

**REA**

Electronic Age

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Winter 1970/71

APR 23 1971

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**business  
and youth  
challenge of change  
college students  
the young workers  
working women  
consumer market  
young blacks today  
the high schools  
changing work ethic**

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Editor  
JULES KOSLOW

Managing Editor  
Kenneth B. Platnick

Associate Editor  
Mary Jeanne Carlson

Assistant Editor  
Ann Ovodow

Production Associate  
Britton G. Bailey

Design Consultant  
Sheldon Seidler

## Introduction

The estrangement between the business community and many young people has become increasingly apparent in recent years. This is a matter of deep concern to those who recognize that the survival of the free-enterprise system hinges on the ability of American business to attract gifted young people who represent the leadership of tomorrow.

In an effort to determine the nature of this estrangement and its sources, the editors of Electronic Age have devoted this entire issue of the magazine to a broad range of expression on the subject. Each writer speaks for himself, of course, and none necessarily reflects the viewpoint of either RCA or the magazine. But this spectrum of ideas does provide some indication of the thinking of young people today in relation to the business world.

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## Alienation of Campus Youth

by Robert S. Powell, Jr.  
Research Associate, Center  
for the Analysis of Public  
Issues, Princeton, N.J.

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Student discontent finds its sources in a sense of powerlessness and frustration. Its forms of expression seem to entail a constant search for issues to which these feelings can become attached. The author, a research associate at the Center for the Analysis of Public Issues in Princeton, N.J., and past president of the U.S. National Student Association, discusses the public responsibility of large corporations as just such an issue of concern to college youth.

Big business, he says, has contributed valuable economic and technological advancement to our society. But its subordination of individual values and principles to corporate necessity has also led to many forms of corporate violence—among them the continuance of racial discrimination, the pollution of the environment, and the marketing of goods intended not necessarily to meet the consumer's needs but to exploit his weaknesses.

## High-School Students: Somebody's Stealing Their Future

by Toby Moffett  
Former Director, HEW Office  
of Students and Youth

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Business is not looked upon as the "enemy," nor is capitalism the disease from which all our problems derive. In fact, says the author, business is viewed by students as somewhat irrelevant.

Mr. Moffett insists that businessmen must work with students, parents, educators, and other citizens if we are to avoid useless polarization and accomplish those educational reforms which will enable students of the 1970s to utilize their talents in the best interests of the community.

While working for a graduate degree in political science at Boston College, Mr. Moffett also served as adviser to U.S. Commissioner of Education James Allen on such matters as educational reform and community action. He helped organize the Office of Students and Youth under the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and was appointed its first director in September, 1969. He resigned last May in a policy dispute with the administration. His book, *The Participation Put-On*, is scheduled for publication by Delacorte Press in the spring.

## Our Nation's Colleges: Are They Relevant?

by John V. Elmendorf  
President, New College

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Dr. Elmendorf, president of New College in Sarasota, Fla., is a leading figure within the academic world in the move to establish experimental learning environments for college students. What, he asks, is needed that does not yet exist?

Our economic system has grown and thrived because entrepreneurs have asked and successfully answered similar questions as they pertained to products, processes, and services. But, as citizens concerned about education, they have too rarely asked and even more rarely attempted to answer that sort of question.

Business has not solved all its problems; but it has found highly imaginative, creative, and even revolutionary ways to cope with the pressures of a growing society. The fact that education must do likewise is axiomatic.

## High Schools: Decision-Making in a Democracy

by John P. DeCecco  
Professor of Education and  
Psychology, San Francisco  
State College

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Conflict becomes violence when complaining individuals must resort to extrasystem and antisystem activity in order to be heard and to seek change. In America's high schools, says the author, the major source of conflict involves the students' lack of choices in most aspects of their school experience and in the daily obstacles they meet in a full exercise of their rights as citizens. The effectiveness of our democratic process at this level must be learned through the very act of democratic participation.

Dr. DeCecco, professor of education and psychology at San Francisco State College, served as visiting professor of psychology at Teachers College, Columbia University, from 1968 to 1970. During that period, he directed research on a federally funded Civic Education Project, which provided much of the data for this article.

## The New Work Ethic

by Eli E. Cohen and  
Leonard Mayhew  
National Committee on  
Unemployment of Youth

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Attention to youth unrest has focused on its "colorful" aspects—communes, rock festivals, drugs. Largely ignored, however, are on-the-job activities of youthful employees. These people are affected and influenced by the same factors as campus youth. And they are reacting in like fashion.

This new situation in the work world manifests itself in three broad trends among young people. These involve withdrawal from work, changing job behavior, and shifting job interests.

Eli Cohen, executive secretary of the National Committee on Unemployment of Youth, has made an extensive study of these trends in recent years. Currently, he is also chairman of the Advisory Council for Occupational Education of the New York City Board of Education.

Coauthor Leonard Mayhew is the committee's director of public information and editor of the quarterly magazine, *New Generation*.

## Black Youth and Big Business

by James Brown, Jr.  
Youth Director, NAACP

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While today's youth as a whole cry out for an end to the inequities and hypocrisies of life in our American democracy, James Brown, Jr., argues that the young black has all the more reason to cry out. He is often overlooked by corporate recruiters who do not consider graduates of black educational institutions qualified for management positions. And the black with work skills, however highly developed, finds it almost impossible to break through the segregation barriers imposed by many craft unions.

Mr. Brown, youth director for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, examines the issue of discrimination in the business world. He concludes that corporations must begin now to implement basic policy decisions that would motivate young blacks to choose suitable business careers and, at the same time, provide the business community itself with an increased source of talent for skilled-labor and management positions.

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## Emancipation Proclamation: Freeing the Young Working Woman

by Lindsay Van Gelder  
Reporter, *New York Post*

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## Voice of the Young Worker: "Change or Be Changed!"

by Paul Massaron  
International Representative,  
UAW Region 1B

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## Student Radical Movement in the Seventies

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League for Industrial  
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## The Challenge of Change

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President, U.S. Jaycees

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## The Alliance of Business and Youth

by A. Wright Elliott  
Senior Vice President,  
National Association of  
Manufacturers

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## Our Changing Consumer Market

by E. B. Weiss  
Vice President of Creative  
Marketing, Doyle Dane  
Bernbach, Inc.

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The typical woman worker of today is 41 years old, married, with grown children. She may have worked for a few years before she was married, but her real working life began at middle age. This means that a woman arrives on the job market two decades behind her male colleague. The men have the seniority, the experience, the top posts.

One solution, says the author, would be day-care centers funded by government and business. These centers would give women an option they do not now have. Equal employment opportunities and equal pay would follow in due course.

Mrs. Van Gelder, a 26-year-old reporter for the *New York Post*, won the 1970 Newspaper Guild of New York's Page 1 award for local reporting. Her articles have also appeared in such magazines as *Esquire* and *New York*.



The young workers of today have a better education than their fathers had. And they will accept nothing but the same rights on the job as they have on the street. Their desire for individuality is in every way equal to that of students on campuses across the country.

Yet, says Mr. Massaron, who is international representative of UAW Region 1B and was an assembly-line employee at a Ford Motor plant prior to his graduation from the University of Detroit, the young worker is conscious of the fact that in America he is not equal. He is not mobile except insofar as he can go somewhere else and do something very similar to what he is doing now. He is, in fact, not free.

The life condition and experiences of the young worker are clearly making evident the fundamental indignities, the injustices, and inequities of his life. As one young worker recently told the author, "Look, things will either change or be changed."



The greatest failing of the student movement of the 1960s was its aloofness from the spirit of democracy. Now the movement, says Mr. Kemble, director of the Youth Project on Democratic Change of the League for Industrial Democracy, must not only turn away from the extremist tactics of the New Left. It must also reject the essentially elitist and conservative view of American society that gave rise to the disruption and violence of the last decade.

No doubt many businessmen wish that the cultural values of the pre-affluent society could be reestablished among the young, says the author. However, these values—including self-discipline, responsibility, creativity, and productivity—can be revived only in a more relevant form through corporate acceptance of the participation of young people in democratic life.



It is peculiarly tragic, says Mr. Thomas, president of the U.S. Jaycees, that the American people have historically remained complacent until a national tragedy occurs. Only then are they spurred to action. Young people today, so outspoken against our system, are in a wonderful position to take over that system. Americans can work together to stamp out poverty, eliminate the blight of our cities, and deal effectively with other miseries of contemporary human life.

Because of the sacred and inalienable rights proclaimed by the collective of individual citizens, this nation will change. It will change for the better through the constructive dedication of humanity combined with the positive energy of America's youth.



Business is not capable of solving all social problems. But it must become involved. Increased communication with youth is the prerequisite if business is to be able to respond to their ambitions and fears. The businessman should not delude himself into believing that mere discussion will solve problems or talk them out of existence. The best we can hope for is a greater degree of understanding and a perspective that will enable profit-seeking firms to join forces with youth in the development of workable approaches for the improvement of society.

Mr. Elliott, senior vice president of the National Association of Manufacturers and a member of President Nixon's 1969 National Task Force on Private Sector Action, supervises NAM operations in such areas as consumer and urban affairs, environmental quality, and education.



The next revolution is now in progress. It is being shaped by the current thinking of young people in the 16-18 age bracket, which challenges the American work ethic—technological mastery, material advancement, conspicuous consumption. One of the consequences of this new industrial revolution, says E. B. Weiss, vice president of creative marketing for Doyle Dane Bernbach, Inc., will be the waning of the traditional concept of ownership. There will be an enhanced concept of people as "users" rather than "consumers," with an increasingly larger slice of the dollar going for services, not products.

Mr. Weiss has been a regular columnist in *Advertising Age* for 15 years and is the author of several books on marketing and marketing trends.

# campus youth ca

## Alienation of Campus Youth

**Campus discontent arises from a sense of powerlessness and frustration and a feeling that society—and especially big business—have neglected individual values.**

by Robert S. Powell, Jr.

The issue of students and business is surrounded by considerable confusion — aided, no doubt, by the variety of conflicting perceptions offered by students themselves. While one may have little doubt that most college students oppose our continued participation in Vietnam, or the segregation of our schools and cities, or university censorship of student publications, one might hesitate to predict how they feel about our economic system.

Are students antibusiness? Or is that view held only by a small, insignificant segment of the student community? On the one hand, some New Left groups strike a dramatic anticapitalist pose. Jerry Rubin burns dollar bills, Abbie Hoffman denounces work, and the editors of *Ramparts* rejoice at the arson that recently destroyed a bank in California. Yet, both the Wharton and Harvard business schools report large increases in applications; unprecedented numbers of young people are moving to positions of corporate responsibility; business recruiters report college graduates are demanding higher positions and larger salaries, and neither demand sounds convincingly anticapitalist.

Since confusion has resulted from these conflicting realities, it would pay to review some important figures. There are now just over 23 million Americans in the 18-24 age bracket, 8 million of whom are either college graduates or college students. According to an extensive survey done by Daniel Yankelovich, Inc., some 60 per cent of those attending college are pursuing rather conventional career

objectives and are interested in college primarily because of the boost it will give their earning capacity and social status. The other 40 per cent, some 3 million students, appear to take earnings and status for granted.

Moreover, this latter group, termed "forerunners" by Yankelovich, holds attitudes about national performance and purpose, business, and personal career objectives that are quite divergent from the view of the college majority and their parents. For example, only 21 per cent of them said that salary "would have a very great influence on [their] choice of career," while among the more practical majority, the figure was 58 per cent. Among the forerunners, only 7 per cent believed that business could be characterized by the phrase "high ethics," in contrast to 18 per cent of the more practical group. And on the issue of a business career, only 15 per cent of the forerunners said it was "very true" that they would enjoy being involved with business. A substantial 46 per cent of the forerunners stated flatly that such a possibility was "not true."

Why this sharp disaffection with business? The cause, I believe, is fundamental. If today's campus discontent finds its source in the understandable frustrations, anxieties, and feelings of powerlessness, its forms of expression seem to entail a constant search for issues to which these affects can become attached. The public responsibility of business is just such an issue.

We have moved beyond the stage in our society, as J. Kenneth Galbraith has pointed out, when man in his economic activities is subject to the authority of the market. The initiative has passed from individuals, to great corporate structures, which, with their vast financial resources and technical abilities, are capable of reaching forward to shape and bend to their wills the economic behavior of individual consumers. In part, America could not have accumulated and distributed so widely her great wealth without the growth of large-scale corporations. Yet, along the way, the transference of power from the market to these corporate structures has carried with it a subordination of values and principles to corporate necessity.

### Corporate Crimes Against the Consumer

The Food and Drug Administration indicates that about \$1 billion a year, as a conservative estimate, is spent on worthless or extravagantly misrepresented

drugs, food, and cosmetics. The FDA recently published a list of hundreds of widely known drug products found to be either worthless or harmful.

The manufacturers of these products were not fly-by-night operators. Indeed, the list included many of the nation's biggest drug companies.

Mrs. Virginia Knauer, the President's Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs, estimates that annual consumer losses related to home-repair rackets may actually amount to billions of dollars. The National Commission on Product Safety recently disclosed that a number of the nation's largest toy makers were flooding the market with items capable of poisoning, electrocuting, or maiming children. The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders found that one of the 12 most deeply felt grievances of the inner-city poor concerned the sales and credit practices encountered in their communities.

Deception, whether subtle or overt, has become a dominant motif of corporate advertising strategy. It is found in the image of the TV commercials, which use phallic and vaginal symbols to sell products unrelated to sexual needs and which offer mouthwash to save marriages and little blue pills to give you the relaxation and peace of mind that go with the "good life." Our emotions are turned like television dials by men involved in the science of motivational research. Goods are not advertised to speak to our needs but to exploit our weaknesses, to hold out a deceptive promise, to deaden rationality.

Thus do corporate managers manipulate the demand for the products they choose to produce. One is forced to admit that the success of this effort to shape private values has been extraordinary. Planned obsolescence is not only built into the mechanical actions of our automobiles and electric toothbrushes; it has become part of our collective expectations — and, indeed, our hopes — for we have been led to believe that there is nothing more satisfying than a new purchase. The prospects for a fair and honest interface in the marketplace between the individual consumer and corporate institutions seem more remote than ever.

### Industrial Violence Against Persons and Property

Environmental contamination (gases, chemicals, and particulate matter that lead to emphysema, lung disorders, cancers, heart disease, and other illnesses) represents one of the most serious forms of domestic violence ever unleashed in America. All the riots in our cities in the last five years totaled about \$750 million worth of damage. That's less than one month's toll in industrial air pollution alone, not to mention contamination of the land, fouling of our waterways, and the destruction of lives associated with industry's irresponsible disregard for our environment.

Every time we get into an automobile, we help pollute the air. In many of our major cities, auto exhaust contributes up to half of all noxious pollutants in the air. Billions of dollars have been spent by auto makers on the sound of door slams. Bumpers that afford little protection to the car and its passengers have been painstakingly developed. (At five miles per hour, for example, General Motors' brilliantly designed bumpers generate an average of \$215 damage per car.) Yet, in the last 50 years, the industry has chosen not to invest significant sums on research to build cleaner engines.

Corporate violence does not end with environmental destruction. On-the-job deaths and injuries account for far more suffering than all street crimes combined. Each year, 2.5 million workers are disabled on the job, 8 million more suffer lesser injuries, and hundreds of thousands are afflicted with industry-related diseases — such as black lung disease among coal miners; byssinosis, a lung disease affecting textile workers; and the asbestos poisoning of construction workers.

One is reminded of Ralph Nader's question, "Why is it so difficult to toilet train our corporate institutions?"

We have the technologies and the resources to prevent pollution and to dramatically reduce industry-related diseases and injuries. But neither the technologies nor the resources are being applied with any sense of urgency. Only one foreign government (the Soviet Union) has a budget surpassing that of General Motors, yet "The Mark of Excellence" company continues to adhere to the 19th-century internal combustion engine and to spend more research money on fenders and chrome than on clean air.

We have laws against such corporate violence, but their enforcement appears episodic and incidental. In general, our government heeds the warning of Fred L.

Mr. Powell is a research associate at the Center for the Analysis of Public Issues, Princeton, N.J.

# mpus youth camp



Student strikers occupy administration building at Rutgers University.

Hartly, president of the Union Oil Company, "We should not fall prey to the beautification extremists who have no sense of economic reality."

## Racial Discrimination

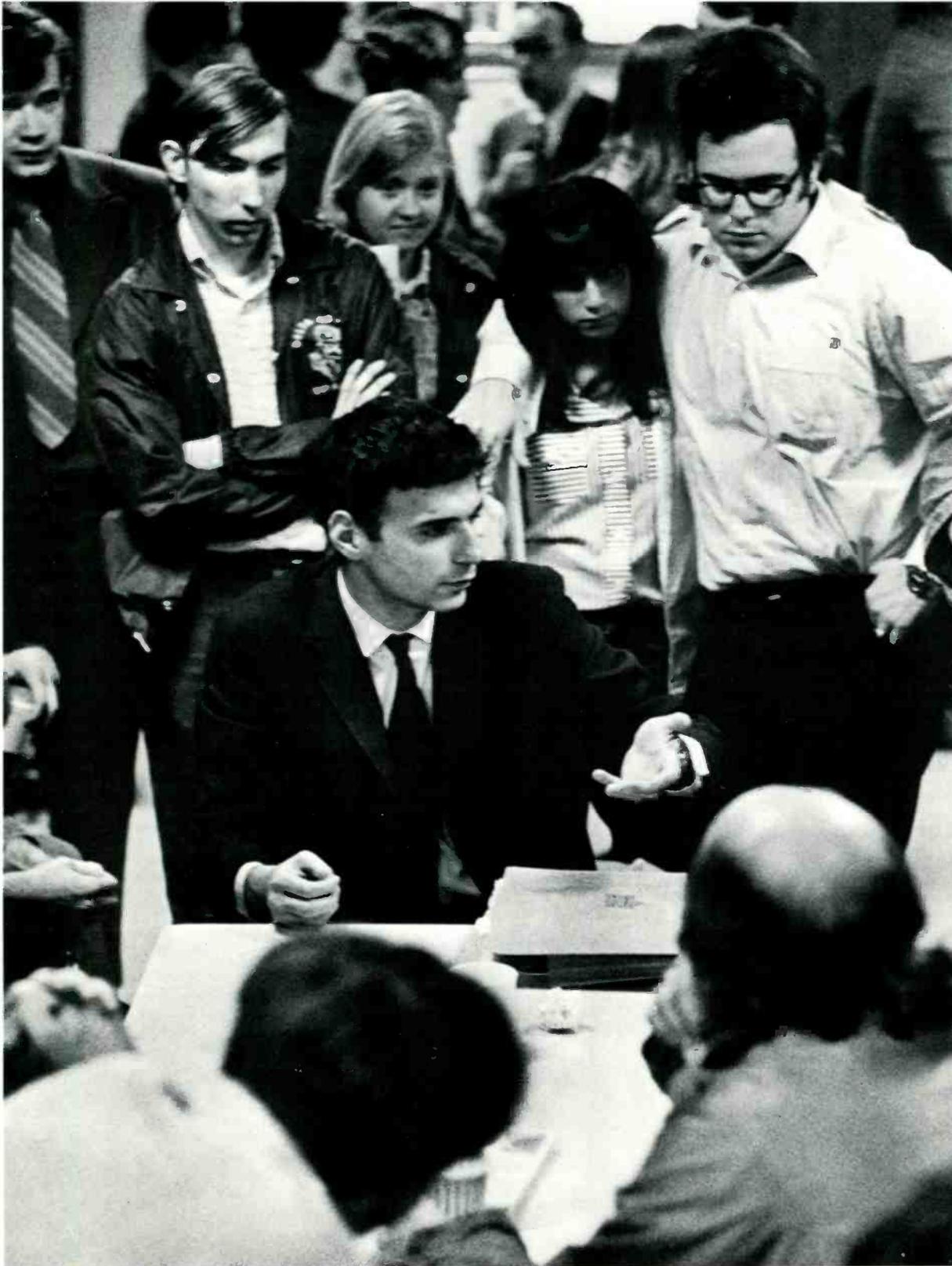
A high degree of residential segregation based upon race is a universal characteristic of American cities. This segregation has deplorable consequences for the living conditions of nonwhite families. According to recent census estimates, one-third of all nonwhite families live in housing that is either substandard or dilapidated, a rate quadruple that of whites. Moreover, such segregation is generally recognized as the fountainhead of racial tensions surrounding schools, urban decay, welfare, and a host of other social problems.

A primary cause of this segregation is racial discrimination on the part of corporate financial institutions. Banks largely determine where Negroes live, since private credit is the lifeblood of the homebuilding and real-estate industries. When banks and savings and loan associations practice racial discrimination in placing mortgages, firm patterns of residential segregation grow and persist.

In testimony recently given before the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, the local president of the Mortgage Bankers Association bluntly stated that "applications from minority groups are not generally considered in areas that are not recognized as being racially mixed." A study by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations found that such a policy is pursued by almost all lending sources in that city. In Detroit, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission was told recently of the "common policy of refusing to lend to Negroes who are the first purchasers in a white neighborhood." In Dayton, Ohio, the same Commission found that the great majority of lending institutions want 30-40 per cent Negro occupancy in a neighborhood before they will finance the purchase of a home for a Negro.

The bankers have a powerful corporate ally in the fight to keep our neighborhoods segregated. These, of course, are the real estate brokers. The brokers operate as a cartel, deciding who shall see a large majority of the homes available in a community. If brokers oppose equal opportunity in housing, they simply do not show Negro families those homes for sale in all-white neighborhoods. A 1967 survey of 13 major cities by the American Friends Service Committee found wide-

# campus youth ca



Syracuse University students discuss issues of corporate responsibility with Ralph Nader.

spread evidence of just this sort of broker discrimination.

The corporate record on discrimination in employment is almost as scandalous. The National Commission on Civil Disorders, in 1968, found few companies that had made any significant long-term commitment of resources to hire and train the nonwhite unemployed. And it found even fewer companies with a record of promoting minority employees to high-level positions. In its October, 1970, report, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission disclosed that federal enforcement of equal employment laws has failed to end job discrimination by American corporations. Meanwhile, the unemployment rate among black males continues at Depression levels.

#### **Social Values and Corporate Responsibility**

Our modern corporate institutions have contributed much of value to our society primarily in areas of economic and technological advancement. Yet, business has lost its vital connection with those values which are supposed to govern the private lives of our citizens.

The corporate system of values does not hold it treasonous to deny black Americans equal opportunities in housing; to lie to the American people every night on television about such things as headache remedies; to defraud elderly couples of their savings with quack medical cures or shoddy, overpriced retirement homes; or to poison the air of entire communities with the untreated wastes of industrial production. It is still not considered unpatriotic for companies to destroy Lake Erie or to dump tons of sulfuric acid into the Savannah River each day.

Students still await a law-and-order campaign against this corporate violence. But students are learning that our political leadership, for the most part, finds it easier to focus on long hair, verbal obscenities, and campus demonstrations than to turn the wrath of government on industrial managers who supply campaign funds and lobbyists in massive doses. For that growing group of students, the "forerunners," the battles that must be fought no longer involve salaries and profits. The battles involve domestic peace, racial justice, environmental survival—those values, in short, to which we must return as a people if we are to prevail. ■

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## High-School Students: Somebody's Stealing Their Future

Today's high-school students do not look upon business as the "enemy." Instead, they view business as somewhat irrelevant.

by Toby Moffett

Not long ago, in a conversation with a friend, I made the point that a growing number of young people are turned off by the business world. "Yes, that may be true," replied this owner of a small business in Washington, D.C., and a firm believer in the thesis that the business of America is business. "But there are still plenty of go-getters among the youth of this country."

Go-getters, to be sure. But future blood for corporations, maybe not. We should have a look at what young people are "going to get" — what they are after.

Few people now deny that the youth who have been raising serious questions about our society and in some cases even actively protesting against certain policies are among the brightest, most sensitive young people the country has to offer. Much as some of our misguided leaders would like us to believe otherwise, the student movement in America is not a "lunatic fringe" or the "shaggy-haired result of permissiveness."

How many high-school and college honor students have become adherents, often leaders, of what Herbert Marcuse has called the "Great Refusal"? Simply put, the Great Refusal embodies both active and passive resistance to technocracy. It rejects the notion that human experience must be subordinated to the economic processes of our consumer society and the needs of our military-industrial complex.

If our colleges are overcrowded, they are at least swarming with students who are no longer interested in following the well-traveled path to fortune and fame. Stand at the gate of almost any campus in America on commencement day and

talk to the graduates as they file out. Sure, there are still those who are "go-getters," as my friend called them, the people who have chosen an "Establishment" job in business or government. But even among those graduates one finds a profound change in attitude from just four or five years ago. Many are taking those jobs so they can act as agitators within the system — as "radical professionals" who will seek to criticize, question, resist, and transform those institutions from an internal position. Others are joining those institutions "to rip off a little money while I figure out what I want to do with my life." Hardly the ambitious spirit on which great corporations become greater.

The most rapidly growing group among college graduates, however, includes those who believe that radical changes must take place in the very fabric of our society if we are to survive. They are experimenting with alternative life-styles and approaches to social service.

### The "Great Refusal"

*If you are looking for a job, there are many ways that this newsletter can help you. . . . If you are looking for a particular kind of work or in a specific geographical area, the indexes in the back may be helpful.*

Such words might be included in any traditional job catalogue. But, in this case, the newsletter is called *Vocations for Social Change*, "a clearinghouse for information and ideas pertaining to institutional change in the United States. As a group of committed people we collect and disseminate information on how basic institutional change can and has come about and how people have created alternatives to dehumanized life-styles."

Listed in the bimonthly publication are job opportunities in such areas as ecology, education, health, poverty, media, high school-based action, university-based action, law, peace, and women's liberation. There are even jobs under the classification of "radicals in the (ugh!) system."

A couple of examples from the March-April, 1970, issue might be instructive: *Michigan Migrant Ministry: Be a catalyst in the formation of pressure groups to effect change in Michigan fields. Housing is provided; \$\$ depends on weather, crop, etc., . . . but you can make enough to live off. Contact MMM, Box 206, Lansing, Mich.*

*School of Living: We need someone to research local ecological questions, especially the Chesapeake Bay. After a period of research, we hope to develop*



*an action project designed to stop pollution of the Bay, which is rapidly dying, so an activist/organizer type person would be preferred, one who is both qualified to conduct the nec. research and willing to head up the organization of the project. Basically we need someone with training (college- or self-educated) who knows the terminology of pollution and pollution control, something of the federal and state approaches to "regulation" and "environmental protection," something also of industrial practices, and hopefully also something of the Bay itself. . . . The person would likely live as all members of the Center do, that is, paying \$1.25 per day for food, etc., (no rent), and perhaps we can pay some part of that. There would be no salary, but materials, publicizing requisites, etc., are available.*

Another newsletter with an increasingly far-reaching distribution and swelling circulation is called the *New Schools Exchange*. Published in Santa Barbara, Calif., it serves as a clearinghouse for alternatives in education. Here are a few excerpts (last names and addresses excluded) from its "People Seeking Places" section: *George, Temple University, Peace Corps, Speak Spanish. I am looking for a teaching situation where I can be honest with myself and those I work and teach with. David, Want a liberative school in New England or New York State away from a major city. Not very concerned about salary, but have no money and must make*

*my living by my profession. B.S. Secondary Ed., Oklahoma, teaching certificate. Jean, B.A. Psych and Philosophy, M.S. Elem. Ed., 2 years teaching in Follow-Through program, kindergarten level. Salary needs: enough to support myself and car. Where I'd like to be is at a school with teachers and kids who are also sick of the limitations and pollutions of the big city.*

These proponents of the Great Refusal are, like most Americans, products of this country's educational system. It is a system that has been more concerned with socializing young people — passing on the values of one culture from generation to generation — than with humanizing them. It is more preoccupied with preparing people for jobs — and not even doing that well — than with preparing them for life.

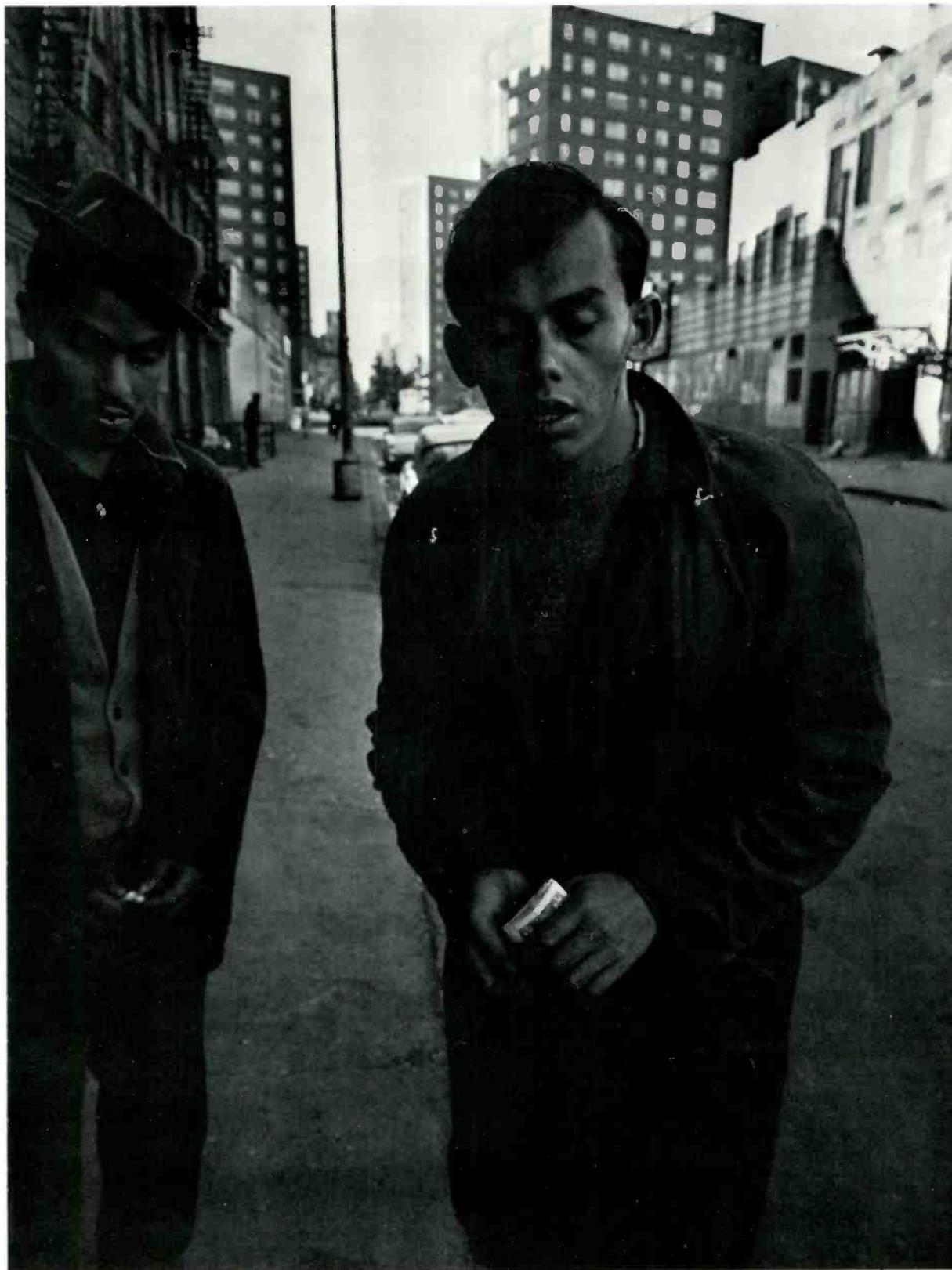
Our schools have served as a channeling device for fitting people into slots in society. A premium has been placed on college and its role in developing obedient white-collar automatons that know how to take orders. After the first 12 years, a division is made between college students and college-age people not in school. The former are supposed to become the managerial elite of society, while the latter are to be drafted. (In a now-famous memorandum of a few years ago, General Lewis B. Hershey, Selective Service director, admitted that the education system and the draft were designed to have just that effect.)

Perhaps more than any other factors, the Vietnam war and the draft have awakened those in the most repressive part of the education system to many of the injustices and inequities of our society. High-school students are no longer isolated from the rest of the world. They have been educating themselves despite the schools.

During the past year, I have had the opportunity to speak with thousands of high-school students across the country. While their political sophistication was not as great as that of most college students I met, these people were beginning to question the validity of many of the things our society holds dear: the schools and their desire to preserve order even at the expense of good education; the war; the draft; pollution of the air, earth, and water.

Again, this is not the sentiment of a "small minority" that will somehow disappear in the future. For several years now, high-school honor students have

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gone on to become campus activists. But what is new to the high-school scene is the transformation in attitudes of such students while they are still in high school — not two or three years later.

High-school student government associations are beginning to resist control, even manipulation, by adult advisers. They are increasingly taking the offensive to call attention to scholastic ills. Not long ago, a select group of high-school scholars from across the country traveled to Washington, D.C., to take part in the Presidential Scholars awards ceremony sponsored by the White House. Several of those thus honored took the occasion to present President Nixon with a statement of opposition to his Vietnam war policies.

#### Is Business Relevant?

It is at this point that we must make a distinction. When people ask "What do students think of business?" or "What has happened to the student idealism of the sixties?" it is likely that both the questioners and the people they are asking about are white and middle- or upper-class. There is nothing so unusual or shameful about that. We tend to care most about our own. The federal government, which is run by white people, reacted much more frantically to student unrest on predominantly white campuses than it did to urban riots involving a crisis for poor black youth.

Businessmen do the same kind of thing when they exude concern for the attitudes of youth. They're usually upset and uncertain about their own kids, young people who are at once the product of a business-oriented society and the ones most likely to have the greatest long-term effect on that society.

How do high-school students regard business and the business community? They don't.

Business is not regarded as the "enemy." Nor is capitalism the disease from which all our problems derive. In fact, one might say that business is viewed as somewhat irrelevant.

My impression of the attitudes of white middle-class and upper-class high-school students is that they are more antiorganization than antibusiness. Perhaps because of bad experiences with the public schools, or the frightening breadth and depth of the war machine, or just the bigness of virtually everything around them, many high-school students are approaching what can be described only as a passively anarchistic attitude. ("I rule no man, no man rules me" might

High-school dropouts idly roam city streets.

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well be their motto.) The results of such an attitude range from a complete lack of social interest to varying degrees of opposition to organizations and institutions of all kinds.

Many high-school students — present or potential members of the Great Refusal — are as unlikely to want to work for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as for General Motors. They are as opposed to joining VISTA as they are to IBM. They are as turned off by participation in large student organizations as they are by the prospect of working for RCA.

There are few instances when high-school students voice opposition to specific institutions, including business. Instead, they read such books as Theodore Roszak's *The Making of a Counter Culture* and agree that "the paramount struggle of our day is against a far more formidable, but far less obvious opponent" — the war in Vietnam, racial injustice, and hard-core poverty. The "enemy" in their minds is technocracy — what Roszak calls "the social form in which an industrial society reaches the peak of its organizational integration."

In a technocracy, says Roszak, "everything aspires to become purely technical, the subject of professional attention." As a result, the citizen, "confronted by bewildering bigness and complexity, finds it necessary to defer on all matters to those who know better." Experts are relied upon for everything from fixing a broken toilet to getting people elected to public office. It gives young people the impression that they cannot ever be or do anything worthwhile unless they become experts.

High-school students are not against technology. Rather, they are against what they believe free enterprise has become in this country; they oppose what Roszak describes as a "vastly restrictive system of oligopolistic market manipulation, tied by institutionalized corruption to the greatest munitions boondoggle in history and dedicated to infantilizing the public by turning it into a herd of compulsive consumers."

To poorer white youth, to the children of blue-collar workers, such attitudes are meaningless. To them technocracy — and, more specifically, the corporation — is something under which they can expect to labor for a lifetime. Rarely do they question their relationship to it. Like young blacks, however — and unlike affluent youth — they feel they have little to lose and could easily resort to violent opposition to those institutions they distrust.

Their differences with nonwhite poor youth are much less important, in my mind, than potential alliance of the two on such issues as inadequate education and unemployment.

What of the young blacks? During the past two years, I have spoken individually and in groups with black high-school students in many major cities. I have also had the opportunity to work with black street groups such as the Conservative Vice-Lords in Chicago and Thugs United in New Orleans. Both are organizations striving to improve life for people, especially young people, in their communities. The groups are run by young people; most of the members are of high-school age, though many have dropped out of school.

For these young people, there was never an "American dream," never any idealism about "getting ahead." Their legacy has been subservience — and usually failure. And most black high-school students with whom I have spoken do not believe that things have changed considerably.

When several predominantly black Chicago high schools erupted in violence and vandalism in December, 1969, I tried to explain to a doubting government official the connection between the disruptions and the murder of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton two days before by Chicago police.

"You don't understand," I said. "These kids think that the power structure in this country is out to get them, to annihilate them."

Despite that kind of belief on the part of many black high-school students, their

protest is directed more against the racism of the white people operating the system in this country than against the inadequacies of the system itself. We have come to a curious position in this land within the past few years. Young white people — who, as products of the system, might be expected to defend it — are much more opposed to it than are the young blacks who have been shut out of it for so many years.

Even the "revolutionaries," whom young blacks seem to adore most — the Bobby Seales and the Huey Newtons — while blasting away at the capitalist system as the root of all evil, say nonetheless that what they want for their people and themselves is, to quote Seale in a recent television interview, "a good job, a nice house, a new car, and some good food." Eldridge Cleaver himself writes in *Soul on Ice* that what black people want "is to figure out a way to get some of that property for themselves."

About a year ago, I attended a meeting called to discuss the creation of a "leadership training program" for the leaders of such inner-city youth groups as the ones mentioned above. In attendance were industry and foundation representatives as well as a number of young black people. At one point in the discussion, when the group was focusing on the training needs of the street youth, a man from a large corporation suggested that youth groups might learn how to operate candy stores in their neighborhoods. With that, one of the group members from Chicago leaped to his feet.

"You cats just don't understand," he yelled. "I don't want to know how to run

no candy store, man. I want you to teach me how to run the Chase Manhattan Bank!"

A few weeks later, I noticed, he was reading *The Wall Street Journal*.

## A Sense of the Future

There are differences, then, in how high-school students from different socioeconomic and racial backgrounds view the business world. But perhaps the most important point to remember is what Professor George Wald of Harvard described in a speech two years ago as American youth "in search of a future." Less than a year ago, Peter Schrag, writing in the *Saturday Review*, observed that what ties all young people together — rich, poor, black, brown, red, yellow, white — is their lack of a sense of the future. Maybe that helps to explain why the old radio commercial used by job recruiters — "Where do YOU want to be 10 years from NOW?" — is meaningless to most kids today.

In spite of the hope that stems from what young people in this country have done, in terms of changing attitudes on the Vietnam war or alerting the public to the ecological crisis, or simply in terms of raising pertinent and timely questions about our system, I have great fears about what may follow.

If young people, such as those in high schools, were shunning business and other sacred American institutions in favor of helping to feed hungry children, or investigating corporate actions regarding pollution, or exposing through effective use of research and media the irresponsibility of government in certain areas, it would be a healthy sign. But I do not see that happening. Nor do I see high-school students showing any kind of sustained interest in alternatives like *Vocations for Social Change*.

Almost by definition, the antiorganizational feeling among a growing number of youth precludes concerted action to build alternatives. What we have instead is the nearly sudden emergence of a "new apathy."

In the early 1960s, amid an apparent wave of student activism embodied in such programs as the Peace Corps and actions such as the "Mississippi Summer" of civil rights work by college students, many recalled with derision the indifference of students in the 1950s toward helping to solve social problems. Even the Establishment press bemoaned that student lethargy.

Although, in many instances, the "new apathy" stems from a different source than that of the 1950s — from frustrated



"Happiness Is Your 1969 Yearbook," says sign along high-school corridor.

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Rural students participate in classroom songfest in Rockingham, N.C.



activism or a perception that nothing works — it is more critical for the nation.

Certainly, people have the right to be inactive. But the student movement should have learned by now that to be inactive rather than to help solve the problems confronting us is to push us closer to the self-destruction that many people fear. If you don't fight against housing discrimination, you are as guilty in a sense as the racist homeowner who practices discrimination. If you don't fight air pollution, you are as much to blame as the irresponsible manufacturers who contribute to it. If you don't resist the war machine, you are not much different from congressmen who promote it.

#### **Business and the "New Apathy"**

People in our cherished institutions should not waste time trying to polish their image so as to become more attractive to young people. As a nation, we have a horrible record in providing opportunities for the constructive utilization of youth energy. National service programs — the Peace Corps, VISTA, the Teacher Corps — give less than 25,000 young people a chance to serve while well over 1.5 million wish to do so now, not later.

Businessmen should work with students, parents, educators, and other citizens to see that the walls of our schools are broken down — figuratively speaking, of course. From elementary school on up, we must break away from the notion that learning takes place only within a four-walled structure. Students should be given credit for community service.

Businessmen should also press for an alternative national service plan, even though it may mean that colleges would no longer be "funnels" through which students are supposed to pass before entering a corporation. If, at the completion of high school, a student thinks he would like to be a teacher, let us allow him to spend a year as a teacher's aide. Those interested in medicine, engineering, law, or even sales should be encouraged to do likewise.

Finally, businessmen should stop lending support to the anti-intellectual, shallow, and often vicious assault on young people and the few things they have left in which to believe. Nobody stands to gain from further polarization of the country — nobody, that is, except those who see violent revolution as the path to a new society and those who see a divided people as the lever for short-term political gain. ■

# our nation's colleges

## Our Nation's Colleges: Are They Relevant?

Business has found highly imaginative, creative ways to cope with the pressures of a growing society. The fact that education must do likewise is axiomatic.

by John V. Elmendorf

No American institution, it has been said, is as resistant to change as is its educational system. And few facets of American life have raised more questions recently than has our system of higher education. Increasingly, the products of that system — the young men and women on whom American business relies to fill management positions — are ill-prepared for the real world in which they must function. They have been trained according to the needs and the beliefs of a bygone era.

The basic question seems to be, What's wrong with our colleges and universities? Versions of this question come in all sizes and shapes. Some are focused on special concerns such as violence, disruption, and interference with the "normal" processes of education. Some are aimed at students, some at faculty, some at administrators. Some originate within the academic community and have for their target either government "conservatives," or some other element in the education system. Some involve the very nature of American capitalism and the business community. But the basic question remains much the same.

The multiplicity of forms this question takes may be itself to blame for the scarcity of useful answers. Perhaps the operative question should be, instead: What kind of education is needed that does not yet exist?

This is the kind of question that must seem wholly logical to a businessman. Our economic system has grown and thrived because entrepreneurs have asked similar questions — and successfully answered them — as they pertained to products, processes, and services. But, as citizens concerned about educa-

Dr. Elmendorf is president of New College in Sarasota, Fla.

Seminar is conducted outdoors at Hofstra University on Long Island.



tion, they have too rarely asked and even more rarely attempted to answer that sort of question.

### New Concepts in Higher Education

What kind of education is needed that does not yet exist?

This is a breakthrough question. The history of American education is replete with examples of structural changes. Certainly the creation of the Land Grant colleges, by passage of the Morrill Act over 100 years ago, is evidence of a response to this question. The very existence of modern graduate and professional schools can be traced to equally specific moments in our educational history, with the establishment of Johns Hopkins University as a critical point. Again, one must recall the vision of men such as Alexander Meiklejohn, whose experiments at Amherst and Wisconsin led to renewed vigor in undergraduate education and inspired still more radical experimentation elsewhere. The pervasive philosophy of John Dewey, whose view of learning approached the revolutionary, made possible new answers to our question at every level of education. More recently, Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, in their monumental work *The Academic Revolution*, have analyzed some of our ailments and suggested prescriptions for major change.

We should, then, look at the question in the context of today. Broadly speaking, answers describing the kinds of educational systems needed appear to fall into three categories: (1) Small "laboratory

colleges," preferably linked by some kind of loose federation for maximum effectiveness; (2) Subsets of the multiversity, "colleges within the college," including the development of the "cluster college" concept within the framework of mass education; (3) A total revision of existing forms of higher education and the creation of new instruments for learning.

New College in Sarasota is a response of the first type. With a student body of just over 500, an exceptional faculty of about 50, and a philosophy of innovation, New College is designed to test the limits of a student's learning potential in a context of social and educational freedom. The college, which was accredited in 1968, has no grading system. There are no required courses, required attendance, credit hours, departments, or fixed curriculum and degree requirements. On the other hand, the school does maintain deep commitments to the rigors of the search for truth, to the thesis that learning — not teaching — is the sine qua non of education, that the responsibility for learning is and must be in the hands of the student, and that the formation of workable value systems is an important ingredient in undergraduate education. Much learning is accomplished through "contracts"— formal, mutual agreements between student and teacher on a piece of work to be done, often independently and often not even on campus.

It must be remembered that the New College response is only one of a number

of recently founded "experimental" learning environments. It is an attempt to provide educational answers that also speak to the social and psychological needs of young people. Erik Erikson, Kenneth Keniston, and a host of others have long been interpreting some of these needs. But institutional responses to these needs have been few. The view of those who began New College, and of those who continue to see its program evolve, is that the late adolescent can indeed "find himself," establish his identity, and begin to develop useful value systems if he has some palpable control over the nature, rate, and direction of his own learning processes.

The young person who perceives himself, and feels that he is perceived by society, as a "thing" will have extreme difficulty in reacting to society as a discrete individual. His institutional behavior will, therefore, be antisocial at best and psychopathological at worst. In a laboratory situation, such as New College, this type of person may discover that he is responsible to a large degree for his own acts and non-acts. He finds that there are areas of learning that excite him, and the chances are greatly enhanced that he will find a constructive mode of reacting to the business world that awaits him.

There evolves a level of individualism and personal enterprise far higher than that resulting from traditional methods. And, there is a sense of joy in learning, enriched by the student's awareness that it is he who decided to tackle a given problem. Through his own efforts — with

# Our nation's college

University of California student ponders assignment in library of the school's Santa Cruz campus.



some welcome help from teachers and peers — he has managed to learn how to identify a problem, find resources for solving it, prepare his answers, and then defend his position. In a very real sense, this is what he will be doing for the rest of his life, whether he is a lawyer preparing a brief, a businessman evaluating a market or a portfolio, or a creative artist engaged in producing a film, novel, symphony, or advertising campaign.

What is the payoff of this kind of education for society as a whole and for the American business community in particular? There are probably two major ones. First, there is the preparation of aiding the growth and development of young individuals for creative participation in the adult working world. Beyond that, New College serves as a laboratory in which new ideas can be tested to determine their validity for application to quite different, much larger systems of learning.

This leads us to the second of our alternatives. As the national demand for higher education ascends to peaks never before even imagined, the multiversity attains unplanned proportions. The usual pattern has been to grow by addition: more buildings, larger classes, increased mechanization, and improved efficiency.

This is a familiar pattern in industry. But manufacturing concerns things, not lives.

One of the most promising prospects involves the "cluster-college" concept, perhaps best exemplified by the University of California at Santa Cruz. There a large university is in the making through the gradual creation of semiautonomous "colleges." Each college has its special concerns and core faculty, but all have at their disposal the resources of a major university. In the development of such institutions, where diversity exists within unity of planning, the laboratory college can often serve as a model.

There are other experiments that have focused on the "college within a college" idea. Monteith College of Wayne State University in Detroit, Mich., is one; the New College at Hofstra University in Hempstead, N.Y., is another. Others, either already in existence or in the active planning stages, have a significant feature in common: They constitute a specific response to the need for a degree of smallness and intimacy within the world of mass education. These colleges make possible, within feasible cost levels, in-

creased personalization in a context of what could otherwise be viewed as the huge anonymity of the multiversity.

### University Without Walls

The third alternative is the most revolutionary. Possibly, too, it is the most necessary, as the pressures of population growth and mobility, the bitter needs of the "forgotten" sectors of our society, and the impact of a growing technology of learning all suggest that we turn our thoughts to fundamental change. It is not enough, for example, to substitute a TV set for a teacher, if the TV set, like the teacher, must remain in a fixed environment, programmed for the same kind of learning and made available to the same kinds of people. We are a moving, working, heterogeneous society — and our needs for learning differ as do the periods in our life when we most need to learn.

One attempt to meet this need for totally new modes for learning is the University Without Walls, a program just being launched by the Union of Experimenting Colleges and Universities. This organization is a loose alliance of small institutions — including Antioch, Goddard, Bard, New College of Sarasota, and about a dozen others — all committed to creative

change in higher education. The University Without Walls program would eliminate the concept of a "campus," create a network of resource centers, consider the faculty as an association of small teams of "teacher-learners" located in widely separate areas, and put the burden of learning upon the student.

It proposes to demonstrate that:

- Resources for learning exist almost everywhere;
- A plan for becoming "educated" is more important than are the traditional trappings of "institutional" education;
- The processes of learning can be effectively pursued by willing learners of any age, sex, color, or class;
- The time limits for formal undergraduate learning are by no means restricted to the 18-22 age bracket.

The UWW plan grows out of many experimental institutions — again, laboratories, if you will. It responds to real needs of contemporary society rather than to the needs of a time gone by. We are no longer a society that can afford the "elitist" patterns of higher education that prevailed in the past and persist in the present. We are no longer a predominantly agricultural country, in which the school system needed to take "time off" for the planting and harvesting of crops. We are no longer a static population. We have developed libraries, museums, community colleges, special institutes, and a whole galaxy of potential learning resources spread widely over our country.

The thrust of the UWW plan is to evolve a scheme for using these resources within individually designed learning programs, thus freeing "higher education" from campus, faculty, football, and fraternity. This will make available completely valid educational modes without regard to age, place, occupational demands, or the many handicaps that too often prevent talented and willing potential scholars from proceeding beyond minimal levels of formal education.

This country has prospered because skilled, confident, and responsible people have been able to apply their special talents to the needs and desires of our society and economic system. Our educational systems of the past were small, personal, and to a large degree exclusive. America today has rejected the elitist idea that only some of its citizens should be educated. In so doing, America has created the paradox of providing opportunities to educate the many while

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posing the threat that there may be true education for none — if, by education, we mean the freeing of spirit that makes possible the kind of creative participation in our society characteristic of the few who were once considered the "educated."

The students' frustration, unrest, and sense of powerlessness are some of the by-products of mass education. They must not be ignored. Let us remember, for example, the by-products of mass production and of the national and international supercorporation. What the massive and violent labor unrest and economic imbalances were for the early part of this century, campus unrest is for this era. There will be an end to it only if we can find educational solutions that are cogent, viable, and realistic.

### Challenge and Response

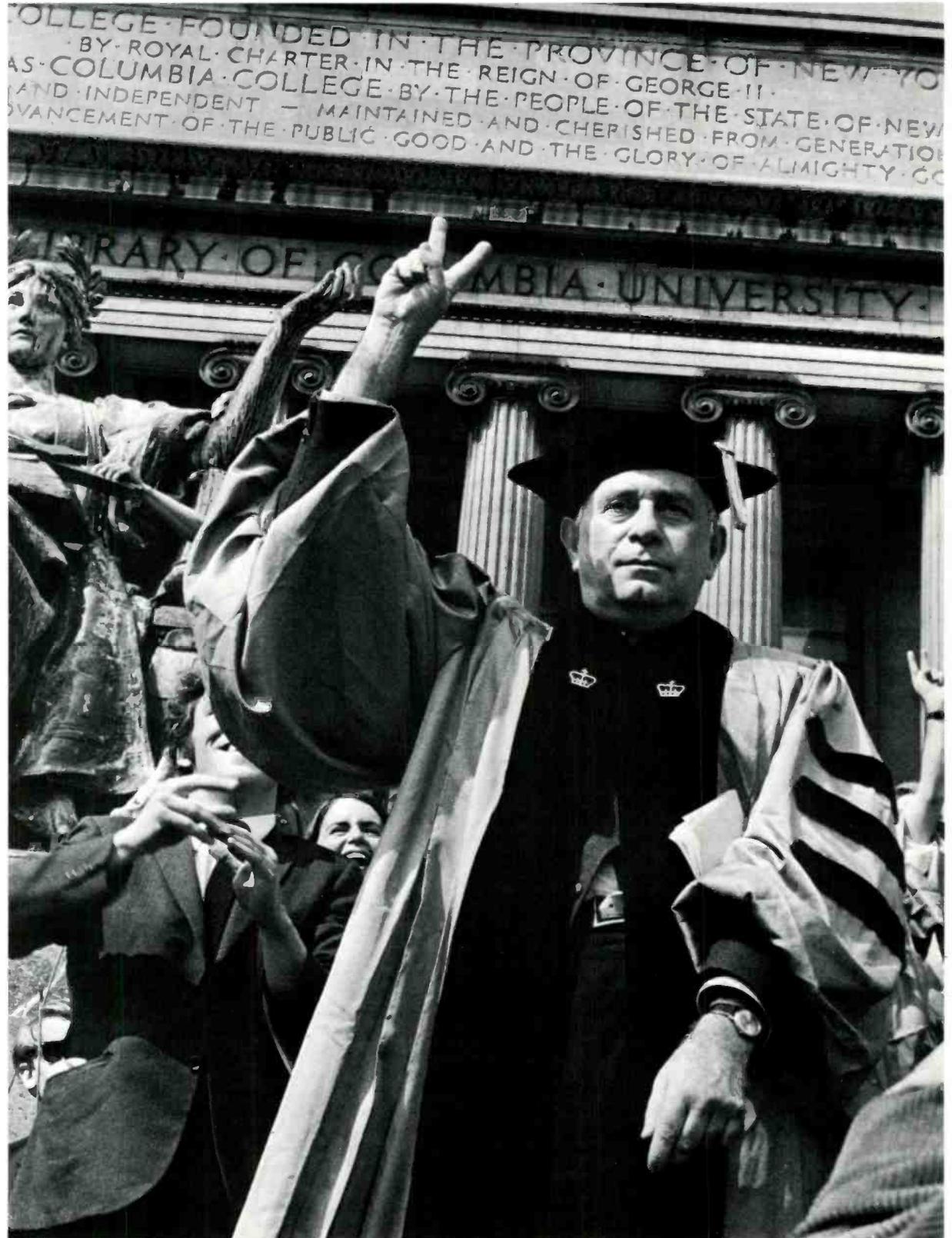
Business has not solved all its problems; but, through the inexorable operation of the laws of supply and demand, it has found highly imaginative, creative, and even revolutionary ways to cope with the pressures of a growing society. That education must do likewise is axiomatic.

There are those who are not yet willing to face the prospect that turmoil, unrest, violence, and dissent are harbingers of radical and revolutionary change in the world of higher education. They would do well to look back at the histories of their own enterprises. They would also do well to take note that there do, in fact, exist places and persons whose dedication to discovering and implementing effective modes of change is matched only by their awareness of the travails that must accompany change.

One need not read the voluminous reports of the Carnegie Commission, the U.S. Office of Education, or a myriad of agencies and individuals to recognize that we are facing a genuine crisis, a time of decision. But one may indeed search vainly for sources of light at the end of the tunnel.

A solution may be found in those relatively few colleges and universities that, singly or in quiet confederation, are working to find and effect new goals and new means to make higher education in America responsive to the critical needs of our age. They are the agents of change, the catalysts of progress, and the prophets of hope. Too few people know of their existence, still fewer of their work. Perhaps it is now time that their voice be heard in the land. As yet, it is a quiet voice, dimmed by the strident cries of both dissent and restraint. Still, it must be heard. ■

Columbia University professor offers peace salute on graduation day.



# high schools high

## High Schools: Decision-Making in a Democracy

The major source of conflict involves the students' lack of choices both as students and as citizens.

by John P. DeCecco

The libido generation came into being when our young people began to believe that the past represented adult choices while the present and future represented their own choices. They believed — and acted on their belief — that they could make life give them what they want. They divided — though this breach will close — over how much of a fight and sacrifice freedom and self-gratification require.

The hippie subculture believed that freedom and pleasure came without sacrifice while they sat in trees strumming guitars and transported themselves beyond past, present, and future in private psychedelic voyages devoid of social intent and destination. The hippies reminded the post-30 world — harassed, tired, effete — of the pleasures of sexual indulgence, communal living, drugs, flamboyant dress, and music. They showed adults the fun they were missing because they gave in to puritanical superegos that extolled the virtues of hard work, self-denial, purity, orderliness, frugality, and a good reputation.

The radical yippie subculture believed that freedom and pleasure were theirs for the yelling and the burning. They reminded the post-30 world that the aggressive, libidinal energies it poured into competitive games of money, status, and power could be turned to radical transformation of the system.

But it is today's high-school students who are teaching both young and old adults how to rely on instinct to make choices they thought they never had and how to create institutions they thought could not exist.

Today's high-school students reject the antics of their libido-seeking hippie and yippie elders. More comfortable in the knowledge that life, with effort and

Face painter in New York's Washington Square typifies "libido generation."



sacrifice, can give them what they want, the high-school students are transforming hippie and yippie romanticism into community and institutional reform. They are finding new ways to use the help of others in making their own choices now and having their own satisfactions now.

The data summarized here imply "student unrest" and the "crumbling" of the high school. But that is the adult perspective eagerly fostered by our nation's journalists, who themselves are young and old adults. It is the same dramatic but

peculiarly adult perspective that casts the problems of our young in the irresolvable terms of racial crisis (nobody can change his race), generation gap (nobody can change his age), and drug abuse (nobody can live without pleasure and pain). It is this same perspective that sees the disappearance of familiar arrangements and practices but does not see the new and practical alternatives that the young are developing.

Teachers, principals, and parents alike bewail the increasing number of students

who fail to attend classes in which they are enrolled but which they find unrelated to any human thought, desire, and experience they consider important. What adults do not see — because they are the prisoners of their own classrooms, offices, and memories — are the new activities students are putting into practice. These involve increased interest in discussing and participating in decisions affecting their condition; political discussions and participation; the exchange, writing, printing, and distribution of their own articles; the informality of dress and manners that enables them to concentrate on more productive matters; their ability to engage in and resolve conflict; and, most strikingly, the help they give each other in lieu of institutional help. Above all, students are finding ways of moving freely and productively between school and community that deserve better appellations than "cutting," "absenteeism," "tardiness," and "dropping out." Adult lamentation, anxiety, and obstruction have made the students unneces-

Table I  
Political Participation Categories of Incidents as Ranked 1 or 2 by Students and Coders

	Coders		Students	
	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number
Dissent	49.29	6,463	48.91	5,278
Equality	43.10	6,459	45.37	5,276
Decision-making	68.47	6,460	69.55	5,477
Due Process	39.33	6,454	47.09	5,251
Total	200.19	25,836	210.92	21,162

# Schools high school

sarily fearful and guilty about creating these new forms.

## A Study of Institutional Conflicts

In the spring of 1969, our research team, working on a grant from the U.S. Office of Education, asked about 6,700 junior and senior high-school students in the New

York and Philadelphia metropolitan areas to write descriptions of incidents that illustrated institutional conflicts they either experienced or witnessed in the school and what they did and believed they could do to resolve them. To collect this large data base, a team of 40 researchers was organized and trained to distribute and explain the questionnaire. Schools varying from predominantly white upper middle-class suburban to predominantly black and Hispanic lower-class urban were surveyed.

After the student described his "dilemma," or conflict incident, the interview form asked him to rank his description according to four categories, assigning a No. 1 for the most suitable category, a No. 2 for the second best, and so on. The categories were given and defined as: dissent (criticizing, protesting, or refusing to take part in a group); equality (getting the same chances in life no matter what your race, religion, or sex, or how well off your parents are); decision-making (having a voice in what rules should be made and how they should be enforced); and due process (giving a person who has been accused of something a fair chance to defend himself).

Table I shows the percentage distribution of title choices. Here, we see that decision-making was overwhelmingly the first choice in describing the type of conflict, followed by dissent, equality, and due process. Our coders, who were mostly graduate-school students, agreed substantially with the way the categories were ranked. Due process was the largest area of disagreement, probably because students were generally unfamiliar with this concept.

Table II shows the six major categories of issues and their subcategories, as derived empirically by examining a random sample of the protocols.

## The Student as Citizen

Taken together, matters of school governance and individual rights covered more than 50 per cent of the issues, and these are issues that directly involve decision-making. Our data show that newspaper and television reports about school conflict over national political and racial issues have misdirected public attention. The major source of school conflict involves the students' lack of choices in most aspects of their school experience and in the daily obstacles they meet in

High-school students participate in three-day symposium on drug abuse.



the full exercise of their rights as citizens. If moral and political development depends on providing students with opportunities to articulate and make choices based on their own perceptions and values, the high school seriously fails in this responsibility.

Our data show that, in fact, high-school students rarely participate in the resolution of conflicts to which they are parties. In less than one-fifth of the incidents cited above did the student report that he had had any say in the resolution of his problem. Furthermore, almost one-half of the protocol statements reported only one person as taking part in the conflict resolution. Many were left unresolved at the time of the writing of the incident. Furthermore, the "conflict resolution" codes demonstrate that the most favored means of conflict resolution is unilateral decision-making. Resolution processes that would involve student participation are ignored in the vast majority of cases.

High-school students reported that while only 20 per cent of their conflicts were with peers, 68 per cent were with persons in authority. About 46 per cent perceived the conflict to be with particular persons (e.g., teachers, principals, counselors), while 24 per cent saw the conflict with the school as an institution.

Also, they saw themselves clearly the victims of adult and institutional violence many more times than the perpetrators of violence against authority, and 91 per cent of the students believed tension escalated because of the way school authorities try to terminate conflict in their schools. But the evidence also shows

that, when principals and teachers negotiated from positions of equality with students on such issues as dress codes, access to rest rooms, and privacy of lockers and rest rooms, they successfully reduced tension and avoided violence.

We also found that when students lacked the opportunity to participate in the resolution of their problems, their feeling of powerlessness went beyond lack of participation to the conviction that nothing could be done to rectify what might be considered an unfair situation. Consider the following two incidents described by students:

"A few months ago I was suspended from classes because of my dress. I really can't see how dress has any connection with education. Blue jeans, bare feet, and T-shirts will not wreck my study habits. It's such a hassle to come well-groomed to school. Also, my hair was quite long, and I was forced to get a trim. Wow, like who the hell do they think they are. Your dress and length of your hair have no connection with your education."

This student does not mention any way he could have acted to have his case reviewed or the rule changed. The only point of view he expresses is one of rage at being compelled to do something he neither wishes nor sees a need to do.

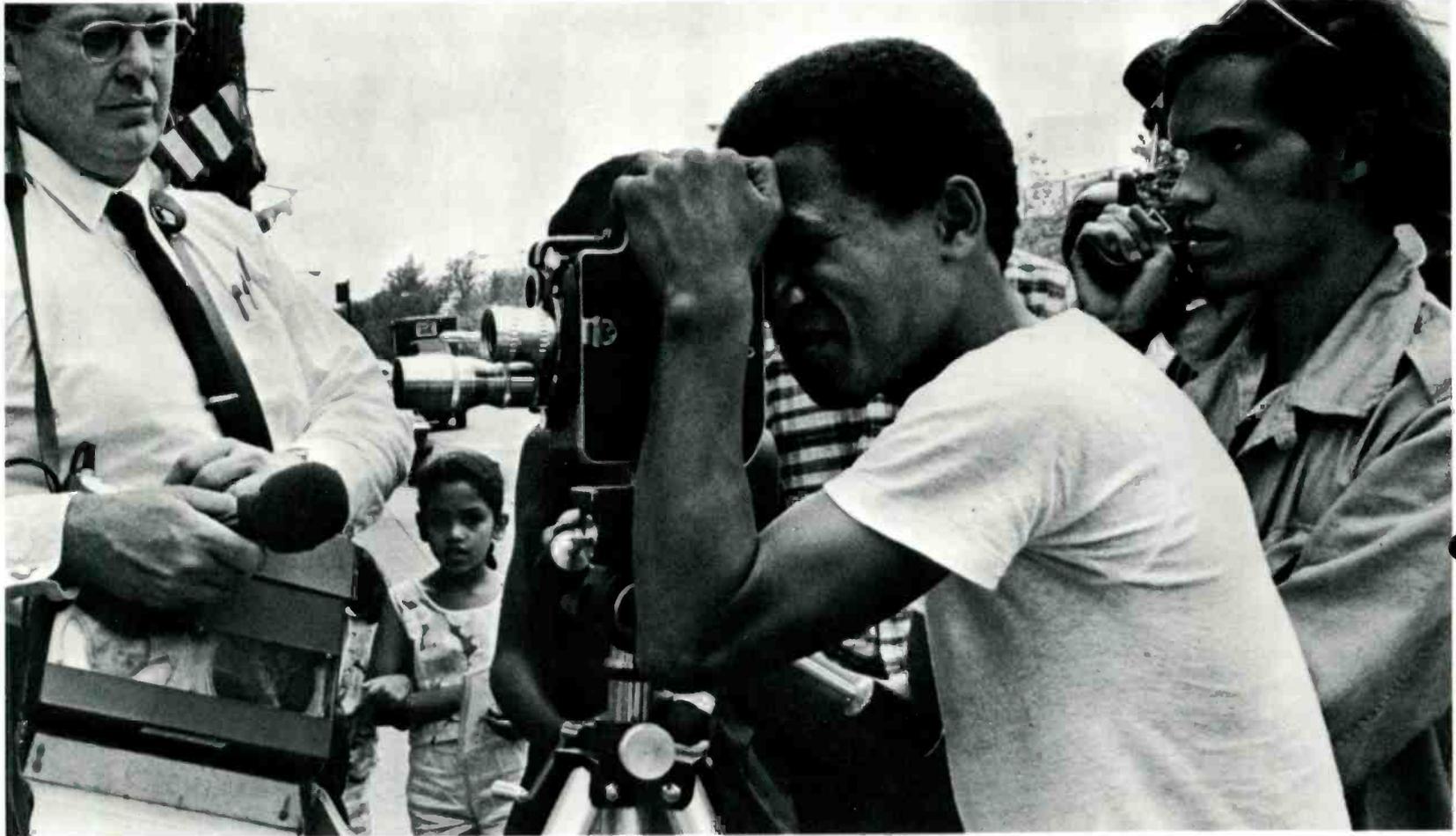
"This year, students took matters into their own hands and started a movement to totally ignore the existing dress code. Girls wore pants to school. Boys wore their hair at lengths they liked, and some (those who could) wore beards and moustaches. The general trend was toward much more casual dress creating a more relaxed atmosphere. When the 'authorities' realized what was happening, they

Table II  
Content Analysis of Categories of Issues

<b>Courses and Curriculum . . .</b>	<b>12.79%</b>
Black Studies . . . . .	1.35%
Courses . . . . .	1.81%
Grades . . . . .	1.04%
Exams . . . . .	3.69%
Teaching Methods . . . . .	3.70%
Admission Requirements . . . . .	1.20%
<b>Political Issues . . .</b>	<b>6.47%</b>
Pledge . . . . .	0.53%
War and Political Issues . . . . .	2.25%
Political Speakers . . . . .	0.20%
In-School Demonstrations . . . . .	2.55%
Out-of-School Demonstrations . . . . .	0.94%
<b>Illegal Acts . . .</b>	<b>10.23%</b>
Drinking . . . . .	0.29%
Thievery . . . . .	1.78%
Loitering . . . . .	2.53%
Disruptions . . . . .	0.45%
Drugs . . . . .	1.50%
Smoking . . . . .	1.75%
Harassment . . . . .	1.93%
<b>Nonacademic School Issues . . .</b>	<b>26.97%</b>
Racial, Ethnic Conflict in School . . . . .	3.33%
School Calendar . . . . .	4.92%
Attendance . . . . .	2.24%
Extracurricular School Events . . . . .	2.68%
Verbal Misbehavior . . . . .	3.71%
Nonverbal Misbehavior . . . . .	6.63%
Food . . . . .	0.19%
School Government . . . . .	2.71%
Police . . . . .	0.56%
<b>Out-of-School Social Issues . . .</b>	<b>10.24%</b>
Social Clubs . . . . .	0.98%
Community Projects . . . . .	0.36%
Jobs . . . . .	0.95%
Racial or Ethnic Conflicts . . . . .	2.71%
Peer Quarrels . . . . .	5.24%
<b>Individual Rights . . .</b>	<b>24.88%</b>
Privacy . . . . .	0.48%
Teacher Favoritism . . . . .	10.98%
Right to Leave Class . . . . .	0.28%
Freedom of Movement . . . . .	0.82%
Appearance . . . . .	3.40%
Parental Freedom . . . . .	4.48%
Expression of Opinions . . . . .	3.53%
Use of School Facilities . . . . .	0.91%
<b>Not Classifiable . . .</b>	<b>8.42%</b>

# high schools high

Students conduct film program.



started taking measures to curb the movement by prohibiting certain 'un-school-like' dress modes. This created a feeling of dissent among the students and a more intense fight against the dress code. With some research, it was discovered that school authorities cannot legally punish students for the clothes they wear. In fact, they cannot restrict dress unless it becomes physically detrimental to the student's education. When this was discovered, authorities were forced to give up their dress code, which was illegal in its existing form."

Several points are evident here. First, the writer shows that students saw an alternative to compliance by disobeying the code. This is the type of option commonly seen by those students who resort to protest to realize their goals. As they see no viable course of action within existing channels, they go outside those channels. But the protocol statement also demonstrates that the students saw an

alternative when protest did not work: They found the state law was on their side.

As the incidents occurred in the same state, the law is as much on their side as it is on the side of the boy who wrote the first protocol. The difference is that he did not actively seek means of redress and so did not find any. Furthermore, the first protocol shows no evidence that the writer is aware that others may share his dilemma or of the potential power of this fact for group action. The second protocol demonstrates recognition of the group as a factor in democratic action.

#### **Change: Alternative to Violence**

The data strongly imply the changes that should be made in the high school — and, by rather obvious extension, in adult-child and superordinate-subordinate relations in the office, factory, family, church, union, and other institutional situations. We can also tell what changes can and should be made if we look at the new forms high-school students are creating wherever they find the freedom that adult

bureaucracies sometimes inadvertently allow.

First, individuals who have complaints should be involved in school decision-making. Such individuals would include the students, to whom the school owes the first commitment of service; parents and the community, which the student will serve if the school has served him in ways he found necessary and gratifying; and teachers, who must be free to help students in different ways without the prior authorization of principals, department heads, and curriculum supervisors.

Second, administrators and teachers should help students articulate more choices and see more alternatives on which to base their decisions.

Third — and this is something middle-class whites in particular must learn — we should face and use conflict rather than merely avoid it and try to cool it. Sustained individual and group complaints are reliable signs of institutional dysfunction;

and, whether or not they are the administrator's complaints, they must be dealt with.

Conflict becomes violence when complaining individuals must resort to extra-system and antisystem activity in order to be heard and seek change. And when antisystem violence begets institutional violence we have...well, we *don't* have very much left.

I think these conclusions, which our research indicated as objectives for civic education in the '70s, voice the expectations of today's high-school students for all institutional formats — including business organizations — in which they want to live and work:

1. The citizen participates in the decision-making processes of his society.
2. The citizen uses alternative courses of action. If he finds no viable option open, he creates new alternatives from democratic action.
3. The citizen analyzes courses of action for their democratic bases and anticipated and actual consequences.

4. The citizen employs negotiation, mediation, and arbitration in resolving conflicts.
5. The citizen understands and analyzes issues and conflicts from viewpoints other than his own.
6. The citizen sees democratic issues in the problems of others as well as in his own life.
7. The citizen recognizes the value and utilizes the power of group action.
8. The citizen distinguishes personal issues and conflicts from institutional conflicts and attacks the two accordingly.
9. The citizen grasps and acts on the principles involved in concrete problems in a democracy.
10. The citizen relates his principles to relevant incidents.

I see nothing in these student aspirations and convictions that the business community must fear. The solution to our problems, both personal neurosis and institutional dysfunction, is so preeminently simple that we are cavalier in ignoring it: We must render to individuals, as individuals, the services they want and request and allow them to repay us with their own services, the way physicians attend to each other's personal and family medical needs.

The sacrifice is often small. It shrinks to infinitesimal size the more often we make it — to miss or cut short a useless meeting, to write fewer and ignore more memoranda, to bend the rules in order to render services they were meant to guarantee, and to take more responsibility for rendering new services to complaining individuals without first seeking supervisory approval. We should also yell loud and long if someone tries to expend our time, money, and energy for administrative kingdom-building.

These practices, of course, will involve conflict. But it is healthy conflict arising from the need to subordinate institutional function to the needs of the people the institutions should serve. Unlike unhealthy conflict that comes from blind frustration and aggression against faceless social stereotypes (like hippies and police) and faceless institutions (the military-industrial complex), such healthy conflict is preeminently resolvable because of the concreteness, humanity, and commonality of purpose that motivate it.

The business community excels in the arts of bargaining and negotiation. If this expertise were used to engage young people in developing new institutional forms and services, it would provide our high-school students with the valuable vocational options they urgently need. ■

## The New Work Ethic

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Young workers today are affected and influenced by the same factors as campus youth, and they are reacting in like fashion.

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by Eli E. Cohen and Leonard Mayhew

Only the most stubborn ostrich of a citizen could possibly be unaware that American youth are in turmoil. Even a casual examination of today's youth scene reveals rapid change and pervasive unrest.

There may still be a few who believe that the media are paying exaggerated attention to what is only the standard restiveness of every generation's youth before they accept the quiescence of adulthood. But most observers agree that today's situation is at least partially new in kind as well as in degree. The various "revolutions" — in clothes, music, sex, drug use, and social attitudes — indicate a real and basic break with the past.

Interpretations vary, of course. They cover the spectrum, from Bruno Bettelheim's verdict that rebellious youth are "fixated at the temper tantrum stage" to Margaret Mead's lyric assessment that they are "like the first generation born in a new country."

Attention to youth unrest has focused on its "colorful" aspects: campus rebellion, rock festivals, hippie communes, and the use of drugs. Largely ignored, however, is the much larger group of youthful employees. They are affected and influenced by the same factors; and they are reacting, within the work milieu, in an analogous fashion.

On-the-job behavior — attitudes toward work, employment expectations, and demands of young workers — is dramatically different from that of their parents' generation. In contrast to the "Protestant" or "work" ethic canonized in so many forms in American social life, it is possible to discern the emergence of an antiwork ethic.

This new situation in the work world manifests itself in three broad trends among young people — withdrawal from work, changing job behavior, and shifting job interests.

Mr. Cohen is executive secretary of the National Committee on Unemployment of Youth. Mr. Mayhew is the committee's director of public information.

### Withdrawal From Work

The archetype of youthful withdrawal from the "rat race" is the hippie (or, frequently, the quasi- or pseudo-hippie), who rejects bourgeois tribal practices and the technologized world in toto. Middle-class sex mores, the 8-hour day/40-hour week, suburbia, the military-industrial complex, and war are rejected in favor of freedom, leisure, nature, peace, and love.

It is noteworthy that yesterday's flower children have fled their urban refuges of a few years back for the quasi-religious, agrarian ambience of remote communes. The important point to be understood in our context is that many young people who would not dream of becoming hippies are highly dissatisfied with the apparent inevitability of entering the world of work and experience the same inclination to withdraw from it.

At a considerable remove from the usually middle-class hippie, large numbers of ghetto youth also are withdrawing from work. Despite political programs and promises, these youth remain skeptical about the existence of any worthwhile employment opportunities for them. The dead-end jobs of the working poor, their long experience of being "last hired, first fired" — plus the demoralizing suffocation of ghetto life — convince many ghetto youth that the work world is not organized to provide them with anything approaching the good life.

These young people understandably feel they may do better "on the outside," either outside the law by hustling drugs or running numbers or outside the regular work world by holding jobs only long enough to meet immediate financial needs. As one astute observer wrote, "There are in every neighborhood of the disadvantaged those persons who have beaten the game successfully. Taking these as success models, youth can dream of making use of their cleverness and ingenuity that go unrecognized in socially acceptable activities."

Accurate and up-to-date figures regarding youth withdrawal from the work force are difficult to obtain. Available data from the U.S. Department of Labor, however, tend to support our contention that there is a trend in this direction. One study of teen-age boys no longer in school, for example, shows that the number of those seeking work dropped from 89 per cent during the three-year period

1963-65 to 85 per cent during 1966-68. Nevertheless, in 1968, 396,000 healthy male and 454,000 female teen-agers, not in school and without home responsibilities, were not in the labor force either because they did not want a job or because they thought they could not find work. It is reasonable to speculate that this trend has accelerated during 1969 and 1970.

### Changing Job Behavior

Behavior of working youth on the job could hardly differ more from that of their parents' generation. Especially in heavy industries, such as steel and automobile manufacturing, young workers are challenging once-accepted standards and procedures.

The fear of joblessness that resulted from Depression-induced insecurity led older workers to accept authoritarian and even unjust treatment as the price one paid for employment. Today's young worker — a member of a better educated, more affluent, and dissenting generation — is different. He is confident of his ability to find work; he is aggressive (some might say arrogant) in his demands.

Plant discipline and the unquestioned authority of the foreman, which older workers accepted as routine, are strenuously and loudly rejected. There have been fights, knifings, and fatal shootings as well as instances of plant sabotage. "The cocked fist," one labor reporter has written, "has become an occupational hazard for foremen."

There are more and more reports of young workers refusing to do work that endangers their safety or health. They are increasingly vocal in criticizing plant conditions and demanding a decent working environment. Disgusted with the dehumanizing work they are assigned, many simply quit in the first few months of employment to go back to school or to find other jobs. The United Steel Workers of America, 1.2 million members strong, recently discovered that it has a turnover of 187,000 workers each year. Understandably, both corporate management and union leaders are alarmed.

A counterpart to the rising turnover ratio among young industrial workers is the increase in absenteeism — or the quiet and unofficial inauguration of the four-day week, depending on one's point of view. The number of young absentees on Mondays, Fridays, and the days before and after holidays has rocketed. One automobile plant offers trading stamps to workers with perfect attendance records. Another has hired college students to work regularly as substitutes on Mondays

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Women strikers prepare picket-line posters.



and Fridays. (Slightly older workers between 25 and 30, unable to change jobs frequently or to stay home one extra day a week because of marriage and family responsibilities, have been described by one union official as the group most angered by this increasing absenteeism.)

Among those who do not quit, many are demanding important — and rapid — changes in plant and union procedures. One clear indication of this change is the extraordinary increase in the number of grievances filed. In General Motors

plants, for example, the number soared from 106,000 in 1969 to 256,000 in 1969, or 60 per 100 employees.

A prime target of discontent are the cumbersome, slow-moving grievance procedures themselves, which older workers felt obliged to accept. Today's young worker bristles at having to wait months for a grievance hearing after he has been summarily penalized by a plant foreman, who is himself exempt from punishment. Like his contemporaries on the campuses or in the "movement," he is insistent on justice now.

In their quest for immediate changes

in their working conditions and for treatment as equals by management, the new workers create problems for union leadership as well. They frequently complain that union leaders are too timid or too limited in their demands. The number of wildcat strikes is on the increase. And between one-third and one-half of recently negotiated contracts have been rejected by rank-and-file members.

According to some observers, the attitudes of young blacks toward employ-

ment and their on-the-job behavior have changed as their sense of dignity and pride has been internalized. This generation of blacks cannot be pacified simply by jobs that pay high wages. They are much more concerned than were previous generations with the content of the work available to them and with the status attached to a job — that is, whether or not it is considered a "black," and therefore undesirable, job.

The slogan "30 and out" has come to epitomize the new generation of workers. The phrase refers to an increasingly im-

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portant demand of younger members of several industrial unions. Unlike their fathers (and the union and industry leaders of their fathers' generation), they are interested in pensions and retirement for reasons other than security. They demand a retirement policy that will liberate them from the assembly line after 30 years with sufficient income to enjoy life while they are still vigorous enough to do so.

Interestingly, a very similar pattern is discernible among a group that might seem quite far removed from blue-collar workers. Corporate organizations are discovering that young management candidates reject traditional patterns. Whereas the normal entry job previously insulated the candidate from significant decision-making for a fairly lengthy period, and then allowed him to approach the "levers" of authority gradually, more and more young people today are simply unwilling to accept this formula. They are profoundly dissatisfied with long-term training programs, and they are demanding relevant and significant jobs from the beginning of their employment.

This relevance is not necessarily social. More commonly, it means a job that makes sense in terms of the candidate's personal goals as well as those of the organization. However, if such work is not offered, the young person frequently leaves the company to go elsewhere. Turnover among young men in this category may reach as high as 150 per cent in the first two years of employment.

The Spartan notion that hard work is a kind of moral duty, that it is an important value in and of itself, is dying or dead among the young. Work may be important because of what it accomplishes or what it makes available. But the concept of industriousness for its own sake has been rejected.

### Shifting Job Interests

A shift in the kinds of jobs that attract youth is further evidence of a changing work ethic. Growing numbers of young people are repulsed by what they perceive as the dehumanizing conditions of profit-oriented, and even professional, employment. Sociologist Paul Goodman has described the disillusion of workers who see their tasks made artificial by forces beyond their control. The mechanic wishes to repair an automobile but is stymied because it has been designed to be obsolete after three years so that the manufacturer can sell the owner a new model. The advertising copywriter realizes that he must lie to sell the product — and keep his job. Teachers face the frustrating

Hippie epitomizes youth withdrawal.



fact that the education system is not designed to educate. University graduates in increasing numbers choose to drive taxis, deliver mail, or clerk in health food stores rather than accept the inauthenticity of much profit-oriented or professional work.

It is no wonder that many are accepting financial sacrifice to seek out jobs in fields of human and public service. Increasing numbers of college graduates are becoming teachers or working in tutorial programs for disadvantaged youth. (Although part of the motivation for young men to become teachers is undoubtedly a desire to avoid the draft, there is also an evident concern with the crisis of public education and a desire to contribute to the betterment of society.) Some law school graduates choose to become attorneys for the poor or welfare recipients instead of accepting the lucrative starting positions offered by Wall Street firms.

### What Are the Answers?

A number of innovative approaches and suggestions seem to hold some promise. Corporations that have responded positively to their young executives' demand for relevant work have found that both productivity and morale have benefited. A recent *Fortune* article detailed a number of cases in which delegating additional responsibility for machines and product quality to workers seems to counter frustration and improve work performance.

In the New York area, for example, the owner of a small leather-punch plant has set aside all the traditional canons of work organization to the advantage of

everyone concerned. Most of his employees are teen-agers. There are no rules and no set hours; the workers come and go as they please. Productivity has leaped, business has expanded, and profits are higher than ever.

Current attempts on the part of management to enrich the work environment and increase worker satisfaction fall into two main categories. These involve tinkering with the job itself and dealing with individual workers in personal terms.

In the first category, various schemes that invoke participatory management are being implemented. These range from suggestion programs for workers to worker-management teams that set quotas and standards and evaluate results. One fairly popular program allows a worker to rotate among several routine jobs rather than repeat the same task all day every day. Many plants and offices have tried changing work schedules and allocating free time for meetings or educational experiences. A number of companies have discovered that allowing the worker responsibility for his machine and for discrete production units rather than random assignments has improved productivity and worker morale.

Characteristic of the approach that focuses on the individual worker is a variety of sensitivity techniques or encounter groups. Such programs aim to involve the participants emotionally and physically with each other in order to create a more "meaningful/relevant/authentic" work environment. As manpower consultants Robert Schrank and Susan Stein have written, "Despite the difficulty in assessing results, sensitivity is satisfying some unmet need. And apparently it is beginning to tackle some emerging work-related matters that require attention, among them the increasing interest in participatory management, the new emphasis on the quality of life in the work place, and changed attitudes favoring self-satisfaction through work rather than work as a duty."

Perhaps the most detailed programmatic approach to answering the problems in the industrial area is contained in a number of collective bargaining proposals of the United Automobile Workers. The primary proposal, which may seem at first ironic, calls for an industry-funded plan to train union leaders. However, the plan is aimed precisely at solving one of the auto industry's main problems, dealing with what the late Walter Reuther called "a new breed of worker unwilling to accept the disciplines of the work place." Half of the industry grants would

be devoted to developing a better trained corps of union stewards, equipped to cope with worker frustrations, narcotics, alcoholism, loan-sharking, weapon-packing, pilfering, and gambling. The other half would be marked for scholarships, for job-related and pre-apprentice training, and for training in new technology.

Other UAW proposals include increasing the number of committeemen to speed up settlement of grievances; orientation of new workers on company time; limiting the company's right to discipline until a worker's misconduct has been proved; improving plant environment in terms of noise, dirt, and odors; and establishing a "team" system on the assembly line. The last is an important, if logistically complicated proposal. By assigning a number of stages in the production of a car to a group of workers, some of the grinding monotony of the assembly line could be relieved. A worker would perform a series of tasks rather than endlessly tightening the same three screws or welding the same joint. The team would also have a more tangible sense of its contribution to the finished product.

### The Social Implications

We do not view this changing work ethic simply as a problem to be solved or as a bad situation to be endured. The situation facing our society is different from anything we have had before. It needs to be met with fresh approaches. Mere tinkering with the old system will not enable us to come to grips with the real issues. Neither is it probable that young workers can be changed and made to accept their frustrations as the necessary "dues" they must pay to stay in the "club." Indeed, their insistence on individual dignity and personal fulfillment ought to be seen as increasingly important as our society becomes more highly technological and complex.

The work world is not isolated from its surrounding society. It is affected by the turmoil, aspirations, and expectations of the world around it. The core message that youthful employees — along with their near contemporaries on campus — are addressing to us is, "We don't like your society, the way it works, and what it does to us." A constant motif that filters through all stylistic or ideological differences is the complaint that American society is destructive of people: American boys as well as the native population in Vietnam; the poor, the minorities, and the young at home; the air, water, food, and land on which we thrive.

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Today's youth indict the materialistic and dishonest values that have imposed these evils and have constructed a technology that is depersonalizing society and dehumanizing people.

The new generation finds much of the work available to them useless, even phony, while so much of clear importance needs to be done. Of course, a discontent with the nature and conditions of work is as old as industrialized society. The new development is that this discontent is now being expressed and acted upon—especially by younger, better educated workers. The traditionally middle-class concept that the work itself, as well as the wage, ought to be rewarding has become a general conviction.

Having been kept in a state of dependence through prolonged schooling, the young find society unwilling to treat them as adults when they do leave school. When they attempt to change society—either the large society, through politics, or the micro-society of the work place—authority is generally unresponsive, sometimes repressive. Having been raised with a low threshold for frustration, these youth find such conditions intolerable.

Today's young workers have grown up in a time and country of enormous affluence, and that affluence has been emphasized with little sense of proportion. Having lived in a period of dramatically rising expectations—and fed by the part-myth, part-truth of easy upward social mobility—these people refuse to see work as something defined exclusively by the employer and docilely accepted by the worker.

The changing work ethic of young America raises more than operational or tactical questions for management, unions, government, and educators. It raises basic issues that must be explored with imagination and courage. As some college and university leaders have done, so management leaders must learn to listen. As students are being admitted to some decision-making participation on some campuses, so ways must be found to admit workers to participation in management decision-making.

Authentic ways must be discovered in which the maturity and responsibility of the workers and their personal needs can be satisfied within the context of the work world. To arrive at such a solution, management must concern itself with building a better society—one that will reject the destructive inheritance of the past and honor, in deed as well as word, the dignity and rights of every individual. ■

## Black Youth and Big Business

Graduates of black schools are too often overlooked by corporate recruiters, and the black with work skills must face segregation barriers imposed by many craft unions.

by James Brown, Jr.

Today's youth are among the most informed, sensitive, intelligent, and concerned of any young generation in history. This is equally true of white and black youth, to be sure, but blacks have had to acquire a sixth sense of survival in the corporate jungle dominated by the white man.

While today's youth as a whole cry out for an end to the inequities and hypocrisies of life in our American democracy, the young black has all the more reason to cry out.

Many corporate recruiters, for example, overlook predominantly black educational institutions. They often consider the graduates unqualified because of the school's weak or inadequate curriculum. And blacks with skills that warrant their being in craft unions are even worse off than the college graduate who cannot get into the world of big business, for craft unions are among the most rigidly segregated institutions in America.

Other than political leaders who, more often than not, are products of the business community, there is no force more powerful in our society than the business community itself. Black youth are aware of this fact. They realize that whatever their lot is, the business world has something to do with it.

### Discrimination in the Business World

The task that now lies ahead for both black youth and business leaders is to overcome the hardened and polarized attitudes that result from years of neglect by the business community on the one hand and, on the other hand, by racial discrimination stemming from myths and stereotypes. The majority of Americans and the established American institutions

Mr. Brown is youth director for the NAACP.

— including the business world — have naive opinions regarding the hopes, goals, aspirations, and even the abilities of the black community. It is commonly thought in many sectors of the white community that blacks enjoy living in slums, working for weekend wages, collecting welfare payments, cutting and shooting each other, and receiving less than the best possible education available in this country. These false attitudes persist because powerful elements in our society fail to recognize the urgency of having them corrected.

Needless to say, not all the discrimination that confronts blacks in the business world has its origin in such myths. Some blacks are rejected because of lack of proper training, others because some companies have quotas on hiring members of minority races, and still others because far too many businesses refuse to hire blacks in supervisory positions, especially in supervising nonblacks.

On the semiskilled, skilled, paraprofessional, and professional levels, youthful blacks are still faced with the objection that they lack the proper credentials and qualifications for employment. To some degree this may be true, but what choice do the black educators have when they plan their institution's curriculum? Should they plan a curriculum that will be useful in the immediate employment of their graduates, or should they plan a curriculum that may meet the needs of industry at a higher level—even though industry has not made any overtures or expressed any interest in hiring qualified blacks, especially at professional levels, in positions where they would have a chance to do meaningful work. The vicious circle that these circumstances produce must be broken by big business and black educators. The fact is that black youths have not been provided with the opportunity to acquire the desired business-world skills because of years of "benign neglect" on the part of the white moneyed world.

In 1969, for example, major American corporations contributed some \$390 million to higher education. Of this amount, a mere pittance was given to predominantly Negro colleges. The United Negro College Fund, which seeks to raise money for some 36 small, predominantly black colleges, was given only \$3.5 million—9/10 of 1 per cent of the funds corporations gave to higher education. Yet, the colleges that the U.N.C.F. represents educate approximately 12 per cent of the blacks who attend college.

In addition to money, many corporations also give colleges expensive educational machinery, such as computers. Students who learn how to operate these machines become prime candidates for employment upon their graduation. This kind of "Head Start" program is invaluable to both the business and academic communities. The tragic fact is that many blacks are denied a chance for equal competition for employment simply because their schools are overlooked when equipment is given, even though such gifts are usually tax deductible. Thus the young black with a degree from a black college (and almost half of the 434,000 black college students attend predominantly black colleges) starts out the race for employment severely handicapped.

NAACP youth groups are still finding it necessary to undertake selective buying campaigns and to picket merchants who refuse to hire blacks—especially in influential positions—even though blacks, in many instances, constitute as much as 75 per cent of their customers. Many of the stores that engage in discrimination in hiring and promoting racial minorities are national chain stores that boldly display the sign, "Equal Opportunity Employer."

Top management executives of those same companies make speeches pledging to remove racial barriers to employment in their companies. Some go so far as to send directives to that effect down the management ladder in the hope of effecting change, and many of them are sincere.

### Policy Without Implementation

The problem area is at the level of implementation—the middle-management level where employment decisions are made. All of the equal-opportunity employment declarations and policies set forth by the company's board of directors or top management then become, at best, a farce. Not only is racial prejudice a major factor at this level, but middle management may also interpret directives to employ minorities in open-end jobs as no more than meaningless, or at best as a minimal attempt to comply with antidiscrimination employment laws. Even if the firm has a nondiscriminatory employment policy, because of the lack of

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Black students at Polytechnic High School in San Francisco, Calif.



commitment on the part of middle management — the level at which it is easiest to bring about change — blacks are noticeably absent.

One possible solution to the problem at the middle-management level would be to have compliance officers within the company's corporate structure to guarantee equal employment opportunities. These persons would make periodic visits to the company's outlets or divisions in various areas of the country and keep a watchful eye on the ratio of minority-

group employees, both there and at national headquarters. The latter is especially important, since many corporate department heads are virtually free to run their departments as they see fit. The compliance officers, needless to say, must be empowered to demand and effect change without long-drawn-out procedures.

Only seven blacks currently serve on the boards of directors of major companies in America. They are former General

Sessions Court Judge Samuel R. Pierce, Jr., a director of both Prudential Insurance Co. and U.S. Industries; former Housing and Urban Development Secretary Robert C. Weaver, Metropolitan Life; Asa T. Spaulding, W. T. Grant; Daniel A. Collins, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich; William T. Coleman, Jr., Pan American World Airways; Rev. Leon H. Sullivan, General Motors Corp.; and Michigan State University President Clifton R. Wharton, Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States. This, coupled with the fact

that only one black person occupies a seat on the 1,366-seat New York Stock Exchange, exemplifies the magnitude of the problem that blacks have in getting into the mainstream of the American economy at top levels.

The old adage that blacks are "last hired, first fired" is still a reality in the black community. Whenever there is a job shortage or a cutback in employment,

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blacks are always disproportionately affected. A recent Bureau of Labor Statistics report points out that during this past summer, 11.2 million youths (persons 16-21 years old) were employed, down 210,000 from 1969 and the same as in 1968. While unemployment among white youth increased only 2.4 per cent (from 11.2 per cent to 13.6 per cent), unemployment among black youth rose from 24.6 per cent in 1969 to 30.2 per cent in 1970. Unlike the increase in unemployment among white youth, which almost exclusively affected young males, the rise in black joblessness affected both young men and women.

The attitude of black youth toward the business community and work world ranges from one extreme to the other. Some blacks accept as a way of life their employment as "token niggers," while others reject drawing a paycheck for sitting around and doing nothing. The frustration arising from these circumstances — along with other indignities thrust upon blacks when they are hired, such as name-calling and dead-end employment — is rapidly turning black youth away from the work world and from actively seeking employment. In a report issued in October, 1970, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission notes that the federal government has done very little to enforce its civil rights laws. Business may interpret this laxity as giving it the right to discriminate and to deny job opportunities.

Some companies attempt to disguise their bias by espousing a policy of hiring only children of their employees for summer or part-time work. The fact is, of course, that nearly all the regular employees of these companies are white. Thus, white youths are assured of employment, while blacks are assured of minimal employment opportunity by a seemingly innocent corporate policy that is, in actuality, but a revised version of the "Grandfather Clause" used to keep blacks from voting in the South for many years after the Reconstruction era.

Labor unions often use much the same policy to reject black applicants who apply for entry into their apprenticeship programs. Only 4 per cent of the apprentices in the union-regulated programs are black. A recent *Time* magazine study indicates the extent of black exclusion from skilled and semiskilled labor unions: Two per cent of all black union members are plumbers, 6 per cent electrical workers, 1.6 per cent carpenters, 2.9 per cent stage and motion-picture operators, 6.4 per cent retail clerks, 9.6 per cent team-

sters, 12.9 per cent hotel and restaurant employees, and 30.5 per cent laborers.

## Opportunities for Blacks

Few black youth, therefore, consider business as a career simply because they are not aware of opportunities for employment. In order to encourage young blacks to enter business, the business community should, first of all, provide summer employment for black high-school and college students. The opportunity to work in business establishments during summer vacation may well be the incentive needed to motivate young blacks in choosing business careers.

Second, top management, having espoused an equal opportunity policy in principle, should create the kind of work environment at the middle-management level that would encourage putting this policy into effect. Although quota systems may be anathema to many persons, a "Philadelphia Plan" could be set up for a short period of time to ensure employment of a representative number of blacks. Another possibility might entail hiring blacks in middle-management positions where employment policy is implemented.

Third, American business could tap the resources of graduates of predominantly black colleges by bringing these young people into internship programs. These programs could be open not only to business administration majors but also to liberal arts students, thus providing a new supply of workers.

Fourth, after having recruited blacks and other minorities into middle-management positions, business firms should train promising young blacks and other nonwhites for top executive posts. Top-quality executives are rare, and there are hundreds of blacks and other minority-group members whose management talents have been overlooked. It may well be that the creativity, the ingenuity, and the leadership needed to keep American business competitive in the world market rest with blacks who, until now, have been excluded from top management positions.

Finally, as we move into the 1970s — approaching the 200th anniversary of our nation — it is imperative that the business community aid in the democratization of America. The American dream has too long been a myth for young blacks. It must now become a reality. ■

## Emancipation Proclamation: Freeing the Young Working Woman

The expected working life of America's young woman today is incredibly short. Typically, she returns to the job scene middle-aged, married, with grown children — and two decades behind her male co-worker.

by Lindsay Van Gelder

Job discrimination against women begins under the Christmas tree.

Little boys get doctor's kits, model airplanes, chemistry sets, firemen's hats, and building blocks. Girls get dolls.

They learn to say adorable things about wanting to be a "mommy" when they grow up. They take home economics in school while the boys get to fool around in the machine shop. Around the seventh or eighth grade, they start to spend lots of time thinking up cute names for their future babies (real live Tiny Tears dolls!) and writing them down in loose-leaf notebooks in combination with the last names of the boys they know.

Of course, if a girl wants to be a mommy when she grows up (and we all want to be mommies; even if we want to be something else too, the *important* job for a girl is being a mommy), she has to catch a husband. And so, as we don our beginner bras and our first Tangee natural lipstick, we begin to see boys in a brand-new way. Who cares about preparing to be a wage earner? The important thing is marrying one. And you can't have both — not when all the love comics and teen-age magazines warn us not to "compete" or to appear "too bright" around the boys.

I remember being told in a girls' social hygiene class that I should read the sports page so that I could "talk about a boy's interests" on dates. Forget *my* interests. Liking sports was for tomboys but pretending to like them was every girl's ticket to status and security. In the same class, my friends and I discovered that Mrs. Van Gelder is a reporter for the *New York Post*.

we had a number of physical characteristics to trade on. We also had our "personality" — ultimately defined as the ability to flatter boys, to get them to talk about themselves.

Of course, there is something mathematically wrong in all this. For every girl who manages to catch a husband, a boy also gets married. But how many boys perceive it as a career?

Part of the answer goes back to the idea of Woman-as-Walking-Uterus.

Somebody has to take care of the kids and, in our culture, that somebody is a woman. At some point in history, women were conned into believing that the perpetuation of the species was their responsibility alone. And most of them still believe it.

## The Stereotype of Womanhood

The milestones in the typical woman's life are not remarkably different from those of a female cat: first menstruation, first intercourse, first baby. And as far as the average man is concerned, everything she does, besides shutting up, can be explained by the fact that she (a) is about to get her period, (b) is having her period, (c) is going through menopause, (d) needs a good roll in the hay, (e) needs to settle down with the right man and have a baby.

"God put both sexes on earth and each has its own purposes," Barry Goldwater recently observed when asked his views on equal rights for women. "And I'd hate like hell to wake up next to a pipefitter!"

Women, you see, are simply the people men wake up next to.

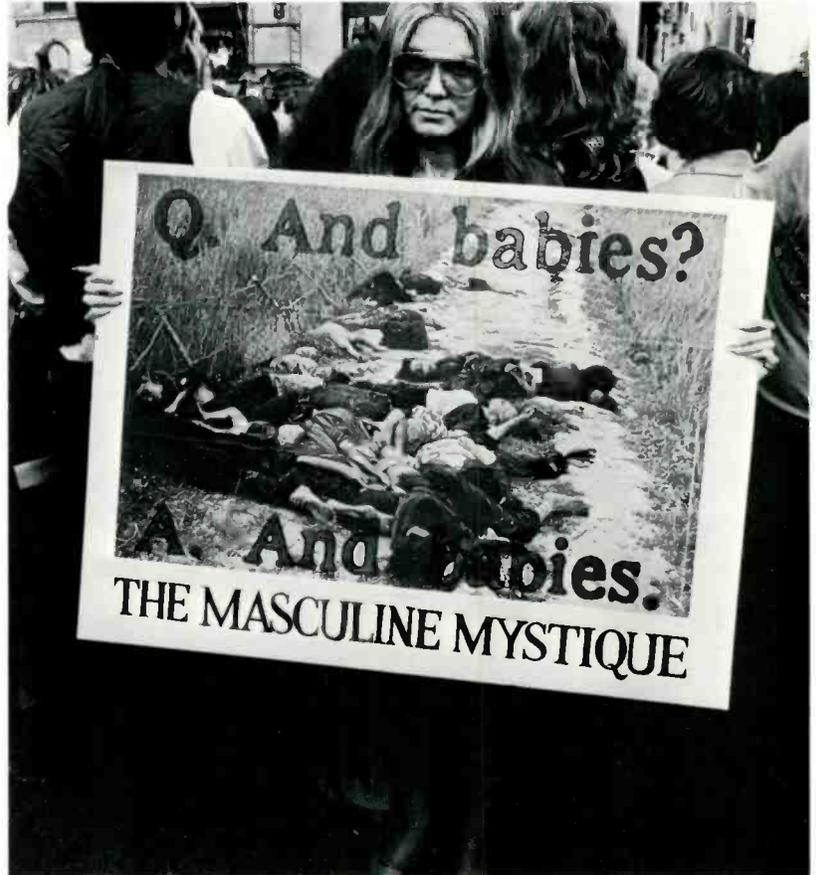
Women who work (and you can bet it's for less money than a pipefitter makes) are worse than rotten to sleep with. They're invisible. Although women constitute 37 per cent of the labor force, and, although 42 per cent of all working-age women in the United States hold jobs, you won't see them on your TV screen. In Mass Medialand, women are either the nubile users of feminine deodorant spray or housewives who talk to the genie in their washing machines.

Note, too, that men have "jobs" whereas women have "careers." A career woman, as we all know, is either a hard stomping, bitchy, aggressive man-hater or a loser who couldn't get a man.

"In our culture," Margaret Mead has remarked, "men are unsexed by failure, women by success." A real woman doesn't compete with men; she stays home and has their babies.

# women working w

Gloria Steinem (right), noted writer and a spokesman for the Women's Liberation movement, queries traditional values of marriage and motherhood.



Another delightful stereotype is the idea that women work or study a trade "to have something to fall back on." A woman's work is frivolous, a pastime while she waits for wedding bells. The corollary idea is that women themselves are frivolous: adorable in their place but basically childlike, emotional, flighty, prone to hormonal difficulties, irresponsible, chatty, good at routine jobs and domestic tasks but woefully unequipped for the big-time rigors of government, business, and the like. They are the happy-on-the-plantation-darkies of the post-civil rights era.

None of this brainwashing is lost on the typical teen-age girl. And, if by some fluke she hasn't managed to pick up on the message that her destiny lies between her legs, and not in her mind, chances are that her high-school guidance counselor will set her straight. Let's say she's a whiz at languages. Her counselor might tell her to think about becoming an airline stewardess on international flights. If she excels at science, she'll be encour-

aged to take up nursing or maybe work as a medical secretary. All this while she's waiting for her real career as wife and mother, of course.

When I was 17, my parents told me to forget about college. If I were a boy, they explained patiently, I would need a skill. But a girl? A girl just gets married and has babies, anyway. So why waste all that tuition money? Months of screaming family fights followed, and these always ended with me swearing that I would never get married (a lie) and my parents swearing that I was lying (or sick). Then, one day, I suggested that at college I could meet and marry a higher class of man than I might encounter as a Woolworth's saleslady. This was also a lie, since I wasn't planning to major in husband-hunting; but my parents reconsidered, and I went to college.

So did a lot of other girls — although boys outnumber girls three to two as undergraduates, thirteen to seven as graduate students, and nearly nine to one as doctoral candidates. But it doesn't make much difference. After college, whatever her degree or her accomplishments, a young woman will be asked one

basic question as she makes the rounds of prospective employers: Can you type?

Men, of course, aren't expected to possess typing and shorthand as secondary sex characteristics. And, while many women with college degrees go on to secretarial school at their own expense, men get paid to learn their new jobs in management trainee programs.

#### Sexism on the Job

According to the U.S. Department of Labor, more women (1,423,352) work as secretaries than in any other occupation. The top dozen job categories after that are, in order: saleslady, maid, elementary-school teacher, bookkeeper, waitress, nurse, seamstress, typist, cashier, cook, telephone operator, and babysitter.

*All these jobs involve waiting on people, especially men, or caring for children.*

The Christmas doll and the kiddie carpet sweeper have paid off, after all. The next best thing to finding fulfillment as a wife and mother is to work as some man's helpmate in an office. A secretary pours

the boss' coffee, runs his personal errands, dusts off his desk, empties his ashtray, looks pretty, shields him from people he doesn't want to see, reminds him of his wife's birthday, buys his wife's birthday gift, orders his lunch, and sometimes even does the work for which he'll take the credit. The better she is, the less likely her boss is to help her advance to a higher level. He needs her where she is — not competing with him.

Most firms are loathe to put a woman in any kind of supervisory position. Women are too "emotional." And, anyway, most men would resent taking orders from a woman. But the main problem is that women are considered bad executive risks. It's those babies again.

A young woman applying for a reasonably responsible job may be turned down because "she'll just get married, anyway." If she's already married, "she'll just have a baby." And if she has a baby, "her mind will be at home, not on her work, and how can she do two jobs well?"

An older woman applying for the same job, of course, "doesn't have any experience." She's only been a housewife and a mother.

# Working women v

Women's Lib demonstrators protest discrimination in American business.



I once sat through a job interview with a man who insisted on knowing when I planned to have children, what my husband thought about working wives and mothers — even what method of birth control I was using! He then told me he was shocked that I didn't want to have a baby right away, instead of the job in question. "A pretty little thing like you," he cooed, "ought to be home having a baby every year."

Another young woman I know was told that she wouldn't be promoted to the reporting staff of a big-city newspaper because of the size of her breasts. How could anyone take her seriously in the face of such a distraction?

Still another young woman — this one with a master's degree — was told by a well-meaning personnel manager that she ought to think seriously about becoming a receptionist. She would meet so many interesting men!

I know women who have been told that they are "too smart" (and, therefore, genetically abnormal) to be promoted and women who lost out on jobs because personnel managers were afraid it might "hurt" their marriages. Women are seen as wives and mothers first and as productive, useful human beings second, if at all.

### The Statistics of Discrimination

The young woman arriving on the labor force also quickly discovers that her work is less valuable than a man's. If she has a college degree, her income is about \$4,165 a year. But a man who has never seen the inside of a high school makes an annual salary of \$4,518. Fewer than 1 per cent of all women workers earn \$10,000 a year or better.

On the average, a woman earns 60 cents for every dollar pocketed by a man with identical skills, duties, education, and experience. And despite the well-publicized barriers faced by minority-group workers, black men earn nearly twice as much as white women.

Again we return to the myth that women's work is frivolous. Since men are perceived as the members of society whose duty it is to feed, clothe, and house everybody else, paying a woman equal wages for equal work is viewed as tantamount to starving someone's wife and child. It's a strange concept for a capitalist, indeed. Businessmen who would balk at paying each worker according to his needs are right at home when it comes to underpaying a woman who "probably doesn't need the job anyway."

So here we have our typical young

woman worker — underpaid, underemployed, with little chance for advancement. Is it any wonder that marriage begins to look fulfilling by comparison? Our typical female gets married and quits her boring job. Or she quits a year or two later, when she has a baby and finds that good child care (if it's available at all) costs nearly as much as she makes.

Can we blame her for copping out? We shouldn't, but we do. She's given "proof" to her boss and the rest of the world that women shouldn't work because they "just get married anyway."

The answer, of course, isn't to ban marriage. Most men get married and have children, too. But they're not penalized for it. What we have to start dealing with is the idea that women are forced to choose between work and a family life at an age when men are embarking happily on both.

Half of all American girls marry by the age of 20.6, and more marry at 18 than at any other age. The average woman has two or three children, bearing the last at about age 30. Most women, however (including those who spend the better part of their adulthood in the job market), do not work during the years between the birth of their first child and the time their last child enters school — the years in which most men are establishing themselves in their jobs.

### The Need for Day Care

The typical woman worker of today is 41 years old, married, with grown children. She may have worked for a few years before she was married, but her real working life began at middle age.

To some people, this may seem a wonderful liberation. In fact, it means that a woman arrives on the job market two decades behind her male colleagues. The men have the seniority, the experience, the top posts.

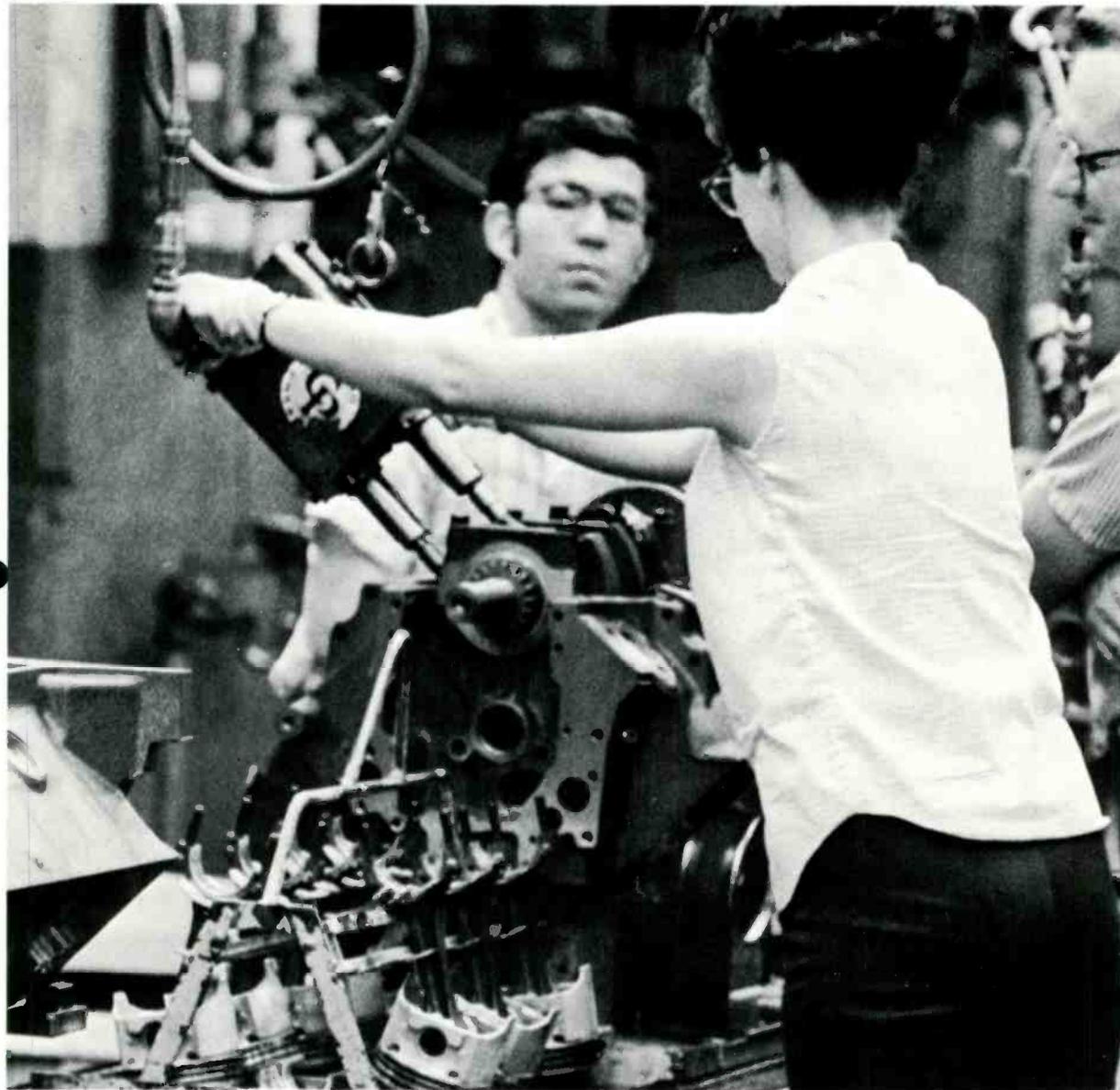
What does all this mean to the businessman who wants to provide equal opportunity for young women? In two words, it means *day care*.

Almost every barrier faced by the woman worker — from her own self-image and goals to the types of jobs she can get — is rooted in the belief that a woman's first duty is marriage and child rearing.

That's why it's not good enough to give women the breaks that business began giving to blacks a few years ago. Both groups suffer from discrimination, poor training for the business world, and a

# Working women wo

Young woman works on engine assembly line at GM plant in Detroit.



lack of self-confidence. But a black youth can be retrained and given a good job. A retrained woman with a good job will probably have a baby.

Nor is it fair to expect a woman somehow to juggle her career and her family responsibilities. It's too much work! Most women, like most men, are unwilling to hold two full-time jobs.

According to statistical evidence, most mothers who work have no other choice: only 35 per cent have husbands at home and, nearly half of those who do are married to men making below \$1,000 a year. Only 7 per cent of the female labor force consists of mothers with preschool children.

It is not enough, therefore, to press for reforms within the work world — in such areas as equal employment opportunity, salary adjustments, and the equal opportunity for advancement on the job — although these are sorely needed. It becomes increasingly clear to the working woman that the crucial concern is provision for the care of her children, either present or planned. This provision would have the most profound effect on her working life.

The United States is the only highly industrialized country in the world in which

day care is not routinely provided. Countries that do have day care, including Sweden and the Soviet Union, also have a much higher proportion of women in responsible jobs.

According to a 1965 federal survey, only 2 per cent of the children of American working mothers were in day-care centers, nursery schools, or after-school centers. About 46 per cent were cared for in their homes, most by relatives (fathers included), and the rest by babysitters. Sixteen per cent were cared for outside the home, about half of these by relatives. Thirteen per cent accompanied their mothers to work, and 15 per cent had mothers who worked only during regular

school hours. Eight per cent took care of themselves.

Government, business, or perhaps a joint effort involving both, could rectify this catch-as-catch-can child rearing with day-care and after-school centers. The burden for mothers of infants too young for day care might also be eased. If a man, after all, can spend two to four years in the military with a legal guarantee that he can return to his former occupation, why can't a woman have the same right for maternity leave?

Business can further help by granting paternity leaves to fathers, thus getting away from the idea that child care is just one parent's problem. This would allow both parents flexibility in their hours.

Now, let's pretend that day care is universally available and return to our typical teen-age girl. To begin with, she is much less likely to view her career plans in terms of her fallopian tubes. She can be what she wants to be without worrying about how it will interfere with her "mommy" role. Her parents, guidance counselor, and employer won't be able to tell her to stay home where she belongs. When she does have a baby, it won't affect her career any more than it affects her husband's.

The whole day-care problem recently hit home for me when I became pregnant. Although I make a better salary than most women (and probably most men), I certainly don't make enough money to hire a good "nanny" at \$125 a week. A regular babysitter costs at least \$50 a week—more than most women can afford to pay and less than a babysitter should have to live on. I can afford it, yes; but who wants to achieve "women's liberation" by exploiting another woman? And what about *her* children?

For me, the questions of equal employment opportunities and equal pay are meaningless without day care. I don't believe that day care will instantly abolish every misconception and myth about women. But you have to start somewhere. Day care, at least, would give women an option they do not now have. And, as more women take advantage of that option, the harder it will be to classify them as "naturally" suited to the kitchen and the diaper pail.

Equal employment opportunities and equal pay would follow. They would be logical, sensible business policies once an employer begins to see a woman as a worker like any other — not as a misplaced baby machine. ■

# young workers yo

## Voice of the Young Worker: "Change or Be Changed!"

The young worker's desire for individuality is in every way equal to that of his student counterpart.

by Paul Massaron

A young worker from Pontiac, Mich., a member of UAW Local 653 employed at Pontiac Motors (GM) along with 17,000 other hourly rated workers, said best what I intend to explain only in the hope that many others may begin to comprehend the phenomenon of the young worker in American industry.

This worker had long dark-brown hair hanging over his collar and sideburns just about an inch below his ears. He was discussing his job—the situation in which he found himself. The conditions in the plant, the shrinking purchasing power that would not cover his family's bills even with overtime, which he hated because he had no control over it—all of this and more bothered him. Twenty-four years old, three years' seniority, father of two kids, with a tough and sometimes contemptuous look in his eyes, he said, "Look, things will either change or be changed."

Before we discuss what he meant and what young workers mean in our society, a short preface is required.

Many—whose minds have been programmed to view workers, the working class, and workers' organizations through the old pervasive stereotypes or the new stereotypes—may be a little surprised by some of what will follow. Others would do well, given the fact that they are the perpetrators of the old or the new stereotypes, or of both, to stop reading now. To those perpetrators, workers are nothing but parts of the industrial machine who, for example, in General Motors, produced approximately \$15,000 net per year per worker and received on an average \$7,000 gross per year prior to the GM strike for their toil, their trouble,

Mr. Massaron is international representative of United Automobile Workers Region 1B.

Forty per cent of auto workers are under the age of 35.



and their physical wear, while General Motors kept the rest.

To those perpetrators, workers are undeserving clods who cannot think for themselves and who do not share all those "noble virtues" which, in the minds of the middle class, corporate elite, and ruling class, were divinely bestowed but which actually are a result of a psychological alliance of affluence and class prejudice with the usual Calvinistic overtones.

This concept of possession of "noble virtues" runs through many middle-class professionals, middle management (public and private), as well as top management, many middle-class "liberals," and many militant student "radicals"—who could more aptly be described as ruling-class revolutionaries. They share a common concept toward power and its application, i.e., elitism.

The student ruling-class revolution-

aries are a most interesting group. They are the ones who wanted to go and tell the GM strikers what they should have been demanding from GM in the recent 1970 strike. They did not recognize that this strike and its sacrifices belonged to the GM strikers, although student support was welcome. They did not recognize that the GM strikers know what GM is and what GM really thinks of workers.

The student ruling-class revolutionary romanticizes the role of workers and the working class in society, but his hidden prejudice against workers and the working class evidences itself when he decides that he is going to tell the GM workers what they should be demanding. But before we move directly into the phenomenon of young workers as a major force in America for progressive change, it is necessary to present realistically the general condition of workers in American industrial society. It is impossible to

single out young workers and look at them as a group because they are part of a larger group that suffers from very similar problems.

### The Myth of Affluence

Recently, the middle-class media have spent considerable time discussing the "middle-class" worker and have helped to create a myth of affluence—that workers, industrial workers, and others are very well off and are affluent and that any discontent stems from just wanting more. This myth is very convincing to everyone outside the working class but is not convincing to those who find that this mythical purchasing power just is not in their hands.

The following information from the "Wage Equity Statement" presented in negotiations with General Motors in July,

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1970, by the UAW leadership shatters the myth of affluence with regard to industrial workers and members of the working class generally:

"According to General Motors, the average GM worker earning the average GM hourly rate, working the average number of hours of weekly overtime, and fully employed the 52 weeks of the year earned \$9,599 in 1969. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), the amount required for a 'modest but adequate' standard of living for a city worker's family of four in 1969 (after adjustment for price changes) was \$10,230, just \$631 more than the average General Motors worker who got his full share of overtime and had no layoffs.

"The Bureau of Labor Statistics' budget is much more modest than adequate.

"It assumes, for example, that a family will own a toaster that will last for 33

years, a lawn mower that will last for 35 years, a refrigerator and range that will each last for 17 years, a vacuum cleaner that will last for 14 years, and a television that will last for 10 years.

"This kind of budget assumes that a family will buy a two-year-old car and keep it for four years; in that time they will pay for a tune-up once a year, a brake alignment once every three years, and a front-end alignment every four years.

"It assumes the husband will buy one year-round suit every four years, which he will send out to be cleaned and pressed about once every five weeks, and it assumes he will buy one topcoat every eight and one-half years.

"It allows for the purchase of a six-pack of beer every two weeks and a fifth of liquor once every 12 weeks.

"Finally, the budget allows nothing whatever for savings. Many auto workers' families do spend more on specific items than is allowed in this budget. Many of them have spent more, but they do so by spending even less on other items or by having a second earner in the family. . . ."

In 1969, in the auto industry, workers averaged 41.7 hours per week. In the first four months of 1970, they averaged 39 hours per week. In April, 1970, they averaged 38.3 hours per week, which means that the overtime that did exist was more than offset by the fewer hours of work. An average assembler earning \$3.80 per hour would be paid \$7,904 in a 2,080-hour year, or \$2,816 less than the BLS' totally unrealistic budget of \$10,230 as a modest but allegedly adequate standard of living for a city worker's family.

To quote General Motors: "The average GM hourly rate employee is well up on the income ladder . . . in the top third income group in the nation." Rather than getting into an argument with regard to GM's statistical analysis, let's just accept it for the sake of discussion. It only proves, combined with the facts above, that the affluence of workers is merely a myth. Just to add more paint to the picture, take into account the 1970 inflation still caused by the Vietnam war and (to quote *The Wall Street Journal*) "excess corporate profits"; then factor in the increases in federal income tax (surcharge, recently decreased), state and city wage taxes, sales taxes, property taxes; and then judge for yourself whether workers face an economic crunch.

## A Worker for Life

The economic condition of workers cannot be separated from the social position of workers who find themselves in an economic crunch. There is a definite realization — sometimes subconscious, most likely conscious — that they will be workers for the rest of their lives. In all likelihood, until they retire or die they will not be able to move from their present job situation except to quit where they are and go to another job similar in nature and conditions.

The dull, dehumanizing, alienating work of an industrial worker is most responsible for the tremendous popularity of the demand in the auto industry for "30 and out" (30 years' service with the right of retirement at \$500 per month).

## Cultural and Media Attacks on Workers

Special mention must be made of the public's perception of workers, the working class, and workers' organizations. Almost systematically, and possibly more frequently in recent years, the media have sought to develop a public perception of workers as slobs and six-packers, of the white worker as a "honky" or a racist.

The attack on white workers during the 1968 Wallace presidential campaign was the work of some of the liberal media doing their "analysis." The strains that ran through the Wallace campaign cannot be so oversimplified. Wallace drew much of his worker support on the question of race but to some degree on the basis of economics and also on his appeal to a provincial, regional subculture that perceived itself as oppressed — not only in the South but from the southerners who had moved North. Wallace's populist appeal dealt, among other things, with a widely popular proposed increase in the income tax exemption. But more importantly, he appealed on the issue that the problems of black people and poor people were being addressed by national



legislation, that workers had problems (partially evident from the previous Bureau of Labor Statistics' data), and that those problems were being ignored. Further, workers were footing the bill for social programs that did not solve the problems that they have.

It is understandable why the popular comment of Wallace — "throwing the Washington bureaucrats with their briefcases into the Potomac" — had a tremendous psychological appeal to workers. This is a mass of people who know they are paying numerous and exorbitant taxes, who cannot pay their bills with the shrinking dollar, who resent being pushed by bosses' representatives at work and being programmed on how to live by the media. To say that the workers' support of Wallace (whose program was beefsteak fascism) was basically motivated by racism is a good Establishment effort at polarization, which was compliantly carried out by the media.

It is a tribute to organized labor that it was able, on economic terms, to turn around so many workers who had supported Wallace. It could be that many workers did not reject racial prejudice for economic interests but they may just have rejected the beefsteak fascism of Wallace for a more rational analysis of the economic threat of Wallace's possible election or the election of a Richard Nixon — and race was a secondary issue all the way through.

This is not to ignore the fact that real fears do exist among workers with regard to race. Many feel the economic threat in relation to their major investment, i.e., their homes. There are not that many good jobs in America, and integration is an economic threat that workers perceive. No one can deny that there is an almost unbelievable irrationality on the question of race — be it among workers, the middle class, or the upper class. One final thing must be said: Poles, Italians, Slavs, Irish, and other ethnic groups did not come to America as racists; someone had to teach them.

It really comes down to a cultural and media attack on workers. There is the portrait of the worker in his T-shirt, with a can of beer, watching the football games on Sunday and somehow being the special client of the boob-tube. In cartoons, movies, and television, workers usually are portrayed as Cro-Magnons.

When the New York building trades' hard hats attacked peace demonstrators, it was front-page news in *The New York Times*. There was also coverage of the March Against Repression in Atlanta, Ga.,

# young workers yo



but that story failed to point out that the president of the UAW and a representative of the Teamsters were leaders in that march. What is a gross insult to workers was the failure to point out the presence of the new president of the UAW, Leonard Woodcock. His first public act after the death of Walter Reuther showed the continuity of a social commitment of the largest industrial union in America. It is almost as if the public should perceive all workers as hard-hat reactionaries and should not perceive that other, larger segments of the labor movement have historically been and are presently involved in a march against repression of blacks and low-income people in general.

When in the American media have workers, the working class, or the workers' organizations been portrayed in a decent fashion? Usually, workers in the movies or on television are portrayed as the goodhearted dumb father of the hero or heroine.

Whether in Hollywood motion pictures, television, etc., the media have portrayed

labor leaders as gangsters or Communists. When having to deal with the good guy, i.e., those who cannot be painted with a brush of gangsterism or communism, the Establishment simply colors them irresponsible.

A final factor in the portrait of the general condition of workers must be added to those already mentioned: Only one-quarter of the 80-million-member work force in America are members of unions. The other three-quarters do not even have an abstract way of attempting to deal with the conditions in which they find themselves.

#### **Young Workers and American "Equality"**

Now that we have a view of the social condition of workers in general, we can look at the specific, exacerbated condition of young workers. (It should be understood that much of the analysis above and below has application to young black workers and young female workers, whose situation is, in most cases, more exacerbated than that of the young worker.) Of the 740,000 hourly workers in the auto industry in 1970, 40 per cent are under 35. One-third of the hourly employees at the

Big Three are under the age of 30. More than one-half of Chrysler's hourly workers have less than five years' seniority.

The young worker consciously begins to realize that in America he is not equal. He is not mobile except that he can go somewhere else and do something very similar to what he is doing now. He, in fact, is not free.

The American myth that if people work hard they can advance (peddled in primary and secondary schools to masses of people and believed by them) is a reality for very few who do not have the advantage of an education. Even for many who have the advantage of an education, it is not a reality.

A 24-year-old worker, with three years' seniority, two kids, a house payment to make, and all the other payments to make, soon begins to realize that he is trapped — that he will be doing what he is doing now for the rest of his life.

But sometimes it doesn't even take a few years of working in a plant for a young worker to come to that conclusion. The media have programmed him, as has the educational system, that unless he has a college education, he is a failure. He will not be free. He will not be equal. He will not be mobile.

#### **The Economic Crunch**

The young worker is in an even worse economic situation than the older worker who, if he bought a home, does not suffer from the incredibly high mortgage interest rates. The young worker, even with that overtime that he can't control, in many cases lives from week to week. It is common for many workers to wait for the paycheck so that on the same day they can go and buy food.

There are certain manifestations of working-class youth. Like their fathers, they do watch football and drink beer. Unlike their fathers, they tend to have an overconcern for cars, motorcycles, etc. The young workers of today also have better educations (though not adequate) and will accept nothing but the same rights they have on the street after they walk through the plant door. There is a great desire for individuality, equal to the desire of students on campuses. It is the feeling of the entire generation. Young workers resent, even more, working on something that threatens their health and safety.

A number of working-class children, with a considerable push from their par-

ents and the media, go through an institution of higher learning. This, of course, means to them that they will be a "success." They soon discover that they are not going to be able to attain what they thought they could attain. Most have simply substituted a white collar for a blue one. The job is sometimes less physically obnoxious, but they are still superintended rather than nonsuperintended. Thus, the feeling of powerlessness that applies to the workers in general transcends into the non-blue collar occupations. The resultant effect is the collective action and organization of teachers, because they have discovered that they are not free as individual professionals. Registered nurses discover that they are not free as individual professionals. Also interesting are the young stockbrokers in Detroit who attempted to organize and take collective action because they were not free. They must readjust the economic pie.

Of course, the educational system, besides preconditioning workers to consider themselves failures, also assures that it will be difficult for workers to develop a consciousness or a concept of what can be and what ought to be.

The preconditions for change are displeasure, contempt, and hostility because of the existing situation and a concept and consciousness of what can be and what ought to be — ideas like dignity, justice, and equality.

The life conditions and experiences of young workers are clearly making tangible the fundamental indignities, injustices, and inequities of their lives. Combine these with a basic ambiguity taught by the American educational system (and believed by young workers) that our democracy means freedom and justice for all. With this explosive mixture, there is but one conclusion.

The precise analysis necessary to measure the time it will take to reach this conclusion is not at this point available to me. But, if obtainable, perhaps it would be superfluous, although it is clear that workers' organizations are the vehicle by which implementation of that conclusion by young workers will take place — and certain signs can be read that do point to that.

It may not be the Washington bureaucrats with their briefcases who figuratively get thrown into the Potomac. Other more powerful economic forces in America may find themselves swimming.

As the young Pontiac worker said, "Look, things will either change or be changed."

# student radicals

## Student Radical Movement in the Seventies

The greatest failing of the student movement of the 1960s was its elitism. Today, the movement must reject extremist tactics of both the New Left and their conservative opponents and return to a spirit of true democracy.

by Penn Kemble

Frequently, one hears editorialists, university presidents, and many others worriedly urging the young to work within established structures. Those voicing this concern are not mossbacks and reactionaries. It is often heard from those who, whatever their political philosophies, accept the need for major changes in our society and, indeed, from some of those who are most committed to bringing about such changes.

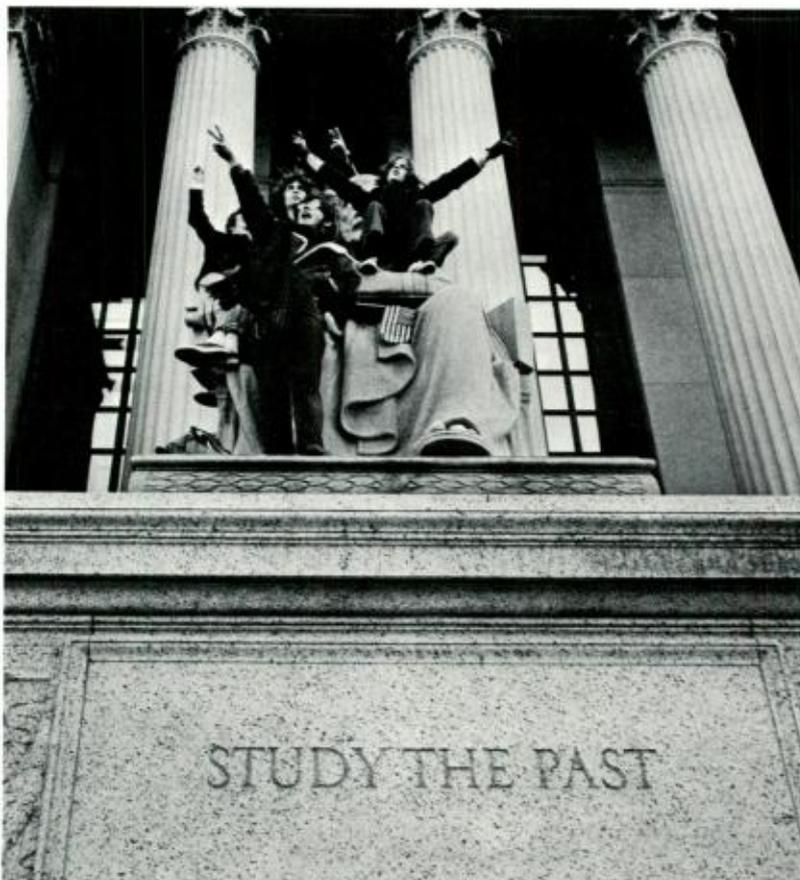
In my view, it is both mistaken and self-defeating simply to urge young people to work within established structures without accepting the democratic philosophy. Such an approach does not take into account the profound philosophical and moral misconceptions that have affected the student movement. If young people were persuaded to work within established structures, and, at the same time, were to hold on to the basic ideas of student radicalism of the 1960s, they would surely do more harm than good, both to themselves and to the society at large.

### Elitism and the "New Left"

The greatest failing of the student movement of the 1960s was its aloofness from the spirit of democracy.

The recent report on the development of the New Left by the House Committee on Internal Security explains the rise of violent and totalitarian ideas in Students for a Democratic Society as a result of the abandonment of exclusion clauses in the SDS constitution, which prevented pro-Communists and others from joining the organization. This was done at the group's 1966 national convention. Ac-

Mr. Kemble is Youth Project director, League for Industrial Democracy.



cording to the committee, this opened the way for Communists and others to enter the New Left and, in turn, subvert it.

In actuality, these exclusion clauses never deterred anyone—Maoist, Stalinist, or anarchist—from joining SDS. Their elimination was a symptom of a corruption in the New Left that had already occurred well before 1966 rather than a prelude to the enrollment of large numbers of antidemocratic members.

Anyone who has ever had any serious contact with totalitarian groups would know that no clause in an organization's constitution could itself prevent such groups from sending their members to "bore from within" if they chose to do so. In fact, some of the more sophisticated leaders of the antidemocratic bloc in SDS were strongly opposed to the deletion of the anti-Communist clauses in 1966 precisely because they understood that this would give the public evidence of the views that had for some time determined SDS policy.

The corruption of the student movement was not brought about by totalitarian infiltrators, although some were surely present. Its real cause lay in the snobbery and elitism that infected SDS and like groups from the beginning, an undemocratic ethos inherited from the experience of liberal and radical intellectuals in the 1950s.

During that relatively quiet decade, the intellectual Left came to feel betrayed by the American public. The upsurge of protest and struggle that marked the '30s and '40s appeared to peter out. The labor movement shifted its main energies from organizing the industrial workers to consolidating its gains through collective bargaining. The turmoil of Depression and world war subsided. And many Americans turned their attention from larger social issues to a concern for personal security and family life.

The new prosperity—superficial though it was—appeared to have dulled the social and moral imagination of the country. Cultural life was dominated by television, musical comedy, and the Reader's Digest Book Club. The Cold War produced a spirit of defensiveness and pro-

vincialism in international affairs. Intellectuals were held slightly suspect, as evidenced in McCarthyism and in the antiintellectualism that marked the Eisenhower-Stevenson presidential contests.

Many intellectuals responded to this mood by turning up their noses at the American public. If any important social change was to be achieved, wrote C. Wright Mills, the leading radical intellectual of the '50s, it would have to be achieved by the intellectuals and the young. The rest of the country had gone soggy on affluence.

The transition from this essentially conservative analysis of American society to a provocative and elitist radical program for action was perfectly natural. The young intellectuals of the 1960s were raised on the belief that the majority of Americans were incapable of responding to a call for change, for social justice, or for a new outlook in foreign affairs. To the extent that they could be moved, the majority would, therefore, have to be frightened and prodded. Their values and institutions had to be assaulted, protested, even disrupted. Some allies might be found among the blacks, the poor, or the affluent young—who were thought to have transcended the insecurities that possessed their parents. But the hope of creating a majority movement for social change, which by definition had to include the rank-and-file voter, was an old-fashioned and futile one.

Perhaps it does not require much explanation to demonstrate how this outlook shaped the short history of a movement such as SDS. At first, the group's leadership seized on the many apparent injustices in American life as ammunition for a sweeping, bitter assault on American society, as though vehement moral denunciation might of itself transform the nation. This ploy did succeed with some parents, educators, clergymen, and journalists, and even a few politicians. But the larger public resented it. Having failed in denunciation, the group's leaders shifted their tactics to threats and disruption. Peace marches became often vicarious, and sometimes real, confrontations with authorities. Draft files were destroyed. Public officials and some corporate recruiters were so harassed that they could not appear on certain college campuses. Yet, this had little more success. And, in an ultimate (but, given their premises, logical) mood of desperation, some of the "new radicals" turned to sporadic acts of violence and destruction.

# student radicals st

Young people clean land for development of "Peoples' Park" in Syracuse, N.Y.



## One More Chance

This history must be kept in mind when assessing the shift toward working through the democratic process, which was so much talked about during recent election campaigns. If the student movement is to redeem itself, it must not only turn away from the extremist tactics of the New Left. It must also reject the essentially elitist and conservative view of American society that gave rise to the disruption and violence of the late '60s.

While there are some hopeful signs that such a trend is now possible, there is no very convincing evidence that it is naturally and inevitably going to become dominant. It is, after all, possible for students to work in electoral politics with-

out abandoning an elitist philosophy. Throughout the 1968 presidential campaign, and to some extent again in 1970, those of us who took part in electoral activities heard the refrain: "I'm giving the democratic process one more chance."

The kinds of students who indulge in this attitude are not, in fact, accepting democracy. They are trying to manipulate it. They are using a stratagem adapted from the upper middle-class home: if they don't get what they want, they'll throw a tantrum. They are not acknowl-

edging the authenticity of other people's views and problems. They are not offering serious arguments and programs to change the minds of those with whom they disagree.

This approach, of course, does not work, except perhaps with a limited group of people for a limited period of time. Most people simply resent anyone who makes such demands. Moreover, those who threaten to use extremist tactics when the democratic process fails them are being forced to question not only the morality but the effectiveness of such methods. For it is clear that, when students do in fact carry out their threats,

they hurt only themselves and greatly strengthen their opponents in terms of public opinion and support.

All this leads back to the original point. Young people must be convinced not only to work within the democratic system but to accept a democratic philosophy as well. Without such a philosophy, their work within the system will bear the same bitter fruit that has resulted from the New Left protest of the past decade. And, of course, it will lead simply to a new disillusionment, rather than creative growth, in the student movement.

What are the requirements of such a philosophy? One, obviously, is scrupulous adherence to democratic methods, no matter how long or how difficult the

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effort to achieve change may be. But, equally important, the snobbish opinion of the "middle American" that prevails among student activists must be replaced with a new tolerance and respect. There must be a willingness to work together with groups that represent this population even when important differences may persist.

Middle Americans are not all middle-aged. A majority of young Americans are not college students. And among the nonstudents there is a substantial current of anti-New Left sentiment. The Yankelovich poll for *Fortune* magazine, taken

shortly before the 1968 presidential election, showed that fully one-quarter of nonstudent youth supported George Wallace. Even among college students there is no common outlook. (Witness the rousing reception President Nixon received at his University of Kansas appearance last October.) There is no real evidence to support illusions among some discontented students that all they need to do is wait until the older generation dies off to achieve a "liberated" society.

### Activism Within the Democratic System

Some beginnings have been made in reestablishing ties between students and other social activists and the mainstream forces concerned with social change. The trade union movement — both the AFL-CIO and the United Automobile Workers — has supported a national student program in voter registration and turnout. This proved surprisingly effective in the 1970 election period. The project, called "Frontlash-1970," was responsible for the registration of hundreds of thousands of voters in many states.

Groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the A. Philip Randolph Institute have begun working to win black and white youth away from separatist groups and to foster cooperation with the more truly representative, integrationist elements in the black community.

The Movement for a New Congress, a pro-peace political action movement, recruited students for work in last fall's political campaigns — in some cases with candidates who had not previously had much campus support.

The United States Youth Council, a federation of 16 national youth and student organizations, sponsors programs in two important fields. One serves to develop stronger ties between democratic youth in this country and their counterparts in foreign countries in the hopes of countering blind anti-Americanism abroad and neo-isolationism at home. The other involves work with farm and housing cooperatives, which have a wealth of experience to offer the growing student efforts in the cooperative field.

The League for Industrial Democracy, an educational organization, has established a Youth Project on Democratic Change, which serves as a resource center for democratic youth activities. During the recent political campaign period, for example, the league sponsored a series of nonpartisan conferences in which young activists were brought together with representatives from labor and the

Students work for social change within the system.



black community to discuss means of effective electoral cooperation.

So far, these groups make up virtually the entire list of those which stress both democratic philosophy and democratic action. There are, to be sure, other primarily activist youth organizations whose work is perfectly consistent with democratic philosophy. Some of the most noteworthy are those which, like "Nader's Raiders," seek change through legal action. There are a number of effective organizations in the environment field. Chief among these is Environmental Action, which organized last spring's phenomenally successful Earth Day. The Youth Franchise Coalition, a group committed to reducing the voting age to 18, created the potent lobby that helped pass recent national legislation on this issue.

These are the trend-setting organizations within the substantial student constituency that rejects both extremism and complacency. If there is to be a revival of a democratic student movement, it will, in my judgment, begin with organizations of this kind.

Few of these organizations have had much friendly contact with the business community. No doubt this is partly due to the nature of the changes most of them are asking. Yet perhaps it could be argued that business itself is not being sufficiently farsighted. Businessmen should encourage those who are struggling to reestablish democratic ideals in the youth

movements for change, even where there may be differences over some points of program and philosophy.

### Corporate Responsibility and Social Change

It should be kept in mind that there are not simply two alternatives: rightism and leftism. It is all too apparent in today's youth culture that there is a third alternative, which exists not only in theory but is already present on the social scene: dropping out.

The intellectual and moral confusion created by the absence of a democratic alternative to either the status quo or the extremist Left is fostering a kind of demoralization among the young. This is not confined simply to the dramatically extremist groups — junkies, freaks, pathological militants, and the like. Unless it is counteracted, it will have an increasingly important impact on the mainstream culture and the economy. This demoralization has important practical consequences to businessmen and to society in general. It involves the inability of young people to make rational decisions about their careers, to take academic training seriously, to exercise any discipline over their daily lives, to take responsibility in their work.

No doubt many businessmen wish that the cultural values of the pre-affluent society could be reestablished among the young. Ironically, it has been American business — with its impressive productivity and its Madison Avenue advertising — that has, more than any other force, undermined these values. Not all the incantations of Spiro Agnew or the prayers of Billy Graham can ever bring them back. But self-discipline, responsibility, creativity, productivity, all these values can be revived in a more relevant form through the participation by young people in democratic life.

The extension of democracy may pose some threats to business. Young people who have asked that corporations be denied some of their traditional prerogatives in order, for example, to curb pollution or to prevent the dislocation of certain communities have met strong opposition. And yet, unless the kinds of democratic youth groups generating such pressures are accepted and encouraged, businessmen — who are also citizens and parents — will almost surely find that the extremist or nihilistic trends among the young will grow stronger.

Business cannot survive if these trends grow. Nor can our democratic institutions as a whole.

# challenge of change

## The Challenge of Change

Americans can work together for positive change through more constructive use of our nation's human resources, combined with the energy of our nation's youth.

by Gordon B. Thomas

It is tragic and ironic to reflect upon the history of America, a nation that in the annals of history may be described as the most sophisticated, mechanized, automated civilization ever to exist on this planet.

With all this sophistication, we find ourselves now in a state of turmoil; a critical time when the babble of dissent is fashionable, when radicals are looked upon as normal, and normal people who exhibit pride in their country are looked upon with suspicion.

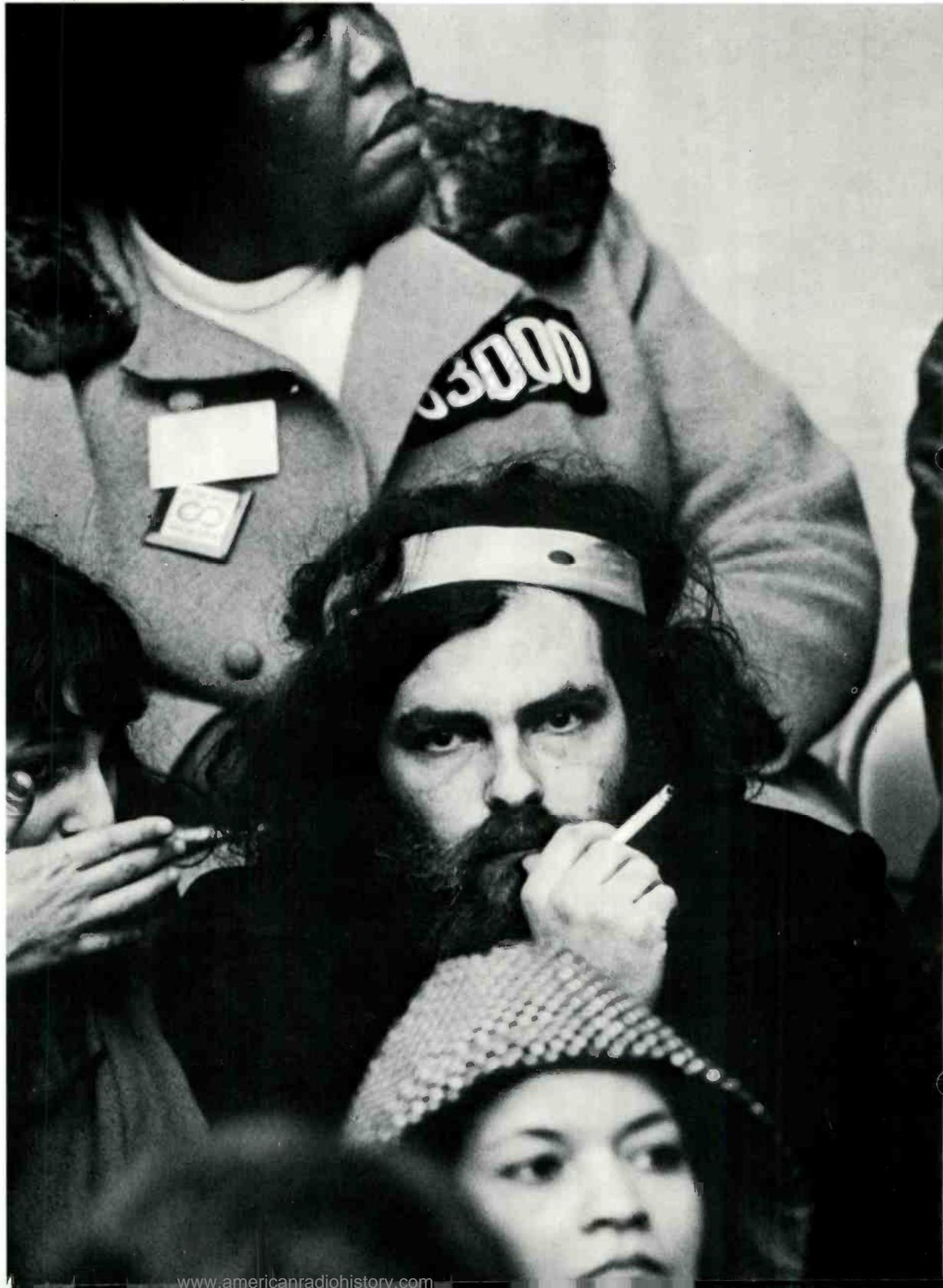
Ours is a nation born of revolution, tempered by war, saddened by the loss of national leaders at the hands of impetuous madmen, divided by dissent. We are puzzled by a hard and questionable peace. Our minds are pierced with harsh rhetoric, which is hurled indiscriminately and maliciously by those intent on the total destruction of this country — destruction totally devoid of any thought or single goal for its reconstruction or alternatives. The family unit, so long the stabilizing force in America, has all but fallen apart, and the moral fiber from which this nation has so long been held together is rapidly decaying.

Today, names such as Jerry Rubin, Abbie Hoffman, Mark Rudd, and Bernadine Dohrn have replaced, in the minds of the young, names such as George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, Abraham Lincoln, and Thomas Jefferson. It is indeed an ironic contradiction of purpose and thought.

This has been abetted by well-meaning but apathetic citizens who seemingly have just not cared enough about what is going on in this country and who have taken for granted all the liberties, freedoms, and material resources of this na-

Mr. Thomas is president of the U. S. Jaycees.

Radicals represent extremist pressure group for social reform.



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tion at a time when involvement is the key to perpetuating our national heritage.

It is peculiarly tragic that historically the American people have remained complacent until a national tragedy occurs. Only then are they spurred to action. It is the apathetic majority that makes the small percentage of dissenters loom as a very real and powerful force in society today.

Among the pressing questions of today are: Can we as American citizens wait any longer, and how long will it take for enough concerned individuals to stand on their feet and say "that's enough"? Once we have honestly and objectively answered these questions, we can then turn our attention to the next. Why can't a nation that commands one-third of the world's wealth wipe out acute social problems that hang like a cloud over the national horizon? With our vast, rich manpower resources represented in more than 200 million citizens, why haven't we been more effective in solving these critical issues?

Perhaps because we haven't been logical in our approach. We haven't studied the situation in depth, developed our priorities, and then worked to accomplish our common goals. We haven't united.

Rather, we have acted with greed. "What's in it for me?" has been the question all too often asked. We have acted like spoiled children, stamping our feet, demanding our way, and using tactics that not only irritate but also alienate.

Unfortunately, too many of us have not placed a very high price on what makes America the greatest country in the world — its people. This may raise eyebrows, but how can we say we respect our fellow man when we shoot at him from back alleys, bomb his home, ignore him as he ages, and permit him to live in the slums?

It's time we all recognized our "Pearl Harbor," our moment of awakening. It's time we worked toward a united effort to meet our challenges and problems.

By far, our greatest problem is our greatest natural resource, the American people themselves.

Consider those people who, either because of ignorance or fear on society's part or because they are not being given a chance, are not a productive resource. I am thinking here of those who might be deprived: physically, economically, and mentally.

A few years back, the United States Jaycees realized that too many lives were being wasted because of lack of chance or opportunity.

We had often been thought of as an organization intent upon painting the park benches — and, at that, usually in the part of town least needing it. We had our own "Pearl Harbor," and we began to pay attention to the person who sat on that bench, and the deprived person who might not even get the chance to rest on the bench.

We began to look into such areas as mental health and retardation, prisoner rehabilitation, housing for the elderly. Our goal was to find ways and means of taking nonproductive individuals and turning them into part of our most important natural resource.

#### Mental Health and Retardation

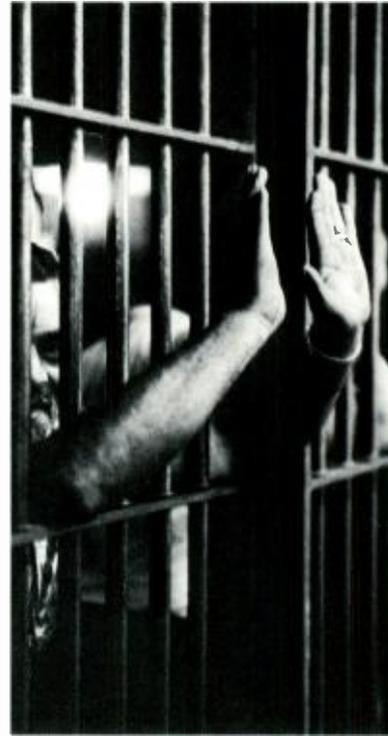
Ten out of every 100 Americans will require some form of psychiatric care sometime during their lives, and an estimated three out of every 100 children are mentally retarded. What most Americans fail to realize is that a substantial number of the mentally retarded are quite capable of handling manual tasks and can be trained to fulfill a useful and productive role in industry. Many tedious and monotonous assembly procedures can be handled with a high degree of accuracy by mentally retarded persons. This represents an all but untapped manpower resource for business and industry throughout the country.

Being young men themselves (ranging in age from 21-35), Jaycees have become especially involved in working with mentally retarded young people. One of the most important concepts in this area involves the establishment of a "halfway house" for mentally retarded children who leave an institution. This was begun by concerned Jaycees in the vicinity of Hartford, Conn., and has since been developed for use by other chapters.

A child who has spent time in an institution cannot be expected to walk out one day and become accustomed to normal everyday living. The big Colonial house in Newington, Conn., makes that transition easier. It is located in the heart of a residential area. The youngsters (ages 6-17) who live there attend local schools, play with other neighborhood youngsters, and do chores around the house they would be expected to do if they lived at home. The only supervision they have is that of their house mother and father, two people who give them the encouragement and love they need to live in the outside world.

Jaycees, by the way, had the house built, paid for it, and donated it to the state of Connecticut. As a result, many

Jaycees work with prisoners and mentally retarded youngsters.



youngsters who normally would be destined to a life of misery and ridicule will make it in our society because they are receiving real care and attention — and the "right invitation" back to society.

#### Prisoner Rehabilitation

There are literally tens of thousands of lives being wasted each year in our many prisons from coast to coast. Men and women who have gone astray of the law are locked away in inadequate facilities — in many cases, no more than warehouses — with nonprofessional supervision, and left to "serve their time" among other criminals. Then, upon release, they are expected to rehabilitate themselves.

This is an insult to the intelligence of the American public. What is particularly troubling is that so many of these people are young. Given the chance, and perhaps the benefit of intelligent counseling, they might become useful and important citizens of our nation.

According to recent statistics, 76 per cent of all convicts eventually return to prison. While some people are willing to write off young law-breakers as good-for-nothings, the Jaycees have tried to help them. And I'm told by penal officials that our program has substantially re-



duced the rate of recidivism. Fewer of the convicts who participate in our program return to prison. They find they can make it on the outside.

Why? For one reason, they know somebody cares. And, because we give them the tools to help themselves. (How would you like to be released from a prison, be given \$25 and a suit of clothes, and told to get a job, find a home, and adjust to the outside world — all within a week?)

We have organized more than 100 chapters in federal, state, and local institutions in 40 states. These chapters have more than 4,000 inmate members. The members are encouraged to assume a sense of responsibility — something many ordinarily lack; they are encouraged to become active in civic causes, both behind and outside of the walls of the prison. And Jaycee members offer that necessary personal care to prisoners when they get out.

It's difficult. But Jaycee members throughout the nation are helping former convicts adjust. We've given them "buddies" they can contact on the outside, we've sponsored halfway houses, we've taken them into our own homes. Hence, young lives are being saved and used wisely within the context of our society.

This program is doing something else, too. It is rallying people to work within the system to change the system.

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This is a very important point, especially among young people. Sure, you can catch headlines by firebombing the Establishment, by provoking or attacking policemen, by rioting. But what do you gain? What accomplishments are achieved through riot or disorder?

When I ask these questions of young people, they often shrug and say, "Work through the system? Are you kidding?"

No, I am not kidding. I say that most of our problems have been caused by the failure to work through this system. The system is not perfect, of course, but what is perfect is that the system itself can be changed — and has been changed when necessary.

I cite the prison program as one example of how we can change the system. An important phase of that program is to get "free people"— you and me — into prisons to see what they are all about, to see for themselves the facilities and treatment accorded these imprisoned people. Last year alone, 300,000 to 400,000 free persons visited prisons to attend Jaycee chapter meetings or other functions. As a result of this public interest, we have been able to rally support for state legislation for such progressive reforms as work-release programs, the establishment of professional parole boards, and even local jail advisory committees.

It is an example of how concerned people can unite and fight the system from within the system. It is an example of how concerned people can tackle one of the major problems in the nation today and, as a result, return to society men and women who can be expected to live useful and productive lives.

Our work in mental retardation and prisoner rehabilitation offers two examples of how it is possible to achieve badly needed results.

I wish more young people in America today would follow this same pattern.

It would seem that the university structure needs change in the context of today's technological society. The structure, as applied, has remained substantially the same since its inception in the 11th century.

Who has defined the needs, and how can the university structure be changed to fit them? How can these needs best be met in terms of the common good?

A university is not a government unto itself. Yet, the university and its administrators seem to be the first target of the student radical. Part of the reason may be that the university is, after all, a separate segment of society. One has only to visit a university town or city to sense a sepa-

ration—a tension of sorts between students and residents of the community. Perhaps students should be given greater freedom to live and mingle with the citizenry; and perhaps the local citizens themselves, instead of fearing or hating the students, should accept them more freely.

But, for the university, significant change must come from within. That institution must take a relentless look at its own society and its own needs. Are some of its rules mere relics of the Victorian era? Is the administration itself heedless of democratic process? Is academic tenure more important than flexibility? Change will come to the university only when apathetic faculty members and alumni awaken to the needs of students and begin to realize that they are still in need of guidance.

Too often, the "activist" student is associated with the "radical" rock-thrower. Through the curriculum, the faculty must encourage students to accept divergent opinion. Students must be able to experience the peaceful exchange of ideas. Conservative, liberal, and even extremist discourse should be allowed to flower in the cultural habitat of the university.

Others, too, can help the university achieve peaceful change. Currently, the U.S. Jaycees are conducting a "campus tour" in search of what is needed to accomplish the peaceful, effective change of our institutions of higher learning. This change is a task that demands the best efforts we can give toward understanding these young people and their needs.

By the same token, there is much left to be desired among police departments in the United States. But we're not going to accomplish anything by throwing rocks at police officers or shouting "pig" in an effort to taunt them to overreact. We can upgrade our police departments by working within the system to attract high-caliber individuals to police work and to provide adequate salaries so that they need not resort to bribes.

The young people of America today are in a position to assume leadership of this country at a very early age. As the nation approaches its 200th anniversary, we grow younger. The balance of power has shifted to the young.

I hope we will take advantage of this shift.

We can do so by becoming involved in the problems of our cities and universities. We can all help, whether by taking part in the local clean-up drive or working with the Scouting movement, the Red Cross, or the local planning board.

Let us make it known in the community that we are unhappy with the way things have been going. And let it be known, too, that we are going to work within the system for change. For this is the most frightening prospect of all to the established leadership, when disgruntled people actually work *within* the system.

Look at some of the political machines that have been overturned — and those that have not. When reformists chose to strike out on their own, setting up rival organizations, they were all too often defeated. However, when they chose to work within the political organization, they accomplished a great deal more.

Let our young people get involved in politics, get to know as many people in the community as possible by working on various community projects, build up a following in the organization...and then make their move. Let them run for office and take over the organization in order to accomplish change.

Young people today, so outspoken against our system, are in a wonderful position to take over that system. Together we can stamp out poverty, eliminate the blight of our cities, and deal effectively with other miseries of contemporary human life.

As we approach our 200th anniversary as a free nation, we should pause for a moment and reflect upon our past. The founders of this country proclaimed to all the world the revolutionary doctrine of the divine right of certain freedoms inherent to the common man. That doctrine has ever since been at the heart of the American faith. Because of the sacred and inalienable rights proclaimed by the collective of individual American citizens, this nation will change. It will change into a better existence for all through the constructive dedication of humanity combined with the positive energy of the youth of today.

Americanism is a matter of principle, positive direction, and purpose; it is a matter of idealism and of character. It does not depend merely on one's place of birth, creed, or ancestry. Our hope is that all Americans — young and old alike — will soon come to realize this and begin to base their actions on it. Therein lies the hope of a free mankind. ■

## The Alliance of Business and Youth

Increased communication with youth is a major prerequisite if businessmen are to gain the perspective needed to foster workable approaches for the improvement of society.

by A. Wright Elliott

"It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the season of light, it was the season of darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair."

These words of Charles Dickens, reflecting as they do both optimism and pessimism, are perhaps the most accurate of any old or new definition of the phenomenon usually described by words such as "generation gap" and "youth revolt." Unfortunately, the majority of material written about youth and students these days tends to stress the extremes, from either the optimistic or the pessimistic point of view.

But a careful examination of the views offered by several experts suggests that the real causes of the problem may not, in fact, be those most frequently articulated: racial discrimination, the Vietnam war, poverty, and, more recently, problems of ecology and the environment. Overseas, however, the Vietnam war and race conflicts are not superheated issues. Yet Red China, the Soviet Union, Poland, West Germany, France, Italy, and England have shared the American experience of youth unrest. Is there a common denominator that is universal to youth of all nations? The evidence is not all in, but some aspects are enlightening.

There is much to be learned by examining briefly the roots of youth unrest. There are four broad subject areas that are of special interest. These involve the affluent society, demographic changes, psychological factors, and extended dependency. By combining points from all four areas, we should be able to establish a composite of factors contributing to the problem of youth growing up in an adult world.

Mr. Elliott is senior vice president of the National Association of Manufacturers.

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## The Affluent Society

American youth — at the least most of those under 30 — have grown up during a period of increasing economic affluence so that their preoccupation with work or the achievement of survival requirements has been almost nil. The world that they observe around them is one in which economic survival, especially for college graduates, is virtually guaranteed. By contrast, they observe pockets of poverty and discrimination, but those from middle-income or high-income families reject this possibility for themselves.

Most businessmen are aware of Abraham Maslow's hypothesis that as man's material wants — the provision of food, clothing, and shelter — are satisfied, his desires progress up a ladder toward a goal of self-realization, this goal being the epitome of man's efforts to improve his earthly lot.

One view of students with a Maslow orientation comes from Dr. Nevitt Sanford, a Stanford University psychologist: "Today's students are not thinking about economic security, but rather about a kind of psychological security. Their dream is a dream of group harmony, or of community, of internal well-being, self-determination, self-realization, and the capacity to enjoy life fully."

Dr. Alex Sherriffs, professor of psychology at the University of California, in comparing today's youth with previous generations, says that today's youth are better trained intellectually but more lonely, less able to postpone gratification, and more afraid of risk and making mistakes. They want absolutes. They are less able to tolerate probability and compromise; and they have more difficulty accepting authority.

Although the impact of affluence on American youth may not be totally applicable to the youth of other nations, it is true that most Western European countries are more affluent today than ever before. And this wealth is affecting the youth of those nations accordingly.

## Demographic Changes

Another possible common denominator is hinted at by David Easton and Jack Dennis in their book, *Children in the Political System*. They say that anytime the absolute size or the proportionate share of population shifts toward lower age levels, there is the possibility of a decline in respect for the authority of established institutions. While this is not offered as a single valid reason for youth unrest,

it must be remembered that young people constitute larger numbers in our population than ever before; and this is true for other countries as well.

## Psychological Factors

Many American youth believe the Vietnam war is immoral. Some psychologists suggest that, since it was possible until recently for college students to gain military deferments, it was essential for them to view the war as immoral in order to justify their nonparticipation. Additionally, many young people, if not most, believe that atomic and hydrogen weapons are personal threats to their continued existence. Therefore, some maintain that they have no future.

However, psychologists suggest that the real reason youth believe their future to be bleak is not because of an immoral war or weapons capable of massive destruction but rather because they fear society can do nicely without them. In other words, youth have a feeling of rejection, a feeling that no one really needs them. This view, if believed by even a few, holds great potential danger for our society. Any society that does not need and use its youth will likely not exist at some point in the future.

In a similar vein, Bruno Bettelheim, University of Chicago professor and a noted child psychiatrist, maintains that, despite the moral attitude of youth toward the war in Vietnam, the atomic bomb, or racial conflict, the real issue in their minds is the neglect or lack of personal attention they believe is paid to them. Businessmen, among others, should be prepared to reassure youth who actually are frightened by a society in which technological advances appear to have excluded them from playing any real role in the future.

## Extended Dependency

With schooling required to age 16 and strong social pressures urging not only the completion of high-school education but college attendance as well, the state of dependency is extended to age 22 — or, in the case of graduate students, to those in the 22-30 age group. This state of dependency is extended and a certain conformity demanded, but no countering demand for a responsible contribution to society is made. Our society tends to assume that contribution will come later.

The youth of the nation, in order to escape this lengthening period of dependency, either do not go to college, in which case they are precluded from many vocations, or, having college forced

Corporation executive discusses career future with college students.



upon them, become alienated and drop out before graduation. The view of some young people that college is a "rat race" stems from their conviction that the goals and benefits of a college degree are not worthwhile to them.

It is obvious that large numbers of students enrolled in institutions of higher learning are not finding through study — at least at this point in their lives — the type of self-realization or self-satisfaction that they seek. It is becoming more clear that what they do wish is an opportunity to find and develop their adulthood and establish their stake in society. Those students who cannot or will not adapt to the schedule of study at a college often tend to be the most vocal and active in criticizing the institution. In lieu of a learn-

ing role, many assume an activist's role on the campus as a way of achieving self-realization. What students really want and need is meaningful social, political, and economic activity. But universities were not created as therapeutic institutions and were never intended to achieve this goal. Consequently, many students feel frustrated.

## Youth Alienation vs. Free Enterprise

The nature and causes of the youth movement are complex; and to subscribe to any single cause as being dominant can be dangerous. However, the factors cited above continue to underlie student unrest even though student activism focuses on specific issues as rallying points for dissent.

Once a specific issue emerges, a variety of rationales is at work, each capable

# alliance with youth

of motivating different students and for widely different reasons. It requires only a tiny minority of emotionally committed youth to take the lead on an issue and persuade larger numbers of youth to become activists on that issue. It is an understanding of the potential of this condition that underlies one of several reasons for increased business involvement with the youth of this nation.

Daniel Yankelovich, in his 1968 research studies on youth, suggested that large numbers of students, because of misinformation or lack of information, can be persuaded to join radical leaders in an attack upon business. These students are generally not members of a racial minority or low-income families. Instead, they are from affluent, middle-class families. If the Yankelovich composite is correct, a significant number of students are not in college either to seek a career or to move upward in society. They see no future in such goals, or else they take them for granted.

These students, while not always well informed, usually feel disenchanting or alienated. Racial issues rank very high with many of these youth. They are easily convinced that our economic institutions are exploiting people. Yankelovich suggests that the attack on business will be focused on issues of race and exploitation and that "this battle is not to be fought on intellectual grounds; it is to be pursued on an emotional level whose intensity will surprise... most participants."

## What Business Can Do

In view of the widespread acknowledgment of youth alienation and the variety of its causes, what courses of action are open to business leaders to prevent a disruptive escalation in youth unrest? It is impractical even to suggest, let alone attempt to devise, a single plan or program. But there are one or two general principles that can be suggested as initial guidelines.

Before developing these guidelines, two summary points should be established. First, there are substantial differences in the values held by many, but not all, young people. In brief, these values tend to mirror a shift from an emphasis on economic and material values to social, moral, and ethical values. Second, a very large number of young people have an active or latent fear that their personal ambitions (including career options) and hopes for society are in conflict with the

economic system of private enterprise.

Human values have always had a habit of shifting over a period of time. In part, this is true because values are most frequently related to one's fears, hopes, and ambitions. These values also change with time and circumstances. A remarkable opportunity exists today to allay the fears of youth and, in the process, to gain their support of and involvement in the business community. Thus it is vital for business to initiate new give-and-take discussion and expand existing communications with youth — and also with those over 30.

Make no mistake. Businessmen should not enter into any communications program on the assumption that discussions will solve problems or talk them out of existence. The best we can hope for is a greater degree of understanding. Increased communications with youth is a prerequisite if business is to be able to respond to their ambitions, hopes, and fears. But no one should delude himself into believing that moral leadership or public speeches will solve real problems or be responsive to personal ambitions and fears of youth. There is a clear need for youth to participate personally — to have actual involvement — if personal understanding and self-realization are to be achieved.

## Corporate Approaches

Already several corporations in their recruiting programs have recognized the merits of small, private meetings with students. Other corporations are selecting young and promising employees to spend up to six months of their advanced training period visiting college campuses and talking with students. In both instances, the emphasis is on small groups so that issues can be explored in depth.

Further, many corporations may find that a new look at recruiting goals is in order. In the past, the businessman has traditionally been characterized as an ambitious, highly motivated individual attempting to move up the socioeconomic ladder. There are many young people who have these same ambitions today. Many, however, are members of minority races; and, quite obviously, not all potential managers and engineers are enrolled in colleges. Businessmen should not focus all their efforts upon college-age youth. The needs of all age levels, including those of high-school students, should be considered.

Business firms should reconsider their educational requirements and evaluate the merits of recruiting at the high-school



level. Moreover, larger firms have an opportunity to develop and institute new types of training and development programs either cooperatively with schools or separately to meet the needs and ambitions of youth.

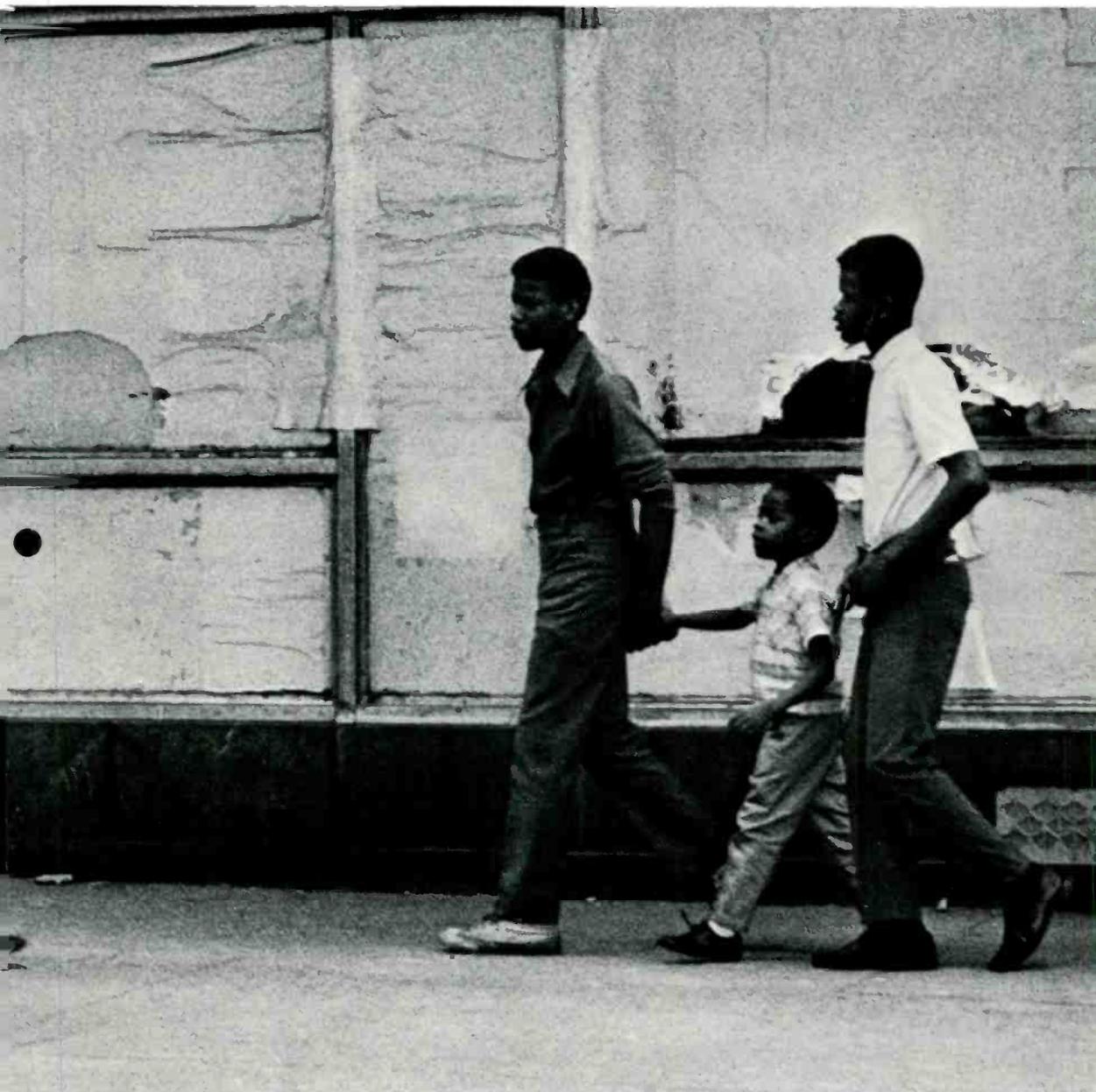
One major corporation, which employs large numbers of technicians and engineers, has already begun to recruit junior-college graduates. After two years of employment, these people are being

placed in positions that previously would have been filled by the holder of a baccalaureate degree.

Since the high turnover rate among college graduates in their first jobs suggests a considerable amount of indecision and confusion, it will be interesting to see if this particular effort produces a higher retention factor.

There is little doubt that many college and university students have little interest in or desire to participate fully in the intellectual and scholarly offerings of higher education. There is a good possibility that many of the frustrating problems of

# Alliance with youth



youth might be solved, or at the least diminished, if dual-purpose programs of professional training and education could be tied to employment. There is also little doubt that some manpower is underutilized. It will continue to be underutilized, perhaps even more so, unless businessmen communicate to educators and students more specific requirements for particular jobs.

At the local community level of participation, more companies may want to develop their own programs with local youth

and youth groups. One interesting and effective method of corporate involvement that increases the possibilities for personal contact can be developed by identifying corporate facilities that can meet a real need — gymnasiums, health clinics, or auditoriums used only a few hours a day — if opened for community use.

Second, businessmen must accelerate their efforts to identify profitable market opportunities to solve social problems. We are at a critical juncture in the future development of our society. The former pattern, whereby we relegated certain

social problems to private or government agencies, is showing signs of decay and collapse. Both young people and adults are questioning this procedure of dealing with human needs, especially in view of its limited success over the past 40 years.

#### **A Mutual Involvement**

One of the undetermined aspects of youth activism is whether youth are really more interested in promoting their own particular values than in seeing problems solved. Despite heralded efforts to in-

volve youth politically, there are indications that most youth are more committed to active problem-solving than winning elections.

Five years ago, the involvement of profit-seeking firms in "social problem-solving" was either a new concept or one reborn. Today, the concept, even though widely misunderstood and not yet full blown, shows every sign of increasing in scope. The many programs in which profit-seeking companies have been engaged over the past five years — in the areas of employment, housing, education, minority enterprise — are impressive. Even so, there are few things more critical to our country's success in the next decade than really "turning the private sector on." In the process, the youth of this nation will see the real social value of business.

What is needed are a multiplicity of strategies and programs, a high degree of innovation, and active competition among companies to generate high visibility for proven programs and services that really work. Youth can be of invaluable assistance in designing these corporate efforts, and guidance will be necessary because business must be involved as business. This can be done by converting social problems into market opportunities. What is required is the entrepreneurial vision to devise a means of coupling profit-making with quality-of-life programming. In this climate, and with the assistance of business leaders, youth can prove to their own satisfaction that their personal ambitions and hopes for society are not in conflict with a private enterprise economy.

Business is not capable of solving all social problems. But, in view of the unsuccessful efforts of the political sector to date, a new national climate is developing that accepts a profit-seeking firm as a natural and legitimate participant. If businessmen will but recognize the opportunity and view youth as allies, young people can be swept into a dialogue that will influence their most basic concepts about the logic of regarding business as a constant adversary in lieu of active participation.

The responsibility of seeking to foster and develop rapport with youth is not a one-way street. Full participation and an assumption of part of the responsibility for a better society rest with young people. Young people must demonstrate their willingness to assist in the development of workable approaches to improve society. Results, not good intentions, should be the measuring stick. ■

# consumer market

## Our Changing Consumer Market

The traditional concept of ownership is waning, and an increasingly larger slice of the consumer dollar is going for services rather than products.

by E. B. Weiss

The hippies of the middle to late 1960s changed the world more dramatically, as well as more beneficially, than did all of the older generations combined. Now they are going the way of all flesh. They are acquiring a haunch, a paunch, and a jowl (the last not quite hidden by their beards). But this is true only physically. In their social mores, political convictions, and economic outlook, they tend to remain far removed from the Establishment — not quite so far removed as originally but still far enough to carve out a middle position between the oncoming generation of youngsters (now ages 16 to 18) and the oldsters.

What will constitute the typical "scene" of this oncoming generation? How will they alter society — and, as a consequence, how will they reshape business?

Let us remember that it was this same subgeneration from which the discontented youngsters of 1965-70 emerged. At most, they represented no more than 10 per cent of their 16-18 age bracket; they constituted no more than 20 per cent of the undergraduates when they entered college. They probably totaled little more than 1 million people, yet they changed our world.

They influenced not only their peers but even their elders. They revolutionized our sexual mores, political and educational traditions, attitudes toward art, music, and literature — toward life patterns in general.

The next youth revolution (pinpoint it at 1975-1980) is now in the process of being shaped by the current thinking of the present 16- to 18-year-olds.

Mr. Weiss is vice president of creative marketing for Doyle Dane Bernbach, Inc.

Goods-oriented zoot suiters of the early 1940s have been replaced by a new generation.



It is precisely these people who will exert an even greater degree of dynamic change on total society than did the now receding-hairline age group that restructured our society so amazingly in the late 1960s.

It is imperative to bear in mind, when trying to project the impact on our society of this small segment of our population, that the great social innovations of history were all sparked by minorities. During our own war of liberation, no more than 20 per cent of the colonists were revolutionary activists. Had it not been for that small minority, the radicals of their era, we would all be intoning "God save the Queen" today. (And never forget that the Boston Tea Party was a violent episode that involved the destruction of "property.")

For industry, the intriguing question is this: "What will be the philosophy of the current crop of 16- to 18-year-olds as they move toward the ripe old age of 25, which will represent the outer limit of the true youth generation of 1975-1980?" To frame an answer, we must start with a review of the fantastic impact of those 1 million youngsters of 1965-1970.

Why did even students of the Harvard Business School — once an ultraconservative profit-maximizing campus — approve and finance an advertisement in *The Wall Street Journal* condemning the administration of President Nixon as "unwilling to move for a transformation of American society in accordance with the goals of maximum fulfillment for each human being and harmony between mankind and nature"?

A former dean of admissions at the school, when asked about the students' philosophy, replied: "I guess it means they're not going to work for Procter & Gamble and make those dishwasher soaps that don't dissolve and smother the lakes. They don't want to work for big companies anyway, or so they say. They say big companies treat them as objects."

Now, the message of those young activists is penetrating even the highest executive levels of giant corporations. For example, the vice chairman of the board of AT&T recently said: "The concerned, dissatisfied young, aching for some relevance, searching for answers,

can perform a service by shaking us out of our complacency. I'd like to have more of them in my business. We need more of them in our society."

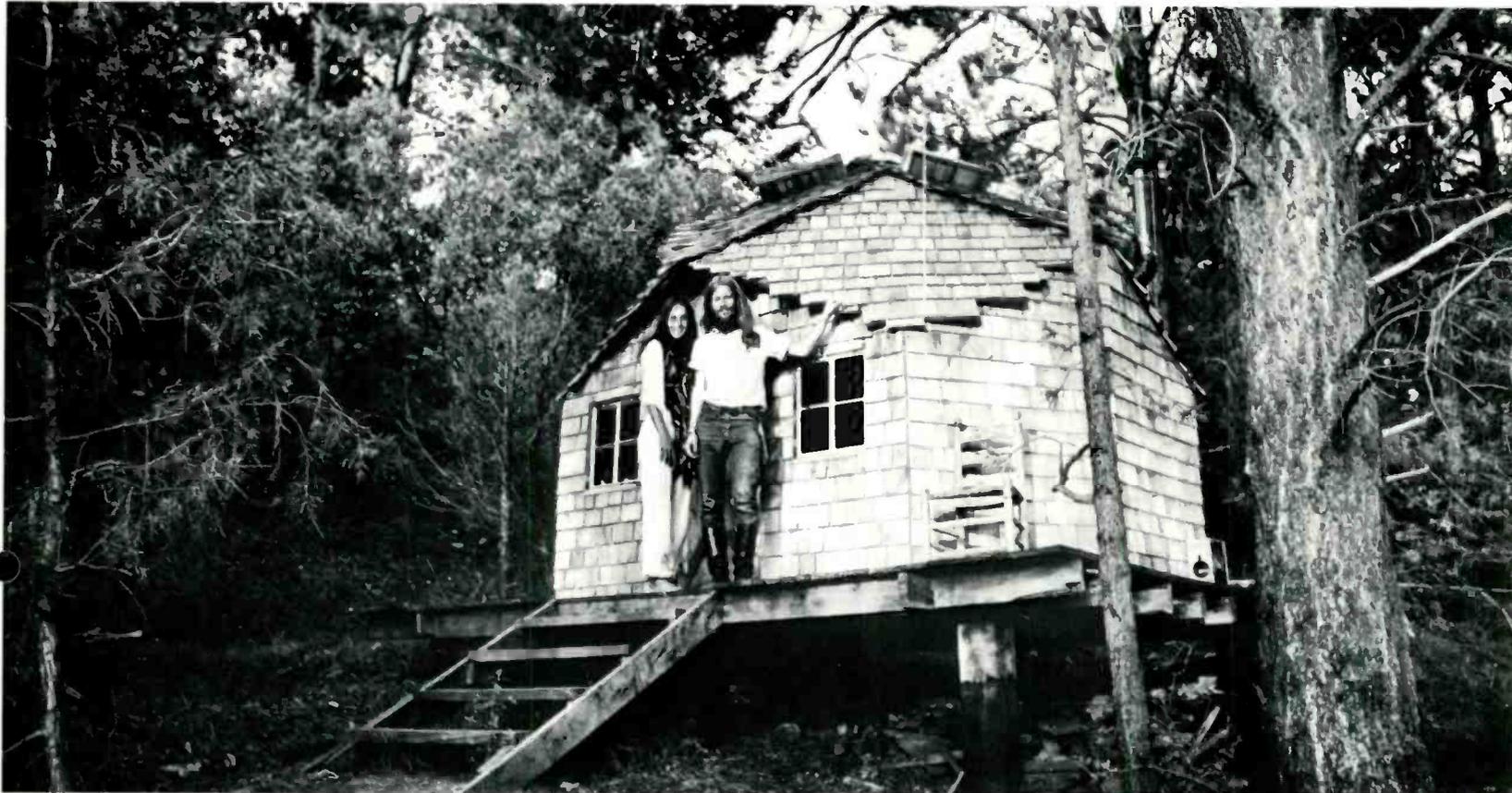
### More Goods, More Junk

In an interview a few months ago, Henry Ford II stated that the glamour of the automobile is decreasing, that planned obsolescence in the automobile industry is "out the window," and that annual model changes are "becoming passé." This is a little like J. Edgar Hoover coming out for communism. Yet, one can only conclude that our youth played a large role in fostering these new attitudes. This is quite amazing, because for decades youngsters have been enthralled by the auto. Now, however, it is being replaced as a status symbol by motorcycles, surfboards, scuba equipment, gliders, and snowmobiles.

Even more incredible is a recent statement by Ford that makes him sound more like a high-school activist than an industrialist. "Modern industrial society," he said, "is based on the assumption that it is both possible and desirable to go on forever producing more and more goods for more and more people. Today,

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Many of today's young people spurn consumerism.



that assumption is being seriously challenged. The industrial nations have come far enough down the road of affluence to recognize that more goods do not necessarily mean more happiness. They are also recognizing that more goods eventually mean more junk, and that the junk in the air, in the water, and on the land could make the earth unfit for human habitation before we reach the 21st century."

The customary American work ethic — technological mastery, material advancement, conspicuous consumption — will be challenged by these youths. They point out that indices of economic growth may measure, in a rough sort of way, the increase in a country's gross productive power. But no provision is made in such indices for the "negative goods" that are also being increased — for the increasing burden and threat of the accompanying disamenities. Their fight will be for new standards of the amenities of living; they will make a total break with the iron clutch of traditional economic dogma.

One of the consequences of the industrial revolution they will spawn will inevi-

tably be the waning of the traditional concept of ownership and an enhanced concept of people as "users" rather than "consumers." We have the makings of that concept today. We rent cars and appliances, everything from hospital beds to champagne glasses. Only a euphemism of ownership is embodied in such a device for owning residences as the condominium.

An increasingly larger slice of the dollar is going for services rather than products. In the near future, services will account for more than 60 per cent of the shopper's dollar.

#### To Have and To Hold... More or Less

It has been our most sacred, implicitly accepted socioeconomic dogma that we will constantly increase our consumption of goods and accumulate possessions. Among these youngsters, however, pride in intellect will rank higher than pride in personal possessions.

The social attitudes of the new generation will tend to lead to later marriages, shorter marriages, and fewer children. The traditional pressures that encouraged early marriage will be less prevalent as "unblessed" unions become the rule

rather than the exception. Projections of marriage statistics, family formation, and birth rate based on traditional yardsticks will be wide of the mark.

Even the marriage ceremony is already losing most of its traditions. Modern young couples think weddings should be personal statements between the two people married instead of institutionalized formulas. Many young couples say traditional ceremonies are sterile and meaningless and insist on personalized weddings. These new wedding mores will unquestionably change bridal markets that grew out of traditional concepts.

Changes are showing up already in the manufacture of engagement and wedding rings. Last year, Tiffany's Chicago branch did "unusual custom work" for 10 per cent of the diamond engagement rings it sold, says branch manager Anthony Ostrom. "If the youngsters ask for something unusual and it's in good taste,

Tiffany's will make it." Five years ago, this branch of the company sold only one style of diamond engagement ring. And only three years ago, the company's president, Walter Hoving, declared that Tiffany would decide what its customers would be "permitted" to buy.

A sophisticated young public will increasingly exercise individual taste, which will stem from its new social concepts. The young generation creates its own wants rather than permitting advertising to create them. This has already clearly taken place in the world of fashion.

If it's new, it was started by youngsters — not by Paris, Rome, Seventh Avenue, or the major retailers. These youngsters couldn't care less about Paris, but Paris watches them with an eagle eye. The youngsters originate, Paris merely refines. Fashion will become a more rational, more intelligent, more socially conscious function. It will become a means to an end rather than an end in itself. Again, the impetus in this direction has come from the young generation. Theirs is to become a creative society.

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Creativity will be dispersed, fractionated. Ample evidence exists in the current hunger for self-expression in home sewing and in crafts.

## "Think Small"

All this means that we are coming into a production and marketing era of "think small." Product line extension will accelerate. Product life will continue to shorten. The concentration on national markets will give way to segmented markets. Overstaying a fashion or design concept will invite still greater hazards.

The attitudes of the high-school youngsters toward the business community are even less tolerant than those of their predecessors. One reason is that these people are more acutely aware of the problems of pollution, traffic, poverty, and ghettos and are more inclined to place the blame for such problems squarely where it belongs — on the business community. As a consequence, they insist upon still broader dimensions of social responsibility by corporations, and they campaign actively for new concepts involving the profit motive. As the president of Southwestern Bell said recently: "We face a far different challenge today in managing young people — inside and outside management — than we did 10 years ago. Young people today, or at least a great number of them, simply have a different perception of society and its institutions and disciplines than they did before."

Yet, some executives seem positive that the discontent expressed by young people today will never appear in the corporate hierarchy. I disagree; for industry to conclude that participatory democracy on campus will not move on to the business world could be a dangerous illusion. As for the old traditions of work and thrift, they are already considered by today's youngsters to be precisely that — old traditions.

Then, there is the tradition of the "family." Most marketing projections are based on the "traditional family." But traditions, as known by the older generation, are eroding. The family itself, as a social concept, may very well have begun to disintegrate.

Moreover, the accelerating divorce rate among young couples — at present, nearly half — has yet to bottom out. The tendency toward later marriage and the higher divorce rate are part of the explanation for the rise in our population of "singles" and the emergence of a "singles' market."

Our youth are clearly leading the flight from the private home as the main residence. For 200 years, we have had a society built around the private home. The number of houses built each year for the use of one, two, or three families has far exceeded the total construction of residential units in multi-unit structures.

But, in 1969, for the first time in our history, more building permits were issued for apartments than for private homes. And there is every reason to believe that the trend will continue. It is not at all improbable that, by 1980, at least 60 to 65 per cent of housing starts will consist of apartment units.

The urban trend obviously plays a major role in this social phenomenon. But it would be a serious mistake to conclude that it is typical only of big cities exclusively. Quite the contrary, in innumerable suburban towns high-rise apartment houses are being erected at such a remarkable rate that, in some cases, the current ratio of construction is close to 60 per cent for apartment units and 40 per cent for private housing.

A whole new form of leisure-time living is being molded by the buildings themselves — almost a "club" type of living. Surely this must provide new marketing opportunities for many leisure-time product lines.

## A Market in the Making

Young people today are almost united in their approval of zero population growth. They are enormously impressed by the by-products of Gross National Product, which are responsible for environmental pollution. They agree that industrial growth and population growth must be deliberately decelerated if we are to survive. Consequently, marketing — traditionally rooted in a growth philosophy — will have to contend with a total reorientation of viewpoint.

A fascinating preview of how the attitudes of the high-school generation will drastically reshape merchandising is offered by the gift market, today an enormous market. Gift-giving, as a share of the consumer's dollar, will show a consistent decline as a direct consequence of their philosophy. Total gift expenditures in fixed dollars for the major holidays, especially Christmas, will decline quite sharply. Moreover, the gifts youngsters buy will reflect their growing disinterest in the possession of hard goods.

These young people are increasingly

critical of advertising, and they are right. They are critical of:

- Excessive advertising as an invasion of privacy — as exemplified by the plethora of radio and television commercials and by some publications in which the reader must hunt to find the sparse editorial contents;
- Advertising that encourages the "wrong" type of consumption for social status, fear of ridicule, etc;
- Advertising pressures that reduce mass entertainment (especially commercial TV) to the lowest common denominator;
- Advertising that overemphasizes "the gross material pleasures of life" and damages our world image;
- Advertising that reduces consumer choice in certain product categories because brand preferences have been so strongly established by two or three brands;
- Excessive competition in advertising expenditures at the expense of product quality and price competition;
- Advertising that encourages price rigidity — fair trade made possible primarily by advertising;
- Advertising that encourages the purchase of useless trappings, such as packaging extravaganzas.

Leisure activities of the young will continue to increase in diversity, time, and space. Over the next 10 years, the entire leisure market will reflect dramatic changes — in such diverse areas as travel and sports.

More importantly, however, one must consider the type of education young people will be getting in order to assess their impact on society. At least 90 per cent of these 1 million youngsters will complete undergraduate courses. Perhaps two-thirds of these will proceed to postgraduate courses — an extraordinary development with enormous social, and therefore marketing, implications.

A large part of that higher education will have been derived from new and improved uses of the computer. Thus these young people will be the ones who will lead the world into a true age of electronic communication. They will be the first to accept the fantastic new concept of electronic home-communication centers that will revolutionize mass communication. And they will more willingly accept change than any previous generation in history.

So let us take another, and still another, look at these million or so talented youngsters. They are our future, like it or not. And I suggest you like it — if for no reason other than the profit motive. ■

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Correction: Photograph on page 25 of the Autumn 1970 issue should have been credited to Helmut Wimmer of The Hayden Planetarium, New York.



**business  
and youth  
challenge of change  
college students  
the young workers  
working women  
consumer market  
young blacks today  
the high schools  
changing work ethic**