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RURAL YOUTH NEED HELP IN CHOOSING OCCUPATIONS

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By Archibald O. Haller
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I. INTRODUCTION

EVERY YEAR hundreds of thousands of youngsters leave school to make their way in the world of work. Some succeed and some fail. Many persons benefit each time someone finds work that he enjoys—the person himself, his family, and society at large. The opposite is true when one fails to make a satisfactory adjustment—we're all losers. Each of us wants to see the other move easily and surely into a satisfying occupation to which he may contribute his best. We want each to be successful because we know the young person will suffer if he is not, and because the rest of us have a stake in what he does.

But it is not always easy to find useful, enjoyable work. There are thousands of different kinds of jobs, each with its own somewhat unique requirements. Youth cannot possibly have direct personal knowledge of even a small fraction of these. As a result, they often make costly mistakes. But in spite of the mistakes, society insists that each must make his own choice; in a democracy this is a right and a responsibility of all. This presents us with a dilemma. Without enough information, how can a young man or woman choose an occupation that has the best chance of serving the best interests of himself and society?

Also, what about knowledge of educational requirements? In a changing society, most of the college educated can expect to find quite adequate positions for the foreseeable future. The job prospects for those with less education are not so good.

These problems are of particular importance for rural youth, who tend *on the average* to have more than their share of difficulty making

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a satisfactory adjustment to the non-farm world of work. Considerable research shows that when rural youth compete with urban youth for urban jobs, the rural youth generally come out second best. Many factors are responsible for this. Educational levels are lowest among American farm youth and highest among urban youth. School drop-out rates are highest in rural schools and lowest in urban schools. Greater proportions of urban than rural youth go on with their education beyond high school. Besides years of education, many rural schools, particularly smaller ones, are not as well staffed and equipped and have less varied programs of study than larger urban schools. And many rural youth receive little or no occupational counseling. As a consequence, the average rural youth is less well informed about job opportunities and less prepared to compete effectively for available jobs. Many rural youth, therefore, may face a future of job insecurity.

But these conditions don't have to continue. We can do something about it. One thing we can do to help rural youth make better job choices is to understand the process of occupational choice in our society. We turn to this process now.

II. WHAT IS THE CHOICE PROCESS?

Five factors influencing occupational choice have been identified. These include:

(1) the youth's occupational decisions and concerns, including interest in the future, level of occupational aspiration, and particular occupational choices.

(2) changes in occupations themselves, including obsolescence, new duties for old occupations, new occupations, a general rise in the skills required for most occupations, closer dependence of occupations on formal education, and the increasing supply of trained people.

(3) the immediate situation of the youth including his physical facilities, namely, the accessibility and quality of schools and his financial resources, and also the expectations of others like parents, teachers, counselors and the dominant culture which influence his own self-conceptions and sometimes affect his actual job chances.

(4) other life decisions including education, marriage, and preferred residence.

(5) the youth's personality including his measured intelligence,

his conception of his ability, his occupational self-conceptions, and his conceptions of behavior appropriate to his sex.

These five factors interact to create the complex process of choosing an occupation. Almost all young people are caught up in the process. It takes years to work out. When it begins and ends is hard to determine. In a sense, it begins when the newborn infant first reacts to the influences of others, and ends only with disability, retirement, or death. But for most purposes, we can say that this choice-making process lasts throughout the teens and into the early twenties. Generally, the 14-year-old is just beginning to think seriously about jobs and other personal matters—dating, marriage, completing high school or continuing school into college. Sometime between the ages of about 18 to 22, he has found answers to these questions and has found himself a job.

The five factors we mentioned are in a delicate but moving balance. When one changes, some of the others also change. Some of these changes are profound and some are small. Major changes in types of occupation may well make a difference in the expectations others have for the youth and also may influence his own plans for jobs as well as marriage, etc. Similarly, changes in the expectations others have for the youth frequently influence his own aspirations. Some factors, however, are uninfluenced by the others. For example, the kinds of jobs or occupations available at any given time are not influenced either by the youth's aspirations or by, say, his parents' expectations for him. Similarly, some decisions can scarcely be changed at all: children and wife or husband don't fade away merely because a person changes his occupational plans, because his parents change their hopes for him, or because the job market changes.

How We Choose Occupations

The occupation we finally select represents a composite of several types of decisions and concerns.

Interest in the future. A young person may be interested enough in the future to make an occupational decision, thereby trying to control his future; or he may simply not make any decision at all, thereby, in effect, letting his future control him. We need more information to predict what job or what kind of job the former will

obtain. But the latter—the drifter—is almost certain to find himself in a job for which the competition is not very keen, and these usually are neither very rewarding nor very important to society. These jobs also become obsolete most quickly because the duties are simple enough for a machine to take over.

Levels of occupational aspiration. The level of occupation to which a person aspires can be measured. Some youths who are interested in their futures aspire to occupations which society evaluates highly. We say such persons have high levels of occupational aspiration. Others aspire to occupations society evaluates less highly, or have low levels of occupational aspiration. Research has shown that, on the whole, the level of occupation a person finally enters is related to his earlier aspiration level. High aspirers tend to enter the higher jobs and low aspirers to enter the lower jobs.

Variation by social class. Nevertheless, the relation of levels of occupational aspiration to specific occupational choices seems to vary by family social status. In the lower and lower middle classes, the youth who has high aspirations usually is flexible about the particular job he wants to enter. Such a youth usually knows little about higher occupations except the style of life characteristic of people in such occupations—the kinds of clothes the prestigious wear, the houses they live in, the cars they drive. His parents, too, know little, if any, more than this. He is not concerned with a particular occupation; he wants a style of life which he can't have if he takes a job like his father has. For these, level of occupational aspiration—quite apart from the particular occupation—predicts fairly well the *level* of the occupation they may eventually enter, but one cannot predict from their aspirations the exact occupation they will enter.

The upper middle class or upper class youth is different. He knows the style of life *and* the nature of many upper level occupations. Furthermore, he can more often be pretty sure of having the same style of life in which he grew up. His attention, then, is more often not on the style of life he wants, but on the particular occupation he knows he will enjoy and which will provide this style of life as well.

In any community, there are a few youngsters who plan at, say 10 years of age, to enter a certain occupation and who at age 30 are really in that occupation. Except for a few who plan to enter their fathers' occupations, practically all of these are from the middle or upper class.

Changes in Occupations

Occupations are changing constantly and with great speed. Youth must be aware of these changes, for if they are not they are likely to become unwitting victims of changes over which they have no control.

Obsolescence. Each year a number of occupations go out of date. Industrialization, inventions, etc. constantly force the economy to drop certain occupations. For example, recently many semi-skilled factory jobs—and, of course, the workers employed in them—have been displaced by automation.

New duties for old occupations. The training and skills needed for a certain job today may be very different a decade from now. One need only look at the recent dramatic changes in skills required for successful farming as an example. Others are all around us.

New occupations. The emergence of new occupations is another change. The missile industry is only about 10 years old, but already a long list of new occupational titles has emerged. Here too, other examples are plentiful.

General rise in the levels of occupations. The effect of the three previous changes is to shift the whole of the occupational structure. In general, the educational requirements of most jobs are rising. The jobs which are becoming obsolete are mostly those which do not require highly specialized training. Moreover, by and large the educational requirements of the old occupations are being raised. Finally, most of the new occupations which are emerging also seem to require a high degree of specialized training. The overall result is to raise the proportion of occupations in the professional, managerial and technical levels, and to lower the proportion in the so-called “manual” occupations, especially the semi-skilled and unskilled.

Closer ties between occupations and education. Related to the general rise in occupational skills is a fifth change: the increasingly close ties between occupations and education. Today, few youths will reach a high-level occupation without a college degree. Large organizations use college training as a screening device. Those without the education are largely relegated to the manual, clerical, or sales force of a company. The management group are almost all college trained—but not all the college trained enter the ranks of management. In addition, all the professions and semi-professions—medicine, law, education, social work, engineering, etc.,—either have college as a specified

requirement or have licensing or other entry procedures which make it a real though unspecified requirement.

As things stand today and for the foreseeable future, the person's economic stability and his freedom of choice hinge on what he does about education. This is not to say that education will guarantee security and freedom; other factors enter the picture too, because all of the educated are not necessarily successful in the competition for jobs. But the less educated are more likely to be less secure and have less freedom of job choice.

The supply of trained people. The "baby boom" youngsters of the 40's are now coming of age and on the average they are better educated than any older age group. We can expect stiffer competition among young people for available jobs. The surprising outcome of this and the other factors of automation, etc. in recent years has been too many unskilled workers for available jobs and too many available jobs for the skilled. There are more higher-level positions than there are trained people to fill them.

The Immediate Situation

Other factors in the environment influence the total process of entering occupations. These include the facilities available to the youth and the *expectations* other people have for him.

Facilities. This includes nearness and quality of schools and the financial resources available.

Quality of schools. If a youth has to attend a school that lacks an adequate teaching program, he will be handicapped in competition for the better jobs. Research information is clear on this: the larger the high school, the higher the probability that youth will do outstanding work in college. The larger high schools tend to have the most elaborate teaching equipment—libraries, laboratories, etc.—and the most competent teachers. It is important that everyone recognize this tendency. Although many people appear to believe that smaller high schools are better places to learn, the reliable evidence supports the opposite tendency.

Financial resources. Clearly, too, advanced training costs money. If a young person lacks enough money he will be less able to get advanced training.

Expectations of others and one's self-image. In a sense we "see ourselves as others see us." The things others expect of a youth help mold his conceptions of himself. It is largely through certain other persons that he learns what occupations are available and what is appropriate for him. The most important influences are parents, peers (acquaintances of his own age), teachers, and (where they exist) school counselors.

Parents. Some parents make specific plans for their child; they may try to press him into a particular occupation. Others have general plans for their child; they may simply want him to get a good education and a good job, but leave the specific choice up to him. In either case, the parents are likely to provide guidance for the youth, thus helping him develop a concern for his future.

On the other hand, some parents don't seem to care what their son or daughter does after completing the minimum school requirements of the state. Some believe the youngster should "do what he wants to do," and simply do not concern themselves with his future. In either instance, the parent is not likely to give much guidance to the child, because the one type assumes the child has the information with which to choose for himself, and the other type simply does not care. Parents who have plans—either general or specific—for their child may well be successful in helping to guide him into a certain occupation or into a higher-level occupation; at least they may help develop in him a concern for his future. By default, parents who have no plans for their child tend to limit his choices to the lower levels of the occupation system (unless, of course, others develop in him a concern for his future).

Similarly, by the rewards and punishments—often thoughtlessly given—which parents mete out to the youngster for certain efforts, parents may help a child develop conceptions of himself as either able or incompetent, suitable or not suitable for a certain occupation.

Peers. The influence of other young people his own age is not so clear. Surely their applause and taunts have something to do with the youth's conception of himself. But it is hard to say how much and in what direction. Members of a gang often have similar occupational ambitions. But we do not know to what extent this is due to the possibility that "birds of a feather flock together" or to the possibility that the gang influences the individual. However, the likelihood of such an influence should not be overlooked.

Teachers. Studies show that teachers influence occupational choices in several ways. One is by *direct influence*. Youngsters who report that they were influenced by a teacher have a slightly greater desire for the more prestigious occupations, but, on the average, this influence is not large. The occasional instances of a teacher greatly influencing a particular pupil are generally less important than two other influences.

First, the *responses of teachers* (rewards, punishments or simply failure to respond) contribute to the youth's conception of himself as being, for instance, competent or incompetent. Secondly, teachers clearly exert influence by giving *grades*. A youngster who consistently gets good grades learns to think he is bright and the one who gets poor grades thinks he is not so bright. There are many young people whose parents want them to go to college, but who know (or believe) that their poor grades show they are not college material. Whether or not the child potentially is college material, colleges screen entrants on grades. As a result, some youth who could do successful college work may never have the opportunity to show it because of poor high school grades.

School counselors. Studies show that most youngsters view the counselor as their most competent source of information on educational and occupational matters. Counselors usually have test and biographical data on each boy or girl. When they tell young people that they can or cannot succeed in a job or in advanced training, they are generally believed. While others may instill the desire to go to college, the counselor tells him whether he can make it.

Counselors act to restrict or open up the range of alternatives perceived by the youth, and to help him select occupations for which he may be ultimately best prepared.

Cultural influences. The expectations of others also exert influence in less direct ways. The subtle aspects of one's personality and mannerisms are frequently determined by his social class level, his rural or urban residence, his race, his physical appearance and so on. Differences would not necessarily be important in themselves were it not that the majority expect others to behave according to standards with which they are familiar. The demand for conformity is a strong social force. Rightly or wrongly, we expect the other person to act in accord with the ways of our own groups.

In school and at work youth must relate to a variety of people. If his personality and mannerisms are inconsistent with the expecta-

tions of his teachers, potential employers, and others who control entry into occupations, he may well find that these people will frustrate his attempts to enter his chosen occupation. Consistent behavior will make his way easier. Since most people who control entry into occupations are middle class, white, and more or less urban, a youth who comes from the lower classes, is not white, or who is from an isolated rural area is likely to innocently violate their expectations. This is but another way in which expectations of others influence occupational paths.

Other Life Decisions

Everybody makes a few major life decisions at one time or another. Job choice is one. Others, all closely related, are time of marriage, length of education, or place of residence. Such decisions may either (1) drastically limit the other kinds of choices available to the person or (2) open up new ranges of choice to him. The earlier a student drops out of school, the lower the income he is likely to be able to earn over his lifetime and the less likely he is to enter a professional, semi-professional, technical, or managerial occupation. Since *early marriage* usually results in one's leaving school earlier than expected, it often reduces one's chances of entering higher-level occupations. On the other hand, the more education a person gets, the more likely he is to enter one of the higher-level occupations and the more likely he is to have a better-than-average income over his lifetime.

The *chosen community of residence* is another decisive factor. While a well-educated person usually expects to enter a higher level occupation, the educated rural youth is unlikely to find the kind of position he's trained for in his rural community unless he is willing and able to wait until one opens up. He must be prepared to leave home, and this has doubtless been a disappointment to many young persons and to their parents. How many girls, for example, have trained for years to be teachers in their home towns, only to find that the nearest available teaching jobs were many miles away?

Education for higher-level occupations may prove a mixed blessing, both for the youth and society. It means costs in time, money, postponement of marriage, and the breaking of old ties in moving to a new community. More important, not everyone has the ability either to

profit by advanced education or to perform adequately in the higher-level job. All of these factors should be carefully weighed by young people and their advisors. But some youth hardly weigh them at all. While some consider all avenues of both job and non-job choices before going ahead, others unwittingly make non-occupational decisions which turn out to limit or extend their range of career opportunity.

Individual Personality

By personality we refer to the various psychological building blocks of human behavior. Characteristically, they remain relatively consistent from situation to situation for the same individual, but differ relatively among individuals in the same situation. In relation to occupational choice, probably the two most important personality factors are intelligence and the beliefs one has about himself and his opportunities.

Measured intelligence. Intelligence test scores are related to academic performance and to the amount of schooling attained. High scorers are much more likely to do well in school than low scorers. Test scores are used to decide who may enter college. They are also related to level of occupational achievement: those entering the higher occupations score higher on intelligence tests. Clearly, the measures of intelligence occupy an important place in the system of forces influencing the choice of an occupation.

Self-conceptions. The beliefs one has about himself influence what he does, and as stated are largely molded by others. Self-conceptions important here are those concerning (1) ability, (2) occupation, and (3) behaviors appropriate to one's sex.

Self-conceptions concerning ability are important influences. Probably the most important is when a person underestimates his ability, thereby blocking himself from the competition for advanced training and for the more highly evaluated occupations.

An over-rigid *occupational self-conception* may make it difficult for a person to change occupations. Planning to farm is an example. Boys who plan to farm often feel that formal education is less important for farmers. When they fail to become farmers they may well find their alternatives severely restricted.

Another important set of *self-conceptions* concerns the behaviors appropriate to one's sex. Some girls (and their parents) may believe that many occupations are not open to them. Practically all common occupations today employ at least some women. But when a girl believes that certain occupations are inappropriate for girls, chances are she will avoid them.

III PROSPECTS FOR TODAY'S YOUTH

How do the factors discussed influence different occupational choice processes? We can look at predicted trends for (a) college educated and non-college educated; (b) males and females; (c) farm and non-farm boys; (d) other rural and urban youth. Most data to follow are based on published trends predicted for the 1960's.

College and Non-College Educated

The total number of students entering college is increasing more rapidly than the population. Further, the number of jobs requiring a college education is increasing more rapidly than the number of all other jobs. Together these facts mean there are more opportunities for the college educated and also there are more college educated to take advantage of them. For example in the recession year of 1959, the unemployment rate for college educated people was quite low as compared to those with less education.

The trend is to the long-term replacement of men by machines to do simple tasks, with consequent decreased demand for manual laborers and an increased demand for people who are trained to do work that requires considerable thought.

The college educated can thus expect to find quite adequate positions for the foreseeable future. It also means that the job prospects for the less educated are not so good.

But it does not mean that a college graduate can enter only one field of work. Popular belief has it that teachers can only teach and civil engineers can only be civil engineers, etc. This is quite false. In fact, there is a strong movement of college graduates into occupations quite different from the field in which they were trained. College education today is quite broad, rather than narrowly specialized. Also,

there is the increasing tendency for large-scale employers to use college graduation—often regardless of specialized fields—as a screening device for selecting managerial and technical personnel.

In short, the college educated have more opportunities open to them, their prospects for earning good salaries are better, their prospects for continued employment are better, and they have more freedom of choice among occupational alternatives than do the non-college educated.

This doesn't mean all youth should go to college. Large increases are occurring in important and well-paying jobs in technological fields. These and some sales or clerical jobs, though, require training beyond high school. And this is a basic point: for a secure and satisfying job future, youth should *select* job fields and undergo sound advanced training.

Males and Females

Men and women show broadly different career patterns. Generally, men enter the labor force and stay in it—barring economic recessions—until disability or retirement forces them out of it. Some women pursue a lifetime career, but most show an interrupted pattern. More women are working and the trend will probably increase, partly because it is more common for a woman to hold down a job while married than it used to be. A girl who is now in high school is more likely to work for a living than was her mother.

Farm and Non-farm Boys

The amazingly rapid technological revolution in farming in the last decade means we must adjust our manpower needs.² At first sight, one might think that the two groups—farm and non-farm boys—have grown so much alike that their prospects are about the same. But this is far from true. Farming is a hereditary occupation in the sense that most boys who become farmers are sons of farmers. But even so, most

²Today, fewer farm workers feed and clothe more people than ever before. In 1950, one U. S. farm worker supplied the food and fiber requirements for 15 people; by 1960, he supplied enough for 27 people. Larger inputs of farm machinery, of fertilizer and of scientific management substitute for the reduced use of land and labor. Today, only nine out of 100 of the nation's workers are farmers and the number will drop further.

sons of farmers will be in non-farm jobs for most of their lives. Some know this and, when they do, plan for it. They behave almost like boys who have never had any contact with farming: they graduate from high school in nearly the same proportions, and (if we can predict their behaviors by knowing their plans) they attend college in nearly the same proportions as do non-farm boys. Other farm boys seem unaware that they are destined for non-farm careers.

Unfortunately, there is a widely-held belief that education is not as important for a boy who plans to farm as it is for one who does not. Probably because of this belief, boys who plan to farm drop out of school earlier, make poorer grades in high school, exhibit less knowledge of the non-farm world of work, and less often plan to attend college than boys who don't plan to farm. Clearly, if such a boy cannot fulfill his plans to enter farming, he will find himself unable to compete for the better non-farm jobs because of inadequate education. They tend, then, by default, not by choice, to take the less desirable jobs—the jobs which pay poorly, are subject to recessional unemployment, and are likely to become obsolete.

Second, the nature of farming is changing. Commercial farming is becoming increasingly competitive. It requires skills in mathematics and scientific reasoning, and it requires a high degree of literacy. A decade or two from now these trends will be even more pronounced. The boy who accepts the belief that farmers don't need much of an education is probably in for a rude shock later in life, even if he really does take over a farm. It is apparent that the boys who get the best education will be most likely to meet the competition successfully.

Other Rural and Urban Youth

On the whole, rural youth—including farm youth—are *on the average* somewhat less well prepared for successful entry into the occupational world than are urban youth. Their college and occupational aspirations are lower. They also are less successful than urban youth in the sense that they have more trouble getting a permanent job and that their jobs are not as good.

Rural youth also tend to be less well educated. The schools they attend are not as adequately staffed and equipped on the average as are the urban schools. They tend to drop out of school at an earlier age.

Fewer complete high school and fewer complete college. This is not intended as an indictment of rural schools. The problems they face are difficult indeed. But the data are quite clear on the average effects of rural schools on the students. The job prospects of rural youth are not as bright as the prospects for urban youth.

IV POLICY GUIDELINES

What ways of helping youth choose occupations are suggested by this information? This is not the place to define policy in detail, but two major possibilities can be sketched: (1) improving ways of advising youth; and (2) improving instructional facilities available to them.

Improving Methods for Advising Youth

In general, the most effective known way to help youth is to locate persons who can help them make realistic occupational choices. But the problem is to know *which* persons are in the best position to help them, and to know when a young person's occupational choice is or is not realistic.

Occupational counselors. Fundamentally, any person to whom the youth looks for advice is a potential occupational counselor. The trouble is that most such people do not have the information that is required. Specialized training is required simply to learn how to estimate the abilities of a youth and to learn about each of the tremendous variety of occupations. This is why occupational counselors are more and more frequently being employed in schools. Professional occupational counselors have the training which is required. They have at their fingertips useful information which is simply not available to most parents and to most teachers, the adults most commonly in contact with youth. Funds provided by the National Defense Education Act have made it possible for many teachers to be trained to do occupational counseling. This and all other measures to select and train such workers should be pursued vigorously. Ultimately, we need enough counselors so that each student may have the benefit of depth discussions concerning his future. Today, many schools, particularly in rural areas,

have no trained counselors at all; and few schools have enough to provide the kind of advising which is needed.

The realism of occupational choice. Occupational choices must be realistic. It is not easy to say off-hand just when a person's choice is realistic. An occupational choice which is realistic for one person may be unrealistic for another. The factors influencing occupational choice discussed above provide a general framework for deciding when a choice is realistic or unrealistic. Briefly, an occupational choice is unrealistic when one of the following is true: (1) the occupation he chooses is changing—either becoming obsolete or changing its duties or rewards so that it will sooner or later be quite different from what he expects it to be; (2) his abilities or facilities are inadequate for the occupation he chooses; (3) his abilities or facilities greatly exceed the requirements of the occupation he chooses; (4) he is unwilling to get the training which is required for the occupation he chooses; (5) his occupational choice or the training it requires is incompatible with other life-decisions he has made.

Improving Instructional Facilities

The evidence is quite clear that, on the average, rural schools are still not doing as effective a job of preparing youngsters for the world of work as urban schools. We need to expand the facilities for providing instruction basic to all types of work in which young people will engage. It is taken for granted that college preparatory courses are satisfactory for those entering college, but a basic training program for others is not so easy to visualize. More vocational instruction for manual jobs may well train the person for work which will become obsolete. We need to discover the subjects which will be useful in spite of changes in occupations and to make sure that they are taught in the schools. Moreover, we need to increase the competence of rural teachers. This may be helped by policies which will recruit well-trained teachers into rural schools and which will improve teachers who are already in the school system.

Increasingly, adults are demanding that educational facilities be provided for them. Men need courses which will aid them in their jobs. Women, too, particularly when they go back to work after their

children are in school or grown up, need programs to train them for their work. These demands call for improving adult education systems.

V CONCLUSION

* "No man is an island unto himself." The young person is dependent upon many persons. These persons and our society in general stand to benefit or lose from the occupational choices made by the youth. For his own good and for ours, we need to help him make occupational decisions which will provide the most personal satisfaction to him and to his family and which will allow him to make his best contribution to society. This paper has been devoted to outlining some of the facts which may aid in making this objective a reality.

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