This report is the result of an enquiry into the attitudes and social behaviour of the unskilled worker. The enquiry was carried out in a number of Netherlands towns and rural areas, and consisted mainly of the interviewing of unskilled workers, of their wives, and of persons who, by virtue of their occupation, have a task to perform in the unskilled workers’ milieu: foremen, social workers, teachers, civil servants, union officials, youth-leaders, ministers of religion, etc. In part I of this study a description is given of the life of unskilled workers based on these interviews and on the results of personal observation. Empirical enquiry confirmed the hypothesis which initiated it, viz. that “the unskilled workers form the nucleus of a social class in which many give evidence, by behaviour which is not in accordance with the bourgeois group-norms, of the fact that they either are not aware of, or do not acknowledge, the traditional social norms in the Netherlands”.

Social control of the bourgeois milieu has a disciplinary effect on the social life of skilled workers, but does not reach the milieu of unskilled workers. In their relations towards family, labour and the neighbourhood and in their attitudes towards institutions such as churches, schools, political parties, labour unions, etc., they show ideas, opinions, beliefs and sentiments which differ in fundamental points from what is regarded in other social classes as “normal”.

In the milieu of the bourgeoisie, into which the skilled workers fit and from which the unskilled workers are excluded, the social order is known as a rank-order, the positions in which are determined by formal and objective criteria: wealth, specific skill, position in the hierarchy of organizations, etc. The unskilled worker is not trained, he has no titles or diplomas and no wealth, and therefore he has no social power, that is to say, he is not able to compete in the bourgeois milieu in maintaining a status and playing a social rôle. The consequence is that behaviour, which in the other social classes symbolises the level of stratification, means nothing to him. He knows neither social competition nor the norms which accompany it: the rules for ascending normally from one social stratum to another. The significance of the school in this respect lies quite outside his field of vision. The life of the unskilled worker is controlled by the primary norms of his “face to face” groups: his work-group, his neighbourhood, his family. It is not at school, where the children are prepared for social competition, but in street-gangs, that the socialization process takes place most effectively in the unskilled workers’ milieu. Here the young learn which are the values which are to determine their behaviour in the course of their lives. As Allison Davis rightly said, the skilled workers, assimilated into the higher skilled working class, have a different culture, to their system of social norms which determine their family, their work-group, their group, their habits of “shiftlessness”, “irresponsibility”, absenteeism, and quitting the job, regards as a result of the “inner” perversity of the unskilled workers, are in fact normal responses to his physical and social environment, a system of behaviour and attitudes which is not in accordance with the norms of the bourgeoisie in that environment in which the individual has been brought up and in which he has been trained.” (1946)

The nonconformity of the unskilled worker is a psychological, but a sociological phenomenon, at least if one understands by it psychological ideas, conditioned emotional response, and behaviour, which members of a social group indulge in, as a result of social instruction or imitation” (Linton, 1936). The social behaviour of unskilled workers, in their family, their work-group, their gang, their school, represents an attempt to maintain a status and to play a social rôle, in short, a primary and a secondary culture, the “Primaries” and “Secondaries” (Moore, 1942). The contact between the two cultures is fraught with high emotional tension. This borderland, the middle of the so-called working class, is an area in which the unskilled workers, between the slums and the suburbs, between the gangs of the “street culture” and the “school culture”, between the unskilled working group and many sects and the churches, between many political parties.

Naturally this state of affairs is a source of social tensions which, though generally latent, must be taken seriously (Bouman, 1946). In order to reduce the social tensions it is important to realise that the unskilled workers is a product of the social environment in which he has grown up, just as the bourgeos groups. Every social behaviour here has practical functional meaning for social life, such as a symbol of prestige in the...
enquiry into the attitudes and work of skilled workers, of their wives, and occupation, have a task to perform in men, social workers, teachers, th-leaders, ministers of religion, description is given of the life of interviews and on the results enquiry confirmed the hypothesis of skilled workers form the nucleus of evidence, by behaviour which bourgeois group-norms, of the fact of, or do not acknowledge, the "Netherlands". milieu has a disciplinary effect, but does not reach the milieu towards family, labour and towards institutions such parties, labour unions, etc., they sentiments which differ in funda-

determined in other social classes as into which the skilled workers' social order is known as a rank-
determined by formal and objective position in the hierarchy of organi-
is not trained, he has no titles or therefore he has no social power, compete in the bourgeois milieu in a social role. The consequence is that social classes symbolise the thing to him. He knows neither which accompany it: the rules for social stratum to another. The respect lies quite outside his field, his work-group is controlled by the "race" groups: his work-group, his at school, where the children on, but in street-gangs, that the socialization process takes place most efficiently in the unskilled workers' milieu. Here the young learn the primary group-norms, which are to determine their behaviour throughout the whole of their lives. As Allison Davis rightly says: "Just as the members of the higher skilled working class and of management act in response to their culture, to their system of social and economic rewards, so do the under-privileged workers act in accord with their culture. The habits of "shiftlessness", "irresponsibility", lack of "ambition", absenteeism, and quitting the job, which management usually regards as a result of the "innate" perversity of under-privileged workers, are in fact normal responses that the worker has learned from his physical and social environment. These habits constitute a system of behaviour and attitudes which are realistic and rational in that environment in which the individual of the slums has lived and in which he has been trained." (1946).

The nonconformity of the unskilled worker is not in the first place a psychological, but a sociological problem, for it is culturally conditioned, at least if one understands by culture "the sum total of ideas, conditioned emotional responses, and patterns of habitual behaviour, which members of a society have acquired through instruction or imitation" (Linton, 1936). The social norms and the social behaviour of unskilled workers in their slum-community, their family, their work-group, their gangs, form a closed functional unit as against the pattern of bourgeois culture. One might speak, in short, of a primary and a secondary culture.

The primary and secondary culture, with their representatives, the "Primary" and "Secondaries" (Miller and Form, 1951) form in many respects an antithesis. On the borderline between the two cultures contact between the groups is always fraught with a high emotional tension. This borderline runs right through the middle of the so-called working class, between the skilled and the unskilled workers, between the slums and the other residential districts, between the gangs of the "street corner society" and the school, between the unskilled work-group and its social environment between many sects and the churches, between communistic groups and other political parties.

Naturally this state of affairs is a source of many social tensions which, though generally latent, must nevertheless be regarded as serious (Bouman, 1946). In order to form a right judgment of these social tensions it is important to realise that the nonconformity of unskilled workers is a product of the social structure of the Netherlands, in the same way as is the conformity of the bourgeois groups. Every social behaviour here has not only a rational and practical functional meaning for social life as a whole, but is at the same time a symbol of prestige in the structure of social classes.
This makes social adjustment impossible for unskilled workers, since they are without any status. So their own primary culture-values are substituted for the secondary bourgeois-culture. This substitution is inevitable and the non-conformity of the unskilled workers can therefore be called: "a normal reaction of normal people to abnormal conditions" (Merton, 1949).

A solution to the social problems connected with the non-conformity of unskilled workers will therefore only be found in a change in the conditions which determine their behaviour. This would involve a change in the bourgeois culture of the Netherlands. Such a change might be brought about, for our culture is a dynamic one. Not until primary group-norms in the form of "Gemeinschafts"-values (Tönnies) attain a more autonomous significance than they have at present, and in this way dethrone the absolutism of the formal organization of our social life and its stratification, will the unskilled worker feel at home in our society.