

UNIV
SHELF

THE GENERATION GAP
IMPLICATIONS FOR LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Research Conference
 in Industrial Relations
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THE GENERATION GAP

IMPLICATIONS FOR LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

Today's managers and labor leaders are increasingly being confronted with the youth "revolt," that is, with behavior and attitudes of young job applicants, employees, and union members who look upon employment in business or industry as dull, confining, or uninspiringly "establishment."

This conference is based upon the premise that young people--who today constitute more than 50 percent of our total population--will make up much of the future manpower of our business, industry, and service organizations, and that managers as well as union leaders need to know more about the culture and values of our youth.

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VALUES OF THE YOUTH REVOLT

Benjamin Aaron

First, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the University and the Institute of Industrial Relations, I welcome all of you to this 13th Annual Research Conference of the Institute. This is an event to which we look forward very much. We have tried, over the years, to bring a new dimension to the day-to-day problems that confront persons in the industrial relations field, the kind of thing that was dealt with so ably yesterday by the group from the Bureau of National Affairs. As you can see from the topic this year and those of previous years, we think there is more to industrial relations problems than the ordinary nuts and bolts, although that aspect, of course, is very important. But we'd like to explore in somewhat greater depth the more advanced and speculative aspects of the field and I think that in the past it has proved true that many of the problems that we have taken a look at in these sessions have turned out to be those of increasing importance in the years that followed.

One of the purposes of these annual conferences is to keep those who attend abreast of what is going on, not only generally in the field of industrial relations but also at the Institute itself. I am very happy to announce that the latest development, which I think has importance in regard to this topic as well as to this community, is the award to the Institute of Industrial Relations of a four-year manpower research institutional grant by the U.S. Department of Labor, effective in August of 1970. There are only 12 of these grants made throughout the country, and there were something like 140 institutional applicants. We are very proud to have been selected as one of the places where this development will occur, and we think that after we get under way, the Institute will be able to provide even greater service to the community in the vital area of manpower study and development.

Now, today's program deals with various aspects of the generation gap. Looking around I see that most of those present, although not all, appear to be over age thirty, as are, I think, most of the speakers, if not all. Our task therefore is to look across that generation gap and try to learn something more about the attitudes and the behavior of the younger generation. We hope that today's session will contribute to insight and understanding, although I think I am bound to say that the French aphorism "to understand is to forgive" may not necessarily be applicable in all respects. The speakers who follow will, of course, explore in greater depth than I selected aspects of this problem. I should like merely to repeat a few general observations, set forth in much greater detail by Professor Arvel A. Morris in a recent article in the Journal of Legal Education, about the principal forces that have shaped and influenced the lives of the younger generation.

The first of these forces is social change--rapid, pervasive, revolutionary social change. There has been no period of social

stability for members of the generation born at the end of World War II. Indeed, their experience has conditioned them to accept and to expect rapid social change. They are constantly in motion. They live a life of flux.

The second principal force has been economic. We hear much today about the affluent society and its attendant benefits and ills. But it would be more accurate, I think, to speak of a bifurcated society, one consisting of two groups: the rich or the fairly relatively well-off, and the poor. The period of youth of the affluent group is typically spent in colleges and universities. Hunger and unsatisfied basic wants are alien to them. They take for granted what their parents for the most part had to work hard to achieve. Good food, good housing, vacations, automobiles, all of it. This affluence permits them to extend their period of youth, and particularly that very important period between adolescence and an adult stage of life when a person must make serious decisions about entering the labor market or choosing a career.

However, the large body of our youth have backgrounds of deprivation. Their psyches are scarred by poverty and discrimination; most are forced to make a living from an early age. They are deprived of this cushion between the end of adolescence and the beginning of the world of work, which is provided those who can spend that period in some institution of higher learning. And many of these underprivileged and deprived youths never enter the world of work either as we understand that term. Instead, they eke out a precarious and usually illegal existence in the barrios and ghettos of our cities. When they are induced or persuaded to take a conventional job, they bring with them a seemingly endless and quite understandable supply of grievances against society in general and against their employers in particular.

The third major force, which for most of our youth has replaced the fear of economic insecurity that so drastically influenced the lives of their parents, is anxiety--anxiety caused by violence. Organized, sophisticated, and technical violence has been the constant companion of the younger generation, and as one observer put it, the technology of death has hung like a sword over the lives of this post-modern generation. Violence means more than thermonuclear holocaust and germ warfare. It also means rage, fear, anger. Thus, matching the historical violence of war, cataclysm, and holocaust is the psychological violence of sadism, exploitation, and aggression. And these threats of external and internal violence have a tendency to interact with and to exacerbate each other.

So, these three principal forces--rapid and continuous social change, coexistence of affluence and poverty, and fear of technological and psychological death--have combined to radicalize and to make activists and militants out of many of the younger generation, not all of whom, believe it or not, are students. This is hardly a new phenomenon. It has been said that "young people . . . would always rather do noble deeds than useful ones; their lives are regulated more by moral feelings than by reasoning--all their mistakes are in the direction of doing things excessively and vehemently. They overdo everything--they

love too much, hate too much and the same with everything else." Now, who do you suppose said that? Not any contemporary sociologist or psychologist; no, the person who said that was Aristotle. So this phenomenon has been with us a long, long time. Youth today is outraged and believes it must do something about the three great failures of the older generation: failure to eliminate poverty; failure to eliminate racism; failure to establish lasting peace. Is it any wonder then that those of us in the world of work or in the world of universities share the same problems that the parents of these youths share trying to justify a very, very imperfect world, and a very, very imperfect system? The young people who have been shocked into awareness and have developed the moral courage to look at this society and see it, warts and all, with all its imperfections, all the contradictions, all the things about it that are hateful, perhaps have a distorted view. But it's a view that has so much truth in it that the problem for us is not to change their views but to change what it is they are looking at.

And now I am going to turn the discussion of this matter over to people who know a lot more about this than I do. Thank you very much.

THE YOUTH REVOLT--CONFRONTATION OF VALUES

Don Hartsock

Good morning! In picking up from where Ben gave us a launching pad, I think one of the points that I would like to make in talking about the basis for the values of the youth revolt is the clarification of some terms. I would like to do that by telling a little anecdote that came out of being in the Pacific with the Peace Corps on the Island of Yap. Some of you who were in that area of the Pacific might be more familiar with the Island Ulithi, where the largest fleet was gathered for the anticipated invasion of the Philippines and, later, Japan.

The Island of Yap houses and contains people who are very proud of their heritage and their culture. One of the facets of their culture is the fact that they have no unnecessary hang-ups about what we in this country would call, rather euphemistically, toplessness. That term in our culture has always somewhat bothered me. I don't know exactly what it means, but if it means not wearing a blouse or something, well, that's another connotation. Nevertheless, we had volunteers serving in that area, and many of them got very involved with the people in some of the remote villages, even to the point of being afforded the honor to join the dance groups, some of the girls particularly. The Yapese, being very proud of their traditions, insisted by district legislative fiat that none of their dances or their cultural practices were to be adulterated. In other words, they were to be done as authentically as possible, even for high-ranking American visitors who came through. The High Commissioner informed me that one of the female Peace Corps volunteers had participated in a public dance. He thought that this was highly inappropriate and that he wished I would investigate it and see what had really happened. And indeed I did.

Well, I found out from the Peace Corps director of Yap what happened. He reported that indeed it did happen, that one of our girls had felt she had to do this, because if she didn't dance three other girls could not have danced, and she felt that the High Commissioner was in Yap and, therefore, when in Rome do as the Romans do. But she also tacked on a little item, which is the thrust of what I wish to point out to you: she said that she wished the High Commissioner to be informed that while indeed she did dance without any blouse, the High Commissioner ought to know that the Yapese were highly offended by his wife and daughters wearing mini-skirts. To the Yapese, the exposure of the knees and the thighs is obscene. When I brought this to the High Commissioner's attention, he merely said, "touché."

I think what I would like to try to point to is, and I realize the prerogative of redefining terms, we have a cultural gap. The Yapanese and the Americans see the world differently as to what is obscene and what is not obscene. My basic thrust this morning is that we are not engaging in so much of a generation gap, which is always easy to wait out. We can wait the young people out, and when they become thirty the sting will be taken out of them; all we have to do is wait for them to get older. My contention is that it's a cultural gap, and by the use of the term cultural I mean the gap that is based upon a perception of our world, and it hasn't anything to do with chronological age.

Indeed, we are in a revolution, and these children are our children. They were not born on the back side of the moon. Our culture has nurtured them. Indeed, even TV could be said to be a substitute or a foster mother or father to many in conveying culture taste and values. And so, before we get to the point of thinking all we need to do is wait them out, let's try to examine and see whether there is any substance to what I perceive as being the roots of this cultural gap.

I can imagine that in the fifteenth century when a man came and said he wanted to try to prove that the world was round, there were a lot of people who felt that if the world should be proven to be round, their whole world of perceiving it to be flat would be dissipated. We all know that the debates that centered around the Copernican revolution, indeed the American revolution, had a great deal to do with the way men perceive the world in which they live and how they respond to either the traditional patterns of perception or even to new ways of approaching it.

The story is told about Galileo, who was asked to insist that his theory that the sun did not revolve around the earth was only a theory. And he said that in so many words, but he said under his breath, "it isn't true." There are an awful lot of young men and women who are like Galileo, who are saying that they accept the way in which you and I have perceived the world, but in other ways, under their breath, they say, "it isn't true."

Now, what is this world of perception that we are talking about? Two weeks ago, people from UCLA had a colloquium up in the mountains, over 115 students and selected faculty, to discuss the theme, "Brave New World," by Aldous Huxley. They discussed the whole complexity of Brave New World in which, as contrasted to 1984, control is not be fear but rather by making comfortable. The whole issue then of Brave New World Revisited became a focal point as well within the discussions of small groups. Incidentally,

we had a reunion the other night in our home with no planned program or anything, just getting together, and out of the 115 we had 50 packed in the livingroom in our small home just to come together and to talk again without formal structure. But just five years ago, if you would have tried to get students together for an event they would have said they were too busy.

Perhaps the high point of this whole colloquium in the mountains, apart from the fact that we actually had students, was that men and women were there who had never seen snow on the ground, let alone snow fall. (We had 14 inches in a day and a half, and these people who had never seen snow on the ground or snow fall had lived all their lives in Southern California and were now students at UCLA.) But the most significant thing that Sunday morning was that one group, trying to talk about a consensus, a summary of what had taken place, said they couldn't verbalize it, and, indeed, what they did do was turn around and go to the people they had not talked with during this whole weekend. They knelt down in front of them, and with the cold winds and temperature and everything, they knelt down in front of the people they had not seen before and they took off the persons' shoes and massaged their feet to keep them warm. And one of them finally said, this is our antidote to the brave new world--we're not going to let it happen.

Now, you can say that that's melodramatic, or you can say that there is perhaps a fear that the brave new world's attempt to con people into just simply being comfortable is no longer going to work. In a very verbalized society it may be that we are inundated with words even such as mine. We are buried by paper, but the question arises as to whether there can be a visceral response to all this in very, very strange forms. This change in perspective, I think, has to do with the phrases that are being constantly repeated, phrases such as "do your thing" and "tell it like it is." Then, in the context of a society where many of these desires to maintain a structure or a status are being challenged, as has been previously indicated, because change is taking place, it's simply a question of whether it will be change that will be controlled or influenced by those who will be most directly affected by it, or whether they are supposed to take Compoz in an age in which we say we've got to get rid of drugs and yet are encouraging their use constantly--whether it be Zest-Tab, Compoz, Sleep-eze, No-Doz, or what have you. It's very close to "Soma" which is "morality without tears." The whole point then comes to whether we are willing to listen to what some of these people are saying to us in regard to their perception of their world.

I'd like to read a passage that is pretty dated, but it states my point pretty clearly. It is an excerpt from a small paper by Michael Lerner, who was one of the leaders of the free speech movement at Berkeley.

College students are usually bright enough to question their society. The special nature of the university in this society almost immediately makes itself felt to the intelligent person. That is, the University espouses one set of ideals while in practice it follows another. It talks about wisdom and knowledge, while its curriculum and teaching structures are designed only to train technicians. It talks about democracy and freedom, while its governments and institutional structures are almost paradigm cases of suppression and rule from the top. These glaring contradictions in the system are supported by the whole host of institutions and the rest of society."

If you want a perfect model of a feudal structure, politically and socially, take a look at the university. The Board of Regents is like the House of Lords. As you all know, the University of California does not belong to the people of California. There is a little plaque on all the entrances to the university that this property belongs to the Regents. The Chancellor is probably like a duke, Administration is the royal family, the faculty are like the nobles, the students are like the apprentice guilders, the staff people who make the university operate are like the peasants, and then you have people like me who are like, I guess, the court jester. But I find many times in talking about change in the twentieth century, it isn't hard to perceive that part of the anxiety Ben was talking about is the fact that we have twentieth-century technology, nineteenth-century philosophy, seventeenth and eighteenth-century institutions, and the university goes back to the fourteenth century.

Now, maybe we all ought to take heart, Maybe the scientific community will be the last one that will be opposed because it is most up to date. Then the question arising here is whether these systems, these institutions, were designed for the sake of men or whether men exist for the sake of the institutions. You know, that's a pretty revolutionary concept. And it was the revolution that our forefathers started of which skeptics said it will never work--government, of, by, and for the people. But the American experiment was laughed at in Europe until it began to take hold.

My contention is that part of the radicalness of our cultural gap now is the fact that many of our people are radical in the sense that they have learned American history, and they are going back to the roots. And, incidentally, that is what the word radical means--to go back to the roots. If we are saying in effect that many times we are fearful, that in our society there will be some question as to whether the Bill of Rights would pass in a referendum, then there is a question as to who really are the radicals and who indeed are the patriots. Perhaps as a part of this attempt to conserve the American dream, perhaps there is also a fear that overlive, which is a take-off on the phrase overkill, has become a policy of the American way of life as well: by producing more than we need to live, being able to distribute it would result in the failure of the reason why we produce it. We've always got to produce more than we can consume; it may be like the overkill in weaponry.

But the question here now is this point of the perceptions of the kind of world we live in, of whether we can go back, for example, to the phenomena of even our children, who were not intrigued when the first moon landing occurred, were not intrigued by it at all because, they said, they had seen Star Trek. The question of whether the reality of what we are talking about, of perceptions of when a man from Buck Rogers to Armstrong can make the comment that a small step for man is but a big step for mankind, is whether we really mean it. And I would like to ask the astronauts if from a certain distance in space you can perceive the lines that men draw between men. Now, you can tell the coastal lines of our satellite weather maps, but can you tell the line that is drawn between Mexico and the United States? Can you tell the line that is drawn between Los Angeles and Pasadena? Can you tell that line that divides one man from another? Maybe this is part of the perception.

There is a Zen question that has always disturbed men: I have a huge bottle with a narrow neck and I place a live chicken in it; how do you get the chicken out without breaking the bottle and without killing the chicken? If you want to wrestle with that for a little while, you will probably know how to answer it. The simple answer is, you can take it out because I put it in. If I have the authority to put that chicken into that bottle, you also have the authority to take it out. But, you see, when we talk in our society, we're talking as though the standards that we perceive are the only ones. This does not mean they are not valid, but an awareness of the perception of the world in which we live has a lot to do with our life style within it.

It was while we were in India, for example--this was some years ago--that we were very much concerned about the whole impact of the morality issue of what American films were depicting overseas. So we went one evening to visit Indian students and to see the old film "Pillow Talk"; at that time it was a new film with Rock Hudson and Doris Day, and we thought we would get into a real discussion of the morality of the interrelationship between a man and woman, or a boss and his secretary. This didn't bother the Indians at all. The thing that concerned them was the fact that Thelma Ridder, Doris Day's housekeeper, could scrape more food off a plate into a disposal than those students who were sitting in that theater would see in a month. It was a fact that she could open up a refrigerator, and that lettuce and meat and milk and vegetables were not a science-fiction prop. And we wonder then why the expectancies around the world have risen. I would say Hollywood, California, has done more to institute and instigate the rising expectancies of people around the world than any other agency or media that we know of; it might be called a spin-off effect.

The question that Ben was talking about, where are these values, what is cherished, what is indeed respected then, and, as Ben said, the affluence, perhaps the notion of a Protestant sense of guilt, Puritan guilt, of whether it's right for me to have all this affluence, maybe this is one of the roots of the voluntary poverty that we see among many of the young. Or maybe it's in a sense to exorcise it and to be able to do something about it. But then it may also have to do with the fact that this generation, as we have also stated earlier, are our children, and they have been raised in our culture. We have given it to them as a birth right or a mess of pottage. We don't know which, but certainly it's mixed.

Let's take a look, for example, at one of the factors that they have been raised on, and that's television. You can watch any television program and know that if it starts at two (2) minutes after the hour, the story will be pretty well wrapped up within 50 minutes, from start to finish. And that collapse of time is not something tangential to our lives. It may now become the norm in our lives that history is seen in an entirely different way, and that is its instantaneousness. It is also capsulized. Immediacy becomes the thing now. We can turn on the television, and it doesn't simply transport us out into the world but it brings the world into our room. I have become convinced of this in talking with many people that Peyton Place is not a fictional place out there somewhere, but many times it becomes an extended family who lives in someone's home. Granted, you may say, "well that's an old old program, it's still rerunning,"--and that has something to say about history, too. The fact is that we can talk now about the morals of a society which we have depicted through this.

Instantaneous, immediate, all-encompassing, all that you really need to know about it, plus the whole imagery of heroes, whether it be the good guy, bad guy, or whether it be the complex hero. It may be, you know, that Midnight Cowboy is an antidote to the other kinds of cowboys. It may be that this is more the reality of walking the streets in Los Angeles than riding into the sunset in Arizona. But maybe these are some of the factors that we have to deal with in talking about the perceptions of our world, and perhaps also what we want to do about it, if anything.

Now, in view of these changes in perspectives of viewing the world differently, maybe lines are not what really count between men but this freedom to realize that perhaps it's differences between men that enrich them.

In the film "Never on Sunday," a story about whether Homer really loved Elia or whether he loved the image of what he could make her into, the capper of the line in the whole finale was that Antonio would love her and Antonio would marry her and Elia would marry Antonio because Antonio loved her; he didn't simply love what he could make her into. This kind of perception, I think, is part of what we are talking about in the youth revolt: can there be this opportunity to appreciate the differences between people and realize that they are strengths, not threats.

Repeatedly in conversations with many young people in various kinds of situations in which they don't even know each other's names, this point of having someone with whom they can bounce off is extremely important in their conversations. But it's also urgent that they have an opportunity to express where they stand and why they stand there. And many times they want to examine that, and not just feel that they are indeed forced into a position of conformity.

Ben touched upon another thing which I think has a bearing on the roots of the revolt, in the sense of redefining some words. If there is a change in perspective of how the young perceive their world--our world--there is also the challenge of the priorities. There was an awareness when Sputnik came along; we became uptight nationally, our national ego was at stake. And we ground a lot of things into education to say that we could catch up. The irony of it seems to be that until the pollution issue came around, we were competing with each other and not against those things which dehumanize men. The question, for example, of redefining what we mean by justice, obscenity, or violence. This comes out in many many conversations, particularly in the underground press, which is very complex in reading because most of the other news that we have is really very simplified.

So, this is one of the notions of the underground press, but also the fact that maybe we have reached the point where we over-produce and the question becomes one of distribution. And maybe it's also this point about immediacy of actions against delayed justice. And maybe it's the desire to communicate with more than just the parents or the establishment. But maybe much of what gets on television and into the newspapers is an attempt to communicate with other people around the world. As Ben said, there is a great distinction between the haves and the have-nots. And some of the haves who are deeply upset by it happen to be many of our youth.

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This also can be, I think, expressed in the forms of dress. It may be that it has a form of identity as well as opposition--distinctiveness rather than just simply difference. Notice how many of the fashions also are derived from television, costume characters, beads, leather hats, wild pants, costumes that were designed and worn by Hollywood stars depicting people from all around the world.

Again, like in "Never On Sunday," how do you draw the line between the end of "Medea," where Medea is supposed to have killed her children, and when all of them walk out on the stage? How do you define the difference between reality and fantasy? It may be that there isn't any difference and that people will live in that fantasy as reality, and that is the way they perceive it. Or about the hair? About the beards? A man I worked with in the Peace Corps assumed that I wore a beard because it was the mark of revolt. I told him that he could read it that way, but I wear it because my wife likes it, and my wife likes the white hair in it because she likes older men. If he says I am insecure about my wife's love, that might be. I think many here might be quite intrigued by the article that appeared in a recent issue of Life magazine about a study that was done at Dayton University about students who dressed according to various patterns. What they believed had nothing to do with the way they dressed. You might be interested in studying that a little bit.

A change in perspective, a challenging of priorities, maybe it's at this point that we are talking about men and women who in our culture have never had a rite of passage. What does it mean to be a man? What is the mark of a man? Is the mark of a man to kill and simply to obey? Is the mark of a man simply to drink and to drive and to have sex? Is the mark of a man the man who doesn't have to prove that he is a man? Can he be tender? These are some of the questions. Maybe part of the value of our getting together is not to hear a report from someone who is forty-two, who has worked with you, and who, quite frankly, bristles at the idea of a generation gap, but indeed one who is trying to give a perspective and some checkpoints that you can fill in.

At UCLA a group of students at one of the dorms--which really are age ghettos, no children, no old people, a locked-in age group--had invited some older people to come over to the dorm. Four students said, "this isn't right, we are too much alike, we don't know any older people," and they invited two elderly couples over to the dorm. You would have thought they were the king and queen of England and their court. They just wanted to sit around and talk, and they had hair down to the shoulder, and they were barefooted, and they had bell bottoms, and they were square and everything else, but they were also frustrated.

At UCLA in the School of Public Health, recently, they showed a film, a NET film on a man who was dying of terminal cancer in a hospital in the Bronx in New York. They got the film to show it to a group of nurses and to talk about it because it was in their profession. They had to show it 5 times on the campus to packed houses because the students were saying in effect, "we have never seen death." Now, maybe we are trying to make them comfortable, but they aren't buying it because life is more than just being comfortable on a pillow.

Perhaps here is where the talk about the demands and challenges to what we are coming up with are somewhat reflected in saying, "look we put a man on the moon, we've done this, we've done that, why can't we attack some of these other kinds of problems? We perceive the world differently, and we are going to inherit it from you. Let's take some steps together." In the Christian Science Monitor of Saturday, March 14, there was an article, entitled "Some Dreams Do Come True." It was about all the projects that were going on in this country, particularly in the field of architecture and construction. The article concludes that it would seem if American know-how, money, talent, and just plain guts could build this canal, this bridge, this dam, and this roadway, then certainly this knowledge should be able to come up with other imaginative answers to delivering justice, health, wealth--not simply systems to deliver things.

The pessimists are saying we can't solve our problems, just as pessimists told the Strausses and the Borgmans that it couldn't be done. But perhaps we have in our midst today visionaries who will be able to do with human communication what the builders have done in engineering--to solve the impossible. Perhaps we can start building new bridges between each other. Finally quote the religious philosopher K.R. de Shardon. "Someday after mastering the winds, the waves, the tides, and gravity, we shall harness for good the energies of love, and then for a second time in the history of the world, man will have discovered fire." I think that's what is going to happen with this generation, but it wouldn't be a bad idea if we could give them the spark and not become a wet blanket. Thanks a lot.

Jerome F. Miller

I've been asked to make comments on the topic of "The Experience of Management in Dealing with Hard-core Youth." I would like to begin by making a few general comments to clarify, in your minds as well as in mine, some basic points. First of all, I don't know what is meant by hard-core youth. Do we mean the disadvantaged or the culturally deprived, or the economically deprived, those on lower socio-economic levels, or one of the other 123 ways that we have of describing those who have not "made it" into our system?

It seems that we have a natural desire, through the facility of language, conveniently to categorize elements, whether human or not, into verbal prisons that we so much rely upon. Hard-core youth? I don't know what that means; I don't know who they are. Are they the pill-dropping, pot-smoking, sexually permissive, politically radical youth in our more affluent communities, or are they the pill-dropping, pot-smoking, sexually permissive, politically radical youth in our poor communities? I see them all as youths with problems, needs, desires, and a strong drive to somehow arrive at a point where they are happy, self-fulfilled individuals within a happy, secure, and judicial society.

The question of how youths today view their conflict with adult society is a topic of such magnitude that I cannot adequately tackle it. However, I wish to say that societies, as a part of their normal functions, must establish the means and wherewithal for its youth to grow and to develop into the kinds of individuals who are able to adequately function within that particular society. The means and wherewithal is generally referred to as our basic institutions. These include such elements as our codes of justice, courting, marriage, our school systems, our universities, our governments, and on and on. These basic institutions cannot stand apart from human beings, for without humans they would cease to exist. The vital element is the relationship of the individual to those institutions. My main point is to say that, all too often, those of us that have made it in this society by expertly manipulating our way through school, universities, corporations, and governments, have a tendency to avoid the reality of our control over those same institutions that we have created. They serve us; we do not serve them. I wonder how many of those of you sitting here today have heard or may even have said things like, "Well, we have always done it that way," or "I don't know why it's done that way; there must be a valid reason for it." How many of us come to conferences and seminars and workshops and listen very attentively to people talking about problems and yet really saying to ourselves, "Gee, that's too bad, but of course I have nothing to do with it. There is no way that I can solve that problem." And off we go back to our comfortable niche which we have so expertly developed, and go on playing the same old having-it-made game.

I'm going in this direction with my talk today because I feel very strongly that we are making a basic error when we place so much emphasis upon the disadvantaged or the hard-core youth that seem to be causing us so many problems. We study them; we analyze them; we try to find out what makes them tick. Our whole emphasis seems to be--what are your problems? What is wrong with you? Why won't you conform to the norm?

I would like to suggest that we, for a moment, focus on another problem area--the problem of what's wrong with us, and why do we so avoid those areas of institutional change that can generate significant contributions to the solutions of those problems that confront us today.

I would like to cite an example of what I'm talking about. I have had, for the past three years, the privilege of directing Manpower Programs for the City of Los Angeles. These programs include the Neighborhood Youth Corps, for high-school dropouts, the Adult Work Experience Program, for adult unemployed males, and the New Careers Program which, in City government, is in operation within the Los Angeles Police Department. Approximately four years ago we began operating training programs for the so-called hard-core of our City. It wasn't too long before we realized that here we were, municipal government involved on one hand in the training of the disadvantaged and on the other hand being a part of that overall system that bars those same individuals from meaningful employment--in our particular case I mean City Civil Service. It was difficult enough to prove that we could accomplish the first task--the training--because this in itself has not substantially been accomplished anywhere in the country today. Only after many efforts and redesigns of programmatic units such as orientation, counseling, work experience, skills training, basic or remedial education and job placement, could we, to any great measure, say that we had significantly achieved the training goal.

The second area of confronting those aspects of our own structure which stood as barriers to the disadvantaged was to us, as it is to most public and private agencies, a most traumatic one. Here we are not dealing with the technical training aspect--the giving of skills to the unskilled--but we are forced to face the impact of those myths that we had so long regarded as truths. As an anthropologist, I readily concede that to most societies the myth can be an extremely important element, giving meaning and the basis of an operational philosophy to any particular group of people. What is evident in this case is that these myths were the generation points and the foundations for the barriers to the employment of the disadvantaged. I would like to cite several examples:

1. The need for a high school diploma to perform most entry-level jobs

We currently have on some of our programs individuals who have high school diplomas and have tested out with a second or third grade math level and a fourth and fifth grade reading level. I feel that our basic assumption, that in order adequately to perform a job a person must have that piece of paper called a high school diploma, is wrong. It could even be argued that there are many without it who adequately perform at a higher level than those with it.

2. The individual must have a certain amount of skills experience

This did not apply to all City positions, but many had a requirement of six months or a year in a specific skill area. This was especially difficult for the youths on our programs, as they obviously had no prior opportunities to gain the type of needed experience.

3. The need for a successful work history

It appears obvious that most of the disadvantaged do not have a successful work history. If they did, they wouldn't be disadvantaged. This seems to be one of those middle-class indicators that we rely upon so often to try and predict patterns of human behavior. The only problem appears to be that a total reliance upon past behavior does not adequately predict future behavior.

4. Problems surrounding arrest and conviction records

Credit must be given to the City in this case, as it has, for a long time, considered only convictions and not arrests in barring an individual from employment. However, the hard-core on our programs would still be substantially barred from employment because of their conviction records.

I must point out that here there seems to be much more involved than a reliance upon unsubstantiated myth. It doesn't seem to be enough for a man to be apprehended, tried in court, sentenced, and to serve his time in prison. No, his "debt to society" hasn't been paid when he is released because of our desire to further punish him by excluding him from meaningful employment.

Do we forget that we are also punishing his wife and children? Do we forget that under our system of justice a man has the right to begin anew? Why we are so afraid of those that "have fallen" is for the psychologists to answer. I can only say that if we truly believe in our system of justice, we must stop continually punishing those that have already suffered enough.

5. An absolute prohibition against those
either on probation or parole

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Approximately 50 to 60 percent of those enrolled in our programs were on probation or parole and could not qualify because of it. In this case, on one hand the penal authorities were willing to release the individual as being ready to adequately function in society, but yet those controlling the jobs disagreed, and by this prohibition said that they were not ready. No wonder the recidivism rate is so high.

These five items are important contributing elements to the causes why the disadvantaged remain disadvantaged. I wish to stress that it is not solely the lack of knowledge or skills on the part of the hard-core individual that keeps him from employment, but also a set of rigid rules and regulations built upon sacred myths that irrationally bar individuals from performing their natural roles within society. We all play many roles in our daily lives, that of husband, father, provider, worker, boss, teacher, etc. What appears amply evident is the fact that we through our rules and regulations quite often preclude an individual from adequately playing his necessary role. What could be more frustrating than being a father who cannot provide his children shoes or food and a new dress for his wife? How would that affect his personality structure? I ask these questions because all too often I hear concern and dismay expressed by those who can't figure out such deep, underlying psychological factors that obviously preclude the individual from adequately performing a job. I feel that to a great extent we provide very effective barriers and then marvel at the psychological phenomena that keep the hard-core unemployed.

What could be done about our situation? We could change it, and that is exactly what the City has done. After we could substantially prove that the trainees could, in fact, be trained to perform, not in just an ordinary manner but in an exemplary manner, the rest was quite easy. Myths can be dispelled grudgingly by truth. Most of the above barriers were built with the sincere thought that they would effectively exclude those individuals who could not adequately perform and thus inefficiently expend taxpayers' dollars. What we did was to take leadership in dispelling those myths. Mayor Yorty requested that the Civil Service Commission substitute six months of successful participation on any of our Manpower Programs as the total requirement to compete for most entry-level positions. This request was subsequently approved and the barriers eliminated. The results have been more than even we in Manpower had hoped for. We are finding that our trained ex-enrollees are more motivated than regular employees, and perform in a manner that is literally saving the City government thousands of dollars. They are staying in their jobs and performing at a level higher than those who came in under the normal criteria. That is basically what we have done, what we have technically accomplished, but I would like to focus upon a couple of key points that seem to be forgotten so often.

I am almost constantly hearing and reading of all those great training problems when it comes to the unemployed. A vast profession of expert trainers has been created to try and deal with all those fantastically complex problems of moving someone off welfare and onto the tax rolls. They use video tape machines, sensitivity groups, confrontation groups, supervisory training sessions, systems analysis, and on and on and on. No wonder a board of directors of a large company gets frightened when presented with a plan for training the disadvantaged. I wonder if anyone here has ever heard of "Rosie the Riveter?"

I can understand our desire to forget the pains and tragedies of a world war, but could it be that we have also forgotten what could be of value to us now? This nation had the desire to win the war and it did just that. It had the desire to create, almost overnight, a massive goods and service-producing machine. It was needed and we did it. In the meantime, we found that we could train people rapidly and efficiently for jobs. Admittedly, we have a job crisis now, but we must not forget our ability to train and employ as we did in the past and as our armed forces are still doing today.

I would like to make some recommendations based upon our experience in training the youth on our programs. In order to have successful training programs, an amalgamation of the following items must be present in your operations:

Don't try and fool anyone by setting up make-work training positions. Offer good training and make the range as wide as possible. Few of us are still in the same field of work as when we originally began working.

Don't discount their abilities. We have found high school dropouts that can perform higher forms of mathematics than I can.

Don't be guilty of underestimating them. A young man or woman who has been able to survive in a street culture may have those characteristics of mental agility and creativity that are most needed today.

Make sure that there are jobs at the end of the training. Don't raise levels of expectation only to let them fall again.

Structure your program high enough within your organization, so that top level decision-makers are aware of it and can rapidly make those important decisions that must be made to insure the program's success.

Selection of staff is one of the most important factors. In dealing with people from various subcultures, you must have a staff that is emotionally and intellectually prepared to understand and relate to the trainees. You cannot create a more frustrating experience than placing, on opposite sides of a desk, a hard-core black youth with a "natural" and a middle-class, security-conscious counselor. Believe me when I say that you will create more problems than you solve.

Be prepared to be tested. Your sincerity and dedication will be questioned over and over again. Only when you have proven that you are there to help that person as a person will you be believed.

Be honest. Don't try to avoid difficult subjects or problems. Those young men or women know what the problems are--don't try and snow them. If you can't do something, say so. Don't get out on a limb with promises that cannot be fulfilled. Make sure that the trainee knows what is expected of him and that he knows what to expect from you.

A total commitment from the top of the organizational structure to the bottom must be reinforced over and over again. In order to have a successful program, the lowest level must know that the top level wants it to work. Finally, as a part of that commitment, we must personally and organizationally conduct an in-depth search for any of those myths that may be the foundations for that dissatisfaction that seems to be so present today in the so-called generation gap. These myths must be rooted out and held up for examination. Judicial institutional change cannot come about without it. We must stop trying to justify the unjustifiable. Generation gaps have always existed and I am sure always will, but let's listen to what today's youth are saying to us. Are we trying to give them the kind of world that is right and just and based on the humanity of man? Are we giving them the credit they deserve for seeking the truth and questioning the very basis of society? Can we deny them this examination? Is American democracy so weak that it cannot withstand inspection? I think not. Let us not be so afraid of the questions that youth raise, but fearful if we cannot answer.

THE EXPERIENCE OF MANAGEMENT IN
DEALING WITH COLLEGE-TRAINED YOUTH

William D. McIvers

Thank you very much, Paul. I want to compliment our earlier speakers, particularly Ben and Don, and also Jerry, for really giving us a good foundation to move into this discussion. I feel very comfortable in having some of my own thoughts and ideas about young people confirmed, and I have also picked up some new ideas. On this general subject of the generation gap, permit me to throw in my definition of it.

Ben Aaron mentioned earlier three failures of the establishment, and I heartily agree with him. I think in the matter of the generation gap, we really have a failure which shows up in that it essentially denies young people an opportunity to have a voice in the processes, in the energy, in the life of our country. I think we simply have not been willing to listen--several of the other speakers have mentioned this--and I think there are several examples of this. One that comes to mind is the trend, I think, among the college people to make decisions for students. We're telling them what they should be taking, we're defining what it means to have a degree, and we're not really making decisions that take into account fully their aspirations, their concerns, and their fears. In other words, we're doing things for them and I think really that students should be making some of these decisions themselves.

In discussing my subject--The Experience of Management in Dealing with College-Trained Youth--I want to make it clear that these are my impressions, my opinions, and I'm not even sure my boss agrees with me on some of these. Moreover, I certainly don't presume to talk for all of industry here. My job at TRW is to scour the country for young people. We visit about eighty campuses around the country, and this is done through my office but with a staff of about 200 scientists and engineers. We do not use professional recruiters as such, we use line people who are actually doing the work, and during the course of my comments here I want to relate to you some of the information that these recruiters are picking up which, I think, may have some implications for this whole subject. As far as the generation gap is concerned, I think one point that we really ought to be concerned about is what kind of an atmosphere do we have in our organization? What are the values that we feel are significant and important? What are we giving these kids who are coming from the campuses?

Two years ago, Sheldon Davis whom I think many of you know, he's our vice president of industrial relations, wrote an article in the Journal of Applied Behavioral Science (January 1967). Shel expressed some ideas about organizations, organizational change, ideas that he and his colleagues felt were important values to have in an organization. For example, the individual employee is important and the focus should be on providing him the tools and the other things that he needs

to carry out his assignment. In other words, the fundamental concept of the culture that we're trying to build, and I think the culture that probably should be built generally in industrial America, places a heavy emphasis on the individual. Secondly, the systems within the organization, that is, the rules, the regulations, the procedures, should really be platforms from which an individual operates, rather than being confines within which he must function.

In his article Shel wrote about another objective of an organization, and I'd be interested in having some discussion on this point later. He said, work ought to be fun, that it ought to be personally rewarding and meaningful, and that there ought to be some psychic values coming out of it. Another point was that a great deal of trust should be placed in the individual, there should be a minimum of rules to control, and there should be a relative lack of social distance between employees and management. And that isn't to say that there shouldn't be certain accouterments of rank, carpets on the floor, and so on. It is to say that essentially there should be no pulling of rank, that there should be an open-door policy. There was also a very heavy emphasis on quality, an emphasis on giving people too much responsibility too soon rather than limited responsibility, a spirit whereby problems are lifted up, the matter of confrontation which was discussed a moment ago, and the idea which is very attractive to young people, pushing responsibility down into the organization so that a relatively large number of people on the lower levels are really dealing with jobs demanding relatively high responsibility.

These are some of the values, and we can discuss them further if you like. But I think they really have a lot to do with the spirit of the organization; I think they have a lot to do with working out this generation-gap problem. The gap exists, we think, not only between industry and students, business and students, but there is also a gap between industry and the faculty. We're sensing some very broad areas of misunderstanding and disagreement. I just want to mention one thing that our company is trying to do to ease this gap.

Last year we instituted a professor-exchange program whereby one of our guys, a TRW engineer, went to UCLA, spent a year there, was on the teaching staff, did some research, and one of the UCLA people came to our organization and spent a year with us. We're going to do that again this year, and we're thinking also of expanding it to Cal Tech and Stanford. The idea simply is a mutual enrichment of each environment, and we're finding that on the basis of just one experience some values are being developed there and some of this generation-gap problem seems to be diminishing.

Another thing we've been experimenting with at TRW is this business of finding new ways to communicate with the campus. Last year we bought a road show called By George, maybe some of you saw it. It's a production by Max Adrian, who is an English actor, consisting of readings of George Bernard Shaw, anecdotes, little plays, and so on. It cost us quite a bit of money, but I think what we were able to do on forty campuses where it was shown was to communicate to students and to faculty

that a company like TRW, although profit oriented, is still interested in finding ways to communicate with the faculty and the students. We picked a socialist, and many do not agree with his points of view, but I don't think you can deny Shaw's intellect. He had ideas and he was a spokesman for his time.

Now, what are the ways in which we can be talking to the students and to the faculty? I mentioned that we had 200 recruiters scouring the campuses of the country, and I want to relate some of the things that they're telling me about what seems to be going on, what seems to be the mood and the spirit out there. For one thing, the feedback is that the quality is fantastic. The kids are good. Better than ever. There is absolutely no question in our mind about the quality of the experience the kids are getting on the campuses -- and our exposure is primarily to the engineering and scientific group. Secondly, there is a tremendous concern about social problems; kids are interested in cleaning up smog and doing something about crime and relieving some of the problems that Jerry was talking about. There's an intense desire to get into anything that has any impact on society. We're finding also among students an interest in early involvement in the mainstream, long training programs hold absolutely no interest for students. And we feel this is significant, we've noticed this particularly from the MBA's who we have felt were kind of interested in getting involved in training programs. We hear a great deal about challenge, about professional opportunity. We also hear more and more about personal growth. "I want to grow as a professional, as an engineer (or whatever it is) as a mathematician; but I'm also concerned about personal values and I want to grow personally as well." We also hear more about economics, starting salaries, where am I going to be in five years. And we see a great deal of interest among the students, particularly among the graduate students, in becoming affiliated with the key people on our staff. "I want to work with Dr. so-and-so in the Laser field". Or, "I want to do something in behavioral science with someone on your industrial relations staff". There is a lot of interest in linking with key people. They want to control their destinies, they don't want to be closely controlled by their company, they like to experiment, to make mistakes, to take risks, they like a job which offers freedom.

Let me make one more point on that: they fear early specialization, and this is particularly true of Ph.D's who for seven years have really narrowed in on a very clearly defined subject. But yet they're saying to us, "no, we don't want to specialize, we still want to experiment. We specialize because that's the way you get your degree. But that really doesn't describe our universe." We find also that with all of their abilities, and as I mentioned, this is a bright group as far as we are concerned, they're very apprehensive about industry. They don't really understand what's going on; they fear they're going to lose their individuality. The information going back to the campus isn't that great; there are a lot of unknowns and a lot of fears. We also find the groups are highly motivated, they want to succeed, and I think, of course, the trick for us in industry is to control and suppress the many demotivators that we all have in our environment.

A final point about the feelings of some of our applicants concerns the minority group candidates. We visited something like 8 or 10 of the minority schools, and we found all of these values that I've mentioned. But in addition there was a concern about credibility, a basic distrust, "do you really mean it, do you really have these kinds of jobs for us?" 22

I want to say a word now about the mood of the students that we've seen so far in 1970. It's a very depressed mood. I would say Ed Shaw from UCLA may be able to comment further on that, but I think recruiting is down about 25 percent, many companies have cancelled their visits. 1970 is shaping up to be a tough year, and the kids are feeling it, and they are frustrated and they are very angry. And there really isn't too much we can do to comfort them this year, I'm afraid.

Well, in the last several years at TRW we've hired about 500 new people, and we have been very much interested in sensing this group and getting some ideas from them as to how they feel about their experiences. Fortunately, most have been quite happy. They feel pretty good about the experiences they are getting, but there also have been some very disturbing negative concerns. For example, there has been a feeling of being lost. A number of the kids coming from some of the smaller colleges are concerned about the coming into a company of 16,000, which is what we are at the moment. A great fear of losing identity. Another disturbing negative concern is a feeling of not having the big picture, so to speak, of being out in the communications gap, loose, working on a particular project and having a lot of knowledge about that, but beyond that really not understanding what are the products, what is going out the door. And a third concern we picked up is related to feedback. Many of the kids were not getting any of the feedback on performance, and they would contrast this with what would happen on the campus. You know, where you would take an exam one day and the following day you would have immediate feedback and you would know exactly where you stand.

These are some of the problems that we were picking up and sensing. And for the last year we have been trying to do some things to help kids become assimilated, to work into the system faster. We've been doing sensing, we've been getting them together, trying to understand their frustrations and fears, their expectations. We've been trying to translate, transfer this data to our management people, so that they would understand what the concerns were. We found it very helpful if we could link the new people with the VP level guys, the names that they hear about but really don't see or understand, and we've had a series of informal coffee hours to build that link. The other thing we're trying to do is to get the supervisor to communicate more frequently with the new guy, hopefully on a six-month basis, sit down with the new hire, exchange ideas about the job content, make some plans for either continuing or changing the pattern.

I think this whole area of assimilating new people is tremendously significant and none of us, and I certainly include my own company, have done nearly what we should be doing in this field. It seems to me that that probably is one way to really make a tremendous impact and reduce this generation gap. However, there are several other ideas that I think are useful to look at relative to the gap. It seems to me that we should be trying to do something with young people in helping them, once they are on board, to really design a career path. That is, help them to grow professionally, socially probably, help them to understand what it takes to get ahead in a company--essentially design a program of personal growth, personal development for them. This may start with the traditional company training programs, but it most certainly has to include some very individual self-help kinds of experiences. We're talking more and more about life planning; Angus MacLeod has been working on that program at UCLA. We think there's a lot to that. This is essentially helping a man to somehow integrate his professional with his personal planning. Well, I think I've pretty well exhausted what I know about the subject. I look forward to some kind of discussion this afternoon.

Neil Manning

The area that I will talk about concerns more the high school youths who have already entered the job market. The union that I belong to represents about one and a half million auto and aerospace workers, and more recently a lot of electronics workers as well. I suppose you might say that we are part of the "establishment"; we have local unions that have been established ten or fifteen years ago. So far as our young members are concerned, we have orientation programs for them, but afterwards we rarely see them for maybe the next two years in our union halls. We believe that part of the reason for this is the fact that most young people who enter a plant are not quite sure if they're going to stay there, and they don't really want to become deeply involved with either the company or the union for quite a period of time. However, we do run into an awful lot of young people today in our continuing organization of new plants in which there are no established local unions, and if the young people organize they will be establishing an organization of their own.

I think the best way to describe the present situation is to describe some of the changes that have occurred in the basic "town-hall place" of the union, that is, the union meeting, where we find out what is on their minds and where they listen to our programs. The basic union meeting as an organizational program has changed an awful lot in the past ten years.

Ten years ago, first of all, a majority of the people, in fact the vast majority of the people you would be talking to, were in the thirty to fifty-year age bracket, while today, I would say, the medium age is twenty-five or less. Ten years ago, the union representative at a normal meeting would be expected to lay out a program and talk continuously for possibly up to one hour, and it wouldn't be until after the meeting that you got into actual discussion with individuals. Today we find that we can open up a meeting, speak for about 5 or 10 minutes, and then open up the floor; and the discussion can go on for one hour or two hours in any direction. In other words, there is a lot more give and take among the people who attend, a lot more questioning of the union, and a lot more discussion among the individuals themselves who come to these meetings.

Ten years ago, the union would normally have to defend itself at some point in the meeting on questions of whether we had communistic or socialistic tendencies, or if there was any taint of racketeering within our union. Today we find that the questions in this area are more about democracy within the union itself, and questions about the democratic procedures that are built-in within the union. The union

representative used to be expected--and this would be by the people being organized--to use a hard sell at a meeting, where you would point out what the union could produce for members in the basic area of bread and butter issues. Today the questions are, how is the power of the union shared between the union members and the union leadership. The unions used to make great strides by showing or repeating what they were able to do for their members when the industrial unions were organized back in the 1930's, and what gains they were able to make during the 1930's and the 1940's. Today, if you bring this up in an organizing meeting you will be tuned out immediately; they have no interest in what happened thirty years ago.

On basic shop issues, one point that used to be continually raised in any meeting would be favoritism by supervision in the granting of overtime or the distribution of overtime. Today the question is more, why should we be forced to work overtime at all? Why shouldn't overtime be completely a voluntary thing?

Pensions were always a major issue in the 1960's. Today, when we talk to people who are under twenty-five years of age, they have no interest at all in discussing pensions or in any program relating to them that is five or more years down the line. Group insurance, medical, hospital, surgical, was always a major issue.* Today, possibly because most plants, even unorganized plants, have some form of company-paid group insurance, it is not a major issue. What is a major issue in the area of insurance is auto insurance. The cost of auto insurance for young people, I guess, is prohibitively high. They are interested in some justification for this if they have to drive a car to and from the plant. The company should be responsible for some part of this, paying the cost of some of that auto insurance.

Job security was always considered a major issue. People wanted to know if there was some way that unions could provide job security for possibly the next twenty years. Today there is greater interest in severance plans or layoff plans or supplemental unemployment benefits if people are laid off from the job.

On questions involving protection from unjust discipline by supervision, there are two major changes. First of all, if there is discipline, there also has to be a swift remedy. People who have been in organized plants have found out that their grievances may take months or possibly years to go to arbitration. They feel that this is not justice, that there has to be some method by which a decision can be made more rapidly. Second, there was also some surprising discussion to the effect that when the supervisor is wrong, there should be some decision by the employees on the right to discipline him.

Fear of strikes was, I would say, a very major issue back in the 1960's. Today we find that there still is a basic fear of strikes, but very much less so. The discussion ranges around who has the right to decide to call a strike, and what are the benefits that the union pays during a strike.

We seem also to be getting into different areas in collective bargaining, some not particularly new but there is a change in emphasis. There is a lot more emphasis on the amount of leisure time that people have or should have. They want increased vacation time. They are interested in more floating holidays that can be tied into three-day weekends. They are interested in filling the gap between Christmas and New Year, that is, having full time off during that period. And they are interested in talking about the possibility of shorter workweeks.

One of the complaints we hear from new people is that management does not give them proper orientation as far as the job is concerned, that they don't let them become involved in knowing where the product that they are making is going, that new people make no decisions, have no right to make any decisions involving what you would call the basic management rights in the plant.

We find also that when you break down young workers into male and female employees, female employees under the age of twenty-five do not intend to spend too much time in the factory. I had a meeting within the last month with a group of about 30 women, all under thirty years of age, and this point came up. I asked if anyone would raise her hand who intended to spend at least 3 years in that plant; only one hand was raised. In other words, the other 29 women felt that they would not be in the labor market or at least not in that particular plant for more than the next 3 years. The male employees under twenty-five years of age do not feel that the job they now have will be one that they will spend the next 15, 20, or 25 years of their lives on. They expect to move up rapidly within the company or move out and get another job, or go back to school and continue their education, or get some type of job where they can spend more time in furthering their education.

Within the last two years, at practically every organizing campaign at some time somebody raised the question, how does the union feel about long hair? And it was always raised with suspicion in the mind of the questioner that the union is part of the establishment and that it is against long hair. Luckily, we had fought a case for a discharged employee in one of the major aerospace companies out here where he was discharged for wearing long hair, and we had won the case in front of the arbitrator. So we separated ourselves from management on that point.

Another issue that startled me about six months ago came up in a discussion at a meeting. Again there were about 20 to 25 women and a couple of male employees involved--this is often the situation in the electronic computer plants, where about 80 percent of the production and maintenance employees are female--and the point was raised that on the basic group insurance plan only \$100 was paid to the doctor by the company or by the insurance plan for pregnancy. Now, a union representative always immediately jumps on this to point out that we have got full coverage for childbirth, in other words, full payment of the doctor by the insurance plan. After talking for about 5 minutes, one young gal stuck up her hand and said, well, that's fine, but what we resent here is the fact that there is no pregnancy coverage at all for unmarried girls, that the group insurance plan would not pay anything if a girl who does not have a husband happens to get pregnant. And she was backed up by the other women. I don't think that that type of discussion occurred in union meetings ten or twenty years ago.

There is also a great insistence on the part of the young people to be treated as individuals, that any time you start to talk to them as a mass group they turn you off. This is difficult at a union meeting; in fact, we find that 50 percent of our meetings actually take place after the group meeting. There is insistence, too, on the part of the people who become active or motivated to work with the union during a campaign that you keep in close contact with them over the telephone or keep them up to date on everything that is going on, and that you treat them as individuals within the group. I thought this might be worth mentioning, but probably a lot of you have been through this experience.

I had lunch with a manager of an industrial plant up in Ventura about a week ago. This is a new plant, about 2 years old, and he told me that in order to build up a work force of 1500 people in two years he had to hire close to 6000--the turnover was about 4 to 1! It happened to be a bright, sunny day, and he said, "today, at lunch hour, we'll have people go out; they'll walk around the parking lot; they'll see the sun shining out there; they'll get into their cars, they'll drive away, and we'll never see them again." And quite honestly, he was very frustrated and I didn't have any answers to help him.

Lewis Yablonsky

At the outset, I'd like to talk a little bit about the nature and the scope of the issues that we are attempting to look at today, both in the most general sense and perhaps very specifically from our own position in the role we occupy within the industrial complex. I will approach these issues from my viewpoint, which is perhaps a rather biased one. I am going to present it in my own extreme and you can water it down as you see fit.

In 1967 I undertook some research into what was then known as the hippie movement. This resulted in one of the books I'll be alluding to today, the book I wrote called The Hippie Trip. The hippie posture, which is still very prevalent even though it isn't as newsworthy as, for example, the so-called yippies or other revolutionary groups, is a very enormous statement about American society. I think we can understand when certain deprived groups in our society, certain oppressed groups, are involuntarily dropping out of the mainstream of society, not by their own volition--they want a piece of the action--but because they are restricted to living in ghettos, in certain black communities, and in certain poverty areas. So, we have a kind of involuntary dropout situation, and in some measure the relatively high rates of crime and drug addiction that emerge from this rather horrendous condition are an affirmation of American society.

Here we have people who believe in the goals of American society, and they think affluence is kind of groovy and interesting and something to aspire to. They would go to any means in some cases to get it, including crime, and at some point they will move in the direction of drug addiction to try to anesthetize themselves. But on the hippie scene we have young people who have access to all the goodies this society has to offer, who voluntarily choose to drop out and move into postures of almost sub-poverty conditions and operate on that particular level. And what they are saying is a rather horrendous denunciation of American society. They refuse to play in this ball game that we are all in as part of the social system.

A posture of "dropoutism" in that measure is a rather devastating attack on the values, goals, and methods of American society. Of course, I am talking about the extreme situation here, but we probably have at least a million young people in that posture today, more or less. These young people are the ones who in the normal sweep of things would occupy executive positions, would become the doctors, lawyers, and administrators of our society. So, we have a vast brain-drain within the framework of our own society.

Another, perhaps more potent phenomenon has emerged in just the last six months--I would say that this whole youth revolution began back around 1960, when Tim Leary was experimenting at Harvard with psychedelic drugs--when psychedelic drugs began to turn young

peoples' heads in certain other directions, when young people began to look inward, began perhaps in a positive fashion to look at this society with new and different eyes. One of the things they would see is a real fantasy that no one will believe exists, and I don't know that anyone here believes it, I almost don't believe it myself: We sit here in the city of Los Angeles in a devastated area, where you can't breathe the air without partially dying in some measure. Legitimate scientists tell us that it's an equivalent of smoking a pack of cigarettes a day without smoking a pack of cigarettes a day, and there are some conservative estimates and speculations that we will be using gas masks soon. But like in On the Beach, as death creeps in on us, we continue to do whatever we are doing.

And then people ask, well, why are these young people dropping out? Well, they see the mobiles of our society, namely us, and others, politicians, continuing to act in what is a rather stupid manner as we are slowly dying, and there is no reversal.

It's almost corny to talk about air pollution these days, everybody is talking about it, it's a real fad. But that doesn't remove the stupid posture and position that we are in, of course, including myself. We are all hooked into this society, we pay mortgages, income tax, rents, worry about schools and so forth, and as actors on this stage we perhaps don't see the problem as clearly as some people see it who have dropped out and are looking at it from a different posture.

Now, the youth revolution has escalated just recently, in the last year, I would think, perhaps beginning with Chicago. As Jerry Rubin put it in his new book--which I recommend to you, it's not just the ranting of a young anarchist, there are some very solid statements in there most of which you'll disagree with as I do, but it's well worth your reading--the Yippies, or the Youth International Party, set off what one observer called a police riot in Chicago during the Democratic Convention, and bring it out into the streets. According to Jerry Rubin, and this is a subtle point but not an unimportant one, the biggest Yippie of all in Chicago was Mayor Daley, and then the police commissioner who colluded in producing the psychodrama on the streets.

In the next step in the seventies, my speculation is that everyone of you in this room is going to find himself in a situation in his office or in his occupation where you will be very disconcerted; people will barge in on you, young people, long-hairs, pot smokers. Probably not in your homes in the seventies, that will probably come in the eighties if there isn't some change of direction. For example, as an illustration of the opening of the seventies, two kids took over a munitions barge in the Far East the other day. Then there were the three explosions in major corporations in New York last week. And Jerry Rubin in his book, toward the end, presents his program

for revolution by advocating the burning down of banks. We had a bank burned down in Santa Barbara two weeks ago, although as a social scientist I can't prove any causal nexus.

Now, what is the Yippie's program? I'll read part of it to you. "Millions of young people will surge into the streets of every city dancing, singing, smoking pot," and, I'll use the milder term, "screwing in the streets, tripping, burning draft cards, stopping traffic. High government officials will defect to the Yippies. Clerical workers will axe their computers and put chewing gum in the machines. Army platoons and national guard will desert for the revolution." That's the milder part of it. "The Pentagon will be replaced by an LSD experimental farm. The White House will become a crash pad for anyone without a place to stay in Washington." There's a lot of humor in this, but at a certain point, as you look up at me here with my hair ruffled by the wind from driving the freeway into L.A., you say, well, here's perhaps a relatively young radical you know who is reporting on a certain posture; it may or may not be interesting.

I was chairman of the Sociology Department at Valley State for 5 years, and for over 20 years I have worked as a professional sociologist in various administrative and research positions. I've always had control of my office and generally of my classroom. This is no longer the case. I'm not sure yet whether it's good or bad, but this is where the universities and colleges are at, and I'm talking about almost all of them except in certain deep segments of the South where the power structure still has big guns holding people down. I suggest to you that in the seventies you will not have your own office as available to you as you have it now, nor will you have your factory organization, office building, plant or whatever it is that you happen to occupy or where you work, because there will be young people pushing in some measure and in some direction.

Now, why are they pushing? What's at the heart of the matter? One very simplistic view, of which I can only give you a short version in the brief time that we have allocated here, is related to what the young people call the plastic alien machine-like society in which we live, a society where human interaction is no longer emotional or humanistic even when people feign emotionalism. They smile properly; people can have sexual intercourse in a mechanical way, with lots of grunts and groans and smiles in the appearances of great excitement as they both think of something of what they are going to do at work the next morning. I think the machine, the plastic society perhaps, has infiltrated at least large segments of our society. And what these young people want, many of them, those who are clear-headed enough to think in this direction, is a more loving, humanistic situation. Many of them are your sons and daughters.

I don't think a lot of this is strange to those parents here who have late teenagers, or to people in their early twenties who are more or less into this particular constellation. And the young people do have an enormous concern with the United States of America, even though they appear to be red anarchists. They are very involved with the manner in which human relations, social organizations, educational systems, corporate entities function within this society. I take up a drift from this morning's conversation, where some people were talking, in a rather paternalistic way, about incorporating these young people into our organizations, as if to say, what we have is exactly right and we can modify them and move them into the organization and they will eventually see the light as we think we do. But I don't think this is going to happen because they have some interesting, Thoreauan, naturalistic, loving ideas, some of which are seen in a very temperamental self-destructive way under the influence of drugs. But they see things, and they perceive things somewhat differently.

Someone asked me earlier what relationship this has to the so-called black revolution. Well, looking at the most extreme posture of the black man in this country, perhaps the most violent, the Black Panthers; the Black Panthers up until just recently didn't want to and didn't have anything to do with any white man except to talk at them and to tell them where it's at or to take their money if they want to donate it or whatever. But now there seems to be the beginning of a coalition between the Yippies and the black revolution, at least at the tip of the sword in the Black Panther aspect of it. For example, in Jerry Rubin's book, Do It, the introduction is written by Eldridge Cleaver who is in exile or on parole or a parole violater, or whatever terms you want to use, in Algeria. Eldridge Cleaver has a line, and I quote if my memory serves me correct, "it's interesting that the children of the oppressors have joined the oppressed." So, there seems to be a coalition building because there seems to be the same thrust.

Now, I am obviously talking about an extreme development. I am going to conclude my formal comments, because we are going to move into, hopefully, some action phase here, by reading you the following quote which, I think, is very pertinent to what we are trying to explore here today.

We know by now that technology can be toxic as well as tonic. We know by now that if we make technology the predestined force in our lives, man will walk to the measure of its demands. We know how leveling that influence can be, how easy it is to computerize man and make him a servile thing in a vast industrial complex.

This means we must subject the machine-- technology--to control and cease despoiling the earth and filling people with goodies merely to make money. The search of the young today is more specific than the ancient search for the

Holy Grail. The search of the youth today is for ways and means to make the machine--and the vast bureaucracy of the corporation state and of government that runs that machine--the servant of man.

That is the revolution that is coming.

That revolution--now that the people hold the residual powers of government--need not be a repetition of 1776. It could be a revolution in the nature of an explosive political regeneration. It depends on how wise the Establishment is. If, with its stockpile of arms, it resolves to suppress the dissenters, America will face, I fear, an awful ordeal.

These aren't the words of Jerry Rubin or Abbie Hoffman or Eldridge Cleaver. These words were written by William O. Douglas, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, in a new book called Points of Rebellion, for which, I understand, many people want to impeach him.

It is very interesting that his assessment of what's happening among young people today on the streets, in the corporations, in the schools, in the homes, wherever young people are, is very parallel to Jerry Rubin's observations and somewhat to my own in The Hippie Trip. I think the first step in beginning to move with this situation is not to develop grimmickry but to, I suppose, modify the corporate structure, the factory, the plant, the machines, the fantastic machines we have created, to make them somehow subservient to man and more humanistic. And this is not a problem peculiar to industry--it is in education, in hospitals, in every walk of human life.