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ABSTRACT

Three issues related to New Careers have been explored among a group of college students who are in the main children of lower white collar and blue collar parents, including some with poverty or ghetto backgrounds. The New Careers program has two major components: helping the poor through meaningful employment and opportunity for career ladder advancement in the human services, and helping professionals in social agencies through making available a supply of subprofessional indigenous workers, capable of bridging the gap between staff and clients by cross-interpreting agency and community. The three issues are: (1) Are the poor or those with restricted occupational choices responding to New Careers opportunities? (2) What is the effect of high mobility aspirations on New Careers' interest; is the career-ladder idea sufficient to hold those from lower-class backgrounds? and (3) Is the bridging function congenial to New Careerists, and how does it jibe with the idea of job advancement? Tentative and partial findings show: (1) New Careerists are predominantly Black and female, from the lowest socioeconomic levels; (2) Their mobility aspirations are relatively high; and (3) The conditions for achieving success in the bridging role are less than favorable. Notes, references, and a brief appendix describing the family socialization for competence scale are provided. (DB)

# Bridges And Ladders

## Rehabilitation Occupations

## Working Paper

2/3/72

# BRIDGES AND LADDERS: A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY IN NEW CAREERS

## WORKING PAPER #2

## REHABILITATION OCCUPATIONS FOR THE DISADVANTAGED AND ADVANTAGED

A Program of Research on Occupations and Professions in the Field of Rehabilitation

Supported in part by
The Rehabilitation Services Administration
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## PREFACE

A study on rehabilitation occupations for the advantaged and disadvantaged is presently being conducted at Case Western Reserve University in cooperation with the Rehabilitation Services Administration. The "disadvantaged" are those who have had an irregular work history; they tend to be the poor, or minority group members who have not had the education necessary to qualify for any but dead-end jobs. New Careers programs are designed to meet the needs of this group. The "advantaged" are older workers who already have extensive job histories, but who are looking for a second, more satisfying career. These are the potential Second Careers group. Both could be candidates for paraprofessional work in rehabilitation, or for training in a professional rehabilitation career.

In addition to the research on which this paper is based, the Rehabilitation Careers Project involves the study of occupational structures and utilization of New Career and Second Career manpower in public and private rehabilitation and social service agencies in the greater Cleveland area, and a population survey of the same area to determine interest in New Careers, Second Careers, and human services employment. Two additional projects of this research program will aid in analyzing the extent of New Careers and Second Careers engagement in the entire rehabilitation work system: They are 1) a study of new hires in rehabilitation agencies throughout the United States and 2) a follow-up of students previously trained for rehabilitation work.

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## INTRODUCTION

During the past decade there has been a rapid increase in the use of individuals in nonprofessional roles in the human services. The 1965 publication of Pearl and Riessman's book, New Careers for the Poor, provided the ideology and impetus for this new "movement" in which the plan is to select workers from client populations to train and use in the implementation of agency purposes. Pearl and Riessman argued that a New Careers movement would be a major strategy in combating poverty by creating job and career opportunities for the poor and disadvantaged in a wide variety of service areas: notably social work, teaching, recreation, health and rehabilitation.

The New Careers concept, as Meyer (1969) has pointed out, goes beyond providing permanent and useful work for the unemployed or underemployed poor. By adding vital service personnel recruited from the poor, manpower shortages in the human and social services are relieved, and agencies are assisted in becoming more responsive to community needs. The latter aims were particularly salient in the face of increasing pressures for change emanating from the communities themselves. The ghetto riots of the 60's together with demands from Human Rights and Civil Rights movements made action imperative. Expanding the social and economic opportunity structure was seen as one way of meeting this challenge. Furthermore, it was felt by observing professionals that the turmoil in the cities derived, to some extent, from a lack of understanding on the part of professionals in dealing with local problems. Thus client participation in community service programs was seen as an important mechanism for improving professional comprehension of the community, its moods, problems and needs.

In 1966, the Federal government reacted to the New Careers idea when it appended the Scheuer Amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act. Subsequently, approximately $33 million were allocated to the development of New Careers work-training and employment projects. Following this legislation, a number of laws, notably the Higher Education Act Amendments, the Health Manpower Act, and the Vocational Rehabilitation Amendment of 1968, have incorporated or encouraged the development of New Careers programs.

The major New Careers objectives were expressed by Pearl and Riessman in 1965 and elaborated beyond their early proposals in

subsequent years. The first of these aims is to provide meaningful employment for the unemployed and those considered "under-employed", and at the same time, therefore, reduce welfare dependency and offer opportunities for rehabilitation. The "helper therapy" principle, a key aspect of the nonprofessional approach, is seen as part of this objective of rehabilitation. The notion is that troubled people who help others with similar difficulties are often at the same time successful in helping themselves; (cf. Riessman (1965), and Grosser (1969: 121-122.)

A second aim is to alleviate manpower shortages that have accompanied the expansion of health, education, and welfare services. The aim here is not only to increase the number of people who provide service, but also to create a division of labor between professionals and nonprofessionals so that the delivery of services might be more efficiently rendered. Even in a period of rising unemployment shortages persist, particularly in certain helping fields. A third goal is to open up pathways for upward mobility in the service professions to those previously unable to avail themselves of the traditional and "credentialed" routes. The New Careers proposal goes further than merely providing occupational slots for the disadvantaged; it seeks to create opportunities for life-long careers in a variety of human services with the provision of on-the-job training and relevant academic instruction leading to eventual professional status. This is the "career ladder" idea of New Careers, a means of upward movement in a human service occupation considered particularly appropriate with regard to the target population.

Finally, the fourth aim is to improve the delivery and quality of services by using community persons as agency workers. Pearl and Riessman (1965) see nonprofessional personnel as becoming mediators between the agency and its clientele as a result of the nonprofessionals' greater familiarity with the life styles and problems encountered in client groups. Understanding between agency and clients is thus thought to be enhanced by the employment of indigenous workers, who will serve as "bridges" between agencies and clients.

The New Careers movement undoubtedly reflects socially desirable objectives, yet the actual implementation of the program i.e., the use of nonprofessionals in the human services, has raised a number of critical issues. For instance, how capable and willing are the poor to enter jobs and careers in the human services? Their capabilities,

it has been suggested, are related to the kinds of tasks that nonprofessionals are asked to perform. Since a great variety of work activities is involved, the levels of skill and knowledge required for each are difficult to determine. In the absence of educational criteria for selecting New Careers candidates, recruitment can be problematic. Indeed, the choice is often made by the individual agencies and criteria vary according to types of services and the nature of the entry positions. Goldberg (1969: 16-17) draws attention to the most frequent practice of "creaming" the poor; that is, drawing for New Careers positions only the most capable and least unemployable of the poor. Not only does this method of selection further the current emphasis on credentials in this job market, but greatly compromises the movement as a truly effective strategy against poverty by providing work for those most likely to escape the grip of poverty on their own.

Professionals themselves have not been overwhelmingly favorable to the employment of nonprofessionals. The different and unique backgrounds, ideologies, and, particularly, styles of providing service of the indigenous nonprofessionals have caused some concern among professionals regarding the possible downgrading of services and the consequent adverse effect on the status of the profession, and the welfare of the client. Another reason for concern is the change in the mix of the work. Change produces uncertainty on roles, and living with uncertainty for a period of time until the structure "resets" is uncomfortable, even if in the end the work system stabilizes with some degree of stability of exchanges, rights, duties, privileges, and the like.

Another concept that has proved to be a problem in implementation is the provision of "career ladders." The success of New Careers depends not only on the availability of suitable entry positions, but also on the establishment of avenues for advancement towards professional status. The achievement of this goal would require, in most cases, restructuring of the agency's work organization, the establishment of work performance standards to measure eligibility for advancement, and a far clearer explication of the kinds of training that would be most appropriate in facilitating the upward movement of nonprofessionals. The developments in this respect have indeed been uneven. For example, a study conducted by the National Committee on the Employment of Youth of eight agencies employing New Careerists found "that opportunities for genuine advancement are either severely limited or completely nonexistent" (1969: 10-11).

Several obstacles to career mobility were revealed: civil service requirements, professional standards, lack of adequate training, and particularly, the persistence in these agencies of reliance on the baccalaureate degree in determining eligibility for advance positions. Thus most New Careerists became stalled at entry-level, dead-end jobs.

Related to the career ladder issue is the expectation that the nonprofessional worker will serve a "bridging" function for the agency. Several questions are relevant here: (1) Are the types of people entering New Careers programs willing and equipped to assume a linking role between the community and the service organization? (2) Does not a bridging position, to the extent that it is a marginal or intermediary status, conflict with the upward mobility aspirations implied by the career ladder concept? (3) Does the present organizational structure of human services provide positions and mechanisms for such third party roles?

The above issues have become particularly relevant to the rehabilitation occupations. In the past several years, rehabilitation counseling has expanded the definitions of its client characteristics to include the same type of people that constitute the New Careers target population--that is, the poor and socially disadvantaged. Agreeing with the New Careers ideology, various leaders in rehabilitation have recognized that successful outcomes may depend on service that is responsive, empathetic, and sensitive to unique community needs. This has suggested the use of indigenous nonprofessionals as counselors or counselor aides.

At the same time however, the field of rehabilitation has been moving toward professionalization during the past 15 years, and most rehabilitation counselors are increasingly viewing themselves as full professionals (see Sussman and Haug, 1970). Thus the rehabilitation workers' concern with becoming "real" professionals occurs at a time when they are expanding their occupational scope to include the poor, socially disadvantaged and non-university trained as practitioners. The latter development strongly suggests a de-professionalization of the occupation.

Moreover, other issues become troublesome vis-a-vis these two counter trends. For example, for the truly professional fields, the

career ladder is based on rigid, external criteria, thus making it difficult for people from the client population to advance in or even enter the career. Furthermore, this type of career ladder is clearly in opposition to the bridging function, since it presumes leaving the community base and acquiring formal educational credentials and an agency commitment. One becomes part of the work system with expected allegiance and identity with those who control one's livelihood.

## RESEARCH PURPOSE

The above are a few of the more important issues that have emerged out of the New Careers movement. The purpose of this study is to consider three of these issues and to derive from them three specific questions for study. Specifically, the questions have to do with recruitment and selection criteria, the career ladder concept, and the bridging function. The study questions are examined from the perspective of the individuals who are actual New Careers trainees or potential New Careerists. A later study will investigate some of these same issues from an organizational approach; that is, questions relating to present hiring practices, training, work organization, and the ways in which nonprofessionals are actually being integrated into individual agency structures. The three questions for current study are as follows:

1. To what extent is the availability or restrictiveness of occupational options, either real or perceived, related to participation in New Careers training programs or the willingness to enter this type of career? Do the New Careerists, or those who are potential New Careerists, actually have or feel they have fewer job options than non-New Careerists? From another perspective, since New Careers opportunities are in theory to be opened to the poor and disadvantaged, are these groups indeed responding to the New Careers offerings?[1]

2. What is the relationship between lower-class status, achievement orientation, and participation or willingness to participate in New Careers projects? No prior work bears directly on this question, but it is expected that the poor and lower-class people with high aspirations may not be satisfied with becoming New Careerists or nonprofessionals even temporarily, but would prefer to achieve speedy full professional status. In other words, people from lower-class backgrounds, given the educational means or training, may not be willing to choose New Careers occupations since the latter tend to be lower-or at best, middle-level positions.

3. The third research question, a central concern of the New Careers movement, is: Are the characteristics of the New Careerists congenial with the bridging function of the program ideology? According to Pearl and Riesman (1965), the bridging idea entails not only a service orientation on the part of the nonprofessional, but also

a disposition to perceive, as an essential aspect of his role, the importance of linking the agency to the community, and, conversely, the community to the agency.[2]

As mentioned in the introductory section, the issue suggested by this question may be in conflict with the "career ladder" notion, inasmuch as a bridging position is, in a sense, only half-way up the ladder. Thus, if New Careerists, as the previous question implies, are high aspirers, they may not be happy in such a position, or they may view it as only a transient status on the way up. A desire to be upwardly mobile, one expectation of the New Careers ideology expressed in the career ladder idea, appears to be inconsistent with another aspect of the ideology -- the important bridging expectation. It is hoped that our data reveal the extent to which future New Careerists fit one or the other of these conceptions.

The population from which the New Careers program has recruited, that is, the target population, has to this time been defined rather generally as "poor," "socially disadvantaged," "ghetto dweller," and such. As yet, little is known beyond these global descriptions about the specific characteristics, aspirations, values, career patterns, etc. of those who enter New Careers programs, or are considered potential candidates. This investigation seeks to fill this gap, at least with regard to the three sets of attributes or themes which pertain to important premises of the New Careers ideology and its program implementation.

More specifically, the study seeks to determine whether, in the context of their career options, mobility hopes, and willingness to serve as agency - community links, the socially disadvantaged will evidence an interest in rehabilitation careers. In short, the practical implications of the study focus on the utility of New Careers programs as a source of needed manpower in the rehabilitation field.

## SURVEY METHOD

The study takes the form of a cross-sectional survey of undergraduate students at State University and Community College, two midwestern schools chosen because they have specific New Careers training programs as well as a large number of students with the type of background characteristics that the New Careers program was intended to accommodate: namely, the poor, blue-collar workers, or those recruited from the inner city ghetto areas. Modal student

characteristics in these two schools puts them in the target population for New Careers recruitment. The design compares individuals in actual New Careers training programs, potential New Careerists -- those considered good candidates for New Careers jobs in the future --, and students from similar backgrounds as the above categories but who are neither in New Careers training programs nor seem to be aspiring to New Careers jobs.

Class sections from the schools were selected purposively, essentially in two areas: (1) introductory sections in social science, sociology, and psychology in order to reach students who are more likely to be interested in the human service occupations, and (2) special programs or curricula of instruction that are either specific vocational training programs such as Project New Careers and the Career Program at Community College, or special entrance programs such as Project Search at Community College and Developmental Studies at State University. The New Career programs of instruction at Community College train people for nonprofessional occupations in the human services. Thus Project New Careers prepares people directly for various types of paraprofessional occupations in the health, welfare, and social service areas. Students are funded by government stipends and guaranteed positions upon completion of their training. The Career Program trains people for some of the same New Careers types jobs, especially those curricula listed under the category "Health and Public Service Technology." Later, in the analysis of the data, these occupations are also included as New Careers. The only difference -- in some cases they are exactly the same training program -- is that the Career Program does not usually have Federal government funding for its students, nor does it have the positions committed. No training programs specifically for New Careers in rehabilitation are included, since none were in progress during this phase of the study. Other aspects of the total research effort of which this report is a part cover such trainees.

Project Search and Developmental Studies are outreach counseling services to assist socio-economic disadvantaged young people in entering and completing college curricula. The participants in these programs, coming from the inner city poverty areas, represent a particularly salient target population for New Careers candidates.

The sample was designed, therefore, to be representative of an urban youth population open generally to the possibility of a human services career, and specifically to a New Careers perspective. A

total of approximately 900 students was enrolled in these classes and programs, and usable responses were secured from 812. The number of students in the sample by school, class sections, and the special programs of instruction is shown in Table 1.

A number of the students actually enrolled in special programs, such as New Careers and Project Search, were sampled in the academic class sections so that they do not appear in the separate figures stated for these programs. The same is true for students who are enrolled in Developmental Studies at State University and those in the

Table 1

STUDENT SAMPLE NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS, BY SCHOOL, CLASS SECTION, AND SPECIAL CURRICULUM

| School and Class Section | Number of Respondents |
|---|---|
| State University | |
| Introductory Sociology | 145 |
| Introductory Psychology | 322 |
| Introduction to Social Science | 47 |
| Community College | |
| Introduction to Social Science | 204 |
| School and Special Curricula | |
| Community College | |
| Project New Careers | 66 |
| Project Search | 28 |
| Total Number Sampled | 812 |

Career Program at Community College; enrollees in these programs were sampled in the regular class sections and, therefore, do not appear separately. It should be added that the particular special program or curriculum in which each respondent is enrolled was determined on the basis of specific questionnaire responses.

A twelve page self-administered questionnaire was developed and prepared in multilith form. It covered essentially five categories of variables: attitudinal-value factors, family characteristics, employment history, educational experiences, and a series of demographic variables. The questionnaire was pretested on a group of students from a local university not used in the actual sample. It was administered to the entire classroom sections selected for study in October and November of 1970. It was necessary to deviate from this data collection procedure with some of the Project Search students. Since it is a recruiting program, students do not meet together in class or as a group. A special evening session called to administer the questionnaire was poorly attended and the Project students were then sent questionnaires by mail. Due to incorrect addresses, change of address and possibly resistance on the part of the Black and the poor to complete and return questionnaires with only obscure promises of reward, the response rate was low. Seventeen questionnaires were returned by mail subsequent to the class-room data collection period. It should be mentioned again, however, that some Project Search students, as well as some in other special curriculum programs, were also in introductory class sections, and hence responses were obtained in this way.

## RESEARCH THEMES AND OUTCOME VARIABLES

The plan for analysis is to compare students who are in New Careers training programs or are potential New Careerists, with a comparison group of non-New Careerists, on three sets of variables: restrictiveness of occupational options, aspirations for upward mobility, and willingness to perform a bridging function. The three themes, their conceptual definitions, and the variables that indicate them follow below.

1. Restrictiveness of Occupational Options. This first theme refers to the availability or restrictiveness of occupational options, either real or perceived. The variables that indicate this concept represent characteristics that may be considered as limiting a person's choice of career and subsequent mobility and possibly contributing to a New Careers occupational decision. These characteristics are grouped at four levels:

a. Broad demographic characteristics: Lower-class background, being older, female, non-white, etc. can be viewed as real obstacles to unrestricted career choice and mobility.

b. Family factors: Being married and/or having dependents is considered more restrictive than the absence of these responsibilities.

Early family socialization for competence in dealing with the outside world of work is thought to be another factor affecting the restrictiveness of options. A scale has been devised to measure this dimension.[3]

c. Educational and work history: Because of the nature of the sample selection, persons of low educational attainment levels, characteristic both of limited options and New Careers target groups, are not included in the study, since all respondents are at least college freshmen. A history of work instability, however, can be utilized as an indicator of restricted career choices.

d. Perceived restrictiveness: Included here are two indices indicating a person's perception of his ability, and the degree of self-esteem. Low scores on these reflect, both directly and indirectly, perceived limitations in career choice.

2. Aspirations for Upward Mobility. The second theme refers to the extent to which one desires or expects to achieve high educational and occupational goals. The data contain several measures of this concept: educational and occupational aspirations and expectations, expected income, expected social class, and a measure of relative social class expectations. In addition, a scale of attitudinal items measuring dimensions of activism, and mastery of one's situation was included in the questionnaire. These variables indicate both directly and indirectly the extent to which one is oriented towards achievement, and thus the salience of the career ladder component of New Careers ideology.

3. The third and last theme upon which New Careerists and non-New Careerists are compared is the Bridging Function. This concept refers to the potential and willingness to assume a mediating position between the public and the agency. The purpose here is to measure whether the characteristics and attitudes of respondents are compatible with assuming this bridging role. Four items in the form of an index are used to measure this concept. Three of the items establish the respondent's potential for the role, by setting necessary conditions. These items, in other words, determine the eligibility of a person as a potential "bridger", i.e., if his family background

is lower-class, if he desires to help people in his future career, and if he shows evidence of identification with possible client groups (working people, Blacks, and the poor). A fourth item more directly taps the respondent's inclination to enact the bridging role if he were working in a social service agency. If a respondent answers that the most important thing one can do in a social agency is "explaining the agency to its clients", or "explaining the clients to the agency", he is considered a potential "bridger".

Three categories of the outcome variable, New Careers status, are identified: (1) present New Careerists in training, (2) potential New Careerists, and (3) those who are neither in the training program nor considered potential recruits to New Careers. Respondents in the latter category constitute the comparison group.

Category 1, the present New Careerists, are indicated by enrollment in Project New Careers, or by matriculation in any of the "Health and Public Service Technologies" of the Career Program. An additional requirement is an expectation on their part to stay in college no longer than two years. This is because entry into New Careers occupations presumes no prior requirement of academic credentials.

Potential New Careerists, category 2, were not enrolled in either of the above programs, but were considered to be highly probable candidates for New Careers engagement. They are identified by their expectation to complete not more than two years of college, by majoring, or intending to major, in the social or behavioral sciences, and by their expressed interest in accepting a paraprofessional job.

The third category -- non-New Careerists -- are those in the sample who remained after the above groups were isolated.

The outcome variable is further differentiated on a variable denoting an interest in rehabilitation. The questionnaire item indicating this interest provided a listing of client types; respondents who expressed a strong willingness to work with the disadvantaged groups -- mentally retarded or disturbed, poor, aged, physically disabled, and delinquents and prisoners -- were assumed to possess a rehabilitation orientation.

To sum the plan of analysis: the three variable-sets, or themes reflecting some selected issues of the New Careers program, are related to the outcome variable: whether one is a New Careers trainee, a potential New Careerist, or neither. In addition persons who express an interest in the rehabilitation field are differentiated on the above themes from those who show no such interest.

## STUDENT PROFILE

Some selected characteristics of the sample are presented in Table 2. The majority of respondents (64 percent) are freshman students, under 21 years of age (65 percent), single and never married, and with no dependents (in both cases about 80 percent of the sample). As might be expected, these data reflect the student character of the study group.

There are slightly more females than males, an indication of the behavioral and social science class sections that were sampled since these are characteristically subject more attractive to women.

According to the Hollingshead Index of class position,[4] 62 percent of the students in the sample are from working- or lower-class backgrounds, a blue-collar proportion not usually found in college populations.[5] It is interesting to note, however, that over half of the respondents consider their parents to be in the middle-class, although a substantial number (30 percent) report their families to be working-class. An indication that many of the students are not from the higher economic levels is that a majority (55 percent) are working either full- or part-time while attending college.

About one-third of students in the sample are Black, a high proportion considering that only 8.4 percent of all students in the United States are Black.[6]

Fifty-one percent of the respondents report that the religious background in their families was Catholic, compared with 38 percent who indicate Protestant, and only four percent who report Jewish family backgrounds.[7]

In general, the demographic profile of the sample fits the requirements of the study. It reflects a population of students predominantly from lower economic levels, who are working while

attending school, and contains a substantial proportion of Black students -- characteristics that imply a possible target group for New Careers recruitment.

Table 2

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE STUDENT SAMPLE

| CHARACTERISTIC | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| Year in College | | |
| First year | 494 | 64 |
| Second year | 201 | 26 |
| Third or fourth year | 76 | 10 |
| Total | 771 | 100 |
| Age | | |
| 17-18 years | 279 | 35 |
| 19-20 years | 249 | 31 |
| 21-24 years | 142 | 18 |
| 25-30 years | 69 | 9 |
| over 30 years | 65 | 8 |
| Total | 804 | 101 |
| Marital Status | | |
| Married | 93 | 12 |
| Single, never married | 656 | 81 |
| Separated/divorced/widowed | 58 | 7 |
| Total | 807 | 100 |
| Dependent Children | | |
| None | 490 | 80 |
| One | 60 | 10 |
| Two | 33 | 5 |
| Three or more | 32 | 5 |
| Total | 615 | 100 |
| Dependent Adults | | |
| None | 473 | 86 |
| One | 67 | 12 |
| Two or more | 10 | 2 |
| Total | 550 | 100 |
| Sex | | |
| Male | 378 | 47 |
| Female | 432 | 53 |
| Total | 810[a] | 100 |

Table 2 (continued)

| CHARACTERISTIC | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| **Family Social Class** | | |
| Class I | 45 | 6 |
| Class II | 60 | 8 |
| Class III | 202 | 27 |
| Class IV | 330 | 44 |
| Class V | 120 | 16 |
| Total | 758 | 101 |
| **Family Social Class Image** | | |
| Upper class | 6 | 1 |
| Upper middle class | 110 | 14 |
| Middle class | 417 | 52 |
| Working class | 237 | 30 |
| Lower class | 25 | 3 |
| Total | 795 | 100 |
| **Presently Employed** | | |
| Not employed | 360 | 44 |
| Employed part-time | 316 | 39 |
| Employed full-time | 133 | 16 |
| Total | 809 | 99 |
| **Race** | | |
| Black | 217 | 27 |
| White | 586 | 72 |
| Other | 6 | 1 |
| Total | 809 | 100 |
| **Religion** | | |
| None | 12 | 2 |
| Catholic | 412 | 51 |
| Jewish | 34 | 4 |
| Protestant | 305 | 38 |
| Other | 38 | 5 |
| Total | 801 | 100 |

a. In this and subsequent tables, variations below N of 812 are due to missing data.

On the other hand, differentiation according to present or potential involvement in New Careers, or interest in various types of paraprofessional jobs or rehabilitation clients, revealed only minority orientation to these types of human service activities (See Table 3). Only 17 percent of the students were in New Careers Programs, whereas less than five percent could be categorized as potential New Careerists. Thus over 75 percent of the student body, although predominantly from a blue-collar background, did not view themselves as willing to settle for a career requiring less than a four year college program to start.[8] The target population apparently has other goals.

This did not mean, however, outright rejection of paraprofessional careers. Over 40 percent of the students would accept work as a Social Work Assistant, and nearly a quarter would take on a Teacher's Aide or Doctor's Assistant role. Only about one in five, however, were attracted by jobs as Rehabilitation Aid, Assistant Parole Officer, or Mental Health Aide, and nine out of ten turned thumbs down on being Dental Assistants or Nurses Aides. In short, sizable minorities favored one or the other of these paraprofessional jobs, with Social Work Assistant the most desirable, and Nurses Aide the least. The fact that none of these paraprofessional jobs require a baccalaureate degree apparently was not viewed as inconsistent with the academic aspirations of the group. In fact, of the 635 non-New Careerists, better than a third not only were willing to assume a paraprofessional job, but had a social science or social service major which would be at least congruent with such a career outlook.

Table 3

NEW CAREERS, PARAPROFESSIONAL AND REHABILITATION INTERESTS OF THE STUDENT SAMPLE

| CHARACTERISTIC | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| New Career Status | | |
| Presently in New Careers Program | 141 | 17 |
| Potential New Careerists | 36 | 4 |
| Non-New Careerists | 635 | 78 |
| Total | 812 | 99 |

Table 3 (continued)

| CHARACTERISTIC | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| Respondents Willing to Work at Various Paraprofessional Jobs | | |
| Social work assistant | 340 | 42 |
| Teacher's aide | 232 | 29 |
| Doctor's assistant | 226 | 28 |
| Rehabilitation aide | 185 | 23 |
| Assistant parole officer | 173 | 21 |
| Mental health aide | 172 | 21 |
| Dental assistant | 73 | 9 |
| Nurses aide | 62 | 8 |
| Total | a | a |
| Type of Rehabilitation Client Definitely Willing to Work With | | |
| Mentally retarded | 234 | 29 |
| Poor | 332 | 41 |
| Aged | 175 | 22 |
| Disabled | 259 | 32 |
| Delinquent | 261 | 32 |
| Disturbed | 257 | 32 |
| Total | a | a |
| General Interest in Working With Rehabilitation Clients | | |
| No definite interest in any rehabilitation client | 283 | 35 |
| Interest only in poor as clientele | 45 | 6 |
| Interest in at least one type of rehabilitation client but not poor | 197 | 24 |
| Interest in poor plus at least one type of rehabilitation client | 287 | 35 |
| Total | 812 | 100 |

a. Totals exceed 812 and 100% because some respondents were willing to work on more than one paraprofessional job or with more than one type of client.

Willingness to accept work with various types of disadvantaged clients, taken as an indicator of a rehabilitation orientation, also showed considerable response variation. The "poor" were the most frequently accepted clients, commanding over 40 percent definitely willing to work with them. The retarded, disturbed, delinquent, and disabled each produced about 30 percent who would accept them as clients. The aged seemed the most stigmatized, in that only 20 percent would definitely accept a job which called for helping this rehabilitation category. This negative view of the aged reflects a common intergenerational stereotype, which is held by many professionals.

Analysis of the overlap between client choices revealed that over a third of this student group had no firm interest in taking on any kind of work which required dealing with rehabilitation clients. This is particularly striking in view of the fact that the sample was drawn from social science classes, which it is presumed would contain students with a human services bent. About five percent would work only with the poor; since this group rejects all other types of disabled client, it can hardly be identified as rehabilitation oriented. About a quarter would be interested in one or more types of rehabilitation client, not including the poor, and 35 percent would work with at least two types of disadvantaged client, including the poor.

## RESTRICTIVENESS OF OCCUPATIONAL OPTIONS

Differences on the variables depicting career restrictions were most noticeable between present New Careerists and non-New Careerists. The second category of New Careers status, potential New careerists, revealed very few differences from non-New Careerists on the variables measured in this section. This may have been partially due to small cell frequencies that were inadequate in making analytical comparisons. Only 36 respondents met the criteria for classification as potential New Careerists.[9]

The overall pattern emerging from the data is that characteristics that can be seen as limiting occupational choice do indeed tend to characterize enrollment in New Careers programs. Many of the restricting factors revealed in the Minnesota Studies (1969a, 1969b, and 1969c) that distinguished New Careerists were also found in the present investigation.

Table 4, which compares the categories of New Careers status on restricting demographic characteristics,[10] shows clearly that present New Careers training programs are more likely to include older students. Seventeen percent in these programs are over 30, and 32 percent are 25 or older, compared to six and 13 percent for those not in New Careers. Conversely, the proportion of 17 to 20 year olds is greatest in the non-New Careers category (70 percent) and declines to 45 percent for the New Careers group.

Age can be a restricting characteristic; for example, being over 30 years old may have limiting effects on the degree to which career options are open. Those who on this basis are in a less advantageous situation are indeed over-represented in the New Careers track.

Race, the second limiting characteristic, shows a similar but more dramatic relationship. Seventy percent of the students in New Careers programs are Black, whereas only 18 percent of the non-New Careerists are in this race category. New Careers enrollment and minority group membership, with the restrictions on career options that this status implies, are closely related.

Furthermore, present New Careerists are predominantly female, and, as Table 4 shows, these training categories are much more likely to include women. Nearly 90 percent of New Careerists are females compared to 43 percent in programs other than New Careers. To the extent that women's occupational choices are limited by their sex, the New Careers group contains a disproportionate number of students with this constraint on career options.

Table 4

NEW CAREERS STATUS, BY DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES INDICATING OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE RESTRICTIONS

| DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS | New Careers Status: Not in New Careers | In New Careers Programs | Potential New Careerists |
|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % |
| Age | | | |
| 31 or more | 6 | 17 | 6 |
| 25-30 years | 7 | 15 | 11 |
| 21-24 years | 16 | 23 | 19 |
| 17-20 years | 70 | 45 | 64 |
| Total % | 99 | 100 | 100 |
| N[a] | 631 | 137 | 36 |

Table 4 (continued)

| DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS | Not in New Careers % | In New Careers Programs % | Potential New Careerists % |
|---|---|---|---|
| | New Careers Status | | |
| Race | | | |
| Black | 18 | 70 | 25 |
| White | 82 | 29 | 75 |
| Total % | 100 | 99 | 100 |
| N[a] | 628 | 139 | 36 |
| Sex | | | |
| Male | 57 | 11 | 6 |
| Female | 43 | 89 | 94 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N[a] | 634 | 140 | 36 |

a. Totals vary because of not-ascertained data. Percentages are calculated by columns on the basis that sampling was in part by New Careers Status and thus this characteristic cannot appropriately be treated as an outcome.

Generally, the relationship between marital status, dependent children and New Careers Status is that most of the non-New Careerists are currently single without dependents (Table 5). Four fifths are "free" in this sense, compared to less than half of the New Careerists. On the other hand, the single with dependents, whether never married or separated, divorced, or widowed, are a major category among New Careerists accounting for nearly 40 percent of this group. To the extent that an adult in a single parent family, or a person supporting other family members, has limitations on his job options, it is again evident that restricted choices characterize New Careers engagement.

Nevertheless, New Careerists score disproportionately high on family socialization for competence in life. Twenty-eight percent of present New Careerists, as compared to 14 percent of those not in the program, received the highest scores on this scale. Among non-New Careerists 27 percent score at the lower end of the scale, indicating a home environment perhaps less conducive to attitudes of competence in later life.

The New Careers ideology specifically calls for the poor and those with few educational credentials to be offered entry into the program. Data on family social class are congruent with this view. The relationship between New Careers status and family social class, as also shown in Table 5, at the same time conforms to a pattern of restricted opportunities. Although the entire student group is predominantly from working or lower-class backgrounds, a slightly higher proportion of students with Social Class V families are enrolled in New Careers programs (22 percent) than appear in non-New Careers curricula (15 percent).

Table 5

NEW CAREERS STATUS, BY FAMILY FACTORS
INDICATING OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE RESTRICTIONS

| FAMILY FACTORS | New Careers Status: Not in New Careers % | In New Careers Programs % | Potential New Careerists % |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Marital Status and Dependent Children** | | | |
| Currently single without dependents[a] | 80 | 46 | 78 |
| Currently single with dependents[a] | 7 | 37 | 15 |
| Currently married without dependents | 5 | 7 | 4 |
| Currently married with dependents | 7 | 10 | 4 |
| Total % | 99 | 100 | 101 |
| N | 477 | 111 | 27 |
| **Index of Family Socialization for Competence[b]** | | | |
| High (1) | 14 | 28 | 14 |
| (2) | 58 | 54 | 69 |
| (3) | 25 | 16 | 14 |
| Low (4 + 5) | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Total % | 99 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 630 | 137 | 36 |

Table 5 (continued)

| FAMILY FACTORS | Not in New Careers % | In New Careers Programs % | Potential New Careerists % |
|---|---|---|---|
| | New Careers Status | | |
| Family Social Class[c] | | | |
| Class I | 7 | 2 | 9 |
| Class II | 9 | 4 | 6 |
| Class III | 28 | 23 | 19 |
| Class IV | 42 | 48 | 50 |
| Class V | 15 | 22 | 16 |
| Total % | 101 | 99 | 100 |
| N | 606 | 120 | 32 |

a. Includes divorced, separated or widowed.

b. See footnote 3 for explaination of index.

c. As measured by Hollingshead Two-Factor Index of Social Position and adjusted for mother's Social Class level, since a mother's occupation and education help form the family's Social Class. If education and or occupation were not known for the father, the family Social Class was determined by these two characteristics for the mother. Also, if the mother's Social Class was two levels above the father's, the Class for the family was raised one level; if the mother was three levels above, the family Class was raised by two.

Keeping with the theme of restricted options, it was expected that a more unstable employment history would tend to be associated with present New Careerists. Two variables were used to indicate the extent of job stability: number of previous full-time jobs held and average length of time on these jobs. The findings on these two variables were, however, inconclusive, and no doubt reflect other factors such as the different age distributions of the outcome groups. The fact that those over 30 are more apt to have had some employment and are also frequently in New Careers may account for the findings that those with a history of two or more jobs are somewhat over-represented in the New Careers group. On the other hand, among

those non-New Careerists who have held previous jobs, the average duration of employment was more likely to be short -- three to six months -- reflecting perhaps summer jobs. New Careerists, often being older, are slightly more likely than non-New Careerists to have held prior full-time jobs, in many cases two or more, and to have held these jobs on the average for longer periods of time.

The data on employment history disclosed an interesting secondary finding, although not related to limitations on occupational options. Among respondents with full-time job experience, present New Careers trainees, as well as potential New Careerists are more apt to have had direct contact with the public in their jobs than did non-New Careerists who had worked.

The respondents' self-image with reference to perceived personal ability and feelings of self-esteem was also conceptualized as a potential constraint on work options, since a low opinion of one's own capability and low self-esteem seem inconsistent with striving for more difficult occupational goals. Table 6 reveals an association between limited confidence in one's ability and New Careers status. Twenty-eight percent of New Careerists see their ability as on the low side,

Table 6

NEW CAREERS STATUS, BY SELF-IMAGE VARIABLES INDICATING OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE RESTRICTIONS

| PERCEIVED RESTRICTIVENESS | | New Careers Status: New Careers % | In New Careers Programs % | Potential New Careerists % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Perceived Ability[a] | | | | |
| High | (1) | 49 | 54 | 31 |
| | (2) | 32 | 18 | 47 |
| | (3) | 16 | 19 | 19 |
| Low | (4 + 5) | 3 | 9 | 3 |
| | Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| | N | 630 | 139 | 36 |

Table 6 (continued)

| PERCEIVED RESTRICTIVENESS | | New Careers Status: Not in New Careers % | In New Careers Programs % | Potential New Careerists % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Index of Self-Esteem[b] | | | | |
| High | (5) | 27 | 42 | 22 |
| | (4.5-4) | 32 | 17 | 36 |
| | (3.5-3) | 22 | 21 | 14 |
| | (2.5-2) | 12 | 8 | 22 |
| Low | (1.5-1) | 7 | 12 | 6 |
| | Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| | N | 632 | 139 | 36 |

a. Perceived ability is indicated by one Likert-type item: "I possess the necessary skills and ability to be successful in my work." See Text, p. 13, for explanation.

b. Two Likert-type items constitute this dimension: "I often think of myself as a failure" and "sometimes I feel I am just no good." High esteem is scored by strong disagreement with these items. See text, p. 13.

compared to 19 percent of the non-New Careerists with this negative self-image. On the other hand, the relationship between self-esteem and New Careers status appears curvilinear. Persons with high and low levels of self-esteem are both over-represented in the New Careers status category. Forty-two percent of present New Careers students are high scorers, and 12 percent are low compared to 27 percent high and seven percent low among non-New Careerists. This may be a result of the fact that some are motivated to enter New Careers as an opportunity for advancement, while others, less sure of themselves, are pushed in by program recruiters. Thus the findings do not clearly fit the limited option hypothesis.

In summary, it is suggested that persons restricted by age, race, sex, social class background, marital status and dependent children, or lower perceptions of their ability, have demographic, family and personal drawbacks to career choice and are over-represented among

New Careerists. On the other hand, the home environment of present New Careerists seems to have been more conducive to producing personal competence than that of present non-New Careerists. One may speculate that trainers, in selecting New Careers candidates tend to pick out the more capable, and thus, for those more restricted in their occupational choice, a higher degree of competence is required even to reach New Careers status.

Although the New Careers model was designed to provide opportunity for the socially disadvantaged and those with limited work options, it is apparent that other persons, with fewer obstacles in their path, have also found the New Careers program to their advantage. For example, nearly thirty percent of the trainees come from middle or upper-class families. The ghetto group with the highest rate of unemployment - the young, Black man - is hardly touched: only six percent of the New Careerists are Black males. Thus while large numbers of those in New Careers curricula are indeed disadvantaged, there are many who could be viewed as the "cream" of this group.

## ASPIRATIONS FOR UPWARD MOBILITY

The second research question explores the nature of the relationship between New Careers status and achievement aspirations. More specifically, in this part of the study education and occupational aspirations and expectations of students in New Careers programs are compared with those of respondents not in New Careers. The data are presented in Table 7 and 8. The over-all pattern revealed is that whereas the aspirations of non-New Careerists are generally higher than those of the New Careerists, yet there are appreciable numbers of respondents in the latter category whose aspirations are quite high -- higher, in fact, than might be anticipated from prospective New Careers incumbents. However, in general, low achievement orientation tends to relate to New Careers Status

A larger proportion of non-New Careerists than New Careers students desire graduate or professional degrees, whereas more New Careerists than non-New Careerists aspire to some college courses or a two year Associate of Arts degree. Approximately the same percentage of both groups aim for the baccalaureate (28 percent). The largest differences obtained at the graduate or professional degree level: 32 percent of the non-New Careers students aspire to this high level, compared with only 21 percent of present New Careerists.

Also quite prominent is the higher proportion (21 percent) of present New Careerists who hope to attain an Associate degree, as compared with only six percent of the non-New Careers respondents who have set their sights on this lower goal.

Table 7

ACHIEVEMENT ASPIRATIONS, BY NEW CAREERS STATUS[a]

| ACHIEVEMENT ASPIRATIONS | New Careers Status: Not in New Careers % | In New Careers Programs % | Potential New Careerists % |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Educational Aspiration** | | | |
| Some college courses | 1 | 6 | 0 |
| Jr. college or AA degree | 6 | 21 | 0 |
| B.A. degree | 28 | 28 | 61 |
| M.A. degree | 33 | 24 | 14 |
| Graduate or professional degree | 32 | 21 | 25 |
| Total %[b] | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 631 | 139 | 36 |
| **Educational Expectation** | | | |
| Some college courses | 4 | 17 | 44 |
| Jr. college or A.A. degree | 10 | 53 | 56 |
| B.A. degree | 50 | 16 | 0 |
| M.A. degree | 27 | 8 | 0 |
| Groaduate or professional | 9 | 6 | 0 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 628 | 137 | 36 |

Table 7 (continued)

| ACHIEVEMENT ASPIRATIONS | Not in New Careers % | In New Careers Programs % | Potential New Careerists % |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | New Careers Status | |
| **Occupational Aspiration** | | | |
| 1. Major professional and executive | 29 | 7 | 11 |
| 2. Minor professional and executive | 57 | 59 | 77 |
| 3. Upper white collar and small business | 10 | 21 | 9 |
| 4. Lower white collar and clerical | 3 | 12 | 3 |
| 5. Skilled blue collar | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 6,7. Semi-skilled and unskilled blue collar | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total %[d] | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 612 | 138 | 35 |
| **Occupational Expectation** | | | |
| 1. Major professional and executive | 20 | 2 | 0 |
| 2. Minor professional and executive | 65 | 47 | 61 |
| 3. Upper white collar and small business | 10 | 31 | 23 |
| 4. Lower white collar and clerical | 4 | 18 | 10 |
| 5. Skilled blue collar | 2 | 0 | 3 |
| 6,7. Semi-skilled and unskilled blue collar | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Total % | 101 | 99 | 100 |
| N | 592 | 137 | 31 |

Table 7 (continued)

| ACHIEVEMENT ASPIRATIONS | Not in New Careers % | In New Careers Programs % | Potential New Careerists % |
|---|---|---|---|
| | New Careers Status | | |
| **Expected Yearly Earnings** | | | |
| Under $7,500 | 11 | 16 | 38 |
| $7,500 to 9,999 | 24 | 30 | 35 |
| 10,000 to 14,999 | 31 | 37 | 24 |
| 15,000 to 19,999 | 20 | 10 | 0 |
| 20,000 or more | 15 | 7 | 3 |
| Total % | 101 | 100 | 100 |
| N [e] | 608 | 135 | 34 |
| **Expected Social Class** | | | |
| Upper Class | 5 | 6 | 0 |
| Upper-middle class | 47 | 31 | 26 |
| Middle class | 42 | 44 | 63 |
| Working class | 4 | 19 | 9 |
| Lower class | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Total % | 100 | 101 | 101 |
| N | 604 | 137 | 35 |
| **Expected Mobility Status** [f] | | | |
| Upward | 57 | 50 | 49 |
| Stable | 35 | 41 | 37 |
| Downward | 8 | 9 | 14 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 599 | 128 | 35 |

a. Percentages are calculated vertically on the basis that the measurement of achievement attitudes occurred subsequent to New Careers Status, and therefore the latter is here conceptualized as an independent variable. The approach here is that one's attitudes regarding career goals is to an important extent influenced by his present occupational situation - in this case, Student and New Careers Statuses.

Table 7 (continued)

b. Totals vary because of not-ascertained data.

c. Categories based on Hollingshead's Seven Step Occupational Status Scale.

d. N is less than 812 due to 17 not-ascertained cases, 6 who stated they did not know their occupational goals, and 6 had indicated "housewife".

e. N is less than 812 because of 19 not ascertained cases, 24 who indicated "don't know", and 9 housewives.

f. Based on difference between respondent's expected social class and his family class as determined by respondent's image of family status.

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The same relationship exists with regard to educational expectations, but with many of the above differences becoming considerably sharper. For example, over half of the present New Careerist respondents expect to acquire only two-year degrees, compared with ten percent of the non-New Careerists. Large differences are also evident at the B.A. and M.A. levels. Of the non-New Careerists, one-half anticipate B.A., and 27 percent envisage M.A. degrees; whereas for the present New Careerists the equivalent percentages are 16 and eight percent. Since, as discussed below, both groups revise their estimate downward in the face of reality expectations, at the level of graduate or professional degrees beyond the M.A. the proportional differences are somewhat diminished.

Comparing aspirations with expectations, the data reveal that educational levels expected are predictably lower than those desired at every level and for each category of the New Careers and non-New Careers status. It is quite interesting to note, however, that this lowering of goals is considerably greater for New Careers groups than it is for non-New Careerists. To illustrate: ninety-three percent of the non-New Careerists indicate a desire to attain a baccalaureate degree or better, and 86 percent realistically expect to attain these goals. On the other hand, whereas nearly 73 percent of the present New Careerists state aspirations for a B.A. or higher, only about 30 percent actually expect to achieve these levels.

Thus non-New Careerists show both higher aspirations and higher expectations for educational achievement than do New Careers respondents. Differences are sharper for expectations, and the discrepancies between aspirations and expectations are greater for the New Careers students. The latter group, that is, desire to attain educational levels almost as high as that of the non-New Careerists, but reduce their expectations to what probably appears to them to be more realistic within the context of their present situations. On the other hand, the non-New Careerists, to a much greater degree, expect to achieve the goals they desire.

Thus, one might conclude from these data that non-New Careerists aspire to higher educational goals than New Careerists, but not by much. The majority of students in both categories want B.A. degrees or better. It is only when New Careerists are asked pointedly to consider the reality factors that they scale down their goals.

An examination of the occupational aspirations and expectations discloses, for the most part, the same pattern of findings as revealed for educational goals. Generally, non-New Careerists desire and expect to attain higher occupational goals than present New Careerists. For example, of the non-New Careers students, 29 percent have aspirations to be major professionals or executives and 57 percent to be minor professionals and executives, compared with seven percent and 59 percent of the present New Careerists aspiring to these occupational levels. It should be noted that no paraprofessional occupations, such as teacher's aide or social work aide, were classified at these levels.

The proportions are reversed at the lower end of the occupational scale: among the present New Careers group, 21 percent aspire to jobs in the upper white collar and small business spheres, and 13 percent state a preference only to be lower white-collar or even blue-collar workers. For non-New Careerists, the equivalent percentages for these two last mentioned levels are only ten percent and four percent.

Similar differences are observed with respect to occupational expectations. Proportionately, more non-New Careerists (85 percent) than present New Careerists (49 percent) expect to reach the top two occupational levels. As with the occupational aspirations data, the pattern is reversed at the lower statuses. Of the present New Careerists, 31 percent expect to reach positions at the upper white-collar

and small business levels, and 18 percent anticipate attaining clerical or blue-collar jobs, compared with only ten percent and six percent respectively, of the non-New Careerists with these same expectations.

As observed in the educational data, expectations are again lower than aspirations, particularly for the New Careers students, providing further evidence of the intrusion of reality concerns into the planning of occupational goals.

A striking finding is that in spite of the lower occupational aspirations and expectations of New Careers participants, a substantial number still desire, and to a lesser degree expect, high status occupations. Thus, more than one-half of the present New Careerists would like to be professionals or executives, and nearly half actually expect to achieve these higher level statuses.

In agreement with the foregoing, students not in New Careers curricula expect higher incomes than do New Careerists. That is, a larger proportion of non-New Careerists (35 percent) than of present New Careerists (17 percent) anticipate future yearly earnings of $15,000 or more; and conversely, more New Careers students (46 percent) than non-New Careerists (35 percent) expect to earn less than $10,000 per year. The potential New Careerists are even less hopeful, only one out of the 34 (3 percent) expects to earn $15,000 or more, and nearly three-quarters expect less than $10,000 annually.

Over half of the non-New Careerists expect their future careers to place them in the upper or upper-middle class. The proportions of present New Careerists, and potential New Careerists who expect to be in these higher social strata are considerably lower. Yet considering their study program, which is unlikely to allow them easy access to higher positions, it is nonetheless surprising to find that over one-third of present New Careerists see their future class as upper or upper-middle, and about one quarter of potential New Careerists expect to achieve these statuses, an example of expected fantasy behavior.

Relative social class aspirations of respondents were also determined by comparing the respondent's social class expectations with his image of family social class background. This measure aims to correct for the human tendency to accord oneself and one's family a higher social status than an objective measure might show. Differences between future expectations and past allocations is an indicator

of the mobility self-image of the respondents. The spread between the outcome categories on class expectations is in the expected direction: a slightly higher proportion of non-New Careerists than New Careerists (57 as against 50 percent) view themselves as upwardly mobile. Yet, it is again noteworthy that one-half of present New Careerists and potential New Careerists expect to exceed the social class statuses of their parents.

Turning to the Index of general achievement orientation and indices of the sub-dimensions of activism and mastery, the findings are that low scorers are over-represented among New Careerists on the total Index as well as on the Mastery and Activism dimensions. Table 8 shows that over half of present New Careerists score in the middle to lower range of the Achievement Orientation Index, as against about 40 percent of those not in New Careers.

The two dimensions of achievement orientation -- measuring an activistic as opposed to a fatalistic outlook on life, and mastery over one's life situation -- exhibit the same pattern of differences as the total Index. Non-New Careerists are more likely to have high activism and mastery scores than are those in New Careers programs, and conversely New Careers students are more apt to include the low scorers on these dimensions.

In sum, the findings presented in Table 7 indicate that although the aspirations and expectations of New Careerists are not as high as those of non-New Careerists, there is still a significant number among the former whose desire and expectations for the future appear to exceed their present New Careers status.

The data in Table 8, however, appear to be somewhat inconsistent with the above findings. Students in the New Careers curricula, in spite of their relatively high hopes for their future achievements -- almost as high as the non-New Careerists -- revealed nonetheless proportionately more individuals among the lower scorers on the achievement attitude indices. We have taken the view that, to a large extent, aspirations for upward mobility are developed during the training periods. Thus, as New Careers trainees, primarily from lower-class backgrounds, come into contact with the world of the high status professionals, they, not surprisingly, come to desire similar high status positions with their attendant and obvious rewards and privileges. That they are still quite aware of the difficulties involved in reaching these high levels, given their life situations, is

Table 8

NEW CAREERS STATUS, BY ACHIEVEMENT ATTITUDES

| | | New Careers Status | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Not in New Careers % | In New Careers Programs % | Potential New Careerists % |
| **Achievement Orientation: Total Index[a]** | | | | |
| High | (1) | 6 | 4 | 3 |
| | (2) | 53 | 43 | 53 |
| | (3) | 38 | 47 | 44 |
| Low | (4 + 5) | 3 | 6 | 0 |
| | Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| | N | 635 | 141 | 36 |
| **Achievement Orientation: Activism Dimension[b]** | | | | |
| High | (1) | 25 | 22 | 14 |
| | (2) | 49 | 37 | 72 |
| | (3) | 23 | 35 | 14 |
| Low | (4 + 5) | 3 | 6 | 0 |
| | Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| | N | 635 | 141 | 36 |
| **Achievement Orientation: Mastery Dimension[c]** | | | | |
| High | (1) | 40 | 30 | 25 |
| | (2) | 35 | 25 | 33 |
| | (3) | 18 | 28 | 25 |
| Low | (4 + 5) | 7 | 17 | 17 |
| | Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| | N[d] | 633 | 138 | 36 |

a. Index based on nine Likert type items indicating achievement oriented attitudes. See text pp. 13-14.

Table 8 (continued)

b. Five of the achievement-oriented items constitute an activism dimension. They include such items as "Good luck is more important than hard work for success."

c. Mastery, a dimension of achievement-orientation, is indicated by one item: "I prefer a job where I have to make my own decisions."

d. N is less than 812 due to not-ascertained data.

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evident in the discrepancies between the aspirations or hopes of New Careers trainees and what they indeed expect to achieve. The finding that lower scores on achievement orientation are associated more with New Careers status indicates, perhaps, attitudes consistent with the bleak opportunity structures inherent in the students' lower-class backgrounds.

One might speculate that New Careers participants come into the training programs with these kinds of low achievement attitudes, but they begin to absorb aspirations for higher occupational goals as they see and interact with the professionals around them. Hence, old attitudes, moulded by a life-time of experience with people who are most often frustrated in their mobility hopes, are now encountered by incipient career aspirations derived from new high status reference groups. One might further anticipate that as the New Careerists continue to train and then assume paraprofessional roles, the latter achievement attitudes may become stronger. This kind of development, the reinforcement of high aspirations on the part of prospective nonprofessionals, has implications for the "bridging" expectation of the New Careers ideology. These implications are dealt with in the following section.

## THE BRIDGING FUNCTION

Four attributes are considered in this study as criteria for the identification of potential bridgers: (1) working or lower-class background (as indicated by Hollingshead class levels IV and V), (2) people-oriented occupational values, (3) identification with lower-status groups, and (4) the perception of the role of an agency

worker as primarily explaining the agency to the clients, or clients to the agency. The question for investigation in this section is: Are the people in the New Careers training programs more likely than those not in these programs to possess characteristics considered necessary for the bridging function?

As has been discussed earlier, proportionately more students with family social class backgrounds of IV and V, than students from the upper three class strata, are indeed found in the New Careers categories (Table 9). This finding, however, is not wholly in agreement with one of the stipulations of the New Careers ideology, as expressed in the bridging function; namely, that New Careerists are to be indigeneous to the lower-status client populations. Although this background characterized 70 percent of the New Careerists, a substantial minority of 30 percent cannot perform a bridger role in terms of the New Careers ideology, because their family social class position has already removed them from the ranks of the very poor.

The second bridging criterion concerns the willingness to serve people in one's occupational roles. On an index of people-oriented occupational values a greater proportion of students who show high scores, are found in the New Careers category, as well as among potential New Careerists. Only 40 percent of non-New Careerists, compared to more than 60 percent of present New Careerists show such high people-oriented values. Again, however, there is a sizeable minority who seem to lack this ingredient of the bridging role.

On the third bridging variable, New Careerists are more likely to be among respondents who indicate an identification with probable client groups -- working people, Blacks, and the poor -- than are non-New Career students; almost 45 percent as compared to less than one-third. But this still leaves 55 percent, actually a narrow majority, of the New Careerists do <u>not</u> qualify for the bridging function.

With respect to the last criterion variable, only 56 respondents (seven percent of the entire sample) view the role of an agency worker as primarily involving the explaining of the agency to clients, or clients to the agency. On this response, differences between the student categories are not evident: around seven percent of each adhere to this estimate of their agency role. This finding suggests that the "facilitator" role is not absorbed by the students, whether it is explicit in the training or not. What is interesting, particularly in

Table 9

NEW CAREERS STATUS, BY FOUR VARIABLES INDICATING POTENTIAL "BRIDGERS"

| | New Careers Status | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Not in New Careers % | In New Careers Programs % | Potential New Careerists % |
| **1. Family Social Class[a]** | | | |
| Class I - III | 43 | 30 | 34 |
| Class IV - V | 57 | 70 | 66 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 606 | 120 | 32 |
| **2. Index of People-Oriented Value Focus[b]** | | | |
| Low 0 - 2 | 60 | 38 | 34 |
| High 3 - 5 | 40 | 62 | 66 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 599 | 114 | 35 |
| **3. Identification with Social Groups[c]** | | | |
| Working people[d] or Blacks | 30 | 44 | 37 |
| Other groups | 70 | 56 | 63 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 616 | 129 | 35 |
| **4. Perceived Agency Role** | | | |
| Explaining agency to client or client to agency | 7 | 8 | 6 |
| Helping clients | 81 | 74 | 89 |
| Getting ahead or improving skills | 12 | 18 | 6 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 | 101 |
| N | 615 | 130 | 35 |

Table 9 (continued)

a. Based on Hollingshead Two-Factor Index of Social Position. See Table 2, page 17 for a more detailed class breakdown. Class I-III includes middle to upper, Class IV-V includes working and lower classes.

b. People-oriented career value is adapted from Rosenberg's scale of Occupational value foci (1957). The two items that make up this value orientation are "Opportunity to work with people rather than things," and "Opportunity to be helpful to others." Scores were determined as follows: 1st = 3, 2nd choice = 2, 3rd choice = 1, and summed for the two items.

c. Respondents were asked to indicate the group they thought would be most important in bringing about meaningful change in the U.S.

d. Other groups = Political leaders, religious leaders, rich, students, intellectuals, and social workers.

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light of the New Careerists' aspirations, is that among this group those who choose "getting ahead" or "improving skills" as the most important aspect of the role of an agency worker, are disporportionately represented, 18 percent as compared to 12 percent for the other students.

To sum the above findings, characteristics thought to be necessary for fulfilling the bridging function are present to some degree; that is the majority of students enrolled in New Careers programs are found to be lower-class and have a people-oriented career value focus, and nearly half are likely to identify with possible client groups. This leaves large minorities lacking the formal bridging criteria. Moreover the conception New Careerists and potential New Careerists have of the nonprofessional role in human service agencies is not that envisaged by the New Careers movement. Predictably, therefore, in the attempt to identify potential "bridgers," that is, those meeting all four of the above criteria, only two respondents were uncovered.

Some evidence exists to suggest that initially enrollees in New Careers do not see their occupational role as comprising a "bridge" function, but may acquire it after some time in training or on the job

(cf. Larson, 1969:8). It might be somewhat presumptuous to assume that people entering New Careers training programs are familiar with the bridging notion of the program ideology. Indeed, it is seen in Table 9 that most people, whether New Careerists or not, respond with the obvious answer when asked what the most important role of an agency worker is, namely: to help clients. It would appear that agency role conception may be a poor criterion for identifying bridging potential among new participants in New Careers.

A revised index for bridging potential, comprising the first three variables only, produced 53 respondents who meet all three criteria. It would be anticipated then, according to the expectations of the New Careers ideology, that those enrolled in the New Careers curricula would be disproportionately in the potential bridgers category. Data comparing the bridgers and non-bridgers on the New Careers status variables are presented in Table 10. Whereas non-New Careerists are least likely to evidence bridging potential, somewhat surprisingly only 9 percent of those in the New Careers programs show such a bridging potential. On the other hand, nearly 20 percent of potential New Careerists exhibit a readiness for performing a bridging role.

Tabe 10

NEW CAREERS STATUS, BY REVISED POTENTIAL BRIDGING INDEX[a]

| Index of Bridging Potential | New Careers Status: Not in New Careers % | In New Careers Programs % | Potential New Careerists % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bridging potential | 5 | 9 | 19 |
| Not bridging potential | 95 | 91 | 81 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 635 | 141 | 36 |

a. Index is comprised of social class, people-oriented career value focus, and identification variables.

Overall, findings as to whether or not the characteristics of New Careerists are congenial with the "bridging" function are negative. Although New Careerists are distinguished on some of the criterion attributes separately, large sub groups do not qualify, only two respondents from the entire sample possess all four characteristics jointly. Moreover, although a revised index eliminated the fourth criterion on the grounds that conceptualizing the community-agency link might need to be learned, it revealed only 51 more potential bridgers, and less than a tenth of the New Careerists fit the category. Most of those in New Careers programs, as well as most of those with a New Careers potential, do not possess the community history or set of beliefs which would qualify them for perhaps the most critical element of the New Careers role, that of cross-interpreting the social agencies and the clientele they serve.

In the previous section, the data indicated that many New Careers trainees had mobility aspiration and expectations that exceeded paraprofessional levels. This finding is congruent with the results on bridging, since the upwardly mobile are unlikely to find congenial a role which requires them to retain their identifications and interests in their stratum of origin. It is precisely from this background that they are trying to escape. Furthermore, the bridging role, with its rewards and attendant power, has apparently not been institutionalized or internalized. It may be a wish of the originators but it never was incorporated clearly into the training programs or into the "new ideology" of the agencies.

## NEW CAREERS AND REHABILITATION

Most students in the New Careers programs would be willing to work with rehabilitation clients, and in larger proportions than is true of non-New Careerists. But occupational choice restrictions are somewhat more characteristic of these rehabilitation-oriented students, while their mobility aspirations are in some respects higher, and their bridging potential not unequivocally greater than that found among New Careerists without an interest in rehabilitation clients. These findings emerge from a differentiation of New Careerists and non-New Careerists by rehabilitation work orientation, and then an analysis of the four resulting groups according to the most salient variables subsumed under the three major themes of this report.

Cross-classifying willingness to accept rehabilitation clients with New Careers status reveals the greater propensity of New Careerists to serve the disabled, retarded, emotionally ill, aged, and other physically or mentally disadvantaged (Table 11). Nearly 80 percent responded "definitely yes" when asked if they would consent to a job involving work with one or more of these groups, as compared to 55 percent of the students not currently in New Careers programs. Conversely, nearly half (45 percent) of these non-New Careerists reject all types of rehabilitation client except for the poor, a service group not usually viewed by the public as specifically an object for rehabilitation as distinct from general social welfare, and thus excluded here from the category of rehabilitation clientele. This compares with only 21 percent of the New Careerists who show little or no enthusiasm for this type of social service. The findings are congruent with the somewhat greater incidence of people-oriented values among New Careerists, and the preponderance of women students, often more likely to exhibit these values, in the New Careers group.

Table 11

NEW CAREERS STATUS
BY REHABILITATION CAREER INTEREST

| Rehabilitation Career Interest | New Careers Status: Non-New Careerist % | New Careerist % |
|---|---|---|
| Unwilling to have any rehabilitation client [b] | 45 | 21 |
| Willing to have at least one type of rehabilitation client e.g., disabled, retarded, disturbed, etc. | 55 | 79 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 |
| N | 671 | 141 |

a. Includes all present non-New Careerists, including those identified as potential New Career recruits.

Table 11 (continued)

b. Those rejecting all disabled or disadvantaged clients except the poor are included in this category.

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The four combinations of rehabilitation interest and New Careers engagement identify four types of students, who are compared with respect to the analytic themes of occupational choice restrictions, mobility aspirations, and bridging potential.

As shown in Table 12, New Careerists with a rehabilitation orientation are somewhat more likely to exhibit career-limiting characteristics than New Careerists with other occupational interests. Although both groups have about the same proportion of Blacks, and of those over 30, the rehabilitation-minded included disproportionately more women, and more with a working class or lower class background. It is worth noting, in the same table, that even within the non-New Careers category, those expressing a rehabilitation interest seem to have fewer work choice options than their fellow students without such an interest. Larger proportions are Black

Table 12

NEW CAREERS STATUS AND REHABILITATION CAREER INTEREST, BY SELECTED VARIABLES INDICATING OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE RESTRICTIONS

| | Rehabilitation Career Interest | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Present | | Absent | |
| | Non-New Careerist % | New Careerist % | Non-New Careerist % | New Careerist % |
| Percent Black | 21 (371) | 69 (112) | 14 (297) | 72 (29) |
| Percent Female | 57 (372) | 92 (111) | 32 (298) | 79 (29) |
| Percent over 30 years of age | 6 (369) | 17 (110) | 7 (298) | 15 (27) |

Table 12 (continued)

| | Rehabilitation Career Interest | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Present | | Absent | |
| | Non-New Careerist % | New Careerist % | Non-New Careerist % | New Careerist % |
| Percent with working or lower class parents | 34 (366) | 48 (104) | 26 (298) | 41 (27) |
| Percent with high perceived ability[a] (Score 1) | 49 (369) | 60 (112) | 47 (297) | 30 (27) |
| Percent high on Index of Family Socialization Competence[b] (Score 1) | 17 (368) | 30 (109) | 11 (298) | 18 (28) |

a. Perceived ability is indicated by one Likert-type item: "I possess the necessary skills and ability to be successful in my work." See Text, p. 13, for explanation.

b. See footnote 3 for explanation of Index.

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(21 as against 14 percent) female (57 as against 32 percent) and with lower socio-economic status roots (34 compared to 26 percent).

On the competence scale, however, the New Careerists again emerge with proportionately more high scorers, within each sub group of rehabilitation interest. Where rehabilitation interest is present, 30 percent of New Careerists score 1 on the competence scale, compared to 17 percent not in New Careers. Where rehabilitation interest is absent, again the New Careerists show a higher rate with high competence, 18 percent as against 11 percent for non-New Careerists.

A somewhat different pattern occurs with regard to the respondent's perception of his own ability. In this instance the New Careerists with a rehabilitation interest are higher than non-New Careerists with the same orientation, 60 percent as against 49 percent, but the

situation is reversed among those not opting for a rehabilitation clientele: 47 percent of the non-New Careerists see themselves as having high ability compared to only 30 percent of the New Careers group.

The remarkable finding on these variables is the fact that competence and self confidence are characteristic more often among New Careerists who lean to serving rehabilitation clients than among any of the other groups of students being analyzed.

The impression from these data is that, except for self-image, those favorable to rehabilitation work tend to have more restrictions on free career choice. This relationship, however, may be due to the fact that those most commonly expressing humanitarian concerns are also those who have experienced hardships, e.g., the Blacks, women, the poor, and are thus either motivated to serve others with difficulties, such as the distraught and the disabled, for compassionate reasons, or for the psychological comfort to be derived from dealing with these even more deprived than themselves. In either event, the issue is not necessarily restricted career options, but the approach to people which may be produced by the life events differentially associated with certain personal characteristics. Furthermore these attributes may not be viewed as limiting by the individuals involved. The more frequently found high family socialization for competence, and the favorable opinion of one's own ability, suggest that those most able to overcome restrictions and thus indeed broaden their options are precisely the ones who turn up in special training programs such as New Careers.

The mobility aspirations of the New Careerists in rehabilitation are lower than any other group when measured in terms of educational expectations, but higher than other New Careerists on all other mobility measures (Table 13). Thus only 27 percent of the rehabilitation-oriented New Careers trainees expect to get a bachelor's degree or better, compared to 43 percent of the remaining New Careers group and 80 percent or more of the other students. Yet over half expect to be at least minor professionals or better, compared to less than a third of New Careerists without rehabilitation interest; 20 percent expect to earn $15,000 a year or more in their careers and nearly 40 percent anticipate an upper middle or upper-class status, compared to only 7 percent and 25 percent of their fellow trainees in these categories. On all measures the New Careerists show lower mobility expectations than those not in the New Careers track, but it is apparent that

despite a modest educational outlook, the New Careers group with a willingness to serve physically and mentally disadvantaged clients have higher hopes for upward mobility than students similarly situated but without a rehabilitation interest. One can speculate that public support for rehabilitation and welfare careers and the reported availability of jobs in these areas may have been instrumental in creating expectations of good opportunities for advancement, even among those disadvantaged themselves.

The final theme for analysis is the potential "bridging" role of these students, and the picture is again mixed (Table 14). Leaving aside the recognition of a specific agency-community linking goal on the basis discussed above that this needs to be learned in the future,

Table 13

NEW CAREERS STATUS AND REHABILITATION CAREER INTEREST, BY SELECTED VARIABLES INDICATING MOBILITY EXPECTATIONS

| | Rehabilitation Career Interest | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Present | | Absent | |
| | Non-New Careerist % | New Careerist % | Non-New Careerist % | New Careerist % |
| Percent expecting BA degree or higher | 84 (368) | 27 (109) | 79 (296) | 43 (28) |
| Percent expecting minor professional and executive or higher status occupations | 84 (354) | 54 (109) | 81 (277) | 32 (28) |
| Percent expecting income of $15,000 annually or more | 28 (252) | 20 (106) | 38 (290) | 7 (29) |
| Percent expecting to be upper middle or upper class | 46 (355) | 39 (110) | 57 (285) | 25 (28) |

Table 14

NEW CAREERS STATUS AND REHABILITATION CAREER INTEREST, BY SELECTED VARIABLES INDICATING POTENTIAL "BRIDGERS"

| | Rehabilitation Career Interest | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Present | | Absent | |
| | Non-New Careerist % | New Careerist % | Non-New Careerist % | New Careerist % |
| Percent with high people oriented focus (Score 3-5) | 53 (345) | 66 (92) | 27 (289) | 45 (22) |
| Percent identifying with working people, Blacks | 27 (361) | 34 (105) | 31 (296) | 48 (25) |
| Percent with Class IV or V Family Social Class | 57 (353) | 68 (98) | 58 (285) | 77 (22) |

there is still evidence that characteristics offering a bridging potential are not uniformly present among rehabilitation-oriented New Careerists. About two-thirds of this group have high scores on orientation to people, and about the same proportion come from the desirable lower-class background, but only about a third tend to identify with relatively disadvantaged groups such as working people and Blacks. Nor are these "bridging" attributes necessarily more common for New Careerists with a leaning toward a rehabilitation clientele: in fact they are less likely than other New Careerists to identify with workers or Blacks and to come from poor families. Although the New Careers ideology is based firmly on the notion of the necessity for community-agency linkage and cross-interpretation, it is apparent from these data that large minorities of New Careers trainees do not have the supposed attributes for this role; and that rehabilitation-minded trainees are little different from the rest in this regard.

In short, although a substantial proportion of students now involved in a New Careers curriculum are indeed interested in serving a rehabilitation clientele, there is little to suggest that they more nearly meet the New Careers model than others in similar training programs, or than others with equally disadvantaged life histories.

## PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Three issues related to New Careers have been explored among a group of college students who are in the main children of lower white-collar and blue-collar parents, including some with poverty or ghetto backgrounds. This respondent group was selected because the economically disadvantaged among them are the target population for New Careers engagement, and also because the involvement of some in special training programs made possible a comparison between those already in the New Careers track and those with other occupational objectives.

The issues were selected as both problematic and critical to New Careers. This program has two major components: helping the poor through meaningful employment and opportunity for career ladder advancement in the human services, and helping professionals in social agencies through making available a supply of subprofessional indigeneous workers, capable of bridging the gap between staff and clients by cross-interpreting agency and community. The relevant questions then are: are the poor or those with restricted occupational choices actually responding to New Careers opportunities? What is the effect of high mobility aspirations on New Careers' interest - is the career ladder notion sufficient to hold those from lower-class backgrounds given a chance to get educational credentials for higher level positions? And what of the bridging function - is it congenial to New Careerists, and how does it jibe with the idea of job advancement? Intersecting each of these issues is the question of whether participants in New Careers programs can become a source of manpower for rehabilitation work.

The research reported here cannot be viewed as supplying definitive answers to these questions. The sample of students, selected from social science classes at a state university and a community college, while disproportionately Black and relatively poor when compared to college populations in general, cannot be considered a

random sample of the total economically disadvantaged youth community. Those from lower-class backgrounds who make it to college, including many who find their way to a New Careers slot, are likely to be the most highly motivated, a cut above in ability and know-how about the opportunity system. On the other hand, those from middle class families may have entered local colleges because they could not make it in more prestigeful institutions, or were still too naive to live away from their home base. These generalizations are not true of all the students from varying class levels. Some in New Careers may have been pushed in as part of the pressure to get people off welfare and into work roles, despite mediocre motivation and ability, while some from large middle class families might have had the intellectual but not the financial resources to study elsewhere. In addition, sampling from social science classes does not necessarily mean that those with a human services bent are isolated: the class mix should include those who think sociology might be useful for a business career, or psychology a "snap course" to fill in credits, as well as those preparing to go into counseling or social work.

All these caveats are for the purpose of underscoring the fact that our findings are tentative and partial, rather than negating them. Other elements in the total research including studies of agencies and communities, will fit with the results of this student phase, to present various aspects of New Careers and subprofessionals as a response to social service and rehabilitation manpower needs.

In brief, then, the findings show that New Careerists are predominantly and disproportionately Black and female, from the lowest socio-economic levels, and often currently single but with dependents. This profile fits the stereotype of the welfare mother, is clearly different from the typical blue-collar college student profile, and suggests that New Careers is indeed offering employment to those who are economically disadvantaged. The possibility that recruiters for New Careers have been "creaming" the poverty population, however, selecting out those most likely to succeed rather than those most in need, is indicated by other data. Thus the New Careerists tend to score somewhat higher than other students on an Index of Family Socialization for Competence, and on an Index of Self-esteem. Furthermore, nearly 30 percent come from middle-class, white-collar or even professional-executive backgrounds. At least two different explanations are likely: the presence of skidders among the poverty group members who are New Careers targets, or alternately the self-selection into this new government program of a group of persons on

the make, who see this as a chance for a leg-up on the social welfare mobility ladder.

Jibing the latter explanation with another finding, that only 11 percent of the New Careerists are males and only six percent are Black males, makes for some interesting speculation. Has the recent government focus on the urban ghetto really opened up sufficient opportunity for the Black male in fields other than the human services to explain the lack of interest in these fields? Is the manhood issue of sufficient importance for young Blacks to turn them away from social service occupations with their aura of "women's jobs"? Put another way, are occupational choices currently less restricted for ambitious Blacks and women, so that New Careers seem relatively undesirable as work goals? These and similar questions arising out of the student data will be addressed in the community field study phase of this research.

Summarizing the findings on mobility aspirations, one can note that the aspirations and expectations of New Careerists, both with respect to educational achievement and future occupational level, are relatively high. The hopes of many for college and graduate degrees, for professional jobs and upper-middle class status, exceed their New Careers roles, although as a group their striving falls somewhat short of that found among the other students in the sample. Reality intrudes also: the discrepancy between aspirations and expectations is greater for the New Careerists, as many seem to face the fact they are unlikely to make it all the way, given their life situations.

Another reflection of the New Careerists' views of their life chances is the somewhat lower level of their scores on indices of achievement orientation, involving generally a limited belief in their own power to overcome external obstacles. It has already been suggested in earlier discussion that these patterns indicate many New Careers' participants come into training programs with lower achievement attitudes as a product of the frustrations and failures of lower-class, poverty, and ghetto experience. Exposed to opportunities for upward mobility, interacting with other students who do intend to attain higher status educational and professional goals, the New Careerists begin to absorb a new point of view, and set their sights higher than before.

The creation or reinforcement of the desire to attain full professional status was taken into account in the original New Careers

writings, and is inherent in the career ladder notion. But the ideology does not anticipate that all New Careerists will go the whole training route to the top: the ladder concept stresses a sequence of jobs beyond the entry level, with sufficient range to allow for a permanent career, but not necessarily a professional one. Indeed there are some references to the "contamination" of the indigeneous workers who, seeking a career line, begin to shape their occupational goals on professional models.

Thus, on the one hand, New Careers was designed to provide an entry system for specific target populations to traditional professions or hierarchical levels in the human services - e.g., an administrative aide in a hospital might become a hospital administrator in 20 years, or a nurses aide to a Registered Nurse Clinician. On the other hand the program was, at least originally, intended to train individuals for a specific line of work below the professional level, - e.g., rehabilitation aid, anaesthesiologist's assistant, or outreach worker - so long as there was a chance to move up from a beginning job to a permanent role, or at best a supervisor of other aides. The blue-collar analogy is instructive: a person starts as a plumber's apprentice, becomes a journeyman plumber eventually, and may end as Master plumber, training apprentices. This is a "fixed" career, and there is usually no expectation of becoming a construction engineer, for example.

Although there was recognition of the danger of professional "contamination" in working with and being trained by professionals, New Careers theorists may not have been cognizant of the "contamination" likely when New Careerists come into contact with others training to be professionals. Within-agency training programs are qualitatively different from college-based training programs, since in the latter the indigeneous worker comes into contact with others, not much if at all better off than he economically or intellectually, who are nevertheless working for and expecting to achieve jobs above the non-professional level. In short, the very process of training in certain settings may lengthen the expected career ladder. Where this change in goals occurs, the bridging function of the New Careerists may be particularly endangered.

Findings with respect to the student New Careerists as "bridgers" between client and staff, community and agency, are consistent with this interpretation. Only a minority possess the supposedly necessary

combination of attributes and of attitudes: i.e., a lower-class background and identification with disadvantaged groups; only a few have the appropriate role definition, i.e., a perspective that a prime element of an agency job is the cross-interpretation, bridging role. Given that such role definitions may need to be learned and institutionalized, a process which has not yet occurred for these students, one may nevertheless speculate that the conditions for achieving success in the process are less than favorable.

New Careers proponents have adopted the view that attributes determine attitudes, namely that being poor means one identifies with and understands the poverty culture and is sufficiently favorably inclined to be able to defend and interpret clients socialized into it to professionals socialized to middle-class ideas and ways. Indeed the whole ideology of the value of the indegeneous workers is akin to the folk wisdom that "it takes one to know one", that a bachelor cannot be a marriage counselor, or a spinster a midwife, i.e., a person has to go through an experience to understand it. A counter view is that one can learn a bridging role, that it is not one's relatively unchanging attributes which are decisive, but the approach, the empathy and willingness to serve, and these can be acquired. This is the professional-intellectual argument, to which the retort of the New Careerists has been that these attitudes are not acquired in training which produces coldness, credentialism, and elitism.

The findings of this study clearly do not resolve the debate but they do indicate that a group of New Careerists whose first steps in training have already put them into an academic milieu do not seem to be "natural" bridgers. Whether they will take on other possible roles in their communities remains to be seen. Advocate or ombudsman functions were rejected in early New Careers formulations as antithetical to bridging and linking. In more recent developments, New Careerists have been cast as spokesmen for the client in particular and the poor in general. In several areas they have organized into quasi-unions or social movements, with officers, lists of demands and pressure tactics. These quite different roles may in fact be more effective in producing gains in human services for the poor than the original bridging concept. In any event, the shift in emphasis, if it becomes a permanent factor in agency-client relationships, could create a different style of career ladder for the New Careerist. Instead of becoming a trained, credentialed professional, the indigeneous worker could become a leader with power from a following rather than power from specialized knowledge. Additional facets of

the research program of which this study is a part may shed further light on these complex issues.

Most New Careerists would be willing to take on rehabilitation clients, and they differ in some respects from the minority who are unwilling to serve such a clientele. The rehabilitation-oriented are more likely to suffer career choice restrictions in being women and from lower-class backgrounds, but more likely to be socialized to competence and to have a positive view or their own ability. Although their educational expectations are relatively low - below the B.A. - they are looking forward to some kind of professional level work, and are no more likely to satisfy the qualifications of the bridging role than their fellow New Careerists who prefer not to go into rehabilitation. Finally, it is significant that disproportionately more New Careerists than other students are congenial to rehabilitation work. All these data taken together imply that the socialization to upward mobility and professional objectives which these generally disadvantaged students are experiencing can well be crystallized into the choice of a rehabilitation career, since this is one area of human service which is continuing to expand, which enjoys high public status and extensive governmental support, and thus offers opportunities both for worthwhile work and for occupational advancement.

It is apparent that New Careers programs in the educational institutions studied are attaining their objectives in providing channels for career training for some of the disadvantaged, even though persons who might find other pathways to jobs are also included. Those going through the New Careers educational experience have often brought with them, or acquired in the classroom setting, mobility aspirations not wholly congruent with the usual career ladder concept of the program. Few have both attributes and attitudes supposedly necessary for the bridging role, and very few indeed have conceptualized that role for themselves. But many, including the personally ambitious, would be willing to enter the rehabilitation field. The extent to which these findings can be generalized to the entire New Careers movement is problematic. There is no reason to believe this sample a typical of urban America, however. Other portions of the Rehabilitation Careers Project research will tend to verify or disconfirm these findings, in looking at the social agencies themselves, as well as the communities and publics which supply their workers.

## NOTES

1. Data from the Minneapolis New Careers training program at the University of Minnesota (Thompson, 1969; Knop, Thompson and Falk, 1969) revealed that the enrollees possessed characteristics that could be interpreted as restricting factors of career choice and mobility. Trainees in this New Careers program were older (mean age was 29.6 years), non-white, female, more likely to be divorced or separated but also heads of families, often large ones, (average number of children was slightly over three), and burdened with extraordinary financial, legal, and health problems. Moreover, a subsequent investigation of individuals in the Minneapolis program (Larson, Bible and Falk, 1969) found that those who have voluntarily dropped out were more likely to be younger, male, single, had fewer children, and attained a higher level of education than those who completed the program. On the other hand, these investigators found: "that the group most likely to stay in New Careers in Minneapolis are older with families to support."

2. This question is best investigated in life situations; that is by observing nonprofessionals in their day to day work activities. A later phase of the research concerning this will be reported elsewhere. Since willingness and potential to assume a bridging role, however, are antecedent factors in the actual performance of bridging activities, that is, individuals must be motivated and equipped to take advantage of existing or prospective bridging opportunities, this question is being investigated here.

3. The seven items that constitute the scale refer to early family relationship patterns that are thought to be associated with the learning of competent behavior in the world outside the family. A sample item is: "As a child, my parents would praise or reward me when I did well."

4. Based on father's occupation and education. See Hollingshead (1956).

5. The proportion of college students coming from blue-collar backgrounds is 48 percent nationally. (U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, 1970; "Aspirations, Enrollments, and Resources," Table 2-13:23).

NOTES (continued)

7. Excluding the Blacks who are predominantly lower-class (76 percent) regardless of religion, the larger proportion of Catholics is an indication of the working-class character of the sample. That is for whites, 61 percent of the Catholics are Class IV or V, compared with 55 percent Protestants, and 41 percent of the Jews who are in these lower two classes.

8. It will be recalled that an expectation of completing only two years of college is one of the criteria for inclusion in the New Careers Type or Potential New Careerist category.

9. Among the non-New Careerists, 241 could have been considered potential New Careers material except for their expectation of finishing a four year college course. A preliminary analysis of some of the characteristics of this group of 241, showed them to be quite similar to the non-New Careers group and hence they were retained in the category.

10. Since the sample was in part selected on the basis of New Careers Status, percentages are not appropriately calculated in terms of the variables predicting to this outcome, but instead to characterize each analytic category.

11. Under special conditions, students without high school diplomas are admitted to colleges and universities. Often this is made possible by programs such as Project Search, Developmental Studies, and short-term vocational or paraprofessional training curricula that are concerned with the education of poor and minority students who have often dropped out of high school before graduating.

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## APPENDIX

The family socialization for competence scale was constructed from the scores on seven items concerning relationships between the respondent and his parents or guardians. Respondents were asked to indicate how often their parents, for example, expected them to perform household chores, praised or rewarded the respondent for doing things well, or were concerned about how the respondent did in school. Scores ranging from one to five for each item were summed and then divided by the number of items answered. A final mean score of one on the scale indicated high family socialization for competence while a mean score of five indicated low family socialization for competence.