

RESIGNATION AS AN ACCOMMODATION LEVEL
IN THE CULTURE OF POVERTY

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Introduction

This paper consists of a summary of the theoretical, conceptual, and speculative implications of work in which I have been involved concerning the social-psychological phenomenon of resignation.

Herman R. Lantz has been working on this phenomenon for several years.¹ Our collaborative efforts have included a study of resignation in the framework of a socio-historical analysis of a community² and an investigation of the relationship between resignation and reaction of the rural poor to a federal job retraining program.³ Since 1967, our work has continued under the joint auspices of the Sociology

¹Herman R. Lantz, People of Coaltown (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956); Herman R. Lantz, "Resignation, Industrialization, and the Problem of Social Change," Blue Collar World, eds. Arthur Shostak and William Gomberg (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1964); and Herman R. Lantz and Richard H. Willis, "Mobility: Problem Areas in the Measurement of Impact of Change," Mobility and Mental Health, eds. Mildred Kantor, et. al. (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1965).

²Herman R. Lantz, A Community in Search of Itself (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, forthcoming).

³Herman R. Lantz and Ernest K. Alix, A Study of the Relationship between Resignation and Performance in a Job Retraining Program (Manpower Administration of the U. S. Department of Labor, Grants 91-15-66-34 and 91-15-67-30, 1968). In the course of this study a resignation scale was developed. The scale is presently under revision in mute testimony to Miller's comments on difficulties concerning the delineation of non-material deprivation in a relative sense: "Adducing evidence for such criteria poses formidable methodological problems. Empirical indicators of deprivation include the lack or relative absence of entities such as dignity, decency, self-respect, a sense of personal worth, meaningful work experiences, and the like. Difficulties in deriving reliable operational indexes to and data-collection methods for such entities are enormous." (Walter E. Miller, "The Elimination of the American Lower Class as National Policy: a Critique of the Ideology of the Poverty Movement in the 1960's," On Understanding Poverty, ed. Daniel P. Moynihan (New York: Basic Books, 1968), pp. 260-315.

Department and Community Development Services, Southern Illinois University. Given the history of our efforts to date, I find it particularly gratifying to have the opportunity to share them with you in the context of a meeting of rural sociologists, who, in recent years have been so vocal in their concern for the relevancy of sociological theory and research to societal problems.⁴

Alternative Perspectives on Poverty

In order to assess the relative merits of the resignation work as it applies to rural poverty, it is necessary to explicate the particular perspectives on poverty with which the resignation work has the closest fit.

Initially, there exists the distinction between poverty in the absolute sense and poverty in the relative sense. We employ Walter Miller's distinction whereby absolute poverty refers to acute physical want and the absence of even basic services, while relative poverty can be applied to populations whose income or other circumstances are adjudged merely to be lower or worse than those of other populations.⁵ The southern Illinois, rural, predominantly non-farm, and predominantly white, populations we have studied come closer to relative poverty, for although they qualify as poor according to official guidelines, they differ from those populations who "are

⁴George M. Beal, "Some Issues We Face," Rural Sociology, Vol. 34, No. 4 (December, 1969), pp. 461-475; Robert C. Bealer, "Identity and the Future of Rural Sociology," Rural Sociology, Vol. 34, No. 2 (June, 1969), pp. 229-233; and Paul E. Eberts, "Rural Sociology's Response to Extension: Suggestions for Action-Oriented Theory," Rural Sociology, Vol. 34, No. 2 (June, 1969), pp. 234-240.

⁵Miller, op. cit., p. 265.

unable to cope successfully even at a minimum level with their poverty,"⁶ the groups to whom the major amount of attention has been addressed in recent poverty literature.

A conceptual issue highlighted by Moynihan serves to introduce other relevant perspectives; namely, in what ways are the poor different from others and how did they come to be that way?⁷ Several perspectives on this issue are available in the literature, their abundance due in part to the paucity of firm and definitive knowledge about the poor in general, as called to our attention by the Blum and Rossi survey,⁸ and about the rural poor in particular.

A reading of only the 1968 volume on poverty edited by Moynihan indicates seven perspectives on the poor differing at least in terminology.⁹ However, as noted by Rainwater, there does seem to exist a considerable amount of consensus among investigators who have studied lower-socioeconomic groups as to the characteristics of the members of these groups.¹⁰ Therefore, the alternative perspectives come into play,

⁶Zahava D. Blum and Peter H. Rossi, "Social Class Research and Images of the Poor: a Bibliographic Review," On Understanding Poverty, op. cit., p. 351.

⁷Daniel P. Moynihan, "The Professors and the Poor," On Understanding Poverty, op. cit., p. 21.

⁸Blum and Rossi, op. cit., pp. 343-396.

⁹"Degree vs. kind," Peter H. Rossi and Zahava D. Blum, "Class, Status and Poverty," On Understanding Poverty, op. cit., p. 39; "subculturally vs. situationally," Rossi and Blum, op. cit., p. 57; Herbert J. Gans, "Culture and Class in the Study of Poverty: an Approach to Anti-Poverty Research," On Understanding Poverty, op. cit., p. 211; "only difference vs. greatest difference," Rossi and Blum, op. cit., p. 57; "opportunities vs. cultural obstacles and psychological deficiencies," Gans, op. cit., p. 205; "lower-class subculture vs. common-American-culture," Lee Rainwater, "The Problem of Lower Class Culture and Poverty-War Strategy," On Understanding Poverty, op. cit., p. 249; "subculture of low-skilled laboring populations vs. the poor," Miller, op. cit., p. 268; "absolute poverty vs. relative poverty," Miller, op. cit., p. 265.

primarily, in interpreting how these characteristics differ from those of higher socio-economic groups, on the etiology of such characteristics, and on the relative merits of various intervention strategies, the latter issue ultimately resolving into one of the relative resistance or amenability of the poor to change. It is this latter issue that is relevant to the resignation phenomenon, and on this issue two perspectives stand out: the cultural or subcultural and the situational. The most crucial differences in emphasis between the cultural perspective and the situational perspective concern three questions: the etiology of change-relevant attitudes of the poor, whether such attitudes can be transmitted transgenerationally, and most important, whether such attitudes contribute to a positive or negative orientation toward change. Whether the poor are desperately trying to change their condition, sinking into apathy only when the considerable odds against it are realized, or whether a strong desire for change is initially lacking is one of the basic disagreements in the poverty literature.¹¹ As emphasized by Gans,

The argument between those who think that poverty can best be eliminated by providing jobs and other resources and those who feel that cultural obstacles and psychological deficiencies must be overcome as well is ultimately an argument about social change, about the psychological readiness of people to respond to change and about the role of culture in change.¹²

The resignation work in which we have been involved attempts to blend the situational and the cultural perspectives with respect to the degree to which the group of rural poor studied are resistant or amenable to change. As will be elaborated in

¹¹ Blum and Rossi, op. cit., p. 352.

¹² Gans, op. cit., pp. 205-206.

the next section, resignation is treated as having emerged as an accommodation to failure but, once operative, it becomes a basic factor in the orientation¹³ of the individual that tends to render him resistant to change.¹⁴ As to transgenerational transmission, a basic point in Lewis' work,¹⁵ we propose that resignation can be transmitted through socialization. Furthermore, we propose that for children socialized into resignation, the negative impact of directly experienced situational failure is both more likely and more devastating.¹⁶

The Concept of Resignation

In the historical and current literature on rural poverty, focusing upon lower socioeconomic groups in our society as well as in others, references to apathy, despair,

¹³Orientation is defined as "a variety of qualities of actors that prepare or predispose them to respond to stimuli." (Donald R. South, "Orientations: an Old Search, Some New Considerations," Rural Sociology, Vol. 34, No. 2 (June, 1969), p. 250.) In terms of Gans' perspective, the resigned orientation is proposed to consist more of norms that are an intrinsic part of the person, "norms that are built into the basic personality structure, and a generation or more of living in a new situation may not dislodge them," rather than of situational responses which are "strictly ad hoc reactions to a current situation." (Gans, op. cit., p. 211.)

¹⁴The causality imputed here is in the sense of a natural tendency. See: Paul R. Eberts, op. cit., p. 239.

¹⁵Oscar Lewis, "The Culture of Poverty," On Understanding Poverty, op. cit., p. 239.

¹⁶Presently we are in the process of machine coding data collected on 1750 school children in grades 5 through 12 from a sample of southern Illinois schools. In addition to resignation data, data were collected on a variety of variables focusing primarily on the work history of parents, family structure, and pupils' aspirations.

fatalism, and hopelessness are abundant.¹⁷ Frequently, the term resignation itself is included.¹⁸ To our knowledge, however, the only attempt, other than our own, to conceptualize resignation and to investigate its potential implications for poverty was that of Jahoda-Lazarsfeld and Zeisel in their 1933 study of the unemployed of the Austrian village of Marienthal.¹⁹

In investigating the social-psychological impact of the collapse of the textile milling economy of the community, Jahoda-Lazarsfeld and Zeisel proposed a four-category morale continuum along which they placed a sample of village families in terms of their accommodations to prolonged unemployment. From highest morale to lowest morale the categories were "unbroken," "resigned," "despaired," and "apathetic." Their criteria for the resigned category were: no plans; no relationship to

¹⁷A sampling of the literature includes the following: Charles Woodmason, "Journals," Colonial Records of North Carolina, Vol. IX; Carl Bridenbaugh, Myths and Realities (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952); Lantz, People of Coaltown, op. cit.; Oscar Lewis, Five Families (New York: Basic Books, 1959); Charles C. Hughes, et. al., People of Cove and Woodlot (New York: Basic Books, 1960); Lee Rainwater, And the Poor Get Children (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1960); Charles Boewe, Prairie Albion (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1962); Harry Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberland: a Depressed Area (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1962); Michael Harrington, The Other America: Poverty in the United States (New York: Macmillan, 1962); David Caplovitz, The Poor Pay More (Glencoe: Free Press, 1963); Jack E. Weller, Yesterday's People (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965); and Catherine S. Chilman, Growing Up Poor (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1966).

¹⁸Lewis, "The Culture of Poverty," op. cit., p. 99; Miller, op. cit., p. 273; Moynihan, op. cit., p. 3; Louis Ferman, et. al., Poverty in America (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), pp. xv-xvi.

¹⁹Marie Jahoda-Lazarsfeld and Hans Zeisel, Workers of Marienthal (Vienna: Socio-Economic Institute, 1933). Translated manuscript.

the future; no hope; maximal limitations of all needs beyond the household; and yet a keeping-up of the household as well as the care of children; and with it all a feeling of being relatively well-off.²⁰ Finding the majority of the families in the sample could be classified as resigned, the investigators concluded by referring to a "vista of a universally resigned community which maintains the orderliness of the present, but has lost all relationship to the future."²¹ Building upon the beginnings of conceptualization contained in the Marienthal study, we have attempted to further explore the phenomenon of resignation.

We consider resignation to be a social-psychological accommodation to disappointment and failure arising out of the history of an individual, his family, his community or a combination of all three. We assume a tendency toward consistency between one's desires and his abilities to satisfy these desires, an assumption rather common to much sociological work (e.g., Durkheim on anomie, and Merton's paradigm of alternative modes of adaption to stress).²² We propose that resignation is merely one possible accommodation to situations in which the balance between an individual's desires and his resources to satisfy these desires has been disturbed. If one's resources for satisfying desires have proven to his satisfaction to be unreliable due either to their socially structured unavailability or due to some incapacity of the individual to take advantage of them, one accommodation the individual can make is

²⁰Ibid., p. 65 of translation.

²¹Ibid., p. 70 of translation.

²²More recent utilization of the assumption in relation to the study of orientations appears in South, op. cit., pp. 251-252.

to scale-down his desires to bring them into line with whatever resources he can rely upon. In relation to the Mertonian paradigm, the resigned adaptation comes closest to being a type of "scaled-down conformity." Neither goals nor approved means, in Merton's terminology, have been rejected nor have substitutions been made. In a sense, one might say that the goals merely have been "conservatized".

We propose four somewhat interrelated dimensions of resignation, drawn from personality descriptions recurrent in the poverty literature²³ and augmented by our own observations:

1. Detachment from others. Emotional involvements and concern for others, especially those beyond the immediate household, tend to be at a minimum. Suspicion toward others tends to be pronounced. There seems to be a marked detachment from any positive identification with the community.
2. Disvaluation of individual abilities and capacities. This characteristic tends to be manifested in the active disparagement of one's own abilities and those of others, which in certain cases seems to amount to not taking even oneself seriously.
3. Aversion to task-oriented activity. Task-oriented activities, especially work which involves commitment, planning, adherence to time clocks, and production schedules tend to be ridiculed, shunned, and disvalued.
4. Restriction of hopes and aspirations. The desire for new or better things or conditions tends to be minimized accompanied by an acceptance of things as they are and a sense of being relatively well-off.

Resignation seems to have a dual function. The dimensions of resignation constitute social-psychological characteristics of personality which contribute to an integration that might otherwise not be there. To be sure it is integration at what some

²³For a summary of characteristics of the poor drawn from a rather exhaustive survey of the qualitative literature see Rossi and Blum, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

may consider to be a high price. Nevertheless, these social-psychological characteristics contribute to behavior patterns which enable the individual to maintain a way of life relatively free of the disruptive experiences of effort and change. As noted by Jahoda-Lazarsfeld and Zeisel, to the casual observer the resigned individual emits an aura of peace and tranquility. He is not rebelling, retreating, or ritualizing. However, neither is he conforming²⁴ nor innovating which leads us to the other half of the duality.

To structure one's life in such a way as to minimize the risk of future disappointment and failure that have characterized one's past, is to ~~become one with~~ ^{have} a considerable investment in the present, ~~an investment~~ ^{in this investment}. The protection of ~~which in no small part~~ requires resistance to change. It is this function of resignation, in our opinion, which is the most crucial both for the theoretic and practical implications of the concept. Theoretically, it is the resistance to change function of resignation which distinguishes it from such concepts as anomia and alienation. Whatever specific definition of the terms one chooses, both anomia and alienation carry a strong implication of dissatisfaction with the status quo and a correlative implication of amenability to change. Resignation, on the other hand, implies a satisfaction (eventhough "forced")²⁵ with

²⁴"Conformity" is taken here to mean adhering to a normative system in which constant self-betterment is a focal concern.

²⁵We stress the "forced" quality of the satisfaction, forced in the sense of being, in large part, an accommodation to situational stresses rather than an outgrowth of only personality characteristics. We realize, however, that an endeavor of the type in which we are engaged runs the risk of charges of indicting the poor (Moynihan, op. cit., p. 30); debating the moral qualities of the poor (Gans, op. cit., p. 203); fostering the "poverty ideology" (Miller, op. cit., p. 273); or "concealing the exploitative nature of the relationship between Blacks and whites and different social classes"

the status quo and a correlative implication of resistance to change. With regard to practical significance, it is the resistance to change function of resignation which highlights its potential for understanding rural poverty.²⁶

Resignation and Rural Poverty

We propose that the Marienthal paradigm of accommodations to prolonged unemployment provides the basis for a conceptualization of levels in the culture of poverty.²⁷ That is to say, given a socioeconomically defined poverty group, within that group will exist persons who have made one or another of four accommodations to their poverty status.²⁸ Some remain "unbroken", i.e. (using the Marienthal criteria) maintain the household, care for the children, have a subjective feeling of

(Preston Wilcox, "Social Policy and White Racism," Social Policy (May/June, 1970), p. 44). The resignation work attempts to remain in the spirit of Gans' statement: "Many people in our society are . . . fatalists not because they are unable to conceive of alternative conditions but because they have been frustrated in the realization of alternatives." (Gans, op. cit., pp. 207-208.)

²⁶The type of dualism being proposed here has been noted a good deal with respect to the culture of poverty. In relation to resignation, we merely attempt to make more explicit the direct implications of such an accommodation for social change, implications which we feel have not been explicated enough in the work of others.

²⁷The need for less homogeneous views of the poverty population, the need for views which give some attention to the variability among individuals, groups, and regions, has been emphasized by Moynihan. (Daniel P. Moynihan, "The Professors and the Poor," On Understanding Poverty, op. cit., p. 24.

²⁸We offer this attempt at conceptual refinement as a potential contribution toward work needed on the "social psychology and sociology of failure." As stated by Rossi and Blum, "The social psychology and sociology of failure will have to be oriented toward degrees of failure and toward those devices, structural and psychological, that insulate individuals and social groups from the potentially devastating fact that only a very few achieve the most that is offered by a society at a given point in time." (Rossi and Blum, op. cit., p. 52.)

well-being, are active, have plans and hopes for the future, maintain a "joie de vivre," and make repeated attempts at getting work. Some individuals are "resigned," i.e. (using the Marienthal criteria plus our own), maintain the household, care for the children, engage in maximal limitation of all needs beyond the household, have no plans, have no relationship to the future, have no hope, are detached from others, disparage individual abilities and capacities, are averse to task-oriented activities, and yet have a feeling of being relatively well-off. Other individuals are "despaired," i.e. they keep up the household and care for the children, but are depressed, feel that all efforts are in vain, and frequently make comparisons with the good old days. Finally, some of the individuals in the group will be "apathetic," i.e. allow things to run their course without making an attempt to rescue anything from decay including the household and the care of children, engage in irrational budgeting, have a complete lack of plans, tend to engage in unenergetic, actionless spectatorship, and have a greater incidence of officially adjudged deviance than the other groups.^{29, 30}

We propose further that a crucial distinction among the four accommodation levels within the culture of poverty is the prevailing time-orientation of those at each level.³¹ For the "unbroken poor" the future seems to be the primary time-orientation;

²⁹Jahoda-Lazarsfeld and Zeisel, op. cit., pp. 65-67 of translation.

³⁰This last-mentioned criterion suggests that Merton's retreatist adaptation may be most characteristic of the apathetic poor.

³¹For a recent statement of the central position in sociology occupied by the issue of time-orientation see: South, op. cit., pp. 252-253.

for the "resigned poor" it is the present;³² for the "despaired poor" the past is the prevailing time-orientation; and for the "apathetic poor," the "unenergetic, actionless, spectators,"³³ time has all but dropped out of their life-space. Time has become experientially little more than Lundberg's operational definition of it, i.e. that which is measured by a clock.^{34, 35}

From this perspective, resignation becomes merely one of at least four possible modes of accommodation to poverty and, from the viewpoint of actual physical hardship, one of the milder ones at that. However, from a socio-cultural change

³²A present-time orientation as opposed to a future-time orientation, and an orientation to being rather than becoming were found to be among the value patterns of the welfare clients studied by Schneiderman. (Leonard Schneiderman, "Value Orientation Preferences of Chronic Relief Recipients," Social Work, Vol. 9, No. 3 (July, 1964), pp. 13-18. Lewis reports on a "strong present-time orientation" in his description of the culture of poverty on the level of the individual. (Lewis, "The Culture of Poverty," op. cit., pp. 191-192.)

³³Jahoda-Lazarsfeld and Zeisel, op. cit., p. 67 of translation.

³⁴From this perspective it is interesting to note that "socialization for an unknown future," which Levy cites as the one really new societal problem presented by modern societies, may be one problem the poor do not have. Only in the case of the "unbroken poor" is the future of much concern. (Marion J. Levy, Jr., Modernization and the Structure of Societies (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 79.

³⁵Jahoda-Lazarsfeld and Zeisel proposed the movement over time from the unbroken to the apathetic morale categories: "It is true that we distinguished different attitude groups . . . But now, at the end, we have recognized that these are probably only different stages of a psychological sliding-down which parallels the reduction of relief and the wear and tear on assets. At the end of the line lie despair and decay." (Jahoda-Lazarsfeld and Zeisel, op. cit., p. 105 of translation.) We propose that such a movement over time is operative, although we do not rule out the possibility of certain constellations of failure situations and personal characteristics which would be sufficient to call forth one of the more devastating accommodations, by-passing the preliminary stages.

viewpoint, the resigned accommodation takes on a more problematic quality. Given the orientation to the present, coupled with a certain degree of contentment, change can be perceived as a threat to the resigned way of life with the result that such individuals are unlikely to initiate change themselves and are unlikely to respond favorably to change initiation attempts by others.

Whereas the unbroken poor may respond to opportunity programs (e.g., job retraining) advocated by the situational interpreters of poverty,³⁶ the resigned poor are less likely to respond favorably. To the degree that the despaired poor are likely to respond favorably to adult education programs oriented to bringing about personality and cultural change through instruction, as advocated by the sub-cultural interpreters of poverty,³⁷ the resigned poor are less likely to so respond.³⁸ Finally, whereas the

³⁶Rainwater, "The Problem of Lower Class Culture and Poverty-War Strategy," *op. cit.*, p. 249.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 250.

³⁸Gans has suggested that in analyzing internalized behavior patterns that block the escape from poverty one must look at, among other things, agents and institutions that encourage the internalization. (Gans, *op. cit.*, p. 219.) In the course of evaluating a workshop for 33 teachers in an adult education program for welfare recipients, certain data were generated which are relevant for Gans' suggestion. The adult students in the school were from the same population studied in the resignation and retraining study. The prevailing opinion of the teachers as to causes of problems involved in their work was "the poor attitudes on the part of the students." Exact expressions of this opinion among the teachers varied, but a few were as follows: "resistant to classwork;" "belligerent;" "resigned to failure;" "lazy;" "malingerers;" "so long dependent on public aid that they don't want to risk losing this way of life by learning a saleable skill;" "students are happy as they are, three generations of something for nothing has seared the conscience of the majority of them;" "most students need strict guidance because most have never had any responsibility and have had too much handed out to them." The behavioral response of some of the teachers was to treat the adult students as children, stressing discipline, neatness, politeness, and employing generally elementary school techniques. (Ernest K. Alix and Katherine

despaired poor, and perhaps even the apathetic poor, may respond to the "finding sores and rubbing them raw" community organization strategy of an Alinsky, the resigned poor are less likely to respond favorably. In other words, it is the resigned poor who may very well constitute the so-called "hard core" poor when looked at in this light.³⁹

If the perspective is shifted from change of the resigned poor themselves to their potential for participating in what Sumner once described as that favorite American pasttime of "A and B getting together to decide what C should be made to do for D,"⁴⁰ it is proposed that the resigned poor (C) would be less than enthusiastic particularly if D happened to be the "other poor". Thus, the resigned poor may constitute a "hard core" not only in relation to their resistance to programs aimed at them

Lackey, Evaluation of Training: Adult Education Workshop (Carbondale, Illinois: Community Development Services, Southern Illinois University, 1968), unpublished report.) It is suggested that programs involving agents of the larger society holding opinions such as those above are what Gans had in mind.

³⁹The resistance of certain segments of the poor to participation in various programs is widely documented. For a recent example in regard to casework see: Normal A. Polansky, "Powerlessness among Rural Appalachian Youth," Rural Sociology, Vol. 34, No. 2 (June, 1969), pp. 219-222. However, such resistance is not unique to the poor, but also has been found to apply to the working class or blue-collar component of the labor force (Rossi and Blum, op. cit., p. 39), and to "the subculture of contemporary low-skilled laboring populations" whose members have "repeatedly proved to be highly resistant to a wide variety of directed change efforts" (Miller, op. cit., p. 268.)

⁴⁰Maurice R. Davie, William Graham Sumner (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1964), p. 38.

but also in their resistance to supporting programs aimed at others who qualify for the label "the poor".⁴¹

⁴¹The resistance to change function of resignation has implications for a currently crucial question; namely, as put by Rossi and Blum, "ascertaining the conditions under which a deprived and negatively evaluated population shifts from a posture of apathy to rioting." (Rossi and Blum, op. cit., p. 51.) According to the resignation perspective, one situation in which the resigned individual is likely to shift to a posture of violence is one which he perceives as threatening his way of life, i.e. a situation which connotes massive change. Although this bit of speculation might not contribute much toward explaining the violence of some urban blacks, it may have important implications for explaining the vigilante-type activities of some rural whites. In this same vein, we propose that Lewis' contention that "members of the culture of poverty have a high potential for protest and for being used in political movements aimed against the existing social order," (Lewis, Five Families, op. cit., p. 190) (emphasis added) is not likely to apply to those members of the culture of poverty who are at the resigned level. On the contrary, whatever potential for protest may exist would be more likely to be amenable to exploitation by political movements aimed at supporting the existing social order, i.e. "law and order" type movements.