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ABSTRACT

The study examined the hypothesis that occupation and residence patterns present after high school graduation are generally predictable. The data come from a homogeneous, all white central Minnesota farming community with a 1961 population of 3,300. The study population is the 1961 high school graduating class, who were surveyed by questionnaire 10 years later. The 101 returns investigated 1971 occupations, place of residence, marital and family status, and spouse's occupation. Since the data represent the author's own graduating class, both an "outsider's" and "insider's" interpretation are used. The analysis differentiated between men and women because societal pressures, restrictions, and expectations channel the sexes in different directions. Also, high school activities tended to enforce sex related roles, such as in athletics, which is an exclusive male endeavor, while the female supports and encourages such functions. The study concluded that, as a group, this class had more females than males, and over half grew up on a farm. Over 50 percent of the women were housewives; the rest were in professions commonly associated with their sex. Likewise, the majority of the men were blue collar workers, conforming to established patterns. For residence a definite preference for the familiar area was displayed--3/4 of the graduates remained in Minnesota, although only 21 resided in their hometown. In general, persons sampled were behaving in a proper, acceptable manner as defined by middle class America, thus supporting the roles learned in their formative years. (KM)

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DETERMINANT FACTORS AND PREDICTABILITY OF OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE
PATTERNS FOR RURAL AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES

By

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A paper submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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DETERMINANT FACTORS AND PREDICTABILITY OF OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE
PATTERNS FOR RURAL AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES

ABSTRACT

by David Lee Holland, M.A.
Washington State University, 1972

Chairman: Raleigh J. Ferrell

This study examines the hypothesis that occupation and residence patterns present ten years after high school graduation are dependent on definable variables and are generally predictable. The data comes from a central Minnesota farming community with a population of 3,300 in 1961. A number of factors that have influenced future trends are applied to a small, closed class. Sex, family background and participation in various types of high school activities are related to occupation and residence. In addition, the extent to which social roles may be determined by age and the above variables is discussed.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The following analysis is derived from data concerning a central Minnesota community of some 1,300 inhabitants. While the economic base of this town is farming, it is geographically located in Minnesota's lake country; tourism is an important secondary source of income. In addition, a state correctional institution and some small scale industrial operations provide employment for a number of local people. The network of economic equilibrium appears stable as local businesses provide the required commodities needed by the resident population.

It is a homogenous community. The people are all white, most descendants of northern European ancestors. They are Christian, with Catholics and Protestants in similar proportions. No significant numbers of Indians, Chicanos, Blacks, or other racial or religious minorities live in the area. This is a typical, rural, American town where hard work, honesty and general acceptance of established patterns and institutions are deemed to be means to the desired goals of family, employment and security.

A class of 109 graduated from the local high school in June of 1961; ten years later a class reunion was held. Shortly preceding the event, a questionnaire was sent to all class members. The 101 replies were published and distributed upon request. The published information includes the graduates': 1971 occupation, place of residence, marital status (including date of marriage), ages, names and number of children and their spouses' occupation. Of the eight who

did not reply, two are deceased, three had moved to coastal states while three still reside in Minnesota. These eight are not included in this analysis.

The questionnaire technique, while not traditionally employed by Anthropologists, is used in this study. The data sheet itself was not a random, formal, impersonal type prepared for anthropological or sociological use by a non-local researcher. It was drawn up, sent out, and the results published by class members in order to supply information about old friends. Therefore, the sample is open to the accusation of bias as all members of the class were included, if possible. Only six of the 107 living graduates failed to return the requested information. The high percentage of response was due to previous and present emotional involvement and/or personal identification with the area and its people; therefore, it did not result from "objective" or outside pressures.

This data may thus be more reliable than replies to an outside sampling agency's form inquiry. In this case the local population, especially the classmates, undoubtedly exert pressure for honest response as answers must be accurate or discrepancies would be discovered. As a case in point, the class reunion itself was a time for interaction as it served to substantiate mutual agreement on recollected facts. The threat of social ridicule was more than enough to offset the temptation of giving a false statement.

This analysis examines the hypothesis that occupation and residence patterns, ten years after high school graduation, are dependent on definable variables and are generally predictable. Since the data represents my own high school class, my "outsider's" interpretation of the questionnaire data as well as my "insider's" participant observation will be used in this evaluation. The scope of this study is restricted to a specific small, American midwest, farming community. The results may not be applicable in other communities or locales unless differences in the social milieu are considered.

The decade following high school graduation is particularly important in an American's life cycle. During this time, the individual generally leaves home and family; he passes from adolescence to adulthood and is expected to assume a responsible, contributing position in society.

Opportunities open to the eighteen-year-old after graduation include: additional formal education, military service, joining the labor force, and marriage. Society provides other alternatives; however, it is rigid in defining acceptable adult behavior. For instance, a person who drops out of established institutions may not be accorded full adult status. This deviation has not attracted sufficient numbers of individuals to be considered a normal permanent pursuit.

CHAPTER 11

STATEMENT OF HYPOTHESES

Occupation and residence patterns of individuals are directly related to the socialization-enculturation process as their directions are at least partially dependent on past reinforcing experiences. The variables examined in this study are: age, sex, family background and participation in various types of high school activities.

Age and sex of the individual directly influence occupation and residence as society dictates proper roles for each. The family's background (farm or non-farm) provides different social and cultural knowledge which also affects future trends. The individual's participation in high school activities not only contributes to his status within the school's social stratification structure, it also supplies broader experience and social knowledge.

Other factors which may influence the data gathered, but are not considered in this study, include nuclear family differences: father's and mother's occupations, their level of formal education, as well as their position within the community's social structure. Peer groups also affected the individual but they are not examined. The individual personality is independent, to a certain extent, but perhaps less influential than the aforementioned variables.

While certain factors may be reliable indicators for predicting limited general expectations, it is acknowledged that specific prediction of individual behavior is tenuous. However, the above items when applied to groups should reveal specific trends. While patterns are dependent on the social milieu found

in this community, they are increasingly influenced by American society as a whole. Therefore, some of the described life ways may be the result of exposure to the larger society.

This study expects to find strong correlations between past experience and future pursuits. It should indicate why certain careers and residence areas were selected. In turn, the graduates should conform closely to local and family traditions since past involvement has reinforced and perpetuated such behavior.

CHAPTER III

LIMITATIONS OF DATA

Universal applicability of this study's conclusions is obviously problematic. This data applies to the United States and more specifically to a single rural community. In fact, other rural areas may differ sufficiently so conclusions made in this study will not be relevant for them. Likewise, the number of individuals considered totals 101 which is small for reliable prediction even for "identical" areas.

The classification systems proposed, i.e. white and blue collar, service and non-service occupations, urban-city and urban-town, etc., are, of course, not the only ones possible, although they are felt to be the most relevant to the present study.

The factor of social change also limits the application of this information. Patterns and decisions which emerge after graduation will be influenced by new variables in the future. For example, it appears the military draft will no longer be a regulating consideration for male graduates; therefore, the directions some choose after graduation may change.

More difficult to control is the possibility that patterns developed in the decade following high school may not continue throughout a lifetime. The graduates' occupations and residence could change as they grow older; therefore, this data applies to a particular group of individuals at only one point in time.

Although the above limitations are a reality, this study proposes a model whereby similar American milieux can be studied and compared. Patterns will con-

time, although they may change in the future. Therefore, as more information is recorded the reliability of correlations should be increased.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

IV.1. Occupation Patterns of Female Graduates

IV.1.a. Introduction

This analysis will differentiate between men and women because societal pressures, restrictions and expectations channel the two sexes in different directions. It is evident, even in light of the 20th century Women's Liberation Movement, that a woman's role in respect to an acceptable occupation and residence is quite different from that of a man.

The fifty-seven women in this sample have encountered similar societal expectations which have resulted in psychological pressure concerning their occupations and residence. The most obvious, if not the most important, is the pervading attitude that a woman's role should be primarily one of support namely as a housewife and mother. Therefore, employment aspirations are secondarily considered when she chooses, either consciously or sub-consciously, between a profession or becoming a mother-housewife. Even when a career is chosen, it invariably conforms to standards set by society and rarely deviates into the male domain. In turn, the female's residence is generally dependent upon the husband's occupation and/or security which is present in their area of socialization-enculturation.

High school activities tend to enforce sex related roles. For instance, athletics is an exclusive male endeavor while the female supports and encourages

such functions. She participates in Pop Club, Pom-Pom Girls, and the Majorette and Cheerleading staffs. Men technically can join some of these functions; however, the social disdain one would encounter is more than sufficient to discourage an attempt.

The single athletic function open only to females was the Girl's Athletic Association. It met once a week in the evening and featured competition between members. They did not compete against local area high schools or in state competition as the men did, nor did they gain any local recognition other than mention in the high school yearbook.

Band and Chorus were two activities in which females were allowed to participate with males, although the director or conductor was always a man. Women took a more active role in chorus as they participated in groups, such as Girl's Sextet, Quartet, Trio, Triple Trio and the All-State Chorus. Boys could have participated in such groups; however, the underlying feeling was that enthusiastic participation in singing should be restricted to girls.

The Band, as the Chorus, had a number of male members, all of them restricted to the brass and saxophone woodwind sections. In contrast, the Clarinet, Mixed Clarinet Quartet and Flute Trio were made up solely of women. Band was an acceptable organization for both but as indicated, it also was a segregated group.

Women were involved in speech contests, and class plays and were members of the newspaper and yearbook staffs, although the 1961 editor was a male. The Home Economics Club was another exclusive woman's organization. It taught skills required to become housewives and mothers.

The attitude toward women was also reflected in the election of class officers. During the last three years of high school, men and women filled positions of Vice-President and Treasurer. However, the offices of President and All-School President were dominated by males while only females were elected Secretary.

They were also represented in the Student Council and as Homecoming Queen and attendants.

Academically, women consistently outperformed men. Fourteen girls graduated with honor compared to eight men; the National Honor Society contained nine females and six males. The valedictorian was a woman while the salutatorian was a man. Only one girl from the class of '61 belonged to the Science Club.

It appears that in terms of ability and potential, women were as qualified as men to pursue careers. However, other influencing factors, namely the positions women assume in the job market, must be considered for a true understanding of the situation. This consideration leads one to suspect that these women will conform closely, in terms of a profession, to the traditional societal pattern.

IV.1.b. Women's Family Background

Six females failed to respond to the 1971 questionnaire; one of them was deceased. Therefore, only the fifty-one who replied will be discussed. Thirty came from rural areas while twenty-one were daughters of urban couples. This distinction is important because a definite difference in world view and life style exists between the two. Likewise, the social and cultural knowledge which may be, at least partially, responsible for structuring limited societal expectations was not the same for the two groups.

Farm girls were aware of the duties connected with rural life and generally knew the technical aspects of farming such as: harvest time, seasons, animal care and other agricultural related knowledge. School and other urban activities also provided them with a limited understanding of town life.

In contrast, urban girls knew little about the responsibilities of a rural existence since they experienced other things living in town. For instance, they walked to and from school, had leisure time after school, and did not have to

six o'clock when their fathers came home from work. Therefore, both groups, due to their different exposures, viewed the world in a unique manner.

In this situation, rural refers to cases where the family lives on a farm and gains their livelihood by farming. Urban describes residence in both rural and urban areas, but the people do not farm. Remember the total population of this town was 3,300 in 1961. The terms urban and rural will be used later in another context and will be redefined at that time.

IV.1.c. Women's Occupations in 1971

In light of their enculturation, it is not surprising that the seven women living on a farm in 1971 all grew up in that environment, none had a steady income. The other rural women (23) left the country to work or to become housewives. Seven wives were also employed as were the seven who remained single. In contrast, nine relied solely on their husband's income.

On the other hand, twenty girls from town were married in 1971. Nine of them also worked but the majority (11) did not. One woman who grew up in town was divorced and a student. The above information is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

WOMEN'S FAMILY BACKGROUND RELATED TO EMPLOYMENT STATUS

	1971 Employment Status			
	Employed Housewives	Unemployed Housewives	Employed Single Women	Unemployed Single Student
<u>Family Background 1961</u> ^a				
Urban (21 girls) . . .	9	11	0	1
Rural (30 girls) . . .	7	16	7	0

^aRural refers to cases where the family lives on a farm and gains their livelihood by farming. Urban describes residence in both rural and urban areas, but the people do not farm.

In terms of employment, farm and town girls appear to be following similar trends. Sixteen, raised in the country, were housewives while fourteen were employed. In comparison, eleven housewives and nine working women came from town.

It appears females who grow up on farms may become farm wives, but seldom will their town counterparts do so. Urban women often possess unrealistic ideas concerning a rural existence which makes it very unappealing to them. They perceive it as a dirty, hard life that offers little material reward and even less mental satisfaction. Therefore, living on a farm would be a degrading step down the social ladder.

On the other hand, rural girls understand farm life and accept it more readily. In some cases non-exposure to other ways of living and the security of continuing to exist where one feels competent and accepted contributes to the reasons why people remain in familiar environments. However, if environmental and pollution pressures make the country setting appear desirable and romantic, people from large urban areas may move there. It is doubtful, however, that girls from a community such as this will follow such a proposed trend since they know more about farm demands than their city neighbors.

Three categories in Table 2 list women's 1971 occupations. The first is Unemployed Housewives. The second, Employed Women, has two types, the Non-Service Occupations of secretary, bookkeeper, teletype setter, saleswoman, and waitress, and the Service Occupations of nursing, teaching, social work and medical aid. A third category is that of Undergraduate Student.

TABLE 2

WOMEN'S FAMILY BACKGROUND RELATED TO OCCUPATION

	1971 Occupations											
	(1) Unemployed Housewives	(2) Employed Women	Non-Service Occupations					Service Occupations				(3) Undergraduate Student
			(A) Secretary	(B) Bookkeeper	(C) Teletype Setter	(D) Saleswoman	(E) Waitress	(A) Nurse	(B) Teacher	(C) Social Worker	(D) Medical Technician	
Family Background 1961 ^a												
Urban (21 girls)	11	9	0	0	0	1	1	6	1	0	0	1
Rural (30 girls)	16	14	3	3	1	2	0	2	1	1	1	0

^aRural refers to cases where the family lives on a farm and gains their livelihood by farming. Urban describes residence in both rural and urban areas, but the people do not farm.

Ten years after graduation, twenty-seven housewives were unemployed as sixteen of them were raised on a farm. Fourteen of the twenty-three working women, also grew up in the country. Likewise, of the eleven females employed in Non-Service Occupations, only two were not from rural areas. Included in this category are three secretaries, three bookkeepers, three saleswomen, plus a waitress and teletype setter. On the other hand, seven girls from urban backgrounds worked in Service Occupations compared to five from the farm. Of these, eight were nurses, two teachers, and one each a social worker and medical technician. Six of the nurses had grown up in town.

A slight difference appears in Service Occupations where only five of the thirty girls from the country were employed; in comparison, seven of the twenty-one girls from town chose such careers. More females from the farm worked in Non-Service Occupations as there were no secretaries or bookkeepers from town. However, over half the women were unemployed and while more women raised on a farm were employed, this sample is too small to indicate distinctive trends.

IV.1.d. Women's High School Activities and Occupations

High School activities are classed in four categories in Table 3. Extracurricular Activities is the first; it includes Pop Club, Pom-Pom Girls, Cheerleading, Girl's Athletic Association, Band, Mixed Chorus, Girl's Glee Club, All-State Chorus, Home Economics Club, Newspaper and Yearbook Staffs, class plays (Junior and Senior), Speech Contest and working as an Office Girl. The next category, Academic Achievement, lists Graduation with Honor, membership in the National Honor Society and Science Club, and the positions of Valedictorian and Girl's State Representative. The third group, Elected Positions, consists of Class Officers (Treasurer and Secretary), Student Council membership as well as being Homecoming Queen or Attendants. Finally, No Participation represents individuals not involved in any of the above. These functions were selected because the graduates included them, beside graduation pictures, in their yearbook.

No country girls were associated with Pop Club, Pom-Pom Girls or Cheerleading. Likewise, the Girl's Athletic Association, Home Economics Club, Band, Chorus, and class plays attracted more women from town. On the other hand, farm girls accomplished more academically.

TABLE 3

WOMEN'S FAMILY BACKGROUND RELATED TO HIGH SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

1959-1961 High School Activities ^a		(1) Extracurricular Activities				(2)				(3)				Total														
Family Background (b)	No. of Girls	Pop. Club	Pom Pom Girls	Theater Leader	Girls' Athletic Association	Band	Mixed Chorus	Girls' Glee Club	All-State Chorus	Home Economics Club	School Newspaper Staff	Annual Yearbook Staff	Class Plays (Junior & Senior)	Speech Contest	Office Girl	Academic Achievement	Graduation with Honor	National Honor Society	Science Club	Volunteerism	Girls' State Representative	Elected Positions	(A) Treasurer	(B) Secretary	Student Council	Homecoming Queen	Homecoming Attendant	No. Participation
Urban (21 girls)	21	3	4	3	4	9	17	17	1	11	12	3	8	1	2	4	2	1	6	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	1	0
Rural (30 girls)	30	0	0	0	0	7	17	19	9	11	15	2	1	2	4	8	7	5	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	2	
		3	4	3	4	16	34	36	10	22	27	5	9	3	6	12	14	6	7	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	2	
		0	0	0	0	16	17	19	9	11	15	2	1	2	4	8	7	5	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	
		3	4	3	4	16	34	36	10	22	27	5	9	3	6	12	14	6	7	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	2	

^aThe top figure shows the number of women involved in each activity; the bottom indicates their cumulative or total, somewhere through senior, years of participation.

^bRural refers to cases where the family lives on a farm and gains their livelihood by farming. Urban describes residence in both rural and urban areas, but the people do not farm.



There is a significant difference between urban and rural women concerning their participation in activities. Twenty-one town girls accumulated 202 years compared to just 141 years of involvement for the thirty from the farm. Only the sophomore through senior years were used in computing the totals. The freshman year was omitted because the data was inaccurate and the experimental first year of high school was not thought to be representative.

The totals are the result of a temporal and spatial relationship that affected these individuals. Because the country girls lived a good distance from school, they were required to take the school bus home every night. Therefore, they had no time to engage in after school activities. Evening functions were not attended as frequently by them because private transportation was required to and from town. Their parents were often reluctant to provide it due to distance, time and disinterest. On the other hand, town girls were not affected in this manner; therefore, they were freer to pursue their interests.

Certain activities were defined as prestigious by peer groups which increased the desire for participation. The temporal and spatial relationship also affected the selection of friends as experience with different life styles may have been the psychological foundation for friendship. Rural associates appeared less cohesive because, being isolated on individual farms, they could not meet as frequently as town people. Closer in time and space, urban inhabitants were not restricted in this manner. Therefore, functions necessitating group involvement were popular in town whereas in the country individual endeavors, like academic achievement, were pursued. In turn, isolation, which is a regulating factor and a reality of farm life, partially explains why the two who were not involved in activities came from the country.

Likewise, rural women generally were less represented in all areas.

A detailed breakdown indicating the relationship between specific activities and women's occupations, is contained in Table 4. It shows the number of years each function was participated in. The totals from this table are used in Tables 4 a and 4 b.

The Unemployed Housewives, Table 4 a, were active in high school extracurricular functions and were elected to a number of positions; however, they did not excel in the classroom. In contrast, most Employed Women stood out academically as well as participating in the other activities. For instance, the women in the nursing, teaching, social work and medical professions were well represented overall as the nurses, by far, were the most involved in high school. This table also confirms the fact that country girls were less active during high school as well as assuming somewhat less prestigious positions later in life.

As indicated in Table 4 b, the women who worked in 1971 were slightly more active during high school than those who were unemployed. There is a sharp contrast in this regard between the Non-Service and Service Occupations. Those in the latter were most involved in all activity areas as they averaged 10.7 years per woman. On the other hand, women employed in non-service professions had the lowest overall average, 4.5, although they did well academically. Their low average resulted because a number of the least active females chose such careers.

When occupations and activities are examined, the status professions which require the most schooling and training beyond high school contain those women who were most active during school. For instance, females in Service Occupations achieved twice as much academically as any other group.

TABLE
 WOMEN'S FAMILY BACKGROUND AND OCCUPATION RELATED TO HIGH SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

1959-1961 High School Activities

Activity	(1) Extracurricular Activities			(2) Academic Achievement			(3) Elected Positions					
	Employed Housewives	Urban Background	Rural Background	Graduation with Honor	National Honor Society	Valedictorian	Girls State Representative	Class Officers (A) Treasurer	Class Officers (B) Secretary	Student Council	Homecoming Queen	Homecoming Attendance
Pep Club	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pom Pom Girls	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cheerleader	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Girls Athletic Association	9	14	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Band	10	7	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mixed Chorus	11	11	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Girls Glee Club	15	16	11	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
All-State Chorus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Home Economics Club	8	8	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
School Newspaper Staff	12	11	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Annual Yearbook Staff	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Class Plays (Junior & Senior)	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Speech Contest	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Office Girl	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Academic Achievement	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Graduation with Honor	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
National Honor Society	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Science Club	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Valedictorian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Girls State Representative	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elected Positions	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Class Officers (A) Treasurer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Class Officers (B) Secretary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Student Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Homecoming Queen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Homecoming Attendance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE --Continued

Service Occupations	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)		
<u>Over Women:</u>																								
<u>Non-Service Occupations:</u>																								
(A) Secretary																								
(B) Bookkeeper																								
(C) Teletype Operator																								
(D) Saleswoman																								
(E) Mailress																								
<u>Service Occupations:</u>																								
(A) Nurse																								
(B) Teacher																								
(C) Social Worker																								
(D) Medical Technician																								
(E) Undergraduate Student																								
Green Background																								

The numbers in the columns are the cumulative or total, sophomore through senior, years of participation in each activity for the women listed to the left.

The women who did not participate in activities are included in this category.

TABLE 4 a

WOMEN'S FAMILY BACKGROUND AND OCCUPATION RELATED TO ACTIVITY CATEGORIES^a

		Extracurricular Activities	Academic Achievement	Elected Positions
<u>Unemployed Housewives</u>				
Urban Background	(11) . .	76	1	3
Rural Background ^b	(16) . .	70	4	2
<u>Employed Women</u>				
<u>Non-Service Occupations</u>				
(A) Secretary				
Rural Background	(3) . .	6	2	0
(B) Bookkeeper				
Rural Background	(3) . .	11	0	0
(C) Teletype Setter				
Rural Background	(1) . .	8	2	0
(D) Saleswoman				
Urban Background	(1) . .	7	0	0
Rural Background	(2) . .	8	2	1
(E) Waitress				
Urban Background	(1) . .	3	0	0
<u>Service Occupations</u>				
(A) Nurse				
Urban Background	(6) . .	74	6	1
Rural Background	(2) . .	12	4	1
(B) Teacher				
Urban Background	(1) . .	11	0	0
Rural Background	(1) . .	2	1	0
(C) Social Worker				
Rural Background	(1) . .	7	2	2
(D) Medical Technician				
Rural Background	(1) . .	5	0	0
<u>Undergraduate Student</u>				
Urban Background	(1) . .	9	0	0

^aThe numbers in each column are the totals for all activities listed in Table 4.

^bThe two women, who did not participate in activities, are included in this category.

In this context, involvement when in high school may broaden the individual. This is beneficial later when being able to function in new environments becomes an asset.

TABLE 4 b

WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS RELATED TO ACTIVITY CATEGORIES^a

		Extracurricular Activities	Academic Achievement	Elected Positions	Total Years	Average ^c Per Woman
<u>Unemployed Housewives</u> ^b	(27)	146	5	5	156	5.8
<u>Employed Women</u>						
Non-Service Occupations	(11)	43	6	1	50	4.5
Service Occupations	(12)	111	13	4	128	10.7
<u>Undergraduate Student</u>	(1)	9	0	0	9	9.0

^a The numbers in the activities columns are totals from Table 4 a.

^b The two women who did not participate in activities are included in this category.

^c The average was computed by dividing the number of women into their total years of participation.

IV.2. Residence Patterns of Female Graduates

IV.2.a. Introduction

Several tables are used to describe where these women settled ten years after high school. The basic residence categories are: Urban-city, Urban-town, and Rural. Urban-city refers to densely populated regions of 50,000 or more; Urban-town describes areas with less than 50,000 people. Rural depicts individuals who are living outside the urban areas, earning their livelihood by farming.

The three designations were selected to distinguish distinctive environments. The first includes the inner-city, its surrounding industrial and suburban areas, plus outlying sectors which are directly linked to such population centers. As such, they have been labeled megalopolises. In contrast, towns are smaller yet somewhat autonomous. While this category contains a number of types, in general, they do not offer the variety of opportunities the city does. Rural refers to situations where the individual farm family exists primarily within the urban-town network.

IV.2.b. Women's Residence Areas in 1971

As indicated in Table 5, females who were raised on a farm were living in all previously defined areas: eighteen in the urban-city, five in the urban-town and seven in rural locales. While no girls brought up in town resided in the country, twelve settled in a city and nine in less populated regions. A girl from town married a man who farms; however, the couple is not typical since they do not reside on the farm. They are continuing to live in town while he farms. In conclusion, more girls from town remained in similar environments as females from the country moved to metropolitan areas.

TABLE 5

WOMEN'S FAMILY BACKGROUND RELATED TO RESIDENCE AREAS

	1971 Residence Areas ^a		
	Urban-city	Urban-town	Rural
Family Background 1961 ^b			
Urban (21 girls) . . .	12	9	0
Rural (30 girls) . . .	18	5	7

^aUrban-city refers to densely populated regions of 50,000 or more; Urban-town describes areas with less than 50,000 people. Rural depicts individuals who are living outside the urban areas, earning their livelihood by farming.

^bRural refers to cases where the family lives on a farm and gains their livelihood by farming. Urban describes residence in both rural and urban areas, but the people do not farm.

Table 6 depicts residence in relation to state boundaries. Twenty-nine women with farm backgrounds remained within the core area, four in the hometown, while another left the state. Similarly, eighteen town girls resided in Minnesota, five in hometown; three moved out of the state. While nine women stayed in the hometown, forty-two relocated. They probably moved because the local community could not fulfill the requirements of employment and/or "happenings". In addition, their husbands may have been employed elsewhere. The fact that few women left the core area may indicate a lack of trust and confidence in the outside world. Although a number of females traveled and lived elsewhere for a short time, most had returned by ten years after graduation.

The four who settled in another state did so with their husbands. Therefore, it is doubtful women will move to unfamiliar regions unless afforded the security of marriage. In contrast, there may be a higher probability that females enculturated in urban environments may be more mobile.

TABLE 6

WOMEN'S FAMILY BACKGROUND RELATED TO RESIDENCE - CORE AREA

	1971 Residence - Core Area ^a		
	Core Area + Hometown		Outside Core Area
Family Background 1961 ^b			
Urban (21 girls) . . .	13	4	5
Rural (30 girls) . . .	25	4	4

^aCore Area covers anywhere within Minnesota, including the Hometown. Outside Core Area describes locations beyond state boundaries.

^bRural refers to cases where the family lives on a farm and gains their livelihood by farming. Urban describes residence in both rural and urban areas, but the people do not farm.

The seven women who did not marry all were raised on a farm. Table 7 indicates they later chose to work and reside in urban environments.

TABLE 7

FAMILY BACKGROUND RELATED TO RESIDENCE AREAS OF SINGLE WOMEN

	1971 Residence Areas of Single Women ^a			
	Core Area			Outside Core Area
	Urban-city	Urban-town	Rural-hometown	Urban-hometown
Family background 1961				
Urban (21 girls) . . .	0	0	0	0
Rural (30 girls) . . .	7	0	0	0

^aCore Area covers anywhere within Minnesota, including the Hometown. Outside Core Area describes locations beyond state boundaries.

Finally, Table 8 deals with the relationship between occupation and residence. Thirteen unemployed wives lived in an urban-city, five in the hometown, while seven chose other urban-towns; two couples moved outstate. On the other hand, the seven who were secretaries, bookkeepers and teletype

TABLE 3

WOMEN'S FAMILY BACKGROUND AND OCCUPATION RELATED TO RESIDENCE AREAS

	1971 Residence Areas ^a				
	Urban-city	Core Area			Outside Core Area
		Urban-town	Rural-hometown	Urban-hometown	
<u>Unemployed Housewives</u>					
Urban Background	6	2	0	2	1
Rural Background	7	5	2	1	1
<u>Employed Women</u>					
<u>Non-Service Occupations</u>					
(A) Secretary					
Rural Background	3	0	0	0	0
(B) Bookkeeper					
Rural Background	3	0	0	0	0
(C) Teletype Sifter					
Rural Background	1	0	0	0	0
(D) Saleswoman					
Urban Background	0	0	0	1	0
Rural Background	0	1	0	1	0
(E) Waitress					
Urban Background	0	1	0	0	0
<u>Service Occupations</u>					
(A) Nurse					
Urban Background	4	0	0	2	0
Rural Background	1	1	0	0	0
(B) Teacher					
Urban Background	0	0	0	0	1
Rural Background	1	0	0	0	0
(C) Social Worker					
Rural Background	1	0	0	0	0
(D) Medical Technician					
Rural Background	1	0	0	0	0
<u>Undergraduate Student</u>					
Urban Background	1	0	0	0	0

^aCore Area covers anywhere within Minnesota, including the Hometown. Outside Core Area describes locations beyond state boundaries.

setters all resided in populated regions. Two saleswomen worked in the hometown while a waitress and saleswoman settled in another small town. Five nurses worked in a city, two in the hometown; one moved to a nearby community. One woman taught in the city while the other did so in another state. The social worker, medical technician, and student all resided in densely populated areas. While the unemployed were distributed in cities and towns, the employed women displayed a preference for the city and its opportunities.

As an interesting sidelight, this group contains two sets of twin girls both from rural backgrounds. While attending high school the twins participated in the same activities and often dressed alike and went places together.

Ten years after high school, one set of twins had been married within two months of each other and each couple had three children. Neither worked outside the home as they lived in adjoining suburbs. The other twins were single, living together while working in urban occupations. Whether the influence has a genetic or social basis, or both, these twins are exhibiting similar occupation and residence patterns.

IV.3. Occupation Patterns of Male Graduates

IV.3.a. Introduction

Fifty-two men graduated from high school in 1961. One was deceased in 1971 and another failed to return the questionnaire. Thus our consideration is limited to the fifty who completed the form.

These men will be examined in relation to the roles they play in American society. Males traditionally have provided economic security for their families, although women are increasingly assuming this responsibility. This social change will inevitably cause a restructuring in some areas of our society.

However, the husband's economic role is still generally accepted as being more important than the wife's. Therefore, the following generalization is expected. Based on societal definition, men's occupations should be more important, diverse and variable, as well as being more prestigious and authoritarian, than women's. In such circumstances, the female assumes traditional support positions such as: housewife, mother, secretary, nurse, etc.

While the socialization-enculturation process enforces traditional patterns, this study will only examine a small segment of the complex network that functions to perpetuate the male's dominant role. In this regard, family background and high school activities will be referred to as they may have influenced future occupations.

IV.3.b. Men's Family Background

Twenty-two boys grew up on a farm, in contrast to twenty-eight who were raised in town. The terms urban and rural are used, as they were in the women's discussion, to define these environments. Although the different

experiences and life styles have been previously alluded to, it should be remembered, isolation and demands of farm life restrict participation and involvement in urban functions while those living in town have a limited knowledge of the farm. Therefore, they are not a homogeneous psychic group.

IV.3.c. Men's Occupations in 1971

Three categories are used in this discussion: White Collar Occupations, Blue Collar Occupations and Graduate Student. The white collar and blue collar distinctions may not strictly adhere to the definitions proposed by sociologists; therefore, a brief explanation is in order.

The first includes employment in public administration and the public services of teaching, forestry, police and social work. In addition, private business jobs in administration and sales are classed here as well as self-employment pursuits like private business, pharmacy and orthodontia. This category is used to distinguish positions having supervisory authority and/or where manual labor is not a usual function of the profession. A white shirt or a similar status marker is worn, in most cases, when working. In terms of prestige, these occupations are generally high on the social ladder.

In contrast, blue collar careers include industrial engineering and labor as well as janitorial and construction work. Farmers, truckers and carpenters are the self-employed. These positions generally command less authority and usually do not generate the prestige a white collar occupation does. Although men in this category do the bulk of the manual labor in our country, their contributions may not be reflected in salary. In turn, a blue shirt or its social equivalent is usually the working uniform.

As indicated in Table 9, twelve boys who grew up in town later held white collar positions while only five from the country were so employed. In contrast, sixteen from the farm were blue collar workers compared to fourteen from town. Two of the graduate students were from town; the other was not.

TABLE 9

MEN'S FAMILY BACKGROUND RELATED TO EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Family Background, 1961 ^d	1971 Employment Status		
	White Collar Occupations	Blue Collar Occupations	Graduate Student
Urban (28 boys)	12	14	2
Rural (22 boys)	5	16	1

^dRural refers to cases where the family lives on a farm and gains their livelihood by farming. Urban describes residence in both rural and urban areas, but the people do not farm.

Although urban males outnumbered those from the country, twenty-eight to twenty-two, more rural men chose blue collar employment. The patterns of both groups support the hypothesis that their different world view and life styles tend to make certain professions more appealing and attainable. In fact, rural men may perceive limited expectations due to their exposure. Therefore, a rural background may be an asset if a career in farming or a related profession is desired. However, the cultural knowledge they possess may be of less benefit if an urban occupation is pursued.

On the other hand, living in town may provide more confidence and understanding of urban phenomena. This may be beneficial if one must function

In such an environment later in life. The graduate students may also follow the proposed pattern by contributing more men with urban experience to white collar careers.

The professions, classified as white collar, are listed in Table 10. Two of the three public administrators held positions of authority in state government while the other was a university's Athletic Business Manager. All three grew up in town as did the social worker, policeman and one teacher. In contrast, the other teacher and forester were from the farm. Business companies employed three men from the farm and two from town. On the other hand, all of the self-employed grew up in town; there were two private businessmen, a pharmacist, and orthodontist.

TABLE 10
MEN'S FAMILY BACKGROUND RELATED TO OCCUPATION

Family Background 1961	1971 Occupations																								
	White Collar Occupations	Public Administration	Public Service	(A) Forestry	(B) Police Work	(C) Social Work	(D) Forestry	Private Business	(A) Administration	(B) Sales	Self-Employment	(A) Private Business	(B) Teacher	(C) Orthodontist	Blue Collar Occupations	Industrial Employment	(A) Forestry	(B) Labor	Construction Work	Professional Service	Self-Employment	(A) Pharmacist	(B) Teacher	(C) Carpenter	Graduate Student
Urban (28 boys)	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Rural (22 boys)	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	1	1	5	2	1	1	1	1

The blue collar category includes two industrial engineers and nine laborers, all raised in town. Four other laborers were from the farm as was

the janitor and three of the five construction workers. The self-employed exhibit the reverse of the white collar situation as men with rural backgrounds are in the majority. Only one carpenter was brought up in town compared to five farmers, two truckers and a carpenter from the country.

It appears that not only are more men from town later employed in white collar professions, they also hold the most prestigious positions. Likewise, the self-employed in this category all grew up in town in contrast to the blue collar situation where most of the economically independent were from the country. However, the industrial system directly absorbed almost one-third of these men. This may be attributed to their level of education and the comparative ease of attaining such employment upon first exposure to the job-market.

IV.3.d. Men's High School Activities and Occupations

The structure of high school activities functioned to reinforce and perpetuate the males dominant societal position. For instance, athletic organizations had male members while girls supported and encouraged: football, basketball, baseball, wrestling, track and golf. Likewise, acceptable male and female occupational pursuits were represented by the Future Farmers of America and the Home Economics Club.

Student government also displayed sex divisions. From 1959-1961, boys were elected Class President and All-School President. This placed men in two main positions of authority. It also demonstrated the girl's acceptance of the situation, because their majority theoretically could have controlled an election, if they had voted as a block.

Band, mixed chorus, class plays, speech contests, the newspaper and

yearbook staffs had members of both sexes; however, they were distinctively segregated. For instance, males sat in selected places and played certain instruments in band; they sang different pitches in choruses and acted male parts in class plays. In terms of academic achievement, the two National Science Foundation Scholarships and an English Award were given to men, although women were recognized as being proficient in this area.

These examples partially reveal society's expectations concerning proper male and female behavior. Once learned, adherence is probable throughout life. Therefore, women may demonstrate potential, but it can not be utilized unless society permits.

Family background appears to have influenced participation in high school activities. Table 11 shows boys from the farm did not play golf and were not represented in the Letterman's Club, Speech Contest, Men's Glee Club, Eagle Scouts or at Boy's State. In contrast, the salutatorian and those who received the English Award and National Science Foundation Scholarships were from town as were the majority in student government.

Overall, twenty-eight boys from town accumulated 207 years of participation compared to just 76 years for twenty-two farm boys. These figures indicate the temporal-spatial relationship did affect high school involvement.

A detailed listing of male occupations, which are related to high school activities, is contained in Tables 12 and 12 a. Eleven men did not participate in any functions. They include: one salesman, two construction workers, two farmers and six laborers.

MEN'S FAMILY BACKGROUND RELATED TO HIGH SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

Family Background 1961	1959-1961 High School Activities																																											
	(A) Football	(B) Basketball	(C) Baseball	(D) Wrestling	(E) Track	(F) Golf	(G) Letterman's Club	(H) Student Manager	Band	Mixed Chorus	Men's Glee Club	Future Farmers of America	School Newspaper Staff	(A) Editor	Annual Yearbook Staff	Class Plays (Junior & Senior)	Speech Contest	English Scouts	Academic Achievement	Graduation with Honor	National Honor Society	Science Club	Salutatorian	Boy's State Representative	English Award	National Science	Foundation Scholarship	Elected Positions	Class Officers	(A) President	(B) Vice President	(C) Treasurer	All-School President	Student Council	Homecoming King	Homecoming Escort	No Participation							
Urban (28 boys)	$\frac{10}{23}$	$\frac{11}{24}$	$\frac{6}{13}$	$\frac{3}{3}$	$\frac{11}{18}$	$\frac{2}{4}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{3}{9}$	$\frac{15}{26}$	$\frac{6}{6}$	$\frac{0}{0}$	$\frac{6}{11}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{5}{5}$	$\frac{4}{7}$	$\frac{2}{2}$	$\frac{2}{2}$	$\frac{7}{7}$	$\frac{5}{10}$	$\frac{3}{10}$	$\frac{7}{19}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{2}{2}$	$\frac{2}{2}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{2}{2}$	$\frac{0}{0}$	$\frac{2}{2}$	$\frac{6}{10}$	$\frac{0}{0}$	$\frac{2}{2}$	$\frac{7}{7}$								
Rural (22 boys)	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{2}{4}$	$\frac{2}{5}$	$\frac{3}{3}$	$\frac{3}{6}$	$\frac{0}{0}$	$\frac{0}{0}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{4}{10}$	$\frac{4}{7}$	$\frac{0}{5}$	$\frac{7}{14}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{2}{2}$	$\frac{0}{0}$	$\frac{0}{0}$	$\frac{0}{0}$	$\frac{2}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{0}{0}$	$\frac{0}{0}$	$\frac{0}{0}$	$\frac{0}{0}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{0}{0}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{2}{2}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{2}{2}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{0}{0}$							
Urban Total= 207 years																																												
Rural Total= 74 years																																												

^aThe top figure shows the number of men involved in each activity; the bottom indicates their cumulative or total, sophomore through senior, years of participation.

TABLE 12
MEN'S FAMILY BACKGROUND AND OCCUPATION RELATED TO HIGH SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

		1959-1961 High School Activities ³																																				
		(A) Football	(B) Basketball	(C) Baseball	(D) Wrestling	(E) Track	(F) Golf	(G) Letterman's Club	(H) Student Manager	Band	Mixed Chorus	Men's Glee Club	Future Farmers of America	School Newspaper Staff	(A) Editor	Annual Yearbook Staff	Class Plays (Junior & Senior)	Speech Contest	Eagle Scouts	Academic Achievement	Graduation with Honor	National Honor Society	Science Club	Salutatorian	Boy's State Representative	English Award	National Science Foundation Scholarship	Elected Positions	Class Officers	(A) President	(B) Vice President	(C) Treasurer	All-School President	Student Council	Homecoming King	Homecoming Escort		
White Collar Occupations	Public Administration	3	3	2	0	3	1	1	1	9	3	3	0	5	1	3	2	2	1	0	0	3	3	5	0	0	1	2	1	1	2	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
	Urban Background (3)	3	3	2	0	3	1	1	1	9	3	3	0	5	1	3	2	2	1	0	0	3	3	5	0	0	1	2	1	1	2	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
	Public Service	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(A) Teaching	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
(B) Police Work	Urban Background (1)	3	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	
	Rural Background (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
(C) Social Work	Urban Background (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	Urban Background (1)	3	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
(D) Forestry	Urban Background (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	Rural Background (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

TABLE 12 a

MEN'S FAMILY BACKGROUND AND OCCUPATION RELATED TO ACTIVITY CATEGORIES^a

36

	Extracurricular Activities	Academic Achievement	Elected Positions
<u>White Collar Occupations</u>			
Public Administration			
Urban Background (3) . . .	43	14	9
Public Service			
(A) Teaching			
Urban Background (1) . . .	15	4	2
Rural Background (1) . . .	2	0	0
(B) Police Work			
Urban Background (1) . . .	6	0	0
(C) Social Work			
Urban Background (1) . . .	13	0	1
(D) Forestry			
Rural Background (1) . . .	1	0	0
Private Business			
(A) Administration			
Rural Background (1) . . .	0	0	1
(B) Sales			
Urban Background ^b (2) . . .	10	0	0
Rural Background (2) . . .	5	0	0
Self-Employment			
(A) Private Business			
Urban Background (2) . . .	7	1	0
(B) Pharmacy			
Urban Background (1) . . .	6	4	0
(C) Orthodontia			
Urban Background (1) . . .	16	6	3
<u>Blue Collar Occupations</u>			
Industrial Employment			
(A) Engineering			
Urban Background (2) . . .	3	2	1
(B) Labor			
Urban Background ^b (9) . . .	20	0	0
Rural Background (4) . . .	9	0	0
Construction Work ^b			
Urban Background ^b (2) . . .	4	0	0
Rural Background (3) . . .	12	0	1
Janitorial Service			
Rural Background (1) . . .	1	5	0
Self-Employment			
(A) Farming			
Rural Background ^b (5) . . .	15	0	1
(B) Trucking			
Rural Background (2) . . .	4	1	0
(C) Carpentry			
Urban Background (1) . . .	1	0	0
Rural Background (1) . . .	1	0	0
Graduate Student			
Urban Background (2) . . .	15	0	1
Rural Background (1) . . .	12	0	3

^aThe numbers in each column are the totals for all activities listed in Table 12.

^bThe eleven men who did not participate in activities included in these categories.

As indicated in Table 12 b, those most active in school later worked in white collar occupations. The seventeen in such professions compiled 124 years in Extracurricular Activities compared to 70 years for the thirty blue collar workers. Academic Achievement and Elected Positions followed a similar pattern. When an average is computed, the result is 9.9 years per man for white collar employees compared to just 2.7 for the blue collar workers.

TABLE 12 b

MEN'S OCCUPATIONS RELATED TO ACTIVITY CATEGORIES^a

	Extracurricular Activities	Academic Achievement	Elected Positions	Total Years	Average Per Man ^b
<u>White Collar Occupations</u> (17) .	124	29	16	169	9.9
Public Administration (3) .	43	14	9	66	22.0
Public Service (5) .	37	4	3	44	8.8
Private Business (5) .	15	0	1	16	3.2
Self-Employed (4) .	29	11	3	43	10.7
<u>Blue Collar Occupations</u> (30) .	70	8	3	81	2.7
Industrial Employment (15) .	32	2	1	35	2.3
Construction Work (5) .	16	0	1	17	3.4
Janitorial Service (1) .	1	5	0	6	6.0
Self-Employed (9) .	21	1	1	23	2.5
<u>Graduate Student</u> (3) .	27	0	4	31	10.3

^aThe numbers in the activities columns are totals from Table 12 a.

^bThe average was computed by dividing the number of men into their total years of participation.

The professions defined by society as prestigious and desirable were filled by those active in high school. In fact, only one person, in the white collar category, failed to participate. On the other hand, ten blue collar employees did not contribute. In general, active individuals appear more apt

to assume status positions later in life than those who were less involved. There certainly are exceptions to this statement; however, the findings of this analysis supports such a conclusion.

The public administrators were by far the most active as they were well represented in all areas. The self-employed, in the white collar category, and the graduate students had similar high averages; however, the latter did not excel in the classroom. Therefore, it appears high school academic success is not necessarily a prerequisite to accomplishment in advanced centers of learning. While blue collar employees were generally less involved, the janitor may be an exception. He was an excellent high school scholar and may be using his university janitorial position to finance further education.

IV.4. Residence Patterns of Male Graduates

IV.4.a. Introduction

Residence generally depends upon variables which are not determined by chance. For instance, occupation has a direct effect because a particular job may necessitate living in certain locales. In turn, employment is not independent since various types of interaction affect it. To reveal the complex interrelationships between individuals and institutions, a detailed network analysis would be required to explain profession and residence selection. Thus our aim is restricted as only a partial explanation is proposed. Some reference will be made, in this regard, to inheritance as it affected certain individuals. In addition, the employment and economic capability of large industrial areas will be considered.

IV.4.b. Men's Residence Areas in 1971

Table 13 reveals half of the boys raised in town later relocated to a city while the other fourteen remained in less populated areas. In contrast, eight men from the farm lived in urban environments as nine others moved to another town. Like the women, the five males who resided on a farm had grown up in the country. Twenty-two men left the hometown for the city while twenty-three continued to reside in small communities. As less than half moved to population centers, there was not an overwhelming migration to urban areas.

TABLE 13

MEN'S FAMILY BACKGROUND RELATED TO RESIDENCE AREAS

Family Background 1961	1971 Residence Areas ¹¹		
	Urban-city	Urban-town	Rural
Urban (28 boys)	14	14	0
Rural (22 boys)	8	9	5

¹¹Urban-city refers to densely populated regions of 50,000 or more; Urban-town describes areas with less than 50,000. Rural depicts individuals who are living outside the urban areas, earning their livelihood by farming.

The boy's enculturation took place almost entirely within Minnesota. Therefore, this Core Area in Table 14 is where familiar social networks were located. It appears the local area could not supply the required opportunities as only twelve remained in the hometown and fifteen left the state. However, thirty-five worked in locations within the state which indicates an apparent acceptance of the general locale.

TABLE 14

MEN'S FAMILY BACKGROUND RELATED TO RESIDENCE-CORE AREA

Family Background 1961	1971 Residence-Core Area ¹¹		
	Core Area + Hometown		Outside Core Area
Urban (28 boys)	13	+ 5	10
Rural (22 boys)	10	+ 7	5

¹¹Core Area covers anywhere within Minnesota, including the Hometown. Outside Core Area describes locations beyond state boundaries.

Whereas most of the group married, Table 15 indicates twelve men were single a decade after graduation. Most had been raised on a farm, but none chose to reside in the Urban-hometown. They seem to have moved to other locations for reasons ranging from employment to education.

TABLE 15

FAMILY BACKGROUND RELATED TO RESIDENCE AREAS OF SINGLE MEN

	1971 Residence Areas of Single Men ^d				Outside Core Area
	Core Area			Urban-hometown	
	Urban-city	Urban-town	Rural-hometown		
Family Background 1961					
Urban (28 boys)	0	0	0	0	3
Rural (22 boys)	3	2	3	0	1

^dCore Area covers anywhere within Minnesota, including the hometown. Outside Core Area describes locations beyond state boundaries.

Occupation is related to residence in Table 16. Two public administrators were employed by the state which required them to live near the Capital. The other, because he worked for the institution, resided in a university community in an adjoining state. One teacher taught in a city, but the other left the area to instruct in a small town. The policeman and social worker settled in local population centers; therefore their familiarity with the social milieu was insured. The forester, on the other hand, left the state for the western mountains.

Two businessmen employed by independent companies worked within Minnesota while three others were assigned elsewhere. In contrast, the self-employed businessmen remained in the hometown as both assisted in their fathers' business. After receiving his degree, the pharmacist also returned

MEN'S FAMILY BACKGROUND AND OCCUPATION RELATED TO RESIDENCE AREAS

	Urban-city	1971 Residence Areas			Outside Core Area
		Urban-town	Rural-hometown	Urban-hometown	
<u>White Collar Occupations</u>					
<u>Public Administration</u>					
Urban Background	2	0	0	0	1
<u>Public Service</u>					
(A) Teaching					
Urban Background	1	0	0	0	0
Rural Background	0	0	0	0	1
(B) Police Work					
Urban Background	1	0	0	0	0
(C) Social Work					
Urban Background	1	0	0	0	0
(D) Forestry					
Rural Background	0	0	0	0	1
<u>Private Business</u>					
(A) Administration					
Rural Background	1	0	0	0	0
(B) Sales					
Urban Background	0	0	0	0	2
Rural Background	0	1	0	0	1
<u>Self-Employment</u>					
(A) Private Business					
Urban Background	0	0	0	2	0
(B) Pharmacy					
Urban Background	0	0	0	1	0
(C) Orthodontia					
Urban Background	0	1	0	0	0
<u>Blue Collar Occupations</u>					
<u>Industrial Employment</u>					
(A) Engineering					
Urban Background	0	0	0	0	2
(B) Labor					
Urban Background	5	2	0	1	2
Rural Background	2	1	0	0	1
<u>Construction Work</u>					
Urban Background	0	1	0	0	1
Rural Background	1	0	0	2	0
<u>Janitorial Service</u>					
Rural Background	1	0	0	0	0
<u>Self-Employment</u>					
(A) Farming					
Rural Background	0	0	5	0	0
(B) Trucking					
Rural Background	0	1	0	0	1
(C) Carpentry					
Urban Background	0	0	0	1	0
Rural Background	0	1	0	0	0
<u>Graduate Student</u>					
Urban Background	0	0	0	0	2
Rural Background	1	0	0	0	0

to the hometown. In contrast, the orthodontist practiced in a small community within 100 miles of the local area.

Two engineers worked for communication companies located in distant regions. In contrast, the local metropolitan area supplied employment for six laborers, but four others found industry in smaller communities more appealing. Industrial centers located in other states attracted three laborers. The janitor and four construction workers stayed in Minnesota as the other "hard hat" moved elsewhere.

The five farmers, either farming their fathers' land or working nearby, remained in the local area. One man drove truck in the region while another moved out-state to do so. Both carpenters built in the vicinity of the hometown. Two graduate students studied in coastal states, the other at a local institution.

While they chose different careers, the majority of the men remained in their area of enculturation. In many cases employment affected settlement patterns and to this extent at least, they were limited and restricted in selecting residence.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

V.1. Occupation Patterns

As a group, this class had more females than males, and over half grew up on a farm. Over 50% of the women were simply housewives ten years after graduation while the employed women were working in professions commonly associated with their sex. Likewise, the men's occupations generally conform to established patterns as the majority were blue collar employees.

The men's white collar positions and the women's service occupations were usually occupied by individuals who were raised in town and who were involved in high school activities. In contrast, blue collar and non-service careers contained those who were least concerned with such functions. Girls and other students from town were the most active during school as the latter totaled 609 years of participation compared to only 215 years for those from the country.

High school involvement is not proposed as a prerequisite, in itself, for acquisition of desired and prestigious jobs. However, it may predispose the individual toward engagement in social interaction which increases his expectation and confidence levels. In turn, subsequent pursuits may reflect these levels.

A decade after graduation, all graduates were behaving in a proper, acceptable manner defined by middle class America. They reported themselves

as being either employed, housewives or students. There were no hippies, yippies, freaks, dropouts, unemployed or any other "deviant minority". They were existing in a traditional manner enforced by past experience. The women are continuing the support roles they learned in their formative years and the men are assuming positions of power, authority and prestige. Sufficient time has elapsed for styles to emerge which may potentially continue through their life cycles.

V.2. Residence Patterns

A definite preference for the familiar area was displayed as three-fourths (82) of the graduates remained in Minnesota. However, only twenty-one continued to reside in the hometown. Limitation factors, such as employment, may have stimulated their move as the local population did not increase more than ten percent between 1961 and 1971. Therefore, the means of production appear capable of supporting 3,300 people and this density will probably remain stable unless additional opportunities are introduced.

Over half the graduates relocated in areas with more than 50,000 people. More women from town and men from the farm chose to migrate to the city. This may have been caused by the inability of the land to support additional persons whereas urban centers are more flexible.

Although the city provides alternatives not present elsewhere, many individuals continued to live in small communities. However, only those who had been raised on a farm, used agriculture to support themselves.

In summary, this group is residing close to their area of enculturation pursuing familiar careers which are accessible. The women have not wandered far without the security of a husband and the men have generally depended upon the local job market for employment.

APPENDIX

1971 QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

Residence (state & size)
Occupation
Spouse's Occupation
Date of Marriage
Number of Children

FEMALE GRADUATES

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. Virginia (+50,000)
Teacher
Federal Employee
June 1968
No children</p> | <p>8. Minnesota (-50,000)
Housewife
Farming
August 1969
No children</p> |
| <p>2. Minnesota (Hometown)
Housewife
Farming & School Bus Driver
April 1963
Four children</p> | <p>9. Minnesota (+50,000)
Nurse
Sales Representative
May 1965
Three children</p> |
| <p>3. Minnesota (Hometown)
Saleswoman
Trucker
June 1962
One child</p> | <p>10. Minnesota (+50,000)
Housewife
Electrician
February 1964
Three children</p> |
| <p>4. Minnesota (-50,000)
Housewife
Mechanic
April 1964
Three children</p> | <p>11. Minnesota (+50,000)
Housewife
Loan Officer
November 1963
Three children</p> |
| <p>5. Minnesota (-50,000)
Housewife
Farming
December 1961
Four children</p> | <p>12. Minnesota (Hometown)
Nurse
Banker
September 1965
Three children</p> |
| <p>6. Minnesota (+50,000)
School Aide
Postal Service
December 1961
Two children</p> | <p>13. Minnesota (+50,000)
Medical Technician
Single</p> |
| <p>7. Minnesota (+50,000)
Bookkeeper
Trucker
August 1966
One child</p> | <p>14. Minnesota (+50,000)
Secretary
Single</p> |

15. Minnesota (+50,000)
Undergraduate Student
Divorced
One child
16. Minnesota (Hometown)
Housewife
Kraft Foods Employee
Married
Four children
17. Minnesota (+50,000)
Social Worker
Single
18. California
No reply
19. Minnesota (Hometown)
Housewife
Fertilizer Business
November 1967
No children
20. Deceased
21. Illinois (+50,000)
Nurse
Student
August 1968
No children
22. Minnesota (Hometown)
Nurse
Pharmacist
August 1965
No children
23. Minnesota (+50,000)
Housewife
Electrical Engineer
August 1967
One child
24. Minnesota (Hometown)
Housewife
Farming
August 1965
Four children
25. Minnesota (+50,000)
Housewife
Welder
May 1963
One child
26. Minnesota (+50,000)
Housewife
Heavy Equipment Operator
June 1963
Four children
27. Minnesota (+50,000)
Teletype Setter
Computer Programmer
February 1963
Two children
28. Minnesota (+50,000)
Secretary
Single
29. Minnesota (+50,000)
Housewife
September 1961
Three children
30. Minnesota (Hometown)
Saleswoman
Farming
February 1963
Five children

31. Minnesota (-50,000)
Nurse
Shipper
October 1964
Two children
32. Minnesota (+50,000)
Housewife
Foreman-Industry
February 1962
Three children
33. Minnesota
No reply
34. Minnesota (+50,000)
Bookkeeper
Single
35. Minnesota (+50,000)
Housewife
Sheet Metal Worker
April 1964
Two children
36. Minnesota (+50,000)
Waitress
Construction
October 1961
Three children
37. Florida
No reply
38. Minnesota (+50,000)
Nurse
Machinist
September 1968
No children
39. Minnesota (-50,000)
Housewife
Farming
June 1963
Two children
40. Minnesota (-50,000)
Saleswoman
Social Work
August 1968
One child
41. Minnesota (-50,000)
Housewife
Plumber
February
Three children
42. Minnesota
No reply
43. Minnesota (HomeTown)
Nurse's Aide (Part-time)
Senior Clerk
October 1961
Four children
44. Minnesota (+50,000)
Housewife
Planning Engineer
October 1967
One child
45. Minnesota (+50,000)
Housewife
Roofer
November 1962
Four children
46. Wyoming (-50,000)
Housewife
Forester
December 1965
No children

47. Minnesota (-50,000)
Nurse
Machine Operator
February 1965
Two children
48. Minnesota (+50,000)
Housewife
Expediter
December 1967
Two children
49. Minnesota (+50,000)
Nurse
Oil Dealer
July 1966
One child
50. Minnesota
No reply
51. Minnesota (-50,000)
Housewife
Splicer
August 1965
Two children
52. Minnesota (+50,000)
Housewife
Central Receiving
December 1964
Two children
53. Minnesota (+50,000)
Bookkeeper
Single
54. Minnesota (+50,000)
Housewife
Production Manager
July 1963
Three children
55. Colorado (-50,000)
Housewife
Ranch Hand
May 1967
Two children
56. Minnesota (-50,000)
Housewife
Farmer
September 1967
Three children
57. Minnesota (+50,000)
Teacher
Single

MALE GRADUATES

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Minnesota (Hometown)
Farmer
Housewife
April 1969
One child | 8. Minnesota (+50,000)
Caseworker
Housewife
July 1966
One child |
| 2. Minnesota (+50,000)
Supervisor-Industry
Single | 9. North Dakota (-50,000)
Teacher
Teacher
August 1967
One child |
| 3. Minnesota (-50,000)
Mechanic
Single | 10. North Dakota
Claims Adjuster
Housewife
August 1966
One child |
| 4. Minnesota (Hometown)
Fertilizer Business
Housewife
November 1967
No children | 11. Wyoming (-50,000)
Forester
Housewife
December 1965
No children |
| 5. Minnesota (+50,000)
Graduate Student
Teacher
June 1967
No children | 12. Minnesota (+50,000)
Senate Secretary
Educational Research
September 1969
No children |
| 6. Deceased | 13. Alaska (-50,000)
Trucking
Single |
| 7. Minnesota (+50,000)
Police Sergeant
Teacher
August 1967
No children | 14. Minnesota (-50,000)
Farmer
Wife & three children deceased |

15. Minnesota (-50,000)
Orthodontist
Teacher
September 1964
One child
16. Minnesota (+50,000)
Janitor
Single
17. Minnesota (+50,000)
Historical Society
Teacher
November 1970
No children
18. Minnesota (-50,000)
Carpenter
Painter (Part-Time)
November 1961
Three children
19. Minnesota (Hometown)
Mechanic
Industrial Employee
May 1968
One child
20. Maryland (+50,000)
Customer Engineer
Housewife
February 1966
Two children
21. Minnesota (-50,000)
Foreman-Industry
Beautician
April 1963
Two children
22. Washington (-50,000)
Graduate Student
Single
23. Minnesota (-50,000)
Trucking
Single
24. Minnesota (+50,000)
Armature Winder
Hairdresser
September 1963
Three children
25. Illinois (+50,000)
Electrician
Housewife
July 1966
One child
26. Minnesota (-50,000)
Construction
Housewife
April 1965
No children
27. Minnesota (+50,000)
Ballistics Technician
Secretary
August 1969
No children
28. Minnesota (Hometown)
Carpenter
Secretary
October 1966
No children
29. Minnesota (+50,000)
Teacher
Student
March 1970
No children
30. Minnesota (Hometown)
Farming
Single

North Dakota
Athletic Business Manager
Teacher
July 1966
No children

Minnesota (-50,000)
Evaluation Engineer
Housewife
May 1967
One child

California (-50,000)
Salesman
September 1968
No children

Minnesota (Hometown)
Farming
Telephone Operator
May 1965
Two children

Minnesota (Hometown)
Pharmacist
Nurse
August 1965
No children

New York (-50,000)
Graduate Student
Single

Minnesota (-50,000)
Lumber
Housewife
August 1965
Two children

South Dakota
Salesman
Teacher
June 1971
No children

39. Taiwan
Engineer
Single

40. Illinois (-50,000)
Millwright
Housewife
March 1963
Two children

41. Minnesota (Hometown)
Construction
Single

42. Minnesota (Hometown)
Meat Business
Housewife
September 1964
Two children

43. Minnesota (-50,000)
Administrative Assistant
Housewife
August 1965
Two children

44. Minnesota (-50,000)
Foreman-Industry
Housewife
February 1962
Three children

45. Minnesota (-50,000)
Construction
Single

46. Minnesota (-50,000)
Market Manager
Housewife
October 1967
Two children

Minnesota (Hometown)
 Farming
 Housewife
 April 1965
 One child

Minnesota (Hometown)
 Carpenter
 Telephone Operator
 August 1965
 Three children

California (50,000)
 Engineer-Industry
 Plant Reports Clerk
 February 1969
 No children

New Jersey
 No reply

Minnesota (50,000)
 Group Leader-Industry
 Housewife
 June 1970
 No children

Washington (50,000)
 Carpenter
 Housewife
 November 1965
 Two children