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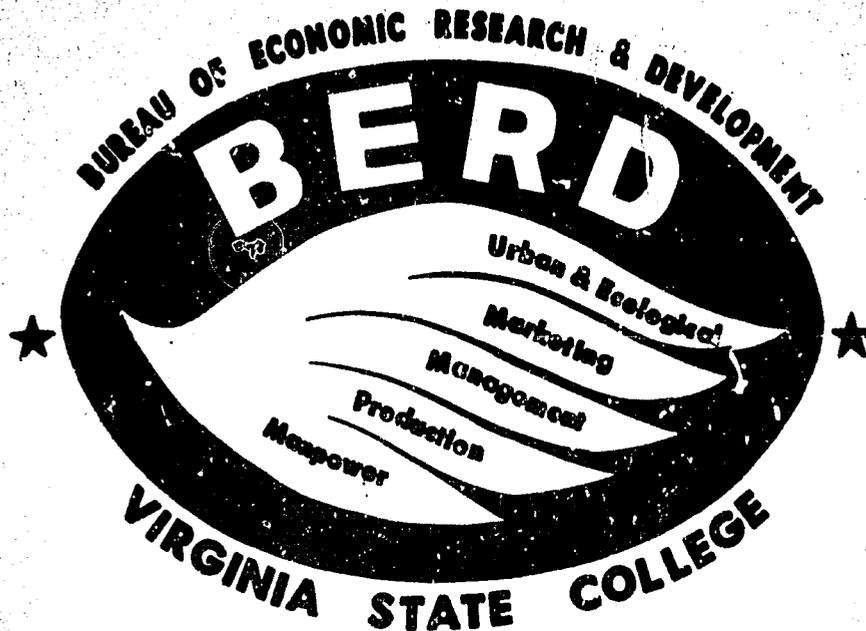
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**SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND DEVELOPMENT OF  
WORK ORIENTATION ATTITUDES**

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**SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
WORK ORIENTATION ATTITUDES**

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## FOREWORD

The central focus of this monograph concerns the sociological implications for economic development. The ideas, herein, were governed by the general premise that social problems, therefore, is an important theoretical, methodological, and practical component connected to the larger problems of life styles and quality of living.

This exposition takes the position that work orientation attitudes are critically germane to providing solutions to socio-economic problems in chronically depressed rural areas. Those involved in developmental planning in such areas must take into consideration the work orientation attitudes of the people who live in designated problem areas. Economic development planning which does not include work attitudes of inhabitants of the target area are omitting a very important aspect of the incentive for improving quality of living which, in general, means attaining a certain level of economic development in the larger area. Economic planning that aims at the optimum deployment of human resources must encompass the attitudinal aspects of human behavior. It is essential that attitudes be considered in manpower development and utilization efforts of a given society. What social researchers do not quite understand is the nature and extent which social prob-

lems, social conditions, and social situations are related to the development of a certain disposition toward work; and, in turn, how attitudes affect the level of socio-economic development in a given area. This monograph purports to provide information which may be used to assess the relevance and importance of work orientation attitudes of people in economic planning and manpower utilization.

The author is greatly indebted to Dr. Huey J. Battle, Director of the Bureau of Economic Research and Development for his invaluable assistance in the planning of the research objectives for this monograph; to Dr. Philip Scherer, who assisted in data processing and coordination; to Mr. Isaac Coleman, the computer programmer; and to Mrs. Ann M. Knight, administrative assistant and typist.

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# **SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF WORK ORIENTATION ATTITUDES**

## **INTRODUCTION**

Woven deeply throughout our system of values and the moral fabric of society is the traditional belief that every "man" should be "honest" and "hard-working." The degree to which this ideal typical value construct is authentic is based on how one defines honesty and hard-working. While a little renegeing of honesty is sometimes accepted, there is usually no sympathy for the "indolent" person who does not work. Subsequently, the person who does not work loses the reverence and esteem of others and in most instances the rewards and social privileges which accompany an occupational position.

The American Society has changed from basically a rural-farm agrarian society to a highly industrialized occupational society. An accompanying change also has taken place in the degree to which certain value orientations have been manifested. A traditional belief which has been highly stressed in the past is that "anybody who wants to can make a decent living." This has been followed by a more contemporary question of "how can a person make a decent living even if he wants to?" Value orientations such as these have usually been directed at the poor, the uneducated and unskilled, the unemployed, and the welfare recipient. Other questions also have been raised concerning individuals who have been placed into these categories. For example, are people on welfare because they won't work or can't work, or do people not work because there is welfare; are people poor because they are unemployed and on welfare? Are poor people responsible for their own destitute condition or are

they destitute due to deprivation and lack of opportunities afforded by the society?

Several veins of thought and research have characterized contemporary research efforts pertaining to work values and beliefs as indicated above. One vein has been concerned with the problems of whether or not the poor want to work and may be conceptualized as work orientation or the meaning of work. The major question addressed by researchers in this area is "do the poor want to work?" This approach represents a relatively new entry into the social, psychological and social psychological inventories of research. Another vein makes the assumption that, indeed, the poor want to work, and is more concerned with a larger problem, i.e., how can the poor be integrated into the system of work in meaningful roles with adequate rewards and compensations. This approach may be properly conceptualized as work integration. While these questions are important in their own right, there is another more basic problem that merits some attention. This problem concerns the social problems surrounding areas of one's life which are associated with the disposition of a certain type of work orientation attitude. This is largely the concern of this study.

That the orientation of one toward his work is of major importance is evidenced by the current emphasis placed on the occupational and career selection process, work satisfaction, poverty and labor force status, and related factors such as education, income, wealth,

power, class and social status. Blau and Duncan<sup>1</sup> hold that the occupation which one possesses defines his social status in society and that occupations in general are the foundation of the American system of stratification. Max Weber, a noted German sociologist, observed that an individual's work abilities and skills determine the degree and extent of his command over material and social resources, which in turn influences his attitudes and feelings toward life in general.<sup>2</sup> Weber assumed in earlier works that a certain type of protestant ethic gave rise to a certain type of work orientation "spirit" defined as capitalistic in nature.<sup>3</sup>

In 1935, the Federal Works Program took as its chief objective to provide employment for about 3,500,000 persons, nearly all of whom were drawn from relief rolls.<sup>4</sup> This policy was basically one involving rural rehabilitation of destitute farm families through loans, grants and direct employment. It was assumed that this policy implementation would raise incomes and eventually produce economic independence. In 1967, the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty recommended that the United States Government "stand ready to provide jobs at the national minimum wage or better, to every unemployed person willing and able to work."<sup>5</sup> Thus, the age-old and much discussed problem of how to provide "gainful employment" to everyone who "wants to work" continues. However, the problem of what makes one willing

or not willing to work, especially on some types of jobs over others, is largely unexplored. The conventional policy solution of providing jobs for everyone "willing and able" to work has resulted in limited effectiveness. As indicted above, we do not know what makes one willing to work. In addition, there has been little distinction made between persons disabled by lack of education, skill and training and those disabled by physical or mental handicaps. Thus, in many instances, such policy which seemingly has good intentions is formulated without due regard for the attitudes or the social and psychological well-being of the poor or unemployed.

Implicit in the approach of studying attitude orientations toward work is the policy implication that what is needed is a change in work policy for the poor aimed at making more jobs available and making jobs more attractive. This may be well and fine if the problem is perceived as demanding a short-run solution. However, if the problem is perceived as one involving the removal of social, cultural, and economic barriers which create negative attitudes by the poor, and those factors related to negative attitudes which the more affluent hold toward the poor, then the concern should be the development of policy with long-run goals but with immediate action. In this light, research is needed to determine the social, economic and environmental conditions under which work orientation attitudes of the poor and the non-poor less affluent are developed.

<sup>1</sup>Blau, Peter and O. D. Duncan, *The American Occupational Structure*, 1967.

<sup>2</sup>Weber, Max, "Class, Status, and Party," in Reinhardt Bendix and Seymour Lipset (eds.), *Class, Status and Power* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 21-28.

<sup>3</sup>Weber, Max, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, (Parsons, T., Tr.) N.Y., Scribner, 1930.

<sup>4</sup>Farnham, Rebecca, and Irene Link, *Effects of the Work Program on Rural Relief*, Works Progress Administration, Div. of Social Research, Research Monograph XIII, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1938, p. xi.

<sup>5</sup>"*The People Left Behind*," A Report by the President's National Advisory Commission of Rural Poverty, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1967, p. 19.

## PROBLEM

A major concern of many state and federal government agencies is to reduce the level of unemployment by locating or creating jobs for those who are willing and able to work. This concern, however, has been plagued by several problems. First, how do you locate or create jobs for the lowly educated, and unskilled and semi-skilled or the unemployed? In what capacity are they willing and able to secure jobs? Once employed, how do you keep them working? How are the material and non-material rewards related to the general social and economic development of a given area? These questions are undoubtedly of great importance to those in policy planning and program implementation aimed at improving the condition of economically stagnant areas. It should also be realized that whether or not a person becomes employed and remains employed rests to a large extent on how he views the world of work, the work system, his life chances, and the limitations imposed upon him by the environmental conditions under which he lives.

Whether there is a great difference in the social conditions under which certain types of views toward work are developed is of interest to social scientists as well as those who formulate policy. The problem can be linked in many ways to the nature of the stratification system of the American society.<sup>8</sup> Some social scientists have assumed that the poor maintain a subculture signifi-

cantly different from the culture of the employed middle class. This has been labeled as a "culture of poverty." One could infer from this that attitudes pertaining to orientation toward work of the chronically poor are derived from the social-cultural milieu in which they live. The "culture of poverty" assumption is suspect, however, since it has been shown that the chronically poor may have middle class aspirations.<sup>9</sup> The problem is, therefore, not perceived so much as one of a "culture of poverty" as it is a problem involving how one's life chances are limited by the life style, which he lives. Other investigators also have asserted that any differences in orientation between the poor and the non-poor are the results of the poor's adaptation to the situation facts of life and employment and that they do not reflect cultural differences.<sup>9</sup>

In a social-psychological study of work orientations, Leonard Goodwin raises the issue of "do the poor want to work." In this investigation, Goodwin studied the work orientation of poor and more affluent persons in an attempt to discover whether the unemployed and underemployed have basically different orientations toward work than the regularly employed.<sup>10</sup> Goodwin raises the question, "Is the American society stratified in such a way that the poor can be distinguished from the non-poor by the way they view the important social activity of employed work?"<sup>11</sup> In addition to the above problem identified by Goodwin, this study considers a more basic problem related to orien-

<sup>8</sup>Goodwin, Leonard, *Do the Poor Want to Work?, A Social-Psychological Study of Work Orientations*, The Brookings Institute: Washington, D. C., 1972, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup>Durant, Thomas J., "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Enrollees of Tuskegee Institute's Educational Program for Seasonally Employed Agricultural Workers," unpublished Master's Thesis, Tuskegee Institute, 1966.

<sup>11</sup>Roach, Jack L. and Orville R. Gwisslin, "An Evaluation of the Concept 'Culture of Poverty'," *Social Forces*, Vol. 45 (March 1967), pp. 383-92.

<sup>10</sup>Goodwin, Leonard, 1972, op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>11</sup>Goodwin, Leonard, 1972, p. 2.

tation toward work; i. e., are there differential living conditions which surround the lives of the poor and the non-poor which explain any differences in attitude toward work? If so, what is the nature and extent of the differences and what are the unique characteristics of each group? The major problem of this study, then, is to determine the extent to which work orientation attitudes are associated with the social problems and conditions surrounding the lives of poor and non-poor individuals of a rural low income area of south central Virginia. This problem is based on the premise that social problems, environmental conditions and situations which characterize the lives of inhabitants of the study area influence to a significant degree their orientation toward work. In turn, these attitudes reflect in varying degrees life chances for social and economic development and improve-

ment in quality of living.

#### OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to ascertain and analyze the social problems and conditions, and the work orientation attitudes of low and moderate income residents of a rural area in south central Virginia. The specific objective is to determine the relationship between specific social problems and situational conditions of poverty and non-poverty household heads and their orientations toward work. The more general and practical objectives are "to determine the social problems existing in a low income area and their sociological implications for economic development and improvement; and to develop a set of recommendations for developmental planning, policy directives, and program implementation for possible use in the area based on the results of this study."

#### RELATED RESEARCH

The research pertaining to work orientation attitudes of the poor is not very extensive. Most studies on work attitudes have been concerned with attitudes of regularly employed workers toward their job and work situation,<sup>12</sup> the motivation to work,<sup>13</sup> job satisfaction,<sup>14</sup> and the effect of work conditions on job performance.<sup>15</sup> The review of related research presented here is comprised in large of the literature review presented by Goodwin in his study on work orientations.<sup>16</sup> The studies reviewed are by no means exhaustive re-

search in this area and only represent studies which are closely related in purpose to the present study.

Tilgher discusses the historical changes of man's attitude toward work. Accordingly, the Greeks and Romans considered work to be aversive in character. Work was merely a necessary evil to which mankind must submit himself.<sup>17</sup>

In his classic essay, "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism." Max Weber documents his thesis that conceptions of the value of work have their

<sup>12</sup>Goodwin, Leonard, 1972, p. 3.

<sup>13</sup>Herzberg, Frederick, Bernard Mausner and Barbara Snyderman, *The Motivation to Work*, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., N. Y., 1959.

<sup>14</sup>Vroom, Victor H., *Work and Motivation*, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., N. Y., 1964. See Part 3, "Satisfaction With Work Roles," pp. 99-175.

<sup>15</sup>Mayo, Elton, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, N. Y., Macmillan, 1933.  
Reuthlisberger, J., and W. J. Dickerson, *Management and the Worker*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvey University Press, 1947.

<sup>16</sup>Goodwin, Leonard, 1972.

<sup>17</sup>Tilgher, A., *Work, What It Has Meant to Men Through the Ages*, N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace, 1930.

roots in the protestant ethic based on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Calvinism.<sup>18</sup> The protestant ethic is defined as a system of moral values which gives rise to a certain capitalistic spirit toward work. According to Vroom,<sup>19</sup> social critics of Weberian theory do not dispute the role of learning in affecting the attractiveness or unattractiveness of hard work, nor do they rule out the possibility of individual differences. They do, however, seriously question whether the social conditions exist at the present time for developing in large numbers, persons who positively value hard, productive labor.<sup>20</sup>

In a study of street corner men in the District of Columbia, Liebow found that the respondents attributed little self-importance to work. He interpreted this to be the result of their having continually failed in the world of work. Most were only able to qualify for unskilled, menial jobs, and even work full-time could not earn enough to support a family. These men seemed to value work, but their inability to achieve success led them to seek self-fulfillment in other areas of activity and even, fearing failure, to refuse opportunities for better jobs.<sup>21</sup> The inference is that poor men probably do identify work with self-respect, but environmental circumstances serve as obstacles to them obtaining decent jobs. Thus, they withdraw from extensive work activity.<sup>22</sup>

It has been revealed by one study that the preference for work among black welfare recipients was approximately the same as that of the more af-

fluent black and white men. Poor blacks expressed as much willingness to make special efforts, such as moving from the city to obtain better jobs as did the non-poor blacks and whites.<sup>23</sup>

One of the most closely related studies to the present investigation is one conducted by Leonard Goodwin.<sup>24</sup> Goodwin investigated the question "do the poor want to work." His major objective was to study the work orientation attitudes of poor and more affluent individuals. He also attempted to determine whether the employed and unemployed have basically different orientations toward work than the regularly employed. Goodwin believes that the views of the poor toward the importance of work in their life goals and self-identity is an essential for understanding the poor and are basic to understanding their actions. He believes that an understanding of work orientations of the poor is a key to understanding their behavior which may help to determine the changes in situational conditions necessary to change their work patterns.

Work orientation for Goodwin is regarded as "psychological attributes that significantly influence activity in the work world." The basic elements of these psychological attributes relating to work are attitudes (likes or dislikes), goals (aspired ends), beliefs (expectations of ability, goals and work), and inventions (alternative routes and decisions). Goodwin developed nine operational constructs through which work orientations may be defined, measured, and studied. These are 1) life aspiration,

<sup>18</sup>Weber, Max, *The Protestant Ethic, and the Spirit of Capitalism*, (Parsons, T., Tr.), 1930.

<sup>19</sup>Vroom, Victor H., op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>21</sup>Liebow, Elliot, *Tally's Comer: A Study of Negro Streetcorner Men* (Little, Brown, 1967), pp. 29-71.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Reissman, Leonard, "Readiness to Succeed: Mobility Aspirations and Modernism Among the Poor," *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, Vol. 4, (March 1968), pp. 379-95.

<sup>24</sup>Goodwin, Leonard, 1972.

2) work ethic, 3) lack of confidence in ability to succeed in the work world, 4) acceptability of quasi-illegal activities, 5) acceptability of welfare, 6) work beyond need for money, 7) training to improve earning ability if poor, 8) work when on welfare, and 9) job discrimination. An action feedback model is utilized where orientations at time 1 influence actions at time 2, resulting in a particular type of experience which in turn influences a subsequent orientation at time 3 and so on. Changes in situational conditions also result from these actions.

On the basis of the data provided in the study, Goodwin concludes that there was unambiguous support for the assumption that poor people—males and females, blacks and whites, youths and adults—identify their self-esteem with work as strongly as do the non-poor. There was no difference between poor and non-poor in willingness to work and take job training, high life goals or aspirations.

A Ph.D. dissertation by Philip Scherer on the incentive to work of rural southern Virginia residents followed the basic model and approach used by Goodwin. In this study, a test was con-

ducted of the classical economic model which asserts that welfare is dysfunctional in respect to the incentive to work.<sup>28</sup> According to Scherer, the reasoning implied by classical economists is that "if the welfare institution is destructive of the incentive to work, then welfare recipients should exhibit a more negative attitude toward work than persons not on welfare." The attitude tests employed in the study basically were those borrowed from the Goodwin study as discussed above. Several groupings were made in the analysis—welfare, non-welfare, non-welfare poor, and non-welfare non-poor. Based on the results, the hypothesis that welfare recipients would not differ significantly from non-welfare recipients on values toward work was not overwhelmingly supported. Scherer added, however, that nor could the hypothesis be totally rejected. In other words, there was support both for and against the hypothesis. There was support for the assumption that attitudes toward work and actual work are separated by intervening work values, and that the welfare recipient had as positive an attitude toward work as did the non-welfare non-poor person.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The basic assumption underlying this analysis is that all individuals live within a social environment. The normative character of the institutional sub-system, i.e., family, religion, education, political and economic, shapes attitudes and behavior. Certain types of life styles are found within a given social environment. The essence of life style is the quality of living which defines

one's position and status, and access to those conditions and experiences that constitute the good life.<sup>29</sup> A major factor in determining life style is the type of relationship which one has with the institutional components of his environment and may result in a unique type of educational level, occupational position, prestige, income level, and family, religious, and political orientation.

<sup>28</sup>Scherer, Philip, "Rural Southern Residents and the Incentive to Work," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Bureau of Economic Research and Development, Virginia State College, Petersburg, 1972, p. 129.

<sup>29</sup>*The Quality of Rural Living*, Proceedings of a Workshop, National Academy of Science, Washington, D. C., 1971, p. 3.

Individuals within a particular social environment who are characterized by a certain life style may exhibit certain patterns of behavior in everyday life. This behavior represents the degree and type of participation in various institutional processes, adaptation and adjustment, and reaction to problems or situational conditions confronted. In this process, attitudes are viewed as a function of the social environment within which one lives, the nature and type of

relation to the institutional systems of the environment, and the resulting type of life styles which one leads. This determines to a large degree his life chances. Life chance is used here to refer to the opportunity for social and economic improvement or enhancement of life goals. One factor which should not be overlooked is the nature and type of inter-social group and intra-social group relations of people who lead different life styles.

## METHODOLOGY

In July of 1971, a rural manpower survey was conducted in three rural low income counties of southeast Virginia—Amelia, Brunswick, and Cumberland. The purpose of the survey was to secure social and economic data to conduct a study of the manpower needs and problems of the area. A combination of systematic and stratified sampling was employed in selecting the samples. The sampling stratification called for two lists. The first list was composed of residents from each county taken from institutional records.†

The second list was composed of welfare recipients of each county and was secured from the respective welfare offices. This process resulted in two lists for each county—the general population of heads of households, and the welfare recipients. For each county a systematic sample was chosen from each list, selecting the first person to be interviewed at random from the list by drawing a number from a hat. The number in the hat corresponded to the total population in the list divided by the number of people to be interviewed.

TABLE 1  
**Number of Households, Sample Size, and Completed Survey,  
 Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties  
 Completed Surveys**

County	Households†	Sample Size	Number	Percent of Households
Amelia	2087	239	182	8.72
Brunswick	4390	469	385	8.76
Cumberland	1766	200	171	9.68
Total	8243	935	738	8.95

†U. S. Census of Population figures, 1970.

‡The lists of potential interviewees were taken from the following sources: personal property tax records and the county extension service list of rural residents. These two sources were supplemented with names from church records of membership and hunting licenses. See Scherer, "Rural Southern Residents and the Incentive to Work," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, 1972, pp. 76-83.

Thereafter, every nth person was selected. The number of welfare recipients originally included in the sample was 60 in Amelia, 100 in Brunswick, and 50 in Cumberland, for a total of 210. About 23 percent of the original sample consisted of welfare recipients.

The interviewing was conducted by trained local residents of each county. Interviewees were selected from a sampling frame for each county. Substitute names were selected from alternate lists and presented to the interviewer where necessary. The original intention to survey 10 percent of the total number of household heads in each county was not fulfilled due to interviewee attrition. The sample size for the three counties is shown in Table 1. The actual number of respondents utilized for the present study is 713.

#### **DEPENDENT VARIABLE (Work Orientation Attitude)**

The dependent variable is conceptualized as work orientation attitude. Work orientation is comprised of three tests developed by Leonard Goodwin. These tests are 1) Life aspirations, 2) Work ethic, 3) Lack of confidence, and 4) Acceptability of welfare. Each test includes a series of questions which are designed to measure work orientation attitudes. The respondent was asked each of these questions to rate from one to four a statement relative to his own personal values. A 4 indicates values depicting the best way of life, a 1, the worst way of life, and a 2 and a 3 being somewhere in between. Each test is given an average score, that is, the answers in each test were summed and divided by the number of responses in

that test. The average scores have a possible range of one (1) to four (4). (See analysis for questions included in each test.)

#### **INDEPENDENT VARIABLES†**

The independent variables were categorized under three major headings: 1) Life style variables, 2) Situational variables, and 3) Attitudinal variables. These variables are grouped below.

##### **Life Style Variables (Quality of Living)**

Educational level  
Income  
Occupational level

##### **Situational Variables (Family and Environmental)**

Housing Condition  
Health Condition  
Housing Status  
Employment Status  
Welfare-Nonwelfare  
Poor-Non-poor

##### **Attitudinal Variables (Aspirations and Opinions)**

Education desired for children  
Level of Living satisfaction

##### **Control Variables (“cultural” uncontrollables)**

The following variables were employed in some instances as controls:

Age  
Sex  
Color

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†All of these independent variables were not utilized in this report. The remainder will be included in a subsequent research report.

## SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF A RURAL LOW INCOME AREA

### QUALITY OF LIVING AND LIFE STYLES

Quality of living defines one's position and status, and access to those conditions and experiences that constitute the good life. Quality of living is closely associated with life styles in that the manifested social, economic and moral disposition toward life is a culmination and expression of quality of living. Three operational indicators of life style considered here and which depict quality of living are educational level, occupational level, and income level. These factors are associated to a large extent with other factors which are basic to the quality of living such as housing condition, health and medical care, health insurance, and employment. The following analysis will consider such variables as indicated above.

As shown in Table 1, slightly over three-fourths of the respondents were in the low educational level categories. Such persons had attained less than 12 years of school. In other words, these persons had less than a high school education. Those who had completed between 12 and 15 years of school were defined as comprising the medium educational level category. Slightly more than 15 percent of the sample were represented in this category. Only about four percent had completed a high level of education (over 15 years) which is usually associated with the completion of a college education. As indicated there was a large proportion at the lower end of the educational continuum (79

percent) and the educational level of the sample as a whole was lower than that for the entire state. The median years of school attained for the three-county sample was 8.3 as compared to 11.6 for the state as a whole.

Low educational level may influence quality of living in several ways. Low education is associated with low income and low income results in inequality or uneven distribution of income relative to other areas and is due to low real or potential earning power. In other words, low educational level is likely to be associated with relatively low potential for earning income. Chiswick<sup>19</sup> has shown that the level of schooling has a measurable effect on North - South differences in inequality of incomes. In addition to what has been stated above, low educational level means low capital returns. T. W. Schultz has pointed out that to the extent that the rate of return on this form of human capital (education) is as high as, or higher than, the rate on alternative investment opportunities, two objectives are achieved: the national product is increased, and inequality in personal income is reduced.<sup>20</sup> The above discussion helps elucidate the importance of adequate educational opportunities and facilities for rural people so that they may improve their life chances for employment and higher incomes. It also helps to explain why education is considered as one of the most important indicators of life styles and is an influential factor in determining quality of living.

<sup>19</sup>Chiswick, B. R., "Human Capital and the Distribution of Personal Income by Regions," Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University, N. Y., 1967, p. 35.

<sup>20</sup>Schultz, Theodore W., "Possibilities for Improving Rural Living: An Economist's View," in *The Quality of Rural Living*, Proceedings of a Workshop, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D. C., 1971.

Another important indicator of life style is level of occupational achievement. Two aspects of occupations are important with reference to life style. These are the amount of income, finance or monetary compensation received for performing a specific job (rewards) and the social honor received by holding a certain occupational position or title (prestige).

Two types of occupational classifications were utilized in the analysis of occupations. These are the Dictionary of Occupational Titles Classification (DOT) and the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC).

Based on the DOT classification only 9.32 percent of those employed were engaged in professional, technical and managerial occupations while 8.04 percent were in clerical and sales jobs. In addition to the potential for higher incomes, these occupations are generally associated with white-collar jobs which carry a certain degree of prestige and esteem. Farming and related occupations comprised the largest occupational category based on DOT classification. About one-fourth of the sample were represented by this category. This suggests that farming and related agricultural activities have an appreciable im-

act on the occupational level of the area and any occupational development and training program designed for this area should take these individuals into consideration.

Structural and bench work occupations (kindred to crafts) comprised approximately 24 percent of those employed in the sample. About 15 percent were in machine work (kindred to operatives) while about 19 percent were in processing and service occupations (see Table 2). It was determined that those at the higher occupational levels (professional, technical, managers, clerical and sales) were represented by a smaller proportion in the study sample than for the state as a whole. This suggests that quality of living with reference to occupational level, was higher for the state as a whole than for the study sample.

The Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) revealed that a slightly higher proportion were employed in manufacturing jobs in the study area than in the state as a whole (22.4 percent for state in 1970, and 24.72 percent for sample in 1971). It was derived from Table 3 that about 78 percent of the respondents were employed in non-agricultural occupations in 1971 as opposed to 96.6

TABLE 1

**Educational Level, Study Sample, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Virginia, 1971**

Years of School Completed	Frequency	Percent	
0 - 3	77	10.82	} Low (79.31)
4 - 7	267	37.55	
8 - 11	220	30.94	
12 - 15	118	16.59	} Medium (16.59)
16 - 19	29	4.07	} High (4.07)
Totals	711	99.97	
Mean = 7.91			
Median = 8.21			

percent for the state as a whole in 1970. This indicates that the study area was probably more dependent upon agriculture than the state as a whole. Low employment in governmental jobs and in wholesale and retail trade suggests that there was not a large concentration of these types of jobs in the area. This seems to be generally characteristic of most rural areas, however. Transportation and related occupations, finance and related jobs, and construction were represented by similar proportions in the study sample.

To a degree, it is expected that the distribution of occupations in the various categories would be unequal. For a predominantly rural area, the occupational distribution of the study sample does not seem abnormal. However, further conclusions have to be withheld until the analysis of income and employment is conducted. One factor seems quite clear, however, the proportion in the higher level occupations was lower for the study sample than for the state as a whole. Thus, quality of living was lower in the study area.

TABLE 2

**Occupational Distribution, DOT Classification, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Virginia, 1971**

Category	Number	Percent
Professional, technical & managerial	51	9.32
Clerical & Sales	44	8.04
Service	78	14.25
Farming, Fishery & Forestry	142	25.95
Processing	27	4.93
Machine Trades	80	14.62
Bench Work	27	4.93
Structural Work	98	17.91
Totals	547	99.95

TABLE 3

**Occupational Distribution, SIC Classification, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Virginia, 1971**

Category	Number	Percent
Agriculture	143	22.10
Mining	6	.92
Construction	92	14.21
Manufacturing	160	24.72
Wholesale & Retail Trade	26	4.01
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	77	11.90
Services	5	.77
Transportation, Comm., etc.	102	15.76
Government	36	5.56
Totals	647	99.95

It has generally been assumed that increasing one's income is the solution of improving his quality of living. Apparently there is some validity in this assumption; however, the problem of bridging the gap between low education, lack of marketable skills, uneven geographical distribution of jobs and higher income has not yet been solved. The possession of some education and skills increases one's chances for employment. It does not necessarily assure him an adequate income. In our study sample, 73 percent were employed while only three persons were unemployed. The remaining 27 percent were not in the labor force. Yet the median income of the respondents as a whole was only \$4,692. When this factor is related to the distribution of occupations as outlined in the foregoing discussion, we see that even those persons who were employed were apparently employed in the lower paying jobs. About 62 percent of the study sample were in the low income category (\$00 - 5,999). Twenty-six percent were in the median income level (\$6,000 - 11,999), while only 11 percent were in the high income cat-

egory (\$12,000 and over). Population census data revealed that although the percent unemployed in Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland counties was slightly higher than that for the state as a whole, the real differences came in income. Median family income for the study sample was \$4,692 in 1971 as compared to \$9,049 for the state as a whole. This indicates that policy to reduce the ranks of the unemployed alone is not enough to produce full economic development. Increasing the incomes of those already employed at the lower income levels is also essential if economic development and quality of living are to be significantly enhanced.

A breakdown of the above statistics on income revealed that proportion-wise, there were about three times as many families with incomes less than \$3,000 in the study sample (34 percent) as there were in the state as a whole (10.9 percent). If income is taken as the most crucially important indicator of quality of living, then we can safely assume that living conditions are more adverse in the study area than for the state as a whole.

**TABLE 4**  
**Gross Annual Income of Heads of Households, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Virginia, 1971**

Income Category	Number	Percent	Level
\$0 - 2,999	242	33.94	
3,000 - 5,999	203	28.47	Low (62.41)
6,000 - 8,999	130	18.23	
9,000 - 11,999	59	8.27	Medium (26.50)
12,000 - 14,999	29	4.06	
15,000 - 17,999	25	3.50	High (11.06)
18,000 - over	25	3.50	
Total	713	99.97	
Median	\$4,692		

## SITUATIONAL CONDITIONS

Situational factors surrounding one's life are also directly related to quality of living. Situational factors are the problematic circumstances which confront one's life and may be more or less unique of a particular individual, family, or those in a common social group or social category. Irwin T. Sanders defines several types of situations—the social situation and the problem situation.<sup>§</sup> According to Sanders, the social situation consists of a collection of people, each of whom plays a certain role he thinks others expect him to play in that situation. The problem situation, which is of major interest to us, is defined as that which is desired or needed which places one at a comparative disadvantage. More simply, anything which presents an obstacle or obstructs the achievement of a desired goal. One obvious question which follows such a definition is "who defines the problem?" Does the individual facing the problematic situation define what his problem is or does society or some expert define the problem for him? How can one be made aware that a problem exists in the first place? Who controls the means (purse strings, decision making power, resources) through which the problem may be solved? And finally, the definition of the situation may often differ from one person to the next according to the perspective employed or social and cultural value orientations.

There are several reasons that the identification and specification of situational conditions surrounding the lives of individuals of a rural low income area is important. First, factors which

influence life styles and quality of living are much more complex than simply the consideration of only such factors as income, education and occupation. Other factors such as the amount of debt incurred, family size, housing condition, health condition, insurance status, amount of savings, investments and capital assets, and a host of other factors may present a varying combination of complex problems to different persons. Secondly, situational problems may reveal the variation in human conditions even for individuals of a relatively homogeneous social class or social status. And third, the identification of situational problems can permit the development of social and economic policy compatible to the situation and needs of individuals of a given area.

**Housing** — The majority of the respondents resided in single dwelling units with an average of about five rooms per unit. Although nearly three-fourths of the sample lived in houses described as sound in condition, there were good reasons to believe that some major housing problems existed. For example, about 21 percent of the total housing units in Amelia County were rental units. This is compared with 34 percent in Brunswick and 22 percent in Cumberland. In addition, about 43 percent of the year-round occupied housing units of the three counties lacked some or all plumbing.<sup>†</sup> Nineteen percent of the houses where heads of households of the study sample resided were in a state of deterioration which seven percent were listed as dilapidated.

Data on housing status of the study sample revealed that 15 percent of the respondents rented the houses where

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<sup>§</sup>Sanders, Irwin T., *Situational Analysis, An Approach to Community Problem Solving*, Community Development Conference, Wisconsin, 1965.

<sup>†</sup>A third type of situation is the organizational situation which links the individual to the organization.

<sup>‡</sup>See 1970 Census of Housing, *General Housing Characteristics*, U. S. Dept. of Commerce publication, Washington, D. C., 1970.

they resided. Over half (54 percent) of the respondents owned their home while another 17 percent were in the process of purchasing their home. Fourteen percent occupied their houses without cash payments.

**Health** — The health condition of most individuals included in the study was between good and fair with only 10 percent reporting poor health, and 15 percent who reported that their health was excellent. Although 58 percent of the sample reported that their health was either good or excellent, 29 percent did not have any type of private health insurance. About 57 percent had family health insurance, while eight percent had insurance for the children only. Apparently it was reasoned by most persons who had insurance that a family plan was of greater

need than a plan which only insured the health of the breadwinner. An important aspect of health which we do not have data for is health care and health services. It has long been known that health care and health services of most rural areas has been less than adequate.

**Family Size** — Under certain conditions family size may place a heavy economic burden on the family budget. Low education, low income and large family size may place a given family in a disadvantaged position. The average number of children for the study sample was 3.8. The lowest number was zero and the highest was 15. This is indicative of the relatively high fertility level in rural areas as opposed to urban areas. The average number of children who were still a member of the household was approximately two. Apparently

TABLE 5

**Condition of Residence, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Virginia, 1971**

Condition	Number	Percent
Sound	518	73.30
Deteriorating	138	19.52
Dilapidated	50	7.07
Total	706	99.89

TABLE 6

**Housing Status, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Virginia, 1971**

Housing Status	Number	Percent
Rented by head	97	13.60
Rented by other household member	7	.98
Being purchased by head	123	17.25
Owned by head	387	54.28
Occupied without cash payment	97	13.60
Total	711	99.71

many children had left their parents' household in search of a living on their own or may have been in school away from home. It is very likely that some of these individuals were a part of the out-migration stream from the area.

The number of children in school from a particular family may place an added financial expense on the head of household and may be very demanding of family income. The data revealed that 34 percent of the respondents had either one or two children in school. Sixteen percent had either 3 or 4 children in school, seven percent had either five or six in school, and two percent had from 7 to 8 children enrolled in school.

Thirty-nine percent had no children enrolled in school.

**Marital Status** — Marital status may influence the type of family organization. All members of the family serve some functional part to the whole. When a functional component is absent, a lack of integration and solidarity may result and role substitutes are sometimes employed. Even husband and wife families may experience certain hardships, but those who are separated, widowed or divorced present a special type of problem, especially for those with children, the poor, and the elderly.

In our study, 18 percent of the respondents of the sample were either

TABLE 7

**Health Condition, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Virginia, 1971**

Health Condition	Number	Percent
Excellent	104	14.59
Good	316	44.32
Fair	216	30.29
Poor	74	10.38
Don't Know	3	.42
Total	713	99.88

TABLE 8

**Private Health Insurance, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Virginia, 1971**

Private Health Insurance	Number	Percent
No	209	29.31
Yes, husband only	56	7.85
Yes, family policy	404	56.66
Yes, Children only	9	1.26
Other	31	4.35
Don't Know	4	.56
Total	713	99.99

separated, widowed or divorced. This was a larger proportion than that represented in the state as a whole (5.4 percent for males and 15.3 percent for females). Seventy-six percent were married while six percent were single.

**Poverty Status and Welfare** — The operational definition of poverty is based on that used by the Department of Labor, 1972. The definition takes into account two criteria: income and family size.† The advantage of using this definition is that it takes size of family into consideration in addition to income. A limitation, however, is that it was developed for non-farm persons. Many of the respondents of the study

sample were from the rural-farm population. Based on this definition, 35 percent of the study sample were represented in the poverty class while 65 percent were classified as non-poverty. There were also individuals who were just beyond the boundaries of poverty as defined here. Assuming that the poverty criteria utilized are valid indicators of quality of living, an astonishingly high proportion of the respondents of the study sample were characterized by a sub-par level of living. This astonishment is resounded even more when it is realized that many lie just beyond the boundaries of poverty. In addition, 25 percent of respondents were welfare recipients, while 75 percent did not receive welfare.

**TABLE 9**  
**Income Criteria of Poverty Based on Family Size,**  
**Department of Labor, 1972**

Family Size	Continental U. S. Non-Farm
1	\$2,000
2	2,600
3	3,300
4	4,000
5	4,700
6	5,300
7	5,900

**TABLE 10**  
**Poverty Status, Survey Sample, Amelia, Brunswick**  
**and Cumberland Counties, Virginia, 1971**

Poverty Status	Number	Percent
Poor	250	35.06
Non-Poor	463	64.94
Total	713	100.00

†See discussion in "DOL Raises Income Levels Defining Poor Families," *Manpower and Vocational Education Weekly*, February 16, 1972, p. 9.

## WORK ORIENTATION ATTITUDES

### WAY OF LIFE ASPIRATIONS

The respondents were asked a set of questions to determine their life aspirations. This represented one of the work orientation tests. The scores were rated on a scale from one to four: 1 indicating the worst way of life and 4 indicating the best way of life. The questions were as follows:

1. Having a regular job.
2. Getting along well with your family.
3. Being honest.
4. Having a job that you like.
5. Having a nice place to live and plenty of food.
6. Having plenty of money to get what you want.
7. Making this a better world to live in.

The scores were summed and averaged for all respondents. The data revealed that the average score for all respondents was 3.85. This indicates that the majority of the respondents aspired for the best way of life. This finding is confirmed further when the life aspiration scores for all respondents were cross-classified with poverty status (Table 11). The data showed that regardless of the poverty status category

in which individuals were in (i. e. poverty or non-poverty), most aspired for the best way of life and ranked near the upper end of the life aspiration scale which indicates attitudes for the best way of life. About 46 percent of those in the poverty status category aspired for the best way of life as compared to 48 percent of those in the non-poverty category. The propositions were about the same for the next level of aspirations, but hardly any persons aspired to live the worst way of life (Table 11).

Even when income is utilized as the sole indicator of poverty status, it was shown that low income persons as well as those with high incomes aspired for the best way of living. Although there was a slightly greater proportion of the low income and medium income levels respectively represented in the high income bracket, this was not significantly greater than the proportion represented in the high income category. This confirms our earlier findings and indicates that even when size of family is dropped, there was little difference in life aspiration attitudes between low income and high income individuals.

Contrary to expectations, there was a negative relation between life aspirations and education. Surprisingly, there

TABLE 11

### Life Aspirations by Poverty Status, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Study Sample, Virginia, 1971

Poverty Status	Life Aspiration Scale				Total	Percent Row
	1	2	3	4		
Poverty	1(.04)	5(2.0)	128(51.2)	116(46.4)	250	99.8
Non-Poverty	0(.00)	7(1.5)	232(50.1)	224(48.4)	463	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>340</b>	<b>713</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Code: 4 = best way of life.  
 1 = worst way of life.  
 2 & 3 = in between.

were higher proportions of individuals with low educational level and with medium educational level with high life aspiration for the best way of life than for persons with high level education. This finding is somewhat reduced in significance, however, when the second highest point of the life aspiration scale (i. e., 3) is considered. As shown in Table 13, there was a greater proportion of respondents with above high school education in the medium high level on the life aspiration continuum than those with low or medium level educations. If the medium high and very high categories are combined, we see that the difference is small between all

educational levels. A slightly greater but insignificant proportion of those at the low educational level had moderately low life aspirations as compared to the proportion in the higher educational categories.

#### WORK ETHIC

Several questions were utilized in the work ethic scale of the work orientation test. These are as follows:

1. Work should be the most important part of a person's life.
2. To me, it is important to have the kind of work that gives me a chance to develop my own

TABLE 12

### Life Aspirations by Income Level, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Study Sample, Virginia, 1971

Income Level	Life Aspiration Scale				Total	Percent Row
	1	2	3	4		
Low income	1(.22)	9(2.0)	223(50.2)	211(47.5)	444	99.9
Medium income	0(.00)	3(1.6)	92(48.7)	94(49.7)	189	100.0
High income	0(.00)	0(.00)	45(57.0)	34(43.0)	79	100.0
Total	1	12	360	339	712	100.0

Code: Low = 0 - \$5,999  
 Medium = \$6,000 - \$11,999  
 High = \$12,000 - and over

TABLE 13

### Life Aspirations by Educational Level, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Study Sample, Virginia, 1971

Educational Level	Life Aspiration Scale				Total	Percent Row
	1	2	3	4		
Low	0(.00)	11(2.0)	278(49.3)	275(48.8)	564	100.1
Medium	1(1.0)	1(1.0)	51(52.0)	45(45.9)	98	99.9
High	0(.00)	0(.00)	31(64.6)	17(35.4)	48	100.0
Total	1	12	360	337	710	100.0

Code: Low = below high school.  
 Medium = high school (completed).  
 High = above high school.

special abilities.

3. Work is a good builder of character.
4. Success in an occupation is mainly a matter of how much effort you put into it.
5. Hard work makes you a better person.
6. If I don't have a regular job, I don't feel right.
7. Most people like to work.

Just as in the case with the life aspiration scale, the scores were rated on a scale from 1 to 4. As shown in Table 14, a higher proportion of those in the non-poverty category generally had more positive attitudes toward work ethics than the proportion in the poverty category. This was determined by collapsing the two upper categories (i.e., 3 and 4 on the scale). In the highest category, however, poverty individuals were more positive toward work ethics than non-poverty persons. Noteworthy is the fact that most individuals, whether poverty or non-poverty, were below the highest point on the work ethic scale. This indicates that the respondents of the study as a whole had more negative attitudes toward work ethics than toward life aspirations. One point which seems clear is that poverty status individuals as a whole had just

as positive attitudes toward work ethics and life aspirations as did persons with non-poverty status.

It was also revealed that work orientation, as measured by the work ethic test did not differ significantly between those with low educational level and medium educational level individuals. Attitudes were moderately positive in this respect. However, there was still a lack of a high representation (proportion-wise) in the upper or positive category (i.e., 4 on the scale) of the work ethic scale as shown in Table 15. In addition, there was a significantly smaller proportion in the high educational level category who held extremely positive attitudes toward work ethics than the proportions in the low and medium categories respectively. When the proportions in the two upper categories on the scale are summed for each educational level respectively, most of this difference dissipates (Table 15).

When income was cross-tabulated with work ethic attitudes for the sample, it was found that there was a moderately strong relation between the two variables. In other words, as income increases, work ethic attitudes are likely to become more positive. This was determined by collapsing the two upper categories on the work ethic continuum.

TABLE 14

**Work Ethic by Poverty Status, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Study Sample, Virginia, 1971**

Status	Work Ethic Scale				Total	Percent Row
	1	2	3	4		
Poverty	0(.00)	48(19.2)	167(66.8)	35(14.0)	250	100.0
Non-poverty	6(1.3)	67(14.5)	349(75.3)	41( 8.8)	463	99.9
Total	6	115	516	76	713	100.0

4 = best way of life  
 1 = worst way of life  
 2 & 3 = intermediate

This indicates that income is a major factor in determining attitudes toward work and that income is of greater immediate importance than education in producing positive work orientation attitudes.

#### LACK OF CONFIDENCE

Four questions were asked in the lack of confidence test of work orientation. These are as follows:

1. To be really successful in life, you have to care about making money.
2. Success in an occupation is mainly a matter of luck.
3. To me, work is nothing more than a way of making a living.
4. Success in an occupation is mainly a matter of knowing the right people.

A larger proportion of poverty status persons were found to have less confidence of success in work than non-poverty status persons. Accordingly, a smaller proportion of poverty status respondents as compared to non-poverty status respondents were located at the positive end of the scale, i.e. with low scores which means more favorable attitudes for this test (Table 17).

The mean score for all respondents was 2.5. Thus, while confidence of success in work was not very high for the respondents as a whole, nor was it extremely low as indicated by the middle-range mean score of 2.5.

A strong negative relation was found between educational level and lack of confidence in work success. That is, the lower the educational level of the respondents as a whole, the lower their

TABLE 15

#### Work Ethic by Educational Level, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Study Sample, Virginia, 1971

Educational Level	Work Ethic Scale				Total	Percent Row
	1	2	3	4		
Low	6(1.1)	94(16.7)	401(71.1)	63(11.2)	564	100.1
Medium	0(.00)	16(16.3)	70(71.4)	12(12.2)	98	99.9
High	0(.00)	5(10.4)	43(89.6)	0(.00)	48	100.0
Total	6	115	514	75	710	100.0

TABLE 16

#### Work Ethic by Income Level, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Study Sample, Virginia, 1971

Income Level	Work Ethic Scale				Total	Percent Row
	1	2	3	4		
Low	3(0.7)	81(18.2)	300(67.6)	60(13.5)	444	100.1
Medium	3(1.6)	30(15.9)	144(76.2)	12(6.3)	189	100.0
High	0(.00)	4(5.1)	71(89.9)	4(5.1)	79	100.1
Total	6	115	515	76	712	100.0

confidence of success in work. Conversely, the higher the educational level, the higher the confidence of success in the world of work. This indicates, therefore, that the least educated did not have as much confidence in succeeding in the world of work as those with high education, and consequently, their work orientation was less favorable (Table 18).

A relatively strong negative relation was also observed between income level and confidence in work success. Those with lower incomes tended to possess a lower degree of confidence in work success than those with higher income levels. This was determined in part by collapsing the upper half of the confidence scale and the lower half respectively, and comparing these combined proportions. Thus, those who were worst off income-wise tended to lack confidence in the world of work to a

greater degree than those who were more financially secure (Table 19).

The above findings should be interpreted with caution, however, since a fairly substantial proportion of the respondents with low education and low income respectively showed a middle range to moderately high level of confidence in work success. Only a few respondents fell at the most negative end of the scale. Thus, the above comparisons are more meaningful from a relative point of view. In addition, significant tests for the observed relations were not conducted. The above findings, however, suggest that the overall mean confidence score was deflated by lower or extreme cases which primarily characterized those with low education and low income. The mean confidence score of 2.5 indicates that for many respondents, sure success in the world of work was not anticipated."

TABLE 17

**Lack of Confidence by Poverty Status, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Study Sample, Virginia, 1971**

Status	Lack of Confidence Scale				Total	Percent Row
	1	2	3	4		
Poverty	24(9.6)	115(46.0)	91(36.4)	20(8.0)	250	100.0
Non-Poverty	81(17.5)	237(51.2)	120(25.9)	25(5.4)	460	100.1
Total	105	352	211	45	713	100.0

TABLE 18

**Lack of Confidence by Educational Level, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Study Sample, Virginia, 1971**

Educational Level	Lack of Confidence Scale				Total	Percent Row
	1	2	3	4		
Low	73(12.9)	272(48.2)	179(31.7)	40(7.1)	564	99.9
Medium	17(17.3)	53(54.1)	24(24.5)	4(4.1)	98	100.0
High	14(29.2)	26(54.2)	8(16.7)	0(.00)	48	100.1
Total	104	351	211	44	710	100.0

A similar study to the present one found, in addition, that black respondents were less confident of success in the world of work than were white respondents, and younger persons were more confident than older persons.<sup>22</sup> When it is considered that blacks represented a high proportion of those on welfare in the study, their lower score on the confidence in work success scale seems understandable. Those on welfare also tended to be young or middle-aged adults. The above findings indicate that persons who have not achieved a satisfactory level of education or employment through some fault of their own or the system will *not* view their chances of being successful in the world of work as being very good.

#### ACCEPTABILITY OF WELFARE

Based on the data shown in Table 20, it is clear that poverty status respon-

dents as a whole were more inclined toward the acceptance of welfare than non-poverty respondents. Thirty percent of the poverty status respondents reported low acceptability of welfare scores as compared to 60 percent of the non-poverty status respondents. Moreover, only about 10 percent of the non-poverty status respondents exhibited extremely high acceptability of welfare scores as compared to 25 percent of the poverty status respondents. In sum, those in poverty as a whole were more willing to accept welfare than non-poverty persons. This suggests that attitude or orientation toward work may be created by conditions of poverty.

The data revealed a strong inverse relation between educational level and acceptability of welfare. In other words, high education was associated with low acceptability of welfare and conversely, low education was associated

TABLE 19

#### Lack of Confidence by Income Level, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Study Sample, Virginia, 1971

Income Level	Lack of Confidence Scale				Total	Percent Row
	1	2	3	4		
Low	53(11.9)	202(45.5)	153(34.4)	36(8.1)	444	99.9
Medium	37(19.6)	98(51.8)	46(24.3)	8(4.2)	189	99.9
High	15(19.0)	51(64.6)	12(15.2)	1(1.3)	79	100.1
Total	105	351	211	45	712	100.0

TABLE 20

#### Acceptability of Welfare by Poverty Status, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Study Sample, Virginia, 1971

Status	Acceptability of Welfare Scale				Total	Percent Row
	1	2	3	4		
Poverty	76(30.4)	111(44.4)	45(18.0)	18(7.2)	250	100.0
Non-Poverty	278(60.0)	137(29.6)	37(8.0)	11(2.4)	463	100.0
Total	354	248	82	29	713	100.0

more with high acceptability of welfare (Table 21).

The same general pattern as exhibited above with education was also revealed when income level was cross-tabulated with acceptability of welfare. Accordingly, a large proportion of persons with low income were more receptive of welfare than were persons with medium or high levels of income. About 92 percent of those with high income levels were characterized by low acceptability of welfare scores as compared to 60 percent of those with low income levels (Table 22).

The above results illustrate several interesting points: That is, high education and high income yield less dependence on welfare, whereas low education and low income promote greater dependence on welfare. And secondly, at least some persons with low education and low income did not desire to receive welfare, but a significant proportion of them do. It seems, therefore, that policy aimed at producing more satisfactory levels of education and income may aid in limiting or reducing the ranks of those on welfare or the number of potential welfare recipients.

TABLE 21

**Acceptability of Welfare by Educational Level, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Study Sample, Virginia, 1971**

Educational Level	Acceptability of Welfare Scale				Total	Percent Row
	1	2	3	4		
Low	254(46.7)	192(35.3)	72(13.4)	25(4.6)	544	100.0
Medium	56(57.1)	29(29.6)	9(9.2)	4(4.1)	98	99.9
High	42(87.5)	6(12.5)	0(.00)	0(.00)	48	100.0
Total	352	247	82	29	710	100.0

TABLE 22

**Acceptability of Welfare by Income Level, Amelia, Brunswick and Cumberland Counties, Study Sample, Virginia, 1971**

Income Level	Acceptability of Welfare Scale				Total	Percent Row
	1	2	3	4		
Low	268(60.4)	1(.2)	175(39.4)	0(.00)	444	100.0
Medium	175(92.6)	2(1.1)	12(6.3)	0(.00)	189	100.0
High	73(92.4)	0(.00)	6(7.6)	0(.00)	79	100.0
Total	516	3	193	0	712	100.0

## SUMMARY

The purpose of this study was to determine the relation between specific social problems and situational conditions of poverty and non-poverty household heads and their orientation toward work. This study also sought to ascertain and analyze the social problems, situational conditions and work orientation attitudes of respondents of a three-county low-income area of south central Virginia. It was hoped that this study would yield results leading to developmental planning and action programs to improve the economic condition and quality of living of inhabitants of the area.

The general results of this study revealed that the work orientation attitudes of those in the poverty level category did not differ significantly from those in the non-poverty category. Individuals in poverty had just as positive attitudes toward work as did non-poverty persons.

There was no difference between poverty and non-poverty individuals with reference to life aspiration attitudes. Regardless of status, most individuals of the study sample aspired for the best way of life. The same findings resulted when income and life aspirations were cross-tabulated. Most persons regardless of income level aspired for the best way of life. Noteworthy is that a significant proportion of individuals with low educational level aspired for the best way of life. Surprisingly, a higher proportion of individuals with low educational level aspired for the best way of life than the proportion at the high educational level.

It was revealed that non-poverty individuals possessed a more positive at-

titude toward work ethics as a whole than poverty level individuals. It was also revealed that educational level did not differentiate work ethic attitudes between poverty and non-poverty individuals. Educational level did not discriminate between work ethic attitudes as the majority of the respondents held positive work ethic attitudes.

A moderately strong positive relation was found between work ethic attitudes and income. High income was associated with positive work ethic attitudes while low income was associated more with negative work ethic attitudes.

It was found that poverty level individuals had less confidence of success in general than those in the non-poverty category. However, lack of confidence in success was not very high for poverty and non-poverty persons. Thus, most individuals held positive life aspiration attitudes, but were somewhat less optimistic about their success in the world of work. Other studies have shown that black respondents were less confident of success in the work world than were whites and younger individuals were more confident in success than older individuals." In addition, there was a tendency for low education and low income persons to have a fairly low level of confidence in success.

Finally, the study found that poverty level individuals as a whole were more inclined toward the acceptance of welfare than non-poverty individuals. The data also revealed that high education was associated with low acceptability of welfare and conversely, low education was associated with high acceptability of welfare.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The conclusions and recommendations which follow are based on the findings of this study. It is hoped that these recommendations will aid in developmental planning, policy directives, and program implementation in efforts to improve the social and economic conditions of the area and thus increase the quality of living.

1. Since most individuals held positive life aspiration attitudes it seems that a certain amount of incentive to work is already present. In order to broaden and expand this incentive a general awareness of the importance of life goals may serve to help persons seek and select means and alternatives. This means the development of a sound educational and awareness program in the area.
2. Quality of living in the study area was far below that for the rest of the state as a whole. Thus efforts should be made to bring individuals who live in this area up to par with those who reside in the rest of the state as a whole. This means improvement in rural education, occupations and employment, housing conditions, health conditions and health care and other factors which adversely characterize the area.
3. Most of those on welfare were young and black. Thus, policy should be directed toward programs to reduce this group and check potential welfare persons.
4. As income increases, work ethic attitudes become more positive. Thus, programs to increase incomes is a must to reduce the number of poverty and welfare individuals. This usually means gainful employment and the availability of opportunities to improve life chances in the overall system.
5. At least some of the persons in the poverty level category expressed a desire for work. Many lacked confidence of success in work. Thus, some type of manpower training and development program may assist such persons in becoming more employable and in improving quality of living through increasing incomes.
6. Poverty status individuals are more receptive of welfare. Thus, programs to reduce the ranks of those in poverty will also aid in limiting or reducing the number on welfare. This is very important in that there are many poor persons who are not on welfare, but who are potential recipients. In addition, some of those on welfare do not desire to remain on welfare.

This means more jobs, better jobs, and increases in incomes so that quality of life may be improved and non-welfare incentive can be promoted. Unless these obstacles are dealt with, there is little hope that welfare incentive or the welfare ranks will be appreciably reduced.