R E P O R T R E S U M E S

ED 019 498 08 VT 005 414

DEVELOPMENT OF A PROGRAM TO PREPARE DELINQUENTS, DISADVANTAGED YOUTHS AND SLOW LEARNERS FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION. FINAL REPORT.

BY- JEFFERY, C. RAY
WASHINGTON SCHOOL OF PSYCHIATRY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

REPORT NUMBER BR-S-0145 PUB DATE JUN 67
CONTRACT OEC-6-85-355
EDRS PRICE MF-$0.75 HC-$7.84 194P.

DESCRIPTORS- *DISADVANTAGED YOUTH, DROPOUT REHABILITATION, DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR, *REMEDIAL INSTRUCTION, VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, REWARDS, *OPERANT CONDITIONING, YOUTH OPPORTUNITIES, COMMUNITY ATTITUDES, DELINQUENTS, PROGRAMED INSTRUCTION, PROGRAM DESCRIPTIONS, NEGRO YOUTH, FAMILY RELATIONSHIP, WORK STUDY PROGRAMS, RECREATION, SLOW LEARNERS, ACADEMIC EDUCATION, INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF, COMMUNITY AGENCIES (PUBLIC), *URBAN DROPOUTS, DELINQUENT REHABILITATION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL REHABILITATION OF HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUTS WITH DELINQUENT RECORDS WAS ATTEMPTED BY REINFORCING BEHAVIOR ASSOCIATED WITH ACADEMIC REMEDIATION, WORK PREPARATION, AND SOCIAL CONDUCT. OF THE 163 NEGRO YOUTHS WHO PARTICIPATED AT SOME TIME DURING THE PROGRAM, ONLY 42 WERE ACTIVELY PARTICIPATING WHEN THE PROGRAM TERMINATED, AND THE RANGE OF PARTICIPATION FOR THIS LATTER GROUP WAS FROM 16 WEEKS TO 130 WEEKS. SUBJECTS WERE ENTICED TO THE PROJECT BY OFFERS OF FOOD AND REFRESHMENT AND, ONCE THERE, WERE OFFERED A SYSTEM OF REWARDS, INCLUDING MONEY, FOR COMPLETING EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL TASKS. WEEKLY EARNINGS RANGED UP TO $40 FOR SUCCESSFUL PARTICIPATION IN REMEDIAL PROGRAMED INSTRUCTION RANGING FROM THIRD TO 12TH GRADE LEVELS AND CLASSROOM AND WORK ACTIVITIES. ACADEMIC PROGRESS WAS ACHIEVED IN MATHEMATICS, ENGLISH, SOCIAL STUDIES, SCIENCE, AND READING AND 13 OF 22 PARTICIPANTS WHO TOOK THE GENERAL EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT TEST PASSED, THUS BEING CERTIFIED AS HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES. WORK CREWS OF EIGHT TO 10 PARTICIPANTS WERE SUPERVISED IN REFURBISHING SLUM HOUSING AS GENERAL WORK PREPARATION. A RECREATION PROGRAM FOR STUDENTS WAS A TOTAL FAILURE. THERE WAS LITTLE SUCCESS IN EFFORTS TOWARD EMPLOYMENT OR JOB TRAINING, AND THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE THAT THE ANTISOCIAL OR DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR OF THE GROUP WAS DIMINISHED TO ANY SIGNIFICANT EXTENT. THE PARTICIPANTS WERE PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN "BEATING THE SYSTEM." IT WAS CONCLUDED THAT DELINQUENCY, UNDER-EDUCATION, AND UNEMPLOYMENT ARE RELATED TO EACH OTHER AND TO OTHER VARIABLES IN SUCH A WAY THAT A CHANGE IN ONE VARIABLE WILL NOT NECESSARILY PRODUCE A CHANGE IN OTHERS. (EM)

FINAL REPORT
Project No. 5-0145
Contract No. OE-6-85-355

DEVELOPMENT OF A PROGRAM TO PREPARE DELINQUENTS, DISADVANTAGED YOUTHS AND SLOW LEARNERS FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

June 1967

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

Conducted by
Washington School of Psychiatry

DEVELOPMENT OF A PROGRAM TO PREPARE DELINQUENTS, DISADVANTAGED YOUTHS AND SLOW LEARNERS FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Project No. 5-0145
Contract No. OE-6-85-355

C. Ray Jeffery

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

The Washington School of Psychiatry, Inc.
Washington, D. C.

This project encompassed the creation and operation of its own school for aggressive, delinquent drop-outs, in an effort to raise them to a high school graduation level through use of programmed materials and cash rewards. A few of the students made it. Many more did not. The project's funds were cut off before conclusion of the work. The study indicates that the process probably is worth pressing further, provided a great deal of money and community involvement can be secured. But most of all: a school of this kind calls for a new breed of teachers, themselves close enough to the ghetto to identify with slum children, but not so close as to resent a need to change their own behavior as teachers.

The statements and conclusions made in the accompanying report are those of its author, Dr. C. Ray Jeffery, who bears sole responsibility therefor. Dr. Jeffery was director of the project and gave it his dedicated efforts. The report in no way necessarily reflects the opinions of other individuals involved in the project, of any granting agency or of the Washington School of Psychiatry.

S. S. Mintz

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

I. Purpose

This research project addresses itself to the problem of preparing high school dropouts with delinquent careers and a long history of behavioral problems for vocational and academic training. This effort involved some forty Negro youths from a culturally deprived area of the District of Columbia. The project is concerned primarily with (a) academic remediation, (b) job preparation, (c) family services, and (d) behavioral rehabilitation of such youths.

These youths are hard core subjects who have been in and out of every type of social agency in the District. They have been returned to school several times after which they have either been kicked out or dropped out because of behavioral problems, financial problems, or a lack of motivation. These youths are trapped in a vicious circle from which they cannot escape. They are undereducated and uneducable using present educational procedures. They refuse to return to high school which for them represents a series of failures and frustrations; they lack a basic education and basic skills, and they have police records so they are unemployable. If they are placed on jobs, the jobs are so unattractive that they quit or are fired. These youths are not eligible for vocational training because they lack the basic skills needed for success in such programs.

The above discussion of the problems involved in retraining dropouts and delinquents suggests the following issues:

1. High school dropouts cannot be returned to a regular high school setting. A new learning environment must be provided in order to equip them with basic skills in reading, language, science, mathematics, and social studies.

2. Many high school dropouts are not reached by existing programs. This is especially true of the hard core delinquent who is undereducated, lacks basic skills, has a police record, and has behavioral deficiencies.

3. Many training programs are geared to a low level of training to match the level of unskilled trainees. Such training as is involved in training nurses aides, recreation aides, or plumbers is not attractive to these youths, who want a high school diploma and a skilled vocation.

4. A training program designed to reach hard core youths from culturally deprived areas must concern itself with both academic remediation and behavioral retraining. Such a program must hold out the promise of a high school education for those who are capable of so performing.

In a society in which income and occupation are so dependent upon education, it is paramount to reach a large segment of the population now being neglected by the educational system. Automation has created skilled, technical, and service jobs for which a basic education is required. Whereas thirty years ago a high school dropout could find employment, it is difficult today for the untrained to find

jobs. The increased opportunities created by the civil rights movement and the poverty program are of limited value unless a bridge is built between the unskilled youth and the training programs. Otherwise, 75 to 90 percent of these youths will be excluded from our society's economic and educational rewards.

II. Method

The method used herein to retrain these youths is based on experimental psychology and learning theory. Rewards are used to shape the academic and social behavior of the youths and to create the motivation needed to complete their training. The youths are paid for attending classes, passing tests, working on community projects, and other related tasks.

Programmed instructional materials are used as a basic part of an academic remediation program which starts at the third grade level and carries through to high school certification. Materials are organized in small sequential steps with a reward given for each successful step. Each student works at his own pace. Reward rather than punishment is the model used.

Evaluation is based on a pre- and post-test model, with each subject acting as his own control. Any change in academic, vocational, or social behavior is analyzed in terms of the procedures used in the project. Changes in procedures occurred continuously as the results deemed it necessary.

The final result sought was a retrained youth with a high school diploma who was not behaving in an antisocial manner and who could enter a job training program and complete it successfully. The overall hypothesis is that this can be achieved by carefully shaping behavior by means of a reward system until the youth is prepared and motivated into an existing training situation.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF THE PROJECT

I. Background

The project was started under the sponsorship of the Washington School of Psychiatry with an initial grant of $20,000 from the United States Army Medical Research and Development Command, for the period January 1 to December 31, 1964. An additional grant of $1,527 was made for the period January 1 to December 31, 1965. The Army funds were exhausted in March, 1965, and temporary funding was secured from the Public Welfare Foundation, Washington, D. C., which allowed the project to continue in operation.

In September, 1965, a two-year grant of $165,000 per year was secured from the U. S. Office of Education, Division of Vocational and Technical Education. This grant was reduced in November, 1966, and the phase-out process started in December, 1966. The grant was terminated June 31, 1967.

II. Original Subjects

Initial contact with the original subjects in the Washington School of Psychiatry project was made at the Bakers Dozen Youth Center, a neighborhood program conducted under the auspices of Howard University. By July, 1964, ten young men were enrolled in the project.

The subjects were motivated to join the project by being treated to hamburgers, soft drinks, and cigarettes as Schwitzgebel has described

in his study, Streetcorner Research.[1] They were told that they, as delinquents, were the experts in the area of delinquency and that the aim of the project was to reduce delinquency through their help.

TABLE I
MEMBERS OF THE ORIGINAL GROUP

Name	Age	Last School Grade Attended
A.B.	21	11
H.G.	18	9
C.G.	18	9
T.G.	18	9
G.H.	18	9
C.H.	18	9
L.J.	19	10
A.M.	19	7
G.S.	16	9
M.W.	18	9

These subjects were male Negroes who had been kicked out of school. They were undereducated, unemployed, and had delinquent records. They had returned to school several times and had left; they were "double dropouts." They had been employed at various menial jobs, none of which lasted over two or three weeks.

They were older in many ways than the usual high school student and had emotional and behavioral problems not found in the typical high school student. Their experiences on the streets made them more sophisticated in some ways than the usual student, though in other ways they were immature and childlike. They were manipulative, impulsive, hard to deal with, unappreciative, and hostile. For these reasons, social welfare agencies and school counselors had been unable

---

[1] Ralph Schwitzgebel, Streetcorner Research (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964.)

to reach and help them. These young men had been in and out of every type of social welfare agency in the District of Columbia. They came from broken homes, with the typical pattern of serial monogamy with the absence of a father figure. Adequate financial, social, and educational resources were lacking in these homes. All but one of these subjects had fathered illegitimate children whom they were unable to support. Thus the cycle of dependency, poverty, and illegitimacy is repeated in the next generation.

Questioning of the group at the time of entry into the project revealed that they wanted employment and money. They were engaged in heavy hustling to support themselves. When asked if they were interested in returning to high school, the answer was unanimously "No." These youths realized they lacked skills and had police records which made employment difficult if not impossible. Several were hired by a local restaurant to do landscaping, but the boys lasted only one week. They were fired for being late and for arguing with the foreman.

III. Sites Used

The original site for the project was Bakers Dozen Youth Center, near Howard University. For several reasons this was quickly abandoned. The subjects were older active delinquents, and the personnel of Bakers Dozen were fearful that such boys would give the place a bad name. There was also resentment that the subjects were paid for participating

in a project in which they were not working. The fear was expressed that the project would interfere with other on-going projects at Bakers Dozen for which young people were not paid for participation. The idea of paying subjects to go to school is foreign to many school personnel and social workers who feel that the subject should want these services, and to pay them for participating is to bribe and corrupt them. The staff at Bakers Dozen preferred to work with younger, less troublesome cases.

An available room was located at the Webster Building, belonging to the District of Columbia Public Schools. The site was used for less than one month; it was unsatisfactory for several reasons. It was not located in the general area where the subjects lived, it afforded no recreational or kitchen facilities, and it was not available after 5:00 p.m. Also, the school staff was apprehensive about delinquents roaming around in the building.

Contact was made next with Mr. John Staggers of the Community Service Project of Howard University. A house owned by the University at 917 S Street, Northwest was made available to the project. A joint operation was undertaken at this time with the Community Service Project. The house was in an ideal location; it had a kitchen, patio, and several rooms suitable for offices and classrooms. The young men worked on painting and repairing the house during the month of July, 1964, which initiated the work program phase of the project. The

Center was referred to as the Jarvis Memorial Youth Center and was shared cooperatively as a community facility with the New Bethel Baptist Church. A recreation program was set up at 917 S Street with television, a hi-fi set, and a lounge area. A project of this type needs a site which is located in the residential area of the subjects, has kitchen and recreation facilities, and is open to them until midnight.

Howard University moved to close their Community Service Project during 1965, and in January, 1966, notice was served that the project would have to vacate Jarvis Memorial Youth Center. There was an organized move on the block by several citizens to have the project moved, since the presence of delinquents in the area disturbed the block residents. This was a lower and middle class Negro residential area which in no way supported the aims and goals of the project. The people there did not realize that the same delinquents were hustling in the neighborhood every day of the year, and that moving the project or closing it down would not solve the problem. One of the basic principles learned by the project is that it is all right to fight delinquency "so long as one does it somewhere else."

The project moved to 1407 16th Street, Northwest on April 1, 1966. This was a much larger residence on one of the better streets of Washington. The youths spent over three weeks painting and repairing the building as a part of the work program. The site was beautiful at this time but through abuse it soon became dirty and

somewhat unattractive. Attempts to use work crews to keep the building in shape were only partially successful.

Again, problems with neighbors occurred. The corporation next door complained because of youths loitering around the rear of the building. The first day at this new location one of the subjects broke into a car belonging to an African embassy and stole a record player. It was recovered for the embassy, but a small crisis existed at that time. A greater degree of cooperation was gained at the new location but the community never felt comfortable about having the project in the area. Again, developing community support even to the extent of finding a site can be a major obstacle in the establishment of a delinquency project.

CHAPTER II

REWARD SYSTEM

I. Behavior Reinforced

The usual experiment in learning involves selecting a response native to the organism being studied and either reinforcing or punishing that response on one of several schedules. The lever press is easy and natural for a rat or dog, the pecking response for the pigeon. Many responses have been reinforced using human subjects--verbal behavior, eating behavior, neurotic behavior, academic behavior. The behavior selected for reinforcement is under the control of the experimenter.

However, in the case of delinquent behavior, the behavior which the experimenter desires to control is not under his direct control; that is, the delinquent behavior does not occur in the presence of the experimenter. One can theorize about controlling delinquent behavior, but there is no way to directly reinforce non-delinquent or to punish delinquent behavior. The contingencies controlling delinquent behavior are the reward (sex, money, car) and the threat of punishment. If the delinquent is apprehended, this acts as a deterrent, but this is under the control of the police and the community, not under the control of the researcher.

Since direct control of delinquent behavior is not possible, the usual procedure is to gain indirect control over the behavior through manipulating variables associated with delinquency: Income,

education, employment, family, etc. The project thus approached delinquency not through direct controls but through manipulation of such indirect controls as education, income, and employment.

The behaviors selected for reinforcement were those associated with remedial education, work preparation, and acceptable social conduct.

Some of the behaviors were:

Academic Remediation

Arriving at Center on time
Remaining at Center
Studying and completing lessons
Taking tests
Reading various materials
Not cheating
Not disrupting class

Work Preparation

Arriving on time
Remaining on job
Following instructions
Completing job satisfactorily
Learning basic work skills

Social Conduct

Removing hat while in building
Taking care of property
Not cursing or using obscenities
Not fighting or bullying
Not gambling or drinking
Not using narcotics
Not engaging in vandalism

II. Rewards Used

Initially the students were given hamburgers, soft drinks, movie tickets, and cigarettes in exchange for desired behaviors. Once some

regularity of attendance was achieved, money was introduced as a reinforcer. The students were paid $1.00 for coming on time and remaining for three to four hours. Gradually the pay was increased to a maximum of $30.00 to $40.00 per week. A detailed description of the pay system will be given below.

In addition to the material rewards, non-material rewards were also available such as attention from staff members, opportunities for a better education and a job, meeting one's friends at the Center, help with family problems, and other related benefits. No systematic control over the non-material rewards was available, although a discussion of the effectiveness of money as a reinforcer compared to social rewards will be presented later.

The reason for relying so heavily on money is that (1) it is a generalized reinforcer and therefore satiation does not occur as is the case where food is used, for example; (2) money is a status item which controls a great deal of behavior in our society; (3) the students asked to be paid in money rather than in food, clothing, or athletic tickets. Very early in the project's operation the investigator observed that money was the most effective way to gain some measure of control over the behavior of delinquents and dropouts. None of the other rewards used elicited the desired responses to the same degree as did money.

III. Initial Shaping of Behavior

One of the basic principles of learning is that there be no large gaps in the stages between the initial or entrance behavior and the final desired behavior. Unless the subject has the prerequisite behaviors, he will not develop more advanced or skilled behaviors. Each stage in training must be a small step within the competence of the subject to learn.

For example, the initial contact with the youths was at six o'clock in the evening, since this is when they made an appearance at the Center. They usually would get up around noon, hit the streets in search of food, money, and buddies, and by six o'clock they were hungry. If we had attempted to start the meetings at nine o'clock in the morning, the results would have been a complete failure. When the student arrived at the Center he was given something, be it a cigarette or a coke. If he asked for a hamburger or a dollar, he was told that at the end of the session he would receive something further. If he were given his total reward at the beginning of a session, he would leave without further participation in the project that day. The initial sessions lasted around two hours. Gradually the meeting time was moved up to four o'clock, then two o'clock, then noon. Finally, nine o'clock in the morning was established as the time for appearing at the Center.

In the initial stage, emphasis was placed on regularity of attendance at meetings. Subjects who did not attend were not paid, and they were told that if they continued to miss meetings they would be

dropped from the project. After some regularity of attendance had been established, the subjects were fined for being late to meetings. This resulted in heated verbal exchanges as to what was fair or not fair, and in one instance a subject threw his money back at the investigator with a statement that he did not want his payment if that were the way it was going to be. However, at the next meeting this subject was on time and asked for his money back, stating he had not refused the money but had intended only that the investigator keep the money for him.

Other behavior was extinguished, such as fighting, cursing, horseplay, stealing, grabbing, etc. At a meeting during which the investigator placed a carton of cigarettes on the table, the subjects grabbed for packs, some taking two or three packs, so that others received no cigarettes for that day. The subjects without cigarettes complained bitterly to the investigator, to which the investigator replied that if that were the way the group wished to behave, then they must face the consequences. He also announced that there would be no cigarettes in the future until the students behaved differently. There were no further incidents of this type.

On another occasion 'kool-aid' was brought to the Center, and one of the subjects stole (or hid) a bottle for his own use. He was severely reprimanded on the spot by the project director and told he would be expelled from the project if he did this again. At first,

when food or beverages were brought to the Center, the subjects would quit work and go to the kitchen to eat or drink until the supplies were exhausted. They were told not to take food or beverages without permission, and to get refreshments only as a group, at a designated break. After this there was no further problem and food was actually left over for the next day. The grabbing and consuming of refreshments at one session in order that others would not get it first ceased, and the sharing of what remained now started to occur, in contrast to the earlier behavior. The erratic, abnormal, bizarre behavior disappeared as soon as the subjects were engaged in meaningful tasks. Such behavior disappeared almost completely, and if it did reoccur it was at times when the students were in an unstructured situation with nothing to do. As soon as they were presented with an environment that produced a rewarding experience, they behaved in a normal manner. This observation has been made by Lindsley and others concerning psychiatric behavior on mental hospital wards.[1]

Three basic principles were used in this initial phase of the project:

1. Rewards can be used to gain cooperation and to develop motivation in a lower class delinquent population.

2. Rewards or reinforcement must be immediate; that is, every

---

[1] O. R. Lindsley, "Operant Conditioning Methods Applied to Research in Chronic Schizophrenia," Psychiatric Research Reports, 1965, 5, 118-139.

time the student walks into the Center he must receive something to motivate his behavior.

3. The shaping of behavior must start at the subject's present level of performance and gradually shape and inculcate new behaviors through successive approximation.

IV. Development of an Academic Program

The subjects discussed their problems, which focused around a lack of education, lack of money and employment, lack of vocational skills, history of delinquent acts, and personal problems related to illegitimate children and family conflict.

When asked what they wanted, the typical response was a high school degree, a job, and money. Discussions emphasized the fact that they possessed no skills with which to find employment. They realized that competition for jobs is great, especially at the unskilled level. They also indicated they were not interested in menial labor, but wanted office or desk jobs.

As a result of these preliminary experiences, it was decided to establish a remedial education for the youths. This center would provide remedial education from the third to the twelfth grade levels and hopefully would prepare the youths to take the General Educational Development (GED) test for high school certification in the District of Columbia. The academic program is described in detail in later chapters.

V. Development of a Reward System

After moving to the S Street site in July, 1964, a new reward system was initiated. Students were paid $1.00 per day for attendance, plus $3.00 to $5.00 per day for studying. Pay was deducted for tardiness, leaving early, fighting, cheating, etc. A student could earn approximately $20.00 to $25.00 per week by participating in the project. A number of behavioral changes were observed during this period. When students were paid for attendance, attendance behavior could be shaped. It was even possible to control such behavior within five minutes by fining the student fifty cents if he were five minutes late. However, although attendance behavior improved, other related behaviors did not improve. The student would do very little while at the project other than listen to a transistor radio, talk to his buddies about sex or crime, or read magazines.

It was then decided to pay on the basis of tasks completed in the programmed instructional materials. A pay scale was devised based on the number of frames completed or pages read in any given program. The pay scale was as follows:

6 books and 12 cyclowheels	$ 5.00
9 books and 18 cyclowheels	7.50
12 books and 24 cyclowheels	10.00

This system led to a marked increase in study behavior but was also accompanied by an increase in cheating, rapid completion of lessons

without mastery of subject matter, and scant attention being given to other behaviors the project hoped to develop.

It was soon decided to pay not for study behavior but for examination behavior, that is, tests passed. This resulted in a marked decrease in attendance and in study behavior, with the subject coming in at 3:00 p.m. and asking to take an examination for which he was unprepared. Cheating was again high at this stage, and cheating was never brought under control.

The next reward system was based on a combination attendance-test performance scale. Each student was paid one dollar per day for attendance, plus money for each test passed. Tests ranged from $4.00 to $10.00, depending on the difficulty of the individual test. The students usually passed two to four tests per week.

The system was further modified in that the students were placed in classes depending upon how many tests they had passed. Upon entering the project, each student was placed in Class I and he progressed through subsequent classes as he satisfactorily completed the requirements. Six academic classes were used, starting with the most elementary materials (Class I) and ending with the most advanced (Class VI). Points were given for academic and social behavior, tests passed, etc. Points accumulated weekly were given a letter equivalent, A through E, which was then converted into weekly pay for each student.

TABLE II

POINTS AND PAY SCALE

1. Test Values

Classes I and II - 10 points given for each test passed

Classes III - VI - 20 points given for each test passed

2. Point System

Total Points Earned Weekly	Grade Equivalent
0-19	E
20-39	D
40-59	C
60-79	B
80 and above	A

3. Pay Scale

Pay Value of Points Earned

Academic Class	A	B	C	D	E
I	$7	$5	$4	$2	$0
II	$10	$7	$6	$4	$0
III	$15	$10	$8	$5	$0
IV	$20	$15	$12	$8	$0
V	$25	$20	$17	$10	$0
VI	$30	$25	$20	$13	$0

The organization of curriculum materials for each of the six academic classes is discussed and shown in charts in Chapter IV.

At one point in the project, In September of 1965, the project was short of funds. In order to conserve money until the new budget was available, the students were told they would be paid part of their wages each week and what they earned above that would be credited to their account, to be payable the next month. In each case, as a student earned more money than he could collect that week he would stop attending until he had exhausted his credit and had to work in order to be paid the following Friday.

As examples, L.J. earned $37 one week, $20 the next, and $6 the next. A.M. earned $23 one week, $25 the next, and $9 the next. A.H. earned $16 one week, $26 the next, and none the next. In all cases work behavior increased after there was no more money due to the student.

At this time, pay to the students changed from daily to weekly and from cash to check. There was constant borrowing every day against pay earned, or future pay, and it was decided to pay the students something each day. They were given one dollar for lunch money each day. This allowed them to eat daily. The dollar was forfeited if they were late. It was discovered that the dollar a day was one of the most effective controls over behavior used by the project. One problem that did occur was that if the dollar were paid at noon, the student would often not return for the afternoon session. If he were paid at 5:00 p.m. he spent the dollar that evening and had no money

for lunch the following day. It was decided to pay at noon, since many students went without breakfast and by noon they either had to eat or go out and hustle some money for food. Some provision should be made in a project of this type to feed the students both breakfast and lunch.

These young men were unable to save money beyond the day. They would not save money for lunch or bus fare for the next day or week. When paid on Friday they were urged to save some for next week. By Monday they were broke. At one time the group proposed that they receive two checks, one on Wednesday for food and cigarettes until Friday, and one on Friday for the weekend. This was turned down for both administrative and training reasons. One of the purposes of the weekly pay check was to see if any delayed gratification could be established in the students, but the project was never able to go beyond the day-to-day type of existence.

VI. Motivation and Delayed Gratification

Motivation may be discussed as an internal state of the individual or as an external characteristic of the environment. It is often assumed that certain individuals are unmotivated or unable to learn. Such a view is characteristic of school counselors and social workers who say, "A student should not be paid to go to school. He should want that service." The project viewed motivation as external stimulation which produced the desired response in the individual. If one works hard, he is motivated. He works hard if the environment is

motivating; that is, if there are rewards for behavior in that environment. If a student is bored with classroom procedures, it is because the situation is boring, not because the student is unmotivated. We observe unmotivated, bored, and tired secretaries who are exhausted at five o'clock, but who can spend the late hours of the evening partying and dancing in a challenging environment. We see bored high school students come alive at a football game, when repairing the car, playing a Beatles record, or buying a miniskirt.

One of the major characteristics of the population of which the project youths are a part is a lack of delayed gratification, the ability to postpone pleasures now for future gains. Since in our society it is necessary to postpone gratification in order to complete school, get a good job or further training, enter into a good marriage, etc., it is impossible for these lower class youths to stay in school or to receive job training. They want the status and the money now, not two years from now. Talking to this population about a job or a high school diploma two years hence is meaningless. Everything must be phrased in terms of today and tomorrow, not next week or next year.

A little game was played with the group to test their ability to delay gratification. They were offered one dollar next week or a quarter now. All but one took the quarter now, with statements such as "I got to live now, man," or, "I may not be here next week." The following week the one person who had delayed payment was given his

dollar in front of the group, and the dollar caused some embarrassment and surprise in the group. The game was repeated. No one accepted a quarter at that time. Several did accept fifty cents and several waited for the dollar. The following week no one would accept fifty cents and the game was discontinued.

VII. Playing the System

One of the most difficult problems confronting the project was that of "playing the system" or "hustling the system." This can be defined as searching for loopholes or weaknesses in the system in order to gain the reward with the least possible expenditure of effort. Cheating on examinations and materials, playing one staff member against another, working on the sympathies of staff members with falsified stories and reports, or finding and using any discrepancies in the system as excuses for not following the procedures are all examples of "playing the system." The typical student felt the project was a sucker operation to be used in any way possible for the advantage of the individual. The total welfare of the project never entered into the behavior of the students, even though in meetings the point was stressed that a successful project would result in benefits to the individual members. Many of the staff who came from similar backgrounds also used the project in every conceivable way possible to the detriment of the project. One of the major failures of the project was its inability to gain the support and commitment from students and staff that was needed

to stabilize the project. John F. Kennedy's saying "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country" was turned around in the case of this project. The interesting thing is that the same individuals who expected the project to take care of them would have benefited considerably if the project had been a smooth-running, successful operation.

Duties and obligations always ran in one direction: The project owed individual members money or support; the reciprocal effort and support from members was never forthcoming. Loyalty, honesty, and commitment were terms freely used around the project, but with a few notable exceptions were never observed in the behavior of individual members. The "I am in it for what I can get out of it"attitude did as much as any one factor to hurt the over-all success of the project. The director had to treat several staff members and practically all of the students as people who would take advantage of any given opportunity that was allowed to present itself. The poverty program is regarded by many as a hustler's operation, to be hustled as is any other situation.

CHAPTER III

DATA ON PROJECT

I. Number of Subjects

On September 1, 1965, the project expanded its operation under a grant from the U. S. Office of Education. At that time six of the original group were with the project.

A total of 157 youths were interviewed and/or had contact with the project after September 1. Of these, 36 new members (plus the six old members) stayed with the project until December 31, 1966. This group of 42 will be referred to throughout this report as the active group.

The 121 who did not remain will be referred to as the dropout group. Of the 121, 54 were one-day contacts only and did not return to the project. No data were gathered on these 54 except for a basic information sheet. The data on the dropout group, therefore, are for the 67 who returned to the project after initial contact. It must be kept in mind, in looking at the data, that the dropout data reflect only the 67 and not 121, so they are biased in favor of the dropout group.

Out of 163 youths, 42 were not project dropouts, a 26% figure. The holding power of the project was weak in spite of the fact that the students could earn $20 to $40 a week by participating in the project and attending its classes. Motivation is a major problem in any project for delinquents and dropouts. This problem will be discussed later.

Tables III and IV indicate the date of entry into the project for each group.

TABLE III

ACTIVE GROUP

1964	Number of Students
June	5
November	1
1965	
July	0
August	0
September	0
October	1
November	2
December	2

1966	Number of Students
January	3
February	3
March	6
April	5
May	1
June	2
July	5
August	5
September	1
October	0
November	0
December	0
	42

TABLE IV

DROPOUT GROUP

1965	Number of Students
July	1
August	0
September	1
October	6
November	1
December	8

1966	Number of Students
January	8
February	9
March	5
April	5
May	4
June	4
July	2
August	1
September	8
October	2
November	2
December	0
	67

Table V shows the month of leaving the project for the dropout group.

TABLE V

1965	Number of Students	1966	Number of Students
September	2	April	6
October	1	May	5
November	1	June	10
December	1	July	5
		August	6
1966		September	4
		October	4
January	2	November	5
February	8	December	4
March	3		67

Table VI shows the enrollment by month.

TABLE VI

(From July 1964 to July 1965, from six to ten were enrolled.)

1965	Number of Students	1966	Number of Students
July	6	January	32
August	7	February	36
September	6	March	44
October	12	April	48
November	14	May	48
December	23	June	44
		July	46
		August	46
		September	51
		October	49
		November	46
		December	42

II. Absences

Table VII shows the number of absences for the active group.

TABLE VII

Days Absent	Number of Students
0-5	1
6-10	2
11-15	2
16-20	1
21-25	12
26-30	6
31-35	3
36-40	2
41-45	6
46-50	1
51-55	2
56-60	1
61-65	1
66-70	1
71-75	0
76-80	1
	42

0-10(3) = 7%
0-20(6) = 14%
0-30(24) = 57%
31 days or more (18) = 43%

Table VIII shows the number of absences for the dropout group.

TABLE VIII

Days Absent	Number of Students
1-5	12
6-10	12
11-15	13
16-20	7
21-25	8
26-30	2
31-35	4
36-40	5
41-45	3
46-50	1
	67

0-10 (24) = 35%
0-20 (44) = 65%
0-30 (54) = 81%
30 days or more(13) = 19%

The major differences in the two groups are that the active group had 57% with 0-30 days of absences, whereas the dropout group had 81% with 0-30 days of absences. On the other hand, the active group had 43% with more than 30 days of absence, whereas for the dropout group the figure was 19%. The active group had fewer absences than did the dropout group up to 30 days due to the fact that attendance and activity are directly interrelated. The active group had more absences of over 30 days due to the fact that this group was in the project longer and had more opportunities for absenteeism.

Absenteeism shows a lack of commitment to the program. The pattern of behavior is similar to that reported by other researchers; that is, do not show up for work if there is any excuse for behaving otherwise. Any excuse will do: must stay home and baby-sit; must take mother downtown to shop; must meet a friend, etc.

III. Weeks in Program

Tables IX and X indicate the number of weeks in the project for active and dropout groups. As these tables show, 100% of the active group was in the program 16 weeks or more compared to 30% of the dropout group. 88% of the active group was in the program 21 weeks or more compared to 18% of the dropout group; and 50% of the active group was in the program 41 weeks or more compared to 1.5% of the dropout group.

The percentage figures for the dropout group reflect the date of leaving the project, whereas the percentage figures for the active

group reflect the date of entry into the project. If a student entered in June he was with the project longer than one who entered in October. If the project had lasted six more months, some of the students would have been with the program longer. The date of entry and date of termination of the project had no influence on the drop-out figures, however.

TABLE IX

WEEKS IN PROJECT - ACTIVE GROUP

Weeks	Number of Students
0-5	0
6-10	0
11-15	0
16-20	5
21-25	6
26-30	2
31-35	1
36-40	7
41-45	7
46-50	1
51-55	3
56-60	3
61-65	1
115-130	6
	42

(N = 42)

6 weeks or more	(42)	100%
16 weeks or more	(42)	100%
21 weeks or more	(37)	88%
31 weeks or more	(29)	69%
41 weeks or more	(21)	50%
51 weeks or more	(13)	31%

TABLE X

WEEKS IN PROJECT - DROPOUT GROUP

Weeks	Number of Students
0-5	21
6-10	18
11-15	8
16-20	8
21-25	6
26-30	3
31-25	2
36-40	0
41-45	1
46-50	0
51-55	0
56-60	0
	67

(N = 67)

6 weeks or more	(46)	68%
16 weeks or more	(20)	30%
21 weeks or more	(12)	18%
31 weeks or more	(3)	4%
41 weeks or more	(1)	1.5%
51 weeks or more	(0)	

IV. Age at Entrance

Table XI shows the age at time of entrance in the project for both groups, active and dropout.

TABLE XI

	Active		Dropout	
Age	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
16	14	33%	17	29%
17	12	28	19	33
18	10	24	9	16
19	2	5	11	19
20	2	5	1	1.5
21 or over	2	5	1	1.5
	42		58*	
	Mean = 17.83		Mean = 17.86	

*Data on all cases not available

The mean for the active group was 17.83 and for the dropout group an almost identical figure, 17.86. However, the one major difference is that 5% of the active group were 19 years of age, compared to 19% of the dropout group. There were more youths over 18 in the dropout group, which may be reflected in their lack of interest in education and their desire to find full-time work.

V. Last Grade Attended

Table XII shows the last grade attended in the public school system for both groups. The mean grade level was 9.19 for the active group and 9.06 for the dropout group. The active group had 14% at the 10th grade level compared to 23% of the dropout group. The fact that the dropout group had more 19-year-olds and more youths who were in the 10th grade when they dropped out of public school shows an age-education maturity level that may have pulled them away from the project and a further education.

TABLE XII

Active			Dropout		
Last Grade Attended	Number	Percentage	Last Grade Attended	Number	Percentage
7	4	10%	7	3	5%
8	6	14	8	14	22
9	21	50	9	24	37
10	6	14	10	15	23
11	5	12	11	8	12
12	0		12	1	1
	42			65*	
Mean = 9.19			Mean = 9.06		

*Data on all cases not available

CHAPTER IV

ACADEMIC PROGRAM

I. Programmed Instructional Materials

The academic program consisted of individual programs which were available on the commercial market. The following were used in the project at one time or another:

A. Cyclo-Teacher (Field Enterprise Educational Corporation)

This is a teaching machine which is manually operated. The materials programmed for this machine are mathematics, language, social studies, science, and study skills. These materials range from a grade level of about 3.5 to about 11.5.

B. Science Research Associates Reading Laboratory IIIA

The SRA Reading Laboratory is a programmed series of booklets for developing reading skills. Questions at the end of each booklet deal with reading comprehension, phonics, grammar, and sentence structure. The program is student administered and student corrected. The subject matter in this laboratory ranges from grade 3 to grade 11, with selections taken from a great variety of sources.

C. Auto-Tutor Mark II (U.S. Industries, Inc.)

The Auto-Tutor is an electrical teaching machine utilizing programmed material on film. These films are projected onto a small screen. Programmed materials in mathematics or English are presented to the student, after which he is given a test question. The

student must respond on one of four response keys. If he strikes the right key he moves ahead to a new frame. If he strikes the wrong key, he is returned to an earlier frame and must repeat the material. He cannot move ahead unless he responds correctly to the question asked.

D. SRA Words - A Programmed Course in Vocabulary Development

This is a programmed book dealing with vocabulary development and word forms. The correct response is given on the following page, and the student corrects his response by comparing it with the text as he moves from one frame to another. This material ranges from grade 7 through grade 12.

E. English 2600 and 3200

This is programmed material concerned with developing English skills; it is in book form and has book form tests. The material is designed for grade 7 through grade 12.

F. TMI Grolier Teaching Machine

This is a manually operated machine, individual frames being fed into it by the student.

G. Follett Series

Learn Your Language
World History
Success in Language
American History Study Lessons

These booklets were programmed in small units, with vocabulary drill and tests at the end of each chapter. Work lessons were included with each chapter.

II. Procedures

Each student was given the SRA Reading Level Test when he entered the program. He then was placed in the SRA Reading Series at his appropriate level while at the same time he worked with the Cyclo-Teacher and Auto-Tutor materials. They were so arranged that the student had to complete the elementary materials before he could advance to the more complex. In reading he would start at his reading level and progress from there. In mathematics he started with whole numbers, arithmetic operations, addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division before he went on to decimals or fractions. The Cyclo-Teacher material dealt with vocabulary development. (The organization of the programmed learning materials for the six academic classes is shown on the six following pages, Figures 1 - 6.)

A student was not given materials in science or social science until he completed his reading and mathematics courses. It was discovered that a student could not divide because he did not really know how to multiply, add, or subtract. A student who was reading at the 4th grade level could not work from a textbook which was written at the 7th or 8th grade level. These students were so inadequately prepared in reading and mathematics skills that the first phase of the academic program had to concern itself with remedial work in these areas at the 3rd to the 6th grade levels.

CLASS I

NAME _____ DATE STARTED IN CLASS I _____

SRA			CYCLOTEACHER			AUTOTUTOR	
Color	Practice	Test	Test	Wheels	Date & Grade	Film Strip	Errors
Orange		_____	Science I, Wheels 1-9		_____	Volume I Addition and Subtaction	_____
Silver		_____	Science II, Wheels 10-18		_____	Volume II Multiplication	_____
Olive		_____	Language I, Wheels 1-5		_____	Volume III Division	_____
Blue		_____	Language II, Wheels 6-11		_____	Volume IV Complex Operations	_____
Brown		_____	Social Science I, Wheels 1-9		_____	Test:	_____
Green		_____	Social Science II, Wheels 10-18		_____		

Unusual Observations or Comments:

_____

DATE COMPLETED CLASS I _____

FIGURE 1

PROGRAMMED LEARNING - CLASS I

CLASS II

NAME_____ DATE STARTED IN CLASS II_____

SRA			CYCLOTEACHER			AUTOTUTOR		
Color	Practice	Test	Test	Wheels	Date & Grade	Film Strip	Errors	Date & Grade
Red	_____		Science III, Wheels 19-27		_____	Fractions		_____
Tan	_____		Science IV, Wheels 28-36		_____	Decimals		_____
Gold	_____		Social Science III, Wheels 19-27		_____			
Aqua	_____		Social Science IV, Wheels 28-36		_____			
			Language III, Wheels 12-19		_____			
COMPLETED SRA			Language IV, Wheels 20-26		_____			
			Language V, Wheels 26-36		_____			

_____

UNUSUAL OBSERVATIONS OR COMMENTS

DATE COMPLETED CLASS II_____

FIGURE 2
PROGRAMMED LEARNING - CLASS II

CLASS III

NAME _____ DATE STARTED IN CLASS III _____

SRA WORD TEST	FOLLETT SERIES	AUTOTUTOR
Test Chapters Date & Grade	Study Lessons in Our Nation's History	Film Errors Test & Grade
Test I, Chapters 1, 2, & 3 _____	Unit I, How America Became a Nation	Ratios and Proportions ( ) _____
Test II, Chapters 4, 5, & 6 _____	Unit II, The New Nation is Launched	
	Unit III, The Growing Spirit of the Nation	Percentages ( ) _____
Test III, Chapters 1 through 8 _____	Unit IV, The Expansion of the American Nation	
_____	Comprehensive Test on Units 1-4	
OUTSIDE READING	_____ Date & Grade	
Select One Outside Reading	Learning Your Language	
_____	Book I, Conflict and Courage	
_____ Date & Grade	Book II, Escape to Danger	
	Book III, Folk Tales and Folk Songs	
	Comprehensive Test on Units 1-3	
	_____ Date & Grade	
		_____ DATE COMPLETED CLASS III

FIGURE 3
PROGRAMMED LEARNING - CLASS III

CLASS IV

NAME_____ DATE STARTED CLASS IV_____

SRA WORK TEST

Test	Chapters	Date & Grade
	Chapters 9 and 10	_____
	Chapters 11, 12, & 13	_____
	Chapters 9 - 14	_____

FOLLETT SERIES

Our Nation's History(continued)

Unit 5, The Civil War Divides the Nation

Unit 6, Building a Great Nation

Unit 7, The Foreign Policy of the American Nation

Unit 8, Living in Today's World

Comprehensive Test on Units 5-8

_____

CYCLOTEACHER

Test	Wheels	Date & Grade
Math I	1-31	_____
Math II	32-48	_____
Math III	49-59	_____
Math IV	60-71	_____

OUTSIDE READINGS

Select Two Outside Readings

1._____

_____

2._____

_____

Learning Your Language (Cont.)

Book 4, Victory and Defeat

Book 5, On the Lighter Side

Book 6, Family and Friends

Comprehensive Test on Books 4-6

_____

DATE COMPLETED CLASS IV

_____

FIGURE 4
PROGRAMMED LEARNING - CLASS IV

CLASS V

NAME _____ DATE STARTED IN CLASS V _____

ENGLISH 2600 | FOLLETT SERIES | CYCLOTEACHER

Units 1-5, Frames 1-1455
Halfway Test B _____

Units 6-11, Frames 1462-2632
Final Test _____

OUTSIDE READINGS

Select Four (4) Outside Readings

1. _____
_____
2. _____
_____
3. _____
_____
4. _____
_____

World History
Unit I, The Ancient World and the Middle Ages

Unit II, From the Middle Ages to Modern Times

Unit III, The Rise of Democracy

Unit IV, The Industrial Revolution

Comprehensive Test on Units I-IV

_____

Unit I, Reflections

Unit 2, Lend an Ear

Unit 3, As A Matter of Fact

Unit 4, The Sound Around Us

Comprehensive Test on Units 1-4

_____

Test	Wheels	Test Date & Grade
Math V	74-89	_____
Math VI	90-105	_____
Math VII	106-114	_____

DATE COMPLETED CLASS V _____

FIGURE 5
PROGRAMMED LEARNING - CLASS V

CLASS VI

NAME_____ DATE STARTED IN CLASS VI_____

SRA SCIENCE	FOLLETT SERIES	MONARCH SERIES
Book 1, The Sun a b c d e Book 2, The Planets a b c d e Book 3, The Earth-Moon System a b c d e Book 4, Comets, Asteroids, Meteoroids a b c d e Book 5, Celestial Motions a b c d e	World History Unit 5, The French Revolution and Napoleon Unit 6, The expansion of Democracy Unit 7, Nationalism and Imperialism Unit 8, From World War I to World War II Unit 9, The World Since 1945 Comprehensive Test on Units 5-9	Biology Physics Additional material as announced

Instructions for Science series: These books will be read and completed in alphabetical order. In other words, you will first do all the books marked a, then the ones marked b, and so on. Credit for a test will be given upon completion of one whole series of a letter.

a._____
b._____
c._____
d._____
e._____

Unit 5, Let's Talk it Over
Unit 6, Say It On Paper
Unit 7, What's Behind the Cover
Unit 8, The Job in Your Future

Comprehensive Test on Units

DATE COMPLETED CLASS VI_____

FIGURE 6
PROGRAMMED LEARNING - CLASS VI

First Phase

Reading - 3rd to 11th grade levels
Mathematics - Basic Arithmetic

Second Phase

Basic English
Outside Readings
Social Science
Science
Mathematics - decimals, fractions, ratios, proportions, percentages

Third Phase

High School Level materials in English science, mathematics, and social studies.

The basic principles involved were these:

1. Start the student at his present level of performance.

2. Present him with materials in small packages organized in a progressive sequential system.

3. Require the student to respond at each level.

The common errors made in most educational systems are to present materials which are beyond the student's ability, to present them in a disorganized lecture or text, and to require no response on the part of the student.

This and Lippitt in their discussion of learning theories[1] list the following conditions for learning:

---

[1]Leslie This and Gordon Lippitt, Learning Theories and Training (Washington: Leadership Resources, Inc., 1966.)

1. Acceptance of the fact that all human beings can learn.
2. The individual must be motivated to learn.
3. Learning is an active process.
4. The learner must have guidance.
5. Appropriate materials for sequential learning must be provided.
6. Time must be provided to practice.
7. Learning methods should be varied to avoid boredom.
8. The learner must secure satisfaction from the learning.
9. The learner must get reinforcement for the correct behavior.
10. Standards of performance must be set for the learner.
11. There are different levels of learning that take different times and methods.

The three crucial points in the above are 3, 4, and 9. Learning is an active process. The student must respond before he learns. A student learns to read, do arithmetic problems, or drive a car only by behaving in a given manner. He will not learn to read by sitting with a book in front of him or by listening to an instructor talk. He will not learn to do addition by having an instructor do problems on a blackboard. The advantage of a teaching machine or programmed text is that it forces the student to respond before he can go to the next frame or unit of work.

The learner must have guidance. He must know when he is wrong and he must know the right answer. A well-designed program will give the student the correct response and will enable him to respond in the correct manner. A student who is unable to read the word "syndicate" will pass

over the word and never learn it until the program gives him the proper response to "syndicate" and forces him to use the word properly.

The usual classroom method of presenting material to the student and testing him is inadequate because it does not require the student to respond except to a test question. To ask a student what is two times two, and he responds five, will neither tell him why he is wrong nor train him to respond correctly. If you tell him the answer, he may still not respond correctly. The program must be designed so that the student responds correctly.

The IBM computer system was used one day by the project. A question asked by the computer was, "A light gives off_____. What is a four-letter word starting with H?" The answer the machine wanted was "heat" but if the student knew this, he didn't need the program; if he didn't know it, he had no way of finding out the correct response. The project director purposely typed in wrong answers such as meat, keep, beak, heet, kept, etc. until the computer gave up and shut itself off.

The correct procedure would be for the machine to state, "A light gives off heat. Now you (student) type heat." If the student typed it incorrectly, the machine would reply, "Not heet, but heat; try again." Again the phrase, "A light gives off_____; fill in the blank with the correct word", is presented. A student must respond if he is to learn, and he must be corrected if and when he responds incorrectly. This correction must show him the proper response, and not just say "You are right" or "You are wrong."

A correct response must be reinforced. There must be differential reinforcement between the correct response and an incorrect response. A student who mispronounces a word or uses a grammatically incorrect sentence and is reinforced will never learn the preferred pronunciation or grammatical usage. If a student says, "Give me the bread, man" when he means "I want money", he never learns the correct usage because he is given money when he asks for bread. A baby learns to say "water" because "wa-wa" is reinforced with water only until the time when the child is able to progress from "wa-wa" to "water". By successive approximation the correct word is formed; otherwise the child will talk baby-talk.

III. Difficulties with Programmed Materials

A. Cheating

The programmed materials used in the project were all subject to cheating and manipulation. The lid of the Cyclo-Teacher, for example, could be lifted and the answer seen. The pages of a programmed text could be turned for the right answer. The U. S. Industries Autotutor was the most expensive piece of equipment used and it was cheatproof, so far as we could tell. Whenever a student made a wrong response the machine keyboard would lock and the student had to return to an earlier section of the material for review. In this way the student could not proceed until he responded correctly, a basic principle of learning and one that other materials violated. However,

it was eventually discovered that the student could jam the system by punching a response key and then unplugging the machine. When the machine was plugged in again, it would move ahead to the next frame. The students also discovered they could reset the error counter so as to conceal errors. In these ways a student could move through a program without ever learning the material or learning what the correct answers were.

The SRA Reading Laboratory had an answer key which was kept under staff control. The students would either steal answer keys or they would take their practice papers in to the testing sessions and copy off the correct answers. The test periods were very carefully proctored, but it was a constant struggle between student and staff to see if new cheating methods could be detected.

Since cheating was widespread, it was difficult to gauge the students' progress. One never knew if they had performed honestly at a given level or if they had been successful in cheating the system.

B. Capability of Programmed Instruction

The project was not designed to do an exhaustive, systematic evaluation of teaching machines or programmed materials; however, there are several conclusions which may be reached from the experience in the project with the materials.

The emphasis from the industry's point of view has been on machines and not on curriculum materials, as witnessed by the general

shake-up at General Learning, Inc., where the machine vs. curriculum issue recently reached a climax. In light of this, one might expect to find more progress in the design of teaching machines. Since the project did not have access to expensive equipment, this evaluation is somewhat unfair and it holds only for the materials used. The investigator is aware of some of the recent advances made in teaching technology which have revolutionized a few high schools where it has been installed and properly used.

The materials used in the project were merely textbooks in a new form, with information and questions written in frames and answers provided on the following page, with written materials flashed on a screen from a tape, and so forth. Sound was not used, though machines with both audio and visual capacities now exist. Often the response required of the student was one of marking an X or pushing a correct response button, when perhaps a more complex response such as spelling a word or working a math problem would lead to more rapid and thorough learning.

The most serious defect in programmed instructional materials inheres in what might be labelled behavioral technology. Behavioral technology refers to the behavioral system of the student, in contrast to machine technology, the design of the machine. The most complete machine in the world will not teach a single student if the student is not present and working on the machine, with systematic

correction and evaluation of responses. The designers of teaching machines assume a student who is motivated to learn. Some psychologists would argue that the program itself is reinforcing; i.e., getting the right answer or acquiring new and useful knowledge functions as the reward. This is probably not true for the middle class student; it is certainly not true for the population in this study. The middle class student has reinforcements built into his environment: praise from parents, friends who value education, promise of going to college, etc. The lower class student has no or few rewards for learning, and he is not interested in learning for learning's sake. The fact that cheating is so easily accomplished on teaching machines indicates a lack of attention to the behavior of the individual using the machine. The problem of motivation has never been adequately dealt with by the producers of machines.

The crucial aspect of a medium of communication is the response of the person to the medium. The structure of the medium, and the content of the medium are of lesser importance; what is crucial is the response of the individual to the communication. The reaction of subjects to programs has not thoroughly been tested, and this is the major hang-up in the effective use of programmed instructional materials.

IV. Programmed Instruction - Curriculum

The curriculum (content) of the programs was not subject to question in this project; that is, the project accepted whatever curriculum materials were on the market. These were standard textbook

materials redesigned to fit a machine or programmed text. What subject matter should be covered in an English course or mathematics course was accepted as established or known.

Several observations should be made as to curriculum. The arithmetic program for the Auto-Tutor was a verbal presentation at the 8th or 9th grade level, and the student who read below this level could not use the machine. It was observed that inability to read and to perform adequately in mathematics were directly related.

The SRA Reading Laboratory Series was completed by the students in one to three months. This meant that they moved from the 3rd or 4th grade level to the 11th grade level in three months or less. Such gain in reading level has to be viewed as misleading, since other factors indicated they were not at the 11th grade level. They could not read a high school text with ease, nor could they pass the California Achievement Test at the 11th grade level.

As mentioned above, there is a major split in the field of programmed instruction between those who wish to emphasize machine development and those who wish to develop programs for the machine. The materials used in the project did not indicate any major changes in the area of curriculum development. Putting old wine in new bottles may be an exaggerated way of phrasing this situation, but it does portray the materials used herein. Startling developments may be going on in other projects, but such developments were not reflected in the material employed in this project.

V. Results of Programmed Instruction

Tables XIII through XXVIII in the following pages reveal the final level reached in each program by each student who entered before April 1, 1966.

TABLE XIII

SRA READING LABORATORY

Name	Weeks in Programmed Instruction	SRA Grade Level* Began	Completed	Weeks in SRA
Original Group				
A.B.	95	3	11	3
C.G.	95	4	11	7
T.G.	95	6	11	12
C.H.	95	3	11	7
L.J.	95	6	11	12
G.S.	80	6	11	12
H.G.	75	4	11	9
M.W.	60	3	11	18
A.M.	57	6	11	16
A.H.	29	3	11	9
Active Group				
F.J.	30	3	11	8
G.D.	24	6	11	3
C.W.	23	3	11	9
A.S.	21	6	11	7
J.G.	19	6	9	5
L.P.	16	5	7	2
J.T.	16	5	8	3
R.W.	15	6	10	5
R.W.	10	Special Reading		
M.B.	10	5	11	16
S.H.	9	3	8	8
L.A.	8	8	11	2
S.E.	7	Special Reading		
T.M.	6	3	5	2
R.W.	6	3	9	3
M.L.	5	4	7	3
J.C.	4	3	3	2

*Lowest level possible - 3
Highest level possible - 11

TABLE XIII (continued)

Dropout Group

Name	Weeks in Programmed Instruction	SRA Grade Level* Began	Completed	Weeks in SRA
L.J.	30	Special Reading		
C.G.	29	3	10	8
L.B.	25	4	10	8
H.D.	23	Special Reading		
C.S.	17	3	7	15
R.D.	17	3	10	10
F.G.	17	3	7	6
B.M.	16	4	6	2
J.G.	15	6	11	7
L.E.	15	4	11	8
G.M.	15	4	8	9
S.S.	15	4	7	5
D.C.	14	4	8	3
L.H.	13	3	7	10
H.F.	12	3	3	1
S.L.	12	6	11	5
N.W.	11	Special Reading		
R.B.	11	3	4	3
W.J.	9	3	4	4
G.G.	9	4	8	2
R.S.	9	3	11	4
L.S.	8	3	6	4
K.W.	8	4	8	4
T.B.	7	3	4	4
H.W.	6	5	7	3
J.L.	6	3	3	5
M.B.	5	6	7	1
J.S.	5	3	4	2
L.C.	5	3	4	2
M.J.	4	6	6	1
R.T.	3	6	6	2
F.J.	3	3	3	1
D.R.	3	3	7	2
J.C.	3	3	3	2
R.S.	3	5	7	1
L.M.	2	3	3	1
G.H.	2	3	3	1
F.R.	2	3	3	1
R.W.	2	3	5	2

*Lowest level possible - 3
Highest level possible - 11

TABLE XIV

SRA READING LABORATORY

SRA Level	Highest Grade Level Completed (frequencies)
Original Group	
3	0
4	0
5	0
6	0
7	0
8	0
9	0
10	0
11	10
Active Group	
3	1
4	0
5	1
6	0
7	2
8	2
9	2
10	1
11	6
Dropout Group	
3	7
4	5
5	1
6	4
7	8
8	4
9	0
10	3
11	4

TABLE XV

AUTO-TUTOR - MATHEMATICS

Name	Weeks in Programmed Instruction	Auto-Tutor Level* Began	Completed	Weeks on Auto-Tutor
Original Group				
A.B.	95	1	8	20
C.G.	95	1	8	5
T.G.	95	1	8	16
C.H.	95	1	8	10
L.J.	95	1	8	8
G.S.	80	1	8	8
H.G.	75	1	8	7
M.W.	60	1	5	16
A.M.	57	1	8	32
A.H.	29	None		
Active Group				
F.J.	30	1	8	9
G.D.	24	1	8	6
C.W.	23	1	8	10
A.S.	21	1	7	5
J.G.	19	1	4	8
L.P.	16	None		
J.T.	16	None		
R.W.	15	1	4	6
R.W.	10	Special Reading		
M.B.	10	1	5	12
S.H.	9	None		
L.A.	8	1	7	7
S.E.	7	Special Reading		
T.M.	6	None		
R.W.	6	None		
M.L.	5	1	4	4
J.C.	4	None		

*Lowest level possible - 1
Highest level possible - 8

TABLE XV (continued)

Name	Weeks in Programmed Instruction	Dropout Group Auto-Tutor Level* Began	Completed	Weeks on Auto-Tutor
L.J.	30	Special Reading		
C.G.	29	1	4	2
L.B.	25	1	8	11
H.D.	23	Special Reading		
C.S.	17	1	4	2
R.D.	17	1	7	12
F.G.	17	None		
B.M.	16	None		
J.G.	15	1	4	1
L.E.	15	1	4	5
G.M.	15	1	4	4
S.S.	15	None		
D.C.	14	None		
L.H.	13	None		
H.F.	12	None		
S.L.	12	1	6	8
N.W.	11	Special Reading		
R.B.	11	None		
W.J.	9	None		
G.G.	9	None		
R.S.	9	None		
L.S.	8	None		
K.W.	8	1	4	3
T.B.	7	None		
H.W.	6	None		
J.L.	6	1	4	1
M.B.	5	None		
J.S.	5	None		
L.C.	5	None		
M.J.	4	None		
R.T.	3	1	5	2
F.J.	3	None		
D.R.	3	None		
J.C.	3	None		
R.S.	3	None		
L.M.	2	None		
G.H.	2	None		
F.R.	2	None		
R.W.	2	None		

*Lowest level possible - 1
-Highest level possible - 6

TABLE XVI

AUTO-TUTOR - MATHEMATICS

Auto-tutor Level	Highest Grade Level Completed (frequencies)
Original Group	
0	1
1	0
2	0
3	0
4	0
5	1
6	0
7	0
8	8
Active Group	
0	6
1	0
2	0
3	0
4	3
5	1
6	0
7	2
8	3
Dropout Group	
0	25
1	0
2	0
3	0
4	7
5	1
6	1
7	1
8	1

TABLE XVII

CYCLO-TEACHER - MATHEMATICS

Name	Weeks in Programmed Instruction	Cyclo-Teacher Level* Began	Completed	Weeks on Cyclo-Teacher
Original Group				
A.B.	95	1	7	46
C.G.	95	1	7	38
T.G.	95	1	5	12
C.H.	95	1	6	10
L.J.	95	1	6	12
G.S.	80	1	5	20
H.G.	75	1	3	11
M.W.	60	1	3	30
A.M.	57	1	4	12
A.H.	29	1	4	12
Active Group				
F.J.	30	1	4	9
G.D.	24	1	7	5
C.W.	23	1	2	2
A.S.	21	1		1
J.G.	19	None		
L.P.	16	1		1
J.T.	16	None		
R.W.	15	1	4	3
R.W.	10	Special Reading		
M.B.	10	None		
S.H.	9	1	2	2
L.A.	8	1	2	4
S.E.	7	Special Reading		
T.M.	6	1	1	2
R.W.	6	None		
M.L.	5	None		
J.C.	4	None		

*Lowest level possible - 1
Highest level possible - 7

TABLE XVII (continued)

Name	Weeks in Programmed Instruction	Dropout Group Cyclo-Teacher Level* Began	Completed	Weeks on Cyclo-Teacher
L.J.	30	Special Reading		
C.G.	29	1		1
L.B.	25	1	7	19
H.D.	23	Special Reading		
C.S.	17	1		1
R.D.	17	None		
F.G.	17	None		
B.M.	16	Noneo		
J.G.	15	None		
L.E.	15	None		
G.M.	15	1		2
S.S.	15	None		
D.C.	14	None		
L.H.	13	None		
H.F.	12	None		
S.L.	12	1	7	5
N.W.	11	Special Reading		
R.B.	11	1		1
W.J.	9	None		
G.G.	9	None		
R.S.	9	None		
L.S.	8	1	2	4
K.W.	8	None		
T.B.	7	None		
H.W.	6	None		
J.L.	6	None		
M.B.	5	None		
J.S.	5	None		
L.C.	5	1	2	3
M.J.	4	None		
R.T.	3	None		
F.J.	3	None		
D.R.	3	None		
J.C.	3	None		
R.S.	3	None		
L.M.	2	None		
G.H.	2	None		
F.R.	2	None		
R.W.	2	None		

*Lowest level possible - 1
-Highest level possible - 7

TABLE XVIII

CYCLO-TEACHER - MATHEMATICS

Cyclo-Teacher Level	Highest Grade Level Completed(frequencies)
Original Group	
0	0
1	0
2	0
3	2
4	2
5	2
6	2
7	2
Active Group	
0	6
1	3
2	3
3	0
4	2
5	0
6	0
7	1
Dropout Group	
0	28
1	4
2	2
3	0
4	0
5	0
6	0
7	2

TABLE XIX

CYCLO-TEACHER - LANGUAGE

Name	Weeks in Programmed Instruction	Cyclo-Teacher Level* Began	Completed	Weeks on Cyclo-Teacher
		Original Group		
A.B.	95	1	5	15
C.G.	95	1	5	5
T.G.	95	1	5	12
C.H.	95	1	5	29
L.J.	95	1	5	4
G.S.	80	1	5	11
H.G.	75	1	5	7
M.W.	60	1	5	16
A.M.	57	1	5	8
A.H.	29	1	4	14
		Active Group		
F.J.	30	1	5	8
G.D.	24	1	5	4
C.W.	23	1	5	5
A.S.	21	1	5	5
J.G.	19	1	3	5
L.P.	16	1	2	2
J.T.	16	1	3	3
R.W.	15	1	5	7
R.W.	10	Special Reading		
M.B.	10	1	5	12
S.H.	9	1	5	2
L.A.	8	1	5	4
S.E.	7	Special Reading		
T.M.	6	None		
R.W.	6	None		
M.L.	5	1	2	1
J.C.	4	None		

*Lowest level possible - 1
Highest level possible - 5

TABLE XIX (continued)

Name	Weeks in Programmed Instruction	Cyclo-Teacher Level* Began	Completed	Weeks on Cyclo-Teacher
		Dropout Group		
L.J.	30	Special Reading		
C.G.	29	1	2	3
L.B.	25	1	5	10
H.D.	23	Special Reading		
Ç.S.	17	1	2	10
R.D.	17	1	3	6
F.G.	17	1		1
B.M.	16	1	2	3
J.G.	15	1	2	2
L.E.	15	1	5	4
G.M.	15	1	5	3
S.S.	15	1	2	1
D.C.	14	1		1
L.H.	13	1	2	1
H.F.	12	1	2	2
S.L.	12	1	5	4
N.W.	11	Special Reading		
R.B.	11	1		1
W.J.	9	None		
G.G.	9	1	2	8
R.S.	9	None		
L.S.	8	1	5	3
K.W.	8	None		
T.B.	7	1	2	1
H.W.	6	1		1
J.L.	6	None		
M.B.	5	None		
J.S.	5	None		
L.C.	5	1		1
M.J.	4	None		
R.T.	3	None		
F.J.	3	None		
D.R.	3	None		
J.C.	3	None		
R.S.	3	1		1
L.M.	2	None		
G.H.	2	None		
F.R.	2	None		
R.W.	2	None		

*Lowest level possible - 1
Highest level possible - 5

TABLE XX

CYCLO-TEACHER - LANGUAGE

Cyclo-Teacher Level	Highest Grade Level Completed (frequencies)
Original Group	
0	0
1	0
2	0
3	0
4	1
5	9
Active Group	
0	3
1	0
2	2
3	2
4	0
5	8
Dropout Group	
0	15
1	6
2	9
3	1
4	0
5	5

TABLE XXI

CYCLO-TEACHER - SCIENCE

Name	Weeks in Programmed Instruction	Cyclo-Teacher Level* Began	Completed	Weeks on Cyclo-Teacher
		Original Group		
A.B.	95	1	4	8
C.G.	95	1	4	5
T.G.	95	1	4	16
C.H.	95	1	4	16
L.J.	95	1	4	9
G.S.	80	1	4	12
H.G.	75	1	4	12
M.W.	60	1	4	7
A.M.	57	1	4	13
A.H.	29	1	4	11
		Active Group		
F.J.	30	1	4	16
G.D.	24	1	4	5
C.W.	23	1	4	9
A.S.	21	1	4	15
J.G.	19	1	2	1
L.P.	16	1	2	1
J.T.	16	1	2	2
R.W.	15	1	4	10
R.W.	10	Special Reading		
M.B.	10	1	4	6
S.A.	9	1	4	7
L.A.	8	1	4	6
S.E.	7	Special Reading		
T.M.	6	1		1
R.W.	6	1	2	2
M.L.	5	1	2	1
J.C.	4	None		

*Lowest level possible - 1
Highest level possible - 4

TABLE XXI (continued)

Name	Weeks in Programmed Instruction	Cyclo-Teacher Level* Began	Completed	Weeks on Cyclo-Teacher
		Dropout Group		
L.J.	30	Special Reading		
C.G.	29	1	2	1
L.B.	25	1	4	6
H.D.	23	Special Reading		
C.S.	17	1	2	1
R.D.	17	1	3	7
F.G.	17	1	2	9
B.M.	16	1	2	1
J.G.	15	1	2	2
L.E.	15	1	4	9
G.M.	15	1	4	3
S.S.	15	1	2	1
D.C.	14	1	2	6
L.H.	13	1	2	2
H.F.	12	1	2	1
S.L.	12	1	4	4
N.W.	11	Special Reading		
R.B.	11	None		
W.J.	9	None		
G.G.	9	1	2	1
R.S.	9	None		
L.S.	8	1	2	2
K.W.	8	None		
T.B.	7	1	2	2
H.W.	6	1	2	3
J.L.	6	1	2	1
M.B.	5	None		
J.S.	5	None		
L.C.	5	None		
M.J.	4	None		
R.T.	3	None		
F.J.	3	None		
D.R.	3	None		
J.C.	3	None		
R.S.	3	1	2	1
L.M.	2	1		1
G.H.	2	None		
F.R.	2	None		
R.W.	2	None		

*Lowest level possible - 1
Highest level possible - 4

TABLE XXII

CYCLO-TEACHER - SCIENCE

Cyclo-Teacher Level	Highest Grade Level Completed (frequencies)
Original Group	
0	0
1	0
2	0
3	0
4	10
Active Group	
0	1
1	1
2	5
3	1
4	7
Dropout Group	
0	15
1	1
2	15
3	1
4	4

TABLE XXIII

CYCLO-TEACHER - SOCIAL STUDIES

Name	Weeks in Programmed Instruction	Cyclo-Teacher Level* Began	Completed	Weeks on Cyclo-Teacher
		Original Group		
A.B.	95	1	4	10
C.G.	95	1	4	28
T.G.	95	1	4	16
C.H.	95	1	4	24
L.J.	95	1	4	14
G.S.	80	1	4	12
H.G.	75	1	4	56
M.W.	60	1	4	8
A.M.	57	1	4	16
A.H.	29	1	4	19
		Active Group		
F.J.	30	1	4	12
G.D.	24	1	4	3
C.W.	23	1	4	5
A.S.	21	1	4	8
J.G.	19	1	2	2
L.P.	16	1	2	1
J.T.	16	1	2	1
R.W.	15	1	3	10
R.W.	10	Special Reading		
M.B.	10	1	4	6
S.H.	9	1	3	5
L.A.	8	1	4	4
S.E.	7	Special Reading		
T.M.	6	None		1
R.W.	6	1		1
M.L.	5	1	2	4
J.C.	4	None		

*Lowest level possible - 1
Highest level possible - 4

TABLE XXIII (continued)

Name	Weeks in Programmed Instruction	Cyclo-Teacher Level* Began	Completed	Weeks on Cyclo-Teacher
		Dropout Group		
L.J.	30	Special Reading		
C.G.	29	1		2
L.B.	25	1	4	4
H.D.	23	Special Reading		
C.S.	17	1		3
R.D.	17	1	3	4
F.G.	17	1	4	8
B.M.	16	1	2	1
J.G.	15	1	2	4
L.E.	15	1	4	6
G.M.	15	1	4	3
S.S.	15	1	2	1
D.C.	14	1	2	2
L.H.	13	1	2	1
H.F.	12	1	2	2
S.L.	12	1	4	6
N.W.	11	Special Reading		
R.B.	11	None		
W.J.	9	None		
G.G.	9	1	3	2
R.S.	9	None		
L.S.	8	1	4	6
K.W.	8	1		1
T.B.	7	1	2	2
H.W.	6	1		1
J.L.	6	1		1
M.B.	5	None		
J.S.	5	None		
L.C.	5	None		
M.J.	4	None		
R.T.	3	None		
F.J.	3	None		
D.R.	3	None		
J.C.	3	None		
R.S.	3	1	2	1
L.M.	2	1		1
G.H.	2	None		
F.R.	2	None		
R.W.	2	None		

*Lowest level possible - 1
-Highest level possible - 4

TABLE XXIV

CYCLO-TEACHER - SOCIAL STUDIES

Cyclo-Teacher Level	Highest Grade Level Completed (frequencies)
Original Group	
0	0
1	0
2	0
3	0
4	10
Active Group	
0	2
1	1
2	4
3	2
4	6
Dropout Group	
0	14
1	6
2	8
3	2
4	6

TABLE XXV

SRA WORDS

Name	Weeks in Programmed Instruction	SRA Level* Began	Completed	Weeks in SRA
		Original Group		
A.B.	95	1	6	4
C.G.	95	1	6	6
T.G.	95	1	6	7
C.H.	95	1	5	16
L.J.	95	1	6	9
G.S.	80	1	6	8
H.G.	75	1	6	6
M.W.	60	1		4
A.M.	57	1	4	5
A.H.	29	None		

*Lowest level possible - 1
Highest level possible - 6

Note: Active and Dropouts Groups did not have time to reach SRA Words.

TABLE XXVI

SRA WORDS

SRA Level	Highest Grade Level Completed (frequencies)
	Original Group
0	1
1	1
2	0
3	0
4	1
5	1
6	6

TABLE XXVII

ENGLISH 2600

Name	Weeks in Programmed Instruction	English 2600 Level* Began	Completed	Weeks on English 2600
		Original Group		
A.B.	95	1	11	15
C.G.	95	1	3	12
T.G.	95	1	11	23
C.H.	95	1	3	9
L.J.	95	1	2	5
G.S.	80	1	11	20
H.G.	75	1	5	9
M.W.	60	1	5	19
A.M.	57	1	3	8
A.H.	29	None		

*Lowest level possible - 1
Highest level possible - 11

Note: Active and Dropout Groups did not have time to reach English 2600.

TABLE XXVIII

ENGLISH 2600

English 2600 Level	Highest Grade Level Completed (frequencies)
0	1
1	0
2	1
3	3
4	0
5	2
6	0
7	0
8	0
9	0
10	0
11	3

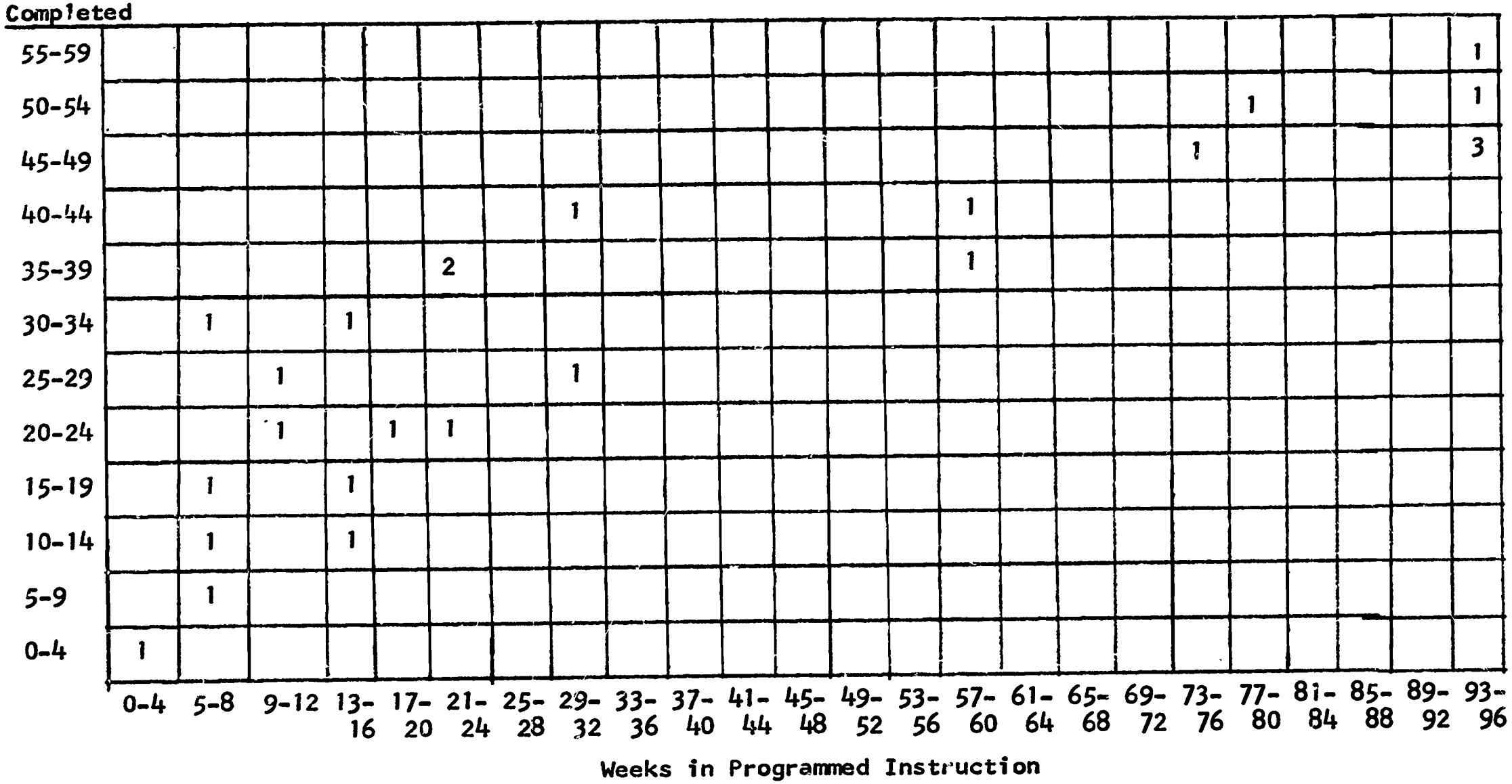
A tabulation was made of the total number of units completed in relation to time in programmed instruction. This was done by adding together the highest level completed for each program for each student and plotting it in relation to his time in programmed instruction. See Figures 7 and 8 on pages following. The bivariate correlation between time in programmed instruction and number of units completed was .89 for the original and active groups and .83 for the dropout group, according to the Spearman Rank Correlation, with correction for ties. The implication is that the longer a youth remains in the program, the more units he completes.

It would take an average student 40-60 weeks to complete all 56 units of the program. Several students showed outstanding progress. In the active group, L.A. completed 33 units in 8 weeks and M.L. completed 17 units in 5 weeks. In the dropout group, L.B. completed 38 units in 25 weeks, L.E. 28 units in 15 weeks, R.D. 26 in 17 weeks, G.M. 29 in 15 weeks, and S.L. 37 in 12 weeks. L.B. was arrested and imprisoned, which ended his career in the project. L.E. and S.L. lost interest in the project because they wanted more money than they were receiving. R.D. found a job with the Department of Highways at $2.86 per hour. G.M. was drafted into military service, the only one of the subjects to go into the military. This pattern of behavior emphasizes the problems associated with retraining youth who have great potential. There is no doubt that all of these individuals could have passed the G.E.D. examination with no difficulty and could have done well in college or in job training programs.

FIGURE 7

LENGTH OF TIME IN PROGRAMMED INSTRUCTION AS CORRELATED WITH TOTAL UNITS COMPLETED

Original and Active Groups



(Spearman's Rank Correlation, with correction for ties = .89)

FIGURE 8

LENGTH OF TIME IN PROGRAMMED INSTRUCTION
AS CORRELATED WITH TOTAL UNITS COMPLETED

Dropout Group

Program Units Completed	0-4	5-8	9-12	13-16	17-20	21-24	25-28	29-32	33-36
55-59									
50-54									
45-49									
40-44									
35-39			1				1		
30-34									
25-29				2	1				
20-24				1				1	
15-19		1	1		1				
10-14	1	4	1	4	1				
5-9	4	2	2						
0-4	5	1	1						

Weeks in Programmed Instruction

(Spearman's Rank Correlation, with correction for ties = .83)

CHAPTER V

ACADEMIC PROGRAM: CLASSROOM INSTRUCTION

I. Introduction

In April, 1966, the project moved to 1407 Sixteenth Street, N.W. Several weeks were spent in rehabilitating the house, at which time a new look was taken at the program to date. With the increase in the number of students, it was obvious that control over the activities of each student with programmed instruction was no longer possible. The materials were inadequate and unless one kept very close check on the students' activities there was little accomplished.

At this time it was felt necessary to organize the students into four classes of ten to twelve students each. There were 48 students in the project at this time. They were divided by ability, with the older students who had completed the programmed instructional materials in Group IV. Those who had been in the program since November and had shown some improvement were placed in Group III. The new students who were not yet involved to any great extent with programmed materials were placed in Groups II and I, with I being used for the poor readers and the poorly motivated students having a great number of absences. Four classes were established in English, Mathematics, Social Studies, and Science. Each group had a class in each subject designed for its particular needs and abilities.

By organizing the students into four groups it was possible to accomplish two things: (1) high school level subjects could be given to the advanced students; and (2) the spread between Group IV and Group I could be dealt with. It was more difficult now than formerly to handle the students since they were a much more heterogeneous population. Also it was felt that those who had completed the programmed instruction needed some exposure to more formal instruction as preparation for returning to high school, entering college, or moving into a job training program. The programmed materials in the project were not designed for high school level, which also influenced the decision to reorganize the basic structure of the project.

II. Reward System

A new reward system was initiated in July as a result of the new class system. Each student was allowed to earn up to 300 points per week. Each point was worth ten cents or thirty dollars per week. The points were distributed as follows: 10 points per class; 10 points per study hall; 10 points per clean-up period.

A student had three or four classes a day, with one or two study sections, plus a clean-up period at the end of the day. After some experience with the point system, it was decided to make available to students those points lost by other students; that is, if one lost ten points in a class, another student could earn extra points for that period. This greatly increased the competition for points, but it also increased the tension and arguments concerning points for each class.

The instructor of each class was asked to rate each student for every period on attendance, attentiveness, participation in classroom activities, social behavior in class, materials studied, and tests passed. At the end of the week the instructor handed in the total number of points for each student in his class, and the project administrator totaled the points and calculated the pay for the week.

This system was strong and sound, in theory, but in practice the instructors failed to apply it properly. Some instructors became expert at using it, while others merely went through the formality of handing in a point schedule each week. The instructors were told many times how the system could be used most effectively by rewarding desired behavior and not giving points when undesirable behavior occurred. Although the behaviors for which points were awarded were spelled out in detail, the inconsistencies in assigning points by instructors made the system less effective than it would otherwise have been. Also, the students would try to defeat the system by complaining and arguing about injustices or mistakes in the number of points awarded.

III. Class Schedule

Group I
- Reading Drill
- Mathematics
- Social Studies

Group II
- English
- Mathematics
- Social Studies
- Reading Drill

Group III
- English
- Mathematics
- Social Studies
- Science

Group IV
- English
- Mathematics
- Social Studies
- Science

IV. Materials Used

The materials used in various classes are described separately in the individual staff reports appended to this report. The text most generally used was Barron's How to Prepare for High School Entrance Examinations.[1] This covered reading comprehension, vocabulary, spelling, and mathematics. The mathematics included whole numbers, fractions, decimals, percentages, measurement, ratios, scales, verbal problems, and geometry. Other areas covered were grammatical usage, fiction, poetry, letter writing, concepts in science, and social studies. Barron's included work assignments and tests on the materials covered.

Workbooks in English, mathematics, science, and social studies were purchased. The programmed materials available were used wherever they contributed to the lesson plan. The Follett series was used to a great extent in the social science class. Instructors prepared their own mimeographed materials for use and completion in class. The Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company (3-M) loaned the project two overhead projectors and some duplicating equipment. Two additional overhead projectors were purchased. Instructors were shown how to use them effectively, and as always, some of the staff mastered the technique but others did not. The overhead projector proved to be one of the best teaching aids used; any group developing a program of this sort should make use of it as a basic component of the teaching situation. It was

---

[1] Max Peters, Jerome Coleman, et al., How to Prepare for High School Entrance Examinations (Woodbury, N.Y.: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 1961.)

possible to present visually materials from books and charts, as well as to work mathematics problems in the classroom. The overhead projector facilitated full control over the attention of the students. Though instructors were encouraged to use the overhead projector in class as a part of the learning situation, most of them failed to master the use of this aid.

V. Reaction to Classes

Group IV had been with the project six months or longer and they adjusted very well to the class situation. Groups I and II were new to the project and they did very poorly. Most of the time with Groups I and II was spent in basic behavioral control, and as a result very little academic instruction was accomplished. The type of individualized instruction which Group III and Group IV received during the first six months of their participation in the project was not available for the new group, and as a result Groups I and II were never fully integrated into the project.

The fact that six of ten of the original group remained, compared to 36 out of 157 for the group taken in after September 1, 1965, illustrates the basic need for a very tightly knit program during the first six months of participation. This should include shaping attendance behavior, intensive individual and group counseling, social casework with families, and immediate follow-up on students who are absent. It was found that if a student were contacted and led back

into the project he often would remain, but if he were allowed to drop out he never did return on his own initiative.

Programmed instruction is an excellent method to start these youths back into the educational system. Placing new students in classes the first week or so is not the proper way to indoctrinate them into the program. The ideal program is six months to one year of basic individual work--academic, social, and family--followed by more formally structured classes for those who are ready to move into high school subjects on an eight hour a day basis. The fundamental principle of involving the student in the project gradually was violated when the project expanded to forty or more students. Small groups of not more than ten students should have been organized and treated as autonomous groups for at least six months before the young men were placed in a formal classroom setting. It takes six months to shape a student to the point where he is ready to participate in a project of this nature. However, most projects dealing with hard-core poverty spend a total of one or two weeks on orientation and less than six months on total training and evaluation.

Another major problem was the corruption by the older group of the new members. The older group instructed the newcomers on how to beat the system and how to avoid certain changes which the project was designed to effect. The unanimous opinion of the staff was that the old members had a detrimental influence upon the new members. This was contrary to the design, since it was hoped that the old members would

act as guides and aides to the project. Several older members were hired as aides to supervise new groups, but this failed totally and was quickly abandoned. The basic defect was an issue mentioned previously, the lack of commitment on the part of subjects to the project, and the feeling that this was another handout to be taken advantage of. The students could not be trusted to carry the project philosophy to the other students since they themselves did not exemplify it or believe in it.

In September, 1966, a group of nine youths were added to the project in cooperation with the United Planning Organization. U.P.O. is the local poverty agency for the District of Columbia, and it was operating a halfway house for delinquents in the District under a Manpower Development and Training grant. These youths were of the same general background as those in the project. The U.P.O. youths were on court commitment to a correctional institution and had been placed in a special program at the halfway house. They came to the Center from nine until noon for education and were in a U.P.O. sponsored work-therapy program in the afternoon and evening.

These nine young men were in an institutional setting twenty-four hours a day, in contrast to our youths who were in the community environment. The U.P.O. group was added to the project in an effort to determine whether an institutional population would respond differently from a non-institutional population, since the issue of

institutional vs non-institutional programs has been raised. The U.P.O. subjects made up Group I, for the most part.

The most difficult group to handle was the U.P.O. group. They were paid about $20 to $25 per week, but the pay was not contingent on their behavior because of the nature of the U.P.O. program. This group was surly, sullen, rude, and aggressive. They resented the fact that they were paid on a different basis from the project youth, and that they lost money for not participating in the project activities. This group was uncontrollable in class, and often late or absent. They frequently engaged in fights both in and out of the Center, ran away from the halfway house, stole a car, etc. The group stayed with the project for several months until a major change in the program at U.P.O. resulted in their leaving the project.

Several variables were involved here. Money was a crucial factor. Though some experts have argued that the payment of money had nothing to do with motivation of subjects, in the case of this group money was crucial. No motivation or control over behavior could be developed in this group, though they were in an institution. Success in institutional programs such as at Draper, Alabama, and the National Training School, Washington, D.C., has given some authorities in the field a false sense of security not shared by this writer. Another factor was the group therapy received by the U.P.O. group at the half-way house. This therapy raised the level of anxiety and hostility in

the group and contributed to the overall problem. This group had been exposed to a Black Muslim philosophy in the D. C. correctional system and they expressed a deep-seated resentment of the white staff members. The instructor assigned to them was white, and his impressions are expressed in his report in the Appendix (Kelly - English report.)

VI. Classroom Situations

The classes were conducted in a variety of ways. One instructor had been with the project as the work supervisor and knew how to handle the students well. Other instructors were new to the project and experienced varying degrees of difficulty. They did not make use of the techniques for controlling behavior which had been explained to them, applying the methods neither correctly nor consistently. Monitoring of instructors by the administrative staff was attempted but a lack of personnel did not allow for this to be done properly or efficiently. Since no recording devices were used, such as television monitors and tape recorders, no real record of classroom performance was maintained. A project of this type should have the technological means of recording every class session. Such materials could be used for research analysis as well as for developing training films for other teachers who need to be trained in dealing with hard-core poverty youth.

The classes were usually noisy, with loud shouting and profanity. Some students would sleep or play cards. Some teachers would ignore

such behavior, others would deal with it directly. Different instructors handled aggression differently. The best material for handling serious behavior problems will be found in Mr. Burbridge's report, in the Appendix, in which he discusses the ways he dealt with situations.

Burbridge indicates that the instructor should have a stable, straightforward personality. A teacher burdened with personal problems will not be effective in the classroom. He must be fair, honest, firm, and not intimidated by the students' verbal or physical threats. The students will test an instructor to the limit to find any vulnerability in his personality. A threat of force can be dealt with either by treating it lightly and trying to make a joke of it, as Burbridge often did, or by reminding the student of official rules that state that a teacher is prohibited from fighting with a student and that the police will be called if the student persists. No staff member was ever struck by a student though verbal threats and severe cursings were routine. Several times an instructor left the classroom with a student well on the way to having a fight, only to be stopped by the director or someone else. The students were told that if they ever laid a hand on an instructor they would be arrested and charged with assault and battery. Physical violence can be handled if the person threatened is neither intimidated nor allows himself to become violent. Great self-control is required in such situations.

These students will try to 'con' an instructor out of anything by appealing to his sympathy, pleading headaches, sick girl friends, financial needs, etc. This kind of behavior is reinforced when the instructor shows sympathy. Again, a strict approach is required in which practical help is offered, but not sympathy, which does nothing to effect a change in the student's basic behavior.

The white staff members, including the director, were much more vulnerable to the sympathy approach than were the Negro staff members. The students seem to play two games with white staff members. One is "We are Negroes and want your protection and benevolence." This is the Uncle Tom role. The other is "We have been discriminated against by white society too long and therefore we have a right to advantages and privileges without working for them." The threat of riots and revolts was never concealed to any great extent. The black power movement had its effect on the program in a negative direction. The students would often confront a staff member with the remark, "You have yours, am I going to get mine?" The Negro student and to some extent some of the Negro staff members fluctuated between a sympathy appeal and threat of force appeal. The national situation is in no way different from this and supports this schizophrenic posture in its own way.

A female staff member in the family service program approached all problems in terms of a big happy family philosophy. She was most gullible for sympathy stories and was made less effective because of the ways in which she allowed herself to be used and manipulated.

As Burbridge shows in his report, proper use of the reward system can control fighting and cursing in the classroom. There is no need to allow a classroom to become a blackboard jungle. One basic principle to remember is that the instructor's behavior determines student behavior. The instructor can control disruptive behavior, or he can create it, depending on whether or not his knowledge of behavioral control techniques is adequate.

In this project a teacher was not permitted to expel a student from the classroom. One instance occurred where an instructor told a student to leave, and the student was immediately sent back to class with a statement to the instructor that no student could be kicked out. Behavioral problems had to be handled by the instructor some other way than by ridding himself of the nuisance. The public school teacher has a ready-made escape hatch for handling behavior problems in that he or she is allowed to remove a student from class. The student is then sent home by the principal; thus he is out of school, on the streets, and soon in trouble. The problem is not handled directly and several new ones are created. The teacher has shifted responsibility to the parents, the police, employment agencies, and so forth; his failure to deal with the problem ends his concern or responsibility. We discovered we could maintain some semblance of classroom participation and control without using the 'kick-out' method. Some students were continuously disruptive, but as teachers lived with these problems they learned to solve some of them to some extent.

Though no attacks occurred on staff members in the project, such assaults occur daily in the public school system. Recently in the District of Columbia there occurred at Shaw Junior High School, a poorly equipped and notoriously problem-ridden school, an instance of several students striking a teacher.(Washington Post, March 23-24, 1967.) The principal was relieved of her duties. The Superintendent of Schools announced that such attacks are a common occurrence in the District. He said that discipline was the teachers' major problem. Learning cannot occur when teachers are concerned with discipline and not education. The principal at Shaw announced that she was transferring to a school atmosphere where new teaching techniques would work. This remark illustrates the basic mentality of the public school administrator: he is seeking a body of students motivated and prepared to learn, rather than developing techniques for motivating and training unresponsive or ill-mannered students.

On May 15, 1967, two white youths were assaulted by a group of Negro youths in a Fairfax County, Virginia, high school, in a suburban area of Washington. (Washington Post, May 16, 1967.) This is another example of growing racial violence and assaultive behavior within our high school system.

VII. English Instruction

A. Basic Reading Skills

During the course of the project we had six students who were classified as illiterate; that is, they read below the 3rd grade level,

could not read beginning materials, and/or did not know the alphabet. The students were:

Name	Last Grade Attended	Weeks in Project
R.W.	9th	44
S.E.	8th	42
L.J.	9th	30
T.W.	7th	25
H.D.	7th	23
N.W.	9th	11

We were unprepared for this illiteracy since we had assumed that any student who had completed junior high school would at least be reading at the 3rd grade level, which is where the SRA laboratory materials begin. We therefore had no program planned for illiterates.

N.W. was the first such student encountered. The director worked with N.W. for some time on learning the alphabet. The procedure was simply to present the letter "A", say "This is an A" and have the student repeat it orally and in written form. Five letters were taken at one session, each session lasting about two hours. At the end of two weeks N.W. could identify and pronounce the 26 letters. Progress was not made beyond this point because of the lack of a staff member who could devote individual time to this student. The fact that a student could remain in the public school system for nine years without being able to read or write still amazes the writer.

H.D. and S.E. were given individual work books in phonetics and alphabet drill, but they made little progress on their own. If an instructor would sit with them in a one-to-one relationship, they would make some small progress, but no real facility with reading was developed.

L.J., a former mental patient, spent several months in a psychiatric institution while with the project. No reading program was ever attempted because of his other problem.

R.W. could read to a small extent and was placed in Group I with the slow readers. He never did advance beyond that group in any of the subject areas.

T.W., a former convict looking for a chance to retrain himself, was 26 years old when he entered the project. He could not read but had great determination and desire.

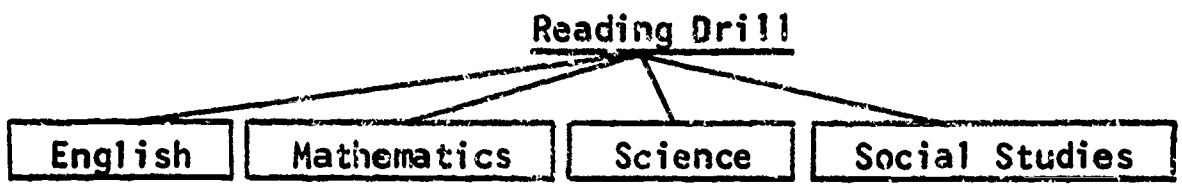
H.D., S.E., and T.W. were placed in a special reading program in July, 1966, with Miss Wadkins. The Laubach Reading Series was used. (See Appendix, Wadkins Special Reading Report.) There are six books in the Series, from Beginner to 8th grade level. H.D. did not complete Book I, S.E. was in Book II when the project terminated, and T.W. was in Book V when the project terminated.

The project was never able to deal with the student who was reading below the 3rd grade level. A special reading program with trained specialists and appropriate resources is needed by projects such as this, but the expense is such that many agencies will not finance it. This is an area that should be developed as it applies to people of sixteen years of age and older. Reading materials used in Project Headstart will need modification and evaluation if they are to be used for older subjects. Several new reading programs, such as the SRA Reading in High Gear, are now on the market and may be useful for the adult non-reader.

B. Remedial Reading

The SRA Laboratory was used as a basic tool for remedial reading. After classroom instruction was instituted, materials were taken from Barron's, Hayes, and other workbooks. Over fifty paperbooks were purchased covering a wide variety of subjects. Claude Brown's Manchild in the Promised Land turned out to be the most interesting book as far as the youths were concerned. Materials with high identification value were sought to insure a high motivational level, since the rate on such reading materials is much faster. An attempt was made to take full advantage of the student's own background and interests, using whatever communication skills he had as a base for developing new skills. Reading materials also included magazines (Ebony, Life, Look, Time, Sports Illustrated, etc.), newspapers, comic books, as well as textbook materials. The English 900 Series (Macmillan) was added in September, 1966, for Groups I and II. Cartoons from The New Yorker were used in reference to contemporary events. Students were also asked to write short essays about various topics of interest to them. Some showed a flair for off-beat, 'cool' poetry.

The philosophy of the project was that communication skills are basic to all other educational efforts, since if a student could not read he could not participate in learning situations in other areas. It was noted that even in mathematics a basic reading skill was required. Thus reading became a basic tool for all classes.



Instructors in each class emphasized reading, using selections from the subject matter with which they dealt. Thus the science instructor would give basic vocabulary and reading drill in science.

One of the main inhibiting factors in mastery of reading skills is ridicule. A student is ashamed to admit that he cannot read because in the past his inability to read has led to ridicule by teachers and classmates. One cardinal rule at the project was that neither instructors nor students were to ridicule a student for his stumbling or errors.

A related problem was the use of cursing as a means of communication. Initially, cursing under any circumstances was discouraged, but the English instructor later questioned this policy. He pointed out that when he punished profanity in class he repressed all verbal behavior. It was then realized that punishment generalizes very rapidly to behavior other than that punished. Therefore it was decided to make a distinction between cursing in anger, which was punished, and cursing as a normal way of expressing one's self. When a student used cursing to express an idea, he was asked to rephrase his idea in a more acceptable manner. In this way the cursing was supplemented by other verbal behavior, and verbal behavior was encouraged rather than discouraged.

C. English Usage and Grammar

Many of the students in Groups III and IV had been exposed to programmed materials in English, including finishing the SRA Series at the 11th grade level. However, the group was given the California Language Test, Junior High Level, and the results indicated a need for some basic English drill.

TABLE XXIX

CALIFORNIA LANGUAGE TEST, JUNIOR HIGH LEVEL

Group IV

Name	SRA Level	California Language Test
A.B.	11	8.4
G.D.	11	9.8
C.G.	11	6.2
T.G.	11	7.9
C.H.	11	5.8
F.J.	11	8.4
G.S.	11	7.3
R.W.	10	7.1
G.M.	8	8.8
M.L.	7	7.8
	Mean:	7.7

Group III

L.A.	11	8.4
M.B.	11	8.8
A.S.	11	7.7
C.W.	11	6.3
J.G.	9	5.5
R.W.	9	9.7
S.H.	8	7.0
E.P.	8	9.3
B.M.	6	5.0
	Mean:	7.5

This discrepancy in scores emphasized that the students were in fact at the 7th - 9th grade levels, not the 11th grade level. Several students scored higher on the California than on the SRA,

G.M., M.L., E.P., and R.W. These students entered later than the others, in January, March, and April, and their SRA scores reflect a lack of time in the program. Given the same time as the others, they would score at the 11th grade level.

The instruction in advanced classes (III and IV) focused on more formal aspects of English grammar and usage. Here the student was being prepared to pass the General Educational Development test (GED). Materials from the Barron's and Follett books were used, along with paperbacks, magazines, etc. Exercises in spelling, vocabulary, reading comprehension, and correct usage (verbs, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, phrases, sentence structure) were used. An attempt was made to acquaint the student with various literary forms - the epic, novel, short story, poem, drama, essay - as well as with the use of synonyms, antonyms, similes, metaphors, etc. The relationship between slang, informal, and formal modes of speech was analyzed by having the students first express themselves in slang and then reword the expression in a more formal way while retaining the content. Some exposure to Shakespeare was provided after the first group of students to take the GED test reported that they had had difficulty in interpreting some selections from Shakespeare.

The overall purpose of the English program was to encourage the students to express themselves well in as many ways as possible. They come from a background in which verbal communication is minimal or communication is carried on with a combination of gestures, facial

expressions, grunts, profanity, slang, and one- or two-word sentences or phrases. No analysis was made of the special vocabulary, but an outsider could not communicate with the youths because of such usages, for example, as "bread" for money, or "a dime" for ten dollars. The following list represents some of the commonly heard expressions at the project; it should be recognized that no standardized spelling or meaning exists.

Current Slang - 1966. Washington, D.C.

Good Stuff - Dope
Duzzie - Dope
Scagg - Dope
Pot - Dope
Nitro - Best dope you can get
Knockman - Dope pusher
High - Feeling good
Groove - Feeling good
Salt and pepper - Building a story and expanding it
Cap up - Adding to a story without knowledge of that story
Cop a plea - Explain or give a long story
Out of sight - Something impresses you
Laying the cut - Waiting in the dark to rob someone
Roller - Policeman
Let's walk - To run or get away
Thump - To fight
Steal - To hit a person when he is not looking
Get in the wind - Run very fast
Lame - Person who cannot fight
No game - Person who cannot fight
Burn - Take something from someone
Hot - Stolen
Bit - Time in jail
Grit - Ignore someone when he is talking
Shoot down - Keep someone from getting something you have
Benny - A homosexual
Bunny - A homosexual
Set on fire - Get VD
Bama - A person who is not in the swing of thing and dresses loud
Walkingman - The friend you go around with most
Pull - To get a girl

Pull a G - More than one boy having sex relations with the same girl
Pull a train - Same
Gang bang - Same
Pile - To have sex relations
Dog - Bad looking girl
Champion - Nice looking girl

The dialect of most of these Negro youths was so pronounced that it was difficult for a middle class person (Negro or white) to talk with them. This dialect was a definite handicap in looking for employment or attending a middle class school. Without engaging in the controversy now taking place as to the value of retaining a "Negro culture", it is important to realize that a youth is not employable unless he makes a good impression, and this includes his speech patterns. A young man who says, "Yeah man, I dig this job", or "No m----f------is going to burn me", will not last long on any job. No speech therapist was available to the project, although the need for one was recognized. Any project of this type should include speech remediation as an integral part of the total program. Since the gap between the middle class professional and the lower class client is so great, it is also necessary that sub-professional or professional staff members who can understand what the delinquent young men are saying be a part of the project and act as intermediaries between the professional and the client.

D. Results

Progress in English is nearly impossible to evaluate on a day-to-day basis, since no adequate record-keeping devices were ever found. Instructors were asked to keep a record of all materials used,

tests given, and results achieved. A continuous battle occurred between the director and the staff as to the value of such procedures. It was obvious from talking to instructors and visiting classes that change was occurring, but no systematic evaluation was made of the students' progress by the individual instructors. In order to secure some measure of the change the director asked that the California Achievement Test be administered. This was done, but again it presented problems. Many students were absent and some in jail when the tests were administered. Test results are very suspect because a student could decide he would not try to achieve a maximum score, or he would not understand the basic procedures for taking the test. He might fill in the wrong blanks and receive a low score. Several completed the test in fifteen minutes without any effort at getting correct answers. The test behavior of the students was carefully observed by the director and led to his questioning the validity and reliability of test results. A new procedure for evaluating academic behavior is needed, patterned after the programmed instructional materials whereby a student must know the right answer to move ahead. A paper and pencil test given separate from the learning situation is an inadequate indicator of academic materials mastered. Table XXX shows the results of the English California Achievement Test, Group III and Group IV.

TABLE XXX

ENGLISH TEST RESULTS - CALIFORNIA ACHIEVEMENT

Name	March 4, 1966	December 9, 1966	December 15, 1966
		Group IV	
L.A.	8.4	12.0	
A.B.	8.4	10.5	
T.D.	7.0	9.3	12.0
C.G.	6.2	6.5	
T.G.	7.9	9.8	
F.J.	8.4	jail	
M.L.	7.8	-	
E.P.	9.3	11.7	
G.S.	7.1	11.0	

Name	March 24, 1966	Group III November 9, 1966	December 15, 1966 (and 16)	
V.B.	8.1	10.7	11.7	
M.B.	8.8	9.8	11.4	
D.D.	5.3	6.5	-	
J.H.	-	10.6	8.9	12.0
G.H.	6.7	-	10.1	
M.J.	-	5.5	10.6	
V.J.	-	6.1	7.1	
T.M.	5.0	-	7.1	
L.P.	-	6.8	7.5	11.4
K.S.	-	6.7	11.4	
A.S.	7.7	8.5	-	
C.W.	6.3	6.8	-	

VIII. Mathematics Class

A. Advanced Group

There was no mathematics instructor available when the reorganization occurred, so the director took over for three months as instructor for Group IV, the only group which was having classroom mathematics at that time. The director was severely criticized later by some of the staff for stepping out of his role as director and taking on a job he was ill-prepared to handle. Though the director will admit to his shortcomings as a mathematics instructor and to his desire that a mathematician fill the position, the results were as good if not better than those in other classes. This probably does not speak well of the director as a mathematics instructor but rather reflects the poor quality of the teaching in general.

Group IV had been exposed to the programmed instructional materials in mathematics, and it was felt that this group was ready to move into algebra and geometry; however, a test given on the first day of Group IV's class meeting revealed serious deficiencies even in basic arithmetic skills. Since these students had passed examinations on whole number operations, decimals, fractions, percentages, and ratios while using programmed materials, it is difficult to explain this discrepancy in performance.

Group III had less exposure to the programmed materials. Table XXXI summarizes the progress of each student in the programmed materials and on the California Achievement Test. The mean for both groups was the 7.9 grade level, indicating as in the case of English that the results of the programmed instruction are not too certain or clear.

TABLE XXXI

MATHEMATICS TESTS

Name	Cyclo-Teacher	Auto-Tutor	California
		Group IV	
A.B.	1 - 7	1 - 8	8.9
G.D.	1 - 7	1 - 8	8.3
C.G.	1 - 7	1 - 8	6.7
T.G.	1 - 5	1 - 8	6.0
C.H.	1 - 4	1 - 8	6.6
F.J.	1 - 4	1 - 8	7.5
M.L.	-	1 - 4	10.6
G.M.	1	1 - 4	8.9
G.S.	1 - 5	1 - 8	7.4
R.W.	1 - 4	1 - 4	8.1
			Mean: 7.9
		Group III	
L.A.	1 - 2	1 - 7	8.9
M.B.	-	1 - 5	8.1
J.G.	-	1 - 4	5.5
S.H.	1 - 2	-	7.1
B.M.	-	-	6.0
E.P.	-	-	9.4
A.S.	1	1 - 7	7.5
R.W.	-	-	11.3
C.W.	1 - 2	1 - 8	7.4
			Mean: 7.9

B. Content of Mathematics Class

The mathematics class was organized as follows:

Basic Mathematics

I. Number System
   Decimal System
   Binary and Quinary System

II. Whole Numbers
- Addition
- Subtraction
- Multiplication
- Division

III. Special Operations
- Order of Operations
- Use of Zero

IV. Fractions
- Addition
- Subtraction
- Multiplication
- Division
- Mixed Numbers
- Improper Fractions

V. Decimals
- Addition
- Subtraction
- Multiplication
- Division
- Fractions to Decimals
- Decimals to Fractions
- Combined Operations

VI. Percentage
- Fractions, Decimals, and Percentages
- Types of Percentage Problems

VII. Ratios and Proportions
- Meaning of Proportion
- Proportions and Fractions
- Proportion Problems: Direct and Inverse Variation

Advanced Mathematics

I. Special Rules
- Commutative
- Associative
- Distributive

II. Factors
- Meaning of Factors
- Highest Common Factor
- Least Common Multiple

III. Negative Numbers
  Meaning of Negative Numbers
  Adding, Subtracting, Multiplying, Dividing of Negative Numbers

IV. Exponents
  Use of Exponents
  Adding, Subtracting, Multiplying, Dividing

V. Square Roots

VI. Algebraic Equations
  Simple Equations
  Binomial Equations
  Factoring Equations
  Simultaneous Equations
  Graphic Solution of Simultaneous Equations

VII. Geometry
  Basic Geometric Forms
  Angles, Triangles, Area, Volume, Perimeter, Pythagorean Theory

C. Procedures

Each topic was introduced by means of a written lesson plan for that topic, plus work problems. The mathematical section of Barron's was used to a great extent for these problems. The overhead projector was used to present materials in the 3-M series and materials prepared by the instructor. Students were required to respond to the materials, that is, they had to work problems as the materials were presented. Tests were given several times a week, and pay for the class was computed on the basis of attendance, participation in classroom activities, and test scores.

Group IV, taught by the director from June until September 1, 1966, in a classroom situation, moved from whole numbers through fractions, decimals, percentages, ratios, and proportions. They started

with advanced mathematics when a part-time instructor was hired. During the three months great progress was seen in the class's basic arithmetic skills.

Basic principles of learning were used, such as systematic presentation of materials, required response on the part of the student, immediate correction of wrong responses, and reward for correct responses.

The students had a great deal of difficulty with division involving decimals, and the use of percentages. Although they could work problems when presented to them in a mathematical form, they could not work problems given in verbal form. For instance, they could work the problem, "80% of 926 is-----", but the problem, "A man earns $6200 a year and saves 8% of it; how much does he save a year?", gave them great difficulty. Barron's is filled with verbal problems and we spent weeks on them. The percentage problems gave the class the most difficult time.

When we started on advanced mathematics the pace picked up noticeably. They found elementary algebra much easier than decimals or percentages, and were challenged by the task of working advanced problems rather than those characteristic of the 3rd and 4th grades. One of the major problems with this population is that they had been exposed to elementary school reading and mathematics for years and were bored with it. They felt that they were not benefitting from the program because they were repeating something they had in elementary school; yet they are not academically prepared to start at the 10th grade level.

D. Results

The results for Group IV for the summer, 1966, are shown in Table XXXII.

TABLE XXXII

CALIFORNIA MATHEMATICS TEST

Name	June 19, 1966	September 13, 1966
	Group IV	
A.B.	8.9	10.8
G.D.	8.3	11.1
C.G.	6.7	7.9
T.G.	6.0	8.5
C.H.	6.6	jail
F.J.	7.5	8.7
M.L.	10.6	12.0
G.M.	8.9	army
G.S.	7.4	8.7
R.W.	8.1	10.6
	Mean = 7.9	Mean = 9.8

The results indicate improvement in mathematic skills, but the remarks made earlier about the use of paper and pencil tests to measure behavioral change apply here as well.

On September 1, 1966, a part-time mathematics instructor was employed. He did not keep adequate records of the behavioral changes occurring in class, and all that can be reported, therefore, is a general discussion of classroom events. The advanced mathematics class continued to work in basic algebra and geometry. Group III worked in fractions, decimals, percentages, and ratios. Groups I and II worked primarily in whole numbers and fundamentals of arithmetic.

Of all the instructors, the mathematics instructor took the least interest in the project since he was there on a part-time basis;

he reacted to the youths initially with anger and hostility. After he had engaged in a cursing bout with one of his classes one morning, he was told he must apologize to them and must handle student aggression by other means than counter-aggression. From then on he adopted a position of accommodation, allowing the students to do what they pleased. He never attempted to gain control over his classes. His attitude was one of "These students are too dumb to learn, so why try?" This was a perfect example of a teacher who had had experience in teaching and who transferred the public school philosophy to the project.

IX. Social Studies

A. Introduction

The social studies classes were taught by a man who was hired originally to direct the work program. He had had several years of college but was not an experienced teacher; however he turned out to be the best instructor we had. He was serious, conscientious, and had good control over his classes. He was the only staff member who took the time to master the reward system and to use it properly.

The techniques he used are outlined in his report in the Appendix. He made use of the basic materials in Barron's and the Follett Series on social studies, plus materials which he worked up himself and handed out to the class. A great deal of attention was paid to Negro history, emphasizing both positive and negative aspects of Negro history, such as the fact that Negroes had owned slaves and had contributed

to the position of the Negro in the South. His occasional comments to the director on the relative ineffectiveness of some of the Negro staff convey his appreciation of E. Franklin Frazier's observations on the divorcement between the Negro lower and middle classes. The Black Muslim movement was strong in the student group and the social science instructor did a remarkable job in showing them the real consequences of a philosophy which would separate white and Negro and which sets up racial lines and distinctions no different from those of the white supremacists.

B. Classroom Procedures

Materials were used from Barron's, Follett, and other sources. The students were required to respond to the materials and were rewarded for correct responses.

The instructor used role modeling very successfully. He would set up an historic situation and have the students act out the behavior of the characters. The classes taught by this man were never boring, disorganized, or noisy, which illustrates that good teaching can be actualized with this hard-core population. Some of the most valuable behavioral science data available to this project or any other source were lost because we did not have the funds to videotape these sessions and compare them to sessions taught by a different kind of instructor. Such films would have been invaluable as training aids for future projects.

Field trips played a major role in the social studies classes. The students visited a number of federal agencies and historical shrines in the District of Columbia.

C. Topics Covered

Topics in American history and government from the pre-Revolutionary period until the present were covered. Each student was given a copy of the U. S. Constitution, which was used as the basis for many discussions on current political and social issues. Throughout, the instructor tried to relate this country's past history, social, and political situations to today's events. The daily newspapers and Life magazine supplemented the formal textbook materials.

There was no sharp distinction in curriculum between the elementary and advanced social studies classes as was the case in English and mathematics. Groups III and IV used more advanced reading materials but the same topics were discussed. Greater class participation was found in the two advanced groups than in the two beginning groups.

C. Results

It is difficult to evaluate the results of the social studies classes because of the fact that one of the basic purposes was to prepare the students to participate in the political and social affairs of the community. Behavior changes in such areas as citizenship, understanding of and participation in community affairs, and interest in current events are hard to measure.

Test results are given in the separate report on social studies in the Appendix. They indicate satisfactory mastery of classroom materials. Again, one must ask how meaningful test results are for measuring behavioral change.

X. Science

A. Introduction

The science instructor had had some college training, had been in the Air Force for a number of years, and had a good grasp of basic science. He was not a trained teacher in the academic sense but he was one of the better instructors.

Groups III and IV attended science classes. The staff felt that until a student was better prepared in English and mathematics he would not benefit from science instruction.

B. Procedures

The classes covered general science as well as the fundamentals of basic chemistry, physics, and biology. The purpose was to acquaint the students with the scientific method and some elementary data in each area. Barron's was used along with the SRA Science Laboratory. Most of the material was produced by the instructor and given out in class because he was unable to locate the programmed materials he thought most suitable.

Films played an important role in the science classes, as did the overhead projector. Simple experiments in class illustrated basic physical principles. A separate laboratory room was in the process of being set up when the project was notified of a budget cut and that goal was never achieved.

Field trips were taken to Andrews Air Force Base and to the Space Museum and the Museum of History and Technology of the Smithsonian Institution. These trips and other matters are discussed in the science report in the Appendix.

C. Results

Test results for individuals are given in the Appendix and indicate the usual mastery of materials presented in class. Table XXXIII shows the results of the California Science Test, given three months apart.

TABLE XXXIII

CALIFORNIA SCIENCE TEST

Name	August 8, 1966	November 3, 1966
	Groups III and IV	
V.B.	42	57
M.B.	23	40
T.D.	28	45
D.D.	31	50
J.H.	--	55
G.H.	27	40
M.J.	--	45
V.J.	15	40
W.J.	40	55
T.M.	24	50
L.P.	24	57
K.S.	41	59
A.S.	54	54
R.W.	--	57
L.A.	27	52
A.B.	30	45
C.G.	28	40
F.J.	48	57
E.P.	52	61
G.S.	25	47
R.W.	25	37
	Mean = 32.4	Mean = 49.7

XI. High School Equivalency Examination

One of the major purposes of the project was to educate the delinquent dropout to the point where he could (a) go to college, (b) enter a job training program, or (c) secure and keep a job. For these purposes we felt a high school degree was necessary. Since these youths had refused to return to high school, our only means to a high school diploma was by way of the special General Educational Development (GED) examination administered by the Board of Education of the District of Columbia. Upon successful passing of this examination with a grade of 45, the student is issued a high school diploma.

The following students took the GED test, with these results:

TABLE XXXIV

GENERAL EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT TEST

Passed	Weeks in Program	Failed	Weeks in Program
A.B.	130	C.G.	130 (3)
T.G.	130 (2)*	C.H.	130 (2)
L.J.	130	C.W.	58 (2)
G.S.	115	R.W.	50
F.J.	65	M.B.	45 (2)
G.D.	59	T.M.	41
A.S.	56	R.W.	41
S.H.	44	G.H.	38
M.L.	40	V.B.	23
E.P.	36		
T.D.	27		
J.H.	18		
P.G.	6		

*( ) - Number of times student took GED test.

Of the students who took the GED test, 59% passed and 41% failed. Four out of six in the original group of students passed. Of those who took the examination, all but P.G. were in the active group. He was one of two white students in the program, in the 12th grade when he dropped, and from a professional middle class family background. He was in the program for six weeks and was encouraged to take the GED test after he dropped out of our program; he was not at all typical of the students in the project.

A comparison of time in program with GED test results is shown in Table XXXV.

TABLE XXXV

GENERAL EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT TEST RESULTS

Weeks in Program	Number of Students	Passed GED	Failed GED	Percentage Passed	Percentage Failed
16-20	5	1		20	80
21-25	6		1	0	100
26-30	2	1		50	50
31-35	1			0	100
36-40	7	2	1	28	72
41-45	7	1	3	14	86
46-50	1		1	0	100
51-55	3			0	100
56-60	3	2	1	67	33
61-65	1	1		100	0
115-130	6	4	2	67	33

The results on the GED test should not be overestimated. The examination is probably at the 9th grade level and the norms for Washington, D.C. are at the 45th percentile, which is low by national standards.

This does not mean that an individual with the GED diploma has less ability than one who finishes twelve years of education in the slum schools of Washington. It does mean that the holder of a high school diploma from a slum school is undereducated and not prepared academically for entering college or for coping with a demanding job. Certainly the youths who passed the GED test were not adequately educated. This comment is made in reference to slum high schools in general, and not to the project or the GED test specifically. Several projects in the D. C. area, including one at the Youth Center at Lorton Reformatory, have reported good results on the GED test after three months. This does not mean, however, that such students have the qualifications that should be reflected in the holder of a high school diploma.

In a recent report by Columbia University on the District of Columbia school system it was noted that some twelfth-graders cannot read at the first grade level, and that most twelfth-graders from slum schools are reading at a very low level. They cannot qualify for job training because they cannot read, even with a high school diploma. One teacher stated that all a student must do to get a high school diploma is stay around and not drop out. (Washington Post, April 16, 1967.)

CHAPTER VI

THE STAFF

I. Staff Background

The original model of the project was based on some ideas from Charles Slack, Frank Riesman, and others who had pointed out the distance between the professional and the client. It was felt that there should be a person reared in the environment and familiar with the culture of the delinquent to act as a liaison person between the professional and the delinquent. The original group of subjects was under the sponsorship of another agency at the inception of the project, and the man who was with them joined the project on a part-time basis. In October, 1965, when funding from the U. S. Office of Education became available, he was made the assistant director in charge of operations. A Negro with an M.A. in Education, he is working toward an Ed.D. at a local university. When hired, he was teaching social adjustment classes in junior high school in the District of Columbia.

The next staff person hired had a degree in English, had graduate training in counseling underprivileged youth, had taught in a program for youth, had special training in counseling underpriveleged youth from the Department of Labor, and was a youth counselor for the Department of Labor at the time he was hired. He was white. This man was placed in charge of the English remedial reading program.

The head of the Family Services program was Negro. She had an M.S.W. in Group Work and wide experience in working with culturally

deprived youth, Negro and Mexican-American. She was a Community Organization Supervisor for the United Planning Organization when hired.

Her assistant, Negro, had a B.A. degree, had worked in remedial reading and was associated with the Community Service Project, working with culturally deprived families, when hired.

The man hired as assistant director for curriculum development and planning was a Negro with an A.B. degree and an S.T.B. degree in theology. He had worked for research or social service agencies for a number of years and when hired was with an electronics corporation which was operating a Job Corps Center for women. He had had experience with programmed instruction materials and with industry. His responsibility with the project was to organize and make available recent developments in the field of programmed instruction.

The head of the work program was a Negro with several years of college and experience in working with youth programs. He became our social studies instructor when we shifted into a classroom mode of operation.

The science instructor was Negro, with several years of college, a military career background but with little teaching experience.

The mathematics instructor, a Negro, was a graduate student in mathematics at a local university, with some experience in high school teaching.

The head of the secretarial staff was Negro, with an A.B. in business administration and wide experience in secretarial work. She was with the President's Commission on Crime for the District of Columbia when hired.

The head of the recreation program was white, with an A.B. degree in sociology, working on the M.A. degree in social work. He had worked with several social agencies while in college.

From this brief description of the paper qualifications of the staff, it would appear that the project had engaged well-trained and experienced personnel with appropriate academic credentials.

II. Staff In-Service Training

Until we went into a classroom mode of instruction, no special training was offered. It was expected that people with professional training and experience would be able to handle effectively their respective assignments in the project. However, with the addition of staff and students it became obvious that some basic orientation was needed beyond that which could be gained on the job or through individual sessions. With the establishment of classes, there occurred confusion as to procedures, regulations, disciplinary problems, and so forth. The staff asked for some general training sessions, which would occupy two weeks of time. A real difficulty presented itself; namely, the project was in the middle of its operation and had to maintain an on-going program while staff training sessions also took place. The decision was made to hold afternoon staff training

sessions for two weeks, dismissing the students in the afternoon for this period of time.

Training sessions consisted of films and lectures by the director on operant conditioning and research design. The films were:

Learning: Parts I, II, III, Montgomery, Hernstein, and Morse. Mc Graw-Hill & Co.

Teaching Machines and Programed Learning, Skinner, Glaser, and Lumsdaine. Norwood Films.

Reinforcement Therapy, O. I. Lovaas. Smith, Kline and French Laboratories.

Behavior Theory in Practice, Ellen Reese. Appleton-Century-Croft, Inc.

Pamphlets used included "Behavior Theory in Practice" by Ellen Reese (see above), and "Learning Theories and Training" by Leslie This and Gordon Lippitt, Leadership Resources, Inc., Washington.

There was general discussion of the films, with emphasis on how the principles of learning could be applied to retraining juvenile delinquents. Most of the staff members were either disinterested in the theoretical discussions or unable to see how this experimental work had any bearing on social services and the rehabilitation of delinquents. The two staff members who showed the most interest and understanding of the principles of reinforcement were the social studies and science instructors, the two least qualified from the point of view of formal education and experience.

As was mentioned earlier, most of the instructors did not apply the reward system properly and made no effort to understand the principles of learning involved. The staff members with advanced training in education or social work used concepts or procedures which ran counter to the basic principles of operant conditioning. Mentalistic terms such as "self concept", "inner motivation", "wanting to learn", "not interested in coming", were used constantly to explain behavior. The director tried to point out that a "self concept" is verbal behavior which is contingent upon the responses of others, and that "not being interested in learning" was a behavioral response to an environment in which there is a lack of adequate rewards to maintain behavior. The interpretation of the forces generating behavior as coming from within the individual rather than from the environment was the most common error made by staff in dealing with behavioral problems.

During the staff training sessions each instructor was asked to provide an outline of the topics he expected to cover during the next thirty-six weeks, along with the materials to be used. Each report was discussed by the group as a whole. Instructors were asked to organize materials in such a way that they followed the principles of programmed instruction. Behavioral problems were discussed in terms of how they might be handled constructively. Instruction in use of the overhead projector was given; each staff member was shown how to take full advantage of it in his subject matter area.

III. Accommodation

A typical pattern of staff reaction to students was one of accommodation. This has been observed in mental hospitals, public schools, juvenile institutions, and prisons.

The new instructor starts out filled with idealism and enthusiasm. He is confronted with a group of loud, uneducated, vulgar, crude delinquents who are out to find and challenge every weakness in that instructor's system. Noise, swearing, radios blaring alien music, and acts of violence all make up the environment to which the instructor reacts. Within a few months he is exhausted intellectually, emotionally, and physically. He is unable to cope with the problems adequately and to face the day-by-day agony of the classroom. Several reactions are possible. One staff member handled the problems by becoming one of the boys, but tougher than they were, while at the same time using the authority of his office. He wielded a bigger club than they did and felt he could hurt them more than they could hurt him. Another used a very soft, rational approach: "Let us sit down and discuss this as two human beings with human dignity." Another used a strict but firm approach, not allowing the students to overwhelm him but not using the authority of his office. Another instructor would exchange insults with the students until he was exhausted, then withdraw behind a cloak of apathy and indifference.

Several of these reactions may be labeled accommodation, defined as an exchange of privilege between staff and student. The instructor will not enforce the rules if the student will cooperate to the extent necessary to give the impression that something positive is going on in the classroom. Accommodation may take several forms: (1) Authoritarianism, in which the staff member uses his office as a threat, but with the understanding that the instructor is one of the boys and will not apply such threats so long as there is some cooperation. This approach allowed an exchange of violation of rules for a statement as to the importance of the authority of the staff member. (2) Passive resistance, whereby the instructor would counter violations of rules by a logical discussion which allowed an exchange of violation for a statement of rationality. (3) Apathy and withdrawal, whereby a staff member exchanges rule violations for an "I don't give a damn about you either" response. In all cases, the instructor is exchanging enforcement of rules for something he wants.

The only approach the writer would not regard as accommodation is the strict, firm, fair approach which made the student face the consequences of his behavior, with an attempt to change the behavior in a desirable direction. One of the characteristics of accommodation is that behavior change is not demanded of the student. In the case of the authoritarian pattern, change is not demanded because by demanding such change the instructor places his authority in jeopardy; if the student does not change, the authority of office is challenged. In the

passive pattern, change is not demanded because it is contrary to the philosophy of passivistic rationalism to demand or require change. In the apathy approach, change is not demanded because by making such demands the instructor would be showing his interest in and concern for the student.

All staff members showed major signs of physical strain. Physical illnesses of a psychosomatic type developed, absenteeism from classes increased over a period of time, complaints about other staff members and students increased, tempers were short. The director felt that he was in command of an army unit in active combat who wished that the troops could be sent back to the rear for a rest. The physical strain of working in a noisy, disorderly environment with hostile students is too great to cope with; the only solution is to develop behavioral control techniques which will allow the instructor to maintain discipline in his classroom. In an optimally functioning classroom there is no strain on the teacher, and the teacher does not leave the building at five o'clock completely exhausted and drained.

IV. Staff Conflict

As one can imagine, the project encountered intrastaff racial conflict. Dealing with a nearly-adult population of disgruntled and disappointed delinquents the project staff experienced a high level of tension and anxiety throughout its existence. The usual staff conflicts over leadership and hierarchical position were heightened

by the integrated nature of the staff, with a white sociologist heading a largely Negro staff of teachers and associates and with a student population which was nearly completely Negro male in composition.

Under the circumstances it was exceeding difficult to keep the conflicts "in house". Students played staff members off against each other, and staff members sought support for their individual causes from outside agencies. Much of this type of struggle is inevitable in any newly developing organization before the lines of organizational authority are developed. In the described project these conflicts were made more intense by the difficult and uncertain nature of the task and the unpredictability of the results.

Outside observers, close to the project, commented on the sharp uplift in morale and the lessened tension when the results of the tests on the first group of eight students indicated that six had satisfactorily completed the GED test and the other two had missed by only a few points. For a time, there was an evident increase in staff collaboration following this success. Too soon, however, this was replaced by the tension evoked by the announcement of the imminent, apparently unavoidable withdrawal of support for the project by the funding agency.

V. Incentive Pay for Staff

The observations made earlier about accommodation patterns of staff, lack of interest in new techniques while following traditional

techniques, and an inability to apply the reward system place special emphasis on the need for more control over staff members. It is recommended that the staff be placed on the same contingency pay system as the students. A staff member should be paid according to his performance. The reason so many teachers do not teach is that the teacher is paid his or her salary every week regardless of how well or how poorly he or she teaches.

According to an incentive plan the teacher would be paid for performance. His behavior would be shaped gradually in the direction desired for good performance. If a teacher failed to behave in a desired manner he would lose money. If he were an exceptional teacher, he would earn extra money. Apathetic teachers are a product of the same environment that produces apathetic students. This apathy can be altered only by rewarding good classroom performance and not rewarding poor performance.

Such a plan would depend upon the prior development of some adequate techniques for teaching slum children. We know some of them and must come up with a great many more. It is obvious that the teacher now trained in our colleges is not prepared to work in an urban slum school and never will be until we develop a new approach to education which includes creating an environment conducive to learning.

The only control we now use over teachers is hiring and firing. Firing a teacher is another example of the use of punishment rather than reward to control behavior. The teacher who is fired is no better trained than before, nor is his or her replacement necessarily

any more qualified to teach. Some of the project staff were bothered by the fact that the director did not fire other staff members whose performances were below standard. Firing a teacher is equivalent to expelling a student from school; in either case it is a failure on the part of the system to develop appropriate behavior. Better controls over teachers are needed. Money has been suggested as one means, but there are others. The recognition and status of a superior teacher is in itself rewarding, and more attention should be paid to social prestige for such teachers. Opportunities to travel or to participate in advanced training sessions at universities could be used as incentives. Public award banquets could be held annually.

It is obvious that a lack of staff training hurt the project. However, staff training sessions, without adequate teaching procedures and curriculum coupled with an incentive system, are a waste of effort, as is evidenced by similar staff training sessions in other poverty programs.

An incentive system would keep staff morale up. Staff morale is very low when the teacher sees that he is failing to teach effectively. Many staff members entered the program with little faith in the project or in the students. The behavior of the students reinforced this feeling. A teacher who cannot teach is discouraged in the same way as is a student who cannot learn. The same procedures used to train students must be used to train teachers. An environment must be created within which students can learn and teachers can teach.

The effort to combine programmed instruction with a live-bodied teacher never had a chance to develop, since in November, 1966, the U. S. Office of Education announced that the budget wasbeing cut and the project was to be phased out immediately. One week earlier, six out of eight students had passed the GED high school equivalency test, and for the first time the staff had the feeling that some good was being accomplished. This created a spirit of confidence and high morale that could have led to a real breakthrough in the educational program at the Center had it not been shattered a week later by the announced budget cut. There was neither time nor money to develop the classroom procedures needed to cope with lower class delinquents.

CHAPTER VII

WORK PROGRAM

I. Purpose

The work program was not designed to prepare the youths in specific job skills such as plumbing or carpentry; rather, it was designed to prepare the youths for work. This population had no concept of what it meant to find or hold a job. Many of them had held menial jobs, which they disdain. They lacked the basic behavioral skills needed to hold a job, such as arriving on time, following directions, dressing appropriately, doing the job correctly, speaking respectfully to those in authority, and so forth. The work program was aimed at developing these behaviors in the youths before they were placed on a job.

Finding work for such a population is a very nearly impossible task. It was felt originally that some part-time jobs might be found for them. Occasionally a subject will find work on his own. In one instance the Hot Shoppe management agreed to hire three of the boys on a trial basis, with more being hired if the three worked out. Within one week the subjects had been fired for failure to work hard enough and to follow orders. The story told by the subjects was that they worked harder than the other crews but they were fired because the boss wished to hire his relatives. The subjects were very bitter and disappointed as a result of this experience.

This reveals the need for a vocational program which differs from those now in existence. (1) Employers are not willing to take time and effort to produce behavioral change in the subjects necessary to make them more employable. (2) Employers are often unfair in their treatment of delinquents because they are delinquents. (3) When subjects are employed, they drop out of school or out of the project activities, and as a result future improvement in skills becomes highly unlikely. (4) Unskilled jobs are all that are available for this population. (5) Supervision and control of the on-the-job behavior is not under the control of the research staff since the staff is neither present nor able to control the rewards and punishment associated with the job.

In order to establish an effective vocational program it is desirable that the research staff participate in the program with the employer in such a way as to maximize behavioral change in the subjects. This is also necessary in order to insure that the subject will not drop out of the academic program once he has been given employment. If the subjects were paid $25 a week to participate in the project, the employer would not be required to underwrite the cost of hiring unemployabies, and at the same time the employer and the research staff could cooperatively work out a retraining program for the subjects. In many instances behavior not directly associated with the job needs to be developed, such as academic skills, manner of dress and speech, motivation to work, and so forth.

One of the major difficulties in any vocational program is motivation. This is a problem in the usual training program because the only reinforcer is money, whereas there are many aversive consequences such as hard work, getting out of bed early, getting to work on time, a cranky or unfair boss, etc.

In the project discussed, other reinforcements for behavior are built into the program, such as an academic program leading to a high school diploma, a recreation program, a place to go and be off the streets when not working, counseling facilities, and a research staff that will develop techniques for training subjects in highly skilled vocational areas. Rather than making the academic and vocational training an unpleasant experience, it is designed so as to be a pleasant and rewarding experience.

II. Procedures

The youths were placed in work crews of eight to ten each, under supervision of a staff member. These crews worked half a day each day in the community refurbishing slum housing. They painted, repaired, and in general reconditioned homes in the area in which they lived, often homes of members of the project. Shrubbery and lawns were planted, trash removed, and general landscaping carried out. Much of this work was done in cooperation with the beautification project of the District of Columbia. During the summer of 1966 the youths worked with "Project Pride" in a rodent control program, planting poisons and clearing out nesting areas of rats. The objectives of the

community beautification effort were to improve the general community from which the boys came and to allow them to participate in a positive contribution to their community.

In the academic program, each student was rated for his performance and paid on the basis of performance. In the work program the same techniques for shaping behavior were used. For instance, if a student were inappropriately dressed, or late, he forfeited money from his weekly pay. When the youths reached a point where good work habits were instilled, they were placed in the academic program full time.

III. Results

The youths responded in a generally desirable way to the work program. Several dropped out, saying they did not want to push a broom or paintbrush. Several were actually more interested in the work program than in the education; but the great majority viewed the work as a necessary part of the project, with no particular value to them. They wanted better jobs than painting houses or planting lawns and they complained about the lack of variety of jobs available to them through the project. When it was pointed out that they would be placed in better jobs when they graduated, this was regarded as another promise which would never be fulfilled.

One of the major defects in the program was the lack of a job training program for them once they had completed the first conditioning phase of the program. The existence of such programs depended upon other community agencies, but these never did provide adequate resources

for such training. The objective of this project was to prepare disadvantaged youth for job training and employment, not to train or employ them. The success of any program of this type has to rely heavily upon the facilities of the community and upon the co-operation of other agencies in carrying out such objectives.

The ideal situation would be a combination work-education program. These youths are too poorly educated to enter job training programs without good basic academic remediation, while at the same time they are too old to be completely occupied with an academic program. The project was hindered by a full-time educational program and needed a source of job placement for those ready to move into it. These youths failed to see the value of education as such, and education must be made a part of the job situation. This does not mean offering mathematics or English for carpenters, as is often done in vocational high schools. What is needed is a strong basic education which will allow them to move in many directions as conditions require. At the same time they must be involved in a work program which will allow them to earn money and to gain experience. The student must see some relationship between his education and work, which can best be represented by stating that when he completes a given level of academic instruction he will be allowed to move into a given type of job training. Each program should progress together, contingent upon the other. The youth should be allowed to improve his education while working so that at the end of four or five years he will be prepared to move into the type of employment that is attractive to him.

CHAPTER VIII

FAMILY PROGRAM

I. Purpose

The purpose of the family program was to deal with some of the problems facing the students outside the project. Their environment external to the project greatly influenced their behavior in the project, and it was hoped that some controls over these external variables could be gained. Issues and problems from the family interfered with the performance of the student. Absenteeism, dropping out of the project, and general disinterest could often be related to illness, family problems, or personal problem. Follow-up of a student who dropped out of the program would frequently reveal that he had been ill, that his girl friend was pregnant and he needed money, or that his mother had thrown him out of the house. Such variables influence the results of the project but are beyond the control of the education center itself. It is one thing to set up an environment for controlling behavior from nine to five, but quite another to try to control the environment which the students come from and to which they return each day.

II. Family Situations

Most of the families lived in poverty or near-poverty. They lived in minimal housing, had little education, and were burdened with all the social and psychological problems of poverty. These

problems were reflected in the young men who came to the project.

The family structure is shown in Table XXXVI.

TABLE XXXVI

FAMILY SITUATION

Mother Alive and Known		Father Alive and Known		Illegitimate Children of Student		Lives at Home		Family Lives Together	
YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
Original and Active Groups									
93%	7%	76%	24%	21%	79%	76%	24%	30%	70%
Dropout Group									
82%	18%	68%	32%	18%	82%	68%	32%	28%	72%

These data were gathered from personal interviews and are thus questionable as to validity. The picture is typical of what other writers have described as the lower class Negro family, but the number of fathers reported alive and known was higher than anticipated. The one-third figure on family living together reflects the relative lack of the presence of a family unit. The absence of the father in the home was common for this population; though the matriarchial family structure was present, it occurred to a lesser degree than anticipated. The lack of identification of the Negro male with a strong adult male figure is often regarded as a social psychological problem for the Negro male.

III. Staff

A family social worker was engaged to direct the family services program with the assistance of another social worker. In addition to the professional staff, two indigenous workers were hired -- older women who lived in the community and who knew many of the families of the youths in the project.

IV. Program

A. Health Program

The general health of the population was below normal. They suffered from a long history of medical neglect. Since health problems were paramount, an attempt was made to have all students undergo a general medical examination at a local health clinic. Working through a clinic presented a problem since it often took days before a student would receive attention. Finally liaison was established with Howard University Second Precinct Clinic, which did screen all of the boys and furnished some follow-up medical referrals where necessary. The District of Columbia Optometric Society handled referrals for eye care or glasses. The Howard University Dental Clinic furnished dental care, which was badly needed by a majority of the boys in the project.

B. Counseling and Referrals

The Family Services Program provided counseling to the youths and their families in a great variety of areas. The type of problems encountered and the number of contacts are indicated in Table XXXVII on the following page.

TABLE XXXVII

FAMILY SERVICES
(December 1965-December 1966)

Requests From:	Nature of Request: Medical	Jobs	Boy/Girl Relations	Reference Letters	Legal Aid	Counseling (General	Financial	Parole Probation Social Worker	Family	Follow-up Job Requests	Clothing Refurbishing	Housing
STUDENTS	59	30	6	24	10	107	8	19	16	10	15	8
PARENTS/ WIFE	4	4	3	4	2	41	16	1			16	4
ON-THE-JOB TRAINING*		5		2								2
STAFF									2			

*Program for youths' girl friends

The number and variety of problems this population faces are so numerous that it is impossible to meet all of the needs. The Family Service staff did not develop any instruments for evaluating the effectiveness of their counseling, although they were requested to do so on numerous occasions. It is very difficult to set up any criterion for evaluating the effectiveness of social work; whatever follow up was done indicates that the services do not substantially alter the situation of the families receiving them. This is because no major behavioral changes are produced in the client which will enable him to become self-sufficient. The approach focuses upon symptoms rather than causes. Immediate problems are handled, which then reoccur in a month or a year because no basic changes in the environment or in the behavior of the client have been achieved. Basic dependency on a welfare system is created which is self-perpetuating both for the client and for the social worker. The evaluation of social casework by Meyer, Borgatta, et al. indicates the failure of social work intervention for the prevention of delinquency.[1]

C. Family Involvement

The families of the youths were not familiar with the project and often discouraged their boys from attending classes. They wanted them to get jobs and earn some money. When the project was explained to them, they were much more willing to cooperate.

---

[1] Henry Meyer, Edgar Borgatta, et al., Girls at Vocational High (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1965.)

Family Nights were held once a month, for which some of the mothers prepared the refreshments. Food was used as a basic reward to encourage the parents to come, but attendance was never satisfactory. The project was discussed at these meetings, and parents were asked to help by urging their sons to attend classes. Several responded by calling the Center to confirm that their sons were actually in school that day. Several of these open house meetings were very well planned, with food from around the world, entertainment, etc., and it could have been an important phase of the project had the attendance been better.

Home visitations were made to determine the general situation. An offer to help with a specific problem was made as a means of establishing the immediate value of the project for the parent, in line with the doctrine of immediate reinforcement. A sewing class was established for the mothers.

The following case record of one family (TG) illustrates some of the problems encountered when family contacts were made.

Family No. 2 from November 1965 to Phase-out

1. Counseling with parents on family problems
2. Contacts and arrangements for family to join and borrow from the UPO Credit Union
3. Assistance in enrolling father in Welfare Training Program
4. Securing furniture for new apartment; also help with moving
5. Toys for family, Christmas 1965
6. Continuous home visits and counseling
7. Help with legal contacts in other son's murder case
8. Help with another son's job-finding
9. Tutoring for younger brother
10. Letters of recommendation for family apartment, jobs, draft board

11. Total help in handling boy's court case with lawyer; also help with appeal
12. Help with boy's wife; found her a place to stay
13. Help in finding job for wife
14. Eye care for boy
15. Police contact on three occasions to dispel rumors on armed robbery charge
16. Medical advice and help for wife
17. Donation of turkey and trimmings for Thanksgiving
18. Continued counsel with mother and father.

D. Job Placement

An effort was made to place the students in part-time jobs while they were in the project. Most of the jobs were menial and the youths had little interest in this kind of work. Table XXXVIII indicates the jobs held, according to the records of the Family Service staff. Of the 42 youths, 22 had never been employed, 20 had jobs at one time or another, and 13, or 30.9%, were currently employed at the time the project was terminated.

E. Special Events

The Family Services Division sponsored two weddings for project members, one for A.B. and one for L.B. The weddings were held at the Recreation Center, followed by a reception. Bridal showers were held for the girls, the first experience the group had had with wedding customs. The girls prepared the reception themselves.

A.B. is still married. L.B. went to jail shortly after his marriage; he is out now but it is not known whether he is with his wife. She was given a great deal of special attention after her husband went to jail, in an effort to help her financially and psychologically.

TABLE XXXVIII

EMPLOYMENT WHILE IN PROJECT - Original and Active Groups
(February 1, 1967)

Name	Type of Job	Where Employed	Length of Employment	Salary	Starting Date	Reason for Leaving
L.A.	Never employed					
L.B.	" "					
V.B.	" "					
J.B.	" "					
M.B.	" "					
A.B.	Busboy	O'Donnell's Sea Grill		$1 hr.	6/65	Summer work
	Clerical work	Howard University	3 months			
	Custodian	American University	Presently employed	$50 wk.	11/66	
M.B.	Never employed					
M.B.	" "					
J.C.	" "					
T.D.	" "					
G.D.	Janitor/porter	Red Coats Maintenance	few weeks	$1.35 hr.	-	Jail
	Custodian	American University	Presently employed	1.75 hr.		
D.D.	Pre-school Aide	Neighborhood Youth Corps	Presently employed	1.25 hr.	11/66	
S.E.	Never employed					
D.F.	" "					
C.G.	Custodian	American University	3 months	$1.75 hr.	-	
J.G.	Janitor/porter	Red Coats Maintenance	1 month	$1.45 hr.	10/66	Transportation problem
T.G.	Clerk	Howard University	2 months		6/65	Summer work
	Custodian	American University	Presently employed	1.75 hr.		
A.H.	Never employed					
S.H.	Porter	Three Theives Restaurant	Presently employed	$60 wk.	2/67	

TABLE XXXVIII (Continued)

Name	Type of Job	Where Employed	Length of Employment	Salary	Starting Date	Reason for Leaving
J.H.	Never employed					
G.H.	Pre-school Aide	Neighborhood Youth Corps	1 month	$1.25 hr.	10/66	Uncertain pay date
C.H.	Custodian	American University	Presently employed	$1.75		
F.J.	Never employed					
L.J.	Landscaping	Hot Shoppes Restaurant	6 days	$1.50 hr.		Tired of working
V.J.	Never employed					
M.J.	Pre-school Aide	Neighborhood Youth Corps	3 weeks	$1.25 hr.		
W.J.	Never employed					
M.L.	GS-2	U.S. Information Agency	Presently employed			
T.M.	Never employed					
T.M.	" "					
L.P.	" "					
T.P.	" "					
E.P.	" "					
K.S.	" "					
A.S.	Recreation Aide	D.C. Dept. of Recreation	Presently employed	$1.25 hr.	9/66	
G.S.	File Clerk	Howard University	3 months	$1.00 hr.	6/65	Return to school
J.T.	GS-3, Mail Clerk & Machine Operator	U. S. Dept. of Labor	Presently employed			
R.W.	Porter	Simpson Drugs	6 months	$35 wk.		Health
	Pre-school Aide	Neighborhood Youth Corps	3 months	$35.88 wk.		Better job
	General Helper	Steak House	Presently employed	$45 wk.		
T.W.	Driver	Arlington County Day School	Presently employed	$45 wk.		

TABLE XXXVIII (Continued)

Name	Type of Job	Where Employed	Length of Employment	Salary	Starting Date	Reason for Leaving
C.W.	Recreation Aide Office Helper	D.C. Dept. of Recreation Senator R. Kennedy	5 months Presently employed	$1.25	11/66	Better job
R.W.	Porter	Three Thieves Restaurant	Presently employed	$60 wk.	2/67	
R.W.	Janitor	Red Coats Maintenance	1 month	$2.00 hr.	9/66	Transportation problem

A picnic was held during the summer of 1966 for the students.

A graduation ceremony was held in December, 1966, for the six students who had passed the GED examination in November. The Family Services staff was responsible for decorations and refreshments for this occasion.

F. Girls' Program

A program was established for the girl friends of project members. Eight girls were taken into the project in January, 1966. These girls were high school dropouts with an average of a 10th grade education. Five had illegitimate children, and most of them had dropped out of school because of pregnancy. The high pregnancy rate of these girls does not correspond with the low rate of illegitimate children reported by the boys. This discrepancy can be viewed as evidence that the illegitimacy rate was much higher than reported, although a sample of eight is not adequate for any reliable statement.

The girls were given training in typing, self-improvement, clothing, cosmetics, personal hygiene, baby care, sewing and related topics of interest to adolescent girls.

The girls were placed in jobs for on-the-job-training as follows:

W.C. - Senator's office, typist
G.S. - Nursery
B.B. - School and restaurant
B.D. - Senator's office, typist
H.C. - School
H.V. - Cosmetologist
H.J. - Cosmetologist - stopped
M.T. - Restaurant

At the end of the project the staff stated that the girls possessed more poise and self confidence, better physical appearance, attitudes and manner, and were better adjusted than before the program. The improvement in these girls was undeniable, and they made much more progress than the boys. Whether this is because the girls were easier to work with, or the program was vocational rather than academic, or some other factor, is not known. What is known is that the girls were much more responsive than their male counterparts.

At the end of the girls' program two girls were back in high school, two were working for senators on Capitol Hill, one was employed at a restaurant, two were pregnant, and one was unemployed.

G. Dropout Survey

The Family Services Division attempted a survey of students who had dropped out of the project. Forty three of the dropouts were contacted, both one-day and others. Many could not be contacted because they had moved and left no forwarding address. Keeping contact with this population was a difficult task.

Only one of the youths interviewed held a job at the time of the interview. Others responded to questions concerning their plans and current activities with such statements as (a) I am not doing anything, (b) I am looking for a job, (c) I dropped out because my girl friend was pregnant and I needed money, (d) I didn't like to paint, (e) I went to North Carolina for three months, (f) I wanted more money. The group surveyed was back on the streets hustling or engaging in the same type of behavior

engaged in before they entered the program. One is left with the impression that these youths had no resources for further education or job training, and they were not really seeking such.

CHAPTER IX

RECREATION PROGRAM

I. Purpose

The purpose of the recreation program was to pull the students off the streets and to keep them occupied during the evening hours when they might otherwise be getting into trouble. As discussed earlier, the external environment was always a problem; this was an attempt to control the non-project environment so as to keep the youths from committing delinquent acts. Though the director was skeptical about the use of recreation as a delinquency prevention technique, as evidenced by the failure of such programs in the past to curb delinquency, it seemed necessary to include it because recreational facilities have traditionally been viewed as an essential part of delinquency prevention.

II. Staff and Facilities

A white graduate student in social workat Howard University was hired on a part-time basis to direct the recreation program. An old store in the vicinity of 9th and P Streets, N.W. was rented. The store was painted and repaired by the youths as part of the work program.

III. Procedures

The initial plan was to use the recreation facility as a reward for good academic-work behavior. A student was allowed to use the facility only if he performed adequately during the working day. This

had to be abandoned because the recreation center did not function as a reward as far as these youths were concerned.

The center was open from 6:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m., Monday through Saturday. It was furnished with chairs, tables, couches, pool table, pingpong table, card table, television set, and record player. Commercial movies were shown on Saturday afternoons, usually action pictures or films such as "Raisin in the Sun". Basketballs were furnished for an outdoor court several blocks away. This setting was one the staff thought would appeal to this age group.

IV. Results

The recreation program was a total failure. The students never responded to it and few used it at any given time. The fact that the recreation leader was not familiar with this population and could not cope with their hostility was a factor in this result. Perhaps a dif ferent type of person with more imagination and initiative could have created a better program, but it is doubtful whether anyone could have created a successful one for this population.

Two dances were held at the recreation center on Friday nights. The first one was carefully supervised by a complete component of staff members. The boys were required to wear coats and ties, and each boy had to bring a date if he wanted to attend the dance. No outsiders were allowed. Refreshments and music were furnished by the Family Services Division. This dance was quiet and middle class, a complete success from the staff's point of view and a complete failure from the students' point of view.

The students insisted on being permitted to plan and supervise the next dance themselves. This affair was attended by boys in a drunken state and by boys and girls who did not belong to the project. By middle-class standards they were dressed inappropriately for such an occasion. Several fights over girls broke out in the course of the evening. Heavy petting in dark corners took place. Finally around midnight a fight occurred which spread to a vacant lot across the street. The recreation center was then locked and the police carried on from there.

This illustrates the typical 'fun behavior' pattern as seen by this group. Sex, drinking, gambling, and narcotics are a part of any party. The young people did not want adult supervision and since rules had to be enforced at the recreation center they moved elsewhere for their fun. The center became a negative environment where staff members enforced rules and prohibited one from having a good time. For this reason the recreation program was not a viable part of the project and was abandoned after about three months.

The director asked one of the students why the recreation program was such a flop and he said, "Man, you can't compete with 14th Street. The street is where the action is." This sums up the attitude of these youths to organized recreation.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL AND CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

I. Social Behavior

The behavior of this population is crude, noisy, and undisciplined. They engage in loud talk, use profanity freely, listen to radios played loudly, dress sloppily, wear $40 shoes and hats. Hats were never removed in a building.

Noise is one of the first things noticed about this group, although it is also characteristic of other young adult groups, e.g., a middle class discotheque. Noise acts as a barrier between the individual and his outside world. It is used as an anesthetic in dentistry and it probably has the same dulling effect as alcohol or narcotics.

An attempt was made to shape desirable social behavior through the use of the reward system. Behavior could be shaped for a few days, but the individual always returned to his former way of behaving. Students were told to remove their hats, which they would do when told, but the next day the hats were back on the heads. The building was always left in a state of filth, with cigarette butts, soft drink bottles, orange peels, paper, etc. strewn around. Every day a special crew would clean up the mess left from the activities of the day. Much of this was due to the failure of the staff members to apply sanctions for this behavior.

In general, social behavior was changed in a positive direction, but only to a small degree. It was not possible to alter the basic social behavior of the group using the system herein described. It may

be that such behavior is so long standing and is reinforced daily in the environment in which these youths live that no amount of effort in an education project is going to alter it. Better control over the total environment must be had before major changes are seen.

II. Antisocial Acts in the Center

Fighting and cursing occurred in the Center. Several times students threatened staff members but there was never a physical attack on a staff members. At the S Street Center, the boys were able to enter the building either through a window or by breaking down a door. They were in the building at night with women, narcotics, and liquor. Many attempts were made to stop this practice, including using the police, but to no avail. Several items were stolen, including women's purses, cameras, and a typewriter. Theft was a major problem within the project.

A television set was stolen from a family which some of the boys helped to move from one apartment to another. Paint and tools used in the work program were stolen and sold to merchants along 7th Street. One subject, H.G., was apprehended while stealing paint and at that time it was discovered he was using heroin and needed $20 to $30 a day to support the habit. Checks were stolen from the project, and those checks made out to the youths were altered and cashed on several occasions. These checks were obviously altered, and yet local liquor merchants cashed them.

At the 16th Street Center a special effort was made to secure locks on all the doors and windows. In August, 1966, a break-in occurred in which a number of expensive items were stolen, including three typewriters, a tape recorder, four fans, a television set, and a record player. This act was traced to several members of the group who were using drugs, but no proof of connection could be made. Clocks, tables, sweaters, coats and hats were stolen. A car belonging to the director was stolen.

Finally, in an attempt to control these thefts, an iron gate was placed over the door of a large storage closet and bars were installed at the window. This protected the valuable equipment until January, 1967, when there was another break-in, in which a locked door was opened, the window removed, and several typewriters stolen.

The loss of equipment from the project definitely handicapped the program. One specific recommendation that would be made for any future project is that the building used be equipped with an electronic alarm system so that unlawful entry is impossible. This is expensive but not so expensive as the loss of equipment; in addition, it is an excellent way to shape non-delinquent behavior in a delinquent population.

III. Delinquent Acts

One of the difficulties of a delinquency prevention project is measuring delinquency. One can rely on official statistics, which are totally unreliable, or one can rely on verbal reports from subjects which are likewise unreliable. Under the present set-up it is

not possible to know how many crimes are committed by a specific group.

Unless otherwise indicated, the statistics in Table XXXIX and Table XL on the following pages represent cases where there was an official report to the police and a record was kept (in contrast to those discussed in section II of this chapter.) Official police records on all of the active and original members were studied in compiling the tables. The offenses shown are those with which the youths were charged and/or convicted. The tables do not indicate to any degree the total number of offenses. If discussions with the youths have any validity, it is known that many of them were doing heavy hustling every week of the year.

TABLE XXXIX

CRIMINAL OFFENSES

Name	Before Entering Project		After Entering Project	
		Original Group		
A.B.	12/5/58	Robbery	9/21/65	Robbery (no charge)
	11/17/59	Unlawful entry	9/12/65	Disorderly
	1/2/60	Destroying government property	3/19/66	Drunk
			11/3/65	Robbery
	9/28/61	Assault	8/12/66	Drug Use*
	7/8/62	Disorderly	1/29/67	Robbery
	3/4/63	Disorderly	3/2/67	Larceny
	3/17/63	Unauthorized use of auto		
	5/12/64	Disorderly		
H.G.	3/22/59	Petty larceny	12/8/64	Armed robbery
	9/14/62	Unauthorized use of auto	10/15/65	Petty larceny
			1/7/65	Robbery, larceny
	2/2/63	Assault	12/16/66	Robbery; later committed to mental hospital for observation
	7/13/63	Assault		
	9/16/63	Assault		
	2/14/64	Assault and attempted robbery		

*Reported to staff

TABLE XXXIX (Continued)

Name	Before Entering Project		After Entering Project	
		Original Group		
C.G.	11/17/54	Housebreaking (8 yrs. of age)	7/23/64	Petty larceny; unauthorized use of auto; simple assault
	9/24/60	Petty larceny	6/19/65	Petty larceny
	12/17/60	Robbery		
	3/31/61	Petty larceny		
	2/22/62	Destroying govt. property		
	5/14/63	Disorderly		
	9/28/63	Drunk and disorderly		
	3/16/64	Carnal knowledge		
	4/27/64	Petty larceny		
T.G.		No file	10/9/65	Petty larceny
			6/21/65	Petty larceny
			8/1/66	Grand larceny; tampering with auto
A.H.	6/16/62	Robbery	7/19/64	Housebreaking and entering
	7/18/62	Assault	9/6/64	Drunk and disorderly
			1/23/65	Burglary
			8/12/66	Petty larceny
C.H.	8/23/59	Housebreaking	10/15/65	Petty larceny
	8/29/59	Housebreaking	5/11/66	Tampering with auto
	10/23/59	Housebreaking		
	1/8/60	Housebreaking		
	3/28/62	Housebreaking		
	12/15/62	Robbery		
	12/23/63	Unauthorized use of auto		
L.J.	5/14/62	Petty larceny	10/15/65	Petty larceny
	7/18/62	Assault	11/17/65	Narcotics ciolation
			1/29/67	Robbery
A.M.	11/15/59	Unlawful entry	10/19/66	Petty larceny
	1/6/60	Truancy		
	1/7/63	Assault		
	5/14/63	Disorderly conduct		
G.S.	3/29/56	Viol. of Juv. Court Act	11/13/64	Robbery
	6/1/56	Unlawful entry	1/21/65	Disorderly conduct
	12/30/57	Petty larceny		
	11/27/59	Petty larceny		
	7/3/61	Robbery		
	5/29/62	Petty larceny		
	1/20/64	Housebreaking		
	3/31/64	" , attempted		
	9/30/64	Disorderly		

TABLE XXXIX (Continued)

Name	Before Entering Project		After Entering Project	
		Original Group		
M.W.	2/27/58	Truancy	11/18/65	Petty larceny
	2/4/61	Robbery	10/12/66	Petty larceny
	12/29/62	Robbery		
	1/2/63	Assault		
	1/4/64	Unlawful entry		
		Active Group		
L.A.	10/29/65	Petty larceny	No record(Five-month period**)	
L.B.	2/27/63	Assault	5/19/66	Housebreaking
	1/28/65	Assault	8/10/66	Drug Use*(no charge)
	2/25/65	Petty larceny	9/12/66	In Receiving Home - carrying knife*
	3/15/65	Housebreaking	12/2/66	In Receiving Home - Housebreaking*
V.B.		No Record		No Record
J.B.	4/24/64	Petty larceny	8/28/66	Robbery
	12/14/64	Viol. Juv. Court Act	10/11/66	Disorderly conduct
	1/6/66	Housebreaking		
	4/15/66	Robbery		
M.B.	3/13/64	Unauthorized use of auto	No record(Ten-month period**)	
	8/20/65	Robbery, assault		
	10/14/65	Rape		
M.B.	3/2/63	Assault	5/22/66	Carnal knowledge
	2/10/64	Assault		
	12/12/64	Housebreaking		
	12/31/64	Disorderly		
	8/2/65	Robbery		
M.B.		No Record		No Record
J.C.	5/16/64	Receiving stolen property	4/16/66	Drunk & disorderly
			7/29/66	Assault & robbery
	9/26/65	Unauthorized use of auto	12/7/66	Assault & robbery*
T.D.		No File		No Record
D.D.		No Record		No Record

*Reported to staff

**Between last offense and enrollment in the project

TABLE XXXIX (Continued)

Name	Before Entering Project		After Entering Project	
G.D.	9/18/64	Carrying a pistol	4/6/66	Drunk & disorderly
	12/30/64	Assault	8/27/66	Destroying private property
	5/14/65	Disorderly	1/29/67	Robbery
	8/25/65	Unauthorized use of auto; petty larceny		
	10/9/65	Drunk & disorderly; assault; petty larceny		
S.E.		No Record		No Record
D.F.	3/26/66	Assault	7/31/66	Assault, deadly weapon
	4/4/66	Robbery		
J.G.	2/16/65	Disorderly	2/25/66	Disorderly
	2/28/65	Drunk	3/31/66	Disorderly
	4/24/65	Drunk & disorderly		
	6/20/65	Disorderly		
A.H.		No File		No Record
S.H.	6/25/59	Housebreaking		No Record (Sixteen-month period**)
	1/30/60	Taking property		
	3/11/61	Housebreaking; petty larceny		
	7/17/61	Robbery		
	8/25/61	Petty larceny		
	10/27/63	Carrying weapon		
	5/12/64	Unregistered bicycle		
	10/21/64	Unauthorized use of auto		
J.H.	7/12/66	Robbery		No Record (One-month period**)
G.H.	10/10/65	Disorderly		No Record(Four-month period**)
	11/9/65	Disorderly		
F.J.	No Juvenile Record		12/13/65	Disorderly
			8/13/66	Drugs use*
			8/30/66	Grand larceny
			12/12/66	Petty larceny
M.J.	3/15/64	Assault		No Record (28-month period**)
V.J.	2/27/65	Unauth. Use of auto	7/31/66	Assault, deadly weapon
	3/19/65	Discharging firecrackers		
	4/4/66	Robbery		

*Reported to staff

**Between last offense and enrollment in the project

TABLE XXXIX (Continued)

Name	Before Entering Project		After Entering Project	
W.J.	8/2/60	Robbery		No Record (Ten -month period**)
	10/18/61	Robbery		
	2/5/64	Housebreaking		
	10/2/64	False alarm box		
	11/6/64	Possession of weapon		
	4/1/65	Destroying private property		
	10/30/65	Disorderly		
M.L.	4/23/65	Unauthorized use of auto;grand larceny	8/12/66	Drug Use*
	5/13/65	Petty larceny		
T.M.	11/22/62	Housebreaking		No Record (13-month period**)
	2/11/63	Housebreaking		
	3/3/63	Attempted housebreaking		
	5/28/64	Petty larceny		
	11/17/64	Disorderly		
	3/14/65	Housebreaking		
T.M.	10/26/65	Disorderly		No Record (Two-month period**)
	12/2/65	Housebreaking		
	1/18/66	Housebreaking		
L.P.	2/24/64	Robbery	2/27/67	Robbery
	7/16/64	Petty larceny		
	12/18/64	Robbery		
T.P.	1/21/65	Robbery		No Record (Three-month period**)
	3/2/66	Housebreaking		
	4/10/66	Housebreaking		
E.P.	1/3/65	Unauthorized use of auto		No Record (Six-month period**)
	10/28/65	Petty larceny		
K.S.		No Record		No Record
A.S.		No Record		No Record
J.S.		No File		No Record
T.W.		No File		No Record
R.W.	6/27/59	Housebreaking		No Record (Five-month period**)
	9/10/59	Housebreaking		
	2/3/62	Robbery		
	10/25/63	False pretense		
	5/1/64	Petty larceny		
	7/23/64	Housebreaking		
	10/30/65	Housebreaking		

*Reported to staff

**Between last offense and enrollment ..in the project

TABLE XXXIX (Continued)

Name	Before Entering Project		After Entering Project
R.W.	5/14/62	Housebreaking	No Record (Six-month period)
	3/2/64	Sodomy	
	12/16/64	Disorderly	
	7/6/65	Robbery	
C.W.		No Record	No Record
R.W.		No Record	No Record

TABLE XL

OFFENSES WHILE IN PROJECT

	Students with Offenses Prior to Entry into Project	Students with Offenses after Entry into Project	Students with No Offenses Prior to Entry into Project
Original Group	10	10	0
Active Group	23	11	13

Of the 23 in the active group with offenses prior to entry into the project, 10 continued to commit offenses while enrolled in the project. One student, (F.J.) with no prior official record committed offenses after his entry into the project. It is believed he had a long juvenile record before entry but he was never officially apprehended. Of the 13 students who had offenses prior to entry but not after entry into the project, the time lapse between the last offense and time of entry into the project was as follows:

One to three months - 3

Four to six months - 5

Six months or more - 5

This indicates that 10 of these students had no offenses four or more months prior to entry into the project. These figures can be interpreted to mean either they were not committing offenses prior to entry, or they were not apprehended. In either case, the influence of the project on their criminal behavior is questionable in the light of this period of non-criminal behavior just prior to entry into the project.

The most disappointing figure is, of course, the ten original members with which the project worked longer and harder than the other group. At the graduation ceremony in December two of the six graduates were absent because they were in jail or being sought by the police.

A bonus system was established whereby a student could earn an additional $30 a month if he remained out of trouble during that month. This was discontinued when it was discovered via verbal reports that many of the project members were involved in criminal activities.

Several of the thefts from the project brought to light the use of heroin among some of the youths. In September, 1965, H.G., C.H., and M.W. were placed in Freedmen's Hospital, Howard University, to be detoxified. The process of detoxification was simple, but once the subjects returned to the community they were back on heroin in a short period of time. In August, 1966, after a major break-in at the Center, an investigation revealed drug use among five of the students. These were the better students and this finding again emphasized to us that we were not fully aware of the extensiveness of the involvement of our students in criminal activities.

The records on the dropout group were incomplete because of a loss of contact with many of them. However, the following crimes were committed which came to our attention.

L.B.	Petty larceny
J.G.	Disorderly conduct
C.G.	Assault; attempted rape
W.J.	Housebreaking
L.J.	Escaping from mental hospital
B.M.	Robbery
L.M.	Rape
V.P.	Forgery
F.R.	Murder
F.T.	Robbery
L.S.	Murder
J.S.	Armed robbery
H.W.	Robbery

How many others might have been committed we do not know. This is a list of serious offenses and indicates the general character of this group.

There is no evidence that the project curbed or reduced the delinquency rate of its members. Education and employment are statistically significant as correlates of delinquency, and from this point of view re-education and training of delinquents should reduce the delinquency rate. One can assume several things from the results of the project: (a) Educational and employment projects do not significantly reduce delinquency. This can be due to the fact that under-education, unemployment, and delinquency are all related to another variable which produced all three. Certainly it can be stated that control over the environment which produced delinquency in the first place was never achieved, nor was this environment altered to any great extent.

(b) The amount of educational gain, work preparation, and family counseling was not significant enough to alter delinquent patterns.

(c) The amount of time allowed for such behavioral change was inadequate.

(d) There was a significant reduction in delinquency but this was not reflected in the official statistics.

The writer would rule out all of the above except (a). Delinquency, under-education and unemployment are related to each other and to other variables in such a way that a change in one variable will not necessarily produce a change in other variables.

The ease with which these youths could commit crimes, even at the Center where extreme precautions were taken, illustrates the fact that some basic changes in the environment which control delinquent acts must be achieved before the delinquency rate will be reduced.

CHAPTER XI

OUTSIDE AGENCIES

I. Time Spent

One of the most crucial and yet latent functions of a research operation is that of contacts made with other agencies, governmental and private. Such contacts may involve solicitation of funds, exchange of information, or use of services and facilities of other agencies. The project director found he was spending up to forty or fifty percent of his time at meetings with personnel from agencies. The meetings were necessary in order to carry out the objectives of the project, but they were also time consuming and disruptive of work at the project.

A majority of these meetings were held in an effort to secure adequate long-range funding for the continuance of the project, without which a project of this type cannot function. Personnel must be hired to write proposals, secretaries are needed, and printing costs must be met. Large universities and research institutes maintain special offices for the sole purpose of soliciting financial support for research. In contrast, the delinquency prevention project had to use its facilities both to do research and to solicit support for its future existence and development.

Most contacts with government granting agencies are prolonged and drawn out due to the fact that action is slow on requests for money, and agencies have a practice of encouraging an unnecessarily prolonged

series of dialogues. An organization applying for funds will find it is asked to meet with lower and lower echelon staff until finally one realizes that no serious negotiations are going on. Another dealying tactic is to ask for revisions of the proposal in the light of new guidelines; such revisions may actually contradict earlier guidelines.

II. Bureaucratic Structure

Large-scale organization experts have often noted the truth of Robert Michel's iron law of oligarchy; i.e., as an organization matures it often loses sight of the ends for which it was established, and the means to the end come to be pursued as ends.[1] This is illustrated by red tape, formalized procedures, budgetary considerations, and so forth. The displacement of goals can be seen in a project such as the one under discussion wherein so much attention is paid to getting funds that this means-to-an-end increasingly rivals our original goal of fighting delinquency.

Not only do bureaucracies invert goals and means, but they limit the goals which they seek to attain. Rather than conducting an all-out effort to fight delinquency or poverty through major research projects, agencies become involved in training youths to be sub-professional aides or semi-skilled workers, or in giving money to local groups of young Negroes for self organization and analysis, or in supplying the community with swimming pools for the summer recreation program. Such limited goals can be reached, but they do not educate the undereducated

---

[1] Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organization (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965) Pp. 10-11.

or train unskilled workers to function in a highly technical society.

Another manner in which agencies limit their goals is by working with the 8 to 12 year olds who respond to cokes and cookies rather than working with the 16 to 21 year old mature, aggressive delinquents. (See comments by Berthram Beck, Washington Post, June 2, 1967, B-10.)

The poverty program is also suffering by confusion of political goals with social goals. In recent months several observers have commented that the summer programs for youths -- summer jobs, recreation, pools, etc. -- as promised by Vice President Humphrey represent a bribe to check the threat of riots and violence. (Life editorial, June 2, 1967; Washington Post May 21 and May 23, 1967; Wall Street Journal, June 1, 1967.) Not only Mr. Humphrey but also Senators Robert Kennedy and Abraham Ribicoff have warned about the long hot summer if the poverty program is not expanded. Secretary of Labor Wirtz and Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Gardner have warned us of the drastic consequences of making riots an alternative to political action.

It is obvious that the poverty program has added tension to Negro-white relations rather than alleviating it, and that giving money to protest groups to keep them from rioting only encourages rioting. Behavior which is rewarded is strengthened and increases in frequency.

The recent Court of Appeals decision by Judge J. Skelly Wright wherein the District of Columbia public school system was found to be discriminatory has further complicated the educational system. Judge Wright held that the track system must be abolished, equality of education must be achieved for Negro students as well as white students, and

educational integration must be accomplished. To accomplish this Judge Wright ordered, among other things, busing of Negro students to white schools. (Washington Post, June 20, 1967.)

At the same time, the Columbia University report on the District of Columbia public schools by Professor Harry Passow was released which states that busing and integration are not the answers to the District's educational problems. Passow notes that 93% of the students in the public schools of the District are Negro and any attempt at integration is doomed to failure. He notes that no United States city has achieved successful integration by busing. The Columbia University report concludes that the emphasis should be put on improving the educational system rather than on racial integration. (Washington Post, June 20, 1967.)

Again we have an example of political action in an area where behavioral science should prevail. Judge Wright stated in his decision that it is regrettable the court must decide in an area so alien to its expertise, and he wished other governmental agencies would handle such problems. The goals of the decision are admirable; the means by which quality education is achieved leaves much to be desired. No Negro student was ever educated by a court decision, any more than a criminal is reformed by the Durham decision. The abolition of the track system will not abolish the differences in basic skills and experiences between Negro and white students. Seating a Negro student next to a white student will not improve the reading level of the Negro student. Placing a lower class Negro next to middle class whites complicates the learning situation for

both teacher and student because of the difference in experiences and skills. Regardless of the ethical or legal reasons for wanting people to be equal, a Negro student reading at the 3rd grade level cannot be integrated into a classroom of students reading at the 9th grade level, be they Negro or white. Judge Wright is confusing skin color with difference in learned behavior. Equality of opportunity is not the same as equality of ability. Changing the educational system without also changing the total environment from which the student derives his experiences completely misses the crucial fact of the impact of community life on the educational system. Educational integration without economic, social, and residential integration will present more problems than it solves.

III. Agencies Contacted

The following are some of the agencies contacted during the course of the project:

United Planning Organization, D. C.
Office of Economic Opportunity
Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Crime and Delinquency Section, National Institute of Mental Health
U. S. Department of Labor
Model School Division, D. C. Public Schools
Probation Department, U. S. District Court of the District of Columbia
D. C. Department of Public Welfare
D. C. Department of Corrections
U. S. Office of Education, H. E. W.

The major effort to gain continued funding was made in a proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity. The proposal involved four component parts: (1) An electronics corporation that produces closed circuit television systems, teaching machines, etc., (2) The School of Education of

George Washington University; (3) the Washington School of Psychiatry research project; and (4) the Community Service Project. The purpose of the proposal was to combine technology, education, research, and community services in one broad, major program.

The corporation was to furnish closed circuit television and teaching machines. Each classroom was to be equipped with CCTV and monitored from a central control room. Videotapes of classroom sessions were to be made, both as sources of data and as training films.

The School of Education was to furnish the faculty in English, mathematics, social studies, science, special education, remedial reading, and educational research. The faculty member in charge of English would teach the English classes with the aid of a graduate student. He would organize and develop whatever materials he needed for each lecture. The final version of each lecture would be videotaped after the instructor was convinced that the material was organized, and these tapes would be used for other classes. The same procedure would be followed in the other subjects. At the end of the research project, a curriculum for lower class youths would have been developed, requiring one year (three semesters) and ranging from the ninth through the twelfth grades. Through careful editing and skillful use of materials it would be possible to condense an eight-semester curriculum into a basic three-semester curriculum. New programmed materials would be developed as needed through cooperation of the corporation and the educators.

The Washington School of Psychiatry would handle the behavioral control and analysis: motivation, shaping of behavior, reward systems, etc. would be developed at the same time that technology and curriculum were being designed.

The Community Service Project would handle the community problems of the lower class student: housing, family services, medical services, legal services, employment, community relations, and recreation.

The proposed project was modeled on the Washington School of Psychiatry project herein discussed and was an extension of the project in directions deemed needed; i.e., curriculum development, use of television and other technological improvements, teacher training, and greater community services. The weaknesses in the present project could be attacked with cooperation between research, education, industry, and community.

The proposal was discussed and revised over a period of a year, but the Office of Economic Opportunity funding was never secured. A number of problems presented themselves, such as that of gaining cooperation from several agencies, including the U. S. Department of Labor and the U. S. Office of Education. Since the proposal involved retraining unskilled delinquent youths, application of technology to education, and community services, theproposal was discussed in joint session with Labor and Education. Interagency cooperation was needed though never achieved. OEO felt that Education and Labor should be involved; Labor felt it was an education project; and Education felt that it was much more than an education project.

The United Planning Organization was contacted at the very beginning of the project and a series of conferences held right up to its termination. As was mentioned above, in September, 1966 nine UPO youths were made part of the project, though no funds from UPO were involved. Cooperation from UPO in terms of funding and availability of services was solicited but never secured. UPO was asked to help place some of our project youths in jobs or in job training programs through their job development office, but this request was never complied with.

The Model School Division of the Public Schools, a UPO-financed experimental educational program, was contacted at the inception of our delinquency project. An effort was made to integrate the efforts of the project with the activities of the school system, such as referral of students to the project, placement of project youths back in the school system, training of teachers to work with urban slum youth, or the development of a work-study program for dropouts in which a student could earn a living and a high school diploma at the same time. We were never able to work out any channels of cooperation with the Model School Division.

The public school system in the District of Columbia has a monopoly over the granting of diplomas and one must work through the system in order to have students certified as high school graduates. The project used the GED test certified by the school system, but this procedure has several drawbacks: (1) The GED test is at such a low level as not to represent a strong high school education, as was mentioned earlier. (2) The GED test emphasizes a paper and pencil response in

which the student is either right or wrong, rather than a carefully programmed sequence in which the student exhibits those desired terminal behaviors upon completion of the program. (3) Much of the material on which the GED test is based is irrelevant to the experiences and needs of the lower class Negro youth. A special school for dropouts should be established independent of but in cooperation with the school system so that the diploma may be awarded by the school system in the customary manner. The school system showed great reluctance to become involved with the students they found troublesome and with whom they had failed already.

Before such a project as this can succeed it must have close cooperation with local agencies, including the school system. Federal granting agencies such as the U. S. Office of Education and the Office of Economic Opportunity look for such things as liaison with UPO and the school system. In our discussions with such agencies we often were asked why cooperation with UPO and the school system had not been actualized. The writer does not wish to place the blame on these agencies, since it is possible that the project was not worthy of support, or perhaps the competition for funds was too great. For whatever reason or combination of reasons, in the main, interagency cooperation with the project was not realized.

Washington, D. C. has a very high crime rate and a week does not go by in which some high government official does not announce the need for delinquency prevention projects in the District of Columbia. Millions of dollars are spent yearly in the District through the United

Planning Organization, the Department of Public Welfare, and other public and private agencies, yet each year the delinquency rate increases. The President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia stated, after a survey of delinquency in the District, that UPO programs had not reached the delinquency-prone population and such programs had been hindered by friction between UPO and other District agencies. The Report concludes: "Experience demonstrates that it (UPO) cannot serve as a major anti-delinquency coordinating agency in the community."[1]

The Opportunities Industrialization Center was established by the Rev. Leon Sullivan in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and in November, 1966 an OIC counterpart was opened in Washington. Contact was made with the Rev. David Eaton, Executive Director of the new OIC in Washington and arrangements made to send students from our project to OIC for job skill training. The results of this effort will be discussed in the following chapter on the phase-out part of the project.

---

[1] Report of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966. Pp. 770-772.

CHAPTER XII

TERMINATION OF PROJECT

I. Introduction

In November, 1966, the U. S. Office of Education announced a drastic cut in the budget of most research projects, including the one under discussion. This cut was variously rumored to be related to the war in Vietnam, overcommitment of funds by the Office of Education, and 'Capitol Hill' disillusionment with the civil rights movement and related poverty programs.

The budget cut was so sudden that it caused a major upheaval in the project's operation and plans. No termination date was ever announced by the Office of Education; there was merely a statement that funds were cut by fifty percent. Since the cut was retroactive, most of the allocated funds had already been spent. The staff was notified immediately of the new status of the project and termination notices went out to most staff members shortly thereafter. By January 25, 1967, it was determined that pay for the youths would have to stop that week, due to the new project budget figure received from the Office of Education. The youths were told there would be no further pay for attendance but that the Center would be open to them and classes would be conducted as before. A majority indicated a desire to stay in the school, even without pay. The following Monday, however, only four students appeared at the Center, and no further classes were held.

One often encounters the theory that students participate in this kind of project not because of the money but because of the personal attention given them by the staff (the so-called Hawthorne effect.) To whatever extent the Hawthorne effect may have influenced the results of the Western Electric studies or other studies of human behavior, it had no noticeable effect on the behavior of this group of lower class delinquents.

II. Placement of Students

During December and January, staff members tried to place the students in jobs, in job training programs, or in high school. Many failed to keep appointments or attend counseling sessions or follow up on available openings. The Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) agreed to enroll any project youth who wished training as one of the following: automotive mechanic, service station attendant, body andfender repairman, offset operator, second cook, short order cook, waiter, clerk-typist, carpenter, painter and paperhanger, brickmason, or plasterer. Out of thirty young men, only one enrolled in the OIC program, a white youth who had a keen interest in automotive mechanics (K.S.) A number of students were taken to the U. S. Employment Service to register and take preliminary tests, but none followed up on available jobs or training programs.

The lack of response to the OIC was apparently due chiefly to the fact that there was no pay while learning. Depending on an individual's basic needs, he was paid a "weekly handout" until he was established in a part-time job. The OIC philosophy is to find work

for the students rather than to pay them a stipend. Whether these youths would have responded differently if they had not been paid a stipend in the delinquency project is a moot question, but it is to be doubted. The lack of response to such programs is a pattern of behavior related to the "con the system" way of life. The only possible immediate returns to be had from the OIC program were work and training. Present sacrifice would be required for the sake of future gain, and this population has not developed a delayed gratification reaction.

One of the major difficulties in securing jobs for such youths is their police records. Most employees are unwilling to hire someone with a record. A bonding agency agreed to bond those who were hired, but this failed to overcome the problem.

One of the original group (G.S.) enrolled in the Upward Bound program at Howard University and hopes to be accepted by a college for admission in the fall of 1967. It was not possible to follow up on many of the other students because of the sudden termination of the project. The original design of theresearch project had called for a follow-up survey, but staff members and funds to pay them were not now available. A partial survey was made by the Social Science teacher, with the following results:

Informal Employment Report as of February 14---March 9. Burbridge.

February 14. M.B. Visited his home and spoke to his mother; said he had left the house early in the morning to take the GED. However, the GED was scheduled for the 15th and 16, and not the 14th. I made no mention of this discrepancy to Mrs. B. February 24: Took him to headquarters to get police clearance. His adult record is unblemished.

February 14.

T.P. I tracked him down through a kid in the street. He was reported at his girl friend's home. Just as I knocked at her door he came out. I inquired about his job plans and he stated that he was taking a job with his uncle in the afternoon. I didn't believe him but I will check later in the week. March 9. Claimed to be working with his uncle; discovered he was not. Trying to encourage him to enter OIC since he is 16 years of age and unemployable.

C.H. He said he had no interest in work and needed "quick money."

F.J. I visited him at his home and mentioned some restaurant work which was available. He said he didn't want it. I tried to convince him of the necessity of taking it until something better came along. He reiterated his position. I might add that his mother seemed eager for him to do something but at no time in my presence did she verbally take issue with him.

February 15, 1967.

A.H. Indicated that he had no birth certificate, therefore he could not secure working papers. H. said he had written to Bennettsfield, S.C. but had received no reply regarding his birth papers. I did not believe him. Nevertheless, I encouraged him to write again. February 24. Not working and has been staying away from home some evenings.

R.W. Sent him with a good reference to Hot Shoppes Employment Service. R. informed Mr. C. by phone on 2/16/67 that he had an interview and had been hired as a bus boy at $1.50 per hour from 5 p.m. to 2 a.m. February 24: Was not hired by Hot Shoppes. Mr. W., the Personnel Manager, could not give a sound reason for not hiring him. R. very disgusted. R. also secured a police clearance and his adult record was ok. March 9: Taken to Evening Star for a job. The interviewer was skeptical of hiring him. Finally was persuaded to accept R. as an employee. R. became intimidated because he was unable to answer a math question put to him by his employer. He refused to accept the job despite my entreaties.

February 24, 1967.

L.A. Referred to Hot Shoppes employment service. Reference given by Mr. C. as of 2/17/67. March 9: working at Hot Shoppes; however, didn't report for work on Monday and did not call in. His employer contacted the school and stated that L. was suspected of stealing a coat. I immediately went to his home and had him call his supervisor and explain his being absent. He also satisfied his employer that he knew nothing about the missing garment.

February 24, 1967

S.E. Found him at home listening to rock and roll records. He stated that he had no plans for employment but felt he had the capability to perform such work as plastering, cement finishing, or electrical repairs. I asked him why did'nt he get a job with his father, who works for a construction firm. E. immediately launched a diatribe against his father, claiming he disliked him intensely and would not work with him under any circumstances. When queried about his distaste for his father, E. said that he was "too strict" and was responsible for his sister leaving home (age 19). I told E. upon leaving that I would try to get information regarding his tests at the Employment Service. (Mr. C. says the agency is not keeping in touch with our office.)

The following week I returned to the E. home and met the father. He seemed to feel that S's situation was hopeless. It was further learned that the boy had none of the skills he claimed to possess, therefore he could not get employment on his father's job. No mention was made of his son's hostility toward him. Mr. E. was assured that the school would do everything in its power to get S. something to do.

G.S. Secured police clearance - record o.k. (In "Upward Bound")

L.P. Received an adult clearance despite being a juvenile (showed his birth certificate.) He also got juvenile clearance; however, it contained four charges. L. wants to return to school. March 9. In the Receiving Home for shoplifting.

M.B. Visited B's home and met his father. His dad expressed a desire for his son to reenter the public school system. He does not want him to work as yet.

R.B. B. dropped out of school because he was "bored." He is employed full time as a shoemaker. He mentioned that he knew "the trade" and would open a shop of his own in a few months. He seemed very contented and is working overtime on his job.

V.B. Secured adult clearance for him and he wishes to be employed. I am taking steps in this direction now. His record is clear. March 9: Refused a job at Evening Star. Was taken to Hot Shoppes and offered a part-time job due to his lack of experience. He refused it. Saw him again today and gave him a lead at White Tower Hamburger Stores. He seemed willing to check it out.

February 24, 1967

T.M. Visited his home and gave his mother the checks due him. Mrs. M. stated her son was out of work and was not at home. I told her to have him contact us if he needed a job. March 9. Looking for a job; gave him two leads. (See comment by G.H.)

T.W. Unable to contact. March 9. Needs a job but has taken his own initiative in order to find one.

C.W. Unable to contact.

J.T. Unable to contact.

G.H. At home watching television. States he was not interested in restaurant or porter work. He wants to get into the government but his adult record is bad (disorderly conduct charges.) He believes he will go back to "hustling." I must admit I felt helpless to aid him in his situation. He mentioned during the course of our conversation that T.M. was running from the police. March 9. Took him to the Evening Star. He refused to work there because of a verbal altercation with an employee in the building. He felt he might do someone physical harm if he was employed on those premises.

March 9, 1967.

S.H. and R.W. Gave them a listing of three possible jobs. I could not at the time take them by car; therefore it was hoped they would track down the jobs suggested to them.

C.W. and A.S.. Mr. C. requested that they be taken to Neighborhood Development Center No. 3 for job interviews with a Mrs. H. However, Mr. C. stated the agency was not able to place either student. Two days later I spoke to C.W. and he mentioned having a job with radio station WOL.

G.D. Given a job lead at Cafritz Construction. He followed it through and expects to be placed in a school for stationary engineering in three weeks. It's a good job.

T.M. Unemployed; gave him three leads for jobs.

V.J. Unemployed. Does not want to work or go to training school; would like to return to the public school system but fears he would be placed in junior high school. Tried to interest him in OIC but the problem of long-term financing discouraged him. I talked with his mother and between the two of us we may be able to get him to accept some kind of job.

March 9, 1967

D.F. Unemployed. Said he had job leads from his probation officer. I gave him an additional one anyway.

E.P. Placed on a job at Hot Shoppes by Mr. C.

J.T. I have been to his home many times; unable to see him. The last I heard of him was that he was intent upon enlisting in the Marines. He was always employed during the time he was in school.

R.W. Wants a part-time job; very difficult to find but I gave him one lead.

M.J. No longer at his old address; his apartment building burned down three weeks ago. I'm afraid we may have lost contact with him.

M.L. Still has his job and doing well on it.

J.H. Employed at the Post Office.

M.B. Working at Suburban Hospital, Bethesda, Md.

J.B. Unable to contact at home.

There are discrepancies between the results of the Family Services Division survey made early in February and the follow-up, represented above, which Mr. Burbridge did during the same month and early March. This illustrates the fluid and mobile situation of this population.

Discrepancies in the Two Surveys

Student	Family Services Survey	Burbridge Survey
C.H.	Custodian, American University	Unemployed; needed quick money
R.W.	Janitor, Red Coats	Turned down by Hot Shoppes and Evening Star
S.H.	Porter, Three Thieves	Unemployed
R.W.	Porter, Three Thieves	Unemployed
C.W.	Senator Kennedy's office	Unemployed or at WOL
A.S.	Recreation aide	Unemployed
G.D.	Custodian, American University	Job training program
E.P.	Never employed	Placed at Hot Shoppe
L.A.	Never employed	Placed at Hot Shoppe
R.W.	Helper, steak house	Unemployed
J.H.	Unemployed	Employed at Post Office
M.B.	Not employed	Working at hospital

Other agencies have experienced similar difficulties in placing 16-21 year old youths in jobs. In his regular newspaper column, William Raspberry noted recently that there were many jobs available in the District of Columbia but that few were asking. These jobs for the most part involved maintaining buildings and grounds, cleaning up areas, etc. The National Capitol Housing Authority has filled only 43 of 300 positions available. Briefing sessions on available jobs seem to attract 12 year olds, mostly for the refreshments it seems, but do not draw in the 16 to 21 year old group for whom they are intended. Raspberry concluded that "some young people from poor families simply don't want to work." ("Potomac Watch", Washington Post, May 29, 1967.)

As the surveys indicate, few students were actually working or in school. Five or six of those interviewed by Mr. Burbridge were working at the time. The problems, all of which have been discussed herein, are these: (1) lack of interest and motivation in learning and working, especially with reference to menial jobs; (2) lack of academic skills; (3) lack of job skills and related behaviors; (4) poor work records; and (5) police records.

CHAPTER XIII

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Academic Behavior

A. The academic level of high school dropouts with delinquent records is at the 3rd to 5th grade level. In some instances such youths are illiterate.

B. The academic performance of such a population can be improved to the 9th to 12th grade level through the use of a reward system in conjunction with programmed teaching materials. Thirteen out of twenty-two students who took the General Educational Development test passed, thus being certified as high school graduates.

C. Even using monetary payments of up to $40 per week as an incentive, the motivational level of the population served was low. Only 42 of 163 youths contacted remained with the program, a figure of 26 percent. The dropout rate from retraining programs, including this program, is too high.

D. The reward system was made less effective by cheating on the part of the students and by accommodation on the part of the staff. The project was regarded by the students and by some of the staff as a situation to be used to personal advantage. No real commitment to the goals of the project was achieved.

E. The programmed materials and teaching machines used by the project were poorly designed and in need of considerable revision. The major problems involved include those of cheating by students, inappropriate sequence of materials, inappropriate responses required of students, and a required level of reading comprehension that was too advanced for this population.

F. Basic weaknesses in curriculum materials must be corrected. This is particularly true in remedial reading and mathematics. Reading ability is basic to all other academic areas. Speech correction should also be an integral part of the curriculum for these students.

G. A major effort should be made to develop educational technology, making full use of closed circuit television, teaching machines, Edison Responsive Environment (talking typewriter), and computer-assisted instruction. The materials available to this project were helpful but inadequate. Such an educational system will be very expensive, but the expense to society of undereducated, unemployed delinquents is far greater.

H. A technological system such as recommended in "G" should be accompanied by behavioral technology involving motivation, shaping of behavior, reward systems, and so forth. The behavior of the student is a crucial and generally ignored part of programmed instruction.

I. The academic phase of the project was successful, though better control over behavior through a careful arrangement of the environment within which learning occurs must be achieved. Learning does occur in

the properly constructed environment. If learning does not occur, it is the fault of the environment, not the student. If learning is to occur, the learning process must be a rewarding one, not a punitive one, as is so often the case.

II. Staff

A. Traditionally trained educators and social workers are not prepared to work with culturally deprived youths in (a) a classroom situation, (b) a programmed instruction situation, or (c) the community.

B. Training of teachers for working with the culturally deprived should include (a) training in the principles of behavior and learning, and (b) training in the use of educational technology.

C. Teachers working in slum areas should be paid according to an incentive system, based on performance, thereby encouraging and rewarding desirable teaching. Otherwise the teacher will become hostile, apathetic, and ineffective in trying to deal with hostile, apathetic, and ineffective students. The same principle of reward applies to developing teachers who can teach as to students who can learn; accommodation to the behavior of the student is one fatal error on the part of many teachers who are poorly trained or poorly motivated.

D. Teachers must be trained to control behavior through the proper use of a reward system. Any teacher who spends ninety percent of his time dealing with disciplinary problems is not teaching. For a lower class population, male teachers are to be preferred to females for several reasons: (a) they are physically better prepared to cope with

aggression and hostility, and (b) they give the Negro male a masculine role model with which to identify. Female teachers are, as a rule, unable to deal with the behavior of the delinquent youth.

III. Community Services

A. The lower class delinquent population suffers from a number of social problems in the areas of housing, medical care, employment, family disorganization, legal services, recreational facilities, discrimination, etc. Any program dealing with the lower class delinquent must recognize the existence of a multitude of family and community problems.

B. Direct social services to the poor in the form of housing, medical care, unemployment insurance, legal aid clinics, and family counseling services alleviate the immediate symptoms for the moment. Such services do not alleviate to any measurable degree the underlying problems.

C. The use of direct social services creates a system of dependency in the client; he is no better educated or trained after receiving the service than before. He is still unemployed or unskilled as are his illegitimate children after him.

D. The poor can only be helped if they are changed behaviorally, i.e., are given academic, vocational, and job skills with which to make a decent living in their community. Few programs are designed to do this for the simple reason that the agencies involved in the poverty program do not know how to educate the hitherto uneducable, motivate the unmotivated, make employable the unemployable, or make non-delinquent the delinquent.

E. Social services should be made part of the total effort toward rehabilitating the delinquent, but such services should be available only as rewards for performance on the part of the client. The recipient must demonstrate some change in a positive direction before he is eligible for social services. The ideal goal of this approach is to make self sufficient all except the very young, the old, or the ill. Certainly a 16 to 21 year old youth can be expected to participate in a job training and education program in order to be eligible for benefits.

F. Rather than providing a multitude of services to multiple-problem families, it is to be desired to provide them with an education, job training, job, and income -- in that order. With an income the individual can purchase his own medical and legal services, his housing, counseling, etc.

G. There is no way to evaluate the impact of family services on the project. Such services undoubtedly made some families a little more comfortable, and encouraged some interest on the part of the parents in the program. It did not prepare the youths for jobs or job training, nor did it change their basic behaviors. It may have provided some motivation for attendance, and some alleviation from pressing daily problems.

IV. Antisocial Behavior

A. No evidence was gained from the project that the antisocial or delinquent behavior of the group was diminished to any significant extent. Ten out of ten of the original members were charged with offenses

after they joined the project; eleven of twenty-three of the active group committed offenses after entry into the project.

B. Serious offenses were committed, including murder, rape, assault, robbery, burglary, narcotics use, etc. Heavy hustling was reported by a majority of the members of the project. Official police statistics underestimate to a great degree the criminality of the group.

C. Social behaviors such as swearing, gambling, drinking, dishonesty, sloppiness, unreliability did not improve to any great extent over a period of a year or more.

D. The recreation program was a total failure, due to the customary drinking-gambling-sex-narcotics pattern of 'fun' and use of leisure time on the part of the youths involved.

E. The failure of the project to change the social behavior of the youths, although education, job training, and family services were provided for them, is due (or may be due) to the basic fact that the general community environment in which the delinquent lives and which produces his delinquency has not been altered to any significant degree. It is often assumed that because delinquents are unemployed and undereducated, education and job training will reduce delinquency. It is possible that education and job training will not reduce delinquency. Delinquency, poverty, unemployment, and undereducation may be a product of a third variable or variables, or delinquency and education may be related, but not in a causal manner.

F. Delinquency prevention projects must deal with delinquency, not with education or job training. One may reduce delinquency only by manipulating those variables which maintain delinquent behavior.

G. Delinquency prevention programs must deal with the behavior of 16-21 year old delinquents, and not 8-12 year old children. This does not mean that programs for preventing delinquency should be discouraged; it does mean that programs should include aggressive delinquents as well as those who are potential delinquents.

V. Vocational Training

A. The purpose of this project was not to provide job training but rather to prepare youths for job training. These youths lack the necessary education and social skills to hold a job or to participate in job training programs. Before they can be trained, they must be given remedial education and such prerequisite skills as motivation, arriving on time, following instructions, etc.

B. Through the use of a reward system, these youths can be motivated to participate in a job preparation program. Basic work skills can be developed in this manner.

C. These youths do not wish to hold menial jobs, nor do they have the ability to delay gratification needed for several years of training for jobs with more status. As a rule, they will not take menial jobs when offered, or if they take them, do not remain on such jobs more than a week or two. The project was not successful in placing many of the students in jobs or job training programs since they did not wish to have such jobs or job training.

D. The major task facing any vocational program is that of supplying the trainee with training while at the same time he is engaged in work of a menial nature. The untrained worker wants a middle class job the next day; he must be led by gradual stages from unskilled to skilled technical work.

E. Perhaps the reason the unskilled Negro youth of 18 years of age is unwilling to spend effort on education and training is that he does not see the relationship between education, training, and a future job. This can be accomplished by providing training in conjunction with a work program. A program that trains bricklayers or recreation aides or auto mechanics is a dead end in that the persons cannot go further. Why should he start if the goal is so limited? If, however, he can become a bricklayer and receive a high school diploma; then go on to advanced training or to college while supporting himself as a bricklayer, then the goal is broad enough to make the first step worth taking.

F. The failure of vocational training programs is that of being too limited and narrow. Youths are either placed without skills in unskilled jobs, or they are training for semi-skilled jobs with little appeal and no future. The reason agencies rely on such limited goals is the same as that involved with school systems or social work agencies -- the inability to reach goals that are broad and challenging. If one wishes to train unskilled Negro youths as lawyers, doctors, or teachers, the goal is beyond the capability of the agency. Thus one is safe in

training auto mechanics or bricklayers, but one is also faced with the realization that in today's world few of its young people wish to be bricklayers or auto mechanics.

VI. Politics, Agencies, and Research

A. The bureaucratic structure of government agencies involved in research (funding or operations) mitigates against research operations. A conversion of goals occurs in which the means become the goals, i.e., maintenance and perpetuation of the agency become primary goals while fighting poverty or delinquency are lost sight of.

B. Bureaucratic organization is often dysfunctional so far as it involves the professional or intellectual community. The intellectual must function within the policy established by the bureaucratic system, or he must remain an unattached intellectual outside of the bureaucratic system (as a university professor, for example), in which case he has little or no access to the policy makers. In either case, the intellectual-professional behavioral scientist does not make policy, he only works within the framework of policy made by bureaucrats.

C. Bureaucratic agencies limit their goals to low-level, attainable objectives, such as hiring poor youths to organize each other, or building temporary swimming pools for summer recreation programs. Programs designed to produce major behavioral changes are rare.

D. Inter-agency coopertion is badly needed but seldom found in the war on poverty. This Washington School of Psychiatry project needed cooperation from other District of Columbia agencies which it never achieved.

E. The growth of black nationalism and the use of riots as a means of protest has harmed the civil rights movement, including local projects involved in fighting delinquency and/or poverty. Negro-white relations are more strained now than before the start of the war on poverty. The use of poverty funds for political purposes, such as to halt the long hot summers, encourages the violence it is supposed to calm.

F. The delinquency rate continues to be a major problem in the District of Columbia, and each week a new proposal is put forth to deal with the problem. High public officials proclaim support for an all-out fight on delinquency, and yet the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia found no effective coordinated attack on delinquency in the District. The Commission recommended a complete overhaul of the administrative structure of the agencies involved in delinquency. Millions of dollars have been wasted in the District and nationally on delinquency/poverty programs because of a lack of understanding of behavioral research and analysis.

REFERENCES

BOOKS

Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organization, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1965. (Page 157.*)

E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeosie, Collier Books, New York, 1962. (Page 117.)

Henry Meyer, Edgar Borgatta, et al., Girls at Vocational High, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1965. (Page 132.)

Max Peters, Jerome Coleman, et al., How to Prepare for High School Entrance Examinations, Barron's Educational Series, Inc., Woodbury, N. Y., 1961. (Page 73.)

Ralph Schwitzgebel, Streetcorner Research, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1964. (Page 2.)

Leslie This and Gordon Lippitt, Learning Theories and Training, Leadership Resources, Inc., Washington, 1966. (Page 39.)

REPORTS

O. R. Lindsley, "Operant Conditioning Methods Applied to Research in Chronic Schizophrenia", Psychiatric Research Reports, 1965, 5, American Psychiatric Association, Washington. (Page 12.)

"Report of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia", U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1966. (Page 165.)

PROGRAMMED MATERIALS

Auto-Tutor - Educational Science Division, U. S. Industries, Inc., Silver Spring, Maryland. (Page 30.)

Blumenthal, Joseph C., "English 2600" and "English 3200", Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., New York, 1962. (Page 31.)

Cyclo-Teacher - Field Enterprises Educational Corporation, Chicago. (Page 30.)

(*Numbers in parentheses refer to page numbers in text of this report.)

Programmed Materials, continued

Follett Basic Learnings Program - Follett Publishing Company, Chicago. (Page 31.*)

Grolier TMI - Teaching Materials Corporation, The Grolier Society, Inc., New York. (Page 31.)

SRA Reading Laboratory - Science Research Associates, Inc., IBM Corporation, Chicago. (Page 31.)

FILMS

"Behavior Theory in Practice", Appleton-Century-Croft, Inc., New York. (Page 110.)

"Learning: Parts I, II, III", McGraw-Hill & Co. Available through rental from Psychological Cinema Register, Audio-Visual Library, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park. (Page 110.)

"Reinforcement Therapy", Smith, Kline & French, Services Department, Philadelphia. (Page 110.)

"Teaching Machines and Programed Learning", Norwood Films. Available through rental from Psychological Cinema Register (see above.) (Page 110.)

*(Numbers in parentheses refer to page numbers in text of this report.)