INSTITUTIONAL MANPOWER RETRAINING PROGRAMS:

A CASE STUDY

INSTITUTIONAL MANPOWER RETRAINING PROGRAMS: A CASE STUDY

By

MARGARET JANE LANCASHIRE, B.A.

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

April 1976

MASTER OF ARTS (1976)
(Sociology)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Institutional Manpower Retraining Programs: A Case Study

AUTHOR: Margaret Jane Lancashire, B.A. (University of Waterloo)

SUPERVISOR: Dr. Jane Synge

NUMBER OF PAGES: vi, 185

ABSTRACT

This is the report of a study of trainees enrolled in an institutional occupational retraining program supported under the Adult Occupational Training Act. Since the early 1960's, institutional job retraining programs have grown to become a major vehicle for absorbing the jobless in times of high unemployment and for supplying employers' increasing demands for inexpensive pools of labor when production is resumed. In particular, this study focuses on the means by which the job training center, as a resocialization organization, prepares individuals for the employee role. We examine retrainees' attitudes toward acquiring job skills and on changes in their levels of assimilation of those worker attributes viewed as desirable by employers. The findings show that such background factors as social class origin, the respondent's prior occupation, formal educational attainment, and sex affect variations in the resocialization experience.

While most research on manpower programs has addressed itself to the issue of estimating the economic benefits of training programs, our research on the orientations of trainees investigates an area that has received little attention. This research is an exploratory study. Viewed in the broadest context, it deals with one aspect of the problem of poverty and its sources in the structure and ideology of present day capitalistic society.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Jane Synge, for her excellent advice and assistance in preparing this thesis. Great appreciation is also due to Dr. Carl Cuneo whose insights, criticisms, and encouragement have been of much value to me in writing this thesis. I also wish to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Gerald Rosenblum for his help. Finally, I gratefully acknowledge the co-operation of the chairman of the manpower training center, the teachers, and the students, all of whom helped to make this study possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Free Market System and Technological Change: Its Impact on Unemployment and the Nature of Work Roles

The process of social change has been much studied by social scientists. In focusing their attention on various aspects of social stratification including status and mobility, and class and caste, they have generally agreed that in industrialized societies, technological advance contributes to an increasingly elaborate division of labor and the concomitant requirement of increasingly elaborate organization.[1] Upward social mobility is widely held to be characteristic of these industrial societies. The process of industrialization results in a proliferation of occupations requiring wide variations of skill and specialization. This view on the nature of post-industrial society leads one to two rather distinct conclusions. On the one hand, modern society is viewed as having established a cash economy, wage labor, and production aimed at high profit margins. This, in turn, has led to technological developments and to the emergence of new occupations of a technical and professional nature. Automation, primarily a post-war phenomenon, has resulted in the creation of new occupations. This focus of research has been more on the incumbents of "new" occupations than on the holders of the

"old", often unneeded, occupations. But research on those whose work and skills are now no longer needed is certainly necessary. As technology advances, there is also an increasing differentiation of work functions and, as a result, of social structures. Structural differentiation, in turn, affects all segments of the population, but its impact on labor is especially apparent. Along with the expansion of the new middle occupational strata there is a reduction in the need for masses of unskilled labor.[2] A major difficulty involved in evaluating the changing incidence of unemployment is the fact that it is not spread evenly across the working population but always affects certain groups disproportionately. Also, the incidence of unemployment is affected by fluctuations in the overall level of joblessness.

Most observers[3] agree that a crucial aspect of the structural transformation of the Canadian economy in the late 1950's was from a rural, agricultural society to a highly urbanized, industrial society. There are two major results of this transformation. First, there has been an intersectoral shift, or from an emphasis on the primary sector to an emphasis on the tertiary sector including white-collar and service occupations. Second, there have been changes in the types and content of occupations demanded within industries.[4] The first reflects a transformation toward the demand for goods and services, and hence the derived demand for labor, the second reflects the effects of technological change.[5] The

effect of these developments has been to diminish the job opportunities for the unskilled and to appreciably increase the demand for semiskilled and especially skilled manual workers, a sector which still accounts for a substantial proportion of the total labor force.[6] In addition, white-collar and service occupations, especially for women, have become more important. These changes in the occupational composition of the labor force are shown in Table 1. Another major change has been the greatly decreased proportion of self-employed individuals.[7] With these long-run shifts in industrial and occupational composition there has occurred, as Ostry emphasizes:

> ...the shrinking employment in such traditional occupations as locomotive firemen, pattern makers, metal polishers, boiler firemen, blacksmiths, weavers, coremakers, filers and grinders, and stonecutters. 8

The implications of the sheer complexity, volume, and frequency of the changing work roles in modern industrial society have meant a major shift in the basis of role assignment. Individual skills and job qualifications have come to be displaced by more directly social functions and qualifications. As Gorz has so aptly summed up the consequences for the nature of work roles under the social relations of production in response to the changes in the process of production:

> Qualifications are no longer centered round man's relations with inorganic nature but round social collaboration with others - that is to say, harmonious group action, collective team work, etc. Briefly, the labor force is

TABLE 1

Percentage Distribution of the Canadian Labor Force by Sex and Major Occupational Groups (a)

	1901			1951		
	T	M	F	T	M	F
White Collar Occupations	15.3	14.0	23.6	32.0	25.4	55.4
Managerial and Proprietary	4.3	4.8	1.2	7.4	8.7	3.0
Professional and Technical	4.7	3.1	14.7	7.3	5.3	14.4
Clerical	3.2	2.9	5.3	10.7	5.9	27.5
Sales	3.1	3.2	2.4	6.6	5.5	10.5
Blue Collar Occupations	27.8	27.5	30?1	29.4	33.0	16.5
Manufacturing and Mechanical	15.9	13.8	29.6	17.2	17.9	14.6
Construction	4.7	5.5	-	5.5	7.1	0.1
Laborers	7.2	8.2	0.5	6.7	8.0	1.8
Primary Occupations	44.3	50.5	3.8	19.8	24.6	2.8
Agricultural	40.3	45.9	3.8	15.7	19.3	2.8
Fishing, Logging, Mining	4.0	4.6	-	4.1	5.3	

continued...

Table 1 (continued)

	1901			1951		
	T	M	F	T	M	F
Transportation and Communication	4.4	5.1	0.5	7.8	9.2	2.9
Service	8.2	2.9	42.0	9.8	6.5	21.2
Occupations not stated or unclassified	-	-	-	1.2	1.3	1.2
All occupations	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	1961			1971		
	T	M	F	T	M	F
White Collar Occupations	37.9	30.6	57.3	42.3	33.2	59.9
Managerial and Proprietary	7.8	9.6	2.9	4.3	5.6	2.0
Professional and Technical	9.8	7.7	15.6	12.6	10.0	17.7
Clerical	12.7	6.7	28.6	15.9	7.6	31.8
Sales	7.6	6.6	10.2	9.5	10.0	8.4
Blue Collar Occupations	26.6	32.4	11.1	22.0	29.0	8.3
Manufacturing and Mechanical (b)	16.1	18.4	9.9	15.4	19.1	8.1
Construction	5.2	7.1	-	6.6	9.9	0.2
Laborers (c)	5.3	6.9	1.2	-	-	-

continued...

Table 1 (continued)

	1961			1971		
	T	M	F	T	M	F
Primary Occupations	12.8	16.1	4.3	7.7	9.9	3.6
Agricultural	10.0	12.2	4.3	5.9	7.2	3.6
Fishing, Logging, Mining	2.8	3.9	-	1.8	2.7	-
Transportation and Communication	7.7	9.7	2.2	6.3	8.7	1.7
Service	12.4	8.5	22.6	11.2	9.2	15.0
Occupations not stated or unclassified	2.6	2.7	2.5	10.5	10.0	11.5
All occupations	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(a) Table compiled from Ostry, S. "The Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labor Force." DBS, 1967, Ottawa, pp. 50-51; and Canada Yearbook, Statistics Canada, 1974, pp. 324-325. The occupational classifications of 1971 differ from those of the previous years.

(b) The category "Manufacturing and Mechanical" in 1971 includes the following divisions: Processing; Machining; Product Fabricating, Assembling, and Repairing; Other Crafts and Equipment Operation.

(c) In 1971, the "Laborer" category was excluded.

> socially qualified as a whole; relations are no longer the solidary relations of the individual worker with his material, mediated by his tools, but relations of groups of workers to the industrial process, emerging from the conscious combination of human actions... it is coming to require the reciprocal combination of those who actually accomplish production. 9

Parsons[10] stresses that technological change must have considerable repercussions on the structure of the reward system, and thus on the system of stratification.[11] New technical skills and role patterns become important, while at the same time, old ones decline in significance. Since the acquisition of the social relations of production cannot be assumed, integration into the changing nature of work roles depends upon an acceptance of the process by which individuals acquire positions in the hierarchical work structure. It is argued that wide variations in skill levels are necessary because of expanding technology. It is also argued that with increasing technological development certain positions in society are functionally more important than others and demand specific skills. Following from this, and inherent in the system of stratification, is that only a limited number of individuals possess the talents which can be trained into the skills appropriate to these positions. From this perspective, the hierarchical division of labor evolves according to the individual's own efforts in striving for higher occupational levels. Moreover, the individual's status and income become dependent on his or her position in the work hierarchy. A central proposition of the "functional theory of stratification"

is that in order to induce the talented individuals to undergo certain sacrifices and acquire the training, their future positions must involve an inducement value in the form of differential, or privileged, access to the scarce and desired rewards offered by society.[12]

The Rise of Vocational Education in Response to the Hierarchical Division of Labor

As Porter[13] has emphasized, the particular manpower problems that faced the Canadian government in the early 1960's could largely be solved by changes in education and training practices. With increases in the rate of industrialization, schooling acquired increased importance as a mechanism for allocating individuals to these varied positions in the occupational structure. Just as the changing work role structure had to be justified, so also did the method whereby individuals came to fill these new job roles require legitimation. Educational credentials, representing one's level of training and the quality of one's education, operated as a major means of justifying the stratification system. As schooling was supposedly available to all, the individual's position in the social division of labor could be viewed as the result of his own efforts and talents.

In addition to vast industrial and occupational changes, and rising unemployment in the early 1960's, the government was also faced with large numbers of new entrants into the labor

force produced by the sharp rise in post-war births. This created an unprecedented increase in the number of young persons reaching working age. The government sought to delay their entry into an already overflowing labor market by encouraging them to remain in school to acquire the requisite training for productive employment in the changing occupational structure.[14] Such a view coincided with the historical objectives of federal participation in vocational education.

From the early 1900's onward, it was evident that the government's economic concerns gave it an interest in providing youth with the education that prepared them for industrial work. Educators were beginning to think of themselves as training students for future occupations. This concern is expressed in a report of 1910 on Industrial Education:

> Our movement in advocating Industrial Education protests most emphatically against the elimination from our Public School system of any line of learning now taught. Education, Technical or Industrial, must be supplementary to and in connection with our modern school system. That for which our movement stands tends to make better workers of our future citizens, better citizens of our future workers. 15

This position, maintained by employers and educationalists alike, provided a major thrust for the organization of schooling. The report quotes from the letter written by a manufacturer:

> What we want in our factory is apprentices who by their previous education have been made both resourceful and strong. 16

An educationalist writes:

> The great hope of increased efficiency and of a higher standard among artisans depends upon his education before he enters the shop. 17 (emphasis added)

Such ideas suggest that schooling was viewed as providing better preparation than did the actual job. Moreover, the conception of the function of the educational system as a primary training and selection mechanism led to the assumption that the criteria of merit within the school setting had to correspond to the criteria of ranking within the industrial setting. The idea of education as preparation for entry into an industrial meritocracy brought with it structural differentiation and hierarchical relations. The report on Industrial Education stressed that education legitimated hierarchical role allocation in industry. We quote from the report of the Technical Committee of the Manufacturer's Association:

> ...very little effort is made to interest the pupil who, when a certain stage in his education is reached, fails to respond to the effort of the teacher. This pupil is not at once to be condemned as an idler. Very probably his awakening mind is attracted by mental food other than that offered him in the rigid curriculum of our present system. He may desire to work with his hands, and through a different system, could be easily instructed in studies which would tend to guide those hands in their work. This pupil should not be turned out of schools in a dissatisfied frame of mind. He should be retained until definite convictions have been reached as to what purposes he shall devote his life. Under our present educational system, many pupils are driven by the system itself, or by their parents, into commercial and professional life who would be much better suited for executive positions in our workshops. Too often parents do not realize the prizes that are available in industrial life, and only in recent years have our educational authorities awakened to the fact that the educational

> system, as at present devised, tends to take the youth of the country away from industrial life. 18

The choice of the phrase "executive positions" in the workshops represents an attempt by the educational superintendents to make such jobs appear considerably more appealing and worthy of pursuit than they were in reality since, in the same report, the manufacturers made it clear that what they required was not executives, but rather apprentices in their factories. Moreover, they required workers who had in the course of their schooling acquired favorable attitudes toward working. The worker's cognitive ability, in contrast, was perceived as being not as difficult to develop and thus assumed secondary importance in the training of workers:

> The General Industrial School should be so organized as to provide a suitable foundation for whatever trade a boy might select. In them he would be fitted for life as a citizen; and, while acquiring industrial knowledge as well as skill in the use of tools, he would work with due economy of time, material, and effort; that is, his "industrial intelligence" would be adequately trained... We are going to make the boy a workman, not necessarily a scholar; and a fair knowledge of the essentials should suffice. 19

The important point here is that the emphasis on cognitive capacities or the skill-acquisition functions of training is placed second to that of the training of an "industrial intelligence", i.e., working with economy of time, material and effort. The goal of the schools was to provide students with a foundation for a future trade. And this was to be accomplished via the crucial process of inculcating those

values deemed necessary, values such as punctuality, neatness, orderliness, co-operation with superiors and fellow workers, and well disciplined behavior. The Superintendent also emphasized that the worker should acquire a general level of education higher than that immediately demanded by his tasks:

> If the boys can be induced to take a High School course before entering an industrial school, so much the better. My investigations lead me to endorse most heartily the opinion now held by employer and employee as well as by educationalists, that the better the general education of the workman, the more efficient an industrial unit he will become. 20

The school viewed its role in the social structure as to promote equality by allocating status through individual achievement. Further justification of this meritocratic perspective of educating workers for the most suitable occupations is provided by the stated aims of the educational system as to "...develop in him a definite vocational purpose which would enable him, with the assistance of his teachers, to select a trade for which he is best fitted."[21]

Since the early 1900's, then, there has been an expressed interest in providing in the schools education for productive employment prior to a person's entry into the labor force. The Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act of 1960 (TVTA) emphasized this same objective. During the late 1950's and particularly in the early 1960's, the concern over the rates of joblessness was reinforced by the growing awareness of the relatively low levels of education and training of the labor force in Canada relative to the United

States. This point, publicized by Porter,[22] provided an important impetus for the initiation of new manpower training policy. When the unemployment rate reached a postwar high of eight per cent during 1960, the federal government raised its grant to the provinces for training unemployed workers under existing training agreements from fifty to seventy-five per cent.[23] This was seen as a control measure to absorb the overflow of workers who could not then find employment.[24] In that year, the government had secured the passage of completely new and comprehensive legislation, the TVTA. By 1965, the federal government had a full-fledged department for manpower policy. The Adult Occupational Training Act (AOTA) was passed in 1967. The program instituted was subsequently renamed the Canada Manpower Training Program (CMTP). Expenditures for, and enrollment levels in, adult occupational training programs have increased significantly in recent years. For example, in 1960 there were only 494 people participating in retraining programs. During the years 1970 to 1971, there were more than 270,000 individuals in such programs. In these years, expenditures increased over one hundred and seventy per cent, reaching nearly two hundred and ninety million dollars.[25] This expansion in adult occupational training has served to legitimate the concept of equality of educational and occupational opportunity, and also to reproduce and justify the authoritarian division of labor under the capitalist system of production. The official ideology

underlying the growth of occupational training programs is expressed as follows by the Department of Manpower and Immigration:

> It is a program which takes human resources that would otherwise be idle or not fully utilized and channels them into more productive and rewarding occupations... Equally important, it is an instrument that can be directed selectively to reduce regional disparities and to provide new hope for workers at the edges of the labor market in pockets of poverty and uncertainty. Indeed, the Program has proved to be a major contribution in the federal government's program for achieving more balanced regional growth and a more equitable distribution of opportunity. 26

The Role of Institutional Retraining Programs in Meeting Employers' Demands: Cognitive versus Affective Attributes

The rationale, then, for a government manpower policy is that it makes the labor market operate more effectively and it provides a mechanism for allocating human resources more quickly and efficiently. In addition, the process of job allocation is directed by the assessment of individuals and the hiring practices of employers. The individual's occupational suitability is emphasized by the Department as being dependent on the extent to which his capabilities and skills are required in the labor market. In this manner, the potential trainee comes to perceive his or her skills, or lack thereof, as the prime determinant of his or her position in the labor market. The meritocratic selection of individuals for training is viewed primarily as:

> ...a matter of giving accurate information and advice to the individual. It depends on knowing what he can do, what his skills and capabilities are... It depends even more fundamentally on an analysis of employment and occupational trends. Good counselling requires us to relate those trends to a full understanding of training courses and an accurate assessment of the individual. 27

Two elements of the federal retraining program thus become the criteria for selecting trainees and for choosing training courses. The above figures reveal large expansions in training for jobless workers. In order to determine just what segment of the unemployed population is reached by the retraining programs, it is necessary to examine the provisions which determine eligibility for entry into the training program. A small proportion of the program participants are private individuals who pay for their courses. A few individuals are sponsored by various government and private agencies. But by far the largest proportion of trainees, over three-quarters of the group, are referred by Canada Manpower Counsellors.[28] Referrals by manpower counsellors are contigent upon the individual's meeting the following criteria:

1) that there is or will be a demand for trained persons in the occupation;

2) that persons are capable of benefitting from such training;

3) that their employment prospects will be better than if he/she did not take the training; or,

4) that the training will significantly increase their income potential. 29

The counsellor's assessment, then, is the prime determinant of the jobless client's entry into occupational

retraining. The Canada Manpower Training Program specifies regulations governing the worker's eligibility for retraining and for determining the course in which he or she is to enrol. The first requirement is that the applicant be an adult, that is, at least one year older than the age at which a person is no longer legally obligated to attend formal schooling. To be termed an adult for CMTP purposes, the applicant must be at least seventeen years of age. In order to qualify for financial assistance in the form of training allowances while attending the retraining program the adult must either:

1) have been a member of the labor force substantially without interruption for not less than three years, or,

2) have one or more persons dependent upon him for support. 30

As part of the process, the counsellor also examines the availability of suitable occupational skill training courses. Decisions are reached on the basis of one, an interview with the applicant; two, his or her educational and employment history; and three, the results of general aptitude tests. If an affirmative decision is reached after assessment of these factors, the manpower counsellor places the new trainee in school. The trainees are allowed up to twenty-four weeks of "academic upgrading" in preparation for entry into occupational training programs. Fifty-two weeks is the maximum period permitted for both academic and vocational training. In other words, no individual requiring more than one year of training is eligible for entry into the manpower program.

Furthermore, applicants must express a specific occupational goal. This goal must, of course, fit with the courses offered. It is therefore easy to channel individuals into specific training programs.

Several biases are inherent in this manpower training policy. For example, the requirement of a three year labor force participation period in order to be eligible for training allowances effectively prevents large numbers of both women and youth from participating in the training program. These two groups comprise a substantial portion of the unemployed population. This is, of course, an attempt to encourage the young to remain in the high school and college system. Similarly, the regulatory function of this eligibility criteria for women's labor force participation is evident. Through such a measure, both the level of female unemployment is reduced, and the amount of useful unpaid labor appropriated from domestic labor is maintained. The female population can then serve as a reserve source of labor that enters into the labor market only when the demand for cheap labor increases. Control of female labor force entry is met through the requirement that trainees have one or more persons substantially dependent on them. This ensures that women who do enter the labor market do so out of acute economic necessity rendering them more willing to accept low wage job positions.

Another feature of the manpower training policy is the requirement that the potential trainee knows his or her

occupational or training objective prior to training. This excludes those unemployed who lack a clear perception of the labor market demands. Individuals with little formal education and with sporadic work histories would be more likely to be undecided about job goals than individuals with more stable employment histories. Similarly, the jobless person with little formal schooling and few skills may require more than the maximum of fifty-two weeks of job training. Just as one's level of education and one's skills largely determine the type of work one does, so also does one's education and job experience determine one's chances of being trained for a job. The grade ten level is the prerequisite education for entry into training for the skilled labor market. Because of the twenty-four week limit placed on the academic preparation for entry into skill training, those with more prior formal education are more likely to be selected over those with less formal education. The latter group comprise a large segment of the unemployed population. Similarly, the limited time allowed for occupational training leads to a preference for trainees with some previous experience relating to the new skills. The focus of manpower training policy is to choose those with job skill backgrounds similar to the skill training being offered. This, in turn, is oriented towards meeting employers' requirements in the surrounding areas. There is little emphasis on creating new occupational skill programs for those individuals with no prior job skills. There is

evidence for this. Between the years 1969 and 1972, the total increase of almost four thousand in skill enrolment was largely comprised of referrals to already established training courses rather than to new skill courses. The net increase during these years in enrolment in new courses was only thirteen per cent of the total enrolment increase, while an overwhelming eighty-seven per cent of the total represented increased referrals to training courses already existing during 1969.[31]

Both the conditions of the Canada Manpower Training Program, and the more subjective criteria used by manpower counsellors in referring clients, suggest that manpower policies are oriented primarily toward those individuals viewed as having a high expectation of success in completing the training program and in subsequent job placement. In contrast, workers who are out of work and who are "mismatched" to the available job openings will remain trapped in the unemployed group for lengthy periods of time. While the retraining institution is viewed as the major agent of socialization, it is likely that some anticipatory socialization is provided by this pre-training selection process. The advance preparation involved in deciding upon an occupational skill before entering the training program may serve to promote committment to the employee role. Essential to the training program itself is the counselling of jobless workers, their subsequent training, and finally the job placement of the trainee.

As in all capitalist societies, the income and social position of workers derive from the sale of their labor services to employers. Consumption, as the desired end for all, operates to justify the necessity of labor. It becomes functionally necessary to motivate workers, whose main possession is their labor services, to participate in a labor market that operates to maintain an economic system characterized by patterns of work control which regulate all output to the marketable product and the criterion of profit-maximization. Ultimately, the expectation of employment is a key issue. Trainees can be motivated to adequate performance by the existence of employment, and its external rewards of higher income and higher social status. The development of this motivation in workers is the task of the training institution which focuses on the demand by employers for particular employee attributes.

Job training programs, at the public's expense in the name of public welfare, provide a cheap and flexible labor force and, concomitantly, inhibit rising pressures on wage demands.[32] From the perspective of capitalist production, the ready supply of skilled labor by government training programs has strong economic value. As workers are not bound to employment, individual employers cannot invest in the general training of workers and expect to appropriate the returns. Skilled labor is viewed by employers as "fixed capital". When faced with a cutback in production, an employer will be more likely to remove an unskilled worker.

Those workers with more skill will be retained as one means of ensuring the lowest possible hiring and training costs when production resumes normal capacity. The fixed costs of employers thus have important implications for the incidence of joblessness by skill level and for the employer's choices between changes in the numbers of workers. The costs involved in the recruitment, screening, and training of workers are considerable. For these reasons monopolists have strong incentives for arguing that worker training should be carried out at public expense.

Complementary explanations have been advanced by Oi and Reder.[33] Investments by employers in the hiring and in the training of skilled workers (although on-the-job training is limited to considerably few industries[34]) increase their reluctance to lay them off. They prefer to downgrade skilled workers and to lay off the least skilled workers.[35] Thus the markets for skilled workers are assumed to adjust to excess supply and demand with minimal unemployment resulting. The markets for the unskilled and semiskilled, on the other hand, absorb the major unemployment.[36] Thus the least skilled workers have both the greatest chances of being laid off and the lowest probabilities of being hired. The former effect serves to lessen the duration of their work period; the latter, to increase the span of their periods of unemployment.

The factors that generate the dual labor market structure and limit the least skilled to the secondary labor sector are well elaborated by Piore.[37] The primary labor

market sector is distinguished from the secondary labor market sector by such properties as high wages, favorable working conditions, job security, stable employment, equity in the administration of work rules, and opportunities for advancement. The secondary labor market sector, in contrast, involves jobs characterized by low wages, poor working conditions, and variability in employment. These kinds of jobs frequently involve arbitrary discipline, and limited opportunities for advancement.[38] The major difference between primary and secondary jobs are the requirements of job behavior, namely that of employment stability. Secondary labor force participation often engenders tardiness and absenteeism. These are less likely to be tolerated by employers in the primary job sector. A period in the secondary sector may make it difficult to adjust to the patterns of regularity and punctuality required in the primary labor force. Job skills, in contrast, are considerably less likely to pose a major obstacle to primary employment. However, as Piore emphasizes, because regularity and punctuality are essential to success in both school and on the job, these behavioral attributes are inclined to be highly correlated with job skills.[39]

Piore stresses that the distinction between the primary and secondary job sectors is apparently not determined by technology. The two labor market sectors do not differ substantially in skill levels required of employees. Most work in the economy can be organized to accommodate workers from either the primary or secondary job sector. This does occur

when primary sector work is occasionally shifted to the secondary sector through such means as the recycling of new employees through probationary periods or temporary help services. Similarly, this overlapping of primary and secondary work may be found in largely primary enterprises. Subsections within such enterprises may be largely occupied by workers from the secondary sector. However, although such elasticity exists in the distribution of work between the primary and secondary job sectors, as Piore emphasizes, generally investment in changes in the distribution between them, including production, management, and in the institutional structures and procedures is considerable. For this reason worker mobility between the two sectors is impeded.

Another important factor hindering movement from the secondary sector into the primary work force, is what Piore has termed "statistical discrimination." Statistical discrimination occurs as a result of the basis on which employment decisions are generally made. These are such readily assessed traits as sex, national background, demeanor, test scores, educational attainment, and previous working experience. While such traits tend to be statistically correlated with job performance they are not necessarily, nor probably, causally related to it.[40]

As Weber[41] points out in his discussion of organizational discipline, the development of expanding technology is determined by the criteria of cost and efficiency, and the cumulative growth

of work activities themselves corresponds to the criteria of economic rationality. It is important for profit-maximization that discipline in the factory be founded on a totally rational basis.[42] By calculating the "optimum profitability" of the individual worker in a manner similar to the material means of production, "an optimal economy of forces is established corresponding to the conditions of work."[43] Crucial to profit-maximization is the training of work performances into disciplined roles to ensure that the obedience of workers is rationally uniform.[44] As Merton[45] has emphasized:

> ...the bureaucratic structure exerts a constant pressure upon the official to be "methodological, prudent, disciplined." If the bureaucracy is to operate successfully, it must attain a high degree of conformity with prescribed patterns of action. Hence the fundamental importance of discipline... can be effective only if the ideal patterns are buttressed by strong sentiments which entail devotion to one's duties, a keen sense of the limitation of one's authority and competence, and methodological performance of routine activities. The efficacy of social structure depends ultimately upon infusing group participants with appropriate attitudes and sentiments. 46

The hierarchical organization of the division of labor ensures that workers acquire and maintain a sense of limitation of their authority and competence. The responsibility for the final product rests with the industries' decision-makers.[47] By dividing the work tasks, and thereby isolating workers both from one another and from the overall production process, the possibility of collective control or decision-making on the part of the workers is effectively prevented. This technical division of labor, as a technique of domination, is instrumental in limiting the workers' sense of competence to the

work tasks demanded of them by means of arbitrary barriers and differentiation based on job status and income.[48] In this manner, the goal of profit-maximization is furthered, and the class standing of capitalists is reinforced. The foremost needs of major business interests are satisfied:

> ...on the one hand, the need created by the modern process of production for a higher development of human capabilities, and on the other hand, the political need to prevent this development from leading to an increased autonomy of the individual which would threaten the existing division of social functions and the distribution of power. 49

The differentiation between workers according to the criteria of status and monetary reward is determined less by merit and competence than by social criteria, or a set of "worker attitudes" learned in, and maintained by, the educational system characterized by conformity to the values and ideology of the existing capitalist-worker relationship.

The importance of social attitudes to the functioning of the hierarchical division of labor is well supported by Gintis.[50] In examining the question of the capacity for role performance required by capitalist industry, Gintis reveals that the most significant capacities developed in schools are not cognitive and skill-oriented capacities, but rather capacities of a noncognitive or affective nature, a set of worker personality traits associated with the social relations of production. While previous research has stressed the large increases in the earnings of workers because of rising educational levels, Gintis's analysis reveals that this

increase cannot be accounted for by a rise in the cognitive development of the worker, such as in reading speed, reasoning ability, and mathematical or scientific achievement.[51] Gintis's findings lead him to reject the cognitive model, and to place greater predictive value in the affective model in determining the contribution of education to worker earnings and occupational status. The economic productivity of schooling, then, may be viewed as primarily attributable to the workers' internalization of employee values considered desirable by employers.

That such a dysjunction between educational achievement and worker performance operates in the labor market is convincingly propounded by Berg.[52] Realizing that educational systems function to some extent as licensing agencies, Berg points out that there is no support to the idea that educational requirements are always a valid screening device in employee selection. The most serious repercussion of the educational upgrading of work opportunities on the "uncredentialed" is presently obvious, and is "... the displacement of a significant population at the other end of the labor force, who must compete for jobs once held by people whose educational achievements have gone up."[53] Attempts to alleviate this problem involve programs geared to assist jobless workers to compete in the labor market by improving their qualifications. On the one hand, the highly educated are rewarded with greater incomes based on their productive contribution. But on the other

hand, if an individual cannot meet the educational requisites, then by definition of his or her lower or lack of income, his work is less productive.[54] Becker[55] showed that there is a positive association between the employee's ability and educational level, but that the latter accounts for considerably more of the variance in worker earnings.[56] Furthermore, as Berg stresses, the earning differentials confirm a belief in the benefits employers supposedly receive from the hiring of well educated employees. Those with higher levels of schooling are given preference for jobs in the absence of evidence of superior performance of those less educated.[57]

Although manpower officials emphasize the substantial increase in earnings[58] to workers who pursue training, the benefits are not experienced by all unemployed persons. Nor do the benefits extend to the economy as a whole. As Somers[59] stresses, the improved status of the trainee may have been achieved at the expense of a decline in the status of those other unemployed workers who are competing for available jobs. The kinds of jobs taken by most trainees are likely to be at such a skill level that they could fairly readily be filled by nontrainees who were given the proper information and advice.[60] Also, even after training, individuals may be faced by a lack of available jobs and hence be condemned to further unemployment.[61] Or, on the other hand, they may merely displace other workers on the bottom rungs of the skill ladder who, in turn, must contend with the obstacles of joblessness

and unemployment. Under this undesirable "displacement effect", the newly trained worker improves his or her own situation at the expense of nontrainees who are displaced from their jobs and enter the ranks of the unemployed who lack the "seal of approval" of a training program.

The organization of work roles in the capitalist mode of production has allowed us to gain an understanding of employers' demands for particular worker characteristics. From this discussion of criteria used in hiring (e.g., cognitive attributes, including concrete operational skills such as typing or welding; affective attributes; ascriptive traits; and educational credentials which are of such importance in legitimating hierarchical job allocation) we see that levels of cognitive ability and extent of work skills, both of which can often be acquired on the job,[62] may be of secondary importance in the training process.

Institutional Retraining Programs and the Acquisition of the Social Relations of Production

The major premise of the present paper is that manpower retraining programs function primarily to prepare workers to meet job demands, and that employers are demanding a work force that has internalized the production-related values. It is proposed that these social relations of production are learned in the retraining organization. Generally, organizations may be defined as structured social units which pursue

specific goals.[63] The distinctive characteristic of an organization, and that which distinguishes it from social units such as the family, is that it has been formally established for the explicit purpose of achieving certain objectives.[64] The educational organization, a normative organization employing primarily normative controls, has a formally instituted hierarchy of authority and a pattern of rules designed to achieve specific goals.

A point of departure into the organizational character of the training institution, in order to understand its role in developing in individuals the values demanded by employers of workers in the occupational role, may well be a focus on its major categories of individuals - those who perform the tasks of the institution, its functionaries, and those for whom the tasks are performed, its clients. The method of organizing these large groups of persons in the school is the bureaucracy, wherein tasks are assigned to individuals and to groups so as to attain, through the functional co-ordination of all activities, objectives previously agreed upon.

Bidwell[65] emphasizes the necessity of rationalization of activities for the functioning of the educational organization. Responsible for the production of a uniform commodity of a certain quality, the school must set a minimum, but not a maximum level for student achievement. Any given group of students displays a relatively wide range of ability, but each must have acquired at least a minimum level of competence for

adulthood. Also, socializing children and adolescents for mature roles is a major task. Educational programs thus become increasingly administratively determined and purposive interactions with the particular client-public are matched with particular organization goals.[66] Demands for uniformity of product and lengthy training periods necessitate the rationalization and thus a bureaucratic basis of organization.

An institutionally prescribed function of the teacher is to ensure the enactment of certain roles. The grading system defines the field of standards and becomes representative of the instrumental goals of the system. Successful completion of the school's objectives depends upon the fulfillment of the organizational role requirements. Teachers come to know the "appropriateness" of their behavior as a result of a shared system of value orientations. Identification with his or her role as a teacher is supported by the feedback of student behavior in conjunction with the teacher's expectation of his actions. Similarly, the student, the recipient of the teacher's services, is bound in solidarity to his superior.

The complementary roles of the teacher and the trainees in the training organization make them dependent upon each other. Due to the hierarchical structure of the classroom, there is a greater dependence of the trainees on the instructor than there is of the instructor on the trainees. According to the formal structure of the classroom, the teacher's basis of power resides in the authority of the role of the teacher.

According to Weber,[67] authority is legitimate power, power that is vested in a particular person or position, that is recognized as so vested, and that is accepted as appropriate not only by the wielder of power but by those over whom it is wielded.[68] Furthermore, an authority system can exist only if the majority of the individuals in the social system recognize and accept the authority structure. This does not mean, however, that everyone will accept it at all times. Authority is always backed, therefore, by the power of reward and punishment.[69] Through an ancillary system of rewards and punishments, exemplary fulfillment of role requirements of clients is rewarded by grades and promotions. Trainees learn that successful completion of their training program increases the likelihood of post-training employment. The expectation of employment, in turn, serves to actuate trainees to adequate performance in their student-worker role.

Authority within the classroom depends on the power to manipulate rewards that are important to an organization's members. As French and Raven[70] emphasize, reward power is based on B's belief that A has the ability to mediate rewards for him. Applied to the teacher-trainee power-dependence relationship, the teacher possesses reward power if the trainee believes that the instructor has the ability to mediate rewards for him. The utilization of reward power by the instructor resides in the trainee's belief that the teacher commands some resource which they value and they are able to

attain if they conform to their superordinate's standards of classroom behavior. Furthermore, the strength of reward power increases as both the amount of reward and the individual's judgement of the probability of attaining the reward if they conform increase.[71] Trainees' involvement results from the internalization of appropriate norms by their membership and an identification with the organization's basis of authority. Since the worker-trainee's conformity is based upon being rewarded, maintenance of the power relationship depends upon the instructor's ability to observe the trainee's behavior. Within the training organization, control over trainee's behavior as limited members of the organization depends upon their acceptance of the legitimacy of norms governing their conduct in the classroom. The degree to which they seek the tangible rewards of grades and promotions will, in turn, determine their involvement in, and submission to the authority of the school system. It is important, therefore, that the training institution socialize the students into the system in such a way that they come to value the rewards offered by the school for successful completion of the requirements of the system.[72] In addition to the reward structure of grades and promotions, is the reward of the training allowance which functions in a manner similar to the reward of pay in employment. In most instances, the training allowance replaces other forms of the individual's social assistance income. Just as wages may be deducted from the worker, so

also may the training allowance be withheld from trainees because of infractions of discipline and unexcused absences. This serves to increase trainee committment to the worker role. In addition, the training allowance represents a principal inducement for retraining for low-level production and service occupations.

Since students define their educational participation as instrumental, a chief requirement becomes the rationalization and routinization of classroom activities as it is here that status is allocated.[73] In order for the worker-trainees to meet the institutional goals, they must first meet the expectations held of them by their superiors and the qualities of the evaluation procedures associated with this expectation. This conformity to others' expectations embodies the concept of social climate as elaborated by Brim and Wheeler.[74] The social climate, expressing the overall tone generated by the total set of relations in the resocializing institution, focuses predominately on the authority relations between socializing agents and recruits.[75] The training institution, as an organization concerned with the processing of people, cannot be viewed as an isolated, independent variable explaining the nature of the larger social system. Rather, it must be perceived in terms of its relationship to the total social system in its role in acting upon values already developed through earlier experiences. The key issue related to the present discussion is that the resocialization climate focuses

on rectifying or compensating for deficiencies in previous socialization patterns. Variations in the value systems of the recruit population lead to differentiations in the re-socialization process. The social climate of the training organization exemplifies the variations in the effects of the social context on the socialization of its participants. Drawing on Gouldner's[76] analysis of "latent" versus "manifest" social roles, Becker and Geer[77] suggest that the manner in which individuals adapt to the resocializing process of an organization, i.e., the demands placed on them by the authority relations between superiors and recruits, varies according to the "latent" roles of the participants, a culture originating and supported external to the environment in which the members are presently involved.[78] This is distinguished from the "manifest" roles, or a set of perspectives on the problems and specific solutions to them by the participants.[79] This set of perspectives in meeting the demands placed on them as members of the resocialization setting is expected to reveal differential patterns in behavior responses according to prior socialization patterns of the participants.

Variations in the Value Backgrounds of the Trainee Population

One major source of the differential latent role paradigm to be considered in the present paper is socioeconomic origin. In discussing the characteristics of the school and the family, Dreeben[80] emphasizes that the values learned in

the family are narrower than those learned in school because the family is not a complex group. Schooling, through its structural properties at each level and through the authoritarian teacher-pupil relationship, provides conditions for defining the issues of independence, achievement, universalism, and specificity far more effectively than does the family.[81] Although Dreeben stresses the contrasting attributes of the family and the school in their separate contribution to the acquisition of bureaucratic norms, he points out that the school must be viewed as an important link between socialization in the family and occupational socialization:

> Within industrial societies where norms applicable to public life differ markedly from those governing conduct among kin, schools provide a sequence of experiences in which individuals, during the early stages of personality development, acquire new principles of conduct in addition to those already accepted during childhood. 82

Since schooling is a transitional phase, it becomes necessary to consider the question of the differential influence of socioeconomic origin on occupational socialization in the retraining institution. The attempts to explain why working-class families hold different values from middle-class families depends essentially upon an understanding of their different positions in the social structure which predispose them towards different views of society. Although research into the relationship of social class and parental values is limited, some insights may be obtained from research on variations in child-training which relates properties of

parental teaching techniques to the properties of the social situations in which they are utlized and in which they develop. The significance of this approach to teaching styles and class-linked aspects of behavior is revealed by Hess and Shipman.[83] The prime concern in their study, conducted in the United States, was to determine what differing responses are evoked and permitted by differing methods of communication and interaction. On the basis of four contrasting levels of socioeconomic status, mothers and their four-year old children were selected, interviewed, and observed in interaction at various tasks. The focus was on the broader teaching style that mothers used with their children, and how different styles of teaching determined the children's learning styles and information-processing strategies. Two contrasting approaches to learning were distinguished. One was characterized by an assertive orientation to learning, while the other tended towards a more passive, compliant approach. These approaches were found to be related to maternal linguistic codes and types of family control systems. While a "status-oriented statement" tended to suggest a set of rules and regulations for conduct and interaction based on arbitrary decisions rather than on reflective decisions resulting from the weighing of alternatives, the "person-oriented statement" tended to lead to a problem-solving approach that involved reflection and the comparison of a wider range of alternatives.[84] The most crucial class difference was the use of a restricted

form of speech and status-oriented statements by the lower class mother which tended to foreclose the need for reflective thought responses and evaluation of alternatives. These findings are also supported by other evidence which suggests that the techniques preferred by middle-class parents tend to bring about the development of internalized values and controls.[85] Hess and Shipman's results are summarized:

> The picture that is beginning to emerge is that the meaning of deprivation is a deprivation of meaning - a cognitive environment in which behavior is controlled by status rules rather than by attention to the individual characteristics of a specific situation and one in which behavior is not mediated by verbal cues or by teaching that relates events to one another and the present to the future. This environment produces a child who relates to authority rather than to rationale, who, although often compliant, is not reflective in his behavior, and for whom the consequences of an act are largely considered in terms of immediate punishment or reward rather than future effects and long-range goals.[86]

This research strongly suggests that, in general, the responses that others make to the child in any situation teach the individual to fit his behavior to situational demands. The goals parents desire for their children will frequently become apparent in the concerns they express regarding the child's behavior at a given age. As Aberle and Naegele[87] have stressed, many of the issues of concern to middle-class fathers are, from the father's perspective, "prognosticators of adult traits which will interfere with success in middle-class occupational life."[88] Specifically, Aberle and Naegele focused on the relationship between the occupational role of

the middle-class father and his aims and concerns in the socialization of his offspring. The adult's own occupational experiences direct him towards determining the specific attitudes, skills, and qualities viewed as desirable for successful entry into adult roles. Thus the parent must have a precise and detailed conception of what he is supposed to accomplish. Aberle and Naegele's results suggest that these middle-class fathers had a very precise idea of what society required of their sons or at least the values their sons required to internalize for their success:

> The ideal-typical successful adult male in the middle-class occupational role should be responsible, show initiative, be competent, be aggressive, be capable of meeting competition. He should be emotionally stable and capable of self-restraint. 89

Although Aberle and Naegele's study was limited to middle-class fathers' occupational values and attitudes, it nevertheless indicates the need to consider the aspects of social class, parental values, and childrearing practices when investigating the congruence between the social relations in the occupational sphere and the social relations of family socialization.

Additional research[90] into the relationship between social class and childrearing practices has generally revealed that middle-class families are more permissive and less punitive than lower-class families. These differential patterns of childrearing according to socioeconomic status are attributed to differential parental behavior or attitudes. One of the most persuasive studies dealing with this issue was

conducted by Kohn.[91] In this study, Kohn suggests how the institutions of the family and work may be perceived as closely interrelated when both are understood in terms of their hierarchical composition in society. In examining a basic difference between working class and middle class parents in their orientation to childrearing, they indicate its link to the conditions of work most characteristic of each class. Supportive evidence is provided which reveals the correspondence between the differential requirements of jobs at the two major levels of the class hierarchy and the parental values transmitted in the process of socializing children. His decisive finding: "Middle-class parents are more likely to emphasize children's self-direction, and working-class parents to emphasize their conformity to external authority."[92] The essential distinction between these terms as employed by Kohn is that "self-direction focuses on internal standards for behavior; conformity focuses on externally imposed rules."[93] In line with the findings of Hess and Shipman, Kohn emphasizes that while self-direction implies sensitivity to one's own motivations as well as those of others, conformity implies sensitivity to the obedience of those in authority. This differential value system according to social class leads to a greater inclination of middle-class parents to stress consideration and self-control, while working class parents emphasize the appropriateness of neatness and obedience. In an attempt to explain the relationship of

social class to parental emphasis on self-direction or conformity, Kohn investigated the occupational elements conducive to or restrictive of the practice of self-direction on the job. Kohn's analysis clearly revealed that the elements allowing for self-direction on the job were significantly related to the father's valuation of self-direction for their children. In contrast, fathers in occupations not allowing for self-direction were most inclined to highly value conformity for their children. Thus Kohn is able to attribute the association of socioeconomic status to the parents' valuation of self-direction in the father's own level of occupational self-direction.[94] Perhaps the most pervasive implication of Kohn's research is that "parents tend to impart to their children lessons derived from the conditions of life of their own social class and thus help prepare their children for a similar class position."[95] The influence of these differential class values and childrearing practices on the development of the childrens' capacities reinforces the function of the family as a mechanism for perpetuating inequality.

In attempting to seek answers to the earlier question on the differential influence of socioeconomic origin on occupational value socialization, we are led to expect that for the purposes of the present research, there will be variations in resocialization patterns according to the class origins of the retrainee population. It is proposed that

those individuals from middle-level class origins, having already assimilated "hierarchical work values" during their family upbringing, will reveal a comparatively low degree of change toward an internalization of values expected of those in the employee role. Those individuals from lower-level class origins, lacking integration into parental attitudes which emphasized "hierarchical employee values", are expected to stress considerable change toward an increased valuation of "hierarchical employee attributes". While studies indicate that the lower class families are less likely to stress "bureaucratic norm internalization", their inclination toward encouraging such characteristics as short-term obedience to parental authority[96] suggests that the retraining organization is ensured of at least a minimum level of what they view as success in their goal of socializing trainees into the work ethic and into the values seen as desirable of those in the worker role. The greater internalization of bureaucratic norms by those from middle-class origins, in turn, predisposes them toward an awareness of the behavior required in middle level job positions. They are also more likely than are lower class individuals to aspire to these middle and upper level occupations. This is supported by considerable research[97] into patterns of occupational choice among adolescents. This work has tended to reveal a positive relationship between the occupational expectations of the adolescent and the socioeconomic status of the family

of origin. Characteristic of these individuals is upward mobility through rising skill levels. We would expect middle class origin groups, who hold higher job aspirations, to emphasize the importance of skill-acquisition in their training program and to place less emphasis on learning those values associated with good working habits. Thus, it is expected that the variations in degrees of resocialization and skill-acquisition according to social class origin will be consistent with those along occupational aspiration lines.

Another important source of the differential latent role paradigm assumed to contribute toward variations in patterns of "worker value socialization" is the sex of the trainee. The firmly established differences in male and female socialization processes indicate that they are taught quite distinct roles. While males are expected to pursue work on a life-time basis, females come to view their future primarily in terms of the maternal and domestic role. The implication of this differential orientation toward future roles between the sexes for training institution involvement suggests that greater compensation for socialization into the employee role for female trainees as compared with male trainees may result.

That this dominant perpetuating function, rooted in the family, extends into sex-role socialization clearly emerges from Aberle and Naegele's findings. As they, as well as other researchers,[98] have emphasized, social pressures

teach the individual that rewards come from sex-appropriate responses and from emulation of models of his or her own sex. The sharp distinction revealed by Aberle and Naegele regarding sex-related job attitudes indicates that the fathers' expectations were such that their sons would utlimately occupy positions in the middle-class occupational structure and, in contrast, success for daughters meant occupying the more traditional role of housewife and mother. Research[99] into patterns of occupational choice has generally shown that individuals make occupational choices such that they enter occupational positions which are consistent with their values, ethics, and self-perceived abilities. This "self-implementation" concept may be elaborated as being rooted in concrete identification with the adolescent's parental model. Heilbrun[100] suggests that the sex role identity of the parental model may be an especially salient factor when the relationship between parental identification and occupational interest development is being investigated. Heilbrun is especially interested in determining the relationship between parental identification and vocational interests among adolescent females, as yet an under-researched area. As Psathas,[101] Breton,[102] and Sewell and Shah[103] have suggested, occupational committment is still stereotypically masculine. On this premise, Heilbrun proposes that the personality attributes of the masculine sex role model, whether the mother or the father, will have a greater tendency to provide an occupational

identity than will the feminine parental model. Measuring occupational orientation on the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB), the results revealed that a feminine sex role model for identification, whether mother or father, was highly associated with a greater number of rejections on the SVIB for the girls in the sample. The findings of Heilbrun are consistent with prior evidence[104] that an identification with the male parent tends toward an increased incidence of positive career interests in the male child. The finding of major interest to this discussion, however, is that the identification with a feminine parent model, whether mother or father, for the daughter was associated with a heightened rejection of vocational interests. Feminine mother-identified girls scored low on the SVIB measurement. Reliability in this test result is reinforced by the identical result for sons in the sample. A definite drop in positive vocational interests was demonstrated by the feminine mother-identified sons. These results strengthen the contention that occupational committment is largely masculine-dominated. In another study involving ninth graders, Stephenson[105] similarly expresses that males, who are more likely to assume occupational roles, are closer than are females to the point where their vocational plans must conform with reality. Stephenson, is attempting to distinguish adolescents' plans and aspirations toward occupations, found that while the largest percentage of girls aspired to the highest occupational

levels, the greatest percentage of actual plans of females were in the middle and lower positions. Conversely, while the highest percentage of males aspired to the upper occupational positions, so too did the percentage of boys' actual plans.[106] It may be further suggested from these findings that among females, while aspirations demonstrate a similarity with those of males, the compliance of girls' plans to the more typical, female-dominated occupations is greater than among their male counterparts. Thus males, who are required to work, are less certain about their actual job plans than are females. Females are more aware that their actual chances for obtaining high status occupations are severely limited. They are consequently found to be more certain in their job decisions than are males who have a much wider range of alternatives from which to choose. While males and females largely share a common value system of the broader society, their differential participations in its subsystems must result in different value orientations. Similar results have been reported by Breton[107] and in an earlier report by Hall and McFarlane.[108] In addition, Breton suggests that the greater decisiveness and low anxiety among female adolescents results from the fact that they may, at least temporarily, choose the traditional homemaking role as a future.[109] Similarly, Turner,[110] in examining aspects of women's ambition, reported that from the number of girls (although small) expressing a life-long career orientation,

few thought in terms of a choice between career and homemaker roles. Their choice was considered to be "between having or not having a serious career in addition to their home role."[111] Such career-oriented individuals were undeterred by a high chance of difficulty in combining the two roles. Similarly, Breton,[112] in investigating girls' sense of personal efficacy regarding future success and occupational orientation found that girls who planned to work before and after marriage expressed a greater likelihood of chances of success in further education, a higher sense of control over events, and a lower degree of anxiety about finding a job. However, the number of girls planning to work both before and after marriage was considerably smaller than the number of girls who planned not to work at all upon completion of high school or only up until the time of marriage. Moreover, in comparison to their male counterparts, and across all socioeconomic levels, girls were found to express less chance of success in post-secondary school, less confidence in intelligence, fewer chances of obtaining a good job in comparison with fellow classmates, and greater anxiety about finding employment.[113] Thus these adolescent girls, in expressing their competencies and the development of their abilities and interests, reflected the tradtional feminine image. They revealed a strong tendency toward adjusting their behavior to their internalized sex-role expectations, toward their opportunities in the stratification system, and above

all, toward their concept of self. Choices were made consistent with their existing set of values and expectations. As Super[114] has stressed, the choice of a future, or of an occupation, is that point in life that a young person must come to the realization that he or she is a certain kind of person. Males, faced with the necessity of making decisions about jobs, must reach this realization, and in doing so, must acquire an assurance or a positive self-concept.

The more "limited view"[115] of females as compared with males operates to maintain the existing social order and to facilitate an acceptance of the oppressive sexual division of labor. These limiting factors in the socialization of females are rooted in the social relations of production in its relationship to the social relations of the family. The capitalist morality functions to promote in females a self-concept of themselves primarily as women and housewives, and only tangentially as workers, even when they do participate in the labor market. The provision of women as a surplus reserve of labor benefits monopolists through its circulatory nature. Female labor satisfies the demand for increases in low cost workers, and when the demand is reduced, women can be reabsorbed into domestic labor more easily than men, as for example, has happened in wartime. That this contraction-expansion function is maintained is an important purpose of the retraining program. This is achieved, initially, through the selection criteria of the retraining organization. As

it was earlier pointed out,[116] the largest proportion of females entered into the training program are those in the most difficult financial positions. Furthermore, even after completion of the training program, there remains a substantial differential in the earnings between male and female trainees.[117] The fundamental cause of the undervalued wages of women is the more encompassing subjugation of women in the socioeconomic system which results in the major exploitive factor by monopolists, specifically, that both women's participation in the low paid job sector is considerably greater than that of men, and that wages of women are the most severely undervalued. The purpose of this is twofold and operates in a circular and reinforcing manner. First, the earnings differential, continuing after training, serves to maintain women's concept of female labor force participation as temporary, as wages are only enough to be of a supplementary nature. Surveys[118] carried out on the female skills program in the retraining institution have shown that the predominate motivations for entering training are to supplement family income. This, in turn, channels women into accepting low wage job positions characterized by high unemployment and frequent turnover rates.

Just as differences in socioeconomic origin and occupational aspirations are expected to be associated with differences in trainee resocialization patterns, so also may gender be an important basis of variability in the level of internalization of employee-related personality traits. The

well established sex differences in socialization for occupations and the differences between male and female employment patterns may contribute to sex differences in trainee resocialization and skill-acquisition patterns.

In addition, it is thought that the formal educational attainment of the respondent may account for variations in resocialization patterns. While the process of worker socialization begins in the formal schooling system, and is oriented toward allocating individuals into the occupational hierarchy, the level of formal educational attainment is related to the degree of student socialization. As the nature of secondary schooling is such that it represents more final job destination, individuals who have attained at least some secondary educational training would be more likely, than those who have acquired lower levels of formal schooling, to have a predisposition toward what is expected of favorable employee role behavior. The lower monetary returns to the education of lower class individuals are viewed as resulting from the omission of schooling to fully socialize these groups into the noncognitive worker values required of them.

It is also assumed that both the prior occupational status and the stability of past employment would be associated with resocialization orientations. High status job positions are acquired by those individuals who are seen as stable and reliable, while the least desirable job positions are filled by those seen as less reliable and more willing to accept both

lower monetary returns and higher risks of joblessness. The lower the status of the respondent's pre-training job, the more likely he or she is to be in need of "compensatory employee preparation".

Conceptual Model and Working Hypotheses

The present paper proposes that the social relations of production are learned in the retraining organization, and that variations in the level of the internalization of worker-related personality traits are related to differential value systems of the recruit population.

Resocialization, or the change variable, includes those elements of the retraining organization designed to effect changes in the client's valuation of employee characteristics. Resocialization was measured according to sixteen items constructed from a review of the literature as to what constitutes "desirable" worker traits, as well as from the points on which trainees are evaluated according to the "Non-Academic Performance Evaluation" record. The items included in this report are:

1) attitude - toward work and associates; courteous and co-operative; works smoothly with others,
2) attendance and punctuality,
3) reliability - completes assignments satisfactorily and on schedule; follows through with minimum direction,
4) personal characteristics - appearance, personality,

integrity; suitable apparel for the job; overall impression of neatness and cleanliness; maintains orderly work area.

As the process of resocialization is of a "compensatory" nature, those groups exhibiting greater resocialization levels are most likely to possess a value set which differs considerably from that which the retraining organization seeks to develop in its participants. To examine this possibility, inquiries into the level of difficulty in conforming to the overall regulatory requirements of the organization, as well as into the more specific demands of the training superiors, were included. Since the function of the retraining organization is to overcome this differential in employee-related value perspective between themselves and their participants, in addition to the resocialization variable, the degree of preparation through conformity to authoritarian requests during training for post-training occupational conformity was investigated.

It is expected that levels of internalization of worker-related personality traits by the manpower retraining participants will vary according to their: (1) socioeconomic origin; (2) occupational aspirations; (3) sex; (4) formal educational attainment; (5) prior occupational status; and (6) the duration of their prior occupation.

1. Those individuals from a high socioeconomic origin are more likely to score low on resocialization-orientation than are those from a low socioeconomic origin.

2. Those individuals from a high socioeconomic origin are more likely to score high on skill-acquisition orientation than are those from a low socioeconomic origin.

3. Those individuals with high occupational aspirations are more likely to score low on resocialization-orientation than are those with low occupational aspirations.

4. Those individuals with high occupational aspirations are more likely to score high on skill-acquisition orientation than are those with low occupational aspirations.

5. Females are more likely than males to score high on resocialization-orientation.

6. Males are more likely than females to score high on skill-acquisition orientation.

7. Those individuals with a high educational attainment level are more likely to score low on resocialization-orientation than are those with a low educational attainment level.

8. Those individuals with a high educational attainment level are more likely to score high on skill-acquisition orientation than are those with a low educational attainment level.

9. Those individuals from a high prior occupational status level are more likely to score low on resocialization-orientation than are those from a low prior occupational status level.

10. Those individuals from a high prior occupational status level are more likely to score high on skill-acquisition orientation than are those from a low prior occupational status level.

11. Those individuals with shorter periods of prior employment are more likely to score high on resocialization-orientation than are those with longer periods of prior employment.

12. Those individuals with longer periods of prior employment are more likely to score high on skill-acquisition orientation than are those with shorter periods of prior employment.

13. Those individuals in the high: socioeconomic origin group; occupational aspiration group; educational attainment group; job status group; and those with longer periods of prior employment are more likely to express lower levels of worker conformity and worker preparation than are those in the low: socioeconomic origin group; occupational

aspiration group; educational attainment group; job status group; and those with shorter periods of prior employment.

14. Females are more likely than males to express higher levels of worker conformity and worker preparation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Goldthorpe, J. "Social Stratification in Industrial Society", in Sociological Review Monograph, no. 8, 1964, pp. 97-122; Parsons, Talcott. The Social System (New York: The Free Press, 1951); Weber, Max. The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, translated by A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: The Free Press, 1947).

2. Ostry, Sylvia. "The Canadian Labor Market", in F. Isbester and R. Miller, eds., Canadian Labor in Transition (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1971), pp. 11-55.

3. Ostry, Sylvia. Unemployment in Canada (Ottawa: DBS, 1968); Denton, Frank T. The Growth of Manpower in Canada (Ottawa: DBS, 1970).

4. Ostry, S. "The Canadian Labor Market", p. 30.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., p. 37.

7. Ostry, Sylvia. The Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labor Force (Ottawa: DBS, 1967), pp. 40-44.

8. Ostry, S. "The Canadian Labor Market", p. 44.

9. Gorz, Andre. "Capitalist Relations of Production and the Socially Necessary Labor Force", Socialism and Revolution, v. 10, 1965, pp. 415-429, esp. pp. 426-427.

10. Parsons, T. The Social System, pp. 503-535.

11. Ibid.

12. Davis, K., and W. Moore. "Some Principles of Stratification", American Sociological Review, v. 10, 1945, pp. 242-249.

13. Porter, John. The Vertical Mosaic (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 165-168.

14. Ibid., p. 174.

15. Seath, John. Education for Industrial Purposes (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1911), p. 280.

16. Ibid., p. 281.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., p. 280.

19. Ibid., p. 286.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid., p. 285.

22. Porter, J. The Vertical Mosaic, pp. 29-59 and pp. 165-198.

23. Dupre, Stefan, et. al. Federalism and Policy Development: The Case of Adult Occupational Training in Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 15.

24. The labor-regulating function of relief and work programs in reducing high levels of unemployment for the purpose of restoring order in the United States since the 1930's has been analyzed by Piven and Cloward. Similarly, Huston has elaborated on the social control functions of state work programs in Canada which are designed to mask rising unemployment levels rather than to remedy the problem of unemployment. Fox Piven, Frances, and Richard Cloward. Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare (New York: Random House, 1971); Huston, Lorne. "The State as Socializer: OFY and LIP Programmes", in Roussopoulos, D., ed., The Political Economy of the State (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1973), pp. 99-108.

25. Dupre, S. Federalism and Policy Development, p. 114; Manpower Retraining Programs in Ontario: A Study Prepared for the Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1972), pp. 4-8.

26. Dupre, S. Federalism and Policy Development, p. 118.

27. Kent, Tom. "Department of Manpower and Immigration Tackles Giant Organizational Task", Canadian Vocational Journal, v. 3, 1967, pp. 4-7, esp. p. 6.

28. Department of Education, Memorandum, 1971.

29. Canada Manpower Training Program. Information Sheet No.11 (Ottawa: Department of Manpower and Immigration, Information Service, 1970).

30. Adult Occupational Training Act. Ottawa, Canada Gazette, Part II, v. 101, no. 11, June, 1967.

31. Dupre, S. Federalism and Policy Development, p. 173.

32. O'Connor, James. "Inflation, Fiscal Crisis, and The American Working Class", Socialist Revolution, v. 2, no. 8, 1972, pp. 9-46; O'Connor, James. The Fiscal Crisis of the State (New York: St. Martin's, 1973).

33. Oi, Walter. "Labor as a Quasi-Fixed Factor", Journal of Political Economy, 1962, pp. 538-555; Reder, M.W. "Wage Structure and Structural Unemployment", Review of Economic Studies, 1964, pp. 309-322.

34. The largest retraining program in Ontario in terms of both financial expenditures and number of trainees enrolled is the Institutional Retraining Program. The other major retraining programs, which represent greater costs to the employer, are considerably fewer in number and lower in financial expenditures. These include the Apprenticeship Program, Training-in-Industry Program, and the Training in Business and Industry Program. A fuller discussion of these programs may be obtained from: Manpower Retraining Programs in Ontario.

35. Oi, W. "Labor as a Quasi-Fixed Factor".

36. Reder, M. "Wage Structure and Structural Unemployment", p. 312.

37. Piore, Michael J. "Jobs and Training", in Beer, S. and R. Barringer, eds., The State and the Poor (Cambridge, Massachusettes: Winthrop Publishers, 1970), pp. 53-83.

38. Ibid., p. 55.

39. Ibid., p. 56.

40. Ibid., pp. 53-83.

41. Weber, Max. "The Meaning of Discipline", in From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, translated and edited by H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 253-264.

42. Ibid., p. 261.

43. Ibid., p. 262.

44. Ibid., p. 261.

45. Merton, Robert K. "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality", Social Forces, v. 18, 1940, pp. 560-568.

46. Ibid., p. 562.

47. Gorz, Andre. "Workers' Control Is More Than Just That", in Hunnius, Gerry, ed., Participatory Democracy for Canada: Workers' Control and Community Control (Montreal:Black Rose Books, Our Generation Press, 1971), pp. 13-27, esp. p. 22.

48. Ibid., p. 23.

49. Gorz, Andre. Socialism and Revolution, translated by Norman Denny (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1973), p. 121.

50. Gintis, Herbert. "Education, Technology, and the Characteristics of Worker Productivity", American Economic Review, v. 61, 1971, pp. 266-279.

51. Ibid., p. 268.

52. Berg, Ivar. Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971).

53. Ibid., p. 69.

54. Ibid., p. 70.

55. Becker, Gary. Human Capital (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964).

56. Ibid., p. 88.

57. Berg, I. Education and Jobs, p. 101.

58. For example, in a major follow-up employment survey conducted in 1970, the findings revealed substantial employment gains for trainees. Large increases in employment rates as well as in wages are reported in such studies. For this group of over three hundred thousand trainees, post-training employment rates increased from 30 per cent to 70 per cent, and wages increased an average of 13 per cent. Men were found to increase their average earnings by forty dollars per month, and for women the increase was fifty dollars per month. Moreover, as the Department stresses, for the women, this represented a very considerable increase. Due to their lower initial earnings, the percentage increase for females was substantially larger, a gain of more than twice the percentage rate than that of males. However, a significant finding revealed by the study, and one not emphasized, is the lower wage level of females as compared with males even after training. Retraining/...

58. continued...
programs, which could reduce sex-typing of occupations, do in fact channel men and women into typically "male" and "female" occupations and, therefore, do contribute to the maintenance of sex differentials in earnings.

Average Weekly Earnings Before and After Training by Type of Course and Sex

Sex	Average Weekly Earnings		
	Last Job $	Current Job $	Per Cent Change $
		BSTD and Skill Courses	
Males	94	105	12.0
Females	50	64	28.0
		BSTD Courses	
Males	89	98	10.1
Females	46	56	21.7
		Skill Courses	
Males	103	113	10.0
Females	54	68	26.0

Source: "A Report by the Hon. Otto E. Lang, Minister of Manpower and Immigration on the Canada Manpower Training Program: Results of Training, January to December 1970", 1971, p. 6.

59. Somers, Gerald. "Federal Manpower Policies", in F. Isbester and R. Miller, Canadian Labor in Transition, pp. 56-84.

60. Ibid., pp. 72-73.

61. Ibid.

62. Indeed many of the occupational skills acquired through the Institutional Retraining Program are also offered in the other major skill programs such as the Apprenticeship Program and the Training-in-Industry Program.

63. Etzioni, A. Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1964), p.4.

64. Blau, P.M., and W.R. Scott. Formal Organizations (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1963), p.5.

65. Bidwell, C.E. "The School as a Formal Organization", in J.G. March, ed., Handbook of Organizations (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1965), pp. 972-1022.

66. Ibid., pp. 974-975.

67. Weber, M. Social and Economic Organization, p. 152.

68. Ibid., pp. 324-363.

69. Ibid.

70. French, John Jr., and Bertram Raven. "The Bases of Social Power", in D. Cartwright, ed., Studies in Social Power (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1959), pp. 150-167.

71. Ibid., p. 158.

72. Bidwell, C. "The School as a Formal Organization", pp. 972-1022; Dreeben, Robert. "The Contribution of Schooling to the Learning of Norms", Harvard Educational Review, v. 37, 1967, pp. 211-237; Dreeben, Robert. On What Is Learned in School (Reading, Massachusettes: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1968); Etzioni, A. A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations (New York: The Free Press, 1961), pp. 40-67; Parsons, Talcott. "The School Class as a Social System: Some of Its Functions in American Society", Harvard Educational Review, v. 29, 1959, pp. 297-318.

73. Parsons. T. "The School Class As a Social System"; Also, Becker and Strauss, in their study of adult career mobility, have emphasized the importance of the awareness by the adult of the relevant training allowing for status mobility. Becker, H.S., and A. Strauss. "Careers, Personality, and Adult Socialization", American Journal of Sociology, v. 62, 1956, pp. 253-263.

74. Brim, O., and S. Wheeler. Socialization After Childhood (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966).

75. Ibid., p. 82.

76. Gouldner, Alvin. "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles", Administrative Science Quarterly, v. 2, 1957, pp. 281-306, 444-480.

77. Becker, H.S., and Blanche Geer. "Latent Culture: A Note on the Theory of Latent Social Roles", Administrative Science Quarterly, v. 5, no. 2, 1960, pp. 304-313.

78. Ibid., p. 306.

79. Ibid., p. 307.

80. Dreeben, R. On What Is Learned in School.

81. Ibid., pp. 63-90.

82. Ibid., pp. 84-85.

83. Hess, Robert, and Virginia Shipman. "Early Experiences and The Socialization of Cognitive Modes in Children", Child Development, v. 36, 1965, pp. 869-886.

84. Ibid.

85. Brofenbrenner, Urie. "Socialization and Social Class Through Time and Space", in Maccoby, Eleanor, Newcombe, Theodore, M., and Eugene L. Hartley, eds., Readings in Social Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1958, 3rd. ed.), pp. 400-425; Rosen, B.C. "Family Structure and Value Transmission", Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, v. 10, no. 1, 1964, pp. 59-76.

86. Hess, R., and V. Shipman, "Early Experiences", p. 885.

87. Aberle, David, and Kaspar Naegele. "Middle-Class Fathers' Occupational Role and Attitudes Toward Children", in Norman Bell and Ezra Vogel, eds., A Modern Introduction To The Family (New York: The Free Press, 1968), pp. 188-198.

88. Ibid., p. 194.

89. Ibid.

90. Becker, W.C., D.R. Peterson, et. al., "Relations of Factors Derived From Parent-Interview Ratings to Behavior Problems of Five-Year Olds", Child Development, v. 33, 1962, pp. 509-535; Becker, W.C. "Consequences of Different Kinds of Parental Discipline", in Martin L. Hoffman and Lois W. Hoffman, eds., Review of Child Development Research (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964, v.1, pp. 169-208); Nichols, Robert C. "A Factor Analysis of Parental Attitudes of Fathers", Child Development, v. 33, 1962, pp. 791-802; Sears, Robert R., Maccoby, Eleanor, and Harry Levin. Patterns of Childrearing (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Petersen and Co., 1957).

91. Kohn, Melvin. Class and Conformity (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1969).

92. Ibid., p. 34.

93. Ibid., p. 35.

94. Ibid., p, 163.

95. Ibid., p. 200.

96. Ibid., and Hess R., and V. Shipman, "Early Experiences".

97. Blau, Peter M., and Otis Duncan. The American Occupational Structure (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967); Breton, Raymond. Social and Academic Factors in the Career Decisions of Canadian Youth (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972); McDill, Edward, and James Coleman. "Family and Peer Influences in College Plans of High School Students", Sociology of Education, v. 38, 1965, pp. 112-116; Sewell, William, Haller, Archie,and Murray Straus. "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspirations", American Journal of Sociology, v. 22, 1957, pp. 67-73; Simpson, R.L., "Parental Influence, Anticipatory Socialization, and Social Mobility", American Sociological Review, v. 27, 1962, pp. 517-522; Wilson, Alan B. "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys", American Sociological Review, v. 25, 1960, pp. 855-867.

98. Darley, J.G., and Thelda Hagenah. Vocational Interest Measurement: Theory and Practice (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955); Mussen, Paul H. "Early Sex-Role Development", in D.A. Goslin, ed., Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1969),pp. 707-729; Tyler, Leona."The Relationship of Interests to Abilities and Reputation Among First Grade Children", Educational and Psychological Measurement, v. 11, 1951, pp. 255-264.

99. Ginzberg, Eli, et. al. Occupational Choice (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951); Holland J.C. "Explorations of a Theory of Vocational Choice and Achievement: A Four-Year Prediction Study" Psychological Reports, v. 12, 1963, pp. 547-594; Roe, A. The Psychology of Occupations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956); Super, Donald E. "A Theory of Vocational Development", American Psychologist, v. 8, 1953, pp. 185-190; Super, Donald E. "Vocational Adjustment: Implementing a Self-Concept", Personnel and Guidance Journal, v. 30, 1951-52, pp. 88-92.

100. Heilbrun, Alfred B. Jr., "Parental Identification and the Patterning of Vocational Interests in College Males and Females", Journal of Counselling Psychology, v. 16, no. 4, 1969, pp. 342-347.

101. Psathas, George. "Toward a Theory of Occupational Choice for Women", Sociology and Social Research, v.52, 1967-68, pp. 253-268.

102. Breton, R. Social and Academic Factors.

103. Sewell, William H., and Vimal P. Shah. "Social Class, Parental Encouragement,and Educational Aspirations", American Journal of Sociology, v. 73, 1968, pp. 559-572.

104. Heilbrun, Alfred B. Jr., and D.K. Fromme, "Parental Identification of Late Adolescents and Level of Adjustment: The Importance of Parent Model Attributes, Ordinal Position, and Sex of the Child", Journal of Genetic Psychology, no. 107, 1965, pp. 49-59.

105. Stephenson, Richard M. "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders", American Sociological Review, v. 22, 1957, pp. 204-212.

106. Ibid.

107. Breton, R. Social and Academic Factors.

108. Hall, Oswald, and Bruce McFarlane. Transition from School to Work. Report Number 10, Department of Labor, Canada, December, 1962.

109. Breton, R. Social and Academic Factors, p. 288.

110. Turner, Ralph. "Some Aspects of Women's Ambition", American Journal of Sociology, v. 70, no. 3, 1964, pp. 271-285.

111. Ibid., p. 280.

112. Breton, R. Social and Academic Factors.

113. Ibid., p. 143.

114. Super, Donald E. The Psychology of Careers (New York: Harper and Row, 1957).

115. Lambert, Ronald D. Sex Role Imagery in Children: Social Origins of the Mind (Ottawa: Studies of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, April, 1969).

116. See page 17.

117. See footnote number 58, Chapter I.

118. "Manpower Retraining Skills Program", Memorandum, 1974.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Sample and Methodology

The study was conducted at a major Canada Manpower Retraining Institution[1] in Southern Ontario. A letter requesting permission to study the institution was sent to the chairman of the retraining center. He very kindly granted the author permission to conduct the research. The name and location of the institution will be withheld to ensure confidentiality.

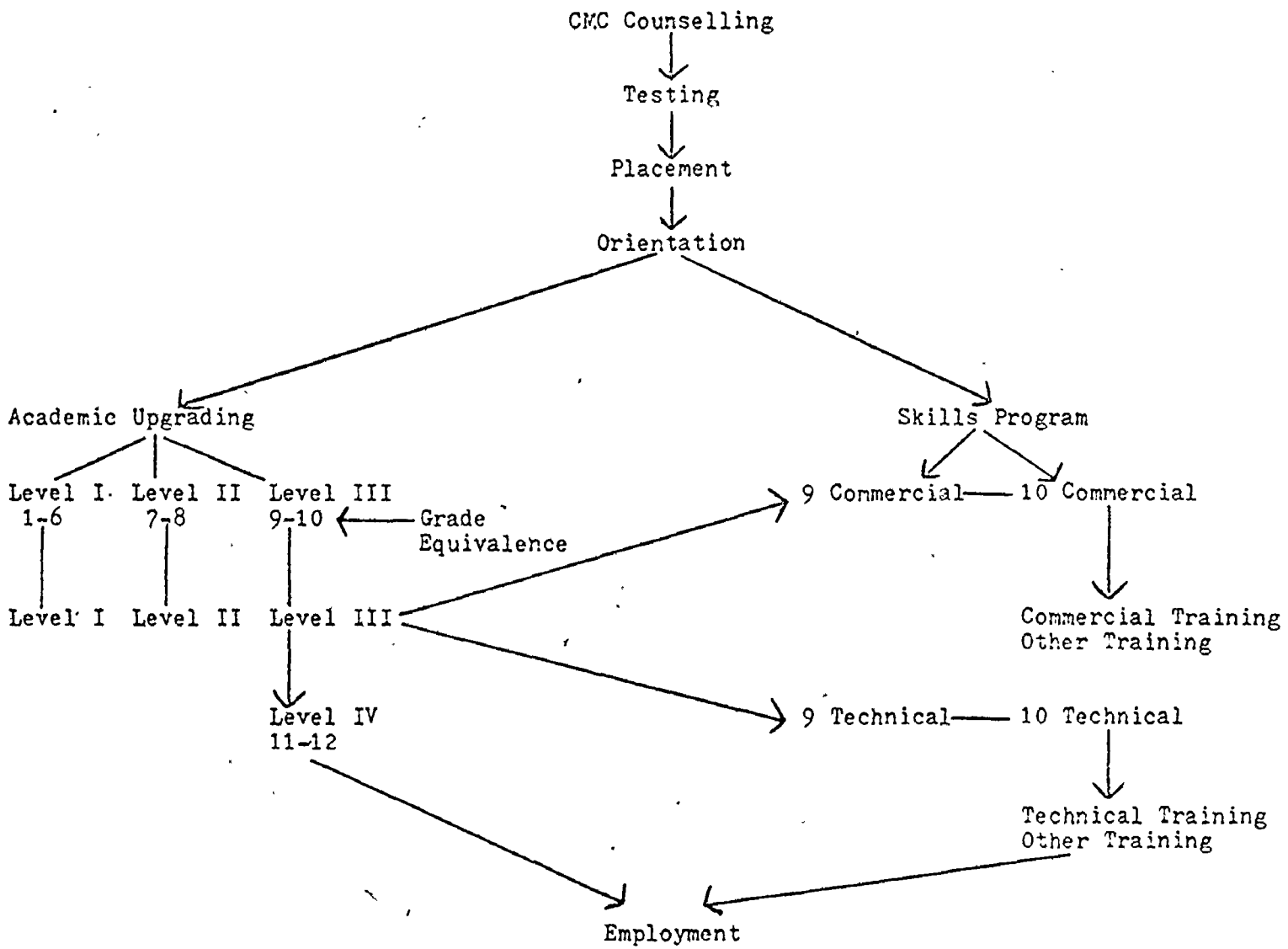
The Ontario Manpower Retraining Program participants are almost all referred by the Canada Manpower Centers. The selection procedures were discussed above. The following chart illustrates the structure of the Institutional Manpower Retraining Program and the movement of trainees through it. Prior to entering the academic and skill training programs, the new trainee enters the Orientation Program. While the orientation period is for one week, which is considerably briefer than the subsequent programs, it serves as an important stage of the overall retraining process. A major reason why the orientation program is crucial to the retraining process is a function of the organization's population. As earlier discussed, a dominant concern of the retraining organization

is in compensating for deficiencies in previous socialization patterns. Since committment to the organization's values on the part of the client population cannot be assumed, the orientation period operates to establish the retraining institution as the proper and legitimate means whereby the newly arrived individuals come to view themselves in the student-trainee status. During orientation, retrainees are made familiar with principles for student conduct and procedures of "classroom etiquette". The importance of regular attendance is stressed, and it is made clear that the training allowance is deducted for unexcused absences. Retrainees are fully informed as to the method of reporting absences, as well as being provided with the knowledge as to what the training school defines as "unexcused absences". During orientation, trainees are also completely acquainted with the counselling services. They are encouraged to seek counselling assistance for academic, social, and personal problems. The retraining program makes extensive use of counsellors. This stems from the view that supportive counselling is required for individuals undergoing the difficult adjustment from unemployment to full and responsible employment. The role of counselling in the total resocialization process is vital not only during retraining, but as earlier indicated, is also important in the pre-training selection process. Furthermore, contact with counsellors frequently extends even after completion of the training program as workers are placed in jobs. Also during the orientation period, an assessment of the student's academic

ability is made on the basis of a few tests which can be completed within one week. This is done in order to facilitate the trainee's placement into a particular level of the academic program.

The Academic Upgrading Program division provides educational upgrading. The elementary and secondary school subject counterparts include mathematics, science, and English courses. This program is divided into four levels to accommodate participants of varying educational backgrounds. As the grade ten level is the prerequisite education for entry into training for the skilled labor market, most trainees in the academic upgrading program receive upgrading to this level. Having completed the academic upgrading program, the trainee moves into occupational skills training. The Skills Program includes a wide range of skill courses. These train people to be machine operators, welders, health care aides, food service helpers, and clerk-typists. Training provided by the government is of a general nature. In contrast to general training is specific training which is of greater value to the employer. While specific training raises the marginal productivity of a worker in one firm more than it raises the worker's productivity in other firms, general training raises marginal productivity by more equal amounts in many firms.[2] Employers are thus more likely to provide specific training in order that they may obtain the fruit of their investment. General job training becomes the respon-

FLOW CHART INDICATING TRAINEE MOVEMENT



sibility of the government.

The types of jobs for which individuals are trained on a general level comprise those segments of the occupational structure including the manufacturing or processing, clerical, and service sectors. A trainee qualified as a machine operator may find employment largely in the manufacturing and production job sectors. An individual trained as a food service helper will probably enter the personal service occupational sector, while the stenographer or clerk-typist trainee will enter the clerical sector. Insight into the relation of these particular job categories to the entire occupational structure may be gained from the unemployment rates by occupation for the country. The jobless rates reveal that the processing, clerical, and service sectors are characterized by some of the highest jobless rates, usually approximating the national annual average unemployment level, and in many cases exceeding it.[3] Part of the reason for this is the difficulty faced by the government in acquiring systematic information which would enable them to determine those occupations which are under-supplied. As a result, job skills are being selected for the training program without any clear economic understanding regarding occupational shortages. However, because there is a relatively high job placement rate following training,[4] it strongly suggests that employers hire individual trainees with very general training in the knowledge that employees from government training program have acquired and demonstrated what they deem as reliable worker characteristics, rendering

them good job prospects. But because the employer has invested little in their training, and since they represent a low cost labor force, in times of economic pressure they are the most vulnerable to unemployment. The greater value placed by employers on the affective attributes of this group of workers possessing only general job training strengthens the argument that institutional job training programs are planned to shape trainees into "desirable" employees. And, because institutional skill training is general, the transition from being "unskilled" or "semiskilled" to "skilled" suggests that the difference between these skill levels is determined more by the employers' fluctuating demands for occupational supply than by an actual change or increase in job skills. This would indicate that the certification which is granted following the completion of training has more to do with being labelled or classified as "skilled" than in actually having a considerable increase in real skill ability.

That the job skill ability training assumes secondary importance to affective training is further supported through a comparison of the training participants' working backgrounds and the type of skill training available in institutional training. As it was earlier pointed out, the selection procedure results in trainees having prior skill levels similar to those required in the jobs they are being trained for. The data we obtained on the most recent, full-time pre-training occupation of the trainees reveal that almost sixty

per cent[5] of the total sample falls into the lower two deciles of the Blishen socioeconomic index for occupations. When the prior occupation is sex-related, females are seen to have held largely "blue-collar" jobs. These include jobs in such industries as fruit and vegetable processing, meat packing, and textile manufacturing.[6] The job backgrounds of the female trainees differ in nature from the occupations for which they are training. Clerical and service occupations are more representative of the "white-collar" job sector. This distinction between the nature of females' pre-training and post-training occupations should suggest that there is a great improvement in their socioeconomic level. However, one of the major problems in female employment patterns has been to view the increasing numbers of women into white collar occupations as representating an advance. This stems from the greatly over-rated popular perspective of white-collar jobs over blue-collar jobs, which in reality differ very little according to the tasks which are performed in each sector. In actuality, what appears to be an expansion of a non-proletatian "white-collar" middle stratum turns out on closer examination to be the growth of a relatively small group of supervisory positions at one end of the job continuum and a large mass of wage-workers at the other end.[7] The important distinction between the blue-collar and white-collar jobs of the female trainees lies in the affective, not the cognitive, attributes. The clerical and service occupations

are characterized by high levels of public-contact, and employers' demands for strict adherence by employees to attitudes which promote congenial client relations would be most acute in such jobs.

A greater similarity in the nature of the male trainees' jobs is evident. Both their pre-training occupations and their future jobs are largely in the blue-collar job sector.[8] While the actual nature of the job skills are more similar for male trainees than for female trainees, the selection of females for the training program who have had at least some working experience over women without labor market participation allows the training institution to expect greater success in their objective of employee socialization.

Overall, the lower two deciles of the Blishen index represent occupations of a socioeconomic level which closely approximate the socioeconomic position of the jobs for which the participants are being trained; kitchen helpers and related service workers, dressmakers, cooks, waiters, painters, nurses' aides, typists and clerk-typists, fitters and assemblers in metal industries, welders and flame cutters, machinists, and machine tool setters. The considerable similarity in the occupational sector of job background and occupational future suggests that less emphasis is placed on actually advancing the skill level of the trainee as compared with the emphasis on "worker value development". Since the program does not improve job opportunities, it does not allow

for the upward mobility of a large proportion of the working class and, therefore, does not bring about the government's stated aim of reducing socioeconomic inequalities. It may only benefit individual trainees at the expense, in all probability, of non-trainees.

The commercial, health care, dressmaking, and food service courses are taken by female trainees, while the students in painting, welding, and machine shop courses are almost all men. The sex-typing of the skills courses directly reflects the sex-typing of occupations. Furthermore, the enrolment patterns in the skills program, an almost 2:1 ratio for female trainees to male trainees,[9] reinforce the role of the retraining program in meeting the employers' demands for rising levels of inexpensive and prepared female labor. In addition, female trainees tend to be younger than male trainees.[10]

All programs in the retraining institution emphasize integration of the participants into the cultural system of the organization through acceptance of the teacher-trainee authority relationship. However, variations in the nature of the resocialization process along program divisions are evident. Women's programs in particular emphasize anticipatory socialization. The largest female enrolment is in the commercial skills program and in the health care aide program. The great emphasis on affective training for female trainees is shown in the stated goals of the programs. For example,

the subordinate position for which female aides are being prepared is outlined in the prospectus for the health care aide program. The goal is described as follows:

> To prepare a person to function under the supervision of the registered nursing staff and the direction of the physician by assisting residents of varying ages in long-term care or chronic facilities, to meet their basic emotional, social, and physical needs.

Emphasis is also placed on the trainees' ability to both communicate with and to co-operate with all members of the staff and the agency. The trainee must also take responsibility for providing the resident care that has been assigned.

The importance of expressive socialization of female trainees is shown by the fact that a portion of the programs are devoted to improving women's self-presentation, personal development, and grooming habits. These lessons are designed to assist the female trainee to "gain poise, confidence, and to be hired for the job of your choice." They are told: "Personal appearance will either help or hinder you at an employment interview." While male trainees are also evaluated on such characteristics as courtesy and personal appearance, the emphasis is noticeably less. There are no specific lessons on the development of these attributes in the male skills program. This differential perspective on personality trait socialization suggests that females more than males are being socialized to conform to worker values viewed as appropriate for the feminine employee role image.

The data were gathered through a systematic sampling procedure. While a longitudinal study would have been desirable, because of the extensive amount of time needed to do longitudinal research, this approach was not used. The total retrainee population was initially divided into groups from which equal proportions of cases were chosen in order to ensure randomness, or that each case in the population had the same probability of being chosen. Each case within each group was chosen according to a systematic sampling procedure, satisfying the requirements for a random sample that each case has an equal chance of being included in the final sample.

The population was first divided by both sex and program - the Academic Upgrading Program and the Skills Program. Within each of these two program divisions, the female trainee list was separated from the male trainee list. Equal numbers of cases from each of these four resulting lists were chosen through a systematic sampling procedure. The groups were comprised of thirty male skill respondents, thirty female skill respondents, fifteen male academic upgrading respondents, and fifteen female academic upgrading respondents. From these alphabetically ordered enrolment lists, every n^{th} individual was selected, beginning with a randomly selected case among the first n^{th} individuals, resulting in a total sample of ninety cases. From the male skills group, every third case, beginning with a randomly selected first case, was chosen from a total enrolment of ninety. Among the female skills

group, every fourth case was selected from a total enrolment of one hundred and forty five participants. The male academic upgrading sample was comprised of the selection of every third case out of a total of fifty enrolees, and every sixth case was chosen from the total enrolment of ninety in the female academic upgrading group. Once the names of the respondents had been selected according to the systematic sampling method described above, the individuals were contacted by the interviewer who met them outside their classrooms. Each interview was scheduled at least one full day in advance. The purpose of the research was explained to them as a confidential and independent study of trainees' perspectives on various aspects of their retraining. No refusals were encountered. The personal interview technique was used with a structured interview schedule. Each interview lasted approximately seventy-five minutes. (See Appendix C for the interview schedule). The interviews were conducted individually in the retraining center. Trainees were interviewed in a lounge. It was expected that the informal atmosphere would encourage openness. The interviewing was carried out four days per week, at an average rate of five interviews per day, for five weeks early in 1975.

FOOTNOTES

1. The present study focuses on the Institutional Retraining Program. A source for a more detailed description of the other government job retraining programs, which are fewer in number and smaller in terms of number of individuals trained, may be obtained from footnote number 25, Chapter I.

2. Becker, Gary. Human Capital (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964).

3. The following table shows the unemployment rates by occupation for the years 1973 and 1974.

Unemployment Rates and Percentage Distribution of the Unemployed By Occupation, Canada, Annual Averages, 1973 and 1974

	Columns 1 and 2: Unemployment Rates, Annual Averages 1973-1974		Columns 3 and 4: Percentage Distribution Annual Averages 1973-1974	
	1.	2.	3.	4.
All occupations	5.6	5.4	100	100
Managerial, administrative etc. (1)	2.2	2.2	8	8
Clerical	4.1	3.8	12	11
Sales	3.2	3.0	6	6
Service	5.9	5.6	13	13
Primary Occupations (2)	5.7	6.5	7	8
Processing (3)	5.7	5.7	18	18
Construction	11.4	11.3	16	16
Transportation	6.8	6.2	5	5
Materials Handling and other crafts	7.3	6.8	6	5
Never worked (4)	(5)	(5)	10	9

(1) includes managerial and administrative, natural sciences, religion, teaching, medicine and health, artistic and recreational occupations.

(2) includes farmers and farm workers, fishermen, trappers and hunters, loggers and related workers, miners, quarrymen and related workers.

continued...

3. (continued)
   (3) includes Processing; Machining; and Product fabricating, Assembling, and Repairing.

   (4) comprises unemployed persons who never had a full-time job lasting two weeks or more.

   (5) not applicable.

Source: Statistics Canada. The Labor Force (Ottawa: Information Canada, September, 1975), p. 81.

4. "A Report by the Hon. Otto E. Lang, Minister of Manpower and Immigration on the Canada Manpower Training Program: Results of Training, January to December 1970", 1971, p. 3; Department of Manpower and Immigration, Programs Analysis Section (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1971).

5. See Chapter III, Table 2.

6. See Chapter III, Table 2.

7. This overlap between the nature of work in the white- and blue-collar job sectors is elaborated upon by Braverman. He argues that what in fact has occurred with major occupational shifts right up into the 1970's is the degradation of vast categories of work, especially in the clerical and service sectors, as a result of the extension of the division of labor under capitalism. Braverman, Harry. Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974).

8. See Chapter III, Table 2.

9. From "Manpower Retraining Skills Program Enrolment", Monthly Reports.

10. The following table shows the age distribution of the present sample. The greatest percentage of the total sample is between twenty one and thirty years of age. The age patterns of the trainee population generally reflect the total unemployment rates by sex and age groups. See, for example, Canada Manpower and Immigration Review, v. 8, no. 2, 1975, p. 14; Statistics Canada. The Labor Force (Ottawa: Information Canada, January, 1975), p. 42.

10. (continued)

Ages of Trainees By Sex

Age Group		Sex: Male	Sex: Female
18 to 20	%	15.6	33.3
21 to 25	%	26.7	24.4
26 to 30	%	51.1	26.7
31 to 40	%	6.6	15.6
Total	%	100.0	100.0
	N	45	45

CHAPTER III

DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE AND RESULTS

Description of the Sample: The Independent Variables

We will now describe the social origins of the sample, the occupational aspirations of the trainees, their formal educational attainment levels, their prior occupational backgrounds, and the durations of these occupations.

Social class origin, or the socioeconomic status of the family of origin, was operationalized according to the occupation of the respondent's father. The Blishen socio-economic index for occupations, based on the 1961 Canadian census, was utilized. The scores were dichotomized into high (40.00 to 79.99) and low (20.00 to 39.99). A description of the types of occupations representing social class origin is provided in Table 2. Half of the total sample, or fifty per cent, is found to be in the fourth and fifth deciles of the Blishen index, while only ten per cent is in the upper two deciles. In contrast, forty per cent of the total sample is found in the lower two deciles of this occupational index. It should be pointed out that while the upper four deciles of the index are labelled "high" for the purposes of the present analysis, these scores are most representative of the upper-middle occupational strata. These deciles include such occupations as foremen in industry, and owners and managers in

trade and industry. The fourth and fifth deciles of the Blishen index are more representative of the "high" socio-economic status origin division, while the "low" socioeconomic status origin division includes those occupations in the second and third deciles of the Blishen index. Examples of occupations in these lower two deciles are machinists and laborers in manufacturing industries. This division will facilitate the research objective of determining differences in resocialization according to socioeconomic status origin.

The second independent variable, occupational aspirations, was indexed in the same manner as socioeconomic status of family of origin. As considerable research[1] has shown, there exists a positive association between these two variables. As Table 1 indicates, socioeconomic origin and occupational aspirations are positively correlated. Table 2 points out that almost forty five per cent of the job aspirations of this sample are in the lower two deciles of the Blishen index. Examples of the types of jobs in this lower division are welders, machinists, and nursing aides. The table also reveals that almost one third of the total sample has occupational aspirations in the middle two deciles of the index, while almost one quarter is in the upper two deciles. These deciles include such occupations as foremen and owners and managers in industry, and stenographers and welfare workers. As research[2] demonstrates, our society encourages individuals to aspire highly. So while the slightly

larger proportion of high occupational aspirations is expected, it is assumed that a process of downward adaptation of aspirations is occurring in this sample. In other words, while a greater proportion of the respondents aspire upwardly, they most likely lower their aspirations towards the level of jobs for which they are training. As it was earlier indicated,[3] the types of jobs offered through the training program are largely representative of the lower two deciles of the Blishen occupational index.

The third independent variable, formal educational attainment, is related to both the first and second variables. While level of formal education is positively associated with social class origin level and follows from it, it is also likely to be positively correlated with, and may determine, variations in occupational aspirations. It may be that success in school tends to elevate job aspirations. Although the relationship between job aspirations and educational level tends to be circular and reinforcing, those individuals having relatively high educational attainment are more inclined to have higher job aspirations than are those with less formal education (Table 1). The level of formal education attained by the respondents is shown in Table 2. Here it is seen that while almost thirty per cent of the total sample has acquired either grades nine or ten at the secondary schooling level, just over one quarter of the sample has completed the eleventh or twelfth grade. In contrast, close to half of the total

sample, or forty four per cent, has attained only elementary level education. We dichotomized educational level into "high" and "low". For our purposes, "high" refers to some high school education, while "low" means no high school education.

TABLE 1

Correlations of the Independent Variables*

	Social Origin	Sex	Occupational Aspirations	Formal Education	Prior Job Status
Sex	.045				
Occupational Aspirations	.164	.067			
Formal Education	.411	.224	.080		
Prior Job Status	.140	.068	.302	.301	
Prior Job Duration	.289	.141	.035	.253	.355

* (r) Zero-order correlation coefficient.

The past, most recent full-time pre-training occupation of the respondent was operationalized using the Blishen socio-economic index. Its relationship to the prior three independent

TABLE 2

Frequency Distributions for Independent Variables

		Socioeconomic Origin	
Blishen Deciles		Male	Female
2 and 3	%	37.8	42.2
		(farm laborers; fishermen; millmen; laborers, manufacturing industries; machinists and machine tool setters.)	
4 and 5	%	42.2	57.8
		(foremen, manufacturing and primary metal industries; commercial travellers; real estate salesmen and agents; owners and managers, wholesale and retail trade.)	
6 and 7	%	20.0	—
		(owners and managers, industries; professional engineers.)	
Total	N	45	45
	%	100.0	100.0

Table 2 (continued).

		Occupational Aspirations	
Blishen Deciles		Male	Female
2 and 3	%	41.0	48.9
(welders and flame cutters; fitters and assemblers, primary metal industries; machinists and machine tool setters.)			(typists and clerk-typists; nursing aides.)
4 and 5	%	9.0	51.1
(foremen, manufacturing/primary metal industries.)			(stenographers; cashiers/book-keepers; social welfare workers.)
6 and 7	%	50.0	--
(owners and managers, machinery/ primary metal industries, other industries; professional engineers.)			
Total	N	44	45
	%	100.0	100.0

Table 2 (continued)

		Prior Occupational Status	
Blishen Deciles		Male	Female
2 and 3	%	57.8	61.9
(construction laborers; woodworking machine operators; primary metal laborers; fitters and assemblers, metal industries; machinists and machine tool setters.)			(janitors/ cleaners; kitchen helpers; fruit and vegetable processing; meat packers; cutters, textile manufacturing.)
4 and 5	%	42.2	38.1
(mechanics; electricians and wiremen; foremen, primary metal industries.)			(receptionists/ clerks; cashiers.)
6 and 7	%	--	--
Total	N	45	42
	%	100.0	100.0

Table 2 (continued)

		Duration of Prior Occupation	
Duration		Male	Female
Less than 6 months	%	--	16.7
6 months to 2 years	%	60.0	54.8
3 years to 15 years	%	40.0	28.5
Total	N	45	42
	%	100.0	100.0

		Formal Educational Attainment	
Level		Male	Female
Elementary Level (Grades 1 to 8)	%	33.3	55.6
Secondary Level (Grades 9 and 10)	%	24.5	33.3
Secondary Level (Grades 11 and 12)	%	42.2	11.1
Total	N	45	45
	%	100.0	100.0

variables is illustrated in Table 1. As formal educational attainment was previously shown to be positively correlated with both socioeconomic origin and occupational aspirations, here it is seen that prior job status is also positively correlated with these variables. In particular, the positive correlation between educational attainment and job status supports other research[4] which has shown the close association between amount of formal education and the level of job obtained. The accompanying table reveals that almost sixty per cent of the total sample is in the lower two deciles of the occupational index, while forty per cent is in the middle two deciles. None of the sample is in the upper two deciles of this socioeconomic index. The duration of the respondent's pre-training occupation was dichotomized into the short duration (1 day to 2 years) and the long duration (3 years to 15 years). The average duration of the pre-training jobs of the sample is 2.5 years. Approximately two thirds of the sample is in the "short job duration group", while, as Table 2 illustrates, about one third of the sample is in the "long job duration group". In addition, Table 1 reveals the positive correlation between prior job status and the duration of the prior job.

A description of the measurements of the independent variables may be found in Appendix C.

The Dependent Variables

Resocialization, or the "change" variable, was measured using sixteen items constituting "worker-related personality traits". These items have been described earlier (pp. 50 to 51). A description of the scale and measurements of each of the dependent variables may be found in Appendix C. Respondents were asked to indicate the importance of certain characteristics in employees. The question was: "How important do you feel the following things are for an employed person to have?" Possible responses and scores were (4) very important, (3) fairly important, (2) not too important, and (1) not important at all. In a second part of the question, the respondents were asked whether or not they felt they had changed their views about the importance of these characteristics while they had been at the school. The question was: "Do you feel you've changed your views at all in any of these ways since you've been here at school?" The responses were (1) yes and (2) no. Dependent on an affirmative response to the question, the responses and scores were (4) much more important, (3) somewhat more important, (2) somewhat less important, and (1) much less important. The index scores range from 0 (no change) to 64 (high change). Since there were only a few responses to the "no change" category, these have been included with the low resocialization category. Individuals with scores above the median for this change variable were categorized as belonging to the "high resocial-

ization" group, those scoring below, to the "low resocialization" group. The coding of four of the sixteen items measuring resocialization (e, i, l, and n) was reversed to be consistent with the coding of the other twelve items.

The measure of "skill-acquisition orientation versus resocialization orientation" was derived from the question asking what the respondents viewed as the primary purpose of their training program. The two possible responses and scores were (1) to learn a new skill such as welding, typing, or nursing to get a new job, and (2) to learn good working practices such as fulfilling the work demands. Individuals giving response number one are referred to as "skill-acquisition oriented" and those giving response number two as "resocialization oriented".

In order to measure the level of planned "skill-utilization" on their post-training occupation, respondents were asked to what extent they planned to use their training skills and abilities in future employment. The responses and scores to the question were (4) uses your skills and abilities to a great extent; (3) uses your skills and abilities to a fair extent; (2) uses your skills and abilities to some extent; and (1) not necessarily using your skills and abilities. The scores were dichotomized into a "high skill utilization level" and a "low skill utilization level".

The level of difficulty in conforming to rules, or "rule conformity", was measured according to how easy or how

difficult the respondents found it to comply with the rules and regulations at the training institution. They were asked about the difficulty involved in coming to school every day on time, and in completing the work objectives satisfactorily and quickly. Responses and scores were (4) very difficult to conform to; (3) fairly difficult to conform to; (2) fairly easy to conform to; and (1) very easy to conform to. The resulting scores were divided into a "high difficulty level" and a "low difficulty level".

In order to measure the level of difficulty in "rule conformity" in school as compared with the level of difficulty in "rule conformity" on their last job, ("job rule conformity"), the respondents were asked to compare their present training experience to their last, pre-training occupation. The responses and scores were (5) much more difficult to conform in school; (4) somewhat more difficult to conform in school; (3) about the same; (2) somewhat easier to conform in school; and (1) much easier to conform in school. These responses were divided according to whether respondents found retraining "more difficult" or "similar". The "similar" group includes the comparatively few responses in the "somewhat easier" and "much easier" conformity categories.

The level of preparation for rule conformity on their post-training job, or "rule conformity preparation", was measured according to the question on whether the respondents felt that conforming to the rules at school was preparing them to conform

to the rules and regulations on their next job. The responses and scores ranged from (3) will prepare me a great deal; (2) will prepare me somewhat; to (1) will not make any difference. The very few responses falling into the last category were combined with the second category into the "low preparation level". The other category represents the "high preparation level".

The level of difficulty in meeting the teachers' demands, such as following the work instructions and procedures, was measured on a four point scale: (4) very difficult to meet; (3) fairly difficult to meet; (2) fairly easy to meet; and (1) very easy to meet. The scores were dichotomized.

The level of difficulty in meeting the teachers' demands as compared with the level of difficulty in meeting the pre-training job superior's demands, ("supervisor conformity"), was measured according to (5) much more difficult to meet teachers' demands; (4) somewhat more difficult to meet teachers' demands; (3) about the same; (2) somewhat easier to meet teachers' demands; and (1) much easier to meet teachers' demands. The responses were divided into two groups: those who found it more difficult, and those who found it of a similar level of difficulty. The very few respondents who found it easier were included with those who found it of equal difficulty.

In order to measure the respondents' level of conformity to the teachers' expectations in the training institution, or "teacher conformity", the respondents were asked

whether they felt that a student should always do what the teacher expects him or her to do. The responses and scores were (4) should always do what the teacher expects you to do; (3) should usually do what the teacher expects you to do; (2) should occasionally do what the teacher expects you to do; and (1) should do what you think is right, whether it agrees with the teacher's expectations or not. The first two responses form the "high conformity level", while the latter two responses represent the "low conformity level".

The level of respondents' preparation for conformity to supervisor's wishes on their post-training occupation, ("supervisor conformity preparation"), was measured according to responses to the question on whether they felt that by doing what the teacher expected them to do during training would prepare them to meet the requirements of the boss when they begin their post-training work. The responses and scores were (3) will prepare me a great deal; (2) will prepare me somewhat; and (1) will not make any difference. The first response represents a "high level of preparation" and the latter two responses represent a "low level of preparation". The very few responses in the "no difference" category are combined into the "low level of preparation" category.

"Work routinization" was measured according to responses to the question asking respondents to what degree they felt that their daily work routine in training was preparing them to settle into a daily work routine on their post-training

Figure 1

Diagrammatic Presentation Summarizing the Research Variables

Independent Variables				Dependent Variables
SES Origin	Formal Education	Job Status	Occupational Aspirations	Resocialization
				Skill-Acquisition
Sex		Job Duration		Difficulty in Conforming during Training
				Difficulty in Conforming during Training as Compared with the Pre-training Job
				Preparation for Conforming on the Post-training Job

occupation. The responses and scores were (3) will prepare me a great deal; (2) will prepare me somewhat; and (1) will not make any difference. A "high level of preparation" includes responses to the first category and a "low level of preparation" includes the latter two responses.

The level of "work interest" was measured according to responses to the question as to whether the respondents held more, less, or a similar level of interest towards working now than they held prior to entering their training. The responses and scores included (5) much more interested in working now than before entering training; (4) somewhat more interested in working now than before entering training; (3) about the same; (2) somewhat less interested in working now than before entering training; and (1) much less interested in working now than before entering training. The responses were dichotimized into a "higher interest level" and a "similar interest level".

A summary of these research variables is provided in Figure 1.

The nature of the relationships between these preceding variables is presented in the following analyses of the research findings and in the accompanying tables.

Results

The presentation of the results of the study has been divided into four major sections as outlined in Figure 1. The

first section deals with differences in the respondents' re-socialization and skill-acquisition orientations. The second section looks at variations in adjustments to the worker-trainee role during training, while the third section explores how these differences in adjustments compare with their pre-training working experiences. Finally, the fourth section examines differences in the extent to which retrainees see themselves as being prepared in school for conforming to the rules and to supervisors' work instructions on their new, post-training occupations.

Differences in Resocialization Orientation versus Skill-Acquistion Orientation

We have already reviewed research showing that variations in socioeconomic origin background affect socialization and the assimilation of employee-related personality characteristics considered "desirable" by the industries' decision-makers (pp. 34 to 42). These employee characteristics, or "hierarchical work values", as utilized in the present study include such elements as punctuality, co-operation with fellow workers, reliability, and keeping the work area orderly. One would expect an increased level of acceptance of "hierarchical work values" by the lower socioeconomic origin groups as a result of their training institution involvement. Research regarding the influence of parental occupational value socialization suggests that a greater assimilation of bureau-

cratic norms occurs among those in the middle and upper socio-economic strata as compared with the lower socioeconomic strata. One suspects that the latter groups are less likely to have parents who emphasize "hierarchical work values". In addition, the lower socioeconomic status groups, occupying predominantly lower level jobs, are likely in such positions because of their comparative lack of previous successful socialization into "hierarchical work values". Because of this differential socialization, we would expect different resocialization patterns among respondents of different socio-economic origin. Our data support the hypothesis that there is a relationship between class origin and resocialization. Table 3 reveals differential resocialization patterns according to social class origin. Those trainees of lower socioeconomic origin score higher on resocialization (the change variable) than do those trainees of higher socioeconomic origin. (Socioeconomic origin will hereafter be referred to as SES origin). The lower SES origin groups, who are more likely to be viewed as lacking those employee characteristics deemed favorable by employers, reveal a substantially greater acceptance of "hierarchical work values". The upper SES origin groups, probably by virtue of their prior familial socialization patterns, exhibit a much lower level of change in their attitudes toward an increase in a valuation of the employee-related traits as a result of their training experience.

As Table 1 indicated, the independent variables are

all positively correlated. It was therefore thought that it would be interesting to determine which independent variables are most important in explaining each of the dependent variables. To determine this, multivariate analysis was employed. The data are provided in Appendix B.

As discussed, social class origin has a negative association with resocialization. As Table 1 in Appendix B shows, social class origin and sex have the largest gross and direct effects on resocialization of all the independent variables.[5]

A major function of the training organization is the socialization of its clients into particular worker characteristics of an affective nature, not just the teaching of specific job skills of a cognitive nature such as welding, typing, or nursing skills. Since those in the upper socioeconomic origin levels appear to have previously internalized employee-related work norms (as indicated by their noticeably lower degrees of resocialization) we would expect them to be less likely to place importance on acquiring job-related values during their training. In contrast, they would be more likely to emphasize the importance of skill-acquisition during their training than would the lower SES origin groups.

The variations in results of resocialization and skill-acquisition levels as they relate to the respondent's occupational aspiration level are associated with variations in the respondent's socioeconomic origin. The high levels of

assimilation of "hierarchical work values" by those in middle and upper socioeconomic strata are associated with relatively high occupational aspirations. Those who aspire to middle level occupational positions, largely those of middle SES origins, are more aware of those "hierarchical employee values" expected of them, and necessary for success, in these jobs. These individuals are also most likely to realize that their higher job aspirations will be met through rising educational levels. Formal schooling is, of course, an important mechanism for socializing individuals into suitable and reliable employees as demanded by employers. Individuals who have attained little formal schooling are least likely to have acquired working habits that will make them "desirable" to employers. Consequently, positions of higher socioeconomic status are secured by those with higher levels of formal schooling. The major implication for the present research is that we would expect those from the middle socioeconomic groups, having both moderate formal educational attainments and middle level job backgrounds, to stress the importance of acquiring occupational skills during their period of training. They are less likely to place emphasis on learning good working habits which they have already learned through educational and familial influence, and values which in turn, have probably been reinforced through working at jobs which have required such employee traits as reliability, acquiescence, and stability. The data support our hypothesis that there is an association

between the importance of "resocialization versus skill-acquisition" and the respondent's prior occupation. Table 3 shows that those trainees who had held "low status" jobs are likely to score higher on resocialization than are those who held "high status" jobs prior to training. Responses to the question asking what the trainee viewed as the primary purpose of the training program (a question intended to separate the more "skill-acquisition oriented" from the more "resocialization oriented" trainees) also reveal interesting patterns. As Table 4 indicates, those in the high job status groups are more likely to view the primary aim of their training as being "to learn a new skill such as welding, typing, or nursing to get a new job", and are referred to as "skill-acquisition oriented". In contrast, those trainees in the low job status groups are more inclined to view the primary purpose of their training as being "to learn good working practices, such as fulfilling the work demands." For the lower job status group, the learning of those working traits which are rewarded through their interaction with training superiors becomes a goal taking precedence over the acquisition of job skills. The low job status group is hence referred to as being "resocialization oriented".

The responses to the question on level of planned "skill utilization" on post-training jobs (intended to distinguish the more skill-oriented trainees from those less skill-oriented) and a question intended to lend support to the variations in

TABLE 3*

Resocialization Level		Social Class Origin		Last Job Status	
		High	Low	High	Low
High	%	57.4	77.8	62.9	67.3
Low	%	42.6	22.2	37.1	32.7
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	54	36	35	52
Chi Square (1 df)		3.12, NS		.039, NS	

		Last Job Duration		Sex	
		Long	Short	Male	Female
High	%	63.3	66.7	60.0	71.1
Low	%	36.7	33.3	40.0	28.9
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	30	57	45	45
Chi Square (1 df)		.005, NS		.787, NS	

(* See Appendix A for additional tables.)

TABLE 4

Skill-acquisition vs. Resocialization orientation		Last Job Status		Last Job Duration	
		High	Low	Long	Short
Skill-acquisition	%	74.3	51.9	80.0	50.9
Resocialization	%	25.7	48.1	20.0	49.1
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	35	52	30	57
Chi Square (1 df)		3.51, NS		5.83, $p < .05$	
		Formal Education		Sex	
		High	Low	Male	Female
Skill-acquisition	%	74.0	40.0	93.3	24.4
Resocialization	%	26.0	60.0	6.7	75.6
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	50	40	45	45
Chi Square (1 df)		9.25, $p < .05$		41.305, $p < .05$	

TABLE 5

Skill Utilization		Last Job Status		Last Job Duration	
		High	Low	Long	Short
High	%	62.9	21.2	52.0	30.0
Low	%	37.1	78.8	48.0	70.0
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	35	52	30	57
Chi Square (1 df)		13.733, $p < .05$		1.715, NS	

		Formal Education		Sex	
		High	Low	Male	Female
High	%	64.0	2.5	44.4	28.9
Low	%	36.0	97.5	55.6	71.1
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	50	40	45	45
Chi Square (1 df)		33.594, $p < .05$		1.722, NS	

TABLE 6

Last Job Status		Sex	
		Male	Female
High	%	42.2	38.1
Low	%	57.8	61.9
Total	%	100.0	100.0
	N	45	42
Chi Square (1 df)		.030, NS	

TABLE 7

Last Job Duration		Sex	
		Male	Female
Long	%	40.0	28.6
Short	%	60.0	71.4
Total	%	100.0	100.0
	N	45	42
Chi Square (1 df)		.801, NS	

patterns of level of skill-orientation in the previously examined relationships, reveal that those in the upper job status group are considerably more likely to expect to make greater use of their newly learned skills in their post-training occupations. The low job status group, in contrast, is less likely to expect to utilize their skills in their subsequent workplaces (Table 5). Congruent with these results are those along formal educational attainment lines. Tables 4 and 5 indicate that there is a strong positive association between high educational attainment and the importance of skill-acquisition during training, as well as between high educational attainment and expectation of high skill utilization on the job following training.

Furthermore, the patterns of resocialization orientation versus skill-acquisition orientation vary according to the duration of the respondent's pre-training occupation. Those who had been less steadily employed are more inclined to score high on resocialization than those who had held steady jobs before training (Table 3). Those in the "short job duration" group tends to emphasize the importance of acquiring skills through their training (Table 4). Furthermore, as Table 5 points out, those respondents who had held their pre-training jobs for a comparatively longer period show a greater tendency to expect a high level of skill utilization in their post-training occupations. Those who had worked less steadily before entry to retraining are more likely to emphasize a lower

level of planned skill utilization in their later jobs.

These results are confirmed by the zero-order correlations and the beta coefficients in Table 2 in Appendix B. Job status and job duration have positive zero-order correlations with skill-acquisition versus resocialization orientation. The beta coefficients show that the positive independent effects of job status and job duration on skill-acquisition versus resocialization orientation are consistent with their overall effects. Both job status and job duration are seen to have quite similar direct effects on skill-acquisition versus resocialization orientation. In addition are the consistent gross and direct effects of job status and job duration on skill utilization (Table 3, Appendix B). Job status and job duration have similar direct effects on skill utilization. However, formal educational attainment makes the largest contribution to skill utilization of all the independent variables, although its direct effect is much weaker than its gross effect. This variation is largely because of the effects of job status and job duration on both formal educational attainment and skill utilization. In contrast with the important effect of formal educational attainment on skill utilization is its contribution to skill-acquisition versus resocialization orientation. While educational attainment does have both a positive zero-order correlation with, and direct effect on, skill-acquisition versus resocialization orientation, it does not have as large an effect as do other independent variables.

Our data lead us to the following conclusions. Respondents of higher SES origins are more likely to enter upper level job positions, while those of lower SES origins hold lower level occupational positions characterized by high turnover rates and low wages. While the upper level job incumbents may largely receive the higher job positions perhaps initially because of their more stable employment patterns and their greater levels of "worker value internalization", it is likely that their lengthier job stays serve to strengthen their existing "employee value systems". The lower level job incumbents, in contrast, may obtain low level job positions precisely because they lack stable job history patterns and the same extent of "employee value orientation". For these reasons, they may experience considerably briefer job stays as well as lengthier unemployment durations. As a result, those in both the lower prior job status groups and shorter prior job duration levels are found to reveal substantial increases in an acceptance of a set of "worker personality traits", while the upper prior job status groups and those in the longer prior job duration levels emphasize the importance of skill-acquisition in their training involvement.

We also found important sex differences in trainees' patterns of resocialization orientation and skill-acquisition. Table 3 shows that females are more likely to score high on the resocialization variable than are their male counterparts.

The same pattern appears when one examines respondents' views of the primary purpose of training participation by sex. Table 4 shows that males are far more inclined to view the main purpose of their training as a means to acquire new skills to obtain employment. Females, on the other hand, are more likely to view learning good working habits as the prime importance of their training involvement. These variations in the patterns of the trainees' primary training goal are further supported by the variations in the trainees' expected level of skill utilization in jobs following training (Table 5). While males stress that they plan to utilize their skills to a great extent in their subsequent occupations, females are more inclined to expect a lower level of skill utilization in their post-training occupations. Sex is found to have the second most important direct effect on resocialization after social class origin. Sex also has the greatest independent effect on skill-acquisition versus resocialization orientation of all the independent variables (Tables 1 and 2, Appendix B).

One can speculate about the reasons for these sex differences. The differential socialization patterns of male and female children, in the home and outside, may result in sex variations in the internalization of "worker-related personality traits". As a result, an increased level of "hierarchical employee value" acceptance by females as compared with males is exhibited in the present findings. While males

are more likely to expect that their dominant role will be the work role, females are more likely to have been socialized into a domestic role. In western societies, men are more inclined to hold upper level job positions, while women, when employed, are found in lower level job positions. It may be that males' worker values are reinforced because of their higher job positions and their more stable employment histories. Females, on the other hand, lacking the same degree of employment stability and employee value orientation, obtain low level jobs characterized by shorter stays (Tables 6 and 7). The data presented here leads us to conclude that females are, consequently, inducted into a "worker-related personality value set" with considerably more determination on the part of the training institution, and perhaps because of this reveal a greater likelihood of acquiring "favorable employee-related traits" during training. They are much less likely, than are males, to emphasize the importance of the training program as a means by which to acquire job skills for later occupational participation. The stronger emphasis by the female trainees on the greater relevance of employee-related personality traits reflects the distinction in the nature of the training process between the sexes. The jobs that are customarily open to women require relatively low skills, but do require especially that "good working habits" be practiced. Female trainees perceive the importance of personality attributes for success in their post-training jobs which are

predominantly of a personal service and customer-oriented nature. Males, on the other hand, training for occupations of a technical nature, are less likely to view these employee traits as being as significant for success in their subsequent jobs.

Women's relative lack of interest in acquiring skills may also be partly explained by their views of their economic contributions as largely supplementing family income. They may therefore be more willing to accept both temporary employment (Table 8) and low wages (Table 9).

Differences in Adjustment to the Worker-Trainee Role

We have already shown that respondents of lower socio-economic origins, lower job aspirations, lower educational attainment, lower status jobs, and the shorter job duration groups were the most likely to emphasize increases in re-socialization. In addition, women stressed resocialization more than did men. We pointed out that these variations might arise because these particular groups had not internalized "employee values" to such a high degree prior to re-training. These particular groups may have value sets which differ from the value sets inculcated by the retraining organization. It is therefore likely that these groups would have the most difficulty in adapting to the new roles and new behavior required of them in the retraining organization. As was suggested, it may be that those individuals with lower

TABLE 8

Post-Training Employment		Sex	
		Male	Female
Full-time	%	88.9	66.7
Part-time	%	11.1	33.3
Total	%	100.0	100.0
	N	45	45
Chi Square (1 df)		5.207, $p < .05$	

TABLE 9

Occupational Aspirations		Sex	
		Male	Female
High	%	59,1	51.1
Low.	%	40.9	48.9
Total	%	100.0	100.0
	N	44	45
Chi-Square (1 df)		.295, NS	

educational attainment obtain low status jobs in part because previous upbringing and schooling did not socialize them into those traits perceived by employers as conducive to "obedient" and "well-motivated" workers. Similarly, females, who emphasize the importance of learning "desirable worker values" during training, were thought to be less likely before entering training, to be as aware as males as to what was required of those in the employee role. One would expect that both trainees with little formal schooling and of low pre-training job backgrounds and female trainees, would have more difficulty both in meeting the demands for overall rule conformity in the training institution and in the more specific work demands of their training superiors.

That there is a greater difference between the views of the least educated individuals and those of lower job statuses, and females, as compared with the views of the more educated and upper job status groups, and males, as well as that between the lower strata and the training institution, is further expected to be supported by the results of the degree of difficulty experienced in conforming as future workers in the training school as compared with the prior workplace. These results will be examined in the following section which deals with the comparative difficulty in worker conformity between the prior workplace and the school. We expected that both the lower educational attainment groups and the lower job status groups, as well as female trainees, would

be most likely to have more problems in adjusting to the demands of authority in the retraining environment than in their previous workplaces. Consequently, we assumed that they would be more inclined, than would either males or those from higher educational attainment levels and upper job status levels, to emphasize a greater degree of preparation for conformity to on-the-job rules and regulations following training as a result of their training involvement. We also expected that trainees from lower educational levels, lower status job backgrounds, and females would stress greater levels of preparation through their training for meeting the demands of future work superiors.

We did in fact find these patterns. We asked trainees how easy or how difficult they found meeting various rules and regulations of the school. Examples of rules were punctuality, and finishing their work objectives quickly and in an acceptable manner. In addition, the trainees were also asked how easy or how difficult they found meeting the demands of their teachers. They were asked, for example, how difficult they found following the work instructions and procedures. Table 10 shows that those trainees who had more education are much more likely to find conforming to the rules and regulations of the daily school requirements relatively easy. Those with lower educational attainments find meeting these requirements more difficult. Similarly, the pattern of results for level of difficulty experienced by the trainees in

following their teachers' work instructions reinforces the previous findings (Table 10). As Table 11 indicates, those with more formal schooling have fewer problems in adhering to the work requirements of their superiors, while those with less formal schooling have more difficulty in following work instructions.

As anticipated, these results closely parallel the results relating to the variations in "rule conformity" according to the prior job status of the trainee. Table 10 shows that having difficulty with rules is also associated with having held a low rather than a high status pre-training job. Also, congruent with these results are those variations in level of difficulty encountered in conforming to the superiors' work demands (Table 11). The low prior job status group is noticeably more likely to express a high level of difficulty in meeting its superiors' requirements for conforming behavior than is the upper pre-training job status group.

We also found that those trainees who experienced a lengthy pre-training job duration are much more inclined to emphasize a low amount of difficulty in both meeting the school's regulations and in meeting teachers' requirements. In contrast, those trainees who had experienced brief pre-school job durations find they have both greater dificulty in conforming to the institution's overall system of rules and regulations, as well as greater difficulty in satisfying the

TABLE 10

Rule Conformity		Formal Education		Last Job Status	
		High	Low	High	Low
High Difficulty	%	30.0	92.5	31.4	76.9
Low Difficulty	%	70.0	7.9	68.6	23.1
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	50	40	35	52
Chi Square (1 df)		33.067, $p < .05$		16.024, $p < .05$	

		Last Job Duration		Sex	
		Long	Short	Male	Female
High Difficulty	%	23.3	77.2	37.8	77.8
Low Difficulty	%	76.7	22.8	62.2	22.2
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	30	57	45	45
Chi Square (1 df)		21.338, $p < .05$		13.163, $p < .05$	

TABLE 11

Meeting Teachers' Demands		Formal Education		Last Job Status	
		High	Low	High	Low
High Difficulty	%	32.0	95.0	34.3	78.8
Low Difficulty	%	68.0	5.0	65.7	21.2
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	50	40	35	52
Chi Square (1 df)		34.172, $p < .05$		15.626, $p < .05$	
		Last Job Duration		Sex	
		Long	Short	Male	Female
High Difficulty	%	26.7	78.9	42.2	77.8
Low Difficulty	%	73.3	21.1	57.8	22.2
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	30	57	45	45
Chi Square (1 df)		20.423, $p < .05$		10.417, $p < .05$	

instructors' demands that they follow certain work instructions and procedures.

As the zero-order correlations and beta coefficients in Tables 4 and 5 in Appendix B indicate, formal educational attainment has strong positive gross and direct effects on the "difficulty" variables. It is most important in explaining variations in level of difficulty in both adhering to the school's regulations and in following work instructions and procedures. The beta coefficients reveal that prior job status and employment duration also make considerable independent contributions toward results in difficulty in adjustment to the worker-trainee role. However, the direct effects of job duration are considerably weaker than its gross effects. This is largely attributable to the effects of formal education and prior job status on both job duration and "worker adjustment" levels. While the direct effects of sex on "difficulty" are not as great as either educational attainment or prior job status, sex does reveal substantial independent effects on variations in worker-trainee adjustment (Tables 4 and 5, Appendix B).

The greater difficulty experienced by women in adjusting to the rules of the school and their training superiors relative to the men is shown in Tables 10 and 11. In interpreting this result, we would suggest that the womens' greater difficulties in adjusting to the behavior exacted of those in the employee role reflects first, their greater lack of

"worker-norm internalization" relative to male trainees, and second, the fact that the "female" programs in the retraining organization place particular emphasis on certain aspects of their resocialization. We have already discussed the emphasis on grooming habits and modes of self-presentation in programs training women for clerical and nursing jobs.

Differences in Worker-Trainee Conformity in the Training Institution and on the Pre-Training Job

We have already shown that those of lower educational attainment, lower prior job statuses, and briefer employment durations are most likely to stress higher difficulty in conforming both to the rules and regulations imposed by the training institution and to the requirements of their training supervisors. Women trainees are also found to have more difficulty than the male trainees. The greater problems in adjusting to the "employee role" by these groups may be attributed to differences between their pre-training level of predispostion toward "desirable" employee values and the level of internalization of worker traits which the retraining organization seeks to develop in these groups of trainees.

These findings become especially important when we consider the level of difficulty in conforming during training as it relates to the respondent's employment history. Here we are interested in extending the differences in trainees' adjustments during the training period by comparing them

specifically with their pre-training working experiences. While it is expected that the patterns in comparative level of difficulty in trainee conformity will be consistent with the more "static" level of trainee conformity as examined in the previous section, it is anticipated that the present findings will clarify variations in worker compliance through a more "dynamic" comparison with the trainee's job background.

Responses to the question on level of difficulty in worker conformity comparing the individuals' conformity during training with their conformity in their prior workplace are expected to reveal significant results according to the trainees' formal educational attainment and prior job status. There are greater differences between the views of those respondents with relatively low levels of education who have held low status jobs of brief durations as compared with the views of the more educated respondents who have held higher status jobs of lengthy durations, in addition to those between both the former groups and the retraining organization. These differences are expected to become manifested in the variations in patterns of the comparative degree of worker conformity difficulty between the retraining environment and the prior occupational environment.

The hypotheses regarding the relationship between "comparative level of difficulty" in worker-trainee compliance along formal educational attainment divisions are confirmed. Trainees were asked how difficult they found conforming to

TABLE 12

Job Rule Conformity		Formal Education		Last Job Status	
		High	Low	High	Low
More Difficult	%	14.0	77.5	22.9	55.8
Similar	%	86.0	22.5	77.1	44.2
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	50	40	35	52
Chi Square (1 df)		34.174, $p < .05$		7.973, $p < .05$	
		Last Job Duration		Sex	
		Long	Short	Male	Female
More Difficult	%	20.0	54.4	24.4	60.0
Similar	%	80.0	45.6	75.6	40.0
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	30	57	45	45
Chi Square (1 df)		8.154, $p < .05$		10.248, $p < .05$	
		Resocialization			
		High	Low		
More Difficult	%	45.8	35.5		
Similar	%	54.2	64.5		
Total	%	100.0	100.0		
	N	59	31		
Chi Square (1 df)		.509, NS			

TABLE 13

Supervisor Conformity		Formal Education		Last Job Status	
		High	Low	High	Low
More Difficult	%	8.0	67.5	17.1	46.2
Similar	%	92.0	32.5	82.9	53.8
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	50	40	35	52
Chi Square (1 df)		32.256, $p < .05$		6.562, $p < .05$	
		Last Job Duration		Sex	
		Long	Short	Male	Female
More Difficult	%	13.3	45.6	24.4	44.4
Similar	%	86.7	54.4	75.6	55.6
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	30	57	45	45
Chi Square (1 df)		7.693, $p < .05$		3.150, NS	
		Resocialization			
		High	Low		
More Difficult	%	37.3	29.0		
Similar	%	62.7	71.0		
Total	%	100.0	100.0		
	N	59	31		
Chi Square (1 df)		.302, NS			

the rules and regulations in school as compared with any difficulty experienced in conforming to the rules and regulations on their last job. They were asked about such matters as getting to work every day on time and finishing their work tasks on time and acceptably. Also, they were asked how easy or how difficult they found conforming to the specific demands made by their training superiors as compared with meeting demands of their previous supervisors. As the results in Table 12 illustrate, the group with low educational levels is more likely to find greater difficulty in meeting the demands of rules and regulations in the training place as compared with their pre-training workplace. The high educational group show a different pattern. These people find adhering to the regulations of the training center no more difficult than meeting the demands of their previous workplace. Also, the results in Table 13 show that low educational attainment is associated with a higher level of difficulty in conforming to the classroom superiors' requests relative to that of the work superior during previous employment.

Table 12 also shows that those respondents of low prior status jobs,and of briefer employment durations, are more likely to have greater difficulty in complying with the regulations at the training institution than they experienced during previous employment. In contrast, those who held high status jobs or those with lengthy employment durations exhibit a tendency toward no difference in adhering to rules and

regulations between the school and the past workplace. In accordance with these patterns are those shown in Table 13. These findings indicate that those who have had low status employment and shorter job stays have greater problems in adhering to their training teachers' work demands than they found with previous job supervisors.

As the results in Tables 6 and 7 in Appendix B indicate, formal educational attainment has the greatest negative direct effect on both conforming to rules and in meeting teachers' demands during retraining as compared with experiences in previous workplaces. These findings are of major importance when one considers that the main function of the retraining organization is to compensate for deficiencies in prior "worker socialization". The results relating to formal education are important because we have, in the retraining organization, an environment which closely approximates the working environment, but at the same time, has the means for socializing individuals into future workers which on-the-job training does not provide. Resocialization in the retraining institute occurs because of the nature of the teacher-trainee relationship which only the formal training school setting can provide. While teachers view their role as encouraging individuals into being disciplined and motivated workers, employers do not see their task as such. While the job itself serves to reinforce employee values, employers expect potential workers to have already internalized, either

TABLE 14

Duration of Unemployment		Sex	
		Male	Female
1 week to 1 month	%	24.4	6.8
Greater than 1 month to 6 months	%	20.0	6.7
1 year to 2 years	%	11.1	13.3
3 years to 4 years	%	17.8	4.4
Greater than 4 years to 5 years	%	15.6	24.4
Greater than 5 years to 7 years	%	11.1	44.4
Total	%	100.0	100.0
	N	45	45
Chi Square (5 df)		26.913, $p < .05$	

through the family or the educational process, those values requisite for "good" employee performance.

That the least educated trainees experience greater difficulty in complying with demands for obedience and control in the teacher-trainee relationship than they did during their prior supervisor-worker relationship may be explained by the fact that they obtained lower status employment because of their lack of formal education. The findings along formal educational attainment lines were found to be reinforced by the results according to the respondent's working background. In light of the "compensatory" character of the socialization process in the retraining institution, and since a great deal of emphasis is placed by employers on a prospective employee's hireability according to the individual's job history, including both its nature and its steadiness, it is significant that the trainee's past job status and the length of employment are found to be key indicators as to variations in the trainee's comparative difficulty in complying with demands for conformity between the training organization and past workplaces.

We would also expect that females would have greater difficulty in coping with work demands during their training program experiences relative to their previous employment experiences. While most of the female respondents have held work prior to entering training, they have generally occupied low status jobs. In addition, they have worked less steadily than the male trainees (Table 14).[6] Just as female trainees

were found to score higher on resocialization than were male trainees (Table 3), they are also more likely to stress greater difficulty in conforming to the rules and regulations in the training institution, and to their immediate training superiors, as compared with their previous jobs. In contrast, male trainees are more inclined to find no greater difficulty in conforming in training than they had found in previous jobs.

Trainees who find conforming in school harder than they found conforming on the job are likely to be experiencing more "compensatory" employee socialization than those trainees who find little or no difference in comparative compliance between the job and during training. Those who have greater difficulty should be most likely to show high resocialization levels. The results confirm this (Tables 12 and 13). Those in the "high resocialization" group are more likely to express a greater amount of difficulty in encountering the regulatory demands of the institution in comparison with those demands made on the job. In contrast, those in the "low resocialization" group are more inclined to find no difference between conforming to the demands of their training environment or their training superiors as compared with meeting the requirements of either the job in general or those demands exerted by their superiors in the workplace.

Conforming as Worker-Trainees in the Training Institution as Preparation for Conforming on the Post-Training Job

We have found that those with lower educational attainment levels, and those of low status job backgrounds, and female trainees are most likely to experience resocialization. We also expect that these groups of trainees will show greater preparation for "on-the-job employee conformity" as a result of their retraining.

The predicted relationships between formal educational attainment, and sex, and "level of preparation for employee conformity" following retraining are supported by the findings. Trainees were asked whether or not they felt that conforming to the rules here at school would help to prepare them to conform to the rules and regulations on their next, post-training job. Table 15 indicates that trainees of low educational attainment are more inclined to feel that the training period is teaching them to cope with the system of rules and regulations they will encounter in their subsequent workplaces. Those trainees of higher educational attainment, on the other hand, do not feel that their training will be as useful for coping with rule requirements following training.

We also examined trainees' views on whether meeting the demands and requirements of the teachers in school would help them to prepare for meeting the work demands made by the supervisor in their next workplace. This aspect of "employee preparation" was preceded by a question on teacher conformity

TABLE 15

Rule Conformity Preparation		Formal Education		Job Duration		Sex	
		High	Low	Long	Short	Male	Female
High Preparation	%	60.0	80.0	36.7	84.2	62.2	75.6
Low Preparation	%	40.0	20.0	63.3	15.8	37.8	24.4
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	50	40	30	57	45	45
Chi Square (1 df)		3.267, NS		18.236, $p < .05$		1.297, NS	

TABLE 17

Supervisor Conformity Preparation		Formal Education		Job Duration		Sex	
		High	Low	Long	Short	Male	Female
High Preparation	%	66.0	72.5	50.0	77.2	53.3	84.4
Low Preparation	%	34.0	27.5	50.0	22.8	46.7	15.6
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	50	40	30	57	45	45
Chi Square (1 df)		.187, NS		5.472, $p < .05$		8.762, $p < .05$	

in school which was intended to reinforce the variations in preparation for conforming to post-training supervisors' work requirements. Trainees were asked whether they felt that a student should always act in accordance with the teacher's expectations. As Table 16 illustrates, those of low educational attainment stress the importance of invariably or frequently behaving in a manner congruent with the teacher's expectations.

TABLE 16

Teacher Conformity		Formal Education		Sex	
		High	Low	Male	Female
High Conformity	%	44.0	67.5	24.4	84.4
Low Conformity	%	56.0	32.5	75.6	15.6
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	50	40	45	45
Chi Square (1 df)		4.046, $p < .05$		30.284, $p < .05$	

The more educated trainees are much more inclined to endorse occasional nonconformity or even independence of action. They feel that the student, rather than the teacher, should be the one to decide the appropriate behavior in the classroom.

These variations in "teacher conformity" are in keeping with the patterns of "preparation for post-training supervisor conformity" along educational attainment lines. Table 17 shows

that there is an association between low formal educational background and high levels of preparation for satisfying superiors' demands in future jobs.

We suggested earlier that the retraining institution, as an allocator of social roles, functions primarily for socializing individuals into reliable employees, and only secondarily as a transmitter of cognitive knowledge. Since, in general, formal schooling is important in socializing individuals into employee roles, then the formal educational attainment of the client would be an important concern to the retraining organization. Viewing themselves in the capacity of a "re-educational", or "re-socialization" organization, a priority in the socialization process would be to reduce this differential in the degree of working value internalization between themselves and their clients, as well as to reinforce these values in clients already having attained "adequate" employee socialization. Viewed in this perspective as an agent of resocialization, the end result of the organization is to prepare all retrainees to similar levels of worker value internalization.

While formal educational attainment has a relatively large negative independent effect on "worker preparation", the respondent's pre-training employment duration has the greatest direct effect (Tables 8 and 10, Appendix B). As Tables 15 and 17 show, there is an association between brief duration of employment and higher preparation into the post-

training employee role.

Congruent with the differential resocialization patterns by sex (Table 3), are those variations in levels of preparation for rule conformity. Table 15 shows that females are more likely than are males, to feel that this type of preparation will be of considerable help in enabling them to adjust to the overall work demands of the job following training.

In addition, females are found to stress the importance of conforming to the teacher's expectations, while males are much more inclined toward self-determined behavior (Table 16). These variations in teacher conformity in the classroom are supported by the differential patterns in preparation for adhering to employer's job demands following training. Women in particular felt that the experience of conforming to training supervisors' demands would be very useful in preparing them for future employment (Table 17).

Sex has the greatest direct effect on conformity to teachers' expectations of all the independent variables (Table 9, Appendix B). The sex difference in conformity to teachers' expectations, while not surprising, is important when viewed in terms of the organization's aims in socializing female trainees. It is females' more characteristic conceding behavior which allows for the retraining program's accomplishment in their greater concern in socializing future female employees. This greater submissiveness, in turn, contributes toward explaining females' higher employee preparation levels as compared with males. While the male trainees do express some

preparation, it is to a considerably lower degree than the female trainees. And, as it has previously been discussed, the reason for this greater preparation of females is a consequence of the greater "need" from the training program's perspective for fitting them into largely low level "white-collar" service and clerical occupations which require predominantly a high valuation and adherence to work instructions and office procedures.

In addition to whether the trainees felt they were being prepared during training for coping with regulatory measures and supervisors' obedience demands in their subsequent jobs, they were also asked whether they felt that the daily work routine of their training program would help them to settle into the daily work routine in the post-training job. Perhaps the most important findings regarding "work routinization" are those variations relating to both the status of the trainee's pre-training job and the duration of their employment. Table 18 shows these variations. The high job status groups are less inclined to feel that the retraining program supplies a high amount of preparation for "work routinization" than are the low job status groups. The low job status groups are more likely to feel that they are being prepared for stepping into the routine of work following their training. Furthermore, those trainees who had shorter pre-training occupational durations are more likely to feel that training will provide preparation for adhering to the routine procedures in their next jobs. As Table 11 in Appendix B indicates, prior occupation

has the most important direct negative effect on work routinization. In addition, job duration makes a relatively large independent contribution toward preparation for job routinization.

TABLE 18

Work Routinization		Last Job Status		Last Job Duration	
		High	Low	Long	Short
High Preparation	%	28.6	59.6	50.0	77.2
Low Preparation	%	71.4	40.4	50.0	22.8
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	35	52	30	57
Chi Square (1 df)		6.893, $p < .05$		5.472, $p < .05$	

These variations according to job status are important because jobs of a lower status are more likely than are jobs of a higher status to be characterized by such elements as considerable routinization of job procedures, and repetitiveness of work tasks. In addition, it may be that largely as a result of the routine nature of these lower status occupations, are their great turnover rates and briefer employment durations relative to jobs of a higher status. While jobs in both the "high" status and the "low" status divisions as used here are characterized by comparatively high levels of routine in working procedures in relation to the entire occupational

structure, those incumbents enduring employment for lengthier periods are more likely to have learned to adhere to the routine nature of their occupations. Consequently, it is important that those who held lower status pre-training jobs are now viewing the training experience as helping them to settle into a regular work routine following training. Consistent with these variations, and equally important, is the greater emphasis on preparation into work routinization by those trainees who held their previous employment for comparatively brief durations. If during the course of retraining workers can be trained into accepting and fulfilling highly routine work, then they are more likely to stay for longer periods in post-training jobs. This would be important to employers who want to be supplied with a pool of people who will remain attached to low status employment.

We now explore the extent to which the retrainees' present schooling experience has affected their levels of interest in working. Respondents were asked whether they felt more interested in working, less interested in working, or felt the same about working now as compared with how they felt before they entered the training program. Table 19 shows that those trainees in the upper job status group are more inclined to feel that there has been no change in their level of interest in working since entering the retraining program. However, those trainees who had held lower pre-training jobs claim that their enthusiasm for work has

increased since they began training. Furthermore, those trainees who had worked for relatively short periods prior to retraining are most likely to express rising interest in working. Those trainees who had experienced longer periods of pre-training employment feel that they are as interested now in working as they were prior to entering school.

From the point of view of the retraining institution, socializing future workers to accept the work ethic is important. That working is viewed as worthwhile, especially by those who had histories of unstable employment and lower status jobs, would be considered by the school as a major objective of retraining. The increased interest of workers in working would be crucial to an institution which attempts to reduce unemployment and worker instability in low status job sectors by encouraging workers to participate in those types of jobs which are basic to the maintenance of the existing socioeconomic system.

A large independent effect on "work interest" is contributed by the respondent's pre-training job status (Table 12, Appendix B). The direct effect of employment duration is also relatively strong, but the greatest independent effect on work interest is according to the sex of the trainee (Table 12, Appendix B).

A major finding is the sex difference in changes in interest in working. Table 19 shows that among retrainees, females experience an overwhelming increase in interest in

TABLE 19

Work Interest		Last Job Status		Last Job Duration	
		High	Low	Long	Short
Higher Interest Level	%	62.9	80.8	56.7	82.5
Similar Interest Level	%	37.1	19.2	43.3	17.5
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	35	52	30	57
Chi Square (1 df)		2.592, NS		5.461, $p < .05$	
		Sex		Resocialization	
		Male	Female	High	Low
Higher Interest Level	%	55.6	93.3	86.4	51.6
Similar Interest Level	%	44.4	6.7	13.6	48.4
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	45	45	59	31
Chi Square (1 df)		14.951, $p < .05$		11.191, $p < .05$	

working. Male trainees do not experience this. In interpreting these sex differences, we are led to consider the previous findings regarding the more sporadic patterns of the women's employment and their briefer job stays relative to men.[7] It is important that female trainees, who might be expected to place less emphasis on the occupational role, are in the process of being socialized into the employee role. They are altering their self-concepts and their views about participation in the world of work. Women who are leaving the home for work are, simply because they face a change, more likely to be enthusiastic than are men for whom working involves less change. While females are much more likely than males to pursue part-time employment, the nature of women's work remains unchanged. It has been shown that most of the female trainees will be in both service and clerical positions which bring them in contact with the public. It is important to employers that women who do work, perform well in the employee role and show enthusiasm for their work. In contrast, jobs that involve little or no contact with the public, such as those which will be filled by the male trainees, would be less likely to demand overt enthusiasm.

These variations in patterns of work interest according to both the prior job status group and the sex of the trainee parallel those relating to the resocialization group of the trainee. Table 19 points out that the "high resocialization group" is more inclined to emphasize an increased interest in

work during retraining than they experienced before training. The "low resocialization group" expresses similar interest in working now as compared to their pre-training interest in working. The greater interest in working by the "high resocialization group" represents, from the perspective of the retraining organization, a successful "balance" in the resocialization process. Not only will these particular trainees now perform as resocialized, reliable, and conforming employees, but in addition, will be enthusiastic about the role of work in their lives.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Chapter I, pp. 41-42.

2. McClelland, D.C., et. al. The Achievement Motive (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953); Stephenson, Richard M. "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders", American Sociological Review, v. 22, 1957, pp. 204-212.

3. See Chapter II, p. 70.

4. Berg, Ivar. Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971); Gintis, Herbert. "Education, Technology, and the Characteristics of Worker Productivity", American Economic Review, v. 61, 1971, pp. 266-279.

5. For the multivariate analysis, the independent variables were coded as follows. Social class origin, Occupational aspirations, Formal educational attainment, and Prior job status (High = 1; Low = 0). Job duration was coded (Long = 1; Short = 0). Sex was coded (Male = 1; Female = 0). Total unemployment duration was coded (3 years to 7 years, or Long = 1; 1 week to 2 years, or Short = 0). Among the dependent variables, Resocialization was coded (High = 1; Low = 0); Skill-acquisition versus Resocialization orientation (Skill-acquisition orientation = 1; Resocialization orientation = 0); Skill utilization, Rule conformity, and Meeting teachers' demands (High = 1; Low = 0); Job rule conformity and Supervisor conformity (More difficult = 1; Similar = 0); Teacher conformity (High = 1; Low = 0); Rule conformity preparation and Supervisor conformity preparation (High = 1; Low = 0); Work routinization (High = 1; Low = 0); Work interest (Higher interest = 1; Similar interest = 0).

6. See Table 13, Appendix B. The relationships between sex and "job rule conformity" and "supervisor conformity" remain constant when they are controlled by each of prior job status, job duration, and total unemployment duration. This is indicated by the consistency of the zero-order correlations and beta coefficients across the table.

7. See Table 13, Appendix B. The relationship between sex and "work interest" remains constant when it is controlled by each of prior job status, job duration, and total unemployment duration. This is indicated by the consistency of the zero-order correlations and beta coefficients across the table.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary

The present study was concerned with Institutional Manpower Retraining Programs. This recently developed form of educational organization is viewed as playing an integral role in the production of the capitalist labor force, the reproduction of the class structure, and in the perpetuation of the dominant values and ideologies of the existing social order. In this study, the retraining institution was perceived in terms of its relationship to the total social system. Certain social factors were associated with variations in one of the retraining organization's major functions of teaching trainees to internalize particular values.

For the purposes of the present research, two processes were identified as occurring in the retraining organization: "skill acquisition" and socialization into "worker-related personality traits". Previous studies dealing with the role of the family in occupational value socialization suggest that the values passed to offspring by the middle and upper socioeconomic groups are favorable towards hierarchical social arrangements. Acceptance of hierarchical values facilitates both success in, and higher levels of, formal education and movement into middle level occupational positions.

Those of lower class origins, in contrast, were viewed as having less help from parents in learning to cope with hierarchical arrangements. Those of lower social class origins are more likely to attain lower levels of formal schooling and to hold lower status jobs.

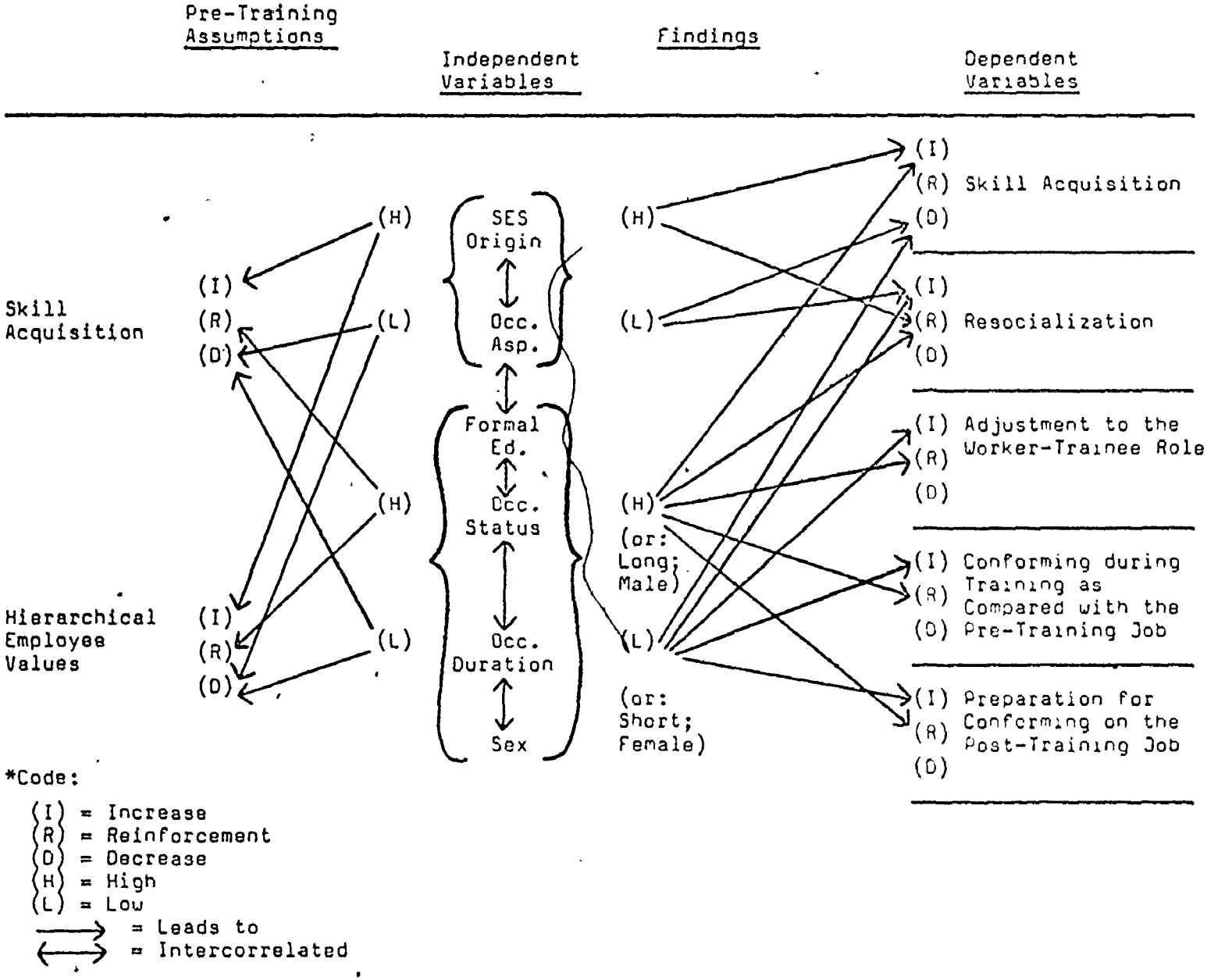
Our research showed that class of origin influenced the retraining experience. In addition, the respondent's prior occupational status was viewed as an extension of class origin, and this was also found to be an important source of variation in the retraining process. Differences in emphasis on "skill acquisition" and "resocialization" were found to be related to the prior occupational background of the trainee. There was an association between having a resocialization orientation and having had a low status pre-training employment background. Those with a skill-acquisition orientation had held higher status pre-training occupations. The relationship between higher status employment background and skill-acquisition suggested that these individuals were more likely to view rising skill levels as relevant to their post-training occupational positions. Also, the very experience of having held a high status job would likely encourage the learning of job skills. Job training is of a general nature and largely represents certification for an occupational field (e.g., clerical, and industrial welding certification) rather than for a specific job. Therefore, variations in levels of jobs obtained following training may well occur. It may be that

trainees with middle level employment backgrounds are more confident of obtaining jobs which they consider as requiring comparatively high skills. Consequently, they are likely to view increasing their skills during training as particularly important to their post-training job success. Those with histories of low status employment are more inclined to emphasize the primary purpose of their training program as acquiring those "desirable" employee characteristics which they anticipate will be important to success in post-training employment. The greater resocialization orientation of the lower status job groups relative to the upper status job groups was explained as resulting from their comparative lack of those particular "employee values" viewed by the retraining organization as being necessary for smooth entry into post-training work. For these particular groups of trainees, the social climate in the retraining institution allowed for the learning of "employee-related values".

While the findings indicate that groups differ in the extent to which they experience a resocialization process, the patterns do not fall into a strict dichotomy. While an increase in assimilation of "employee-related values" is occurring among certain groups of individuals during retraining, a process of reinforcement is occurring among other groups of individuals. This two-dimensional aspect of the retraining process is represented paradigmatically in Chart 1. For example, the increase in resocialization by the lower status

CHART 1

SUMMARY OF RESULTS *



*Code:

(I) (R) (D) (H) (L)

= Increase
= Reinforcement
= Decrease
= High
= Low

⟶ = Leads to

⟷ = Intercorrelated

job group is represented by an arrow from this group to (I), or increase, on "Resocialization". The reinforcement in resocialization among the upper status job group is indicated by the arrow to (R), or reinforcement. Also, the distinction in "Skill Acquisition" between these groups is shown in the chart by an arrow from the latter group to (I), who emphasize skill acquisition, and by an arrow from the lower status job group to (D), who place comparatively less emphasis on the importance of skill acquisition in the retraining program. The other relationships are also represented in this chart.

As the chart also shows, skill acquisition was found to be of greater importance to the male trainees (I) during the training program relative to the female trainees (D). The greater skill committment of the men was interpreted as reflecting the more immediate nature of their economic responsibilities. Our findings may also be conditioned somewhat by the fact that we have been, for some time, in a period of relatively high unemployment. With jobs less readily available, men may become dependent on the training program as they may not be able to get work as easily or as well-paying without completing training and obtaining jobs that utilize their skills acquired during their training.

As the chart indicates, females were more likely than males to emphasize resocialization (I). The process of resocialization was viewed as being reinforced (R) in males. Of particular importance, the increase in female trainees'

internalization of worker-related traits was viewed as largely resulting from their anticipation of those job charateristics necessary for successful performance in the feminine employee role.

The two-dimensional aspect of the worker-trainee socialization continuum was extended to the variations experienced by the retrainees in conforming to institutional work rules and regulations, especially as they related to both the respondent's formal educational attainment and employment background. These findings were considered to be of central importance when viewed in terms of the compensatory nature of the retraining organization's socialization process. As illustrated in Chart 1, those of both low educational attainments and of low status job histories were most likely to experience an increase (I) in difficulty in following the specified working procedures and instructions during their training as compared with their pre-training work experience. Among those with more formal education and of higher status job backgrounds, there were similarities in felt difficulty in adhering to the work rules and regulations of the training school as compared with previous employment experiences. For these latter individuals, a process of reinforcement (R) in employee conformity is indicated. This is shown in the chart.

Women's greater difficulty in coping with working procedures and in meeting specific requirements of immediate superiors during training relative to before training is also

depicted in the chart. This finding implied that females were undergoing a greater transition during retraining between their prior "blue-collar" jobs into a "femininization" for their "white-collar" clerical and service occupations. Furthermore, these results were found to be supported by the female trainees' greater emphasis on preparation during their training for following work instructions on the job after training. Males, in contrast, finding the experience of meeting work demands and procedures in training as consistent with their past working experience, expressed lower degrees of "employee preparation". These results suggested that experience in the retraining program does provide for some preparation for the occupational role. These sex variations in "Conforming during training as compared with the pre-training job" and "Preparation for conforming on the post-training job" are represented in Chart 1. The relative increases in "employee preparation" by those of lower educational attainments and lower status employment backgrounds are also shown in the chart. In particular, these results showed the role played by institutional retraining programs in moulding individuals who had not previously been socialized to "fit" the occupational roles for which they were now destined.

The Role of Manpower Policy in the Larger Perspective

The Manpower Retraining Institution's approach clearly suggests that the source of unemployment is not structural but

results from the inadequacies of individual trainees. The institutional response to unemployment is to effect change by resocializing the unemployed and preparing them to better meet employers' demands in the prevailing job market. Based on the human capital approach to both underemployment and unemployment, manpower retraining policies work on the assumption that low levels of education, training, and skills are associated with low wages and low socioeconomic status. It is argued that through rising levels of education and training, the under- and unemployed are more likely to obtain employment and become upwardly mobile. More skill training and job mobility are related with increased income. This is supported by an analysis of the entire range of occupations, from the most to the least skilled. The high correlations between income and skills are taken as indicating the centrality of human capital elements in the determination of variations in income levels.

An analysis based on the entire range of occupations is often mistakenly extrapolated to all segments of the labor market. What results from this is that the situation of any particular sector of the occupational structure is frequently misrepresented. The liberalist human capital approach to the solution of low skill, high unemployment problems is an inadequate explanation. While the correlation between education and income may be highly positive for upper job level incumbents relative to lower job level incumbents, the use of

the human capital approach for those skilled and semi-skilled workers who become underemployed and unemployed is misleading. Being in a high wage industry at any particular level of skill may be more crucial than to be adequately skilled and locked into an industry which offers low wages and unfavorable employment conditions.

A more fruitful and realistic approach is to view the problems of under- and unemployment as arising to a large degree from the economic-industrial structure, rather than from the lack of skills of individuals. Labor is not fully mobile between sectors of the economy and there exists a great variance in the ability of firms and industries to provide adequate wages. While an improvement in the situation of certain groups of workers may occur, it may be at the expense of a decline in the situation of other groups of workers. As it now exists, there is a strong tendency for wages, profits, and corporate assets to be increasingly skewed across the economic-industrial sectors.[1] Both imperfections in labor mobility and low degrees of competitiveness among industrial sectors account for continued low income and high unemployment levels for vast segments of the working population. Moreover, such structural barriers to labor mobility cause individuals to become entrenched in the low wage, high unemployment labor market sectors. This often leads employees to develop unstable working habits which simply reflect the irregularity characterizing the particular

job sector in which they are situated. This reasoning is contrary to manpower retraining policy which asserts that unstable workers end up in these job sectors. That workers are limited in upward occupational mobility is viewed as a result of an absence of the expected "worker-related affective attributes". This lack of proper employee socialization is, in turn, from both the government's and the employer's perspective, proposed as being their actual concern for retraining labor force participants. An understanding of the direction of the relationship between the individual and the structural elements operating in the labor market leads to the suggestion that the sources of unemployment originate in the weaknesses of the economic structure rather than in the weaknesses of the individuals occupying the labor market sectors.

The existing organization of work roles under the capitalist mode of production, for which governmental institutions are the major means of reproducing and maintaining monopolists' interests and class standing, is perhaps a more accurate focus for an analysis of the changes required for a more equal distribution of both income and labor mobility. Attempts toward this solution would include major redistributions of the government's expenditure patterns away from the subsidization of the monopolistic sectors of the economy, as well as large increases in the organization of workers locked in those segments of the labor market

characterized by low wages and high unemployment levels in order that they may gain full advantage of productivity and profit margins in these industrial sectors. Solutions to changes in the present labor market structure must be guided by strong considerations of the nature and sources of the socioeconomic power of the dominant capitalist class in its relationship to the working class which contribute toward the perpetuation of the existing system of class stratification.

Suggestions for Further Research

The issues arising from the present study suggest directions for future research. For example, it was established earlier in the paper that the present research population constitutes a relatively small and select sector of the total unemployed population. This implies that research on other groups of unemployed individuals not in retraining institutions may provide additional and illuminating data and conclusions. Comparisons between groups in retraining and those not in retraining would be valuable. In this section, we suggest possible research strategies. The manner in which other groups relate to the present sample will be discussed.

The ideal measure of the changes or increases in the trainees' resocialization levels and skill-acquisition orientations to the training program is a comparison of the respondents' attitudes subsequent to the training involvement with what his or her resocialization level or skill-acquisition

level would have been in the absence of the training program participation. Obviously, this method of research is impossible. The next best approach is to compare equivalent groups that did and did not receive training. Ideally, one would randomly assign potential trainees either to the training group or to the control group. As this would be difficult to achieve, we could, as an alternative, form other control groups. For example, we could choose a sample of individuals who are similar to the trainees in all respects of the independent variables utilized in the present study, with the exception of the receipt of training. This research approach could focus on either (or both) of two related aspects to the present sample. One control group might be comprised of members of the unemployed population, just as the trainees themselves largely are, but who are not selected for the retraining program. The importance of the selection procedure to the overall training process has been discussed, and this type of a control group would be an attempt to evidence the earlier suggestion that retraining is going to those jobless individuals who are viewed by manpower officials as being the most likely to successfully complete the program. While the "low risk" unemployed receive retraining, those viewed as a "high risk" for retraining continue to recirculate through the jobless sector due to the lack of a seal of approval from the training program. However, a major difficulty involved in a control group comprised of unemployed

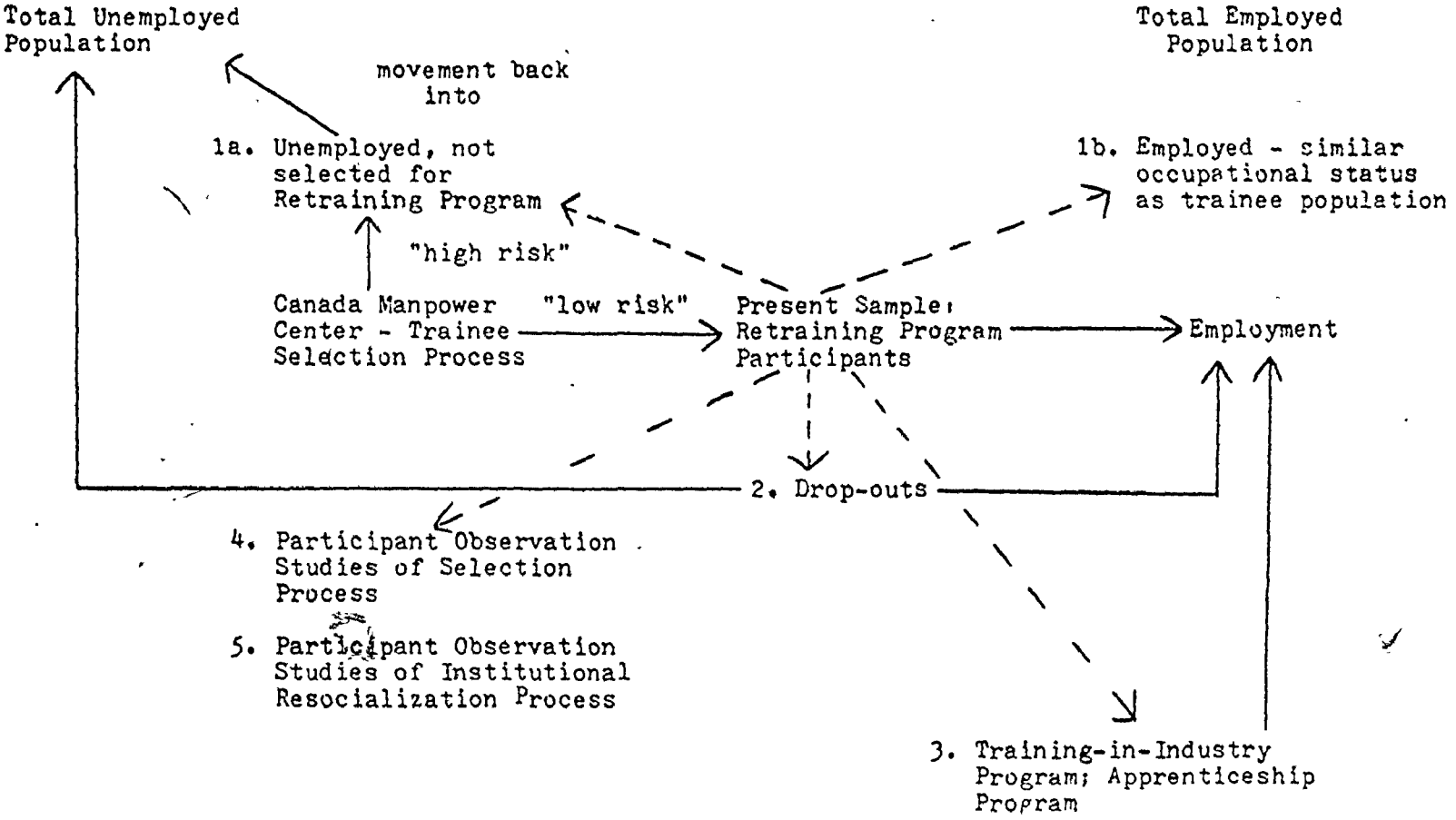
individuals would be that of data collection as such individuals would likely constitute a highly mobile population. The relationship of this control group to the present research sample is represented diagrammatically in Chart 2 and is numbered 1a.

A second control group comprised of individuals with similar occupational backgrounds to the trainees but not in the retraining program would be those who are regularly employed. The major research objective would be to distinguish the two groups according to the degree of "employee-value internalization", as well as the level of skill-acquisition. While manpower policy emphasizes the importance of training for skill development and the human capital approach to economic development, it may be more accurate to view the position of the working class from a structural perspective rather than from an individual, skill ability perspective. Through such a comparison involving one group of trainees with a control group of individuals with a similar occupational background but characterized by a more stable employment history, the variations in the level of "worker value internalization" might be found to be greater than the variations in the skill ability of the individual worker. The position of this control group in relation to the trainee population is shown as 1b in Chart 2.

These two major research approaches would be directed towards attempting to deal with an important issue relating

CHART 2

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH *



*Dotted arrow lines indicate interrelationships between present research sample and suggested control groups.

to manpower policy. It is suggested that there exists a two-sided contradiction in the overall manpower retraining policy. On the one hand, the process of selection determines which of the total unemployed will receive job training. Those who are selected for the retraining programs may have an advantage over those who remain unemployed. The persons and groups which control these ports of entry greatly affect the distribution of opportunities in society. The rules that they follow determine how equitably opportunity is allocated and the characteristics for which individuals are rewarded and for which they are penalized. As manpower training policy emphasizes its purpose as being to reduce socioeconomic inequalities, then here exists a strong contradiction. However, the inconsistency does not end here. Since job training programs operate without a real understanding of occupational shortages, and because the skill training is of a general nature, trainees, who represent a low cost labor force, may in time be the most likely to become unemployed out of the total employed population. In this sense, the contradiction in manpower policy, which operates before actual occupational training, is seen to extend even following retraining thereby reinforcing itself.

Another group one could study is those trainees who stay in the program for only a short period of time. The aim in this research would be to show whether the primary importance in the training process is placed on employee-value

resocialization. It is possible that people often become involuntary program drop-outs because of the sanctions applied to them should they not comply with organizational norms. On the other hand, some might be voluntary withdrawls from the program. In this sense, this same type of control group might evidence the secondary importance of skill-acquisition to the training program. From an employment perspective, those individuals who leave the program to obtain a job may be more "successful" than those who remain in the program. However, a difficulty in data collection, similar to that posed by the earlier control group of unemployed individuals, would arise due to the highly mobile nature of this population. This group is illustrated as number 2 on the accompanying chart.

Another possible research approach would be a comparative analysis of trainees in the insitutional program and those in other types of government training programs, such as the apprenticeship program or the training-in-industry program.[2] These comparisons would provide insight into the variations in levels of resocialization versus skill-acquisition differences according to whether the training is of the on-the-job type or the institutional type. The number 3 on Chart 2 indicates the relationship of this control group to the present research sample.

Yet another focus of research on manpower retraining programs might involve participant observation studies. Such a method could be applied to the pre-training selection process

itself since it was previously suggested that in addition to the more formal selection policy procedures, there operates at another level, the more subjective criteria of the manpower counsellor in potential trainee placement. The participant observation approach to this aspect of the selection process might be valuable in illustrating the interaction between the middle-class government official and the unemployed, lower-class client.

Also, the participant observation approach could be applied to the retraining organization's resocialization process. A study focusing on peer group interaction and subculture formation might show how these facilitate or hinder the resocialization process. These two research approaches, numbered 4 and 5 respectively, are shown on the chart.

One might also compare government worker training programs as a more recent form of educational organization with other existing levels and types of educational organizations. These might include the community colleges, other semi-professional or technician training programs, or the universities. While higher education both serves a major absorptive role and promotes the prevailing system of stratification, the more terminal nature of manpower retraining programs is especially relevant when considered in the context of its relationship to the capitalist mode of production and the distribution of labor resources. To be consistent with the objective of the present study, this

research approach might explore the particular function of the retraining programs in maintaining a large proportion of the younger elements of the population dependent on the government. This produces a large reserve group of skilled workers, thus allowing for greater control by dominant economic powers and, concomitantly, a reduction in class conflict.

FOONOTES

1. Johnson, Leo. "The Development of Class in the Twentieth Century", in Teeple, Gary, ed., Capitalism and the National Question in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 141-183, esp. pp. 163-179; O'Connor, James. The Fiscal Crisis of the State (New York: St. Martin's, 1973); Porter, John. The Vertical Mosaic (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965).

2. The relationship of the Institutional Training Program to other government training programs including the Apprenticeship Program and the Training-in-Industry Program was discussed in Chapter I, p. 21. A source for a more detailed description of these alternative occupational training programs may be obtained from footnote number 25, Chapter I.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

TABLE 1

Resocialization Level		Occupatational Aspirations		Formal Education	
		High	Low	High	Low
High	%	63.3	70.0	62.0	70.0
Low	%	36.7	30.0	38.0	30.0
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	49	40	50	40
Chi Square (1 df)		.196, NS		.325, NS	

TABLE 2

Skill-acquisition vs. Resocialization orientation		Social Class		Occupational Aspirations	
		High	Low	High	Low
Skill-acquisition	%	61.1	55.6	65.3	52.5
Resocialization	%	38.9	44.4	34.7	47.5
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	54	36	49	40
Chi Square (1 df)		.094, NS		1.01, NS	

TABLE 3

Skill Utilization		Social Class		Occupational Aspirations	
		High	Low	High	Low
High	%	51.9	13.9	42.9	30.0
Low	%	48.1	86.1	57.1	70.0
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	54	36	49	40
Chi Square (1 df)		11.820, $p < .05$		1.058, NS	

TABLE 4

Rule Conformity		Social Class		Occupational Aspirations	
		High	Low	High	Low
High Difficulty	%	46.3	75.0	51.0	67.5
Low Difficulty	%	53.7	25.0	49.0	32.5
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	54	36	49	40
Chi Square (1 df)		6.166, $p < .05$		1.831, NS	

TABLE 5

Meeting Teachers' Demands		Social Class		Occupational Aspirations	
		High	Low	High	Low
High Difficulty	%	48.1	77.8	51.0	70.0
Low Difficulty	%	51.9	22.2	49.0	30.0
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	54	36	49	40
Chi Square (1 df)		6.715, $p < .05$		2.553, NS	

TABLE 6

Job Rule Conformity		Social Class		Occupational Aspirations	
		High	Low	High	Low
More Difficult	%	29.6	61.1	38.8	45.0
Similar	%	70.4	38.9	61.2	55.0
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	54	36	49	40
Chi Square (1 df)		7.532, $p < .05$		.142, NS	

TABLE 7

Supervisor Conformity		Social Class		Occupational Aspirations	
		High	Low	High	Low
More Difficult	%	24.1	50.0	32.7	35.0
Similar	%	75.9	50.0	67.3	65.0
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	54	36	49	40
Chi Square (1 df)		5.332, $p < .05$		.000, NS	

TABLE 8

Rule Conformity Preparation		Social Class		Occupational Aspirations		Last Job Status	
		High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
High Preparation	%	61.1	80.6	59.0	80.0	62.9	71.2
Low Preparation	%	38.9	19.4	41.0	20.0	37.1	28.8
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	54	36	49	40	35	52
Chi Square (1 df)		2.956, NS		3.532, NS		.334, NS	

TABLE 9

Teacher Conformity		Social Class		Occupational Aspirations		Last Job Status		Last Job Duration	
		High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	Short	Long
High Conformity	%	46.3	66.7	57.1	52.5	45.7	57.7	61.4	36.7
Low Conformity	%	53.7	33.3	42.9	47.5	54.3	42.3	38.6	63.3
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	54	36	49	40	35	52	57	30
Chi Square (1 df)		2.839, NS		.050, NS		.772, NS		3.89, $p < .05$	

TABLE 10

Supervisor Conformity Preparation		Social Class		Occupational Aspirations		Last Job Status	
		High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
High Preparation	%	68.5	69.4	67.3	70.0	63.0	71.0
Low Preparation	%	31.5	30.6	32.7	30.0	37.0	29.0
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	54	36	49	40	35	52
Chi Square (1 df)		.019, NS		.002, NS		,331, NS	

TABLE 11

Work Routinization		Social Class		Occupational Aspirations		Sex		Formal Education	
		High	Low	High	Low	Male	Female	High	Low
High Preparation	%	46.3	52.8	34.7	65.0	42.2	55.6	44.0	55.0
Low Preparation	%	53.7	47.2	65.3	35.0	57.8	44.4	56.0	45.0
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	54	36	49	40	45	45	50	40
Chi Square (1 df)		.150, NS		6.932, $p < .05$		1.112, NS		.681, NS	

TABLE 12

Work Interest		Social Class		Occupational Aspirations		Formal Education	
		High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Higher Interest Level	%	70.4	80.6	67.3	82.5	68.0	82.5
Similar Interest Level	%	29.6	19.4	32.7	17.5	32.0	17.5
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	54	36	49	40	50	40
Chi Square (1 df)		.703, NS		1.907, NS		1.753, NS	

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

In the following Tables 1 through 13, are shown two divisions of data. In the tables, the first row of each variable grouping is the "gross effect" or the zero-order correlation coefficient of a particular independent variable on the dependent variable. The gross effect summarizes the total relationship between these variables. The second row of each variable grouping in the tables is the "direct effect" or the standardized multiple regression coefficient of a particular dependent variable on the independent variable. This direct effect summarizes the independent effect which each variable has on the dependent variable when other variables are held constant.

TABLE 1

Gross and Direct Effects of Independent Variables on Resocialization

Social Origin		Formal Education	
Gross effect (r)	-.210	Gross effect (r)	-.084
Direct effect (b)	-.251	Direct effect (b)	-.052
Sex		Prior Job Status	
Gross effect (r)	-.117	Gross effect (r)	-.045
Direct effect (b)	-.145	Direct effect (b)	-.054
Occupational Aspirations		Prior Job Duration	
Gross effect (r)	-.053	Gross effect (r)	-.033
Direct effect (b)	-.038	Direct effect (b)	-.061

TABLE 2

Gross and Direct Effects of Independent Variables on Skill-Acquisition versus Resocialization Orientation

Social Origin		Formal Education	
Gross effect (r)	.055	Gross effect (r)	.343
Direct effect (b)	.044	Direct effect (b)	.158
Sex		Prior Job Status	
Gross effect (r)	.700	Gross effect (r)	.250
Direct effect (b)	.633	Direct effect (b)	.192
Occupational Aspirations		Prior Job Duration	
Gross effect (r)	.143	Gross effect (r)	.203
Direct effect (b)	.067	Direct effect (b)	.184

TABLE 3

Gross and Direct Effects of Independent Variables on Skill Utilization

Social Origin		Formal Education	
Gross effect (r)	.286	Gross effect (r)	.634
Direct effect (b)	.205	Direct effect (b)	.480
Sex		Prior Job Status	
Gross effect (r)	.161	Gross effect (r)	.354
Direct effect (b)	.109	Direct effect (b)	.285
Occupational Aspirations		Prior Job Duration	
Gross effect (r)	.140	Gross effect (r)	.117
Direct effect (b)	.051	Direct effect (b)	.157

TABLE 4

Gross and Direct Effects of Independent Variables on Rule Conformity

Social Origin		Formal Education	
Gross effect (r)	-.285	Gross effect (r)	-.629
Direct effect (b)	-.002	Direct effect (b)	-.459
Sex		Prior Job Status	
Gross effect (r)	-.305	Gross effect (r)	-.426
Direct effect (b)	-.251	Direct effect (b)	-.362
Occupational Aspirations		Prior Job Duration	
Gross effect (r)	-.150	Gross effect (r)	-.480
Direct effect (b)	-.029	Direct effect (b)	-.305

TABLE 5

Gross and Direct Effects of Independent Variables on Meeting Teachers' Demands

Social Origin		Formal Education	
Gross effect (r)	-.296	Gross effect (r)	-.639
Direct effect (b)	-.047	Direct effect (b)	-.480
Sex		Prior Job Status	
Gross effect (r)	-.363	Gross effect (r)	-.419
Direct effect (b)	-.298	Direct effect (b)	-.326
Occupational Aspirations		Prior Job Duration	
Gross effect (r)	-.200	Gross effect (r)	-.481
Direct effect (b)	-.095	Direct effect (b)	-.306

TABLE 6

Gross and Direct Effects of Independent Variables on Job Rule Conformity

Social Origin		Prior Job Status	
Gross effect (r)	-.315	Gross effect (r)	-.308
Direct effect (b)	-.124	Direct effect (b)	-.257
Sex		Prior Job Duration	
Gross effect (r)	-.340	Gross effect (r)	-.285
Direct effect (b)	-.253	Direct effect (b)	-.244
Occupational Aspirations		Resocialization	
Gross effect (r)	-.076	Gross effect (r)	.134
Direct effect (b)	-.037	Direct effect (b)	.052
Formal Education			
Gross Effect (r)	-.629		
Direct Effect (b)	-.502		

TABLE 7

Gross and Direct Effects of Indpendent Variables on Supervisor Conformity

Social Origin		Prior Job Status	
Gross effect (r)	-.267	Gross effect (r)	-.205
Direct effect (b)	-.080	Direct effect (b)	-.170
Sex		Prior Job Duration	
Gross effect (r)	-.210	Gross effect (r)	-.207
Direct effect (b)	-.102	Direct effect (b)	-.152
Occupational Aspirations		Resocialization	
Gross effect (r)	-.020	Gross effect (r)	.104
Direct effect (b)	-.064	Direct effect (b)	.042
Formal Education			
Gross effect (r)	-.622		
Direct effect (b)	-.551		

TABLE 8

Gross and Direct Effects of Independent Variables on Rule Conformity Preparation

Social Origin		Formal Education	
Gross effect (r)	-.206	Gross effect (r)	-.215
Direct effect (b)	-.084	Direct effect (b)	-.125
Sex		Prior Job Status	
Gross effect (r)	-.144	Gross effect (r)	-.104
Direct effect (b)	-.120	Direct effect (b)	-.170
Occupational Aspirations		Prior Job Duration	
Gross effect (r)	-.156	Gross effect (r)	-.492
Direct effect (b)	-.106	Direct effect (b)	-.454

TABLE 9

Gross and Direct Effects of Independent Variables on Teacher Conformity

Social Origin		Formal Education	
Gross effect (r)	-.200	Gross effect (r)	-.234
Direct effect (b)	-.237	Direct effect (b)	-.140
Sex		Prior Job Status	
Gross effect (r)	-.602	Gross effect (r)	-.140
Direct effect (b)	-.616	Direct effect (b)	-.117
Occupational Aspirations		Prior Job Duration	
Gross effect (r)	.059	Gross effect (r)	-.252
Direct effect (b)	.081	Direct effect (b)	-.071

TABLE 10

Gross and Direct Effects of Independent Variables on Supervisor Conformity Preparation

Social Origin		Formal Education	
Gross effect (r)	-.012	Gross effect (r)	-.070
Direct effect (b)	-.059	Direct effect (b)	-.102
Sex		Prior Job Status	
Gross effect (r)	-.336	Gross effect (r)	-.074
Direct effect (b)	-.295	Direct effect (b)	-.107
Occupational Aspirations		Prior Job Duration	
Gross effect (r)	-.010	Gross effect (r)	-.289
Direct effect (b)	-.060	Direct effect (b)	-.334

TABLE 11

Gross and Direct Effects of Independent Variables on Work Routinization

Social Origin		Formal Education	
Gross effect (r)	-.064	Gross effect (r)	-.109
Direct effect (b)	-.038	Direct effect (b)	-.060
Sex		Prior Job Status	
Gross effect (r)	-.133	Gross effect (r)	-.304
Direct effect (b)	-.104	Direct effect (b)	-.211
Occupational Aspirations		Prior Job Duration	
Gross effect (r)	-.210	Gross effect (r)	-.220
Direct effect (b)	-.109	Direct effect (b)	-.157

TABLE 12

Gross and Direct Effects of Independent Variables on Work Interest

Social Origin		Prior Job Status	
Gross effect (r)	-.017	Gross effect (r)	-.239
Direct effect (b)	-.029	Direct effect (b)	-.262
Sex		Prior Job Duration	
Gross effect (r)	-.302	Gross effect (r)	-.051
Direct effect (b)	-.322	Direct effect (b)	-.102
Occupational Aspirations		Resocialization	
Gross effect (r)	-.042	Gross effect (r)	.276
Direct effect (b)	-.077	Direct effect (b)	.155
Formal Education			
Gross effect (r)	-.124		
Direct effect (b)	-.074		

TABLE 13

Gross and Direct Effects of Sex on Job Rule Conformity, Supervisor Conformity, and Work Interest by Prior Job Status, Prior Job Duration, and Total Unemployment Duration

	Job Rule Conformity	Supervisor Conformity	Work Interest
		Prior Job Status	
Sex			
Gross effect (r)	-.360	-.107	-.026
Direct effect (b)	-.340	-.080	-.033
		Prior Job Duration	
Gross effect (r)	-.360	-.107	-.026
Direct effect (b)	-.321	-.076	-.024
		Total Unemployment Duration	
Gross effect (r)	-.360	-.107	-.026
Direct effect (b)	-.429	-.175	-.036

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

Interview Schedule

A. Work History

1. a) What was your last, most recent, full-time job?

   1961 census and Blishen index.

   b) How many hours per week did you work?

   1 less than 30 hours
   2 31-39
   3 40
   4 more than 40
   0 N/R

   c) Please specify the length of time in years, months, and weeks that you held it.

   01 less than 6 months
   02 6 months - 1 year
   03 1 - 2 years
   04 2 - 3 years
   05 3 - 4 years
   06 4 - 5 years
   07 5 - 6 years
   08 6 - 7 years
   09 7 - 8 years
   10 8 - 9 years
   11 9 - 10 years
   12 10 - 11 years
   13 11 - 12 years
   14 13 - 15 years
   15 more than 15 years(please specify)
   00 N/R

2. Was this your last, most recent job?

   1 yes 2 no 0 N/R

3. a) (If no to No. 2): What was your last, most recent, part-time job?

   (Repeat No, 1a).

   b) How many hours per week did you work?

   (Repeat No. 1b).

   c) Please specify the length of time in years, months, and weeks that you held it.

   (Repat No. 1c).

4. What type of work do you hope to obtain eventually as a lifetime job?

   (Repeat No. 1a).

5. Would you please indicate any period(s) of unemployment since the completion of your formal education and its duration, each separately (This includes anyone <u>not employed</u>, e.g., housewife)?

01 less than one week	08 5 - 6 months
02 1 - 2 weeks	09 6 months - 1 year
03 2 weeks - 1 month	10 1 - 2 years
04 1 - 2 months	11 2 - 3 years
05 2 - 3 months	12 3 - 4 years
06 3 - 4 months	13 4 - 5 years
07 4 - 5 months	14 more than 5 years (please specify)
	15 none
	00 N/R

8. Present Training

1. In what course are you presently enrolled?

01 academic upgrading	08 machine shop
02 clerk-typist	09 painting and decorating
03 commercial refresher	10 steel layout and welding
04 commercial stenographer	11 teller cashier
05 dressmaking/alterations	00 N/R
06 food services	
07 health care aide	

2. a) What do you see as the primary purpose of the training program:

i) to learn a new skill such as welding, typing, or nursing to get a new job; or,

ii) to learn good working practices such as fulfilling the work demands

1 to learn a new skill such as welding, typing, or nursing to get a new job

2 to learn good working practices such as fulfilling the work demands

3 don't know

0 N/R

b) (If "don't know"): Well, if you had to make a choice, which would you say is closest to your opinion?

1 to learn a new skill such as welding, typing, or nursing to get a new job

2 to learn good working practices such as fulfilling the work demands

3. In the job you are training for are you planning on work that primarily:

i) uses your skills and abilities to a great extent

ii) uses your skills and abilities to a fair extent

iii) uses your skills and abilities to some extent

iv) not necessarily uses your skills and abilities

1 uses my skills and abilities to a great extent
2 uses my skills and abilities to a fair extent
3 uses my skills and abilities to some extent
4 not necessarily uses my skills and abilities
5 undecided
0 N/R

4. a) How important do you feel the following things are for an employed person to have? Please rate each one according to the following code:

Very important
Fairly important
Not too important
Not important at all
Undecided

a) punctuality
b) shows up at work every day
c) loyal to his/her employer
d) goes along with the decisions made by his/her employer
e) if undecided about something, decides for himself/herself as to what should be done and often doesn't first check with the boss
f) ensures his/her job security by following the work procedures
g) accepts work requirements and complains as little as possible
h) co-operates and works well with other people on the job
i) speaks up to the boss if the work load is too much or too difficult
j) reliable - gets his/her work done in the specified length of time and does it well; able to work alone with minimum supervision

k) keeps work area orderly
l) feels it is alright to speak up if some of the rules specified by the boss could be changed
m) feels it is better when a set of rules exists to be followed in the workplace

continued...

4. (continued...)

n) feels it is better to set many of your own individual work rules in the workplace
o) dresses suitably for the job
p) neatness and cleanliness - good overall appearance

(for a to p inclusive)

1 very important
2 fairly important
3 undecided
4 not too important
5 not important at all
0 N/R

b) Do you feel you've changed your views at all in any of these ways since you've been here at school?

1 yes 2 no 0 N/R

c) (If yes to 4b): In what way(s)?

1 much more important
2 somewhat more important
3 somewhat less important
4 much less important
0 N/R

5. How easy or difficult do you find the rules and regulations here, such as coming to school every day on time, and finishing the work objectives well and as quickly as possible?

1 very difficult to conform to
2 fairly difficult to conform to
3 undecided
4 fairly easy to conform to
5 very easy to conform to
0 N/R

6. How does this compare with your last job?

1 much more difficult to conform in school
2 somewhat more difficult to conform in school
3 about the same
4 somewhat easier to conform in school
5 much easier to conform in school
0 N/R

7. Do you feel that conforming to the rules here at school is preparing you to conform to the rules and regulations on your next job?

   1 will prepare me a great deal
   2 will prepare me somewhat
   3 will not make any difference
   4 undecided
   0 N/R

8. How easy or difficult do you find it to meet the demands of your teachers, such as following the work instructions and procedures?

   1 very difficult to meet
   2 fairly difficult to meet
   3 undecided
   4 fairly easy to meet
   5 very easy to meet
   0 N/R

9. How does this compare with meeting the demands of your last boss(es) at work?

   1 much more difficult to meet teachers' demands
   2 somewhat more difficult to meet teachers' demands
   3 about the same
   4 somewhat easier to meet teachers' demands
   5 much easier to meet teachers' demands
   0 N/R

10. Do you feel that a student should always do what the teacher expects him or her to do?

    1 should always do what the teacher expects you to do
    2 should usually do what the teacher expects you to do
    3 should occasionally do what the teacher expects you to do
    4 should do what you think is right, whether it agrees with the teacher's expectations or not
    5 undecided
    0 N/R

11. Do you think that doing what the teacher expects you to do will prepare you to meet the requirements of the boss when you start working?

    1 will prepare me a great deal
    2 will prepare me somewhat
    3 will not make any difference
    4 undecided
    0 N/R

12. Do you think that your daily work routine in (name course in which respondent is enrolled) will help you to settle into a daily work routine on your next job?

1 will prepare me a great deal
2 will prepare me somewhat
3 will not make any difference
4 undecided
0 N/R

13. Would you say that you are: much more interested, somewhat more interested, about the same, somewhat less interested, or much less interested in working now than you were before you entered your training?

1 much more interested in working now than I was before I entered training
2 somewhat more interested in working now than I was before I entered training
3 about the same
4 somewhat less interested in working now than I was before I entered training
5 much less interested in working now than I was before I entered training
0 N/R

C. Background Data

1. Sex

1 male 2 female 0 N/R

2. Age

01 less than 17
02 17 - 18
03 19 - 20
04 21 - 22
05 23 - 24
06 25 - 26
07 27 - 28
08 29 - 30
09 31 - 32
10 33 - 35
11 36 - 38
12 39 - 41
13 42 - 44
14 45 - 47
15 48 - 50
16 over 50 (please specify)
00 N/R

3. Formal Education

01 no formal schooling
02 grade 1
03 grade 2
04 grade 3
05 grade 4
06 grade 5

continued...

3. (continued...)

07 grade 6
08 grade 7
09 grade 8 (completed elementary level or equivalent)
10 grade 9
11 grade 10
12 grade 11
13 grade 12
14 grade 13 (completed secondary level or equivalent)
15 part technical/trade school
16 completed technical/trade school
17 part community college
18 completed community college
19 part university
20 completed university
21 other (please specify)
00 N/R

4. What is/was your father's occupation?

1961 census and Blishen index.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aberle, David, and Kaspar Naegele. "Middle-Class Fathers' Occupational Role Attitudes Toward Children" in Norman Bell and Ezra Vogel, eds., A Modern Introduction To The Family. New York: The Free Press, 1968, pp. 188-198.

Adult Occupational Training Act. Ottawa, Canada Gazette, Part II, v. 101, no. 11, June, 1967.

Becker, Gary. Human Capital. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964.

Becker, H.S., and Blanche Geer. "Latent Culture: A Note on the Theory of Latent Social Roles", Administrative Science Quarterly, v. 5, no. 2, 1960, pp. 304-313.

Becker, H.S., and A. Strauss. "Careers, Personality, and Adult Socialization", American Journal of Sociology, v. 62, 1956, pp. 253-263.

Becker, W.C. "Consequences of Different Kinds of Parental Discipline ", in Martin L. Hoffman and Lois W. Hoffman, eds., Review of Child Development Research. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964, v. 1, pp. 169-208.

Becker, W.C., and D.C. Peterson, et. al. "Relations of Factors Derived from Parent-Interview Ratings to Behavior Problems of Five-Year Olds", Child Development, v. 33, 1962, pp. 509-535.

Berg, Ivar. Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery. Boston: Beacon Press, 1971.

Bidwell, C.E. "The School as a Formal Organization", in J.G. March, ed., Handbook of Organizations. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1965, pp. 972-1022.

Blau, P.M., and W.R. Scott. Formal Organizations. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1963.

Blau, P.M., and Otis Duncan. The American Occupational Structure. New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1967.

Braverman, Harry. Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century. New York: Montnly Review Press, 1974.

Breton, Raymond. Social and Academic Factors in The Career Decisions of Canadian Youth. Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972.

Brim O., and S. Wheeler. Socialization After Childhood. New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1966.

Brofenbrenner, Urie. "Socialization and Social Class Through Time and Space", in Maccoby, Eleanor, Newcombe, Theodore M., and Eugene L. Hartley, eds., Readings in Social Psychology. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1958, 3rd. ed., pp. 400-425.

Canada Manpower Training Program. Information Sheet No. 11. Ottawa: Department of Manpower and Immigration, Information Service, 1970.

Canada Manpower and Immigration Review, v. 8, no. 2, 1975, Ottawa: Department of Manpower and Immigration.

Darley, J.G., and Thelda Hagenah. Vocational Interest Measurement: Theory and Practice. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955.

Davis, K., and W. Moore. "Some Principles of Stratification", American Sociological Review, v. 10, 1945, pp. 242-249.

Denton, Frank T. The Growth of Manpower in Canada. Ottawa: DBS, 1970.

Department of Education, Memorandum, 1971.

Department of Manpower and Immigration, Programs Analysis Section. Ottawa: Information Canada, 1971.

Dreeben, Robert. On What Is Learned in School. Reading, Massachusettes: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1968.

Dreeben, Robert. "The Contribution of Schooling to the Learning of Norms", Harvard Educational Review, v. 37, 1967, pp. 211-237.

Dupre, Stefan, et. al. Federalism and Policy Development: The Case of Adult Occupational Training in Ontario. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

Etzioni, A. A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations. New York: The Free Press, 1961.

Etzioni, A. Modern Organizations. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1964.

Fox Piven, Frances, and Richard Cloward. Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare. New York: Random House, 1971.

French, John Jr., and Bertram Raven. "The Bases of Social Power", in D. Cartwright, ed., Studies in Social Power. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1959, pp. 150-167.

Gintis, Herbert. "Education, Technology, and the Characteristics of Worker Productivity", American Economic Review, v. 61, 1971, pp. 266-279.

Ginzberg, Eli, et. al. Occupational Choice. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.

Goldthorpe, J. "Social Stratification in Industrial Society", in Sociological Review Monograph, no. 8, 1964, pp. 97-122.

Gorz, Andre. "Capitalist Relations of Production and the Socially Necessary Labor Force", Socialism and Revolution, v. 10, 1965, pp. 415-429.

Gorz, Andre. Socialism and Revolution, translated by Norman Denny, Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1973.

Gorz, Andre. "Workers' Control Is More Than Just That", in Hunnius, Gerry, ed., Participatory Democracy for Canada: Workers' Control and Community Control. Montreal: Black Rose Books, Our Generation Press, 1971, pp. 13-27.

Gouldner, Alvin. "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles", Administrative Science Quarterly, v. 2, 1957, pp. 281-306, 444-480.

Hall, Oswald, and Bruce McFarlane. Transition from School to Work. Report Number 10, Department of Labor, Canada, December, 1962.

Heilbrun, Alfred B. Jr. "Parental Identification and the Patterning of Vocational Interests in College Males and Females", Journal of Counselling Psychology, v. 16, no. 4, 1969, pp. 342-347.

Heilbrun, Alfred B. Jr., and D.K. Fromme. "Parental Identification of Late Adolescents and Level of Adjustment: The Importance of Parent Model Attributes, Ordinal Position, and Sex of the Child", Journal of Genetic Psychology, no. 107, 1965, pp. 49-59.

Hess, Robert, and Virginia Shipman. "Early Experiences and The Socialization of Cognitive Modes in Children", Child Development, v. 36, 1965, pp. 869-886.

Holland, J.C. "Explorations of a Theory of Vocational Choice and Achievement: A Four-Year Prediction Study", Psychological Reports, v. 12, 1963, pp. 547-594.

Huston, Lorne. "The State as Socializer: OFY and LIP Programmes", in Roussopoulos, D., ed., The Political Economy of the State. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1973, pp. 99-108.

Johnson, Leo. "The Development of Class in the Twentieth Century", in Teeple, Gary, ed., Capitalism and the National Question in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972, pp. 141-183.

Kent, Tom. "Department of Manpower and Immigration Tackles Giant Organizational Task", Canadian Vocational Journal, v. 3, 1967, pp. 4-7.

Kohn, Melvin. Class and Conformity. Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1969.

Lambert, Ronald D. Sex Role Imagery in Children: Social Origins of the Mind. Ottawa: Studies of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, April, 1969.

"Manpower Retraining Skills Programs", Memorandum, 1974.

"Manpower Retraining Skills Program Enrolment", Monthly Reports.

Manpower Retraining Programs in Ontario: A Study Prepared for the Post-Secondary Commission on Education in Ontario. Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1972.

McClelland, D.C., et. al. The Achievement Motive. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953.

McDill, Edward, and James Coleman. "Family and Peer Influences in College Plans of High School Students", Sociology of Education, v. 38, 1965, pp. 112-116.

Merton, Robert K. "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality", Social Forces, v. 18, 1940, pp. 560-568.

Mussen, Paul H. "Early Sex-Role Development", in D.A. Goslin, ed., Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1969, pp. 707-729.

Nichols, Robert C. "A Factor Analysis of Parental Attitudes of Fathers", Child Development, v. 33, 1962, pp. 791-802.

O'Connor, James. "Inflation, Fiscal Crisis, and The American Working Class", Socialist Revolution, v. 2, no. 8, 1972, pp. 9-46.

O'Connor, James. The Fiscal Crisis of the State. New York: St. Martin's, 1973.

Oi, Walter. "Labor as a Quasi-Fixed Factor", Journal of Political Economy, 1962, pp. 538-555.

Ostry, Sylvia. "The Canadian Labor Market", in F. Isbester and R. Miller, eds., Canadian Labor in Transition. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1971.

Ostry, Sylvia. The Occupational Composition of The Canadian Labor Force. Ottawa: DBS, 1967.

Ostry, Sylvia. Unemployment in Canada. Ottawa: DBS, 1968.

Parsons, Talcott. The Social System. New York: The Free Press, 1951.

Parsons, Talcott. "The Social Class as a Social System: Some of Its Functions in American Society", Harvard Educational Review, v. 29, 1959, pp. 297-318.

Piore, Michael J. "Jobs and Training", in Beer, S., and R. Barringer, eds., The State and the Poor. Cambridge, Massachusettes: Winthrop Publishers, 1970, pp. 53-83.

Porter, John. The Vertical Mosaic. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.

Psathas, George. "Toward a Theory of Occupational Choice for Women", Sociology and Social Research, v. 52, 1967-68, pp. 253-268.

Reder, M.W. "Wage Structure and Structural Unemployment", Review of Economic Studies, 1964, pp. 309-322.

"A Report by the Hon. Otto E. Lang, Minister of Manpower and Immigration on the Canada Manpower Training Program: Results of Training, January to December 1970", 1971.

Roe, A. The Psychology of Occupations. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956.

Rosen, B.C. "Family Structure and Value Transmission", Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, v. 10, no. 1, 1964, pp. 59-76.

Sears, Robert R., Maccoby, Eleanor, and Harry Levin. Patterns of Childrearing. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Petersen and Co., 1957.

Seath, John. Education for Industrial Purposes. Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1911.

Sewell, William H., and Vimal P. Shah. "Social Class, Parental Encouragement, and Educational Aspirations", American Journal of Sociology, v. 73, 1968, pp. 559-572.

Sewell, William H., Haller, Archie, and Murray Straus. "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspirations", American Journal of Sociology, v. 22, 1957, pp. 67-73.

Simpson, R.L. "Parental Influence, Anticipatory Socialization, and Social Mobility", American Sociological Review, v. 27, 1962, pp. 517-522.

Somers, Gerald. "Federal Manpower Policies", in F. Isbester and R. Miller, eds., Canadian Labor in Transition. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1971.

Statistics Canada. The Labor Force. Ottawa: Information Canada, September, 1975.

Statistics Canada. The Labor Force. Ottawa: Information Canada, January, 1975.

Statistics Canada. Canada Yearbook. Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974.

Stephenson, Richard M. "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders", American Sociological Review, v. 22, 1957, pp. 204-212.

Super, Donald E. "A Theory of Vocational Development", American Psychologist, v. 8, 1953, pp. 185-190.

Super, Donald E. "Vocational Adjustment: Implementing a Self-Concept", Personnel and Guidance Journal, v. 30, 1951-52, pp. 88-92.

Super, Donald E. The Psychology of Careers. New York: Harper and Row, 1957.

Turner, Ralph. "Some Aspects of Women's Ambition", American Journal of Sociology, v. 70, no. 3, 1964, pp. 271-285.

Tyler, Leona. "The Relationship of Interests to Abilities and Reputation Among First Grade Children", Educational and Psychological Measurement, v. 11, 1951, pp. 255-264.

Weber, Max. "The Meaning of Discipline", in From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, translated and edited by H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. 253-264.

Weber, Max. The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, translated by A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons. New York: The Free Press, 1947.

Wilson, Alan B. "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys", American Sociological Review, v. 25, 1960, pp. 855-867.