-fact rationales. But if they did, they

were extraordinarily selective rationales. Why, for example, were such

rationales adopted by the direct hires and not by the trainees? The

direct hire terminees had unfavorable views of their jobs and the super-

vision they received. But the trainee terminees' views of the training

program's content, their future company jobs, and their "supervisors"

were no less favorable then those of the trainee stays. Why also did

the index concerning discrimination against blacks in the company fail

to be associated with turnover? Why did the terminees not take the oppor-

tunity to describe the company as racially biased as a means of

justifying their terminations? If, therefore, one is tempted to

attribute the results of the turnover analysis to retrospective report

biases, one must also explain both why the biases were operative for only

direct hires but not the trainees and with reference only to certain

content areas (i.e., with reference to the content of the direct hires'

jobs and the supervision they received but not to many other matters

covered in the direct hires' interviews.)

5. EFFECTS OF THE TRAINING PROGRAM
ON TRAINEES

Analysis Strategy

Among the many companies currently attempting to provide jobs
for the disadvantaged, some do this simply by making extra efforts to
recruit new employees from among the disadvantaged. They recruit such
workers and place them directly on jobs without any special training,
although supplementary training or other means of skill-upgrading may be
provided the worker after he has begun work. On the other hand, other
companies expose all their disadvantaged recruits to a period of vesti-
bule training before these workers begin working. As a result, it is
very difficult to estimate the value of such vestibule training. The
benefits of vestibule training can be assessed reliably only if a
company: (a) recruits a sizeable number of disadvantaged persons,
(b) exposes some of them to a vestibule training program and assigns others
directly to jobs without any vestibule training, and (c) ultimately
assigns both groups to the same type of jobs. Only under such condi-
tions can all the community, company, and job factors that may affect
turnover be controlled and the effects of the vestibule training per se
be accurately estimated.

Such a condition existed in the attempts by the company in the
present study to provide jobs for the disadvantaged. The trainees were
exposed to several weeks of vestibule training in the company's training
program, while the direct hires did not receive such training. The

company was therefore conducting a "natural experiment" that provided an
opportunity to estimate the effect of a vestibule training program upon
the disadvantaged men entering the company.

To assess the impact of the company's training program, the
direct hire stays will be contrasted in the pages below with a sample of
placed trainees. Each of the 22[1] placed trainees interviewed (a) had
already been interviewed as a trainee stay, (b) had successfully com-
pleted the training program, and (c) had been working at a post-training
job in the company for up to six weeks at the time of his interview.
Two additional sample selection criteria required that the placed
trainees be selected from the plants at which the direct hires were work-
ing and that the distribution of the number of weeks the placed trainees
had been working on their company jobs be comparable to that of the

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[1]The original design of the study required that 50 of the
trainee stays later be interviewed as placed trainees. Four circum-
stances made the actual number of placed trainee interviews consider-
ably smaller. First, eleven trainee stays terminated from the training
program after having been interviewed. Second, the company's placement
records were at times sufficiently late or inaccurate that by the time
some placed trainees were located they had been working on the job too
long to qualify for inclusion in the sample. Third, a few of the other-
wise eligible placed trainees were not working at the plants where the
direct hire stays were working. Fourth, short-term labor shortage in
the plants led the company to take many trainee stays who would other-
wise have been sampled as placed trainees out of the training program
after only three or four weeks and place them on jobs. This labor
shortage was followed by a wild-cat strike which delayed the placement
of some other trainee stays. As a result, many of the possible candi-
dates to be interviewed as placed trainees had, at the time for which
interviewing in the plants was scheduled, been in the training program
for what the investigators regarded as either an abnormally large or
abnormally small number of weeks. Such men were not included in the
sample of placed trainees. In retrospect, this latter restriction in
the sampling appears to have been unnecessary since, as data in the
following section will show, few trainees received a full six weeks of
training.

number of weeks the direct hire stays had been working. Although the
placed trainees were similar to the direct hire stays in terms of the
number of weeks they had been <u>working</u> when they were interviewed, the
placed trainees had been <u>in the company</u> longer because they had pre-
viously spent several weeks in the training program.

FIGURE 3

SAMPLES USED IN ANALYSIS OF EFFECTS OF TRAINING UPON TRAINEES[a]

Population: Black men entering the company, all of whom were certified
as "hard core unemployed"

Subpopulation: <u>trainees</u>

Subpopulation: direct hires

90 <u>trainee inductees</u>
interviewed at time
of entering company

24 <u>direct hire inductees</u>
interviewed at time of
entering company

90 <u>trainee stays</u>. Of these, 18 had
previously been interviewed as trainee
inductees

39 <u>direct hire stays</u>

22 <u>placed trainees</u>. Each of these men
had completed the training program and
had been placed on a job. The placed
trainee sample was matched with the
direct hire stay sample in terms of
the plants at which they were working
and the number of weeks they had been
working when interviewed. All 22
placed trainees had previously been
interviewed as trainee stays.

[a]A more complete figure showing all the samples used in the
present study is presented in Appendix D.

The two samples differed systematically in that one (the placed
trainees) had gone through the company's training program while the
other (the direct hire stays) had not. If it could be shown that after
equal exposure to the company jobs the two groups differed in terms of
their job-relevant values, expectations, and attitudes and that they had
not differed at the time they entered the company, the observed differ-
ences could provisionally be attributed to changes that the training
program had effected in trainees. If, on the other hand, the two groups
were equivalent at the time they entered the company and were still
equivalent when they were later interviewed as direct hire stays or
placed trainees, the effects of training could be regarded as negligible.
In short, the placed trainees can be regarded as an experimental group
which received the experimental "treatment" of having completed the
training program, whereas the direct hire stays can be regarded as a
"control" group that was initially similar to the experimental group but
from which the experimental treatment was withheld.

Equivalence of Trainees and Direct Hires

The analysis strategy described above hinges upon whether the
placed trainees and direct hire stays can justifiably be regarded as
comparable at the time they entered the company. A closely related
question is the extent to which the subpopulations of trainees and
direct hires can be regarded as part of the same population.

The manner in which the study's initial sample listings were
constructed (see Sections 3 and 4) helped to insure that the trainees
and direct hires would be equivalent in a number of important respects.

1. They all lived in the same community and had joined the same company. Hence any change in the local economy or the company's economic health affecting one subpopulation would also affect the other.

2. When trainees successfully completed the training program and began to work on the line, they were assigned to the same general types of entry-level jobs in the company as the direct hires.

3. Direct hires were selected only from those plants at which the men who completed the training program were placed in substantial numbers.

4. All men selected had been "officially" certified as "hard core unemployed." Certification of each trainee was made by the State Employment Service, and certification of each direct hire was made either by the State Employment Service or a company representative. This difference in source of certification could potentially have resulted in the company's being less stringent as to whom it would certify, since it was committed to hiring as many "hard core unemployed" workers as it could. This in turn could have resulted in the direct hire subpopulation being less disadvantaged than the trainees. Toward the end of the study's data collection, for example, it was difficult to find appropriate direct hires to be interviewed because the ranks of the company's newly hired "hard core unemployed" were being filled with young black men who were just leaving high school at the beginning of summer. These direct hires were "hard core unemployed" only on a technicality: they were black, presently unemployed, and, by virtue of having been in school, had no recent history of steady employment. They were not included in the study's sample listings.

5. Race and sex of the two subpopulations were controlled by restricting the sample listings to black men.

6. The direct hire sample listings were constructed so that they would be similar to the trainee subpopulation listings in terms of age and education.

7. As a result of the data having been collected from trainees and direct hires over a period of several months (Table 1, p. 8), momentary matters of company history may in some undetected way have affected the interview responses of direct hires and trainees. The early weeks of data collection were largely devoted to obtaining information from trainees and subsequent weeks to men who were working on company jobs. Since placed trainees were in the latter group, however, their inter-views were conducted during the same period as those of the direct hire stays.

In spite of these attempts to make the trainee and direct hire sam-ples comparable, it was still possible that the placed trainees and direct hire stays could have differed systematically in terms of either their backgrounds or the personality characteristics they possessed when entering the company. Differences between placed trainees and direct hire stays were examined for each of 19 measures of their personal his-tories, current life situations, and demographic characteristics. None of these measures significantly differentiated placed trainees from direct hire stays. Although not statistically significant, there were tendencies for the placed trainee sample to be older than the direct hire stays and to have grown up somewhere other than the community in which the company was located. These differences were, however,

attributable to attrition in the direct hire sample. As Tables 26 and 27 have already shown, direct hires who were younger and had lived in the community for a long time were more likely to terminate from their jobs than others. In addition, the placed trainees did not appear to be any more "hard core unemployed" than the direct hire stays. The two samples did not differ on any of the criteria that are customarily used to characterize a man as being "hard core unemployed": race, age, education, employment history, and migration history.

Since a man's background could hardly have been altered by the training program, the above inferences about characteristics of placed trainees and direct hires at the time they entered the company could legitimately be made from information collected from them at a later time. This was not the case, however, with regard to the personality variables employed in the study, because some of these were targets of change by the training program. For this reason, the initial equivalence of the trainee and direct hire subpopulations was examined using information obtained from interviews with two additional samples--trainee inductees and direct hire inductees.

The trainee inductee interview was administered to 90 randomly selected trainees at the time of their induction into the training program but before they had been assigned to training units. The interview was conducted at the central company site to which trainees were required to come in groups of 15 to 30 men to be screened. During this two-day induction period the inductees were given physical examinations, took various types of tests, and filled out forms. The induction interviews were timed to occur at the very end of this process--immediately

after a man had been officially accepted into the program (e.g., after his certification as hard core unemployed had been made, after he had been found to be physically qualified, etc.) but before he left the induction site to begin training at his training site the following morning. Thus there remained only a few hours at the end of the second day of induction during which interviewing could be done; to have interviewed men earlier would have meant interviewing many men who would not subsequently have been accepted into the training program. Since the number of interviewers present at the induction site on the second day was fixed, but the number of "accepted" trainees who met the sampling criteria described above could vary considerably, there were frequently more accepted inductees to be interviewed than there were interviewing hours available. When this happened, a Survey Research Center staff member randomly selected the men to be interviewed.

Each of the 23 direct hire inductees was interviewed during his initial day of screening and paper-work at the personnel office in one of the six company plants. At the time of their induction interviews, none of the direct hire inductees had yet been assigned to a job.

The data indicated that the trainee inductees did not differ from the direct hire inductees on any of the study's 19 measures of motivation, beliefs and attitudes. These measures are listed in Appendix A under the headings of Racial Beliefs and Attitudes, Motivational Variables, and Other Beliefs and Attitudes.

The most striking, albeit trivial, difference between the trainee inductees and direct hire inductees was with regard to the source which had referred them to the company. Each of the trainee

inductees and direct hire inductees was asked how he had been referred to the company, and the sources of referral of the two groups are presented in Table 38. Nearly all of the direct hires entering the company either came spontaneously to the company's personnel offices or came in response to a suggestion from a friend or relative already working in the company. Few trainees came into the company via these routes. The trainees were more likely to have been recruited with the cooperation of the State Employment Service and community action centers in the neighborhoods where potential trainees lived. It is interesting to note that while half of the trainees came from community action groups and the State Employment Service none of the direct hires had been referred by these two sources. There are three possible explanations for this. First, the company's personnel offices may not at the time have been hiring any hard core unemployed men sent to them by these agencies. Second, the agencies may have been indiscriminately sending all hard core unemployed men directly to the training offices rather than the personnel offices--regardless of how well prepared for jobs the men may have been. Third, and most plausibly, the trainee inductee interviews may have been conducted at a time when community action centers and the State Employment Service were sending many men both to the training offices and the personnel offices. The direct hire inductee interviews were conducted several weeks after the trainee induction interviews. At this time the community action centers and the State Employment Service may have been sending very few men to either the company's training offices or its personnel offices; hence very few of the direct hire inductees interviewed would have been referred by these sources.

TABLE 38

COMPARISON BETWEEN TRAINEE INDUCTEES AND DIRECT HIRE INDUCTEES
IN TERMS OF HOW THEY HAD BEEN REFERRED TO THE COMPANY (Q85)

Source of referral	Percentage of trainee inductees referred by source (N=90)	Percentage of direct hire inductees referred by source (N=23)	t
Community action centers	33%	0%	3.21**
State Employment Service	21	0	2.41*
A friend or relative who worked worked at the company	16	61	4.44**
A friend or relative who did not work at the company	10	4	0.92
News media	3	4	0.25
Went spontaneously to personnel offices without referral	1	30	4.90**
Other	20	0	2.34*

Note:--The figures in this table are quite time-bound. It is possible
that the sources from which men were recruited for the training program
or company jobs shifted considerably throughout the history of the train-
ing program. This table represents the referral situation only in those
brief time periods when inductee data were being collected in the present
study. At other times the referral picture may have been quite
different.

[a]Percentages can add to more than 100% since inductees could
mention more than one source of referral. As a result, separate t-tests
of differences between proportions were employed rather than an overall
chi-square.

*p < .05
**p < .01

Comparisons between the samples of inductees further indicated that the trainee inductees were more optimistic than the direct hire inductees about their future company jobs. The trainee inductees were significantly more likely to feel: that their chances of getting ahead in the company were good ($t = 2.01$; $p < .05$; Q338), that the kind of work they would be doing would be good ($t = 2.35$; $p < .05$; Q339); that they would be well treated by those over them ($t = 2.06$; $p < .05$; Q102); and that it would be easy to get their job assignments changed if they did not like them ($t = 2.63$; $p < .01$; Q399).

That the trainee inductees were more optimistic than the direct hire inductees about their futures in the company probably reflects ephemeral hopes triggered by what the trainees had at the time of their induction been led to expect rather than a long-established propensity of the trainee inductees to be more optimistic about jobs or the world in general. The mass media, the State Employment Service, and the training staff may each have contributed to this initial optimism. Institutional propaganda concerning the benefits that disadvantaged workers would reap from entering job training programs was plentiful at the time of the study, and local television stations were treating job training programs in the city as a series of unqualified success stories. The State Employment Agency, according to one company representative, was also promising prospective trainees more than the company's program could realistically offer. On visits to the training induction sites the investigators also heard the training staff make to the trainees what often sounded like overly optimistic statements about the opportunities for advancement and the types of jobs that completion of training

would make available. For example, one advisor told a prospective
trainee that "o e-third of all the foreman positions are going to be
opened up and filled within the next two years, and we've been promised
those jobs for blacks." Although some other members of the training
staff encouraged similarly optimistic expectations, they were more care-
ful to balance their statements with warnings that it would not be easy
to advance and that the trainees would need to exhibit both patience and
"proper" behavior. But even such attempts to tone down the anticipation
of an easy road to quick promotions and a good job may not have removed
the effects of the optimism induced by vague promises of a "good deal."
On the other hand, at the plant personnel offices where the direct hires
were inducted into the company, little was done to inspire great hopes
among inductees. It may therefore be tentatively concluded that the
greater optimism of the trainees at the time of their joining the com-
pany was a short-term phenomenon and that trainees would be disabused of
these artificially high expectations as time wore on. Data presented
below will further substantiate this conclusion.

Detectable differences between the trainee and direct hire sub-
populations were therefore confined to five of the measures employed in
the study. Although the number of observed differences was in excess of
that which might have been observed by chance at the .05 probability
level, the observed differences do not appear very important. One dif-
ference, source of referral, appears to have been a matter of historical
accident, and there was no further indication in the data that men who
were referred by different sources were in any way different kinds of
men. The remaining four observed differences, those involving the

higher optimism of the trainee inductees, can tentatively be regarded as

ephemeral differences attributable to the "hard sell" of the training

program directed at the trainees. Most importantly, the trainees did

not differ from the direct hires on any of the background or personality

measures employed in the study. In the subsequent comparisons between

placed trainees and direct hire stays it may therefore be safely con-

cluded that any observed differences cannot be attributed to the two

groups having been drawn from different populations.

Comparing Placed Trainees
and Direct Hire Stays

Against this backdrop of initial similarity, differences between

placed trainees and direct hire stays in their reactions to their jobs,

attitudes, work-relevant values, and other social-psychological varia-

bles can tentatively be interpreted as effects of training. The tenta-

tiveness of such an interpretation is due to the possibility that there

has been systematically different attrition in the samples of trainee'

and direct hires. A difference between placed trainees and direct hire

stays may result from systematic differences between stays and terminees.

Attributing differences between placed trainees and direct hire stays to

the effects of the training program is therefore suspect on any measure

which was shown in Sections 3 or 4 to differentiate stays from

terminees.[1] Wherever this is the case, the sample attrition argument

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[1]Suppose, for example, that, as inductees, the trainees did not
differ from the direct hires on a particular measure. Suppose further
that those direct hires who scored "high" on the measure were more like-
ly to terminate than those who scored "low" on the measure but that
there was no systematic difference between trainee stays and trainee

will be invoked to provide a plausible alternative explanation of observed differences between placed trainees and direct hire stays.

An additional source of data on the effects of the training program is the amount of change detected by measures of the same varia-bles administered to the same trainee at two different times. Since all 22 placed trainees who were interviewed while working on their jobs had already been interviewed as trainee stays, measures of characteristics that could have been cnanged by training were repeated in their second interviews. This readministration of the same questions provided the opportunity to assess changes directly on the same trainees. Additional data from repeated measures were also available from 18 trainees who were initially interviewed as inductees and later reinterviewed as trainee stays. If on a given measure the placed trainees differed from the direct hire stays, the argument that training had effected a change in the trainees would be strengthened if the data based on repeated measures showed a corresponding change. At the same time, the argument that the observed difference between placed trainees and direct hire stays was attributable to sample attrition would be weakened.

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terminees on the measure. This combination of circumstances would
result in the direct hire stays having a lower score on the measure than
the placed trainees. The observed difference would be attributable to
attrition among the high-scoring direct hires, rather than to the effect
of training upon the trainees. Moreover, if any measure differentiated
trainee stays from trainee terminees but did not differentiate direct
hire stays from direct hire terminees, an observed difference between
placed trainees and direct hire stays could be attributed to attrition
among the trainees.

Effects of Training Upon Trainees

Knowledge of Company Jobs

The company customarily referred to its training program as a
"pre-employment" training program rather than a "job" training program,
and its choice of this term was singularly apt, since the trainees were
prepared for the general role of entry-level employees in the company
rather than for specific company jobs. The program's relative de-
emphasis of skill training for specific jobs was only in part a result
of the difficulties faced by the program staff in securing sufficient
technical personnel and equipment and of the difficulties that would
have been encountered with the union had the trainees engaged in productive
labor during training. More importantly, there was no way for the
training staff to guarantee that once a man had been trained for a
specific job he would be assigned to that job. There was a large
variety of entry-level jobs available from time to time in the company,
and once a job opening became available, it had to be filled immediately.
The training staff had insufficient power in the company to keep a job
open for a few weeks while they prepared a new recruit to fill the job.
Furthermore, as was discussed in Section 3, entry level jobs frequently
entailed new men being used as replacement personnel, a situation which
even further reduced the predictability of the skill demands of a placed
trainee's company job. To have provided a trainee with a particular set
of skills on the gamble that a job appropriate to these skill, would be
open at the completion of his training would have been cruel to the
trainee had such a job failed to materialize and had the trainee been
assigned to another job for which he was not prepared.

The training program was therefore largely confined to teaching
materials that would be relevant to any entry-level company job, under
the assumption that the trainee would be able to pick up more specific
skills during his early days on his job. Accordingly, training program
emphasized orienting the trainees toward company rules (e.g., those
concerning absenteeism, tardiness, and other forms of misconduct) and
procedures (e.g., how to understand the deductions from one's paycheck);
demonstrations of hand tools in general use in the plants (e.g., the
mystifying variety of screw drivers the trainee might have to use);
providing talks on safety precautions; and, through both talks and tours,
familiarizing trainees with the physical layout of the plant and the
general manufacturing process.

As a result of these and other activities did the trainees who
completed the training program seem any better oriented toward their
jobs than did the direct hires who had not gone through the training
program? Table 39 contrasts the placed trainees and the direct hire
stays in terms of two questions pertinent to how well oriented they felt
toward their work environments: "How often are you told to do something
when you don't know how to do it?" "How good an idea do you have of how
your work fits in with what other factory workers do at this plant?"
The table indicates that the placed trainees did not surpass the direct
hire stays in their general familiarity with their jobs as measured by
these two questions. The only statistically significant difference in
the table is contrary to what might be expected (the placed trainees
more frequently reporting that they were sometimes told to do something
when they did not know how to do it), and this can be attributed to

TABLE 39

COMPARISON BETWEEN PLACED TRAINEES AND DIRECT HIRE STAYS
IN TERMS OF THEIR GENERAL FAMILIARITY
WITH THEIR WORK ENVIRONMENTS

	Placed trainees	Direct hire stays	t
Percentage reporting that they were sometimes told to do some thing when they did not know how to do it (Q352)	55% (N=20)	28% (N=35)	2.59*
Percentage reporting that they had a very good idea of how their work fit in with that of others (Q365)	32% (N=22)	46% (N=35)	1.28

*$p < .05$

attrition among the direct hires of those who were told to do things
they did not know how to do (Table 10).

Why did the placed trainees, who had taken plant tours and had
been exposed to other plant orientation activities that were part of the
training program, not surpass the direct hire stays on either of the
questions in Table 39? One explanation is that many trainees may only
have received tours of plants other than those at which they were subse-
quently placed and that the orientation information they received was
not readily generalizable to the latter plants. A more reasonable
explanation lies in the fact that even the direct hires received at
least some orientation to the plants to which they were assigned. A
brief orientation of a day or so may have been sufficient to elevate the
direct hires' familiarity with their plants to a level comparable to
that created by the presumably more extensive orientation activities of

the training program. Thus, the orientation activities of the training

program may have had early diminishing returns, rendering more than a

few days of such activities unnecessary.

Workers' self-reports of their levels of competence with regard

to more specific job-related skills are shown in Table 40. The acquisi-

tion of each of these skills was emphasized in the training program, al-

though the training units varied somewhat in the relative emphasis

placed on each. By contrasting placed trainees and direct hire stays

in terms of the percentage of each group who felt they had enough of

each skill for their current jobs, the table indicates that there were

no significant differences between the two groups.

TABLE 40

COMPARISON BETWEEN PLACED TRAINEES AND DIRECT HIRE STAYS
IN TERMS OF THEIR SELF-REPORTS OF THEIR SKILL LEVEL
IN THREE AREAS

	Placed trainees	Direct hire stays	t
Percentage reporting that they "knew enough" about safety and use of machines or tools (122)	45% (N=22)	43% (N=35)	0.15
Percentage reporting that they "knew well enough" how to read, write, and do arithmetic (123)	59% (N=22)	70% (N=33)	0.84
Percentage reporting that they "knew enough" about miscella-neous adjustment skills (e.g., getting along with others, keeping cool in emergencies)(124)	54% (N=22)	63% (N=35)	0.67

It should not be hastily concluded from Tables 39 and 40 that the training program was unsuccessful in orienting trainees to their work environments and in providing them with general skills suitable to their entry-level jobs. The validity of self-report data varies considerably according to type of material being reported, and the interpretation of such data requires particular caution when a person is estimating the level of his skill in an area in which he is currently being or has just been trained. A training experience may sometimes raise a person's skill level while simultaneously making him acutely conscious of how much further he has to go to achieve his desired level of proficiency. The placed trainees might in fact have achieved a considerable increase in knowledge with regard to all the areas listed in Tables 39 and 40; but this increase might have been offset by a heightened awareness of their inadequacies in some or all of the areas. The net effect could have generated self-reports of their skill levels which did not differ from those of the direct hire stays who had not experienced training.

Work-related Values and Attitudes

The training program placed major (and according to some advisors and monitors, a paramount) emphasis on modifying trainees' attitudes both toward their work and themselves. When talking with the investigators, the staff of the training program often referred to a trainee as not having the "right attitude" toward his work. Coming from a foreman, this phrase could simply mean that a worker was either not obsequious enough or did not take his job quite so seriously as did the foreman or some other workers. At other times the phrase was used

simply as a euphemism for saying that a man was disagreeable or obstrep-
erous. Even the staff of the training program at times made euphemistic
use of the phrase in describing a trainee with whom, for one reason or
another, they found it difficult to deal. More commonly, the trainee
who was viewed by the training staff as having the "right attitude"
toward his training and his future work in the company was one who took
his training and his future job seriously and who was willing to subordi-
nate some of the more immediately attractive distractions of his personal
life to the pursuit of this job. In other words, the "right attitude"
appeared to involve behaving in accordance with a middle-class view of
work.

Since most of the training staff were themselves middle-class,
it is not unexpected that some of the staff should have attempted to
impart, either consciously or unconsciously, some of their own values
to the trainees. The staff generally attempted to impress trainees with
the fact that there were certain behaviors that in the white world of
the company would be frowned upon or worse since the behaviors were not
in accordance with the white, middle-class view of work. While some of
the staff attempted to effect in trainees values or attitudinal changes
that were in accordance with this view, others exhorted trainees to show
at least some behavioral compliance with these values regardless of how
the trainees really felt about what they were doing--in short, to fake
whitey's game.

Regardless of whether they attempted to foster either attitudi-
nal change or simply behavioral compliance, the staff apparently
effected some measurable changes in the work-related values and

attitudes of the trainees. Although these changes were evident only on

two of the several value and attitudinal measures employed in the study,

they were quite consistent with the goals of the training program.

A shift toward middle-class values concerning work was observed

with regard to the importance which the trainee attached to work for

work's sake alone. An index (I28) of this importance was composed of

three questions. The trainee was scored as attaching a high importance

to work for its own sake if he agreed with the statement that "I need a

job in order to feel that I have a real place in the world," and "It's

more important for me to have a good job than it is to have good

friends," and if he disagreed with the statement that "My only purpose

in working is to make money." On this three-item index there was a sig-

nificant (t = 1.96; df = 17; p < .05, one-tailed test) shift among

trainees in the direction of attaching a greater value to work after

their training experiences.

Nothing was stressed more to trainees than the urgency of

developing a respect for and obedience to the time schedules imposed on

their lives by their training and their future company jobs. Thus, it

is not surprising that the repeated-measures data showed that during

training there was a significant (t = 1.84; df = 17; p < .05, one-tailed

test) decline in the amount of trainees' agreement with the interview

question asking whether they felt that "I like to let things happen in

their own way rather than to schedule them" (Q138). During the time of

their training experience the trainees evidently developed a more middle-

class attitude toward time schedules.

While perhaps increasing trainees' respects for time schedules, the training program experience had less welcome effects upon trainees' feelings about the particular hours they were required to work on their jobs. All the placed trainees and direct hire stays working on the first shift reported that their shift hours were pretty good. Among the men assigned to the second shift, however, significantly ($\underline{t} = 3.35$; $\underline{p} < .01$) more direct hire stays than placed trainees reported that their shift hours were "pretty good." Seventy-six percent of the second shift direct hires said their hours were "pretty good," while only 31 percent of the second shift placed trainees were so favorable toward their shift assignment.

What made assignment to the second shift more distasteful to the placed trainees than to the direct hire stays? The training sessions were held at times that coincided within an hour or so of the first shift in the plants. A man who successfully completed training had to be able to demonstrate to his advisor that he was capable of arranging his life so that he would be able to get to work early in the morning. Having successfully made such arrangements, many trainees were then assigned to a shift that began eight hours later than the hours to which they had just become accustomed. All the personal habits and arrangements that had been developed over the several weeks of training had to be altered overnight. For these men, job placement involved simultaneous changes in shift assignments complete with all the difficult readjustments that such changes generally entail. Some trainees therefore experienced a conspicuous discontinuity between the behaviors encouraged in the training class (i.e., arranging one's life so that

one could get up before day-break) and the behaviors demanded by the job (i.e., going to work in the middle of the afternoon). It would have been more understandable either to have placed men on a shift where the hours most closely approximated those of the training class or to have held some training classes later in the day. But given the low level of control by the training staff over the placement of trainees, such a solution was difficult. Since the training staff could not know in advance what shift a trainee would be assigned to when he began working, there was no way to tell what would be the best training hours for him.

Sense of Personal Efficacy

In addition to attempting to alter trainee's attitudes toward their work, the training program also attempted to effect changes in the trainee's attitudes toward themselves. These efforts were variously described by the training staff as efforts to "increase the trainees' pride in themselves," "increase their feelings of personal worth," "bolster their confidence in themselves," and "give them the feeling that they can be successful in accomplishing what they want to." Although differing in terms of the self-relevant attitudes they expected to be affected by the training, the advisors and monitors seemed to share the common feeling that increasing a trainee's sense of personal efficacy in dealing with his environment would provide him with important psychological armor when he began working on a company job. In this effort the training staff shared with Gurin[1] the belief that the psychological issues which are central among the disadvantaged are "those which are the major determinants of an individual's

Gurin, op. cit.

expectancies of failure and success--competence, efficacy, and powerless-
ness, feelings about one's ability to affect one's life."

Table 41 indicates the direction and degree of change observed
in trainees in their response to four questions assessing their feelings
of personal efficacy. In measuring efficacy it is useful to distinguish
between effectiveness in controlling people from effectiveness in master-
ing events or activities. Controlling people impinges upon the concept
of social power, while mastering events or activities seems more closely
related to the concept of achievement. Hence the four questions in
Table 41 are divided into two sets according to whether their principal
referent was one of power or achievement.

TABLE 41

CHANGE IN PERSONAL EFFICACY SCORES OF TRAINEES

Efficacy question	Direction of change during training	df	$\underline{t}$
Power: I can usually talk my friends into doing what I want them to do (Q145)	Increased efficacy	17	1.72
People often have power over me (Q148)[a]	Decreased efficacy	17	1.58
Achievement: I usually do a good job at whatever I do (Q144)	Increased efficacy	21	3.13**
I often fail in things I try to do (Q150)[a]	Increased efficacy	21	2.41*

[a]These two questions were scored in a direction opposite to that
of the other two questions.

* $\underline{p} < .05$

** $p < .01$

Both the efficacy questions concerning achievement showed a statistically significant increase in trainees' sense of personal efficacy. This difference may reflect either the success of the training staff in instilling such feelings in trainees or may have resulted from the significant ego-boosting provided by the trainees' having successfully completed the training program and their having secured and held company jobs for a few weeks. On the two personal efficacy questions concerning power, there was no significant change among trainees. On one of the two questions there was an increase in sense of power of borderline statistical significance (the "I usually talk my friends . . ." question). On the other question there was almost an equally large _decrease_ in trainees' sense of efficacy.

Although the program did not affect trainees' sense of efficacy in controlling others, it did seem to heighten their desire to avoid jobs on which others controlled them. During training the placed trainees exhibited a significant increase ($\underline{t}$ = 2.02; $\underline{p}$ < .05; one-tailed test) in their preferences for having a job which offered them considerable autonomy (I17). This change may, however, have been counter-productive, since the jobs on which they would be placed after completing training were characterized both by a high level of control by their foremen and by few opportunities for workers to make decisions independently. It is therefore not surprising that the placed trainees differed significantly ($\underline{t}$ = 2.94; $\underline{p}$ < .01) from the direct hire stays in feeling that the quality of supervision they received from their foremen was poorer (I17). In addition, significantly ($\underline{t}$ = 2.81; $\underline{p}$ < .01) more placed trainees than direct hires reported that on their

jobs they were told to do things that they did not want to do.[1] A dis-
continuity therefore appeared to exist between the desires which the
training staff instilled in the trainees and the opportunities which the
company's foremen provided for the attainment of those desires.

The Benefits of the Training Program
--A Hindsight View

The conclusions drawn in the preceding pages of this section con-
cerning the impact of the training program upon trainees were limited by
the fact that effects of the training program were measured only in
terms of what should have happened given the explicit or implicit goals
of the training program. But the criterion measures based upon these
goals may have been unreliable or inappropriate or may have failed to
detect some real, but unintended, changes that occurred in the trainees.
Alternatively, it was possible to assess the impact of the program not
by a priori standards, but the standards of the men who experienced the
complete program. For this purpose, the sample of placed trainees were
a unique source of information about the training program. Not only had
they successfully completed the program, but they were also successful
in keeping their post-training jobs for six weeks or more.[2] Their

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[1]Since the Quality of Supervision Index was associated with
direct hire turnover, sample attrition might also explain this differ-
ence between placed trainees and direct hire stays. The attrition argu-
ment would not, however, be applicable to the difference between the two
samples on the "told to do things that they did not want to do" question
because this question was not associated with turnover among the direct
hires.

[2]Remaining on the job for six weeks was obviously not a cri-
terion used in sampling placed trainees, since all placed trainees were
interviewed before their six weeks on the job had elapsed. It was only
by chance that the 22 placed trainees interviewed happened subsequently
to keep their jobs for six weeks or more.

experiences on their company jobs had provided them with the opportunity
to put into practice what they had already learned in the training pro-
gram. They were therefore in an excellent position from which to offer
a hindsight view of the usefulness of their training experience.

When asked whether their training program experiences had helped
them on their jobs they gave generally, but not overwhelmingly, favor-
able reports of the program's usefulness to them. While about two-
thirds felt that their training had helped them to do better on their
jobs, the remaining third felt that their training had not made any
difference (Q322).

The aspects of the training program which the placed trainees
felt had been most helpful to them on their jobs are described in
Table 42. The basic education and "hands on" skill training, described
in the preceding section, were the aspects of the program most salient
to its designers. These activities were the most highly structured of
the program activities and consumed much of the time each trainee spent
in the program. Yet, according to Table 42 few of the placed trainees
cited these aspects of the program as helping them to do better on their
company jobs. Instead, they emphasized the less highly structured
features of the program which involved the acquisition of appropriate
work attitudes and attempted to prepare them for generalized work roles
rather than for specific jobs. The "teaching" of self-discipline, inter-
personal skills, and work related values and attitudes were the elements
of the program most often cited as helpful.

Table 42 is somewhat discrepant from the data in Appendix C
which indicates what trainees prior to completing the training program

liked best about the training program. Among all aspects of the train-
ing program, trainees reported liking best the group discussions between
trainees and staff (Appendix C); this is not inconsistent with Table 42,
since such discussions were the major media through which the training
program tried to modify trainees' attitudes and help them adopt appro-
priate work-role behaviors. Although while in training the men were
highly attracted to the academic and the "hands on" training they were
receiving (Appendix C), neither of these two aspects of the training
program was viewed as outstandingly helpful by the trainees once they
had begun to work.(Table 42). What trainees liked best about the pro-
gram before they began to work on company jobs was therefore not neces-
sarily what they found most helpful to them on their jobs.

TABLE 42

PERCENTAGE OF PLACED TRAINEES WHO MENTIONED EACH OF THE FOLLOWING WAYS
IN WHICH THE TRAINING PROGRAM HELPED THEM TO DO BETTER
ON THEIR POST-TRAINING JOBS (Q322)

Ways in which training helped	Percentage (N=22)[a]
Taught self discipline	27%
Taught appropriate attitudes and expectations	27
Taught interpersonal skills	18
Provided "hands on" training	9
Provided academic training (basic education)	9
Helped trainee in a personal way not related directly to the job	9
Did not help in any way	36

[a]Percentages add to more than 100% since placed trainees could
give more than one answer to the question. Response categories men-
tioned by fewer than 5 percent of placed trainees are not shown.

This discrepancy suggests that considerable caution should be exercised in designing training programs on the basis of studies of the attitudes of trainees toward their training programs where such studies are based exclusively upon interviews with people who have not yet had time to apply what they have learned in training to their post-training jobs. For example, the academic training and basic education component of the training program was viewed as very important by the program's designers, consumed half of every training day, and was cited by many trainees as something they liked "best" about their training program. Yet few of the same men later regarded the academic training they had received in the program as very useful to them on their jobs. This should not be interpreted as an indictment of basic education per se, nor as a devaluation of the importance of literacy for everyone. Although a good basic education may be essential for upward job mobility and may be a useful part of long term programs of job upgrading, the usefulness of the academic training provided by the training program studied did not appear to be commensurate with the time and effort being invested in it.

But trainee's views of the usefulness of their training experiences have their own limitations. Having voluntarily invested several weeks of his life for eight hours a day in the training program, the placed trainee might have been unwilling to admit that his investment had not paid off as well as he had anticipated. He might therefore have felt compelled to report at least some benefit of his training program experiences that justified his voluntary investment. Such a hindsight favorable evaluation is especially easy where the goals of training are

somewhat obscure to the trainee. Where a person undertakes to learn a foreign language in a short period of time, the bench-marks of success are conspicuous; either one achieves certain levels of proficiency after so many weeks or one does not. Where the goal is one of preparing a person for a job, however, the bench-marks are somewhat harder to identify. They are all the harder to identify where the trainers adopt as intermediate goals such abstractions as elevating the self-confidence or sense of efficacy of trainees--concepts scarcely understood by many trainees. Under such ambiguous conditions and given their time investment in the training program, the trainees could readily be expected to attribute some of their success on their jobs to their training experiences, regardless of whether the training had in fact benefited them or not.

Summary

Although more changes in the values and attitudes of trainees were observed than would have arisen by chance, these changes were far less extensive than might have been anticipated on the basis of the training program's ambitious goals. In most cases the direction of observed changes were in accordance with the goals of the program's designers. Thus, trainees increased their sense of personal efficacy with regard to achievement matters, the importance which they attached to work for its own sake and their willingness to orient their activities around time schedules. One of the observed changes may, however, have had its dysfunctional aspects. Although trainees' desires for jobs which provided them considerable autonomy were heightened during training, at the end of training they were assigned to jobs on which their

foremen provided them with little autonomy. As a possible result of this, graduates of the training program had considerably more unfavorable attitudes toward their foremen than did men who had not gone through the training program.

The data were inconclusive as to the extent to which the observed differences were directly attributable solely to the effects of the training program experience. On each of the measures where change was detected, the trainees did not differ from the direct hires at the time of their induction into the company. Nor at a later time did the placed trainees differ from the direct hire stays. A plausible explanation of this is that for each of the changes observed in the trainees there were corresponding change among the untrained direct hires. The study's design did not, however, permit the detection of the latter changes, since longitudinal data were not obtained on the direct hires.

Trainee's reactions to their training experiences were mixed. Although one out of three placed trainees felt that their training experiences had not helped them on their company jobs, the majority regarded their training as helpful. But the training activities to which most of the training time was devoted were not the activities which the placed trainees found most useful to them on their company jobs.

6. EFFECTS OF THE TRAINING PROGRAM
UPON TURNOVER

Despite the last section's conclusion that the training program
did not appear to have the dramatic effects upon trainees that its
designers had hoped and intended, it was still possible that the program
achieved its ultimate goal of reducing job turnover through means which
the study did not examine or which it did not measure adequately. The
program might also have succeeded in reducing turnover without affecting
any changes whatsoever in trainees. This could have occurred had the
program concentrated upon screening out the less job-qualified trainees
rather than attempting to train them. The program could thereby have
restricted its graduates to only those men whom the staff felt with some
certainty would be successful on their subsequent jobs, leaving more
marginally qualified men to fall by the wayside. Had this happened, the
program would have been superficially successful in reducing turnover,
but would hardly have deserved to be called a "training" program. It
would instead have been nothing more than a massive, government-
subsidized selection apparatus. Some indication that such systematic
screening was not being carried out in the training program studied may
be inferred from data in Section 4 which indicated that very few charac-
teristics of trainees were systematically associated with turnover
from the program.

Overall, how successful was the company's training program in reducing turnover? Did a disadvantaged worker entering the company's training program have any better chance of staying in the company than a comparable worker who did not go into the training program but instead went directly onto the job?

In order to answer this question, the following pages contrast the turnover rates of two samples selected from the study's population of disadvantaged men. The trainee tracking sample were 90 men selected randomly from among those entering the training program. The direct hire tracking sample were 232 men going directly onto the job. The sampling of the direct hire tracking sample was stratified so as to match the trainee tracking sample in terms of the men's ages and educational levels and the plants to which they were assigned. Within these strata selection of direct hires was random.[1]

For each man in the two tracking samples statistical information was obtained from company records concerning his subsequent "success" in the company. Two somewhat different success criteria were employed: whether a man remained in the company for six weeks and whether a man remained on the job for six weeks. Among direct hires the two criteria were identical; among trainees, the two differed.

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[1]The trainee tracking sample was identical to the sample of trainee inductees which was described in Section 5. The direct hire tracking sample was identical to the set of direct hire "listings" discussed in Section 3. Every direct hire interviewed in the study as an inductee, terminee, or stay was also a member of the direct hire tracking sample. Although all trainee inductees were members of the trainee tracking sample, many trainee stays, trainee terminees, and placed trainees were not members of the trainee tracking sample.

FIGURE 4

SAMPLES USED IN ANALYSIS OF EFFECTS OF TRAINING UPON TURNOVER

Population: Black men entering the company, all of whom were certified as "hard core unemployed"

Subpopulation: <u>trainees</u>	Subpopulation: <u>direct hires</u>

<u>Trainee tracking sample</u>: 90 men selected randomly from the subpopulation of trainees	<u>Direct hire tracking sample</u>: 232 men selected from the subpopulation of direct hires so as to match the trainee tracking sample in terms of the men's ages and educational levels and the plants to which they were assigned

Two men graduating from the training program who remained <u>on the</u> <u>job</u> for the same length of time need not necessarily have remained <u>in</u> <u>the company</u> for the same length of time. This would have been the case had all trainees been graduated from the training program after the same number of weeks in the program. On paper the training program was six weeks long. In practice, however, a man could be graduated from the training program at any time he was judged to be "job ready" by his advisor and monitor. His job readiness was not the only factor determining when he would be graduated. Although judged job ready, his placement could be delayed simply because there were at the time no suitable job openings; in such a case he would be kept in the program until an opening became available. On the other hand, he could also be placed somewhat prior to his being judged job ready. This occurred when a man

was nearing the time of completing the program and a promising job open-
ing suddenly became available. Rather than keep a man in the program
until a week or two later, when the opening might no longer exist, the
training program staff would sometimes place the man right away. More-
over, when labor shortages occurred in the company the training staff
were encouraged to relax their standards of "job readiness" and place as
many men as possible in the existing openings.

TABLE 43

WEEKS DURING WHICH PLACED TRAINEES FROM TRAINEE TRACKING SAMPLE
WERE GRADUATED FROM TRAINING AND PLACED ON JOB

Week	Percentage of placed trainees from tracking sample[a] (N=63)	Cumulative percentage of placed trainees from tracking sample[a] (N=63)
First week	0%	0%
Second week	12	12
Third week	13	25
Fourth week	29	54
Fifth week	32	86
Sixth week	8	94
Seventh week or later	6	100

[a]Excludes trainees from the tracking sample who terminated from
the training program.

As a result of these factors it is not surprising that only six
percent of the placed trainees from the tracking sample received a
full six weeks of training (Table 43). In fact, of those trainees who
were placed over half had already been placed by the end of the fourth
week of the program, and 12 percent of them had been placed by the end
of their second week in the program. It is therefore incorrect to view

the training program as a six week one, since the great majority of the trainees received less than six weeks of training.[1]

Table 44 provides a straightforward answer to the question: Did entering the training program rather than going directly onto a company job significantly increase a man's chances of remaining in the company?

TABLE 44

COMPARISON OF TRACKING SAMPLE TRAINEES AND DIRECT HIRES
IN TERMS OF THE PERCENTAGE OF EACH GROUP TERMINATING
FROM THE COMPANY WITHIN FIRST SIX WEEKS
AFTER INDUCTION INTO THE COMPANY

Termination rate of trainee tracking sample (N=89)	Termination rate of direct hire tracking sample (N=232)
37%	42%

$t = 0.82$; n.s.

To answer this question the table contrasts the trainee tracking sample and the direct hire tracking sample in terms of their rates of termination within their first six weeks in the company. There was no significant association between whether a man was in the training program or not and whether he remained in the company for six weeks. Within their first six weeks in the company, the termination rate of those men

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[1] A peripheral question raised by this is whether the length of time a trainee spent in the program affected his chances for staying on the job. Were, for example, those men who were placed after only two weeks of training any less successful than those who received the full six-week program? To answer this question, a correlation was computed between the number of weeks the placed trainees from the tracking sample remained in the training program and the number of weeks (up to seven weeks) they retained their subsequent company jobs. The product-moment correlation between the two numbers of weeks was a nonsignificant .08.

coming directly off-the-street and going directly onto dangerous and
demanding company jobs was no different than the termination rate of
men whose first six weeks were spent for the most part in the comparu-
tively sheltered environment of the training program.

Whether a man was a trainee or a direct hire was, on the other
hand, related to how soon he terminated from the company. This is
demonstrated graphically in Figure 5. The dotted line in Figure 5 is
based on the 97 men from the direct hire tracking sample who terminated
within six weeks. The six points on the line indicate the percentage of
this group of direct hire terminees who terminated from the training
program in each of six subsequent weeks after their time of induction.
The solid line in the figure presents comparable week-by-week termina-
tion data for the 22 trainees from the trainee tracking sample who
terminated from the training program within six weeks.[1]

Direct hire termination was very high during the first week,
steadily dropped until the fourth week, and then leveled off at about
five percent. In contrast, the trainee termination rate started out
lower than that of the direct hires, reached a high point during the
third week of training, and then dropped off again. The biggest differ-
ence between the two rates of termination occurred during the first week.
The trainees therefore appeared to be terminating from the training pro-
gram later than the direct hires were terminating from their jobs.

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[1]Eleven trainees who were classified in Table 44 as terminees
from the company within the first six weeks are excluded from this
figure. These eleven completed the training program, were placed on
jobs, and then terminated from their jobs--all within six weeks after
first entering the training program.

FIGURE 5

RELATION OF TRAINING TO WEEK OF TERMINATION FROM THE COMPANY

KEY:

——————— = Tracking sample trainees who terminated from the training program (N=22)

- - - - - - - - - = Tracking sample direct hires who terminated within six weeks (N=97)

Week of termination
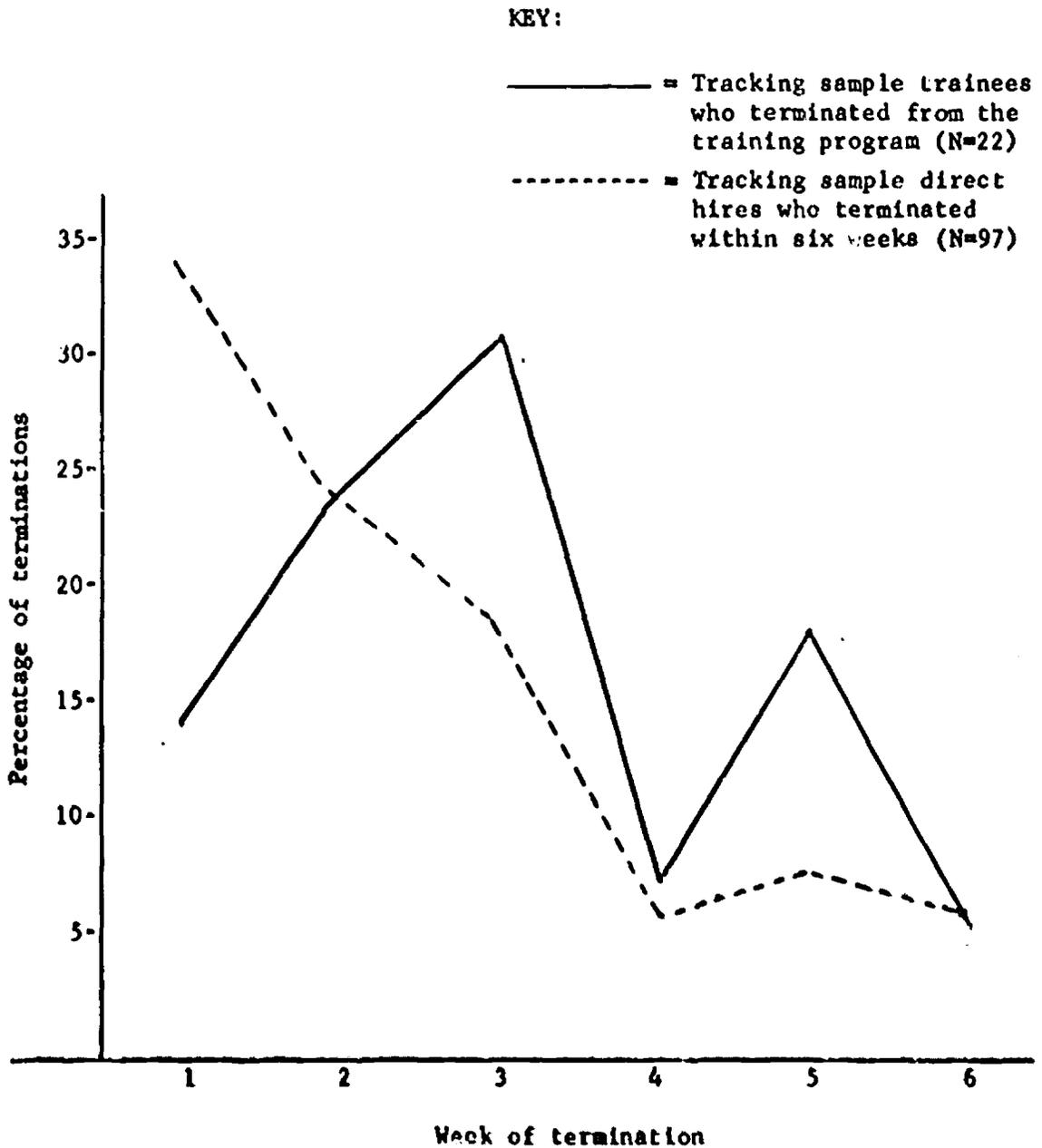
This difference corroborates two observations made earlier in this report: that while the company's foremen, who controlled much of the job situation of direct hires, were quick to fire new employees, the training staff were quite tolerant of a trainee's shortcomings and were more willing to give a trainee further opportunities to prove himself. In spite of this tolerance, the training staff could not permit an obviously unqualified man simply to coast through the program until he was finally placed on a job. Putting unqualified men onto company jobs would hardly have benefited the company, and the training staff were, after all, company employees. In addition, the staff were not interested simply in shunting men through the training program in dazzling numbers that would look impressive in the company's reports to the public, the government, and the National Alliance of Businessmen. Instead, they were sincerely interested in helping a trainee achieve a level of competence that would guarantee his survival on a company job. Discharging a trainee was at times simply a matter of doing to the man in training what the advisor thought might ultimately happen to the man on his subsequent job were he to be graduated from the training program. In doing so, the advisor was taking upon himself the burden of performing what he thought was the inevitable. Finally, in order to justify its continued survival in the company, the training program had to demonstrate to company management that it could indeed produce men who were more qualified and more likely to retain their jobs than men who came off-the-street and went directly onto the job; graduating unqualified men would therefore undermine the usefulness of the program in the company's view. As a result of these conditions, the program staff

could be lenient toward a trainee only up to a point. The critical
choice point occurred when it became apparent to the staff that a man
was unqualified for a job but was nearing completion of the training
program and subsequent job placement. This point occurred just prior to
the fourth week of training, the week when trainees began to be placed
in large numbers.

The most important data in this section are presented in
Table 45, which indicates how effective the training program was in
producing graduates who would successfully retain jobs. Although the
comparison made between trainees and direct hires in Table 44 showed
that being in the training program did not increase a man's chances of
staying in the company, the comparison was muddied by the variable situa-
tion of the trainees whose terminations were reported in the table. For
some trainees, being in the company for six weeks was equivalent to
being in the training program throughout the six weeks. For most, due
to early job placement the first six weeks were a combination of activi-
ties--some weeks in training and later weeks on the job.

A more accurate assessment of the impact of the training program
can be obtained if the turnover among direct hires is compared not to turn-
over among all trainees but only to turnover among those men who had
been graduated from the program and had, like the direct hire, been
fully exposed to the demands of work. In Table 44 a high rate of turn-
over by trainees while in training could conceivably make the program
look very ineffective in reducing turnover. The possibility remains
that those men who did complete the training program were spectacularly
successful in keeping company jobs once they were placed.

TABLE 45

COMPARISON TO TRACKING SAMPLE PLACED TRAINEES AND DIRECT HIRES
IN TERMS OF THE PERCENTAGE OF EACH GROUP TERMINATING
FROM THE JOB WITHIN FIRST SIX WEEKS
AFTER BEGINNING WORK

Termination rate of placed trainees in trainee tracking sample (N=63) a	Termination rate of direct hire tracking sample (N=232)
32%	42%

t = 1.44; n.s.

[a]Excludes 26 men in the trainee tracking sample who did not
complete the training program.

Accordingly, Table 45 answers the question: Did the men who were
graduated from the program and placed on company jobs keep these jobs
any longer than a comparable group of men who went directly onto the
job without exposure to the training program? Using the job success
criterion of remaining on a company job for more than six weeks, Table 45
contrasts the direct hire tracking sample with only those men from the
trainee tracking sample who had completed the training program and were
placed on jobs. This contrast shows that disadvantaged men who completed
training were not significantly more successful in retaining company jobs
than were the direct hires who had not been trained.

Even this lack of a significant difference, it might be asserted,
could be regarded as a testimonial to the success of the training pro-
gram. In spite of the evidence presented in Section 5, suppose that at
the time of joining the company the trainees were far less well-equipped
for their jobs than the direct hires. If this were the case, the

training program could be regarded as successful even if it

only brought the trainees up to the level of the direct hires in

terms of job retention. But this argument would be valid only if it

could be demonstrated that at the time of their induction into the

company the trainees were in some way "worse off" or less job-qualified

than the direct hires. The data in Section 5 indicated, however, that

in terms of the measures employed in the present study the trainee and

direct hire subpopulations were equivalent.

Summary

The training program had no detectable effect on the company's

retention of its disadvantaged personnel. A worker entering the train-

ing program had no better chance of staying in the company and keeping

a company job than a comparable worker who did not enter the training

program but instead went directly onto the job.

7. CONCLUSION

Summary of the Findings

The study was designed to answer four general questions concern-
ing turnover and job training among disadvantaged workers. These ques-
tions, together with a brief and highly oversimplified summary of the
data pertiner to each, were as follows:

1. What factors were associated with turnover from the job among
newly hired disadvantaged workers?

Turnover among newly hired disadvantaged workers who were placed
on company jobs without having gone through the company's vestibule
training program was quite high. Forty-two percent of the direct hires
in the study's sample terminated from the company within their first six
weeks of employment. Turnover among these direct hires was for the most
part attributable to the poor working conditions they faced on their
company jobs. The working conditions of the direct hires who terminated
differed in a number of respects from the working conditions of the
direct hires who survived on their jobs for more than six weeks. Those
who terminated more often reported that: they would find it hard to get
their job assignments changed if they did not like them; they had no
consistent job assignments but instead were shifted from work station to
work station and treated as replacement personnel; they reported to more
than one foreman and were often caught between conflicting demands of their

foremen; they were unclear about their job activities and alienated from
the production process; they were assigned to jobs that were boring or
required that they work too hard or too fast; they were assigned to dis-
liked shifts; and they were supervised poorly. Although few character-
istics of the personalities of the direct hires were associated with
turnover, several demographic and background characteristics were asso-
ciated with high rates of termination: being young; having a spotty job
history; being unmarried; not having to pay most of one's household
bills; and having a darker complexion.

2. What factors were associated with turnover from the training
program among disadvantaged trainees?

Approximately one out of every four trainees in the study's
sample did not complete the training program. Most of those who ter-
minated reported that they did so involuntarily, excessive absenteeism
and tardiness being the most prevalent reasons for their dismissals.
There was generally no association between termination from the training
program and either trainees' views of the content of the training pro-
gram or their perceptions of the characteristics of the advisors and
monitors who counseled and taught them. The only characteristic of the
training program which was related to turnover was the scheduling of the
training sessions. Among the measures of trainees' values and attitudes,
only their attitudes toward adjusting their lives to time schedules were
associated with turnover. Turnover was particularly high among the
young black workers whose complexions were darker and whose racial atti-
tudes were more militant.

3. In what ways were men who successfully completed the training
program any different from the disadvantaged men working in the company
without any exposure to the training program? Did the training program
effect any changes in the trainees?

Training had no discernible effect on trainees' familiarity with
the jobs on which they were placed after completion of training; nor did
it affect these trainee's self-reports of their levels of various job-
relevant skills. The program was possibly more successful in modifying
some of the trainees' attitudes, particularly their attitude toward time,
the importance which they attached to work for work's sake, and their
sense of personal efficacy with regard to achievement. Training also
may have increased trainees' desires for jobs which provided a high
degree of autonomy. Although there was a measurable decrease during
training of trainees' estimations of their chances of being promoted in
the company, this change was simply a regression from the unrealistical-
ly high expectations instilled in the trainees at the onset of training.

4. Did workers who had completed the pre-employment training program
have significantly greater success in keeping a company job than compara-
ble workers who did not get into the training program but instead went
directly onto the job?

No.

Improving Vestibule Training Programs

Assume for the moment that the company's training program could
have been effective in reducing turnover among disadvantaged workers who
secured entry-level jobs in the company. Given this assumption (which,

as will be argued later, is highly questionable), what circumstances

limited the program's effectiveness and how could these circumstances

have been altered? The following pages will describe several character-

istics of the program's goals, organization, and administration which

may have handicapped the program's efforts to provide vestibule training

for the disadvantaged. There are, however, three principal limitations

to the information upon which the inferences below are based. First,

the information was not obtained from systematic data collection but

was obtained instead from the investigators' personal observations of

program activities and from both formal and informal interviews with the

staff of the program. Second, the information is quite time-bound.

Although the conditions described existed when data were being collected

in the company, a year has now passed. According to one company repre-

sentative, the program staff have in the interim profited from their

experiences and many of the conditions described below no longer exist.

Finally, it is difficult to know to what extent the conditions to be

described were unique to the company and to what extent they exist in

one form or another in the training programs of other companies. It

would be a rare company indeed that could successfully avoid all the

difficulties that ensnared the company's training program. From the

materials below, as well as from many observations scattered throughout

the preceding pages, other companies undertaking vestibule training

programs for the disadvantaged will hopefully be able to profit from the

experiences of the company studied.

Confusion about Program Goals

The program's training contract with the Federal Government entailed only the comparatively modest goal of providing vestibule train- ing to a number of disadvantaged workers and subsequently placing them on entry level jobs, and program resources were accordingly allocated with this goal in mind. The advisors and monitors, however, had some- what more ambitious hopes for the training program. Many of them viewed the program as largely a first step in helping blacks, especially dis- advantaged blacks, obtain better positions in the company than they had hitherto been able to secure. They viewed the program as an example of "black power in action" and often described it as such to the trainees. With such an ambitious view of the program, they appeared to find it hard to regard the task of preparing men for unpleasant entry-level jobs as an end in itself. "Success" was for many of them defined as having a trainee secure something better than a routine entry-level job on the assembly line. The anecdotal success stories about trainees that they cited generally entailed unusual instances in which a recently graduated trainee was able to secure a job better than that which the vast majori- ty of the trainees could realistically achieve in a short period of time. Likewise, some of the directors of the training program confined their narrations of the program's "success stories" to the histories of program graduates who had somehow advanced quickly beyond typical entry- level positions. The staff seemed less enthused over the more mundane histories of program graduates whose no less considerable personal successes consisted of getting and keeping dull entry-level jobs--even when such men seldom in their lives had been successful in keeping jobs for so long.

The substitution of these more ambitious goals for the more modest contractual obligations of the program inevitably led to frustration and anger among many of the program staff making this substitution. The goals of the program as they saw them differed from the goals as viewed by some of the program's directors--especially those who controlled the program's purse-strings. Consequently, some of the staff felt that their training activities were being thwarted when they could not offer training in specific skills, could not control which jobs the trainees would be placed on, could not over-ride union priorities in securing job assignments for program graduates, and could otherwise not do many of the things they regarded as vital to placing qualified trainees on "better" jobs. Those in charge of the program did little to remedy the situation. While on one hand some of the training staff and the chairman of the company's board of directors described the program in the most ambitious of ways, in day-to-day program administration the program's directors hewed far closer to the program's more modest contractual commitments.

Unrealistic Training Objectives

Several factors limited the amount of training in job-related skills that the program could offer. First, many of the relevant skills involved the use of machines which were constantly in operation on the production line and hence not available for use by trainees. Moreover, a trainee could not work with these machines while they were in use on the line, since this would have amounted to his engaging in productive labor--which was not allowed by the union. Second, there was a shortage

of company personnel who had the required teaching abilities and
free time to provide trainees with skill training. Third, the skill
requirements of the company's entry-level jobs were not so demanding
that they required that those working on them receive extensive skill
training. Finally, the training staff had little control over the job
to which a program graduate would be assigned. Had the staff known that
a particular man would later be assigned to a particular type of work
station, the staff could possibly have found some way to instruct him in
the fundamentals pertinent to his future work. But the future job
assignment of each trainee was unpredictable. It would therefore have
been fruitless to train any man in a particular skill because there was
slight chance that he would ever get to use the skill.

As a result of these and other factors the training staff
eschewed extensive skill training in favor of a program which concen-
trated upon remedial education and the altering of trainees' attitudes
and behaviors. Orienting training around these activities appears in
retrospect to have been a mistake, since the staff seemed to be hoping
(if not always expecting) to undo the effects of several years of
trainees' lives within a period of a few weeks. Significant and lasting
attitudinal and behavioral changes and sizeable increments in basic edu-
cation levels are difficult enough to achieve under the best of circum-
stances. It is therefore hardly surprising that they were not achieved
under circumstances where men were to be trained for only a few weeks in
large groups by people who for the most part lacked professional back-
grounds in teaching and/or counseling and who were supplied with train-
ing materials that they felt were inadequate. In short, the program

set out to accomplish more than it could realistically hope to
achieve.

Restrictive Contractual Obligations

Contracts between companies and the Manpower Administration for
providing training and employment for the disadvantaged are customarily
phrased in terms of the specific activities that a company is to perform
rather than the goals it is to achieve. A company must contract to pro-
vide so many hours per week of training of very specific types. These
contractual obligations are, moreover, generally made at a time when a
company is relatively inexperienced in training disadvantaged workers.
As a company's training program gets underway, a company may wish to
shift program emphases when it discovers that certain aspects of its pro-
gram are more promising than others. More adventurous and experimental
training programs may require many such modifications during their
histories, often just on the basis of day-to-day hunches of what seems
to be worthwhile and what appears to be fruitless. While such changes
might be quite in keeping with the spirit of what the company hopes to
achieve--providing training and jobs for the disadvantaged--they may
nevertheless deviate from the letter of the company's contract.

In the company in the present study, some of the training
program staff felt needlessly constrained by the government contract
under which the company's training activities were being subsidized.
They felt that the contract discouraged experimentation and program
development. Changing the contract was in principle quite feasible.
But the power to effect such changes lay mainly in the hands of those

whose primary concerns were legal and financial and who had limited

understanding of the program's changing needs and emphases. Moreover,

changing the contract frequently involved exhausting and time-consuming

procedures. Most of the more promising changes that occurred in the

program during this study seem to have been effected in spite of, rather

than because of, the company's arrangements with the Manpower Administra-

tion. Both the Manpower Administration and the company shared the goal

of wanting to train and provide jobs for the disadvantaged. But the

responsibility for alligning such joint governmental and business

interests was to a great extent entrusted to those whose primary concern

was not with the ultimate goal of the training endeavor but whose con-

cern instead was in negotiating a contract which was legally and fiscal-

ly sound and which could be easily monitored. Although the government

and the company had joined forces to provide steady employment for the

disadvantaged, negotiations between these two parties were dominated

more by men whose concerns were with numbers and dollars than by men

with a broader appreciation of the social problems that this joint

business-government activity could have solved. Critical matters of

considerable social importance appeared to have been entrusted to men

whose primary concerns were those of book-keeping, finance, auditing,

and administration.

Too Many, Too Soon

In terms of the sheer number of men it trained, the training

program was singularly impressive. But the program overcommitted itself

to the number of men it could reasonably expect to train adequately

during the time span of its training contracts, and there resulted a

number of undesirable side-effects. First, some of those directing the

program became just as concerned with how many men were trained as with

how well they were trained. Symptomatic of this overemphasis on numbers

was one of the program director's frequent references to "processing

units" rather than "training men." Second, training classes were too

large. This might not have been a very severe problem had not the pro-

gram adopted training objectives that presupposed frequent personal con-

tact between trainer and trainee. Third, men had to be put through the

program in large and relentless numbers from almost the program's very

inception. Some of the staff felt that there was as a result inadequate

time for "tooling up" and experimentation at the beginning of the pro-

gram's history. Moreover, once training was underway there was inade-

quate time for the staff simply to "take a breather," stepping aside

temporarily from day-to-day operations to review their progress to date

and change what they felt was necessary. The staff were continually

faced with the contractual obligation to train X number of men by X date.

Finally, the number of trainees inducted at a particular time was not

adequately synchronized with the number of entry-level jobs opening up

in the company. Sometimes this resulted in some "job ready" trainees

being kept in the training program because they could not be placed.

More commonly, it had the opposite effect, resulting in trainees

being placed before they had completed training simply because there

were at the moment suitable job openings which might not exist later.

One solution would have been to have reduced the number of trainees

when it looked like there would be a cut-back in hiring some weeks later.

But even if such cut-backs had been predictable (and they commonly were

not), the program was contractually obligated to train fixed numbers of men by fixed dates. As a result, the usual "quota" of trainees had to be inducted and the staff had to hope against hope that jobs would somehow be found for them. When jobs suddenly became plentiful, the staff appeared to over-react and place whatever men they could at the time. For example, at one point during the study there was a serious flu epidemic which created a labor shortage at the company's plants. The company found itself desperately in need of additional entry-level manpower and requested that as many trainees as possible be placed immediately. The training program obliged (presuming that it had the option to refuse, which may not have been the case) by placing a large number of trainees almost overnight, including many who had not yet been judged to be job ready. Some of these men had, in fact, been scheduled for the following day to be interviewed in the present study as trainee stays.

Insufficient Expertise

The company was not a newcomer to the field of manpower training, and its training division had many years of experience in the training of various types of personnel. It was, however, quite new to the kind of training that was involved in its vestibule training program for the disadvantaged. With some exceptions, the advisors and monitors had limited backgrounds in the activities in which they would have to engage during training. In addition, little was done to upgrade their skills once training had begun, since their hours were fully committed to the ceaseless training of large numbers of men. The monitors in particular

felt inadequately prepared tor their teaching jobs, since they were

expected to fill professional roles without having professional back-

grounds. One company representative also complained somewhat bitterly

that expertise that could have been used in aiding the program's develop-

ment was not adequately available from the company's "colleagues" in its

training endeavor: the Manpower Administration and the National Alliance

of Businessmen. Either of the latter organizations could ideally serve

as a clearing house for information concerning the activities that many

companies are undertaking in order to provide training and jobs for the

disadvantaged. This would not only be of considerable assistance to

companies that are just beginning training programs but could possibly

keep some companies from making the same mistakes that other companies

have already made. If either the Manpower Administration or the

National Alliance of Businessmen are indeed currently engaging in such a

clearing-house activity, they do not appear to be doing a very good job

of it. The company in the present study did not receive sufficient

expert advice from either source and as a result had to develop its

training program "from scratch." As a result, it had to resolve de novo

issues that many other companies had probably grappled with many times

before.

Inadequate Separation of Operations from Planning

The newness of the training program and its necessarily experi-

mental character required that there be some group whose primary respon-

sibilities were those of scrutinizing ongoing training activities,

evaluating the effectiveness of these activities, and developing new

program activities in response to observed program deficiencies and newly created program needs. While in principle the top administration of the training program had these planning responsibilities, they also were responsible for administering the day-to-day operations of the program. The latter administrative activities were, however, sufficiently demanding that inadequate time appears to have been devoted to planning and program development. Moreover, concentrating responsibilities for both planning and operations in the same group of people tends to discourage objectivity. The group usually finds itself evaluating its own activities and hence rationalizing what has already been done rather than deciding what should have been done instead. A separate planning and development group, isolated from the demands of day-to-day operations, might have benefited the evolution of the company's training program.

Inadequate Separation of Administration from Training

It was pointed out earlier that the advisors acted principally as counselors of the trainees, that the monitors acted principally as teachers, and that their backgrounds in these roles were inadequate for the demands made of them. As if this were not difficult enough, the advisors (and to a lesser extent the monitors) were expected as well to be administrators of their training units. Too much of the advisors' time was consumed by paper-work, meetings, and other types of organizational busy-work, and too little time was devoted to what they had been hired to do. Each training unit could profitably have employed a third member of the training team whose principal responsibility was handling administrative matters. Unburdened of administrivia, the advisors and

monitors would have had more time to develop the skills required by
their demanding, unfamiliar, and somewhat ambiguous roles.

Inadequate Handling of Racial Issues

The racial composition of the organizational hierarchy of the
training program was similar to that of the company as a whole: the
whites were concentrated at the top and the blacks at the bottom. As
might be expected, this situation was viewed by the advisors and moni-
tors, almost all of whom were black, with mixed feelings of discourage-
ment and anger. As was pointed out earlier, it may also have con-
tributed to their ambivalence concerning how realistically they could
expect their black trainees to succeed in the white-dominated company.
It also resulted in hierarchical conflicts between staff members being
hopelessly confounded with racial issues. Consequently, quite ordinary
conflicts between superiors and subordinates were in constant danger of
being viewed by the parties involved as racial confrontations, thereby
unleashing undue amounts of affect. The most dramatic case in point
occurred when the black program staff drafted a set of demands for
program reform which they presented directly to the chairman of the
company's board of directors, a forceful move which was presumably an
unheard-of breach of company etiquette. Although this set of demands
was known in the training program as the Black Manifesto, the adjective
"black" was unnecessary. Fundamentally, most of the demands could
equally well have been made had all the advisors and monitors been white.
In its over-reaction to the demands, the company reorganized the train-
ing program in a manner that some of the black staff resented and which

they felt was a conscious attempt to keep black staff members separated
from each other. The racial imbalance of the training program's staff
thus transformed what began as a rather modest conflict between hier-
archical levels into a snow-balling racial conflict.

Discontinuities between the Training
Situation and the Work Situation

Although the transition made by the trainee from the comparative-
ly protective environment of the training program to the more demanding
one of a company job was very abrupt, little was done to ease this
transition. One attempt to do so that was made involved the creation of
a "follow-up" program.

This follow-up program entailed each placed trainee's being
assigned to a "follow-up advisor" at the plant where the trainee was
working; the follow-up advisor was supposed to counsel the trainee, act
as an ombudsman for him, and provide whatever help the advisor felt
necessary to enable the placed trainee to be successful on his job. At
the inception of the training program this follow-up work had been per-
formed by the advisors of the training units, and the advisors reported
that many placed trainees maintained frequent and close contact with
them after placement. Indeed, such post-training contacts apparently
became so demanding of the advisors' time and energy that the new role
of follow-up advisor was instituted to take the burden of this follow-up
activity off the advisors.

At the time of the present study, however, the follow-up program
was being very weakly implemented, and the data indicated that contacts
between placed trainees and their follow-up advisors were quite

infrequent. Almost half of the placed trainees in the study had never

had any contact with their follow-up advisors, and two did not know

whether they had met their follow-up advisors or not. Of the men who

had at least had some contact with their follow-up advisors, most saw

their advisors less often than once a week. The men were actually in

somewhat less frequent contact with the follow-up advisors to whom they

were assigned than with their former training advisors.

In spite of this, in its conception the follow-up program was a

very promising innovation for a variety of reasons. First of all, it

implicitly but realistically acknowledged that pre-employment training

is not the ultimate solution to the problem of reducing turnover among

the newly hired disadvantaged. The data in Section 3 demonstrated that

such turnover was largely attributable to poor working conditions, a

situation which no amount of training could remedy. But a follow-up

advisor could conceivably secure a change in job assignment for a placed

trainee who was having difficulty with his job or his foreman. Although

the follow-up advisor could not alter the working conditions that might

be creating trouble for a placed trainee, he could at least increase the

trainee's chances for survival in the company by trying to get him

reassigned to a less disagreeable job or foreman. In addition, he could

help the trainee with any personal problems that occurred after the

trainee had completed the training program. There is no reason to

believe that all of a trainee's medical or psychological problems or

problems with his life outside working hours would become evident during

the few weeks he was in training. When such problems occurred for a

placed trainee, the follow-up advisor could in principle provide the

same type of counseling or referral that the trainee's former training
advisor had provided. Finally the follow-up advisor could serve as a
useful mediating agent on behalf of a placed trainee who was in danger
of losing his job. Section 3 has already suggested that once a non-
union worker began to have difficulty with his foreman, little was done
to halt his ultimately being fired. The foreman's word generally pre-
vailed, and the company's personnel offices provided a poor court of
appeals. In such crises the presence of a sympathetic third party such
as the follow-up advisor who could act as ombudsman or mediator in the
problem could possibly avert the otherwise inevitable firing of a
potentially valuable although currently troubled employee.

Inadequate Program Evaluation

As their numerous full-page color advertisements in national
magazines suggest, companies conducting programs for hiring and training
the disadvantaged are proud of their accomplishments in this area and
give such accomplishments wide publicity. They are, obviously, under
some compulsion to make their efforts appear as effective as possible.
It is quite easy to make even an ineffective program sound like the
ultimate solution to the problem of providing employment for the dis-
advantaged if the program's publicists choose to ignore such troublesome
matters as turnover, lack of control groups, and regression phenomena.
But when management begins to believe its own publicity, it begins to
blind itself to situations that it might otherwise be able to remedy.
The directors of the company's training program seemed more willing to
believe good news about the program than bad. The isolated success

story about a trainee who had done spectacularly well seemed to carry
greater weight than more sobering turnover statistics. One of the
directors proudly showing how a particular percentage of trainees had
raised their scores on a test of reading comprehension, did not seem to
regard as particularly relevant the percentage of trainees whose scores
had decreased or not changed at all. From the points of view of some of
those in charge of the program, the pertinent evaluative statistics were
the total number of men who had been enrolled in the training program
and the total number for whom jobs had been secured. There was consid-
erably less attention to the more uncomfortable question of whether the
disadvantaged trainees were doing any better than equally disadvantaged
men who were beginning work in the company without having gone through
the program.

Inadequate Power Allocations

The training program was organized as part of the company's
general "training division." The program was structurally somewhat
isolated from the company as a whole, and the division of which it was a
part had no authority over managers in line operations or over the per-
sonnel department. The power base of the training program was therefore
very weak. As a result, when issues arose in which the requirements of
the training program were in conflict with those of the production arm
of the company, the production requirements prevailed.

Inadequate Resource Allocation

Although many dollars of federal funds were obtained by the
company to underwrite the program, the advisors and monitors could not

always draw upon these funds as suited the needs of their training

classes. At times the advisors and monitors had to pay for

training materials out of their own pockets. Those closest to the

trainees, the advisors and monitors who were best able to judge the

amount and quality of materials needed, were frequently not

consulted in matters of allocating resources.

Under circumstances such as these and others described in

earlier pages is it any wonder that trainees, the training staff,

and outside observers could regard the company's training program

as little more than an after-thought to the company's top manage-

ment or as management's widely publicized means of convincing its

publics that it was "doing something" about providing jobs for the

disadvantaged? In light of the extremely limited organizational

power, facilities, and resources which management allocated to its

training program the company's ostensibly "whole-hearted" endorse-

ment of the training program (as evidenced by communications from

the president, board chairmen, etc., etc.) appears at worst to have

been a deceitful answer to public demands and at best to have been

a misdirected attempt to solve a social problem which it did not

really understand.

Training Programs and
Organizational Change

But even if conditions in the company's vestibule training program

had been ideal, could the training have successfully reduced

turnover? Suppose the present report had gone no further than page 61

and had stopped after it had presented data answering only the

question of what factors were associated with turnover from the
job. What if it had been asked at that point in the report what
steps could be taken to reduce turnover among disadvantaged
workers? Would instituting a training program have been the
obvious answer? Definitely not. The data concerning turnover
from the job showed that this turnover was almost exclusively
determined by characteristics of the worker's job or by generally
immutable properties of the worker's background. <u>Neither of these
sources of turnover can be altered by training</u>. That the company's
training program failed to reduce turnover was less a function of
shortcomings of the program's design or execution that it was a
function of the total irrelevancy of the program to the social
problem it was designed to solve. No amount of employee training
can make working conditions objectively less noxious or change a
man's history. In this light, the above recommendations for
"improving training programs" appear akin to recommendations for
the best way to tilt against windmills.

Why, then, have job training programs for the disadvantaged
attained their current vogue? Part of the answer lies in the
fundamental American faith in education as the solution to
ills. Whenever a social problem occurs and its sources can be
attributed to both social systems and people within these systems,
efforts to solve the problem more often involve attempts to alter
the behavior of the people rather than to modify the systems them-
selves. This is particularly true when the social system is a large
industrial establishment. Confronted with high turnover, management
can more comfortably attribute the turnover to shortcomings of its

workers than to shortcomings of their company. Lest the organizational
status quo be altered--or, for that matter, even seriously questioned--
an employee training program is the^ instituted to help employees
"adapt" to an environment which management is likely to accept as a
fact of life. The training is designed to mold workers to fit the
existing industrial system, thereby side-stepping the possibility of
modifying the organization to make it more compatible with the needs of
the workers. Where organizational changes are made they are genera\ly
grudging concessions to workers' insistent demands.

Present practices of the Federal Government do little to encourage
companies to attempt organizational change and job re-design as a means
of providing workers, disadvantaged or otherwise, with decent jobs.
The Manpower Administration spends millions on the development of job
training programs for the disadvantaged. Little is spent on the
improving of the quality of the jobs to which the disadvantaged are
assigned after they have completed training. But even in the extremely
unlikely event that sizeable funds could be directed to improving working
conditions on entry-level jobs in the nation's businesses, such jobs
are not likely to be conspicuously improved in the immediate future.
Significant changes will in many cases entail major alterations of
organizationrl structure, supervisory practices, and basic technology--
none of which can be satisfactorily changed overnight on a large-scale
basis.

But the pressing problem of providing decent jobs for the disadvan-
taged cannot abide such long-range solutions. It is a problem of

today which must be solved today with whatever mechanisms are currently
available. One such mechanism lies in the contracts currently written
by the Manpower Administration for providing jobs for the disadvantaged.
At present such contracts employ very undemanding standards as to the
quality of the jobs to which disadvantaged workers hired and/or trained
under these contracts are assigned. As a result of such lack of
selectivity, the Manpower Administration subsidizes programs which
train disadvantaged workers for jobs as bad as the entry level jobs
in the company in the present study--jobs on which the turnover rates
even for workers who are not disadvantaged are very high. In the inves-
tigators' judgments, contracts for providing jobs for the disadvantaged
could be more effectively written were they to contain a clause specifying
that no man will be hired under the contract unless the job to which he
is assigned is characterized by a turnover rate that is below some yet-
to-be-determined level. Such contracts, the investigators feel, should
also take into account the promotion rate of those who have held the
position in question. If the government contracts with a company to
subsidize the placing of a person on a job with a high rate of turnover
and from which very few people in the past have ever advanced to better
positions, it is doing little to help disadvantaged workers. It is
simply subsidizing what a company may regard as its disposable work-force.

Despite the business and government canard about job training
programs, it is clear that such programs cannot be the dramatic successes
they are claimed to be so long as the target of proposed change is
only the trainee and not also the organization or social system within

which such training is taking place. Perhaps the first question of this report should be reworded to ask not why many disadvantaged workers _left_ the company, but why any of these men _remained_ at all. Why did they remain in entry level jobs that offered little reasonable chance for promotion, that were monotonous, physically exhausting and often dangerous? Why did they remain in jobs that provided few opportunities for satisfying personal needs and goals? One answer may be that the alternatives available were even more distasteful--unemployment, illegal activities, or other similarly unrewarding means of self-support.

It is fatuous to expect men to adjust docily to the kinds of entry level jobs that direct hires and placed trainees were given. To try to train men for these jobs is both naive and a grave mis-direction of energy. Paradoxically, if training is successful in that a trainee demonstrates academic competence, high self-esteem, and job skills, as well as the possession of achievement values and goals, he can hardly be expected to be satisfied with the entry level jobs offered him. Yet training is also a misdirection of energy because it assumes that the _trainee_ alone rather than the job _situation_ is the appropriate target for change in order to reduce turnover--an assumption vitiated by the findings of the present study. Change must be directed toward the elimination of barely tolerable working conditions rather than toward the modification of those who are victimized by these conditions.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INDICES AND QUESTIONS USED IN ANALYSES

The following pages contain a list of all questions and indices that were used in the study's statistical comparisons employing various groups of direct hires and trainees. Excluded from the list are all the questions that were employed for purely descriptive purposes in either tables (e.g., Tables 3,5, and 31) or text (e.g., in the reasons voluntary terminees gave for quitting their jobs). Also excluded are questions which, although included in the interviews (Appendix B) were not used in any analyses--generally for reasons of insufficient variation in respondents' answers.

This list is presented for two purposes.

1. To indicate the questions upon which each multi-question index was based. Each multi-question index is indicated in the left margin by the letter "I" followed by a number. These numbers correspond to the index numbers referred to in the text and tables. After a short-hand phrase describing each index, the questions comprising the index are presented in parentheses. Question numbers correspond to those in Appendix B.

2. To record the total number of statistical tests that were made in each of the study's principal analyses. At several points in this report reference is made to the problem of whether the observed relationships could have arisen by chance (defined in this study as the .05 probability level) given the total number of statistical tests that were made. The list below provides the base relevant to regarding any particular finding as one that might have occured by chance. To aid in the reader's assessment of the extent to which observed relationships capitalized upon chance , the variables included in the list are divided into several substantive areas.

The right-hand column indicates the analyses in which each index or question was employed. The referents of the numbers are as follows:

Analysis 3:   The analysis of direct hire turnover reported in Section 3

Analysis 4:   The analysis of turnover from the training program reported in Section 4

Analysis 5a: The analysis of Section 5 establishing the initial similarity of trainee and direct hire sub-populations

Analysis 5b: The analysis of Section 5 assessing the effect of training on trainees' beliefs, attitudes and other attributes of their personalities

Analysis 5c: Section 5's comparisons between placed trainees and direct hire stays in terms of their evaluations of their jobs and working conditions.

MEASURE

CONTENT OF TRAINING PROGRAM   Analysis

I1	Adequacy of time devoted to safety and use of machines and tools (Q66-67)	3
I2	Adequacy of time devoted to reading, writing, and arithmetic (Q68-70)	3
I3	Adequacy of time devoted to discussing being on time for work and showing up regularly (Q71-72)	3
I4	Adequacy of time devoted to discussing miscellaneous job-adjustment problems (Q73-77)	3
I5	Adequacy of time devoted to matters included in above four indices (Q66-77)	3

CONTENT OF THE JOB

For trainee stays, terminees, and inductees the referent of these questions was the post-training job the trainee thought he would get (would have gotten) at the end of training. For direct hire stays and terminees and for placed trainees the referent was the worker's job. For direct hire inductees the referent was the job the inductee thought he would get.

Q339	Respondent's evaluation of the "kind of work" he did	3,4,5a,5c
Q338	Respondent's evaluation of his chances for promotion	3,4,5a,5c
Q399	Respondent's estimation of how easy it would be to secure a change in job assignments	3,4,5a,5c
Q389	Respondent's estimation of how likely it was that he would get the job in the company he would most like to have	3,4,5a,5c
Q393	Respondent's estimation of how likely it was that he would get the job in the company he would least like to have	3,4,5a,5c
Q343	How soon worker thinks he will get his first promotion	4
Q344	Worker's view of job as an end in itself versus a stepping-stone to a better job	4
Q334	Assignment to multiple work stations	4

MEASURE

CONTENT OF THE JOB (CONTINUED)   Analysis

Q345   Demands that the worker work too hard or too fast   4,5c

Q351   Demands that the worker do work that is boring   4,5c

Q352   Frequency with which worker is told to do something
        that he does not know how to do   4,5b

Q3   Adequacy of relief breaks   4,5c

Q364   Worker's knowledge of what his work routine will
        be like each day   4,5c

Q365   Worker's recognition of how his work fits in with
        that of others at his plant   4,5b

Q366   Whether worker had been taken on a tour of the
        plant   4,5c

Q369   Whether worker had been injured on the job   4,5c

PAY

Q43   Trainee's evaluation of the pay he was receiving
        while in training   3

Q98   Inductee's evaluation of the pay he would be
        receiving on his future company job   3,5a

Q336   Worker's evaluation of the pay he was receiving   4,5c

HOURS

Q44   Trainee's evaluation of the time of day his
        training classes met   3

Q45   Trainee's evaluation of the number of hours his
        training class met   3

Q99   Inductee's evaluation of the shift hours he would
        be working on his future company job   3,5a

Q337   Worker's evaluation of the shift hours he was
        working   4,5c

MEASURE

<u>RELATIONS WITH OTHERS--PEERS</u>   Analysis

I6   Cohesiveness of work group (or training group)   3,4,5c
I6   (Q46,47,48,83)

<u>RELATIONS WITH OTHERS--SUPERIORS</u>

Q102   Inductee's evaluation of how well he would be treated
        by those over him on his future company job   3,5a

Q340   Worker's evaluation of how well he is treated by
        those over him   4,5c

Q115   How fairly trainee feels he has been treated by
        the company while in the training program   3

Q402   How fairly worker feels he has been treated by
        the company   4,5c

I7   Quality of Supervision: Foremen (Q378-383)   4,5c

I8   Quality of Supervision: Advisor (Q49-53)   3

I9   Quality of Supervision: Monitor (54-58)   3

Q373   What foreman calls worker   4,5c

Q374   Assignment to more than one foreman   4,5c

Q375   Race of foreman   4,5c
(or Q377)

Q384   Frequency of exposure to conflicting orders of foreman   4,5c

I10   Opportunities to realize power-oriented behavior in
        work groups or training group (Q62-65)   3,4,5c

Q61   Frequency with which respondent was told to do what
        he did not want to do while on the job or in
        training   3,4,5c

MEASURE

RACIAL BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES   Analysis

I11   Respondent's beliefs about how widespread discrimination
      against blacks was in the company (Q443,446,449,450,452)   3,4,5a,5b

I12   Respondent's beliefs about how widespread discrimination
      against blacks was in other companies (Q451,453) .   3,4,5a,5b

I13   Respondent's reports of non-job-related discrimination
      he has experienced in the past (Q434,454,455)   3,4,5a,5b

I14   Black militancy (Q456,460,461)   3,4,5a,5b

Q446 Respondent's belief that white foremen in the company
      made it harder for black workers   3,4,5a,5b

MOTIVATIONAL VARIABLES

I15   What respondent feels is important to him in a
      job: Factor I (Q123-125)   3,4,5a,5b

I16   What respondent feels is important to him in a
      job: Factor II (Q126-129)   3,4,5a,5b

I17   Respondent's desire for a job which affords him
      autonomy (Q118-120)   3,4,5a,5b

I18   Reasons for wanting "preferred" job: Financial
      reasons (Coding of open-ended Q89 or Q388 for
      trainees and direct hires respectively)   3,4,5a,5b

I19   Reasons for wanting "preferred" job: Work is
      suited to respondent's skills or abilities
      (Coding of open-ended Q89 or Q388 for
      trainees and direct hires respectively)   3,4,5a,5b

I20   Reasons for wanting "preferred" job: Hygenic
      reasons (Coding of open-ended Q89 or Q388 for
      trainees and direct hires respectively)   3,4,5a,5b

I21   Reasons for wanting "preferred" job: Content
      of work (Coding of open-ended Q89 or Q388 for
      trainees and direct hires respectively)   3,4,5a,5b

Q342 How soon worker wants to be promoted   4,5b

MEASURE

OTHER BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

		Analysis
I22	Self-report of skill level. knowledge of safety and use of machines or tools (Q354,355)	4,5b
I23	Self-report of skill level: reading, writing and arithmetic (Q356,362,363)	4,5b
I24	Self-report of skill level: miscellaneous job-adjustment skills (Q37-361)	4,5b
I25	Self-report of skill level: includes all items in above three indices (Q354-363)	4,5b
I26	Self-confidence in performing five selected jobs (Q130-134)	3,4,5a,5b
Q144	Efficacy--achievement	3,4,5a,5b
Q150	Efficacy--achievement	3,4,5a,5b
Q145	Efficacy--power	3,4,5a,5b
Q148	Efficacy--power	3,4,5a,5b
I27	Sense of personal efficacy: general (Q135,136)	3,4
Q137	Sense of personal efficacy in face of discrimination	3,4
Q138	Attitude toward time schedules	3,4,5a,5b
I28	Importance of work in respondent's life (Q139,141,143)	3,4,5a,5b

CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENT'S BACKGROUND, PERSONAL HISTORIES, CURRENT LIFE SITUATION, AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

I28	Number of job training programs respondent has been in (Q238,239,243)	3,4,5a
Q248	How long respondent has lived in city where he currently lives	3,4,5a
Q249	State in which respondent grew up	3,4,5a
I29	Whether respondent grew up with a father or father substitute (Q252,253)	3,4,5a
Q256	Whether respondent's mother worked	3,4,5a

MEASURE

CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENT'S BACKGROUND, PERSONAL HISTORIES, CURRENT LIFE
SITUATION, AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS (CONTINUED)

Q259	Whether respondent's family had to receive welfare assistance while he was growing up	3,4,5a
Q261	Highest grade in school that respondent completed	3,4,5a
Q264	Whether respondent left school because of difficulty with authority	3,4,5a
Q267	Marital status	3,4,5a
Q268	Whether respondent lives with his wife	3,4,5a
Q272	Age	3,4,5a
Q273	Whether respondent is the major payer of the bills in his home	3,4,5a
Q274	Whether respondent supports others	3,4,5a
Q276	Whether anything has happened recently to make respondent's financial conditions worse	3,4,5a
Q277	How much difficulty respondent has in "making ends meet"	3,4,5a
Q278	Whether worker had a second job outside the company	3,4,5a
I29	Adequacy of transportation from respondent's home to the company (Q281,282)	3,4,5a
Q293	Color of skin	3,4,5a
I30	Number of times respondent has been unemployed in last two years (Q178,180)	3,4,5a

<u>MEASURE</u>

<u>CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENT'S BACKGROUND, PERSONAL HISTORIES, CURRENT LIFE
SITUATION, AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS (CONTINUED)</u>

<u>MISCELLANEOUS</u>		<u>Analysis</u>
Q85	How respondent was referred to the company	3,4,5a
Q285	Whether respondent's close friends want him to stay on job (or in training program)	3,4
Q288	Interviewer rating of respondent's ability to understand-interviewer	3,4,5a
Q289	Interviewer rating of respondent's ability to communicate with interviewer	3,4,5a
Q81	Respondent's feeling that it would look bad for blacks if many blacks dropped out of the training program (or left their company jobs)	3,4
Q95	Socioeconomic status of job respondent thinks he will end up with in life	3,4
Q97	Whether respondent feels he would be happy with the job he thinks he will end up with in life	3,4

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

Seven interview schedules were employed in the study, one tailored to each of the seven samples interviewed. Since the seven interviews overlapped extensively, only two are presented in the following pages. These two (plus several additional questions which have been inserted into the copies below) encompassed all the questions used in the seven interviews.

There are two sets of numbers employed in the questionnaires. The first numbers, to the left of the questions, were exclusively for the use of the interviewers in working their way through the interviews. The term "question number" employed in the text of this report and in Appendix A refers instead to the parenthetical numbers to the right of the questions.

The first interview shown below is the trainee stay interview. This interview included questions 43 through 84, 87 through 271, 273 through 282, and 285 through 296. Inserted into the attached form of this interview are several additional questions that were asked only of trainee terminees (questions 2 through 42, 85 through 86, and 272). Four interview schedules--the trainee inductee, direct hire inductee, trainee stay interviews--were constructed from the pool of questions numbered 1 through 296.

The second interview shown below is the direct hire terminee interview. This interview included questions from the series numbered 300 through 577. Inserted into the attached form of this interview are several questions asked only of direct hires. Three interview schedules-- the direct hire terminee, direct hire stay, and placed trainee interviews--were constructed from the pool of questions numbered 300 through 577.

The specific questions included in each of the seven interviews were as follows:

Interview	Questions Included in Interview
Trainee Inductee	85-94, 98-102, 106-110, 118-134, 138-173, 272-277, 283, 287-296
Direct Hire Inductee	85, 87-94, 98-102, 106-110, 118-134, 138-173, 272-277, 284, 286-296
Trainee Terminee	1-77, 81-84, 87-97, 108-271, 273-282, 285, 288-296
Trainee Stay	1, 2, 43-84, 87-271, 273-282, 285-296
Direct Hire Terminee	300-321, 330-396, 398-577
Direct Hire Stay	300, 330-577
Placed Trainee	300, 322-453, 461, 561-577

The specific wording of some questions varied somewhat with the particular sample being interviewed. Most conspicuously, terminees were asked about matters they had just experienced whereas stays were asked instead about matters they were currently experiencing. It is for this reason that the two appended interviews represent one that was administered to terminees and one that was administered to stays.

The authors invite replication of any parts of the study or the use of any of the interview schedules by qualified researchers. They request in return only to be informed of such use and to receive reports of any research based on these materials. If any researcher wishes to employ any of the five interview schedules not included verbatim in the following pages, he will save himself considerable work by not trying to infer the exact wording of questions from the question list presented above and the two schedules presented below. He is encouraged instead to write the authors for copies of the interview schedules he wishes to use.

TRAINEE STAY INTERVIEW

1. A few of the questions here are repeated from the first interview.   (1)
   Some people change how they feel from time to time and some people
   don't. So, I want to ask you a few of these questions again, just
   in case you feel differently about them now.

****

NOTE: THE FOLLOWING SERIES OF QUESTIONS, PARENTHETICALLY NUMBERED 2 THROUGH
42 WERE NOT ASKED IN THIS TRAINEE STAY INTERVIEW, BUT WERE INCLUDED ONLY IN
THE TRAINEE TERMINEE INTERVIEW.

2. When you left the COMPANY did you have a job pretty well lined up or (2)
   didn't you know what you'd be doing for work when you left?

   　　　　　　　　1 ☐ Job pretty well lined up

   　　　　　　　　2 ☐ Didn't know what he'd be doing for work

3. Are you working now?   (3)

   　　　　　　　　1 ☐ Yes

   　　　　　　　　5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 5, Q. 21)

　　(R IS WORKING NOW)

　　4.　What kind of work are you doing?   (4)

　　　　　　Kind of work:_____

　　5.　What kind of business is that in?   (5)

　　　　　　Business:_____

　　6.　Most of the time do you work for yourself or for someone else? (6)

　　　　　　　　　1 ☐ Self

　　　　　　　　　2 ☐ BOTH SELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

　　　　　　　　　3 ☐ Someone else

　　7.　(IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q. 5) What do you do on this job?   (7)
　　　　What are your main duties?

　　　　　_____

　　　　　_____

　　　　　_____

　　　　　_____

(R IS WORKING NOW)

15. I'd like to find out a little more about the kind of work you think you might have got at the COMPANY.

A. How about . . . (READ "a" BELOW). Do you think it would have been pretty good, just so-so, or pretty bad? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "e".)

		1 Pretty good	2 Just so-so	3 Pretty bad	
a.	The pay?	☐	☐	☐	(15)
b.	The shift hours you'd have to work?	☐	☐	☐	(16)
c.	Your chances for getting ahead?	☐	☐	☐	(17)
d.	The kind of work you'd be doing?	☐	☐	☐	(18)
e.	The way you'd be treated by those over you?	☐	☐	☐	(19)

16. About how much would you have been paid an hour working at that job?   (20)

_____Dollars and_____Cents

17. How long do you think it would have been before you got your first promotion to a job at a higher level?   (21)

_____Years and/or_____Months

18. What do you think your first job at the COMPANY probably would have been?   (22)

Name of job:_____

19. Do you think the training you got at the COMPANY made it eaaier for you to get the job you have now, or didn't the training make that much difference?   (23)

1 ☐ Easier

2 ☐ Not that much difference (SKIP TO PAGE 7, Q. 29)

20. How much easier was it to get the job you have now--would you say a lot, somewhat, or not too much?   (24)

1 ☐ A lot (SKIP TO PAGE 7, Q. 29)

2 ☐ Somewhat (SKIP TO PAGE 7, Q. 29)

3 ☐ Not too much (SKIP TO PAGE 7, Q. 29)

B4

8. When did you start this job?   (8)

                _____Day and_____Month

9. How much do you get paid an hour? (INTERVIEWER: IF R GIVES   (9)
    WEEKLY PAY, ASK NUMBER OF HOURS HE WORKS PER WEEK)

                _____Dollars and_____Cents

10. How long do you think it will be before you get your first   (10)
    promotion to a job at a higher level?

                _____Years and/or_____Months

11. Some people work at a job and plan to stick with it. Other   (11)
    people see their job as a stepping-stone to a job they'd
    like better. How do you feel about the job you have now?

                1 ☐ Plan to stick with it

                2 ☐ Stepping-stone

12. Do you have some general idea of the kind of job you would   (12)
    have got at the COMPANY if you had completed the training
    program?

                1 ☐ Yes

                5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 5, Q. 19)

13. Would you say that the job you have now is a better   (13)
    deal than the one you might have got at the COMPANY,
    is it a worse deal, or is it about the same?

                1 ☐ Better

                2 ☐ Worse

                3 ☐ About the same (SKIP TO Q. 15)

14. In what ways is your present job (better/worse)?   (14)

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

B6

21. Do you have some general idea of the kind of job you would have got at the COMPANY if you had completed the training program?   (25)

        1 ☐ Yes

        5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 6, Q. 27)

22. I'd like to find out a little more about the kind of job you think you might have got at the COMPANY.

A. How about . . . (READ "a" BELOW). Do you think it would have been pretty good, just so-so, or pretty bad? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "e".)

		1 Pretty good	2 Just so-so	3 Pretty bad	
a.	The pay?	☐	☐	☐	(26)
b.	The shift hours you'd have to work?	☐	☐	☐	(27)
c.	Your chances for getting ahead?	☐	☐	☐	(28)
d.	The kind of work you'd be doing?	☐	☐	☐	(29)
e.	The way you'd be treated by those over you?	☐	☐	☐	(30)

23. Do you have some general idea of the next kind of job you're likely to get?   (31)

        1 ☐ Yes

        5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q. 27)

24. On the whole, would you say that this job you're likely to get will be a better deal than the one you might have got at the COMPANY, a worse deal, or is it about the same?   (32)

        1 ☐ Better

        2 ☐ Worse

        3 ☐ About the same (SKIP TO Q. 26)

25. In what ways is it (better/worse)?   (33)

_____

_____

_____

_____

(R IS NOT WORKING)

26. What do you think <u>your first job</u> at the COMPANY probably would have been? (34)

Name of job:_____

27. Do you think that the training you got at the COMPANY will make it easier for you to get a job or won't the training make that much difference? (35)

1 ☐ Easier

2 ☐ Not that much difference (SKIP TO PAGE 7, Q. 29)

28. How <u>much</u> easier will it be to get a job--would you say a lot, somewhat, or not too much? (36)

1 ☐ A lot

2 ☐ Somewhat

3 ☐ Not too much

29. Did you leave the training program because you wanted to, or were you let go? (37)

1 ☐ Wanted to

2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO Q. 31)

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

30. Why did you leave? (38)

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

For what other reasons did you leave?

_____
_____
_____

(SKIP TO PAGE 9, Q. 34)

B8

31. Why were you let go?   (39)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Any other reasons?

_____

_____

_____

32. Do you think it was fair or unfair for them to discharge   (40)
    you?

        1 ☐ Fair

        2 ☐ Unfair

33. Why is that?   (41)

_____

_____

_____

_____

34. Do you wish you were back in the training program?   (42)

        1 ☐ Yes

        5 ☐ No

****

2. First, let's talk about what your training program is like. For each thing I read, please tell me how good your training class is . . .

A. How about . . . (READ "a" BELOW). Do you think it's pretty good, just so-so, or pretty bad? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" and "c".)

	1 Pretty good	2 Just so-so	3 Pretty bad	
a. The pay?	☐	☐	☐	(43)
b. The time of day your training class meets?	☐	☐	☐	(44)
c. The <u>number</u> of hours your training class meets?	☐	☐	☐	(45)

3. Now let's talk about the men in your training group. (46)

When you talk with the other trainees in your group, how often, do they pay attention to what you say--almost never, sometimes, usually, or nearly always?

1 ☐ Almost never

2 ☐ Sometimes

3 ☐ Usually

4 ☐ Nearly always

4. How many members of your training group would loan you a couple (47) dollars for a week if they had it-all of them, most of them, some of them, a few of them, or none of them?

1 ☐ All

2 ☐ Most

3 ☐ Some

4 ☐ Few (one or two)

5 ☐ None

5. How much do you think the trainees in your group act like a team--   (48)
   very much, pretty much, or not too much?

                1 ☐ Very much

                2 ☐ Pretty much

                3 ☐ Not too much

6. Now let's talk about advisors. I'll read a list of things and for each
   one tell me how much it's like your advisor (NAME OF ADVISOR). First . . .

   A. (READ "a" BELOW.) Is this very much like him pretty much like him,
   or not much like him? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "e".)

	1 Very much	2 Pretty much	3 Not much	
a. He takes a personal interest in you.	☐	☐	☐	(49)
b. He has things well planned and thought out.	☐	☐	☐	(50)
c. He can get men to do what he wants-- he is in control.	☐	☐	☐	('1)
d. He can really be trusted.	☐	☐	☐	(52)
e. He is really in favor of Black Power.	☐	☐	☐	(53)

7. Now I'd like to read this list again, and this time I want you to tell
   me about your monitor (NAME OF MONITOR). First . . .

   A. (READ "a" BELOW.) Is this very much like her, pretty much like her,
   or not much like her? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "e".)

	1 Very much	2 Pretty much	3 Not much	
a. She takes a personal interest in you.	☐	☐	☐	(54)
b. She has things well planned and thought out.	☐	☐	☐	(55)
c. She can get men to do what she wants-- she is in control.	☐	☐	☐	(56)
d. She can really be trusted.	☐	☐	☐	(57)
e. She is really in favor of Black Power.	☐	☐	☐	(58)

8. What things do you like best about the training program?   (59)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What other things do you like about the training program?

_____

_____

_____

_____

9. What would you like to see changed in the training program?   (60)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What other changes would you like to see?

_____

_____

_____

_____

B12

10. Think about how <u>often</u> the following things happen in your training group.

A. (READ "a" BELOW) . . . always, often, sometimes or never? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "e".)

		1 Always	2 Often	3 Some- times	4 Never	
a.	Do people tell you to do things you don't want to do . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(61)
b.	Do you make most of your own decisions . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(62)
c.	Do you choose what you want to do each day . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(63)
d.	Do you make decisions for other people . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(64)
e.	Do you have a lot of power . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(65)

11. For you <u>yourself</u>, is too much time spent on (READ "a" BELOW), too little time, or about the right amount of time? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "1".)

INTERVIEWER:

TO ANSWER OF "THEY DON'T SPEND <u>ANY</u> TIME ON IT," ASK A.

A. "Should they spend <u>some</u> time on it, or don't they need to spend <u>any</u> time on it for <u>you</u>."

If R says "some," record "too little time." If R says "didn't need any," record "about the right amount of time."

		1 Too much time	2 Too little time	3 About the right amount	
a.	Teaching safety in a factory.	☐	☐	☐	(66)
b.	Teaching you how to use the different kinds of tools and machines.	☐	☐	☐	(67)
c.	Teaching you reading.	☐	☐	☐	(68)
d.	Teaching you writing.	☐	☐	☐	(69)
e.	Working with figures-- handling numbers.	☐	☐	☐	(70)
f.	Discussing being on time for work.	☐	☐	☐	(71)
g	Discussing showing up for work every day.	☐	☐	☐	(72)
h.	Discussing how to make decisions.	☐	☐	☐	(73)
i.	Teaching you to make yourself clear to the people you work with so they understand what you say.	☐	☐	☐	(74)
j.	Discussing keeping calm when things break down.	☐	☐	☐	(75)
k.	Discussing how to keep on the good side of foremen or men who are over you.	☐	☐	☐	(76)
l.	Discussing how to keep on the good side of the men you work with.	☐	☐	☐	(77)

POOR ORIGINAL COPY. BEST
AVAILABLE AT TIME FILMED

B14

12. Some of the men who come to the training program at the COMPANY quit before (78)
the first few days are up. What do you think might be some of the
reasons they quit? (INTERVIEWER: IF R DOESN'T KNOW ANYONE WHO HAS QUIT,
ASK "WHAT DO YOU THINK MIGHT BE SOME OF THE REASONS?")

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What are some other reasons they might quit?

_____

_____

_____

_____

13. If you had finished the training program and were looking for work some-   (79)
where other than the COMPANY do you think the training would make it easier
for you to get a job, or wouldn't the training make that much difference?

1 ☐ Easier

2 ☐ Not that much difference (SKIP TO Q.15)

14. How much easier would it be to get a job--would you say a lot,   (80)
somewhat, or not too much?

1 ☐ A lot

2 ☐ Somewhat

3 ☐ Not too much

15. If a lot of men dropped out of the COMPANY training program, do   (81)
    you think this would look bad for the Black race, or doesn't
    it have anything to do with race?

                    1 ☐ Would look bad

                    2 ☐ Doesn't have anything to do with race

16. Some people enter the training program because they want a job at   (82)
    the COMPANY. Others are there to get a little money until they
    can find work somewhere else. Which person are you most like?

                    1 ☐ Wanted a job

                    2 ☐ Wanted a little money until I could
                        find work

17. Compared to other training groups at the COMPANY how would you   (83
    rate your group--would you say it's better than most, about the
    same as most, or worse than most?

                    1 ☐ Better

                    2 ☐ About the same (SKIP TO PAGE 9, Q. 19)

                    3 ☐ Worse

18. In what ways is your training group (better/worse)?   (84)

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    In what other ways is your training class (better/worse)?

    _____

    _____

****

NOTE: AT THIS POINT IN THE INDUCTEE INTERVIEW, THE FOLLOWING TWO
QUESTIONS WERE USED, QUESTION 86 BEING ASKED OF TRAINEE INDUCTEES ONLY

    How did you happen to get (a job/into tne job training program) at
    the COMPANY?   (85)

    When you came to the COMPANY, did you want to enter the job
    training program, did you want to go directly onto a job, or
    didn't you care one way or the other?   (86)

****

19. When you begin working at the COMPANY what job would you <u>like</u> to start out   (87)
    with?

               Name of job:_____

               8 ☐ Don't know (SKIP TO PAGE 10, Q.23)

20. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q.19) What would you be doing on this job?   (88)
    What would your <u>main</u> duties be?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

21. What is there about this job that makes you want it?   (89)

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    What other reasons make you want this job?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

22. How likely do you think it is that you'll get this job--very likely,   (90)
    somewhat likely, or not likely at all?

                       1 ☐ Very likely

                       2 ☐ Somewhat likely

                       3 ☐ Not likely at all

23. What job at the COMPANY would you least want to have?   (91)

        Namé of job:_____

        8 ☐ Don't know (SKIP TO PAGE 11, Q.27)

24. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q.23) What would you be doing on this job?   (92)
    What would your <u>main</u> duties be?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

25. What is there about this job that makes you not want it?   (93)

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    What other reasons make you not want this job?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

26. How likely do you think it is that you'll be assigned to this job   (94)
    --very likely, somewhat likely, or not likely at all?

                    1 ☐ Very likely

                    2 ☐ Somewhat likely

                    3 ☐ Not likely at all

27. What kind of job do you think you'll <u>end up with in life</u>?   (95)

        Kind of job:_____

        8 ☐ Don't know (SKIP TO Q.30)

28. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q.27) What would you do on this job? What   (96)
    would your <u>main</u> duties be?

        _____

        _____

        _____

        _____

29. Would you be perfectly happy with this kind of job, or would you   (97)
    want a different one?

        1 ☐ Perfectly happy

        2 ☐ Want a different one

30. I'd like to find out a little about the kind of work you might have at the
    COMPANY after you finish the training program.

    A. How about (READ "a" BELOW). Do you think it will be pretty good,
       just so-so, or pretty bad? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "e".)

	1 Pretty good	2 Just so-so	3 Pretty bad	
a. The pay?	☐	☐	☐	(98)
b. The shift hours you'll be working?	☐	☐	☐	(99)
c. Your chances for getting ahead?	☐	☐	☐	(100)
d. The kind of work you'll be doing?	☐	☐	☐	(101)
e. The way you'll be treated by those over you?	☐	☐	☐	(102)

31. About how much will you get paid an hour working at that job?   (103)

        _____Dollars and _____Cents

32. How long do you think it will be before you get your first promotion   (104)
to a job at a higher level?

_____Years and/or _____Months

33. Some people work at a job and plan to stick with it. Other people see   (105)
their job as a stepping-stone to a job they'd like better. How do you
feel about the job you'll probably get?

        1 ☐ Plan to stick with it

        2 ☐ Stepping stone

34. What do you think your first job at the COMPANY probably will be?   (106)

      Name of job:_____

      8 ☐ Don't know (SKIP TO Q. 36)

35. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q.34)   What would you do on this job? What   (107)
would your main duties be?

_____

_____

_____

_____

36. How hard or easy do you think it would be for you to get a new job   (108)
assignment changed if you didn't like it--very hard, somewhat hard,
somewhat easy, or very easy?

        1 ☐ Very hard

        2 ☐ Somewhat hard

        3 ☐ Somewhat easy

        4 ☐ Very easy

37. What is your best guess about how many men at the COMPANY speak up and ask (109)
    for different jobs if they don't like a new one they're assigned to--
    all of them, some, only a few, or none of them?

    1 ☐ All (SKIP TO PAGE 14, Q.39)

    2 ☐ Some

    3 ☐ Only a few

    4 ☐ None

38. Why don't all these men do it? Why don't all of them ask for   (110)
    different jobs?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    What else keeps them from asking for different jobs?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

39. Did you ever work for the COMPANY <u>before</u> you came into this training   (111)
program?

        1 [] Yes

        5 [] No (SKIP TO PAGE 15, Q.43)

40. Overall how fair was the COMPANY to you then - completely fair,   (112)
pretty fair, or not too fair? (INTERVIEWER: A RESPONSE OF
"PRETTY FAIR" TO THIS QUESTION AND "NO WAYS" TO Q.41 IS
ACCEPTABLE)

        1 [] Completely fair (SKIP TO PAGE 15, Q.43)

        2 [] Pretty fair

        3 [] Not too fair

41. In what ways were you treated unfairly?   (113)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What other ways were you treated unfairly?

_____

_____

_____

_____

42. (IF NOT MENTIONED) Who was it that treated you unfairly--what   (114)
job(s) did (this/these) person(s) have with the company?

Job(s):_____

_____

B22

43. Overall, how fair do you think the COMPANY has been with you since you've (115)
been in this training program--completely fair, pretty fair, or not too
fair? (INTERVIEWER: A RESPONSE CF 'PRETTY FAIR" TO THIS QUESTION AND
'NO WAYS" to Q.44 IS ACCEPTABLE.)

        1 ☐ Completely fair (SKIP TO PAGE 15A   45A

        2 ☐ Pretty fair

        3 ☐ Not too fair

44. In what ways have you been treated unfairly?   (116)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____   ( )

_____

What other ways have you been treated unfairly?

_____

_____

_____

_____

45. (IF NOT MENTIONED) Who is it that treated you unfairly--what   (117)
job(s) does (this/these) person(s) have with the company?

Job(s):_____

_____

45a. Let's talk about jobs in general. I'll tell you about two kinds of jobs and ask you which one you'd like most. These are <u>not</u> jobs at the COMPANY. These are things you'd like most in <u>any</u> job. First . . .

INTERVIEWER: USE FOLLOWING PROBE IF NECESSARY

> I know these are difficult questions because maybe you'd want both jobs or maybe you wouldn't want either job. But try to choose the one you'd like to have most.

a. Would you like most   (118)

     1 ☐ a job where other people like you.
         OR
     2 ☐ a job where no one tells you to do things
         you don't want to do.

b. Would you like most   (119)

     1 ☐ a job where you make most of your own decisions.
         OR
     2 ☐ a job where you do better than other people.

c. Would you like most   (120)

     1 ☐ a job where you can use your skills.
         OR
     2 ☐ a job where you can choose what you want to do
         each day.

d. Would you like most   (121)

     1 ☐ a job where you make decisions for other people.
         OR
     2 ☐ a job that is hard to do.

e. Would you like most   (122)

     1 ☐ a job where you have a lot of power.
         OR
     2 ☐ a job where you have a lot of friends.

B24

46. Now let's talk about jobs. Different people want different things from a job. I am going to read some of the things that may or may not be important. For each one, please tell me how important it is to you. First . . .

A. To have (READ "a" BELOW). Would you say it's very important, pretty important, a little important, or not important at all? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "g".)

	1 Very	2 Pretty	3 A little	4 Not at all	
a. . . . a clean job, where you don't get dirty.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(123)
b. . . . a job that your friends think a lot of.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(124)
c. . . . a job where you don't have to work too hard.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(125)
d. . . . a job that is steady, with no chance of being laid off.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(126)
e. . . . a job that uses your skill and abilities--lets you do the things you can do best.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(127)
f. . . . a job where you can learn new things, learn new skills.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(128)
g. . . . a job with good chances for getting ahead.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(129)

47. If you got the normal period of break-in and if you wanted to be a . . . (READ "a" BELOW.) . . . what kind of job do you think you could do--an excellent job, a very good job, a good job, or a fair job? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "e".)

	1 Excellent	2 Very good	3 Good	4 Fair	
a. . . . worker on an assembly line . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(130)
b. . . . salesman in a store . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(131)
c. . . . automatic machine operator . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(13.)
d. . . . welder . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(133)
e. . . . foreman . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(134)

48. Now I'm going to read two sentences. Please tell me which of these two sentences is most true of you. Which do you believe most?

    a. I believe that: (135)

        1 ☐ I can usually make my plans work, if I really try.
               OR
        2 ☐ Good or bad luck usually determines if my plans work.

    b. I believe that: (136)

        1 ☐ What happens to me is mostly my own doing.
               OR
        2 ☐ I don't have much choice about what happens to me

    c. I believe that: (137)

        1 ☐ Discrimination or prejudice usually determines if my
            plans work.
               OR
        2 ☐ I can usually make my plans work, if I really try.

49. Now, for each thing I read, please tell me whether you mostly _agree_ or mostly _disagree_ with what it says. First . . .

    A. (READ "a" BELOW.) Do you mostly agree or mostly disagree with this? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "f".)

		1 Mostly _agree_	5 Mostly _disagree_	
a.	I like to let things happen in their own way rather than to schedule them.	☐	☐	(138)
b.	My only purpose in working is to make money.	☐	☐	(139)
c.	It makes me feel bad to be late for an appointment.	☐	☐	(140)
d.	I need a job in order to feel that I have a real place in the world.	☐	☐	(141)
e.	I think there's something wrong with people who go to school for years when they could be out earning a living.	☐	☐	(142)
f.	It's more important for me to have a good job than it is to have good friends.	☐	☐	(143)

49a. Now I have some questions about how you feel about things in general.
For each sentence I read, I want to know how much you are like this.
First . . .

   A. (READ "a" BELOW.) Is this very much like you, pretty much like
       you, not much like you, or not like you at all? (REPEAT FOR
       ITEMS "b" THROUGH "j".)

		1 Very much	2 Pretty much	3 Not much	4 Not at all	
a.	I usually do a good job at what ever I do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(144)
b.	I can usually talk my friends into doing what I want them to do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(145)
c.	If someone tried to make me do something I really didn't want to do, I'd probably refuse.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(146)
d.	I only try things that are easy for me to do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(147)
e.	People often have power over me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(148)
f.	I want to spend my free time doing what I want to do, not what someone else wants to do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(149)
g.	I often fail in things I try to do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(150)
h.	My family often tells me how to spend my money.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(151)
i.	If I know I'm going to lose a game or contest, I don't want to be in it.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(152)
j.	I think that with the right kind of clothes or car people listen to me more.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(153)

50. Now I'd like to ask some questions about what it's like to be a Black at the COMPANY. First . . .

Do you think most of the white people at the COMPANY feel the same toward   (154)
Blacks, or do they differ in how they feel?

        1 ☐ Same

        2 ☐ Differ

51. How do they (feel/differ in their feelings) toward Black people?   (155)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

52. What about the white workers at the COMPANY. Do you think they make it   (156)
harder for Blacks in any way?

        1 ☐ Yes

        5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 19, Q.55)

53. Do you think most of them make it harder for Blacks, some of them   (157)
make it harder or just a few of them make it harder?

        1 ☐ Most of them

        2 ☐ Some of them

        3 ☐ Just a few of them

B28

54. What do they do to make it harder?   (158)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What else do they do to make it harder for Blacks?

_____

_____

_____

_____

55. Do you think any of the white foremen at the COMPANY make it harder for   (159)
Blacks than for whites in any way?

        1☐ Yes

        5☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 20, Q.58)

56. Do you think most of the white foremen make it harder for Blacks,   (160)
some of them make it harder, or just a few of them make it harder?

        1☐ Most of them

        2☐ Some of them

        3☐ Just a few of them

57. What do they do to make it harder? (161)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What else do they do to make it harder for Blacks?

_____

_____

_____

_____

58. Suppose a man at the COMPANY has a grievance or complaint against the   (162)
company. Do you think the union pays less attention to a complaint from
a Black man than from a white man, or doesn't race make any difference?

      1 ☐ Less attention to a Black

      2 ☐ Race doesn't make any difference

59. Do you think it's harder for a Black than a white to get promoted to a   (163)
really high paying job at the COMPANY.

      1 ☐ Yes

      5 ☐ No

60. Do you think it's harder for a Black than a white to get promoted to   (164)
a really high paying job in most factories?

      1 ☐ Yes

      5 ☐ No

66. Now I'm going to read a list of statements that people have differences of opinion about. I'd like you to tell me whether you mostly _agree_ or mostly _disagree_ with each one. First . . .

		1 Mostly agree	5 Mostly disagree	
a.	Whites can't be counted on to give a fair deal to a Black.	☐	☐	(170)
b.	If a Black becomes rich or famous, nothing should be more important to him than helping the cause of other Blacks.	☐	☐	(171)
c.	An owner of property should not have to sell to Blacks if he doesn't want to.	☐	☐	(172)
d.	Blacks should shop in Black owned stores wherever possible.	☐	☐	(173)

67. Could the training program at the COMPANY be considered a case of Black   (174)
Power in action, or not?

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No

68. How is that?   (175)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

69. On the whole, do you favor or oppose the idea of Black Power?   (176)

1 ☐ Favor

2 ☐ Oppose

61. Do you think it's harder for a Black to become a foreman or supervisor   (165)
    at the COMPANY.

    1 ☐ Yes

    5 ☐ No

62. Do you think it's harder for a Black to become a foreman or supervisor   (166)
    in most factories?

    1 ☐ Yes

    5 ☐ No

63. How much has being Black prevented you from getting the things you want   (167)
    out of life--would you say very much, some, not too much, or not at all?

    1 ☐ Very much

    2 ☐ Some

    3 ☐ Not too much

    4 ☐ Not at all

64. Do you think only a few white people in this country dislike Blacks,   (168)
    many dislike Blacks, or almost all white people dislike Blacks?

    1 ☐ Only a few

    2 ☐ Many

    3 ☐ Almost all

65. Some say that Blacks have been pushing too fast for what they want.   (169)
    Others feel they haven't pushed fast enough. How about you--do you
    think Blacks are trying to push too fast, are going too slowly, or
    are moving at about the right speed?

    1 ☐ Too fast

    2 ☐ Too slowly

    3 ☐ About the right speed

B32

70. Now we have some questions about job experiences you've had since you (177)
    left school. First . . .

    Have you ever been out of work for more than a year at one time?

                        1 ☐ Yes

                        5 ☐ No

71. In the last twelve months how many times have you been out of work? (178)

                        _____Number of times

72. Altogether about how much time were you out of work in the last (179)
    twelve months?

                        _____Months and/or _____Weeks

73. What about the year before that? How many times were you out of work? (180)

                        _____Number of times

74. Altogether, about how much time were you out of work that year? (181)

                        _____Months and/or _____Weeks

75. How long were you out of work before coming into this COMPANY (182)
    training program?

                        _____Months and/or _____Weeks

76. We'd like to know what jobs you've had in the last two years.
    Let's start with your last job.

    JOB #1

    Could you tell me the name of the job you had last--what was it (183)
    called?

                        Name of job:_____

77. What kind of business was that in? (184)

                        Business:_____

78. <u>Most</u> of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else?   (185)

                 1 ☐ Worked for himself

                 2 ☐ BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

                 3 ☐ Worked for someone else

79. How long were you on this job?   (186)

        _____Days and/or _____Months and/or _____Years

80. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY,   (187)
ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK WORKED.)

          _____Dollars and _____Cents per hour

81. Did you leave this job because you wanted to, or were you let go?   (188)

                1 ☐ Wanted to

                2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 25, Q.83)

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

82. Why did you leave?   (189)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

For what other reasons did you leave?

_____

_____

_____

_____

                (SKIP TO PAGE 26, Q.86)

B34

83. Why were you let go?　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(190)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Any other reasons you were let go?

_____

_____

_____

_____

84. Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you?　　(191)

　　　　　　　1 ☐ Fair

　　　　　　　2 ☐ Unfair

85. Why is that?　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(192)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

86. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were treated   (193)
    unfairly on this job because of your race?

         1 [ ] Yes

         5 [ ] No

JOB #2

87. And what was the name of the job you had before that?   (194)

         Name of job:_____

88. What kind of business was that in?   (195)

         Business:_____

89. Most of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else?   (196)

         1 [ ] Worked for himself

         2 [ ] BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

         3 [ ] Worked for someone else

90. How long were you on this job?   (197)

         _____Days and/or _____Months and/or _____Years

91. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY,   (198)
    ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK WORKED.)

         _____Dollars and _____Cents

92. Did you leave this job because you wanted to, or were you let go?   (199)

         1 [ ] Wanted to

         2 [ ] Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 28, Q.94)

B36

93. Why did you leave?   (200)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

For what other reasons did you leave?

_____

_____

_____

_____

(SKIP TO PAGE 29, Q.97)

(R WAS LET GO)

94. Why were you let go? (201)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Any other reasons you were let go?

_____

_____

_____

_____

95. Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you? (202)

        1 ☐ Fair

        2 ☐ Unfair

96. Why is that? (203)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

B38

97. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were treated   (204)
unfairly on this job because of your race?

$\quad$ 1 ☐ Yes

$\quad$ 5 ☐ No

JOB #3

98. And what was the name of the job you had before that?   (205)

$\quad$ Name of job:_____

99. What kind of business was that in?   (206)

$\quad$ Business:_____

100. Most of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else?   (207)

$\quad$ 1 ☐ Worked for himself

$\quad$ 2 ☐ BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

$\quad$ 3 ☐ Worked for someone else

101. How long were you on this job?   (208)

$\quad$ _____Days and/or _____Months and/or _____Years

102. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY,   (209)
ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK WORKED)

$\quad$ _____Dollars and _____Cents

103. Did you leave this job because you wanted to, or were you let go?   (210)

$\quad$ 1 ☐ Wanted to

$\quad$ 2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 31, Q.105)

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

104. Why did you leave?   (211)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

For what other reasons did you leave?

_____

_____

_____

_____

(SKIP TO PAGE 32, Q.108)

(R WAS LET GO)

105. Why were you let go?   (212)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Any other reasons you were let go?

_____

_____

_____

_____

106. Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you?   (213)

        1 ☐ Fair

        2 ☐ Unfair

107. Why is that?   (214)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

108. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were   (215
     treated unfairly on this job because of your race?

                              1 ☐ Yes

                              5 ☐ No

JOB #4

109. And what was the name of the job you had before that?   (216)

          Name of job:_____

110. What kind of business was that in?   (217)

          Business:_____

111. Most of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else?   (218)

                         1 ☐ Worked for himself

                         2 ☐ BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

                         3 ☐ Worked for someone else

112. How long were you on this job?   (219)

     _____Days and/or _____ :onths and/or _____Years

113. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY,   (220)
     ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK WORKED.)

                         _____Dollars and _____Cents

114. Did you leave this job because you wanted to or were you let go?   (221)

                         1 ☐ Wanted to

                         2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 34, Q.116)

B42

115. Why did you leave?   (222)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

For what other reasons did you leave?

_____

_____

_____

(SKIP TO PAGE 35, Q.119)

(R WAS LET GO)

116.   Why were you let go?   (223)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Any other reasons you were let go?

_____

_____

_____

_____

117.   Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you?   (224)

                    1 ☐ Fair

                    2 ☐ Unfair

118.   Why is that?   (225)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

119. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were   (226)
     treated unfairly on this job because of your race?

                          1 ☐ Yes

                          5 ☐ No

JOB #5

120. And what was the name of the job you had before that?   (227)

          Name of job:_____

121. What kind of business was that in?   (228)

          Business._____

122. Most of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else?   (229)

                          1 ☐ Worked for himself

                          2 ☐ BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

                          3 ☐ Worked for someone else

123. How long were you on this job?   (230)

          _____Days and/or _____Months and/or _____Years

124. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY,   (231)
     ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK.)

                    _____Dollars and _____Cents

125. Did you leave this job because you wanted to, or were you let go?   (232)

                          1 ☐ Wanted to

                          2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 37, Q.127)

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

126. Why did you leave?   (233)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

For what other reasons did you leave?

_____

_____

_____

_____

(SKIP TO PAGE 38, Q.130)

B46

127. Why were you let go?   (234)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Any other reasons you were let go?

_____

_____

_____

_____

128. Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you?   (235)

         1 ☐ Fair

         2 ☐ Unfair

129. Why is that?   (236)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

130. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were treated unfairly on this job because of your race?   (237)

                            1 ☐ Yes

                            5 ☐ No

131. In the last five years have you been in any other job programs that weren't part of a regular high school or trade school training program?   (238)

                            1 ☐ Yes

                            5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 39, Q.140)

132. Could you give me the names of these programs, starting with the one you were in last? (INTERVIEWER: RECORD NAMES OF PROGRAMS UNDER Q.132 and 136, AND ASK SUB-QUESTIONS FOR EACH SET. USE ADDITIONAL PAPER IF MORE THAN 2 PROGRAMS.)   (239)

NAME OF PROGRAM #1:_____

133. Did you have to pay anything for this training?   (240)

                            1 ☐ Yes

                            5 ☐ No

134. Did you complete (NAME OF PROGRAM) training, or weren't you able to finish it?   (241)

                            1 ☐ Yes, completed (GO ON TO Q.136, OR
                                             SKIP TO PAGE 39, Q.140
                                             IF NO MORE PROGRAMS.)

                            5 ☐ No, not completed

    135. Why didn't you complete this program--what happened?   (242)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

136. Name of Program #2:_____ (243)

137. Did you have to pay anything for this training? (244)

        1 ☐ Yes

        5 ☐ No

138. Did you complete (NAME OF PROGRAM) training, or weren't you able (245)
to finish it?

        1 ☐ Yes, completed (SKIP TO Q. 140)

        5 ☐ No, not completed

139. Why didn't you complete this program--what happened? (246)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

140. Now we'd like to ask you some questions about your background. (247)

First, have you lived in the City all of your life?

        1 ☐ Yes (SKIP TO PAGE 40, Q. 143)

        5 ☐ No

141. How long have you lived in the City--how many years and (248)
months?

_____Years and_____Months

142. In what state did you live the longest while you were (249)
growing up--let's say until you were about sixteen years
old? (IF R HAS LIVED AN EQUAL AMOUNT OF TIME IN TWO
STATES, RECORD WHICH OF THE TWO STATES HE LIVED IN WHEN
HE WAS OLDEST.)

State:_____

143. Now we'd like to ask a few questions about your mother and father.   (250)

During most of the time you were growing up, until you were about sixteen, were you living with your mother?

        1 ☐ Yes (SKIP TO Q.145)

        5 ☐ No

144. Was there some woman who raised you who was <u>like</u> a mother to you?   (251)

        1 ☐ Yes

        5 ☐ No

145. During most of the time you were growing up, until you were about sixteen, were you living with your father?   (252)

        1 ☐ Yes (SKIP TO Q.147)

        5 ☐ No

146. Was there some man who raised you who was <u>like</u> a father to you?   (253)

        1 ☐ Yes

        5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.149)

INTERVIEWER:

IF R WAS RAISED BY A SUBSTITUTE PARENT(S), INDICATE TO HIM THAT FUTURE QUESTIONS REFERRING TO MOTHER AND/OR FATHER SHOULD BE ANSWERED IN TERMS OF THESE SUBSTITUTE PARENT(S). IF HE HAD NO REAL OR SUBSTITUTE PARENT(S), MARK AS "INAP" THE QUESTIONS REFERRING TO MOTHER AND/OR FATHER.

---

147. Was there any time you remember that your father could not find work?   (254)

        1 ☐ Yes

        5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 41, Q.149)

148. Do you remember this happening one or two times, several times, or nearly all the time.   (255)

        1 ☐ One or two times

        2 ☐ Several times

        3 ☐ Nearly all the time

B50

149. Did your mother sometimes have a steady job while you were growing up?   (256)

    1 ☐ Yes

    5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.152)

150. Was there any time you remember that she couldn't find work   (257)
     when she wanted it?

    1 ☐ Yes

    5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.152)

151. Do you remember this happening one or two times, several times,   (258)
     or nearly all the time?

    1 ☐ One or two times

    2 ☐ Several times

    3 ☐ Nearly all the time

152. While you were growing up, was it ever necessary for your family to   (259)
     get some kind of help from any of the welfare or government aid
     programs to help make ends meet?

    1 ☐ Yes

    5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.154)

153. Just counting the time until you were about sixteen, how many   (260)
     months or years in all would you say it was necessary for your
     family to have this help?

    _____Months and/or _____Years

154. What was the highest grade of school you completed?   (261)

        GRADE SCHOOL: 00   01   02   03   04 05   06   07   08

        HIGH SCHOOL: 09   10   11   12(Has high school diploma)

        COLLEGE: 13   14   15   16(Has college degree)

        GRADUATE OR
        PROFESSIONAL: 17+

155. How old were you then?   (262)

_____Years of age

156. What year was that?   (263)

19_____

(INTERVIEWER: IF R LEFT SCHOOL BEFORE GRADUATING FROM TWELFTH GRADE, ASK:)

157. Why did you leave school before graduating? What happened?   (264)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

For what other reasons did you leave?

_____

_____

_____

_____

158. Have you had any other schooling?   (265)

1 ☐ Yes

5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 43, Q.160)

159. What other schooling did you have?   (266)

_____

_____

B52

160. Now we'd like to ask you some general questions about your home   (267)
     situation. First . . .

     Do you have a wife?

                         1 ☐ Yes
                         5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q. 165)

161. Are you living with her at present?   (268)

                         1 ☐ Yes
                         5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q. 163)

     162. Does your wife work?   (269)

                         1 ☐ Yes
                         5 ☐ No

163. Do you have any children?   (270)

                         1 ☐ Yes
                         5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q. 165)

     164. How many of your children are living with you?   (271)

                    _____ Number

★★

NOTE: THE FOLLOWING QUESTION WAS INCLUDED ONLY IN THE INDUCTEE INTERVIEW
AT THIS POINT IN THE QUESTION SEQUENCE:

     How old were you on your last birthday?   (272)

★★

165. Do you pay most of the household bills where you live, or does   (273)
     someone else pay most of them?

                         1 ☐ Respondent
                         2 ☐ Someone else
                         3 ☐ SHARE EQUALLY

166. Do you have to support yourself only, or are there any others you (274)
     have the main responsibility for supporting?

                         1 ☐ Self only (SKIP TO PAGE 44, Q. 168)
                         2 ☐ Support others

     167. How many other people do you have the main responsibility   (275)
          for supporting, not counting yourself?

                    _____ Number of people

168. Outside of not having a job, is there anything that has happened in   (276)
     the last few months that has made your financial situation worse than
     it was before?

        1 ☐ Yes

        5 ☐ No

169. How much difficulty are you having in making ends meet these days--   (277)
     would you say it's very difficult, somewhat difficult, not too
     difficult, or not difficult at all?

        1 ☐ Very difficult

        2 ☐ Somewhat difficult

        3 ☐ Not too difficult

        4 ☐ Not difficult at all

170. Are you working anywhere outside of the COMPANY?   (278)

        1 ☐ Yes

        5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.172)

   171. How many hours a week are you working outside of the COMPANY?   (279)

        _____Hours per week

172. How do you get to the COMPANY? Do you drive your own car, take the bus,   (280)
     ride with other people, or what?

        1 ☐ Drive own car

        2 ☐ Bus

        3 ☐ Ride with others

        7 ☐ Other (SPECIFY):_____

173. How long does it take you to get from your home to the COMPANY?   (281)

        1 ☐ Less than 15 minutes

        2 ☐ 15-29 minutes

        3 ☐ 30-44 minutes (half-hour)

        4 ☐ 45-59 minutes

        5 ☐ 60 minutes or more (hour)

B54

174. How satisfied are you with your travel arrangements to the   (282)
     COMPANY--very satisfied, pretty satisfied, not too satisfied,
     or not satisfied at all?

                              1 ☐ Very satisfied
                              2 ☐ Pretty satisfied
                              3 ☐ Not too satisfied
                              4 ☐ Not satir ied et all

****

NOTE: QUESTION 283 WAS ASKED ONLY OF TRAINEE INDUCTEES AND QUESTION 284
WAS ASKED ONLY OF DIRECT HIRE INDUCTEES.

   45. In general, do most of your closest friends want you to get   (283)
        into the COMPANY training program, are they against it, or don't
        they care much one way or the other?

                              1 ☐ Want him to get into the
                                   COMPANY program
                              2 ☐ Against it
                              3 ☐ Don't care much one way or
                                   the other

   44.   In general, do most of your closest friends want you to get   (284)
             into the COMPANY, are they against it, or don't they care
             much one way or the other?

                              1 ☐ Want him to get into the COMPANY
                              2 ☐ Against it
                              3 ☐ Don't care much one way or
                                   the other

****

175. In general, do most of your closest friends want you to stay in the (285)
     COMPANY training program, do they want you to leave, or don't they
     care much one way or the other?

                              1 ☐ Want him to stay
                              2 ☐ Want him to leave
                              3 ☐ Don't care much one way or
                                   the other

176. In case we might want to talk with you again, could you please give (286)
     me the name and phone number of someone who will always know how to
     get in touch with you?

                 NAME:_____

                 PHONE NUMBER:_____

                 CITY:_____

177. And could I check that I have your correct address. Is it (READ   (287)
     FROM COVER SHEET; MAKE ANY CORRECTIONS ON COVER SHEET).

INTERVIEWER OBSERVATION

1. Please rate the ability of the respondent to understand you when you   (288)
   spoke to him:

       1 ☐ Frequently could not understand me even after
             I repeated the question several times

       2 ☐ Often had difficulty understanding me; usually
             understood after I repeated the question

       3 ☐ Usually understood me; sometimes had difficulty

       4 ☐ Almost always understood me

2. Rate the ability of the respondent to communicate to you his thoughts   (289)
   and feelings:

       1 ☐ Frequently could not express himself in a way
             I could understand

       2 ☐ Often had difficulty in expressing himself;
             usually I could get an answer by pursuing the
             question

       3 ☐ Usually expressed himself well; sometimes had
             difficulty

       4 ☐ Almost always expressed himself well

3. Cooperativeness of respondent at beginning of interview.   (290)

       1 ☐ Very cooperative

       2 ☐ Pretty cooperative

       3 ☐ Not too cooperative

       4 ☐ Not cooperative at all

4. Cooperativeness of respondent at end of interview.   (291)

       1 ☐ Very cooperative

       2 ☐ Pretty cooperative

       3 ☐ Not too cooperative

       4 ☐ Not cooperative at all

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5. R's race is: (292)

          1 ☐ Black

          2 ☐ White (SKIP TO Q.7)

          3 ☐ Other (SPECIFY, AND SKIP TO Q.7):_____

6. Rate R's skin color: (293)

          1 ☐ Very light

          2 ☐ Somewhat light (tan)

          3 ☐ Somewhat dark (brown)

          4 ☐ Very dark brown or black

7. Length of interview: (294)

          _____Minutes

8. Was anyone within hearing distance of the interview besides yourself   (295)
and respondent?

          1 ☐ Yes

          5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 48, Q.10)

9. Describe situation: Specify who was present (friend, advisor,   (296)
"unknown," etc.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

DIRECT HIRE TERMINEE INTERVIEW

1. A few of the questions here are repeated from the first interview.   (300)
   Some people change how they feel from time to time and other
   people don't. So, I want to ask you a few of these questions
   again, just in case you feel differently about them now.

2. When you left the COMPANY did you have a job pretty well lined up   (301)
   or didn't you know what you'd be doing for work when you left?

   1 ☐ Job pretty well lined up

   2 ☐ Didn't know what he'd be doing
       for work

3. Are you working now?   (302)

   1 ☐ Yes

   5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 4, Q. 14)

<u>(R IS WORKING NOW)</u>

4. What kind of work are you doing?   (303)

   Kind of work:_____

5. What kind of business is that in?   (304)

   Business:_____

6. <u>Most</u> of the time do you work for yourself or for someone else?   (305)

   1 ☐ Self

   2 ☐ BOTH SELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

   3 ☐ Someone else

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7. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q.5) What do you do on this job? What are   (306)
    your main duties?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

8. When did you start this job?   (307)

                   _____Day and _____Month

9. How much do you get paid an hour? (INTERVIEWER: IF R GIVES WEEKLY   (308)
    PAY, ASK NUMBER OF HOURS HE WORKS PER WEEK)

                   _____Dollars and _____Cents

10. How long do you think it will be before you get your first promotion   (309)
    to a job at a higher level?

                   _____Years and/or _____Months

11. Some people work at a job and plan to stick with it. Other people   (310)
    see their job as a stepping-stone to a job they'd like better. How
    do you feel about the job you have now?

                   1 ☐ Plan to stick with it

                   2 ☐ Stepping-stone

12. Would you say that the job you have now is a better deal than the   (311)
    one you had at the COMPANY, is it a worse deal, or is it about the
    same?

                   1 ☐ Better

                   2 ☐ Worse

                   3 ☐ About the same (SKIP TO PAGE 5, Q.17)

__(R IS WORKING NOW)__

13.   In what ways is your present job (better/worse)?   (312)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

__(R IS NOT WORKING)__

14.   Do you have some general idea of the next kind of job you're <u>likely</u>   (313)
      to get?

                1 ☐ Yes

                5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 5, Q.17)

15.   On the whole, would you say that this job you're likely to get   (314)
      will be a better deal than the one you had at the COMPANY a worse
      deal, or is it about the same?

                1 ☐ Better

                2 ☐ Worse

                3 ☐ About the same (SKIP TO PAGE 5, Q.17)

   16.   In what ways will it be (better/worse)?   (315)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

17. Did you leave the COMPANY because you wanted to, or were you let go?   (316)

      1 ☐ Wanted to

      2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 6, Q.19)

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

18. Why did you leave?   (317)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

For what other reasons did you leave?

_____

_____

_____

_____

(SKIP TO PAGE 7, Q.22)

(R WAS LET GO)

19. Why were you let go? (318)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Any other reasons?

_____

_____

_____

_____

20. Do you think it was fair or unfair for them to discharge you? (319)

1 ☐ Fair

2 ☐ Unfair

21. Why is that? (320)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

22. Do you wish you were back on your last job at the COMPANY?   (321)

         1 ☐ Yes

         5 ☐ No

****

NOTE: THE FOLLOWING SERIES OF QUESTIONS, PARENTHETICALLY NUMBERED 322
THROUGH 329, WERE INCLUDED ONLY IN THE INTERVIEWS WITH PLACED TRAINEES:

2. Do you think that the job training program has helped you to do   (322)
better on the job you have now, or hasn't it made much
difference?

         1 ☐ Better

         2 ☐ Hasn't made much difference
             (SKIP TO PAGE 3, Q. 4)

3. <u>How</u> has it helped you to do better on your job?   (323)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What other ways has it helped you?

_____

_____

_____

4. Were there any parts of the job training program that were a waste   (324)
of time for you?

         1 ☐ Yes

         5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 4, Q. 6)

5. <u>What</u> parts were a waste of time for you?   (325)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What other parts were a waste of time for you?

_____

_____

6. Have you spent any time talking with your advisor (NAME OF TRAINING   (326)
    ADVISOR) since you were placed on the job?

    1 ☐ Yes

    5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q. 8)

7. How often have you spent any time talking with him since you   (327)
    were placed on the job? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE R INTO ONE OF
    THE CATEGORIES BELOW)

    1 ☐ Every day

    2 ☐ A few times a week

    3 ☐ Once a week

    4 ☐ 2-3 times a month

    5 ☐ Once a month

    7 ☐ Other (SPECIFY):_____

8. Have you met Mr. (NAME OF FOLLOW-UP ADVISOR), your follow-up   (328)
    advisor since you were placed on the job?

    1 ☐ Yes

    5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 5, Q. 10)

9. How often have you spent any time talking with him since you   (329)
    were placed on the job? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE R INTO ONE OF
    THE CATEGORIES BELOW)

    1 ☐ Every day

    2 ☐ A few times a week

    3 ☐ Once a week

    4 ☐ 2-3 times a month

    5 ☐ Once a month

    7 ☐ Other (SPECIFY):____ _____

****

23. What was your last job at the COMPANY?   (330)

                Name of job:_____.

24. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q.23) What did you do on this job? What   (331)
    were your main duties?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

25. What things did you like best about your job?   (332)

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    What other things did you like about your job?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

26. What would you have liked to see changed about your job?   (333)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What other changes would you have liked to see?

_____

_____

_____

_____

27. Did you spend most of your time working at one station, or were you moved   (334)
    from work station to work station?

        1 ☐ One station (SKIP TO PAGE 9, Q.29)

        2 ☐ Moved from station to station

28. Generally, how often were you moved from one work station to   (335)
    another?

        _____Times per day or _____Times per week

29. Let's talk more about your last job at the COMPANY.

    A. How about (READ "a" BELOW). Do you think it was pretty good, just so-so, or pretty bad? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "e".)

		1 Pretty good	2 Just so-so	3 Pretty bad	
a.	The pay?	☐	☐	☐	(336)
b.	The shift hours you were working?	☐	☐	☐	(337)
c.	Your chances for getting ahead?	☐	☐	☐	(338)
d.	The kind of work you were doing?	☐	☐	☐	(339)
e.	The way you were treated by those over you?	☐	☐	☐	(340)

30. How much did you get paid an hour working at your job?   (341)

        _____Dollars and _____Cents

31. When would you have <u>liked</u> to have been promoted to a job at a higher   (342)
level?

        ☐ Immediately

        ☐ Never

        _____Years and/or _____Months

32. How long do you think it <u>would have been</u> before you got promoted to a   (343)
job at a higher level?

        _____Years and/or _____Months

33. Some people work at a job and plan to stick with it. Other people see   (344)
their job as a stepping-stone to a job they'd like better. How did <u>you</u>
feel about the job you had at

        1 ☐ Planned to stick with it

        2 ☐ Stepping stone

34. Think about how <u>often</u> the following things happened on your job.

A. (READ "a" BELOW) . . . always, often, sometimes or never? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "i".)

		1 <u>Always</u>	2 <u>Often</u>	3 Some- <u>times</u>	4 <u>Never</u>	
a.	Did you have to work too fast or too hard . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(345)
b.	Did people tell you to do things you didn't want to do . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(346)
c.	Did you make most of your own decisions . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(347)
d.	Did you choose what you wanted to do each day . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(348)
e.	Did you make decisions for other people . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(349)
f.	Did you have a lot of power . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(350)
g.	Were you bored . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(351)
h.	Were you told to do something when you didn't know <u>how</u> to do it . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(352)
i.	Did you get relief time or rest breaks when you needed them . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(353)

35. Did you feel you knew enough about (READ "a" BELOW), or did you need to know more about this for your job? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "h".)

		1 Knew enough	2 Needed to know more.	
a	Safety in a factory . . .	☐	☐	(354)
b.	How to use the different kinds of tools and machines . . .	☐	☐	(355)
c.	Working with figures--handling numbers . . .	☐	☐	(356)
d.	How to make decisions . . .	☐	☐	(35)
e.	How to make yourself clear to the people you worked with so they understood what you said ...	☐	☐	(358)
f.	How to keep calm when things break down . . .	☐	☐	(359)
g.	How to keep on the good side of foremen or men who were over you . . .	☐	☐	(360)
h.	How to keep on the good side of the men you worked with . . .	☐	☐	(361)

36. Did you feel you knew how to read well enough for your job, or not?   (362)

      1 ☐ Yes, knew well enough

      5 ☐ No, didn't know well enough

37. Did you feel you knew how to write well enough for your job, or not?   (363)

      1 ☐ Yes, knew well enough

      5 ☐ No, didn't know well enough

38. How good an idea did you have each day of what your work routine would   (364)
be like? Did you have a very good idea, a pretty good idea, some idea,
or no idea at all?

      1 ☐ A very good idea

      2 ☐ A pretty good idea

      3 ☐ Some idea

      4 ☐ No idea at all

39. How good an idea did you have of how your work fit in with what other   (365)
    factory workers did at your plant--a very good idea,
    a pretty good idea, some idea, or no idea at all?

                      1 ☐ Very good idea

                      2 ☐ Pretty good idea

                      3 ☐ Some idea

                      4 ☐ No idea at all

40. Did anyone at the COMPANY take you through the plant so you could see what (366)
    was happening in other areas?

                      1 ☐ Yes

                      5 ☐ No

41. What shift did you work?   (367)

                      1 ☐ First: about 6 in the morning to 2:30 in
                            the afternoon

                      2 ☐ Second: about 3:30 in the afternoon to
                            11:30 at night

                      3 ☐ Third: about 12:30 at night to early
                            morning

                      4 ☐ No regular shift

                      7 ☐ Other (SPECIFY HOURS:)_____

42. On the job you had, were you ever hurt badly enough to want to see the   (368)
    plant nurse or doctor?

                      1 ☐ Yes

                      5 ☐ No

43. How often did you have to work around things that were dangerous or   (369)
    could hurt you--always, often, sometimes, or never?

                      1 ☐ Always

                      2 ☐ Often

                      3 ☐ Sometimes

                      4 ☐ Never

44. Now let's talk about the people you worked with.

When you talked with the other people, how often did they pay attention   (370)
to what you said--almost never, sometimes, usually, or nearly always?

        1 ☐ Almost never

        2 ☐ Sometimes

        3 ☐ Usually

        4 ☐ Nearly always

45. How many of the people you worked with would have loaned you a couple   (371)
dollars for a week if they had had it--all of them, most of them, some
of them, a few of them, or none of them?

        1 ☐ All

        2 ☐ Most

        3 ☐ Some

        4 ☐ Few (one or two)

        5 ☐ None

46. How much do you think the people you worked with acted like a team--   (372)
very much, pretty much, or not too much?

        1 ☐ Very much

        2 ☐ Pretty much

        3 ☐ Not too much

47. Let's talk about foremen. When the foremen you worked for at the COMPANY   (373)
talked to you, did they call you mostly by name, mostly by your badge
number, or what?

        1 ☐ Name

        2 ☐ Badge number

        7 ☐ Other (SPECIFY:)_____

48. W~s there more than one person you thought of as your foreman?   (374)

                1 ☐ Yes (SKIP TO Q.50)

                5 ☐ No

(R HAD ONLY ONE FOREMAN

49. Was your foreman Black or white?   (375)

                1 ☐ Black

                2 ☐ White

(SKIP TO Q.52)

(R HAD MORE THAN ONE FOREMAN)

50. Of these foremen was there any one who you spent most of your time time working for?   (376)

                1 ☐ Yes

                5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 15, Q.53)

   51. Was this foreman Black or white?   (377)

                1 ☐ Black

                2 ☐ White

52. I'll read a list of things and for each one tell me how much it was like this foreman. First . . .

A. (READ "a" BELOW.) Was this very much like him, pretty much like him, or not much like him? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "f".)

	1 Very much	2 Pretty much	3 Not much	
a. He took a personal interest in you.	☐	☐	☐	(378)
b. He had things well planned and thought out.	☐	☐	☐	(379)
c. He could get men to do what he wanted--he was in control.	☐	☐	☐	(380)
d. He could really be trusted.	☐	☐	☐	(381)
e. He wanted you to give ideas and suggestions.	☐	☐	☐	(382)
f. He told you when you were doing a good job.	☐	☐	☐	(383)

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53. How often were you put in the middle between two foremen who wanted   (384)
different things from you? Would you say this happened often,
sometimes, rarely, or never?

          1 ☐ Often

          2 ☐ Sometimes

          3 ☐ Rarely

          4 ☐ Never

54. Was there any job at the COMPANY you wanted more than the one you had?   (385)

          1 ☐ Yes

          5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 17, Q.59)

55. What job was that?   (386)

        Name of job:_____

56. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q.55) What would you have been doing on   (387)
    this job? What would your <u>main</u> duties have been?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

57. What is there about this job that made you want it?   (388)

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    What other reasons made you want this job?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

58. How likely do you think it was that you would have gotten this job--   (389)
    very likely, somewhat likely, or not likely at all?

                    1 ☐ Very likely

                    2 ☐ Somewhat likely

                    3 ☐ Not likely at all

59. What job at the COMPANY would you have least wanted to have?   (390)

        Name of job:_____

        1 ☐ Job I had there (SKIP TO PAGE 18, Q.63)

        8 ☐ Don't know (SKIP TO PAGE 18, Q.63)

60. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q.59) What would you have been doing on   (391)
    this job? What would your <u>main</u> duties have been?

_____

_____

_____

_____

61. What was there about this job that made you not want it?   (392)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What other reasons made you not want this job?

_____

_____

_____

_____

62. How likely do you think it was that you would have gotten this job   (393)
    --very likely, somewhat likely, or not likely at all?

        1 ☐ Very likely

        2 ☐ Somewhat likely

63. What kind of job do you think you'll <u>end up with in life?</u>   (394)

        Kind of job:_____

        8 ☐ Don't know (SKIP TO PAGE 19, Q. 66)

64. (IF NOT ASCERTAINED IN Q. 63) What would you do on this job? (395)
    What would your <u>main</u> duties be?

        _____

        _____

        _____

        _____

65. Would you be perfectly happy with this kind of job, or would   (396)
    you want a different one?

        1 ☐ Perfectly happy

        2 ☐ Want a different one

****

NOTE: THE FOLLOWING QUESTION, PARENTHETICALLY NUMBERED 397, WAS INCLUDED
ONLY IN THE DIRECT HIRE STAY AND PLACED TRAINEE INTERVIEWS:

    Some of the men who come to the COMPANY quit before the first
    days are up. What do you think might be some of the reasons
    they quit?
    What are some other reasons they might quit?   (397)

****

67. If a lot of Blacks dropped out of the COMPANY do you think this would look (398) bad for the Black race, or doesn't it have anything to do with race?

       1 ☐ Would look bad

       2 ☐ Doesn't have anything to do with race

68. How hard or easy do you think it would have been for you to get a new (399) job assignment changed if you didn't like it--very hard, somewhat hard, somewhat easy, or very easy?

       1 ☐ Very hard

       2 ☐ Somewhat hard

       3 ☐ Somewhat easy

       4 ☐ Very easy

69. What is your best guess about how many men at the COMPANY speak up and ask (400) for different jobs if they don't like a new one they're assigned to-- all of them, some, only a few, or none of them?

       1 ☐ All (SKIP TO PAGE 20, Q.71)

       2 ☐ Some

       3 ☐ Only a few

       4 ☐ None

70. Why don't all these men do it? Why don't all of them ask for (401) different jobs?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What else keeps them from asking for different jobs?

_____

_____

_____

71. Overall, how fair do you think the COMPANY was with you <u>on your last job</u>? (402)
    <u>there</u>--completely fair, pretty fair, or not too fair? (INTERVIEWER:
    A RESPONSE OF "PRETTY FAIR" TO THIS QUESTION AND "NO WAYS" TO Q.72 IS
    ACCEPTABLE.)

    1 ☐ Completely fair (SKIP TO PAGE 21, Q.74)

    2 ☐ Pretty fair

    3 ☐ Not too fair

72. In what ways were you treated unfairly? (403)

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    What other ways were you treated unfairly?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

73. (IF NOT MENTIONED) Who was it that treated you unfairly--what job(s) (404)
    did (this/these) person(s) have with the company?

    Job(s):_____

    _____

74. Let's talk about jobs in general. I'll tell you about two kinds of jobs and ask you which one you'd like most. These are <u>not</u> jobs at the COMPANY These are things you'd like most in <u>any</u> job. First . . .

<u>INTERVIEWER: USE FOLLOWING PROBE IF NECESSARY</u>

I know these are difficult questions because maybe you'd want both jobs or maybe you wouldn't want either job. But try to choose the one you'd like to have most.

a. Would you like most   (405)

    1 ☐ a job where other people like you.
        OR
    2 ☐ a job where no one tells you to do things you
        don't want to do.

b. Would you like most   (406)

    1 ☐ a job where you make most of your own decisions.
        OR
    2 ☐ a job where you do better than other people.

c. Would you like most   (407)

    1 ☐ a job where you can use your skills.
        OR
    2 ☐ a job where you can choose what you want to do each day.

d. Would you like most   (408)

    1 ☐ a job where you make decisions for other people.
        OR
    2 ☐ a job that is hard to do.

e. Would you like most   (409)

    1 ☐ a job where you have a lot of power.
        OR
    2 ☐ a job where you have a lot of friends.

75. Different people want different things from a job. I am going to read some of the things that may or may not be important. For each one, please tell me how important it is to you. First . . .

   A. To have (READ "a" BELOW). Would you say it's very important, pretty important, a little important, or not important at all? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "g".)

	1 Very	2 Pretty	3 A little	4 Not at all	
a. . . . a clean job, where you don't get dirty.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(4)
b. . . . a job that your friends think a lot of.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(411)
c. . . . a job where you don't have to work too hard.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(412)
d. . . . a job that is steady, with no chance of being laid off.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(413)
e. . . . a job that _uses_ your skill and abilities--lets you do the things you can do best.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(414)
f. . . . a job where you can learn new things, learn new skills	☐	☐	☐	☐	(415)
g. . . . a job with good chances for getting ahead.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(416)

76. If you got the normal period of break-in and if you _wanted_ to be a . . . (READ "a" BELOW) . . . what kind of job do you think you could do--an excellent job, a very good job, a good job, or a fair job? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "e".)

	1 Excellent	2 Very good	3 Good	4 Fair	
a. . . . worker on an assembly line . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(417)
b. . . . salesmen in a store . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(418)
c. . . . automatic machine operator . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(419)
d. . . . welder . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(420)
e. . . . foreman . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	(421)

77. Now I have some questions about how you feel about things in general.
For each sentence I read, I want to know how much you are like this.
First . . .

A. (READ "a" BELOW.) Is this very much like you, pretty much like
you, not much like you, or not like you at all? (REPEAT FOR ITEMS
"b" THROUGH "j".)

		1 Very much	2 Pretty much	3 Not much	4 Not at all	
a.	I usually do a good job at what ever I do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(422)
b.	I can usually talk my friends into doing what I want them to do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(423)
c.	If someone tried to <u>make</u> me do something I really didn't want to do, I'd probably refuse.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(424)
d.	I only try things that are easy for me to do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(425)
e.	People often have power over me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(426)
f.	I want to spend my free time doing what <u>I</u> want to do, not what someone else wants to do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(427)
g.	I often fail in things I try to do.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(428)
h.	My family often tells me how to spend my money.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(429)
i.	If I know I'm going to lose a game or contest, I don't want to be in it.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(430)
j.	I think that with the right kind of clothes or car people listen to me more.	☐	☐	☐	☐	(431)

78. Now I'm going to read two sentences. Please tell me which of these
    two sentences is most true of you. Which do you believe most?

    a. I believe that: (432)

        1 ☐ I can usually make my plans work, if I really try.
                OR
        2 ☐ Good or bad luck usually determines if my plans work.

    b. I believe that: (433)

        1 ☐ What happens to me is mostly my own doing.
                OR
        2 ☐ I don't have much choice about what happens to me.

    c. I believe that: (434)

        1 ☐ Discrimination or prejudice usually determines if
             my plans work.
                OR
        2 ☐ I can usually make my plans work, if I really try.

79. Now, for each thing I read, please tell me whether you mostly _agree_ or
    mostly _disagree_ with what it says. First . . .

    A. (READ "a" BELOW.) Do you mostly agree or mostly disagree with this?
        (REPEAT FOR ITEMS "b" THROUGH "f".)

		1 Mostly agree	5 Mostly disagree	
a.	I like to let things happen in their own way rather than to schedule them.	☐	☐	(435)
b.	My only purpose in working is to make money.	☐	☐	(436)
c.	It makes me feel bad to be late for an appointment.	☐	☐	(437)
d.	I need a job in order to feel that I have a real place in the world.	☐	☐	(438)
e.	I think there's something wrong with people who go to school for years when they could be out earning a living.	☐	☐	(439)
f.	It's more important for me to have a good job than it is to have good friends.	☐	☐	(440)

80. Now I'd like to ask some questions about what it was like to be a Black at the COMPANY. First . . .

   Do you think most of the white people at the COMPANY felt the same toward   (441)
   Blacks, or did they differ in how they felt?

   1 ☐ Same

   2 ☐ Differ

81. How did they (feel/differ in their feelings) toward Black people?   (442)

   _____   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

82. What about the white workers at the COMPANY. Do you think they made it   (443)
   harder for Blacks in any way?

   1 ☐ Yes

   5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 26, Q.85)

83. Do you think most of them made it harder for Blacks, some of them   (444)
   made it harder, or just a few of them made it harder?

   1 ☐ Most of them

   2 ☐ Some of them

   3 ☐ Just a few of them

84. What did they do to make it harder? (445)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What else did they do to make it harder for Blacks?

_____

_____

_____

_____

85. Do you think any of the <u>white foremen</u> at the COMPANY made it harder for   (446)
    Blacks than for whites in any way?

         1 ☐ Yes

         5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 27, Q.88)

86. Do you think most of the white foremen made it harder for Blacks,   (447)
    some of them made it harder, or just a few of them made it harder?

         1 ☐ Most of them

         2 ☐ Some of them

         3 ☐ Just a few of them

87. What did they do to make it harder?   (448)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What else did they do to make it harder for Blacks?

_____

_____

_____

_____

88. Suppose a man at the COMPANY has a grievance or complaint against the   (449)
company. Do you think the union pays less attention to a complaint
from a Black man than from a white man, or doesn't race make any
difference?

        1 ☐ Less attention to a Black

        2 ☐ Race doesn't make any difference

89. Do you think it's harder for a Black than a white to get promoted to a   (450)
really high paying job at the COMPANY

        1 ☐ Yes

        5 ☐ No

90. Do you think it's harder for a Black than a white to get promoted to   (451)
a really high paying job in most factories?

        1 ☐ Yes

        5 ☐ No

91. Do you think it's harder for a Black to become a foreman or supervisor   (452)
    at the COMPANY?

        1 ☐ Yes

        5 ☐ No

92. Do you think it's harder for a Black to become a foreman or supervisor   (453)
    in most factories?

        1 ☐ Yes

        5 ☐ No

93. How much has being Black prevented you from getting the things you want   (454)
    out of life--would you say very much, some, not too much, or not at all?

        1 ☐ Very much

        2 ☐ Some

        3 ☐ Not too much

        4 ☐ Not at all

94. Do you think only a few white people in this country dislike Blacks,   (455)
    many dislike Blacks, or almost all white people dislike Blacks?

        1 ☐ Only a few

        2 ☐ Many

        3 ☐ Almost all

95. Some say that Blacks have been pushing too fast for what they want.   (456)
    Others feel they haven't pushed fast enough. How about you--do you
    think Blacks are trying to push too fast, are going too slowly, or
    are moving at about the right speed?

        1 ☐ Too fast

        2 ☐ Too slowly

        3 ☐ About the right speed

B86

96. Now I'm going to read a list of statements that people have differences of opinion about. I'd like you to tell me whether you mostly agree or mostly disagree with each one. First . . .

		1 Mostly agree	5 Mostly disagree	
a.	Whites can't be counted on to give a fair deal to a Black.	☐	☐	(457)
b.	If a Black becomes rich or famous, nothing should be more important to him than helping the cause of other Blacks.	☐	☐	(458)
c.	An owner of property should not have to sell to Blacks if he doesn't want to.	☐	☐	(459)
d.	Blacks should shop in Black owned stores wherever possible.	☐	☐	(460)

97. On the whole, do you favor or oppose the idea of Black Power?   (461)

       1 ☐ Favor

       2 ☐ Oppose

98. Now we have some questions about job experiences you've had since you left school. First . . .

Have you ever been out of work for more than a year at one time?   (462)

       1 ☐ Yes

       5 ☐ No

99. In the last twelve months how many times have you been out of work?   (463)

_____Number of times

100. Altogether about how much time were you out of work in the last   (464)
twelve months?

_____Months and/or _____Weeks

101. What about the year before that how many times were you out of work?   (465)

_____Number of times

02. Altogether about how <u>much</u> time were you out of work that year? (466)

_____Months and/or _____Weeks

103. How long were you out of work before your last job at the COMPANY? (467)

_____Months and/or _____Weeks

104. We'd like to know what jobs you've had in the last two years.
Let's start with your <u>last</u> job.

<u>JOB #1</u>

Could you tell me the name of the job you had last--what was it called? (468)

Name of job:_____

105. What kind of business was that in? (469)

Business:_____

106. <u>Most</u> of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else? (470)

1 ☐ Worked for himself

2 ☐ BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

3 ☐ Worked for someone else

107. How long were you on this job? (471)

_____Days and/or _____Months and/or _____Years

108. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY, (472)
ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK WORKED.)

_____Dollars and _____Cents per hour

109. Did you leave this job because you wanted to, or were you let go?   (473)

1 ☐ Wanted to

2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 32, Q.111)

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

110. Why did you leave?   (474)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

For what other reasons did you leave?

_____

_____

_____

(SKIP TO PAGE 33, Q.114)

(R WAS LET GO)

111. Why were you let go? (475)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Any other reasons you were let go?

_____

_____

_____

_____

112. Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you? (476)

1 ☐ Fair

2 ☐ Unfair

113. Why is that? (477)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

114. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were treated   (478)
     unfairly on this job because of your race?

                        1 ☐ Yes

                        5 ☐ No

JOB #2

115. And what was the name of the job you had before that?   (479)

              Name of job:_____

116. What kind of business was that in?   (480)

              Business:_____

117. Most of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else?   (481)

                        1 ☐ Worked for himself

                        2 ☐ BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

                        3 ☐ Worked for someone else

118. How long were you on this job?   (482)

              _____Days and/or _____Months and/or _____Years

119. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY,   (483)
      ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK WORKED)

                        _____Dollars and _____Cents

120. Did you leave this job because you wanted to, or were you let go?   (484)

                        1 ☐ Wanted to

                        2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 35, Q.122)

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

121. Why did you leave? (485)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

For what other reasons did you leave?

_____

_____

_____

_____

(SKIP TO PAGE 36, Q.125)

B92

(R WAS LET GO)

122. Why were you let go?   (486)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Any other reasons you were let go?

_____

_____

_____

_____

123. Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you?   (487)

        1 ☐ Fair

        2 ☐ Unfair

124. Why is that?   (488)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

125. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were treated   (489)
     unfairly on this job because of your race?

                        1 ☐ Yes

                        5 ☐ No

<u>JOB #3</u>

126. And what was the name of the job you had before that?   (490)

                Name of job:_____

127. What kind of business was that in?   (491)

                Business:_____

128. <u>Most</u> of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else?   (492)

                        1 ☐ Worked for himself

                        2 ☐ BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

                        3 ☐ Worked for someone else

129. How long were you on this job?   (493)

                _____Days and/or _____Months and/or _____Years

130. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY,   (494)
     ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK WORKED)

                _____Dollars and _____Cents

131. Did you leave this job because you wanted to, or were you let go?   (495)

                        1 ☐ Wanted to

                        2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 38, Q.133)

B94

132. Why did you leave?   (496)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

For what other reasons did you leave?

_____

_____

_____

_____

(SKIP TO PAGE 39, Q.136)

(R WAS LET GO)

133. Why were you let go? (497)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Any other reasons you were let go?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

134. Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you? (498)

        1 ☐ Fair

        2 ☐ Unfair

135. Why is that? (499)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

136. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were treated   (500)
     unfairly on this job because of your race?

                          1 ☐ Yes

                          5 ☐ No

JOB #4

137. And what was the name of the job you had before that?   (501)

             Name of job:_____

138. What kind of business was that in?   (502)

             Business:_____

139. Most of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else   (503)

             1 ☐ Worked for himself

             2 ☐ BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

             3 ☐ Worked for someone else

140. How long were you on this job?   (504)

     _____Days and/or _____Months and/or _____Years

141. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY,   (505)
     ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK WORKED)

             _____Dollars and _____Cents

142. Did you leave this job because you wanted to or were you let go?   (506)

             1 ☐ Wanted to

             2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 41, Q.144)

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

143. Why did you leave?   (507)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

For what other reasons did you leave?

_____

_____

_____

_____

B98

144. Why were you let go?   (508)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Any other reasons you were let go?

_____

_____

_____

145. Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you?   (509)

        1 ☐ Fair

        2 ☐ Unfair

146. Why is that?   (510)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

147. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were treated   (511)
     unfairly on this job because of your race?

                    1 ☐ Yes

                    5 ☐ No

JOB #5

148. And what was the name of the job you had before that?   (512)

              Name of job:_____ _____

149. What kind of business was that in?   (513)

              Business:_____ _____

150. Most of the time did you work for yourself or for someone else?   (514)

                    1 ☐ Worked for himself

                    2 ☐ BOTH FOR HIMSELF AND SOMEONE ELSE

                    3 ☐ Worked for someone else

151. How long were you on this job?   (515)

              _____Days and/or _____Months and/or _____Years

152. About how much did you get paid each hour? (IF R GIVES WEEKLY PAY,   (516)
     ASK NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK WORKED.)

                    _____Dollars and _____Cents

153. Did you leave this job because you wanted to, or were you let go?   (517)

                    1 ☐ Wanted to

                    2 ☐ Let go (SKIP TO PAGE 44, Q.155)

B100

(R LEFT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO)

154. Why did you leave?   (518)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

For what other reasons did you leave?

_____

_____

_____

_____

(SKIP TO PAGE 45, Q.158)

B101

(R WAS LET GO)

155. Why were you let go?   (519)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Any other reasons you were let go?

_____

_____

_____

156. Do you think it was fair or unfair of them to discharge you?   (520)

        1 ☐ Fair

        2 ☐ Unfair

157. Why is that?   (521)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

B102

158. (IF DISCRIMINATION IS NOT MENTIONED) Did you ever feel you were treated   (522)
unfairly on this job because of your race?

         1 ☐ Yes

         5 ☐ No

159. In the last five years have you been in any job programs that weren't   (523)
part of a regular high school or trade school training program?

         1 ☐ Yes

         5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 46, Q.168)

160. Could you give me the names of these programs, starting with the   (524)
one you were in last? (INTERVIEWER: RECORD NAMES OF PROGRAMS
UNDER Q.160 AND Q.164, AND ASK SUB-QUESTIONS FOR EACH SET. USE
ADDITIONAL PAPER IF MORE THAN 2 PROGRAMS.)

NAME OF PROGRAM #1: _____

161. Did you have to pay anything for this training?   (525)

         1 ☐ Yes

         5 ☐ No

162. Did you complete (NAME OF PROGRAM) training, or weren't you able to   (526)
finish it?

         1 ☐ Yes, completed (GO ON TO Q.164, OR
                                  SKIP TO PAGE 46, Q.168
                                  IF NO MORE PROGRAMS.)

         5 ☐ No, not completed

163. Why didn't you complete this program--what happened?   (527)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

164. Name of Program #2:_____ (528)

165. Did you have to pay anything for this training? (529)

    1 ☐ Yes

    5 ☐ No

166. Did you complete (NAME OF PROGRAM) training, or weren't you able (530)
to finish it?

    1 ☐ Yes, completed (SKIP TO Q. 168)

    5 ☐ No, not completed

167. Why didn't you complete this program--what happened? (531)

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

168. Now we'd like to ask you some questions about your background. (532)
First, have you lived in the City all of your life?

    1 ☐ Yes (SKIP TO PAGE 47, Q. 171)

    5 ☐ No

169. How long have you lived in the City--how many years and (533)
months?

    _____Years and_____ Months

170. In what state did you live the longest while you were (534)
growing up--let's say until you were about sixteen years
old? (IF R HAS LIVED AN EQUAL AMOUNT OF TIME IN TWO
STATES, RECORD WHICH OF THE TWO STATES HE LIVED IN WHEN
HE WAS OLDEST.)

    State:_____

B104

171. Now we'd like to ask a few questions about your mother and father.   (535)

   During most of the time you were growing up, until you were about
   sixteen, were you living with your mother?

                        1 ☐ Yes (SKIP TO Q.173)

                        5 ☐ No

   172. Was there some woman who raised you who was <u>like</u> a mother to you?   (536)

                        1 ☐ Yes

                        5 ☐ No

173. During most of the time you were growing up, until you were about   (537)
   sixteen, were you living with your father?

                        1 ☐ Yes (SKIP TO Q.175)

                        5 ☐ No

   174. Was there some man who raised you who was <u>like</u> a father to you?   (538)

                        1 ☐ Yes

                        5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 48, Q.177)

   ┌──┐
   │ INTERVIEWER: │
   │ IF R WAS RAISED BY A SUBSTITUTE PARENT(S), INDICATE TO HIM THAT FUTURE   │
   │ QUESTIONS REFERRING TO MOTHER AND/OR FATHER SHOULD BE ANSWERED IN TERMS   │
   │ OF THESE SUBSTITUTE PARENT(S). IF HE HAD NO REAL OR SUBSTITUTE   │
   │ PARENT(S), MARK AS "INAP" THE QUESTIONS REFERRING TO MOTHER AND/o.   │
   │ FATHER.   │
   └──┘

175. Was there any time you remember that your father could not find work?   (539)

                        1 ☐ Yes

                        5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 48, Q.177)

   176. Do you remember this happening one or two times, several times,   (540)
   or nearly all the time?

                        1 ☐ One or two times

                        2 ☐ Several times

                        3 ☐ Nearly all the time

177. Did your mother sometimes have a steady job while you were growing up?   (541)

            1 ☐ Yes

            5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.180)

178. Was there any time you remember that she couldn't find work when   (542)
      she wanted it?

            1 ☐ Yes

            5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.130)

179. Do you remember this happening one or two times, several times,   (543)
      or nearly all the time?

            1 ☐ One or two times

            2 ☐ Several times

            3 ☐ Nearly all the time

180. While you were growing up, was it ever necessary for your family to get   (544)
      some kind of help from any of the welfare or government aid programs to
      help make ends meet?

            1 ☐ Yes

            5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.182)

181. Just counting the time until you were about sixteen, how many   (545)
      months or years in all would you say it was necessary for your
      family to have this help?

         _____Months and/or _____Years

182. What was the highest grade of school you completed?   (546)

GRADE SCHOOL:	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

      HIGH SCHOOL: 09   10   11   12(Has high school diploma)

      COLLEGE: 13   14   15   16(Has college degree)

      GRADUATE OR
      PROFESSIONAL: 17+

B106

183. How old were you then?   (547)

                          _____Years of age   .

184. What year was that?   (548)

                          19_____

185. Why did you leave school before graduating? What happened?   (549)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

For what other reasons did you leave?

_____

_____

_____

_____

186. Have you had any other schooling?   (550)

                    1 ☐ Yes

                    5 ☐ No (SKIP TO PAGE 50, Q.188)

   187. What other schooling did you have?   (551)

        _____

        _____

188. Now we'd like to ask you some general questions about your home   (552)
situation. First . . .

Do you have a wife?

        1 ☐ Yes

        5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.193)

189. Are you living with her at present?   (553)

        1 ☐ Yes

        5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.191)

   190. Does your wife work?   (554)

        1 ☐ Yes

        5 ☐ No

191. Do you have any children?   (555)

        1 ☐ Yes

        5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.193)

   192. How many of your children are living with you?   (556)

        _____Number

193. Do you pay most of the household bills where you live, or does someone   (557)
else pay most of them?

        1 ☐ Respondent

        2 ☐ Someone else

        3 ☐ SHARE EQUALLY

194. Do you have to support yourself only, or are there any others you have the   (558)
main responsibility for supporting?

        1 ☐ Self only (SKIP TO PAGE 51, Q.196)

        2 ☐ Support others

195. How many other people do you have the main responsibility for   (559)
supporting, not counting yourself?

        _____Number of people

B108

196. Is there anything that has happened in the last few months that has made   (560)
your financial situation worse than it was before?

           1 ☐ Yes

           5 ☐ No

197. How much difficulty are you having in making ends meet these days--   (561)
would you say it's very difficult, somewhat difficult, not too
difficult, or not difficult at all?

           1 ☐ Very difficult

           2 ☐ Somewhat difficult

           3 ☐ Not too difficult

           4 ☐ Not difficult at all

198. Were you working anywhere else while you were at the COMPANY?   (562)

           1 ☐ Yes

           5 ☐ No (SKIP TO Q.200)

199. How many hours a week were you working outside of the COMPANY?   (563)

           _____Hours per week

200. How did you get to the COMPANY. Did you drive your own car, take the   (564)
bus, ride with other people, or what?

           1 ☐ Drive own car

           2 ☐ Bus

           3 ☐ Ride with others

           7 ☐ Other (SPECIFY:)_____

201. How long did it take you to get from your home to the COMPANY?   (565)

           1 ☐ Less than 15 minutes

           2 ☐ 15-29 minutes

           3 ☐ 30-44 minutes (half-hour)

           4 ☐ 45-59 minutes

           5 ☐ 60 minutes or more (hour)

202. How satisfied were you with your travel arrangements to the   (566)
     COMPANY--very satisfied, pretty satisfied, not too satisfied,
     or not satisfied at all?

                    1 ☐ Very satisfied
                    2 ☐ Pretty satisfied
                    3 ☐ Not too satisfied
                    4 ☐ Not satisfied at all

203. In general, did most of your closest friends want you to stay   (567)
     at the COMPANY, did they want you to leave, or didn't they care
     much one way or the other?

                    1 ☐ Wanted him to stay
                    2 ☐ Wanted him to leave
                    3 ☐ Didn't care much one way or
                        the other

204. How old were you on your last birthday?   (568)

                    _____Years of age

INTERVIEWER OBSERVATION

1. Please rate the ability of the respondent to understand you when you (569)
   spoke to him:

   1 ☐ Frequently could not understand me even after
       I repeated the question several times

   2 ☐ Often had difficulty understanding me; usually
       understood after I repeated the question

   3 ☐ Usually understood me; sometimes had difficulty

   4 ☐ Almost always understood me

2. Rate the ability of the respondent to communicate to you his thoughts (570)
   and feelings:

   1 ☐ Frequently could not express himself in a way
       I could understand

   2 ☐ Often had difficulty in expressing himself; usually
       I could get an answer by pursuing the question

   3 ☐ Usually expressed himself well; sometimes had
       difficulty

   4 ☐ Almost always expressed himself well

3. Cooperativeness of respondent at beginning of interview. (571)

   1 ☐ Very cooperative

   2 ☐ Pretty cooperative

   3 ☐ Not too cooperative

   4 ☐ Not cooperative at all

4. Cooperativeness of respondent at end of interview. (572)

   1 ☐ Very cooperative

   2 ☐ Pretty cooperative

   3 ☐ Not too cooperative

   4 ☐ Not cooperative at all

5. R's race is: (573)

        1 ☐ Black

        2 ☐ White (SKIP TO Q.7)

        3 ☐ Other (SPECIFY, AND SKIP TO Q.7:)_____

6. Rate R's skin color: (574)

        1 ☐ Very light

        2 ☐ Somewhat light (tan)

        3 ☐ Somewhat dark (brown)

        4 ☐ Very dark brown or black

7. Length of interview: (575)

        _____Minutes

8. Was anyone within hearing distance of the interview besides yourself and (576)
respondent?

        1 ☐ Yes

        5 ☐ No (SKIP TC PAGE 55, Q.10)

9. <u>Describe situation</u>: Specify who was present (friend, advisor, (577)
"unknown," etc.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX C: MISCELLANEOUS DESCRIPTIVE TABLES

The following purely descriptive tables combine data from trainee stay and trainee terminee samples.

TABLE C-1

Percentage of Trainees Citing Each of the Following Aspects of the Training Program As Something Which They "Liked Best" about the Training Program (Q59)

Aspect of training program liked best	Percentage (N=145)[a]
"The discussions" in general	26%
Characteristics of the adviser or monitor	23
The "hands on" training	22
The academic training (basic education)	21
The pay	19
The way the Training Program "helps people"	19
The "job preparation" offered (not elsewhere coded)	19
The training to "get along" with others	10
The discussions of black history and racial issues	9
The "teaching" of self-discipline	9
"Everything"	8
The "group feeling" in the training groups	8
Discussions of specific topics (not elsewhere codeable)	7
The discussions of personal problems	6
The hours the training classes met	6
"Nothing"	5
The tours of the plant	5
The tours and trips to places outside the plant	5

[a]Includes "false stays".

TABLE C-2

Percentage of Trainees Citing Each of the Following Aspects of the Training
Program As Something Which They Would Liked To Have Seen Changed in the
Training Program (Q60)

What trainee would like to see changed	Percentage (N=142)[a]
Trainee would like nothing changed	27%
Too little "hands on" training	25
Too much wasting of time and just sitting around	11
Training quarters were poor	11
Characteristics of adviser or monitor should be changed	10
Lack of choice of jobs to train for	6
Characteristics of the other trainees should be changed	6
More of the advisers and monitors should be black	6
Too few tours to different areas of the plant	4
Too few tours or trips to places outside the plant	4
Too much training in academic subjects	4
Pay was too low	4
Hours when training sessions met were poor	4
Promises to some trainees by the staff were not kept	4
Time spent in the training program did not count towards a worker's seniority	4
Training sites were too far from trainees' homes	4
Training staff was too small	2
Too little training in academic subjects	2
Fringe benefits were poor	1
Too few films were shown	1
Not enough sports or game activities	1
Trainees should be placed on jobs sooner	1

[a]Includes "false stays".

TABLE C-3

Percentage of Trainees Indicating Whether Adequate Amounts of Time Were
Devoted to Each of Several Topics in Their Training Sessions (Q66-77)

Topic	Percentage[a]
Teaching safety in a factory (N=143)	
Too much time	6%
Too little time	18
About the right amount of time	75
Teaching you how to use the different kinds of tools and machines (N=143)	
Too much time	8%
Too little time	41
About the right amount of time	51
Teaching you reading (N=144)	
Too much time	8%
Too little time	29
About the right amount of time	62
Teaching you writing (N=144)	
Too much time	10%
Too little time	39
About the right amount of time	52
Working with figures--handling numbers (N=144)	
Too much time	10%
Too little time	22
About the right amount of time	67
Discussing being on time for work (N=144)	
Too much time	17%
Too little time	7
About the right amount of time	75

TABLE C-3 (continued)

Topic	Percentage[a]

Discussing showing up for work every day (N=144)

Too much time	15%
Too little time	6
About the right amount of time	78

Discussing how to make decisions (N=143)

Too much time	5%
Too little time	1.
About the right amount of time	80

Teaching you to make yourself clear to
the people you work with so they under-
stand you (N=144)

Too much time	4%
Too little time	15
About the right amount of time	80

Discussing keeping calm when things break
down (N=144)

Too much time	6%
Too little time	27
About the right amount of time	67

Discussing how to keep on the good side of
the foremen or men who are over you (N=144)

Too much time	8%
Too little time	16
About the right amount of time	76

Discussing how to keep on the good side of
the men you work with (N=144)

Too much time	4%
Too little time	13
About the right amount of time	84

[a] Includes "false stays"

APPENDIX D: SUMMARY CHART OF ALL SAMPLES EMPLOYED IN THE STUDY

Population: Black men entering the company, all of whom were certified as "hard core unemployed"

Sub-population: direct hires

Direct hire tracking sample
(N=232)

Direct hire inductees
(N=24)

Direct hire stays
(N=39)

Direct hire terminees
(N=27)

Sub-population: trainees

Trainee tracking sample, which was identical to trainee inductee sample
(N=90)

Trainee stays
(N=90)

Trainee terminees
(N=55)

Placed trainees
(N=22)

Note: The source of each sample is indicated by the arrows directed toward it.

D1