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ABSTRACT

A broader vision of the importance of vocational education in correctional institutions was the theme of this 2-week seminar. The substantive focus of the 26 presentations concerned: (1) the opportunity and role of vocational education in correctional institutions, (2) the implications of an expanded program of vocational education, (3) available techniques, such as team teaching, remedial reading instruction, cooperative education, and programmed instruction, (4) the influences of culture, the community, and self-concept on inmate behavior, and (5) implementation and improvement of the objectives of correctional institutions. A final report on the seminar is available as VT 010 873. (CH)

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REPORT

NATIONAL SEMINAR

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

IN

CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Conducted at

RUTGERS - THE STATE UNIVERSITY

New Brunswick, New Jersey

June 16, -- June 28, 1968

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P R E F A C E

The National Seminar for Vocational Education in Correctional Institutions was conducted at Rutgers - The State University, June 16-28, 1968, under a project grant from the U.S. Office of Education. The Purpose of the Seminar was to provide selected participants with a broader vision of the importance of vocational education in the rehabilitation of their charges. The program was organized with the "impulsive" offender in mind, or those presumed to be more easily rehabilitated.

It is generally recognized that the cost of care of the inmates in correctional institutions is becoming an increasing burden with the present average cost for each inmate being approximately \$3020 per year. The advancing cost and increasing number of people committed to such custodial care, along with the high rate of recidivism, brings into focus a great need for new approaches to rehabilitation or, at least, the inclusion of other considerations in existing programs. Such additional inclusions would be socioeconomic, psychological and anthropological, as well as technical.

This document is the initial report of the first national effort at getting to some of the solutions to the problems facing this specialized field of education. It contains the papers presented by a staff selected on the basis of varying backgrounds of education and experience. In reviewing the papers, as well as the qualifications of the speakers, it will be noticed that balance between theory and practice was observed at all times.

Appreciation is expressed to Mrs. Sylvia McCullum, Education Research Specialist, Federal Bureau of Prisons, whose encouragement and assistance was invaluable. Appreciation is also expressed to Mr. Albert G. Wagner, Director, Division of Correction and Parole, New Jersey; Dr. Robert G. Worthington, Assistant Commissioner of Vocational Education; Mr. Albert Elias, Superintendent, Youth Reception and Correction Center, Yardville, New Jersey; Dr. Carl Schaefer and the staff of the Vocational-Technical Education Department and to all of the many specialists who so willingly gave of their valuable time to make the Seminar a success. A special appreciation is extended to Dr. Marvin Hirshfeld and Mr. Samuel Vukceovich who served as special consultants and to Mr. Ray Gonzalis of SONY; Mr. Donald Vaughn, 3M Corporation who provided equipment and instruction in the use of mechanical and electronic teaching aids. Mr. Benjamin Shapiro, Director of the Curriculum Laboratory assisted in many ways, including advising and helping with the publishing of the final report.

Ralph A. Rush, Director
National Seminar

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
PREFACE	i
PRESENTATIONS	
Vocational Education's Role in Our Society by Carl J Schaefer	1
The Opportunity for Vocational Education in Correctional Institutions by Robert M. Worthington	4
The Aims and Goals of the Seminar by Syliva McCullum	12
Similarities and Differences of In-School and Correctional Institutional Vocational Education by Leon Leiberg	19
The Teacher and the Psychology of the Culturally Deprived by Bruce W. Tuckman	28
The Psychology of our Various Publics to the Policeman and His Role in Society by Jack Mark	43
The Culture of Poverty by William M. Phillips, Jr.	54
Behavior Feeds Into Self-Concept by Mary B. Kievit	60
What is a Correctional Institution Doing in Voca- tional Training and How Can It Increase Its Involvement by Henry J Noble	68
Objectives of Correctional Institutions by Alexander Smith	79
The Starting Line by David Hays	88

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont'd)

	<u>PAGE</u>
Lessons to be Learned From the Job Corps by William F. Grady	95
The Use of Team Teaching by Marvin Hirshfeld and Ralph Bregman	106
Remedial Reading by Martin Kling	117
A Pilot Program in Cooperative Vocational Education by Gene Dolnick	123
Programmed Instruction-What it is and How it Works by Garland D. Wiggs	132
Community Reinforcement for Job Performance by Leon Jansyn	152
Teacher Characteristics, Recruiting Teachers, and Structuring Pre-Service and In-Service Training for the Disadvantaged by John Ames	162
Implications for Vocational Education Teacher Education by Carl J. Schaefer	175
Distributive Education by Ralph Bregman	177
Business and Office Occupations by Michael N. Sugarman	184
Trade and Industrial Education by Albert J. Pautler	189
Technical Education by Angelo C. Gillie	194
Vocational Agriculture by Charles C. Drawbaugh	199

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont'd)

	<u>PAGE</u>
Home Economics by Cora Foltz	206
Implications for Agricultural Institutions by Richard L. Bruner	210
SUMMARY	218
ROSTER OF PARTICIPANTS	219
SEMINAR STAFF	222

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION'S ROLE IN OUR SOCIETY

Carl J. Schaefer*

We would like you to feel that you have been welcomed to Rutgers-The State University. I see by the program that I have another chore besides introducing you to Rutgers. Let me try to be brief. My remarks may be repetitious for those of you who are involved more in vocational education than others. To you I apologize.

Now let me say to you that vocational education is as old as man himself because it is known that in the very early years man hunted; dug; he caught fish; he really did the kinds of things that he had to do to survive and he lived. And a vocation, I would submit to you, is what a person does to gain a living. Of course, we know as history progressed, fathers and mothers prepared their sons and daughters to do these things and even go beyond what was necessary for survival. We are well aware of the very early guilds of craftsmen who developed a number of different kinds of organizations and systems whereby people began producing goods and services to sell to other people.

So, higher vocational education is really nothing new, nothing new at all. It seems that it is rather odd that it has taken so long for vocational education to assume a higher prominence in the educational scheme of things. I would submit to you that I'm not sure what the word vocational means to you in your particular situation. I must admit that in this day and age, due to varied reasons, it reflects many different meanings to many different people. In some, it is held to high esteem; in others, of course, it is not.

Statistically, vocational education today, in the broadest definition of the term, involves almost seven million individuals. In a word I might indicate to you that distribution, approximately three million, are in the secondary school programs, five hundred thousand in the post-secondary programs, two and a half million in adult programs. Closest to your interests, there are only about fifty thousand enrolled in programs for students of special needs. Although seven million may sound like a very large figure, I submit it is not, when the total population is taken into account. But there are some gratifications... (Professor Rush just wrote out a case study on this)... the gratifications emanating from those of us who have devoted our energies and careers to vocational education

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because we have frequently referred to the success of the program in terms of employment. Actually, 80 percent of the graduates from our secondary vocational programs are employed today. We referred to a federal report of 1966 and found, in terms of placement on jobs, that those positions were gained either directly related to the vocational program or related to the educational pursuit of the individual. Another figure that I think is rather interesting is that only 4 percent of ex-vocational students were on the roll of unemployed.

So this indicates that we are having some success in reducing unemployment and underemployment. I would hasten, though, to again say that because the number is so small to begin with, these figures cannot be used as a real guide. After all, in this day and age, anyone that has anything that is sellable on the labor market should be employed. In dollars and cents, last year the government pumped into the approved vocational program about 283 million dollars. I would remind you that this was matched many times by state and local funds. In fact, from every dollar spent on vocational education, 29 cents could be attributed to federal contribution, 27 cents to the state, and 44 cents of the dollar to local contributions. Well, so much for statistics.

What is vocational education by definition? I could say that it is education itself...but I suppose I'd be taken to task if I did make that statement. But more specifically, and by official definition, I quote, "vocational education has to give definite purpose, a meaning, to education." I think that has great relevance to the task to which you have committed yourselves. By relating training to specific occupational goals, it becomes more inclusive than training for job skills. It also develops abilities, understandings, attitudes, work habits and appreciations which contribute to a satisfying and productive life. The above quote was taken from a recent Office of Education report. So you see, it does have relevance to the task to which you are addressing yourself at this conference. Today is not like yesteryears in our total society and make-up of the nation. A report to Congress as early as 1914 resulted in suggesting that the nation cannot tolerate the waste of (1) the involuntary idle, (2) the imperfectly employed, (3) the improperly employed. Do these things sound familiar to you in this year of 1968? Even at that time, as early as 1914, many people were concerned about the emphasis of public education on those who go to college, frequently to the denial of an appropriate education to the masses of students. A 1916 report stated that the rest leave school with inadequate general education and that no special training could fit them for work. So vocational courses are, therefore, needed to attract and hold in school pupils who now leave because they are unable to obtain suitable preparation for useful employment. School dropouts, back in 1916, were a prime concern of educators, as well as the over-emphasis on the academic and possible de-railment of education to the masses of students. I think our friend, Dr. Conant and some of his work has pointed to this in recent years.

In a report which is a little more up to date, in assessing the Vocational Act of 1963, the Advisory Council which studies the results of the Act, asked, "Why is vocational education necessary?" The answer was that it is the bridge between man and his work. Millions of people need this education in order to earn a living. Every man wants to provide for his family with honor and dignity and to be counted as an individual. Providing for an individual's employability after he leaves school and throughout his work life is one of the major goals of vocational education. Vocational education looks at a man as part of society and as an individual. Never before has attention to the individual as a person been so imperative! I think that is a very strong statement and represents a very strong chance for all of us to engage in some facet of education.

Let me say to you, and I said I would be brief, that the job is far from being done; the problems do prevail and, undoubtedly, you recognize these problems otherwise you wouldn't be here today. Problems such as how to interrelate training and education for initial employment, retrain and up-grade workers, and certainly meet the needs of the disadvantaged. To reallocate a far greater commitment on the part of the teaching profession is a must! One of our worst enemies is our own profession in trying to do some of these things. To reallocate a greater commitment to school curriculum and to school budgets, to reorient ourselves to the needs of the majority of students is also a must! To find ways of guiding and counseling the people we serve is one of your objectives in this conference.

Guide and counsel youths so they can assess their interests and aptitudes in a realistic manner. I underscore the word "their." It is interesting to note that in a study that I'm now engaged in, that the parental influence is still the overriding influence on directing students to both educational and occupational pursuits. And what guiding and counseling can do to help the individual as well as the parents, I guess, is to assess in their offspring, the kinds of interests and aptitudes that each of us is endowed with. Another one, to evaluate through research the programs we now have. This is highly important. Are our programs operating at the maximum? Are they doing the kind of jobs they should? Do the input and output correspond in the terms of a satisfactory and dependable product? I would suggest that these are just some problems that you, of course, are aware of and probably will be undertaking sometime during these two weeks. Certainly the objectives of this conference are designed to explore the contributions of vocational education. I notice you are concerned with the impulsive offender. This is, indeed, a new thrust for vocational education and certainly one that has great relevance for us all. So to you we look for leadership and the direction. I hope your conclusions at this conference will inspire you to accomplish far beyond that which others, up to this time, have attempted to do, or maybe have failed to do, or just ignored. I think this is the time and I also think the challenge is great. Thank you.

THE OPPORTUNITY FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
IN CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Robert M. Worthington*

It is a real pleasure to be with you here today for I have the privilege of serving on the New Jersey Vocational Rehabilitation commission as well as being active in Vocational Education. We see an awful lot of problem people coming before the commission who need help of all kinds. Prisons, the U. S. Commission on Law Enforcement says, need to have practical training programs which will prepare the convict for a job after release. Such efforts, in the past, the commission finds have been far more successful than employment of inmates trained in the traditional prison industries. I would like to quote directly from Time Magazine in 1967. It says that "the most striking fact about the correctional apparatus today is that although the rehabilitation of criminals is a major purpose, the custody of criminals is actually a major care." This is a report from Time Magazine made from the Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. It said that "too many modern day prisons stress punishment and they underline punishment instead of rehabilitation of the prisoners." They quote, rather facetiously, "These prisons have been far more successful in training prisoners to dig potatoes and turn out auto license plates for the state."

Ex-prisoners make up one of the most vocationally handicapped groups in our society; thus, they are one of the groups most in need of vocational rehabilitation. The ex-prisoner is very often a poorly educated individual who never obtained the level of skill or degree of training needed to acquire a job which would provide him with a sufficient wage and self-respect. It is common experience for a prisoner just released to find that the jobs available to him are often short-term marginal types. This is due partially to his lack of training and partly to the attitude of the employer to his prison record. Typically, the ex-prisoner must face long periods of unemployment and humiliation and depression, even though he possesses the motivation to do an honest days work. Unfortunately, for both the man and society, he gets into trouble again and is returned to prison. If this cycle is not interrupted, the outlook for prisoners is dim. The Commission's Report goes on to say that it costs between \$2000 and \$2500 per year for each man who returns to prison. I expect that would vary across the country but it seems rather conservative to me knowing our costs here in New Jersey. A portion of this money should be used to rehabilitate the prisoners vocationally, for the cycle can be broken only by

*Dr. Worthington is the Assistant Commissioner of Education and Director of Vocational Education for New Jersey.

a conscientious program of training, designed to meet the needs of the prisoners and society. As to the assessment of training, this report goes on to say what the Department of Labor has been saying for several years. Full employment is a major objective in this country. The Department of Labor has encouraged some research in the area of vocational training in prisons. A recent study issued in 1965 showed that pre-prison work experience for prisoners was usually in the least skilled and most unstable jobs. The surveys also found that during the first three months after release of Federal prisoners, almost three-fifths of the releasees had been able to find employment as much as 80 percent of the time while one-fifth had not been able to find a job of any kind.

So with the introductory statement from the study conducted at the University of North Dakota, I think it appears as a rather dim picture nationally. It certainly is encouraging that Vocational Education now is getting more actively involved and markedly engaged in this problem. As all of you know, the Vocational Education Act of 1963 challenged all persons in vocational education to take a completely new look at what was being done. The challenge was to broaden the outlook, to broaden the program, to develop programs for all kinds of people in all walks of life and at all age levels. In our state, we are developing a Master Plan for Vocational Education. We are attempting to project our vocational education needs in our state through 1980. Actually 1980, when we first started, seemed like a long distance away. Some of our committee said such a long-range project was impossible. We had one committee chairman say last week, "my committee doesn't even want to go out on a limb and make a statement, we are afraid we can't predict that far ahead." But the boys and girls who are going to graduate from high school in 1980 are in first grade this fall and, unfortunately, some of those boys and girls will become dropouts and become problems with the law and in our streets. We believe that vocational education, if begun early enough, should help young people identify their own talents and make their education meaningful. If so, they will stay in school and when they leave will be employable. We must eliminate many of the problems of our society and it is going to cost a lot of money. We have had a lot of good ideas, but if we had had the kind of money we needed, I don't think we would need a lot of the crash types of programs we have now. Dr. Grant Venn, Assistant Secretary of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, said recently to the state directors of vocational education that over nine billion dollars was being spent this fiscal year in training programs of various kinds to attempt to make people employable. Unfortunately, less than a quarter of a billion of that went to vocational education where the money could really do the most good in prevention and where the costs, we know, are much less. When you have to try to rehabilitate a person, the costs go up considerably. Since I have been Assistant Commissioner of Vocational Education in New Jersey, we are spending 54 million dollars to try to make unemployed or underemployed persons employable, to give them some kind of respectable job. If we had had that kind of money to spend in our regular vocational education program over that three-year period, we would be

making some long range strides in solving the problem.

We are attempting to develop through our master plan a total program of vocational education. A program that begins at the elementary level with an exploratory type of program to help youngsters (grades K-6) work with tools and materials. To help them solve problems would make their academic work more realistic. Working with schools and materials of industry and technology will give many young people an early opportunity to make intelligent choices about what they want to do in life. We hope it will make many more young people want to stay in school.

One of the most successful of these experimental programs is operating right in the heart of the Camden ghetto. Recently the school had a visitor from the USOE who is writing a book for us about innovative programs. He went to the school and walked into the classroom where these young people were working with tools and materials on two or three special projects. He was amazed to find that the teacher wasn't in the room. He said in most classes he had visited in this kind of a school, the kids are either tearing up the place or the teacher is having a hard time just trying to keep the kids quiet enough so he may be heard. But here were kids all actively engaged, using various kinds of tools in the regular classroom setting. This was not a shop, but was a regular classroom setting. He found that the teacher was down the hall at the library several rooms away with other boys who normally wouldn't even be interested in doing research but who were researching a special project trying to find out more about what they were building. He wrote a letter to me which I read about three weeks ago before the Parkins Committee in Congress. Mr. Pochinski of the Committee suggested it be put in the record. As a professional writer, himself, he felt this kind of program was needed in every elementary school in the country if we are to begin to make elementary education more meaningful to our youngsters. The majority of present day youngsters can't handle the pure abstractions that most elementary teachers tend to give out. So, in this kind of a program, we are trying to develop a program on a continuum; starting with early age children and going all the way through the adult life of every person who needs occupational education. It will make no difference as to level of training: training for entry jobs to increase skills due to advancing technology or advanced technician type of training.

I am sure all of you read the fine publication called American Education published by the USOE. It has an article that I would like to refer to you. This was published in 1966 and called "A Chance and the Outside," written by Thomas Sard. In this article he talked about some of the innovative programs the USOE is financing around the country. I thought I might refer to just one or two of these. The Manpower Development Training Act of 1962 was first intended to take care of unemployed people. It's objectives have been changed and revised to provide it's funds through the Department of Labor for all types of institutional kinds of training. These funds went to the Department of Health, Education

and Welfare and then through the state vocational agencies. So, in New Jersey, we have involved our state in all types of programs that involve institutions whether they are vocational schools, county schools, local school districts, state institutions or penal institutions. Mr. Sard's article talked about the first program of this kind in the Nation under the Manpower Development Training Act which started in August 1964. It was operated by the District of Columbia school district in an institution they operate for young men. This points out that since August 1964, 195 young men have received some training in the contract project under the Manpower Development Training Act. It points out that, of those trained, 89 had been paroled after the first 18 months of operation. All but two are known to have obtained jobs. Of those, 77 were placed in the field for which they were trained. This is a remarkable record for this kind of training! Those of us in Vocational Education think we are doing good when we can place 85 percent and our studies have indicated that 50 to 60 percent of our students are on jobs still related to their training after a lapse of 5 to 10 years. The first training program found that after 18 months, only 4 of the trainees had been rearrested and sent back through the big gate of the prison. That rate of only 4.5 percent compared to a returning rate in the same period of 46.9 percent of parolees who had not received training!

This points up the very important aspect of this kind of program. This particular pilot program was conducted at their Lorton institution. There is a program near us here at Riker Island which is also an experimental program. You may want to read about it in the course of your workshop. This was in the area of business education and the Business Education World published a story about the Project.

It included training young men confined to this institution in sales distribution. These are kinds of jobs for which you would not normally think about training these people. In the publication from the U.S. Office of Education, it points out that they believe this kind of training can work.

Our people have had all kinds of training for years. But the Office of Education feels that the biggest innovation under the Manpower Development Training Program is the idea that you train people for realistic jobs that are available. Under the Manpower Development Training Act, you first have to identify the job market: what jobs are available, then you set up the training program. The USOE feels that this is the biggest innovation of the program. In New Jersey, there are two or three of these programs which I thought you might be interested in knowing about.

Our state has had an area vocational school law since 1913 that has permitted us to establish county wide systems of vocational education. Middlesex is the oldest county system. They have four centers, three large centers are used for training and they are now building a

fourth. They serve less than 10 percent of our high school program. Last year, Middlesex County asked financial help from our office to set up a pilot program. They wanted to take men who were in the county workhouse over to the vocational school during the summer months when the school was not being used to capacity and give them training. This course started just a year ago and the report of the Middlesex County Vocational School indicates that they had a lot of problems. The original objective was to transport these persons from the workhouse to the school for shop purposes and then take them back to the county workhouse for their related education. A lot of problems were identified at first and many people thought that it wouldn't work. In fact, many of the members of the local governing body that had to finance this, thought it wouldn't work. There were such things as the problem of the attitudes of the learner; the security problems they were going to face; the reaction of the teachers in the vocational school which they thought would be negative. They wondered about the reaction of the general public. They wondered what kind of instructional materials they would have to develop or adapt. They weren't quite sure about the level of ability of the students. As usual, they were also worried about the scheduling problems. But these were just a few of the minor problems that have cropped up which have been solved. The thought of taking a group of convicted men out of confinement was really a horror to many people. They didn't think that this should be done. They thought these people ought to stay in jail and do their time and forget about the training. But, ultimately, the governing body of Middlesex County decided the project was a good thing. They provided half of the funds and our office provided the other half under the Vocational Education Act of 1963 as a pilot program. This is what the director of the program said in his report to me from which I quote. "Our first problem of convincing all parties concerned of the cooperative effort in giving the inmates a worthwhile program during their confinement would work was overcome and the program became a reality." He says the students were a conglomeration. Many of us in vocational education get highly selective. We look for one kind of person that we want and they have to meet certain standards and we've not felt that we will just take anybody. This has been one of the big criticisms we have received in vocational education: we have been too selective. But here is what the director of this program said and I quote him. "The pupils were really a conglomeration; culturally and economically deprived; socially and emotionally maladjusted; drug addicts and alcoholics, no schooling through high school; we had them all. That is quite a conglomeration but that is exactly the type of students we had from the workhouse. I guess we probably could say that they wouldn't have been in the workhouse if they hadn't had these problems." The conclusion is that the workhouse program has been a very satisfying and exciting experience for all. Listen to what comes directly from the director of the program in the County Vocational School. "The program should be continued under pilot regulations until most of the bugs are eliminated and then absorbed in the vocational school as a full-time extension plan." This is what one established vocational school has begun

to do. There are some other examples in our state of the kinds of programs we have helped promote with the cooperation of New Jersey's Institutions and Agencies. I will just briefly tell you about some of these projects, but I'm sure the details will come out later. At the Annadale Reformatory, we have a project that consists of five phases: pre-vocational is phase one. This is four hours a day for six weeks during which time inmates are exposed to six occupational clusters. The program operates in conjunction with the Institution's Orientation and Classification Program. In the second aspect they can select the woodworking machine operating course. This is a 17 weeks course, six hours a day of skills training plus two hours a day of basic education. The third program is the plumbing hardware assemblers. This is a 17 week program, six hours a day of skills training plus two hours of basic education a day. The fourth program is a welder training program. This also is 17 weeks, six hours of skills training plus two hours of basic education per day. This basic education program, as provided by the institution, is geared to each individual's needs. To date, all manpower trainees have received the appropriate certificate. Their high school equivalency, an eighth grade diploma, or a literacy certificate. That is a very fine record for the Annadale School when you consider that the program has been in operation for just over a year. It was the decision of the superintendent of the reformatory to offer this training early in the period of the inmates incarceration because the average prisoner's stay is about eleven months. After completion of the skills training, the inmate is assigned to a work crew in his particular skills area. He, therefore, gets some real on-the-job training experience. Our supervisor of this program says these trained inmates have made a real contribution to the upkeep and maintenance of the institution because of their skills. To date, all inmates released have been employed at their trades or closely related occupations. The cost per trainee at the Annadale Program under MDTA is \$650 per trainee. It is hoped that for the next fiscal year, the Annadale Program can be expanded to include programs in service station mechanics and building maintenance workers. Because of problems relating to the cut back in MDTA funds, just at a time when we need them most, we are not able to move into these areas immediately. This is unfortunate and I hope that all of you who have influence in Congress will use that influence to secure a restoration of funds you can all use to advantage. We are not educated as politicians, and all we can do is ask our friends, and we do have a lot of friends. I believe we have to really pressure our Congressional representatives to see to it that Institutional Manpower Training funds are kept at a high level for next year and the years to come. There has been a great pressure by our friends in the Department of Labor to divert more and more of these funds to on-the-job training programs because they say it has a better placement record. One thing they forget, and I mentioned this to representatives of the Department of Labor about three weeks ago, is that throughout the history of on-the-job training under the Manpower Training Act, 37 percent of the trainees were already employed when they were put on OJT. When

you have 37 percent of your trainees working the day the program starts, it is bound to make OJT look good. Now in vocational education programs, we start with zero employment. Particularly in the programs in prisons, we really start with handicaps. When we get the kind of training placement that I read from these various studies, I think that we ought to be informing our Congressman about it. This is critical right now because the Manpower Development Training Act of 1962 expires at the end of the next fiscal year. We had better be seeing to it that the institutional aspects of it are retained.

Our second project in New Jersey is at the Clinton Reformatory for Women. This is called the Courtland Farms Project and it has similar objectives as the Annadale Project. The Clinton Reformatory has also five programs. Pre-vocational is six weeks, four hours a day. That's a little bit shorter program than the Annadale program. The clerical skills program is twenty-six weeks, six hours a day plus two hours of basic education. The nurse's aide program is thirteen weeks, six hours per day plus two hours of basic education. The nurse's aide program includes six weeks as an aide trainee at the Hunteerton Medical Center. The Hunteerton Medical Center in that area is a very fine public center, a beautiful new hospital installation, so they get six weeks in aide training at the hospital. The fourth program is the counter-girl program and is thirteen weeks, six hours per day plus two hours of basic education. The fifth is a program in basic education. This, too, is provided by the institution and the inmates continue to work toward their appropriate certificates. This program is just getting under way and is being enthusiastically received by the inmates. The cost at Clinton averages \$431. for training each student. We have prepared proposals for additional programs at the Youth Reception and Correction Center at Yardville, New Jersey, and the New Jersey State Home for Girls. The proposed programs at Yardville will be vocational machine woodworking machine operator, sheet metal fabricator, and at the State Home for Girls, a clerical skills program. This just gives you some idea of the kinds of programs that we have attempted in our state, I wish there was time to tell you more about them. The fact that they started just a year ago really hasn't given us a long experience, but at least it is most encouraging from what we have experienced so far. I have a letter here written to the plumbing instructor at one of the institutions. I am not going to identify the person who wrote the letter, but I thought it might be a good note to end on. It is written to the instructor, and is signed by a former inmate. It says: "Just writing to thank you for what you have done for us. But, really, I could never thank you enough. I am now working in the Philadelphia Naval Shipyard, as a pipefitter. I am making \$3.50 an hour. I got discharged from my parole last month. I am now married to a very nice girl and have a happy home. I would never trade what I have now for anything, especially the type of life. I didn't want to write any sooner for the simple reason that I wanted to be sure of everything before I could actually say that I have it made. I feel that it is a full success. Tell

everyone in your group it is a much nicer life out here, just put forth some effort. I will end this short letter for now, but I could never thank you enough, but thank you once again. I expect to hear from you again soon. Sincerely yours, and thank you." I think a letter like that kind of touches your heart strings and makes you hope that you could help every person, wherever he is, to make himself employable, to make him a respectable wage earning citizen who can support his wife and his family. It has been a pleasure for me to say "hello" to you today and say a few words about what we are trying to do in New Jersey. I hope you have a very successful conference. Thank you.

THE AIMS AND GOALS
OF THE SEMINAR

Sylvia McCullum*

This seminar is really the culmination of three years effort. Some of you may be familiar with the Vocational Education Act of 1963. This was the Act which was going to revolutionize vocational education in the United States. Under that Act, 10 percent of the money given by the federal government to the state was to be earmarked for research and development of teacher training. This teacher training would take the form of summer institutes for vocational education teachers and teacher trainers across the United States. I think it was Jim Murphy and Garland Wollard who came up to see about putting some of that teacher training money into a seminar for teachers in correctional institutions. The Vocational Education Act indicated that special preference, special attention was going to be given to the needs of the disadvantaged. Dr. Wollard and Mr. Murphy argued very eloquently who is more disadvantaged than the guy who ends up in a prison.

This is the first grant which brings together teachers and administrators in correctional institutions, and vocational educators from the states across the country. A very important first, as I see it.

I think we ought to take a minute to talk about the need to develop relationships between correctional educators and educators in the outside world. It is almost incredible as you travel around the country. You'll have a correctional institution over here and, often less than ten miles away, you will have a first-class university, or first-class community college, or a real on going technical school, and no one is talking to anyone else. The prison is running its educational program and the youth center is running its educational program. Good or bad and most of them are bad. The technical school, college, junior college, public school system is over here. Traditionally, and it is as much the fault of corrections as it is anybody else, correctional education has been isolated from education generally. It is wrong! It's wrong on many different counts.

First, it's the community that creates the center and it's the community that should have the responsibility for the correctional institution, because it is the community which ultimately bears the cost.

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Now let's take a look at this person we call the typical offender: what is he like? You can make a grocery list of all of the negative qualities of the guy who ends up in one of our correctional institutions. But, every last one of them, and I don't care who he is or where he came from, has some plus factor. He's got some point at which he can be reached. And that's what you're here for.

Now let's back up just a minute. The public school system is structured to ignore this individual. The public school system is geared, for the most part, now here again I'm sure there are some exceptions, to push that youngster out. They are geared to the average, to the student who wants to go to college or the one who has some clear cut career goal. So you have a situation in which this youngster, his first offense generally at the age of fifteen, has little family background, almost no community ties, poor social background, and a school system which was the great American dream, the public school, free education, that was going to be the thing that really made this democracy work. The have-nots were really going to be brought into the main stream by our public school systems. Well, the present system fails these kids so we get them in the correctional institution, and for the most part, the correctional institution operates separate and apart from the state director of vocational education, from the board of education, from the universities, from everybody else.

So we get the rejects from society, the schools, the family from every place. But I repeat, I have yet to meet a person who lacks at least one plus factor. I have yet to meet my first complete zero. Surely there are people who are hard to reach and whose one factor may be very, very low. After a lifetime of failure, rejection, and hostility, that plus factor may be buried deep down. When I can't find it, I don't say to myself it doesn't exist. But I say to myself, "McCullum, you lack the knowledge; you lack the ability; you lack the professionalism, to find that plus. So get busy and get some help. Get someone who can help you find that plus factor in this human being." That is what you're going to be doing here for the next few weeks. You are going to be working with the people from the state vocational education services. They are supposed to be on the firing line. Professor Rush has brought together a tremendous assortment of people. They will be pointing to all of the new knowledge. I'm convinced that we could stop all research in the United States today in education. We could declare a moratorium and we would already have available enough knowledge-if we could find it, pull it together, and turn it into practical application to find that plus factor. Not only in correction, but in the public school system, too. You know correction comes under fire because it is so visible. A person gets rearrested and you have specific evidence that the correctional processes failed. But I don't think most of us know about the failures of the public school systems. Education, not only in correction, but education as a whole in the United States, is obsolete. You take a look at the new buildings, the new automobiles, take a look at the vast technology that changes this country and then you walk into a classroom in a typical urban school. It's unbelievable! They are still teaching like

they taught 20 years ago. There is a teacher standing up in front of the classroom. The desks are bigger; there is also a bigger space between the teacher and the student; and, oh yes, the composition of the desk has changed. Instead of the old wooden desk, you may now have a gray or green metal desk. So that much of it changed. I have gone into some of our correctional institutions and into some of our public schools. There stands the teacher lecturing, just the way I am doing to you. Lecturing, half the kids are asleep, a couple of kids are shuffling around in the back of the room, some kids are taking notes.

It's ridiculous! There has been a tremendous amount of research done--a tremendous amount of experimentation: all being unused. These are a few of the things you are going to be hearing about in the next two weeks. No lecture is going to be able to give you a run down on everything. The only thing that we can hope to do, and I think it is the major goal of this seminar, is to whet your appetite... To make you so disturbed with what you are doing, that no matter how good you think it is, you look for ways to do it better. And, if anyone were to examine some of the statistics of the public school and corrections, he would see we are not really doing a very good job. The statistics--the failure rate--are against us. If you were paid on a piece rate basis on how many successes, you would be poor indeed. Pretty poor--and yet, teachers ought to be paid that way. We go to a dentist and if he doesn't fix that tooth, we don't go back to him. We go to a surgeon, you know he is only allowed so many kills, and then you don't go back to him. You go to a mechanic to fix your car, and if he doesn't fix it, you don't go back. He loses business. But, if the American teacher can turn out as many failures as he does, he is not measured on it. His pay check keeps coming in. The same with the warden in the correctional institution and the same with the teacher. No one holds their feet to the fire, no one measures them.

Let's look at the total education process ..you know, education in the classic sense. Education as it really should be. Preparing a person for life, not as an auto mechanic, not a welder, but the job the educators are supposed to accomplish is to prepare the person to live and function in a complicated and democratic society. The whole life-style adjustment bit. You can't measure this in points, you can only measure it in terms of recitivism. The former inmate mechanic comes back, even if he is a good mechanic, he comes back. You really haven't scored with that person. But I think the thing that needs doing in all of education is if you are reaching 25 automobile mechanics, doing it well let's say, then the challenge ought to be to reach more...to do an every better job. See I am not arguing that there aren't some effective educational programs going on. What I am saying, if that's true, think of how much more effective it could be if you were to marshal and use all of the new techniques, all of the new information, all of the new processes that are available today. The kind of thing you are going to hear about this week is a key one: I think it is attitude. Not just the student's attitude, your attitude as an

educator. When you walk into the room and start to work with a person, what attitude do you send out? What would my student as a co-worker pick up? Do you really like people? Do you really believe that everyone is capable of accomplishing something? Do you really like your job or are you just putting in time in the system? Are you there for a real purpose? I think a lot of the people are going to be talking about the whole question of your attitude and the attitude of your clientele, with particular reference to the attitude of the so-called disadvantaged person. Another thing you are going to be hearing about is the new educational technology. What is programmed instruction? You notice downstairs on the bulletin board you don't see any reference to the word library. You would think there was no library in this building. What did you see down on the bulletin board instead of the word library? The Instructional Materials Center. You are going to be talking about the IMC concept rather than the library concept. You are going to be talking about the job clusters. Don't train for a specific narrow skill. Train for a whole gamut of entry level jobs which are connected by similar skill requirements. You are going to be talking about the so-called integrated curriculum. What is the integrated curriculum? Why should you bring together the academic subjects and your skilled training. What is so special about the disadvantaged youngster? If you try to replicate in the correctional institution the traditional school classroom for which he was rejected, aren't you doing the same thing over again? Aren't you failing him the same way the public schools failed him? What is the integrated curriculum? How do you tie it in with programmed instruction? Why should you not have a classroom with a desk and the traditional set up? Have any of you from the federal group written to Washington lately asking for approval to buy a desk? Don't! We may approve a desk for the teacher's office, but we will not be buying anymore desks for the classrooms. We want the teacher to be moving around. We want the teacher touching the students. We want the teacher building a closer relationship with the students. When you have got that nice desk in front of you, you can just isolate yourself from the kids.

I tell you as I go around the country looking at these various programs in prisons and in schools, money is not the problem. Now it might be part of the problem, but we could give some of the public or correctional institutions all the money in the world and if they continued to spend it the way they are now spending it, it wouldn't help a bit! Because they haven't changed their attitude. They haven't changed their focus. They don't have the sense of urgency that something needs to be done when you have a young man of 25 years of age in prison for the third time. You know you better do something before he gets that 15 to 20 year sentence the fourth time and you lose him entirely. The public school, unless the vocational schools do have the sense of urgency, are creating clientele for the correctional institution.

You see the traditional education scene, what is it? Have you ever watched a boy and a girl generally? A boy has a physical style of life, he moves around. Teachers are trained to maintain order in the classroom,

which means a really noiseless classroom. Take a look at some of the new learning laboratories. Where the individuals subscribe to the type of instruction that has been experimented with, you can't hear yourself think. But those youngsters love it. My kid does his homework with the television set on. When I ask him how can he do that, he doesn't know what I am talking about. He couldn't concentrate without the noise going on. We who have been trained with traditional education methods allow no talking in the classroom.

This is the kind of step you ought to be listening to this week as your teachers come and tell you about some of these new approaches. The classroom doesn't have to be quiet; you can have six kids in one corner working with remedial reading; you can have another six kids working on mathematics. You will be hearing this week about team teaching. What is team teaching? What is an instructional laboratory? A learning lab as distinguished from classrooms?

Nothing I am saying is sacred. In other words, if you work with a group of youngsters using programmed instruction and you find that seven out of the ten really swing on that programmed instruction, but three don't, then those three need the personal relationship. They just don't work well alone. One of their problems is that they need personal attention. With those three kids, you have a little study group and you get them involved with the teacher. What I am saying is, and this is the message you ought to get these two weeks, there is no one road to glory. There is a mixed bag. Most teachers find one little road and they follow it because it is comfortable for the teacher. Why you've gone to school; you've had teachers use the same jokes in the margin; you've slept through as many classes as I've slept through. Most of you in this room have a college degree. Well, you didn't get it because you were fascinated and loved learning did you? You got it because you wanted to get a credential and you are a conformist. You and I conformed, we sat in the classroom and we permitted the professor to put us to sleep. Then we took the test and gave back what they wanted us to give them. The kids we get in the institutions have more imagination than we do. They are fighting the system.

I do want to make two or three more points. But I think the message you have got to get the next couple of weeks, if you get no other message, is that as teachers, as educators, you have to become managers of education. You can't just get up in front of a classroom and just do it the same old way you were taught in teachers college or wherever you got your teacher education. You have got to swing to think. It will be hard for some of us because we haven't thought in so long it will give us a headache the first time we try. We have got to listen to our quiet ones, get their message and find that plus. I want to recommend a little book to you, it has got nothing to do with education, but it is fascinating. This book is by Charlie Chaplin's son, Mike Chaplin, and titled, "I Couldn't Smoke the Grass on my Father's Lawn." His was a wealthy family with

all the advantages in life. All that boy was interested in was zoology. His father chopped off every opportunity for that kid to become involved in what he was interested in. The father wanted the boy to do what he wanted him to do. He practically ruined the kid by trying to force him his way when the kid wanted to go his own way. So what I am saying is find the plus factor and on an individual description basis. Find out these two weeks what that means: Where do you get that information? Where do you get the materials? Where do you get the techniques? Work on an individual basis with each person, not with the group, not with the blob, not with the average. Make the community help you. As a correctional educator, the state vocational education people should be working with you. The state vocational education people who are really swingers will know you by name and will have been in your institution. This cleavage between public education and correctional education is wrong, it doesn't make sense. We ought to be working together because of the total community problem. Now let me hasten to add gimmicks won't work. If you think as a result of these two weeks, all this new knowledge, that anybody is going to bring you gimmicks, forget it! Forget it! What is being offered is what Dr. Wollard calls "integrity." The program we develop in public schools, as well as in correctional institutions, must have integrity. You can't fake it. Those youngsters know if you are teaching them something. If you build an educational program around teaching each 16 year old child to become a pilot, you know you could teach him arithmetic, you could be teaching him something most kids would like to do: fly an airplane. Most correctional institutions don't offer driver education. Instead, you teach a lot of academic subjects. Most of our youngsters are in prison because they stole cars. The least you could do is to teach them how to drive the car properly when they steal it. You would motivate them, you would reach that plus. There isn't a young American boy who doesn't long for an automobile. Use this longing to reach him.

If you really come to this seminar with the feeling that you want to offer a program of integrity to every inmate, every youngster; that every student in the school program really counts; that you are not going to be satisfied with just reaching the average; you just can't miss! Of course, you won't sleep some nights if you have one or two kids that you are just not reaching. It will just bug you. You see, now you say, oh well, I just can't reach that kid. It's not my fault if I can't reach him, it's his fault. I would say to you, no! It's your fault if you haven't found the nerve ending.

One last antidote. Last week at the University of Wisconsin we had a research meeting bringing together reports on the Ricker Island study, the Lorton study that Leon Leiberg will be talking about later today. Unbeknown to all of the academicians who were talking to each other, there were two former inmates of the Wisconsin Correctional System in the audience. The conference lasted for two days. It was

supposed to end Thursday, at 4:30 p. m. About 3:30 p. m., a really "hippy" looking type with a beard raised his hand and said, "My name is Jack Sternback and I am a doctoral student here at the University of Wisconsin. I have been sitting here for two days with two of the kind of people you have been talking about and we think you ought to hear from some of your customers."

If we had any brains, we would have done that in the first place. We would have structured the meeting so that we did have some former inmates responding to what we were saying. So very polite, if nothing else, educators are always very polite. We said sure, we would listen to them. The two young men each looked, I would guess, around 27 years of age. They had averaged about 7 years in penal institutions. What they really said was this: "Nothing that happened to us while we were in Wisconsin prison made us feel like we were human beings. We were made to feel like losers; we were losers; we will continue to be losers; we were put down at every opportunity; we were treated like nothing, but we are going to make it now!" Both of these young men said, "Because we are involved in a poverty funded program with this doctoral student," who was working with inmates in a Wisconsin institution. For the first time in their lives, they felt wanted, they felt useful. They weren't as articulate. Their English was broken here and there. But both of them said, "We will never be back in another institution again. We guarantee it. We now know what it is really all about. We have a useful function to perform and we know we can earn a living helping other people."

The academicians and all the others sat there kind of speechless. Then the last thing they said was, "The reason we came here was we thought you "phoney" were going to be mouthing a bunch of stuff that was nonsense. We were going to blow the whistle on you guys before this meeting broke up. But, from what you were saying as you outlined the Draper experiment, the Ricker Island experiment and the Lorton experiment, it looks like you people are really trying to find a way to help people. So all we want to do is say it has been very interesting. Remember, the thing you have got to do is make those inmates feel like worthy human beings. And when you have done that, you really have half the battle licked."

So I would urge you to keep your mind open these two weeks; we all have prejudices--forget them. Pretend like this is the first time you have gone to school. You have no fixed ideas on what constitutes good educational methodology or good educational process. Listen to those people who will be coming here to tell you about some of the new and exciting things that are happening in education. Who knows, you might hear something relevant to your own situation.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES OF IN-SCHOOL AND CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONAL VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Leon Leiberg*

You know I've had a great deal of anxiety coming here from Washington this morning. If you can imagine the great divergence between being a prisoner, working as a resettlement assistant, then for escapees and later working in prison, it will not be a very difficult situation to understand.

I am a European by birth and by education. I came to this country seventeen years ago, and meantime have traveled extensively in the United States and I have worked in a number of places. I came here because I wanted to come and I felt, having always been interested in the United States, that it has provided a fantastic opportunity for one to make a meaningful contribution.

I don't know how meaningful my contribution today is going to be; but, I hope that a sharing of the experiences and thoughts in this seminar might provide some kind of a basis for a dialogue in an area that I consider one of the most important ones that we face today, this is education. I don't think that this country has to face any more important problems at this time in this nation's history. In education, politics and maybe some of the race relations, but I think all these problems are very closely intertwined.

When I came to the United States, my first city was New York and immediately I worked with a group of kids from Harlem, at the Wiltwick School for Boys. For the first time in my life I was intimately associated with young people that had been raised, went to school, and fell apart in a major metropolitan area in the world. I don't think you can consider New York as a stereo-typed city. I do think it provides one with the opportunity to see what the cities are going to become and what cities have made of young people, in terms of difficulties, of adjustment, of living, of relating, and studying and so forth. The Wiltwick experience, although short, was an important one for me in terms of development and outlook. I must be frank with you and confess that this nearly meant the point of no return for me. Because I felt that if any country could provide a situation of this type for its young children, then maybe the rest was not worthwhile to see.

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Anyway, Wiltwick was the beginning, I went and saw what happened in the criminal process for the juveniles in affluent areas of America. I eventually ended up running a demonstration program for youthful offenders under the Youth Corrections Act, in a model institution on the outskirts of Washington, the Lorton Youth Center. You have seen this little booklet. On the twenty-sixth of this month, I'll be back here with four of my colleagues and associates and I hope that we'll have a meaningful evening discussing in taking this report apart. We want to discuss what we think is important in it and obtain your reaction to it.

This is the first time I can remember a seminar of this type is really beginning to hit the people on the firing line. Up to now a great many words have been spoken, a great many words have been written about education in America. We have spoken of comparative education, we have been speaking about vocational education, we have been speaking about special education. But, it usually has been on a pretty high level, a policy level or a passing down to the people that do the job by saying, "Wouldn't it be nice if . . ." The important fact is that today you and all of us here are together to discuss and to think, rather than to solve any particular problem. It's particularly important because we have reached a point that unless we do this and do it sincerely, consciously and with a great deal of effort and determination, the whole shooting match is going to fall apart. Education in the cities, education in the suburbs, education in the institutions in this country have sadly been lacking of a great deal of support, a great deal of understanding by many people. It has been considered one of the normal things in life, such as growing up, going on trips, passing time. The people entrust it to the care of the educators everywhere, unless they were the children of well-to-do parents, educated parents who have a great deal of interest and managed to provide education on a private basis; or because the children were so bright that they really didn't have any problem in getting into good schools and learning fast. It's been a problem that we have paid lip service to; we have raised certain questions, but really have never fundamentally come to grips with it. Today we want to engage in some kind of a dialogue, to find out what is happening and what should happen, I think it is important.

Personally, I believe that one of the greatest handicaps that this country has had to face has been the fact that education has remained still or has remained standing since the creation of the Republic. I could understand that in 1700 the importance of the state and the responsibility of the citizens to their own communities was such that schools and education were a local business. But, I can no longer understand that in 1968 education is being carried on the same way. We have approximately 2200 school districts in this country. We have approximately five thousand areas where education is operated, in varying ways, without any clear recognized standards. We have people who publish books and establish curricula on a regional basis. We have many

universities that do an outstanding job, and many universities that do a very, very bad job. At the same time, when everything is said and done, people have graduated from schools and have degrees and diplomas and nobody really wants to look at what is underlying there.

We all know that the problem is a bad one, but what have we been doing about it? We believe the mails have to be delivered by the federal government because it is unheard of that a letter you will mail from New Brunswick to California would be delivered part of the way by jet, part of the way by pony express, and part of the way by runner. Education seems to have escaped the kind of standardization that can only be helpful to the greatest most resource a country has, its youth. Attempts are being made to provide teacher training. Attempts are being made to provide standard books and certain standards of class performance. We have been speaking about college entrance tests everywhere we go. If you want to enter college you must have grades from the special examination. Nobody really cares what kind of level you have achieved. You've paid your thirty bucks and you're very happy and the school is happy because the records are complete, but what does this all mean? You know much better than I do that the young people you have charge of, both in the communities and in the institutions, are not producing according to their potential, according to their needs, or according to the demands of the times. You, yourself, are a product of some of the schools where, unless you had the good fortune to have an individual who was interested in you personally, you really managed to get by with as little as you could, with as little effort as required. Now I'd say you are reaping in the institutions today the fruits that were sewn a long time ago. Suddenly, in correctional institutions, you have a population that feels completely alienated. Alienated by not only what is called the middle-class standards, the middle-class needs and desires, but also alienated from the middle-class drives that everybody is expected to have. We speak that one has to be honest, one has to learn, that one has to work hard, that one has to eventually manage to get where one wants with hard work and determination. But you and I know that if we would take a fast look into institutions, we would know that in these days, most of the kids really are not doing anything at all. They're serving time, they're pushing papers around and making believe that they are reading something. They may be engaged in some kind of conversation with their instructors, but it does not really meet their need nor does it meet the need of their instructors. I think we have been doing a big, fast selling job. We have been happy and content to see that our budgets are always good and fat and that we require more staff; we order some books, we order some of these newfangled gadgets like programs that are prepackaged and machines that provide or should provide some assistance. Really and basically we really don't use the machines because we have had a great difficulty in putting ourselves in the place of the people that we are supposed to serve. We feel that we've got ours and now it is up to them to get theirs.

In this month's Esquire magazine, James Baldwin, in an interview, touches very briefly on the question of education. He rejects it outright and the ways it is being conducted today because it does not mean anything to a large percentage. The vast majority of the minority groups and others have done exactly the same thing. They have said well, we have to look at new things. But, we have always spoken in a circle, always speaking to each other. We have very rarely asked questions of those who we teach, to those who we instruct. If we would ask them and would begin to recognize their needs, then maybe, some of the programs would have been changed.

In one institution I visited, I was surprised to see that the library, for instance, was closed during school hours. When I questioned why, the person in charge of the library said, "well, because the books would not be returned to the library." I felt it was strange that in an institution where you had people in a closed area, where you had control of their movements and where you had an access to a number of resources, to be afraid of asking to give out books. This is our main way of communicating to each other and passing on to others in a packaged form, the experiences, thoughts and ideas. I am sure that this institution is not unique. I know some other institutions don't even have libraries.

We have all read the book that's called Book on Books (Fader) where the experiment was to change the value system in an institution from cigarettes to books. If you have not read it, I would strongly advise you to read it. In it you can see what can happen if people are interested enough, if people have some imagination, and if people use some of the methods that we use in packaging and selling soap, for instance, in selling education. The problem in the cities education is that unless the person you have within the schools is interested in pursuing his economics, pretty soon he reaches a point of no return and decides that school has nothing to offer him. He is looking for the day, and possibly anticipating the day, when the compulsory school attendance law will no longer have any hold on him so he can leave and pursue his own pleasures.

Often there is a vocational education school along the way that is operating but is not operating too well because it does not have the kind of contacts with industry that it would be required to make the teaching there and the materials and equipment offered meaningful to the student. He doesn't learn what is happening out in the local community and cannot relate to what is being asked of him today in order to have a job. If the person has managed to spend a year or two in this kind of vocational education, playing around, making cutting boards, and maybe if he's really lucky, metal ash trays that he can take home when his time in school is finished and out he goes. If he's really unlucky and runs afoul of the law, then he is committed to an institution. In this institution, the whole process of education simply continues in the same way as it had been in the past, without much, if any, kind of change. What is being produced is people like the walking dead. They serve time, they want out and nobody has any thought about how to structure their time in an institution to make it

meaningful and relevant and planned for the day the person leaves.

I think this problem is also the same problem out in the open community. The young people we're working with do not serve a life sentence. They don't serve a life sentence to stay in school, the sentence diminishes with time and, eventually, they go out. The same is true in an institution; a person serves some time in an institution and eventually he has to leave. I venture to say that if we would look at what is happening in institutions, in terms of schedules standardization, we would know that we haven't really missed the boat by really a long shot. I know this is true of my own children, maybe thirty percent of the child's potential is fully being utilized in school.

The educators in institutions and the educators out in the communities have not for a long, long time stood up and said what they think is right. What they think is important. They have assumed that they don't believe any change is going to occur. They go to their teachers meetings, they take some credits at the universities during the summer, if necessary, or they get a job; they come back to the same old job next year and continue the same old thing. But, at no point, unless they talk amongst themselves, do they really raise the fundamental issues whether or not they are preparing people to face a world very complicated, a world rife with problems, a world where survival is a difficult thing at best. For a person who does not have either the intellectual or financial equipment or support, survival is a very tedious thing, indeed.

I'm wondering if your jobs were abolished today, how many of you educators here could go out and find a job that would be an important, meaningful job, where you could fully utilize your own training? I'm wondering how many of the people here could really say without any reservations that it would be easy? As I told you before, I'm a product of our times. My European education consisted also at times of finding out that whole groups of people from one day to another had to change whatever they were doing. When I was very small, I remember Russian emigres who kissed hands and thought of times past of their fortunes and riches as they drove cabs or were plastering or cleaning streets or working in kitchens. Later on, when I grew up, I ran into a different group of emigres who still kissed hands and said hello and glimpsed at times past. These people were intellectuals, those who had received an education but found it extremely difficult to adjust, extremely difficult to find a meaningful job, extremely difficult to have self-respect in whatever they were doing. I'd like to ask if by stretching your imagination, you'd place yourself in the same situation and say, well tomorrow morning jobs are all abolished. . . we can no longer teach, no longer work the way we have been working, we have to find a new job, I'm wondering how many of us here would really be sure he was capable and able to adjust? Then, maybe, we would discover how a person feels who has not received the kind of education, the kind of support during his or her formative years

We have had some experiments lately in removing the schools from the jurisdiction and the supervision of the Board of Education in New York City. You'll remember there is a model school program there which has three schools and provides for major supervision by local people. There have been tremendous difficulties there, people have been on strike and picketed schools and fired teachers and refused entrance to principals and have discussed curriculum and so on. I would like to say that I believe that this is the beginning of something that will continue for quite some time. For the first time, the people, the people who do not have a great deal of pull, the people who do not have a great deal of education, have become sufficiently interested in the welfare and the educational problems of their own children to come out and raise their voices to ask, "Is what you are doing in the schools relevant or irrelevant, is what you have been trying to tell us you are providing here necessary, important, or is it completely out of the realm of everyday life?" I think that if you ask yourself a question as to what point you have been willing to look at your materials in school. Have you only been teaching skills, or have you included teaching citizenship? To what extent have you done a job of teaching that is interesting and tremendously important in looking beyond oneself and to the world at large and discover new things I'm wondering if you have recently, or in the past, planned for the future. if you've thought that what is happening in the schools all over the country has any relevance at all to the struggle that this country has to face now and is going to have to face in the future?

To some extent, certain programs have taken place in varying geographical parts of the nation with a number of new teachers. They have been called experimental-demonstration programs, pilot programs and what not. They have used new personnel, new books, sometimes no books at all. They have devised new methods and they have been extremely interesting. They have been interesting not only to the people who have been administering these programs but also interesting to those who have received the benefits from these programs. A great many things have been written about them. I'm wondering if you have recently read anything about these, retained anything about them, or engaged in any discussions about these programs. Of course, if you have discussed them you have not just let it go by saying, "Well, another one of these "kooky" things that has come to light. I don't know what they're going to prove. Now these people they're having to work with are never going to amount to much anyway "

It was my privilege to work for two and one-half years with a program for armed forces rejectees. Young men who wished to participate in the main stream of society; it was their desire to join the armed forces for, possibly, reasons of escapism because they did not like where they were living. Maybe for reasons of a need for training, maybe for reasons of need of status. Whatever they may be, they attempted to do a thing that is pretty normal in this day and age; to go to a

recruiting station and say, "well, here I am, here is my body, take me and make something out of me." And, much to their surprise they found that they were not wanted because they were lacking the basic skills of education. They could not read very well, they could not add very well, they had very few concepts of science or civics. They could not pass the most basic test. They could pass, most of the time, on the eighth grade educational level. At the time when we started this program, there were no programs that I could think of that were designed to provide rapid rejuvenation--intensive reaching out to the people who wanted schooling to prepare them for this type of life. But we did find some and developed some of these programs. In the course of this work, we went to the Department of Defense and said, "Look here, you're missing the boat in a big way. There are vast numbers of disadvantaged young people and this society has something great to offer them but you don't want to take them--why not? Why don't you want to take them, make an effort, find out, try?"

There was a great deal of argumentation going on at pretty high levels of the Defense Department and eventually the Secretary of Defense made a ruling. . . 100,000 young people could join the armed forces without meeting all the standards and all the qualifications. The army was going to find out whether or not these people could really "cut the mustard" or not. It did not come as any surprise to me and I'm sure it didn't come as much of a surprise to many others, but I'm sure it came to a hell of a big surprise to the majority of the people to find out that these individuals, when given the opportunity, provided the kind of support, and given a purpose and a goal, performed not only as well as the standard people but out-performed them.

Today, "Project 100,000" is no longer an experiment. I think it is going to be a thing of fact, as something that exists. As a matter of fact, the "Project" has gone even further than that for the armed forces are now training people with various vocational skills. prior to their release from the armed forces. Soldiers who will soon be demobilized are equipped to enter into the civilian labor market. This requires a great many new and innovative techniques. It also requires a great many changes from the status quo, a great many attempts to become interested in finding out what the community really wants, what the community really needs and what the desires and needs of the young people, themselves, are. I'm sure that in the years to come, at least this coming year, there'll be a number of reports written on the results that we have encountered. Those of you who have served in the war and benefited from the GI Bill know that this effort can work out.

Maybe you will be pleased to know that this effort has been extended to a group that might not have served on the firing line, maybe the way you did. The Job Corps, now four years old, has attempted to bring all these young people that were rejects of the schools, the schools that you know, schools that I know, into varying areas and provide them

with an upgrading opportunity. These things have to work hand-in-glove. You can't just shove things at people, you have to find out what they want. You have to take into consideration what their needs are and, although expensive, the effort I think has paid off. If as educators you are interested in looking at something spectacular, you ought to take a look at the educational materials for the teaching of elementary and secondary education and skills that have been developed by the Job Corps. I think that this provides and will continue to provide, the basic foundation for some of the changes in educational curricula, particularly directed to the inner-city children. It is going to make history. Unfortunately, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Office of Education do not have the kind of power or the kind of support they need. They cannot go to your districts and sell new books. This has been done already by many other people. They sell new books year in and year out. You discard the old ones and you buy new ones and, to be sure, not always familiar with what the new books say--maybe you didn't even know what the old books said, but, anyway, you buy new books. These OEO materials are relevant because, for the first time, they use the individual's needs, they use and have used his ideas. The ideas of the person to whom this effort is directed, to changes and to incorporate into the materials the kinds of things that are needed in our society.

I venture to say that in institutional education, the correctional institutions, in particular, these types of materials would provide the real good basis for an educational effort that would first of all begin to interest the average inmate. I'm sure the materials would interest the average instructor and teacher so that the day that the inmate comes into the institution and is put into this kind of program, he has a clearcut idea where he is going and will learn something eagerly. Obviously, the most important thing that you can do in education is to pass onto those you teach that the whole effort is worthwhile, that it has relevance, that it is meaningful, and it's part of the times. I don't know how one does it with people. I know that some teachers have it and others don't. I know that some students respond very well, some others don't. But, I think we have to ask ourselves, since we are in positions of leadership, whether or not we have been able to pass onto the people in our charge the kind of excitement, the kind of participation in matters of intellect that are really interesting and are fundamental to education. It is not the number of credits a person has, it is not the kind of degrees he possesses, it is not the places he has been that is important. Education is what is important, educating the student. If a person is a teacher, he can interest and motivate people to follow in these "educational" paths; and, look out, the people become educated. It is important that we also don't fall into the very easy trap of saying that we have classified everybody properly. We have given all the standardized tests, we have given them all the kinds of classification work.

This is true in schools. Out in the community by means of tests, we know where each person is but we won't take him from there. As

educators, we have forgotten that IQ's fluctuate, they go up and they go down, they are not static. We have forgotten the fact that the tests are only a tool that we can use. I'm not so sure it's too good a tool. We have forgotten, I'm sure, that a person is a person and, as such, cannot be classified into many meaningful ways, so that the label one puts on the person is a meaningful label that carries true throughout his lifetime. There are very few social paths around too. Most of the people that we are meeting within prisons are people with difficulties, enormous difficulties of adjustment, of relationship. They have tremendous problems in learning. To be sure, there are people who are hard-core, those that cannot learn or have criminal tendencies of such a nature that the only way society can protect itself is by removing them. Relatively few are in this category, we think about three to four percent in the average institutions. But you have ninety-six percent of the people in the institutions that actually are pretty normal people. Putting yourselves in their place, you would wonder if you, yourself, would benefit from the kinds of programs being run today.

So it means imagination, it means that you have to look beyond the job. It means that as educators, you have to provide leadership... leadership to the people around you. The administrators in the institution and in the schools cannot live in a vacuum. They have to, by necessity, take into consideration what exists around them and how to work with them.

We have been speaking here in terms of team concepts. We have been speaking in terms of a number of other things, but we have not really used these concepts in a proper way. I'd say, maybe you can at this moment take a fresh and closer look at what is happening. Maybe you can influence the people who work with you from a different discipline to take a fresh look at what they are doing too.

THE TEACHER AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF
THE CULTURALLY DEPRIVED

Bruce W. Tuckman*

In order to treat the subject, the first question we must address ourselves to is what does it mean psychologically to be culturally deprived or culturally disadvantaged. I will attempt to answer this question keeping in mind that we are dealing here with probabilities. A person who is culturally deprived is more likely to be characterized by the things that I will mention than is a person who is not culturally deprived. However, what I have to say may not always apply equally to all individuals who are culturally deprived, but it will be more likely true than false.

First of all, being culturally deprived very often means being biologically deprived; that is, being hungry, underclothed, and in need of medical and dental treatment. Medical and dental treatment are often needed for the individual both because of his general level of poverty—being unable to afford these services, and also because of the fact that the parents of the culturally deprived child or adolescent is very often unaware of the importance of medical and dental treatment.

Being hungry can have many ramifications. Breckenridge and Vincent (1962) have reviewed studies demonstrating that insufficient nutrition affects growth, behavior, and mental performance. From this work we can expect the hungry individual to pay less attention in the classroom than would be desired, and to have a reduced mental effectiveness. The work of Schorr (1964) also indicates that malnutrition has an effect on attitudes and behavior. Because of this biological deprivation we can make the generalization that the culturally disadvantaged person will be unable to delay gratification. This orientation toward immediate gratification or immediate reinforcement is generally coincident with a high state of biological need. The work of Hull (1952) and his associates in the animal laboratory have shown that as the drive state of the animal increases, that is, as the hours since the animal has last been fed increases, the tendency for the animal to perform the desired behavior if reward is delayed is greatly reduced. We can expect the same phenomena to apply when dealing with a human being if he is biologically deprived or has a history of biological deprivation, as is often the case with the culturally deprived individual. His behavior will be oriented toward satisfying immediate biological needs and he will not

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be willing to perform educational behaviors with a promise of reward forthcoming. LeShan (1952) has shown that lower class training features more immediate rewards and punishments leading to an orientation toward quick sequences of tension and relief. Mischel (1961) has shown that delinquents have a preference for immediate reinforcement. Thus, the first general statement about what it means to be culturally deprived is that it means very often to be biologically deprived and as a result of this and other training factors, unable to delay gratification.

Secondly, to be culturally deprived very often means to have a lower score on an intelligence test (c.f. Klineberg, 1963--for Negroes). This is not to say that a culturally deprived individual has a reduced intelligence; rather, I am saying that a culturally deprived individual has less of his intelligence potential developed than does an individual who has not suffered cultural deprivation. The low score is not native but experiential (Pettigrew, 1964).

The excellent work of Hunt (1961) in bringing together all available relevant literature dealing with the issue of predetermined development and fixed intelligence points out that cultural deprivation almost always produces less developed intelligence but that remedial treatment or improvement undertaken in the years of childhood, even in early adolescence, can modify the situation substantially. Dramatic modifications have been evidenced in the studies of Skeels and Dye (1939) and Wellman (1940). In the Skeels and Dye study, orphans were taken to an institution for the feeble-minded and raised by the patients. Gains as high as 40 IQ points were evidenced. Dennis (1960) has shown, in an orphanage in Teheran, that many children do not walk by four years of age. Why should this be so? It occurs because there is less stimulation in the culturally deprived home in the direction of developing cognitive, perceptual and verbal skills. Our intelligence tests and the situations that they have been developed to predict for are situations that involve verbal, cognitive and perceptual skills. This is obviously true of the classroom. In the classroom we call upon the students to manifest these three kinds of skills and all standardized intelligence and aptitude tests are weighted heavily in these three areas (as well as a fourth, numerical).

In the culturally deprived home, as mentioned before, the major orientation is toward the immediate gratification of biological needs. Much energy and emotional involvement by the parents must be spent on this task. Consequently, little energy and emotional involvement remain for the development of intelligence in the children. The work of Hunt (1961, 1964), Ausubel (1963), Wolf (1964) among others, points up the fact that a major factor contributing to intellectual development is stimulation in the home by the parents. Moreover, this factor is of peak importance in the early years of life, according to Bloom (1964). The parents themselves in most culturally deprived homes have had little education and are themselves in the situation where their cognitive, perceptual

and verbal skills may be reduced. They are not aware of many instruments of education that are available for use in the home and they do not have the time and the skill themselves to carry on conversations with their children which are necessary to develop verbal skills. Deutsch (1963) in his examination of homes in depressed areas, finds few educational objects and a general absence of parental stimulation appropriate for cognitive, perceptual, or verbal development. The findings of John (1963) lead her to conclude that the "acquisition of more abstract and integrative language seems to be hampered by the living conditions in the homes of lower-class children." This is supported by Bernstein (1962) who finds less language facility among the lower class. Siller (1957) finds less conceptual ability among low status children. Thus, the second general statement about cultural deprivation is that it produces reduced intelligence as a function of lesser cognitive, perceptual, and verbal skills. However, I must stress again that I am not saying this situation is permanent, fixed, unchangeable. It is a situation that can be rectified as a function of the educational situation as evidenced by the work of Boger (1952) and others mentioned before. This I will get to later.

A third characteristic which is generally produced in conditions of cultural deprivation is an absence of achievement motivation. Achievement motivation, which has been widely described, discussed and researched (c.f. McClelland et al., 1953; Atkinson, 1958) refers to the desire on the part of the individual to achieve either for the intrinsic satisfaction associated with achievement or for the rewards society meets out as a function of achievement behavior. This is very strongly associated with the middle class as McClelland has shown in his book The Achieving Society (1961). The American society and particularly the middle class of American society, as shown also by the work of Rosen (1956), is extremely high in achievement motivation.

Where does achievement motivation come from? According to McClelland achievement motivation is a result of rewards being offered for achievement behavior (i. e., approval) and punishments for failure. Consequently, the individual who is motivated or oriented to maximize rewards will perform achievement behavior. According to Winterbottom (1958) and to Rosen and D'Andrade (1959) achievement is further enhanced by identification and independence training. The parent puts much emphasis on achievement behavior in the middle class. As a result of success on the part of the potential achiever and consequent rewards, achievement motivation may well be developed. If the parents are themselves achievers, the development of this motivation in the child will be furthered. Excessive failure and punishment can produce in the individual a motive other than achievement motivation, namely: fear of failure. In the culturally deprived home there is little evidence that achievement is either rewarded or lack of achievement punished. There is little emphasis placed on academic achievement or cultural achievement on the part of the child, and the parent is not himself an

achiever by virtue of his own upbringing and lack of present opportunities. The work of Bronfenbrenner (1961) suggests that academic competitiveness is a function of middle-class upbringing but not lower-class upbringing. Again, the reason for this is insufficient time and a minimum orientation in that direction on the part of the parents themselves. Kahl (1953) has shown that parents interested in getting ahead send their sons to college while those interested merely in getting by do not. Consequently, we may state as our fourth generalization that cultural deprivation usually means having little achievement motivation.

The fourth and last general area in which cultural deprivation has implications is that of attitudes toward self, attitude toward others and attitudes toward the world. As a result of having to live in general hardship conditions, very often having reduced opportunities, being discriminated against, and living in a society that has the highest standard of living ever achieved and not being able to partake of this abundance, the individual may often develop a negative, cynical, fatalistic, and simple view of the world. He may often associate himself with undesirable or criminal elements, move in the direction of juvenile delinquency, and fall into the general clinical category known as psychopathic or sociopathic personality. The underprivileged person feels as a result of the situation that society is doing little for him, giving him little opportunity, and so he is quite right in taking matters into his own hands, and in an asocial fashion, attempting to mold his own situation. If he does not behave asocially, he may simply adopt a set of attitudes which are very negatively related to society. These will be expected to appear in the classroom since a classroom is a miniturization of society and the teacher a representative authority. Hieronymus (1951) has shown a substantial correlation between socio-economic status and attitudes toward education.

The attitude of the culturally deprived person toward others will be very similar to his attitude toward the world to the extent that he sees others as being representative of, or exemplary of society in general. That is, he will be negatively-oriented toward authority figures and feel that manipulation is a reasonable way to gain his ends. With regard to the attitude that he has toward himself, we can expect that he will have a low level of aspiration, and realistically so, since he sees his contemporaries and his elders having little success in life and having little opportunity to improve their situation. He may come to expect this with regard to himself (Hieronymus, 1951) and consequently manifest a low level of aspiration and low self-expectations. He may, on the other hand, feel that this inability to improve is a function of his own inability and consequently develop low self-esteem. Ausubel and Ausubel (1963) and Goff (1954) have shown that social rejection among Negro children leads to low self-esteem and a low level of aspiration.

In reaction to his own unsuccessful situation in society and the unsuccessful situation of his friends and his parents, the culturally deprived person may either become extrapunitive or intrapunitive, using the Rosenzweig concept. That is he may feel that the fault lies in himself and consequently have low self-esteem or else he may react extrapunitive toward the source of his frustration via delinquent acts. In either case low self-expectations and a low level of aspiration can be expected.

Thus, our fourth generalization is that cultural deprivation yields unfavorable attitudes toward self, other, and society which in turn may result in delinquent behaviors.

We may say in conclusion that the implication of cultural deprivation for education is to produce individuals with an absence of learning to learn capability, to borrow a phrase from Bloom, Davis, and Hess (1965). This learning to learn capability is similar to what Harry Harlow (1949) called a learning set. In Harlow's research with monkeys, the animals learned to solve discrimination problems and oddity problems by learning the general principle as opposed to reacting to the specifics on a trial and error basis in each case. When given three stimuli, one of which was different from the other two, some monkeys were able, after about 1,000 trials, to immediately select the odd member of the three and thus achieve a solution without groping. Harlow was not able to produce a learning set in all monkeys, and when he was successful, many trials were necessary. That is, only after much practice with the stimuli and much feedback were some monkeys able to develop a learning set.

Learning to learn for human beings encompasses the four principles I have discussed. A person who has learned to learn must be able to delay gratification or reinforcement for the fruits of education are considerably delayed after the beginning of the effort. Learning to learn means having the appropriate skills on which education is based, namely cognitive, perceptual, and verbal skills. Learning to learn means having the appropriate values, namely values toward achievement. And finally, learning to learn means having the appropriate attitudes toward yourself and your environment. Having these qualities means being set to learn. Having these qualities means having the strategy for obtaining knowledge. Having these qualities means being able to uncover general solutions and general truths rather than always being restricted to the specific.

Being culturally deprived means not having learned to learn in many cases. What can the educator do for such a person? It is to this question that the remainder of the presentation will address itself.

When the culturally deprived child goes through school, the situation only worsens. His deficit relative to his middle class counterparts becomes cumulatively greater. Evidence for the accumulation and worsening of the deficit has been provided by Deutsch (1964) and Krugman (1961). Thus, schooling tends not to improve the situation by providing the necessary skills, attitudes, and values upon which learning is based; rather, the deficit becomes greater and greater as the years of education proceed. By the time adolescence is reached, the culturally deprived student, according to data collected by Osborne (1960), shows reduced reading skills, relative to a non deprived group, reduced arithmetic skills, and a lower mental age.

Thus, the education system tends to selectively reinforce the good students and to pay little attention, or provide less than the necessary remedial help, for the deprived or disadvantaged students. Major responsibility for improving the situation remains with the administrators and program developers. Enrichment programs at the pre-school level are necessary so that deprived youngsters do not enter school with a deficit. Enrichment and remedial programs are necessary all through elementary school and high school, and better counseling, especially in the guidance area, is necessary in the junior high school and high school. However, the major charge for this paper is to examine what the teacher can and must do when teaching culturally deprived students.

First, let me review some factors which have shown up in various programs that have been carried out. Boger (1952) was able to improve visual perception necessary for perceptual discrimination in the case of culturally deprived students. Improved perceptual discrimination often leads to increases in intelligence test scores because perceptual discrimination in many cases is a prerequisite for problem solving, reading, spelling, and arithmetic. To achieve this end Boger had his students work with jigsaw puzzles and other puzzles requiring visual perception.

Brazziel and Terrell (1962) produced an improvement in pupil readiness as a function of educational TV and other experiences. Krugman (1961), in a review of New York City projects, suggest that remedial services, guidance and counseling, opportunities for cultural experiences such as field trips and museum visits, and an increase of care on the part of the school and the teacher all lead to an improved level of skill as well as an improved self-concept among lower class children. The Manhattanville project, or Higher Horizons Program, as reported by Shreiber (1958), was able to produce dramatic gains for lower class students. Remedial programs, tutoring, concentrated training, and systematic attempts at attitude change were perhaps the reason for the success. The project tried to improve the self-images of the students and to help them to develop pride in their cultural background. The project also utilized parent education and vocational guidance.

Shaw (1963), reporting on the Detroit Project and the Manhattanville Project, concludes that the utilization of professional workers, smaller classes, systematic attempts to change the attitudes of parents, and community involvement played a major role in the success of these programs.

And, finally, the experiences from Project Head Start suggest that mere contact between the deprived student and the objects and opportunities of learning can have an affect on performance level and attitudes.

Let us now examine specifically what the teacher can do in order to better teach culturally deprived students. These suggestions will be modeled around the four major areas of deprivation as described in the beginning of the paper. First of all, the teacher should attempt to reduce the delay in reinforcement as much as possible. In a very practical sense this can be done by quick scoring of examinations, by providing the student with continual and immediate feedback as regards his performance, and, primarily by constantly attempting to relate the school experience to real life experiences. Much effort is spent on education before the results of this effort can be obtained. Many students who drop out of school are not willing to tolerate this delay; among these often are the culturally deprived.

In order to moderate this delay the practical significance of education must constantly be pointed out to the culturally deprived student. In teaching the student to read, have him read the kinds of materials that he reads in his every day experiences. If he is an adolescent in high school, and will soon be entering the world of work, have him read work instructions, want ads, and other kinds of materials that he will be reading in the real world. In mathematics have him work on problems such as a personal budget or financing a car or making calculations on a blueprint. In this way he will see the applicability of the effort he is expending in school to his real needs in life; this will provide substantial reductions in the delay of gratification or the delay of reinforcement. Too often our school situations represent an ivory tower with respect to reality. It is necessary that this distance be bridged. While it is not entirely possible for the teacher to do it by himself, he can facilitate matters by always keeping in mind the fact that the culturally deprived student may not be able to delay reinforcement. He must always think of what he is teaching in the sense of what practical significance does this have for the student.

In the area of skill training, what is it that the teacher can do with respect to the culturally deprived student? The teacher should be aware of the fact that perceptual skills underlie reading, and verbal skills which in turn underlie cognitive skills. When a student is unable to perform satisfactorily in a cognitive task, it may be because he is in need of remedial help on verbal or perceptual levels. While the teacher may not always be the most skilled person in providing this remedial

help, it is necessary that he be able to diagnose where such help is needed and recommend the students to remedial programs, where they exist.

One useful point would be to attempt to teach at the perceptual level as much as is possible. Teach by showing, by doing, use gestures, use pictures, use diagrams, use schematics, use the chalkboard. Aim for the perceptual level and attempt to avoid the verbal level as much as possible. Give the students puzzles, like jigsaw puzzles, Chinese puzzles, and other kinds of puzzles that require some degree of perceptual discrimination in order to improve their skill at the perceptual level. Have them read as much as possible even in courses where reading is not directly the subject matter to be taught.

In vocational training programs constantly have them read instructions, read diagrams, read sketches, read specifications. Try to talk to your students as much as possible.¹ Through conversation verbal skills are developed. Where you are dealing with many students this is difficult, but insofar as it is possible, talk. Talk to the students to provide them with the conversation and the verbal stimulation that is absent in the home. This is especially true with younger students.

In the area of values and achievement motivation, the magic word is REWARD. The child or adolescent should be rewarded frequently and punished rarely. He should be rewarded for performances which are less than perfect but have some merit to them. The work of Skinner (1938) in the animal laboratory has shown that behavior can be shaped through a technique called successive approximations. Using this technique behaviors which bear only slight resemblance to the desired end behavior are reinforced and gradually this approximate behavior is shaped in the direction of the desired behavior by reinforcing behaviors that are more and more similar to the desired end behavior. The same can be done with humans, in the area of achievement motivation. By reinforcing only minimally successful behavior to start with, the likelihood of successful behavior will increase and it will be possible to reward more successful behavior in the future, and hopefully shape achievement-oriented behavior.

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I have suggested above that you teach by showing rather than talking. Now I may appear to be contradicting myself. I am not! By talking, here, I am conversing, as one converses to pass the time of day, not teaching via extended and complex verbiage. To improve the students' verbal skills they must hear the words, but this must occur primarily outside of the pressures of the formal learning process.

Punishment, on the other hand, will lead to fear of failure as the work of Atkinson and collaborators (1958) has shown. Estes (1944) has shown that punishment does not cause behavior to disappear; it simply inhibits its occurrence in the presence of the punishing agent. If failure is punished by the teacher, then the behaviors that lead to the failure may not appear within eye range of the teacher but they will not cease to exist in the repertoire of the child or the adolescent. Reward, on the other hand, creates a behavior pattern within the individual. Therefore, when dealing with culturally deprived students, for whom achievement motivation is minimal, failure should not be punished. The teacher should wait for some glimmer of successful behavior or achievement-oriented behavior and then reward it. He should attempt, through the generous use of reward to develop an achievement pattern in the student. This may be facilitated by posing simple tasks or simple problems for the student where the likelihood of success is great, and then rewarding successful performance. The difficulty of the tasks can be gradually increased as the generous use of reward has made the possibility or probability of success more likely. Moreover, the rewards should be as tangible as possible. The research of Zigler and DeLabry (1962) has shown that tangible rewards are more successful than intangible rewards with lower class students, while the reverse holds true with middle class students. Try to make the rewards as tangible as possible. This, of course, is limited by the opportunities available to the teacher. One cannot be giving away financial rewards, for instance, or candy, for every good performance. In many cases, the only rewards available to the teacher are such intangible ones as praise, or recognition, or approval. These are, obviously, important too. Make them as obvious and concrete as possible.

When it is necessary to use criticism, make this criticism objective. Criticize the work and not the person performing the work. The Lewin, Lippitt, and White studies (1939) gave clear evidence for the fact that group leaders using personal criticism were much less popular than were leaders whose criticism was clearly objective.

Finally, the all important area of attitudes is an area where a teacher can make a major impression and inroads into the problems of the culturally deprived. The teacher is a representative of society. He is, moreover, an authority figure second only to the parents as a major source of identification. A teacher can take advantage of this especially when the parent is not a good identification figure. Using the parent as an identification figure simply perpetuates the ethic of the deprived. To change attitudes of the deprived student toward himself, others, and society the teacher must be warm, understanding and sympathetic, in short, to take a personal interest in the student. If he is likeable, and yet firm and takes an interest in the student, the student will attempt to emulate him and use him as an identification figure (Witty, 1947). To the extent that the teacher incorporates prevalent social values, these will be transmitted to the culturally deprived student through identification.

If the teacher is fair, then the students' attitudes toward society may well be changed.

As many of the successful remedial projects, such as the Manhattanville Project, have shown a key to success is working with parents. The teacher should attempt to involve the parent and work with the parent as much as possible. for if he can change the attitude of the parent then the possibility of changing the attitudes of the student are double-barreled, as a result of his own direct influence and the influence of the parent over whom he has exerted some influence. The fact that involvement enhances the probability of attitude change has been well documented. Industrial studies, such as those of Coch and French (1948), and studies such as that of Lewin (1952), clearly illustrate that individuals who feel that they are involved are more likely to have their attitudes changed.

Also, get the students involved in providing some of their own direction in the classroom. Again, the classic Lewin, Lippitt, and White (1939) studies demonstrated that attitudes, motivations, and satisfaction were all increased as a result of a democratic group situation where the group exerted some influence over its own direction. This approach, which has often been called the learner-centered or pupil-centered approach, has been shown in some studies to be highly successful. Culturally deprived students must be able to take on the role of authority in order that their attitudes toward authority can be changed.

Outside of a group-centered or pupil-centered approach, which enables the group to have some control over its fate, the use of role-playing is also a way of changing attitudes. The study of King and Janis (1956) demonstrates that role playing can be used effectively to change attitudes. Let the students play the game of parents and children. Let some of the students be the children and some of the students be the parents and have them act out a home situation. Give them a feeling of what it is like to be a parent. Give them a feeling of what it is like to be an authority figure in society. Let them identify with society and attempt to defend society by playing the role of an authority. This may well change their attitudes towards the very society which they often find intolerable. Playing a role which is dissonant with ones attitudes, has been shown to cause those attitudes to change (Brehm, 1960).

Use praise and approval to change their self-esteem and self-acceptance. Let them know that you think they are worthwhile persons and are capable of good performance. Provide them with tasks of graded difficulty leading to success in order to change their level of aspirations. Jucknat (1938) has shown that aspirations go up as a function of success, while Sears (1940) demonstrated that success leads to the setting of realistic goals. One must be careful of pushing students too hard and too fast toward higher levels of aspiration. Many culturally deprived students have what Dollard and Miller (1950) call an approach-avoidance conflict with regard to success; they both desire

it and fear it. As they expend more and more effort and are pushed closer and closer to success, their fear becomes stronger than their desire (Brown, 1948). Dollard and Miller recommend that efforts be made at this point to reduce the fear, rather than increase the desire. The teacher, by leading the student toward success through the use of graded tasks, can reduce the fear associated with school.

Some students will need discipline and will have to be handled in a firm authoritative way; others will need warmth, acceptance, and understanding, and will have to be dealt with in a yielding way. The work of Hunt (1965) is applicable here. Hunt has spoken of the differential diagnosis-differential treatment technique. What this means is that people are different and the teacher must be aware of the differences and not attempt to teach or treat people all in the same way. They must be treated in terms of the differences. In the case of a student who is in need of authority, handle him in authoritative fashion. In the case of a student who is in need of acceptance by authority and permissiveness, handle him in a permissive fashion.

If the teacher keeps some of these points in mind, namely; (a) to attempt to relate the school experience to the real world experience in order that gratification be more immediate; (b) to attempt to do things in a perceptual fashion and provide as many tasks as possible for remedial training in perceptual, verbal and cognitive areas and to converse with the students as much as possible; (c) to make frequent use of rewards in an attempt through use of successive approximations to produce achievement-oriented behavior and success while making minimal use of punishments; and, (d) to utilize praise, approval and warmth, and such techniques as role playing and programmed presentation of tasks in increasing order of difficulty in order to foster identification with society, and improve self-esteem and increase level of aspirations, then the culturally deprived student may well be able to overcome his initial experiential deficit and cumulative deficit and derive a useful education from his school experiences.

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF OUR VARIOUS PUBLICS
TO THE POLICEMAN AND HIS ROLE IN SOCIETY

Jack Mark*

It is really by accident that I got into law enforcement, the police phase of the administration of criminal justice because when I was just about a snapper of about twenty-one or twenty-two, I had scored fairly well on a civil service examination for custodial officer and, at that time, they had a few openings. I was called to Washington to see, at that time, James V. Bennett, Director of the Bureau of Prisons. He had an opening at Alcatraz and he took one look at me and he said, "Oh, no, that's not for you." I guess if an opening had come, who knows, I might have put in twenty-five years in law enforcement.

But, I did have an opportunity, in addition to my police experience, to serve about a year for one of the Federal Bureau Prisons. It was in 1941 that I went into the police service. Sometime later, Oh, I guess I had about sixteen years in police service, when I was asked to head a graduate program for the City University of New York where police officers were studying for their graduate degrees... Masters of Public Administration with Police Science, as their major. After I spent about six or seven years there, I had to make a decision whether I wanted to be a captain in the New York City Police Force or move entirely into the educational field. I had been doing part-time education work for several years and so I accepted an invitation to come to Rutgers. I was happy for the opportunity. So, really, I speak to you with a little bit of knowledge on one phase and perhaps with some experience of years standing on the other phase.

Now why should there be a legitimacy of police concern, why should the police talk to a group that is mainly concerned with the vocational education of the offender and preparing him for coming back to a constructive role in society. Let me cite you some statistics which I think are important and these are statistics which come out of the task force reports and somehow give a little weight to the legitimacy of police and the whole operation of the administration of criminal justice.

They tell us there is a total of four billion, two hundred and twelve million dollars that is spent for the prevention and control of crime. Now, out of the four billion, two hundred and twelve million, the police throughout the nation get about sixty-six percent; corrections gets about 4.5 percent

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roughly; the courts about 6.19 percent; and the council gets approximately three percent. So that we see that from the view point of the mass expenditures, the police certainly have a considerable role in the whole operation of the administration of criminal justice.

However, just to break this down a little bit further but not to bore you too much with statistics, we have somewhere about 420,000 police, full- and part-time in the nation. Now, we may read a great deal about the large cities, but really most of your police agencies serve the smaller areas that constitute forces of 5, 10, 15 people. There are, perhaps, of the 420,000 maybe a hundred thousand serve in the cities which are of the large population size and I'm talking of cities of more than 250,000 people.

So to zero, most of our police are serving in small forces with concentrations in the larger areas. Why should the police be concerned with the effective rehabilitation of the offender? Because of what some of the leading articles are saying now from intensive studies of the offender, we find that if there is a high degree of recidivism, there seems to be a pattern of a more grave offense committed. So, again, the police, perhaps some lonely night or perhaps it's in some dark areaway, may be involved in direct confrontation with the person who has not adjusted to society. So you see, the police have a real and direct concern.

We are moving rapidly now into what I call a critical, emergent role of the police in society. It wasn't always that way. Traditionally, who were the police? The police were people who were detached and now I'm going back through history. Either they were detached from the military and served as cavalry troops that policed the inner cities of the walled cities. The first police were really property watchers; if you go back to the Egyptian times, they were the fellows who watched the riches of the temples. There was no real concern with the individual. They were employed and hired to do a particular job, mostly the watching of property. We had police forces, however, two thousand years back but, again, they were the military. Even Rome was divided into somewhere between six and twelve of what we would call large precincts. They had a number of men in each precinct to police the populace. The Chinese had really a somewhat effective type of police control; they said that if a police officer in China had a particular beat and something happened on that beat, for example, if there was some property stolen, he better get the offender or make up the difference. And, if there was someone killed, he better get the offender or he would suffer capital punishment. So you can readily see under that type of rigid control, it wasn't long before quite a few people were brought in that had nothing to do with crime but they got a body. Now, through the Middle Ages was a dark period in history and not just in terms of policing. Again we find that the policing was primarily done by the military and specialized hired groups. English history is perhaps contributory in this sense in that around the time of the eighth and ninth century, families would get

together and perhaps select from among themselves responsibility for the safety of the community. And so they formed groups of ten, the groups of a hundred families, and that, incidentally, was the progenitor of today's sheriff where someone would act in behalf of a hundred families or, as this grew larger, somebody acted in behalf of the official delegate of the King. Of course, the Magna Carta in 1215 really was not a declaration of freedom in terms of the populace, but it was something that the rather strong and important landholders and gentry of the time were able to extract from the King and it was for them an expression of freedom.

But through all this---we're going in a rather kaleidoscopic effect here---and through these periods, the police again were not of the community. In England, during the Industrial Revolution, when they started to have a series of displacement, urbanization and riots, there were a series of parliamentary commissions and committees appointed. Five of them to be exact, each one of them trying to determine what could be done about having popular control of the police. That is, in terms of the police controlling the community and the police being responsive to the community. They had developed a system of fief takers. You know the Fielding Brothers, magistrates, and the Bow Street runners from your English. If someone committed a crime, a complaint was made; they were picked up for a fee. We know in our history of criminology, at that time they had a series of offenses all requiring capital punishment with no real effect on the crime problem. As a matter of fact, they say while they were watching the hanging of one person, there were a number of people committing these same capital offenses among the audience. But it was Robert Peale who came along with the idea that the police should be of the people and act in behalf of the people and for the people. He should be somebody a little bigger and a little taller, who can just pat somebody on the back and say, "All right, fellows, let's go home, let's keep the peace." So we founded the first official police force in 1829 in London. I say London but I mean the greater metropolitan area of London. This really was the prototype of the police forces that we have in this country today. The first police forces were confined to perhaps five large urban areas, if you wish to call them large. Again, they were mostly property watchers. They were paid by the owners of the place and it was only after a while that the city contributed something to the payment for the police. The police were divided into the day watch and the night watch when finally somebody determined that policing is a 24 hour a day business. Here in the United States we saw the first police forces established somewhere around the 1940's in the sense of a single unit force.

Now about the popularity of the police. It is a myth to say that the English accepted their police forces openly while the United States did not. The first police officers in London were lucky if they weren't thrown into the Thames River. As a matter of fact, they did not want to wear a uniform because policing on the continent had received a very

bad name, especially was this so of the French police. So what happened was that there was a great deal of resistance to the police and just like now, every few years you see an article stating, let's do away with the police. Well, the United States had something of the same thing. I'd just like to cite from the Historian Handlin who says what a prominent Bostonian merchant about 1815 said, "If there ever comes a time when Americans have to have in their cities a paid professional police force that will be the end of freedom and democracy as we have known it!" This is in 1815 just a century and a half back

I've been asked to speak to you somewhat in terms of the composition and the make-up of the pressure groups; by and large they are good things! Why? Because they are needed to keep the police apparatus responsive and flexible. Unless the police do have some kind of measure of what the community wants, it cannot operate effectively. We are beginning to feel that it is the community itself that, in the long run, will dictate the effectiveness of the police. Because it is the community that will report crime, it is the community that will come forth as witnesses. It's the community that will support legislation, which in turn will give the police and other agencies of law enforcement the proper equipment.

Now just so we don't go overboard when I say four billion, two hundred and twelve million dollars spent for the administration of criminal justice and I said that the police get 66 percent of this or more. Let's keep in mind that our nation spends 12.4 billion just to buy liquor, so let's keep the relative figures in perspective.

What kind of special interest groups do we have now? Well, for example, we have the automobile driver, we're all part of that group. What kind of pressures do you think they exert on the police? Well many times the police officer in responding to an accident situation or seeing somebody create a violation will get this kind of response-"What are you doing here? Why don't you catch some burglars? Why don't you catch somebody that's doing something real bad in the community? Why do you pick on us? We pay our taxes, we pay our drivers license, for our car license, we support you." There is an element of truth in that, but there is also an element of truth in this too. There are more people killed by automobiles, more people injured by automobiles than you have for all violent crime. We have averaged over the last few years somewhere around the 50,000 vehicle fatalities a year. We have nowhere that amount hurt by violent crime. So you see, it does become important. There are over a million people injured seriously and it's like an iceberg. If you really look at the picture, you will see that just some of them are reported for insurance purposes. But, behind that, there may be many more losses of work and injuries, so this figure is a conservative one. You are all familiar with the scene in the large cities where somebody wants an additional traffic light put up. The baby carriage brigade goes down to the station house and blocks the intersection and says, "We want a light!"

Now the police traditionally are not always responsible. There's an engineering department that handles that in some cities, and it's the police in others. But, the point is, that it takes a certain amount of knowledge and it takes a certain amount of requirements for a traffic light to be put up. For example, you may put up a traffic light where none is required because of the volume of traffic over a period of years has proven one is not required. The very thing that you wanted to avoid is going to happen. When a traffic light is not needed at an intersection and you put one up, there'll be an increasing amount of injuries to the small youngster approaching a car from the right hand side. This is because, if no light is needed, the motorists knowing this tends to speed up and go through that light. The little youngster looks at that green light and feels he's got the right of way and smash. So you see, there has to be a certain amount of volume flow on an hourly rate before a light is safe to install, and the uninformed but well-intentioned are unaware of this.

But these are examples of the pressure groups that police have to contend with. Then, of course, there are the professional organizations. Now, as never before, every group in the country has its professional groups; the so-called spokesman. For example, not too long ago, the PBA in New York City took the Mayor to task because they said they didn't have enough police officers; they wanted five thousand police officers. The Mayor said he couldn't do it, he had to be concerned about the budget but he'd look into it. Well, sooner or later there will be many more police officers appointed and so this acts as a certain amount of pressure. Now I don't say that the organization pressure groups are always doing the right thing. We have the situation with the civilian complaint review board in New York City. Again this became a situation with a great deal of confrontation. The police went out and got signatures from the people and the civilian complaint review board was defeated. Sometimes they act in the interest of a good and effective community; sometimes they don't, but we do have to contend with them always. Then there are the pressures of the unions. We always have the vested interests and special interests trying to get special favors, but you have to deal with all of these in every walk of life.

When you get a perversion of the democratic process; that is, when one group with such vested interest gets so strong that the great majority of interests of the group is obviated, this is when we have to be concerned. I'm speaking now about something which police, and perhaps a good deal of the administrators of criminal justice, have spoken about for a long time. The public seems now aroused a bit and I'm talking in particular reference to groups such as the "gun lobby". This is a great and serious concern here, even though I do not believe and I'd like to state this categorically, I do not believe that we are a more violent society than we were 100 years ago. As a matter of fact, I believe that we're less violent. On the other hand, the gun lobby, in terms of its quick marshalling of support against all kinds of firearms control, is a

disservice that the police have to face. We do know that in the country, and we can take statistics on an hourly basis, that about two people lose their lives each hour through the firing of weapons and guns. This is a considerable statistic, you just add that up. Twenty-four people a day added up over a period of a year, this is a great toll. I don't think we're a sick society, but what concerns me more is what is the sickness in the society. I understand from the composition of your group that you are here from all over the nation. I was reading the other day an interesting thing that in many areas and communities, the people are starting to give up their guns voluntarily. They're feeling that each gun that was gotten in haste may be a negative vote against the democratic process.

We are vitally concerned here in New Jersey. Why? In many of our communities, because of experiences in the past few years, many of the people are arming themselves and they are not turning in their guns. The applications for permits grow in number and more guns are purchased. When you have guns available and violence begins, violence begets violence and the police, if I may say so now, seem to be in something of a bind. Perhaps a simple diagram will help describe the situation-- though you can never really diagram people and movements. On the other hand, you have a legitimate aspiration, people trying to get a fair day in the sun, people trying to get what's due and owing to them. On the other hand, you have illegitimate aspirations, you have the power brokers, all pressing on one side. As these pressures build, there's a reaction. They call it backlash on the other side, the stronger this pressure grows, the stronger that one grows. Now if the police can do their role effectively, they can constructively reduce some of the illegitimate pressures here. They must reduce these pressures, however, for if they do not succeed, there will go your viable society. So it is a most important role now that the police are fulfilling. But it is interesting to see and, perhaps, it always takes a real critical event for the people to marshall their forces. For example, look at accidents and traffic safety and, in general, safety. We know that after there is a large fire, such as the Triangle Shirt Factory fire here in New York in 1911, or the Coconut Grove fire in Boston, or some kind of large cataclysmic event in which hundreds of people die, there is an immediate concentration on what can we do to prevent such a tragedy and certain laws are passed. And we do know there is a strong response now in terms of seeing what we can do to reduce violence. We see this not only true upon the part of the individual public, we see now that the industries, television, and radio are all sort of reassessing what can they do to possibly cut down on violence.

Just let me briefly go into the myths that we have about crimes that create the public pressure groups. I said before that I don't think we're living in a much more violent society than we were a hundred years ago. Let me try to buttress that. We know, for example, that in the Civil War draft riots, there were two thousand people killed at that time in a city of 800,000 people. There was a police force of 2,200 on duty, 17 of the 2,200 were injured, this was in 1863. Innocent people were

attacked, burned, trampled upon, police officers were killed, other mobs dropped heavy pavement stones on officials, mutilated them, you could say, for life. We know that through history we've had these types of riots. Despite the riots that we've had recently, we note that, unfortunate as they are, all the total fatalities combined come nowhere near that period of 1863 in a number of cities. We also note that there were areas in cities where police could never go. Cities within cities that were controlled by particular groups working in a particular area, ethnic groups and so forth. But, no police officer could walk in that district. We also note that there was a considerable amount of violence throughout the nation through that period of time. Now let's look at the picture today and let's try to make some kind of sense. I think we speak a lot of nonsense. First of all, we speak of the so-called index crimes, which are the seven crimes which act as a barometer of the amount of criminality in society. Of these seven crimes, the so-called violent crimes consist only of about 12 percent of all those crimes. What I mean by the violent crimes, I mean manslaughter; I mean robbery; I mean felonious assault, as it is called. But about 88 percent are crimes that are not crimes of violence but crimes of stealth. Predatory crimes perhaps, crimes against property, but they're not crimes of violence. And I think that we should keep this in mind. And, then, it's nonsense to talk about crime, isn't it? What kind of headway would medicine make if they talked about disease? If we are going to talk about crime, we ought to talk about particular crimes. If you want to talk about crime, is it robbery you're talking about? Are you talking about street robbery or are you talking about muggings in the hallway? Are you talking about arson? What are you talking about? To lump together all crime and say we're moving from 2.8 million to 3 million crimes is meaningless, if in the same paragraph we talk about violence in society.

We do not have a preponderance of violent crime, even though a series of violent crimes is a threat to the community. But the community responds and is concerned. In many of our cities people do not go out at night, or they're concerned about going out at night. They just give up certain activities. An interesting survey for the Crime Commission Report, the National Opinion Research Center, and the Bureau of Social Services found that many of the areas, particularly in the ghetto areas, they were very much concerned about crime. The Negro female was much more concerned about crime than the white female and the Negro male was much more concerned about crime than the white male. Another myth about crime, we tend to feel that crime is predominantly, or at least some would have it said that way, race against race, it's not! Most of the crimes of assault and violence are committed where? Right in the home, right between friends, right between neighbors. In doing a study of crimes, homicides, a number of departments have found that 7 out of 10 occur right in the local setting. So street crime does not play the predominant part as some would have us believe.

Now I think in terms of the direction we are moving in the whole administration of criminal justice, we have to give up some of the safe

studies in which many researchers have engaged. Studies that have been done by professionals--I'm talking where we've sanctified, let's say, the chi-square method where we've sort of lived in a cocoon, so to speak. This may require three or four years of intensive study. He then comes up with the startling discovery that there's a significant difference between the amount of times the one-celled animal responds to a green light than to a blue light, or that after an intensive study of a group of inmates or a group of juvenile delinquents, he found there's a 2.8 percent difference in the weight or some skeletal difference. These research people are important...all research is important, but I think we have to reorder priority. I think, however, what is needed, as I mentioned before, is just as we study crime in terms of particular crimes, we ought to study different kinds of work release programs. If we're thinking in terms of an added dimension, what kind of comparison statistics do we have? What are the advantages of various types of work release programs with certain types of offenders? I think these would give us much more insight into where we are going. Perhaps the researcher has been tremendously at fault. Many of the researchers do research to please their peers, they'd like to get the research put up in such a way that it pleases the professional group. They may not add too much to our sum total of knowledge and this, I think, is tragic. We need a study of various programs, but not just study for study's sake.

Then, again, I'd like to think we have a co-ordinated approach, or rather than thinking in terms of, the separate responsibilities of the police officer and a probation man for parole and correction. Rather than thinking as different segments of the total administration of criminal justice, I think we ought to think of each other as components working together. Our training and education for police has started to adopt some of this. It's unfortunate, you know, but sometimes you get a police officer who can give you almost a, what we call, "Brandise brief." He can give you the majority and the minority of dissenting opinions of the key landmark decisions, but he doesn't know a thing about what is going on in, let's say, the local penal institution. He knows nothing about it, or hears very little about it. I think it's time for him to become aware of what's happening within the whole correctional society, so that when he walks out on the beat, he brings that added bit of knowledge. I also think it's time for correction people to spend some time, two, three or four weeks, going along with police, not as participants but seeing the difficulties and problems that face police. And I think that the courts should be doing the same thing. It is something to see, for example, a police officer working in a ghetto, walk into the tenement and there on the third or fourth floor, there's somebody, or a group, practicing karate punches. How to break a man's nose with one blow. It's a sad thing. What skills will these fellows have when they come into society or when they are expected to function in society? So I think that all of us ought to be aware of each other's problems, I think, again, we have as individuals, done what we could call a hell of a job. Collectively, we have done a lousy job. In any kind of correctional institution or system where you read there is a 35 percent recidivism rate or even if you read there is a 75-80 percent recidivism rate, it's still

unfortunate. The point is, we have not shared information with one another. We have not really approached it from a professional point of view.

It is interesting to see that out in Cavena, California, Chief Ferguson had some of his men actually go through the process of being locked up; of actually going into the jail seeing what it's like; getting an understanding of what it's like to be behind bars. The men came back and said they had a much greater understanding of their role and what they're supposed to be doing. Much greater awareness! It is also interesting to see a study is now being conducted by City University of New York where they're training police officers particularly for responding to family fights. Now this is something that traditionally the police do not think important. For example, when police would respond to a family fight, they would try to make some kind of adjustment or settlement so that the two people didn't kill each other and off they went. Sometimes they had to make the arrest, of course. Sometimes they may have waited until there was a killing, it was then much easier to handle, of course. On the other hand, the police officer became aware of the tremendous traumatic effects on the whole family, especially on the children, when you take the father or the mother out. I recall one of my first days on the police force. I never forgot this man's inhumanity to man. A little boy had been run over... just a kid who must have been somewhere around nine or ten, and, as usual, they needed some kind of identification. Even though the people in the area knew the boy, they still called the mother down to identify the son who was killed. The police officer brought the mother over and the mother, overcome with grief, looked and said, "That's my son," and the police officer said, "All right, lady, that's enough." Now, this type of thing is inhuman. On the other hand, I think of police officers who gave their lives, who were dedicated with such kindness they gave from their own pockets monies, out of low salaries, to do something for their citizens. So you get all kinds, from one extreme to the other. The "family fight" study is now going under quite a bit of evaluation. This project is being conducted in a special median income, low income area. The police officers who were selected for the project had dedication to the idea. They arranged that 18 police officers, integrated teams working in two's, would respond to a family fight and they keep a record of what happened. There are some stories, of course, where they have prevented what may have been some serious crimes.

Now if we are all going to move forward, if we are going to be professional and if we are going to think of ourselves as components rather than segments, I think we have to share information. The true characteristic of a professional is that he shares information. In essence, you're doing that here now. The second thing is that I think we have to build up a body of knowledge... a body of knowledge based upon research, not the type of research which I have characterized earlier and about which I have been so critical. Much of the research performed is waste and

duplication. It winds up on some shelf where nobody reads it and that includes private supported research. One man on the Ford Foundation was saying that they gave a considerable sum of money to fund a research project. I asked him if he ever read the report and he said, "I went through the first ten pages, but who can read that?" Then I think we have to have a recognition of the need for professional discretion. I mentioned before that we have pressure groups. To a degree we should be responsive to these pressure groups; we should be flexible. The police apparatus cannot live unto itself, but there comes a time when professionalism must prevail... professionalism on behalf of the whole community. I think it's time to recognize that as professionals, the police or other segments of law enforcement, must use discretion. We can make mistakes with discretion, but there has to be discretion. It's the only true characteristic of a professional. If everything we're to do is going to be judged from kingdom come, you're never going to have any advances. But, discretion must be exercised professionally. I think there has to be a disciplinary research team. Wouldn't it be a good idea if a police officer, or an ex-police officer, a research man, and a probation or a corrections officer could work together to look at a problem. Bring in some of the fellows down from the courts, too, to work with the group.

It is interesting that we talk about police-science programs. The first police-science programs were really very narrowly oriented, and were highly technical. Here and there, there was a program that wanted to give some real direction to the training of the police officer. Volmoe, who is considered one of the fathers of Police Administration, started a course back about the 1920's for youth workers and some of the police women. I think some of the police officers out in the University of California at Berkley started some courses in public administration and police-science, but there were very few courses during that period. There was practically no advancement in police-science courses until the boys started to come home from World War II. They had the opportunity to get additional education under the GI bill and, then again, after the Korean War we saw this increased impetus for education.

If you look at a map of the United States there are now about 300 police-science courses. California looks like it has the measles for each dot represents a police-science course. There must be somewhere between sixty and seventy courses in the state of California alone. The courses are now being spread nationally; we have about three in this state. Generally speaking, the educational level of a police officer of the United States is not a certain thing. There is an estimate, according to one of the supporting documents for the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, of about 6.4 percent, or in that area, of our nation's police have a college degree. Here in Jersey there's an estimate of about 1.5 percent of the Jersey police have some kind of college degree of some kind or another. The real characteristic of the police-science programs today is they're trying to give the police officer a broad education. They are not trying to educate him in what he would be learning at the recruit academy;

they're trying to give him a broad perspective. We want him to take courses in American government, public administration, criminology, we want him to have the broad perspective and understanding of the job. Now we do know that schools are developing, they're now thinking in terms of the concepts of schools in the administration of criminal justice, rather than the narrow technical branches of the various phases of police work. We've even had a number of overtures here and I hope we will soon move in the direction of trying to start programs for correction officers, for probation and parole people who want to get some feel in the whole field of administration of criminal justice. There are a few schools now throughout the country. I mentioned one in California and there is the John Jay School in New York City; there is a school up in Albany, New York. I think this is the direction we must take. I think, primarily, once and for all, we have to think that if we are going to make any advancement at all in the administration of criminal justice; if our voice is going to be heard, and that the statistics may be somehow twisted around that instead of 12.4 billion for drinks and alcoholics and 12.2 billion for the administration of criminal justice. If this is to be turned around, maybe 12 billion dollars given to the administration of criminal justice, I think we'll all have to work together, we'll have to articulate, and we'll have to communicate with one another so that we can really do the job that has to be done. Thank you very much.

THE CULTURE OF POVERTY

William M. Phillips, Jr. *

I want to take this opportunity to deal in extravagancies and improbabilities. In other words, I don't intend to beat the same old tune from the same old drums about culture, black people, poor people, and repressive social institutions. Oscar Lewis is now the leading advocate of the theory of a culture of poverty. He makes three major points about it. The culture of poverty is conceived as a self-perpetuating system of adaptive responses created by humans caught in environmental conditions of wretchedness, misery, oppression, and repression. Its dominant characteristic seems to be that those living in it are brutally cut off from the dominant institutions of their larger society. For example, those so trapped do badly with respect to the customary educational arrangements; or they tend to have a distinct pattern of marriage and family life. The culture of poverty appears to be unusually apt to be found in capitalistically organized societies. Thus poor people may be found in every society, according to Lewis' tentative formulations, but not the culture of poverty. Individual demoralization, hopelessness, dehumanization and brutalization are the main fruits of the culture of poverty, while its costs to the members of the larger societal system are largely unmeasurable.

Now there are a few preliminary remarks required to reveal some of my orientations and biases. Bluntly, the crucial group among the poor of the United States today is black people. Recent Bureau of the Census reports (Current Population Reports, p. 3) state that in 1959 nonwhites accounted for only 28 per cent of the entire poor population; whereas, in 1966 nonwhites made up 36 per cent of the entire poor population. Thus, there is little need to mince words about it. Black Americans are the crucial group because relatively they are the largest, the most visible, and the most damaged according to any criteria ever devised to measure or identify impoverishment. Moreover, they tend to be unusually concentrated geographically; they live mainly in cities and metropolitan centers of our urban nation. Second, our correctional system today is, of all things, a cooling-out institution for black people. Individuals from damaged or spoiled groups make up a surprisingly large proportion of those found in any of the restraining camps called correctional institutions. Young black males and females are unusually prone to be found in such officially approved societal institutions. Now I don't think this pattern is accidental nor do I believe

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that it is unrelated to the fact that blacks are usually associated with the condition of being poor. Finally, poor-and black-people are subjected to quaint ideas, treatment, and definition with respect to educational potential and capabilities. Many educational functionaries and agencies of our society, for example, are apt to stress heavily a gate-keeping barrier of vocational training for individuals from such spoiled groups. Few poor or black people get into such vocational educational institutions as medical and dental schools. Maybe it is just fate, luck, or kismet that this happens; but I would be inclined to accept this explanation only with grave reservations.

Put in another way, I'm suggesting that social institutions, processes, situations, and conditions are closely bound up with the objective and the subjective problem that we call the culture of poverty. This is in contrast to the common or psychological approach to individuals caught up in impoverishment that somehow they have failed, are wrong, and need treatment and handling. The things I have in mind are the status system; the educational system; the legal, law enforcement, and justice system; the corporate economic and work system; the militaristic system; the racist system; and the health system.

From this perspective, then, I am disposed to concentrate attention upon those systemic processes and institutions along with the approach of manipulating individuals in order to change things today in our social world. I think, for example, that the culture of poverty is not god-given; it can be lessened and perhaps eliminated. I think that racism is not endemic in human society; it can be made to disappear. I think that ignorance, mental, and physical illness are not necessary to man's existence; and that they can be essentially removed as problems in today's communal life. Finally, I hope that delinquency, crime, vice, brutality, and wretchedness are subject to social control and removal as ever-present features of contemporary existence.

The question now becomes how do I propose to deal with the culture of poverty from the perspectives of correctional institutions and education. My suggestion is a simple one. Since correctional institutions are populated mainly by poor and black people, reliance should not be placed mainly upon vocational and technical education. Rather, those underclass individuals found in correctional institutions should be offered what they need; namely, a radical education program. The virtue and the essence of my radical education program would be to teach controversy and revolution. It would center upon an ideology and a vehicle which would enable those caught up in poverty to assault the systemic processes and institutions which perpetuate poverty and racism. It would involve eliminating the customary adversary relationship between correctional institution officials and inmates and substituting a cooperative partnership and alliance. Correctional institution officials may even consider assuming the role of clear-cut advocate for the blacks and the poor who typically make up their responsibility.

Note that I am saying that promising jobs, work, welfare, security, employment, and other materialistic goods and dreams to inmates of correctional institutions is to be stopped. It is a hoax and is profanely cruel and absurd. Most of them know it and manage to sabotage all such programs to their own ends anyway. Their experiences and agonies tell them what the score is and for correctional officials to play games with them about work and jobs just puts them on (Example - the Saga of Malcolm X.)

I am suggesting, instead, that we deliberately disenchant them more with real knowledge about the working of American society. They really need to know how to organize political movements that can force change in situations and institutions. For example, how can poor people get the local police department off their backs? Now surely we can devise classes for inmates that can show them how to cope with urban departments of law enforcement and make these instruments of repression somewhat attune to or accountable to the varied needs of all citizens. The same would apply to the court system, the job markets, the corporate system, the educational system, the recreational system, and the housing market.

Poor people who are caught in correctional institutions need to have their intelligence put to work. They need a brain tank, and is it too absurd for the educational component of correctional institutions to become this? They must be taught the power of brain energy. I assume here that our American poor are not endowed genetically with any less potential for thinking than the American nonpoor. For example, the skills and arts of organizing systematically to solve collective problems can be inductively learned by the poor found in correctional institutions. The application of such acquired knowledge by them should do more to solve racism and poverty than learning how to make hospital beds, manufacture auto tags, or operate laundry equipment.

The victims and scapegoats found in correctional institutions ought to be briefed analytically on the various types or kinds of people found in the poverty condition. The net of the poverty system catches the "undeserving poor," the "multiple-problem" families, the old, the "shadies," the "disadvantaged," blacks, the "working-poor," youth, and many other categories of societal victims. Is it not plausible that all these members of the under-belly segment of American society have common problems, and could they not be taught or conned into uniting to overcome their social fates? I think that an educational program for members of correctional institutions ought to be taught just that. They ought to really be taught who the villains and the enemies are in contemporary life. In passing, it must be noted that many of those found in correctional institutions already have displayed some skill in organizing concerted and cooperative collective actions against basic components of American society. This knowledge could be turned more brutally by them upon crucial institutional arrangements which maintain and support systemic poverty in America.

Many professional students of poverty associate the trait of violence with individuals caught in the culture of poverty. I suggest that, if it is so, it has been misdirected. It may be perfectly natural for poor people to react violently and to exhibit resentment against their sordid condition. What our educational proposal would do is not make them non-violent but direct these essentially human and reasonable impulses of violence and resentment to deliberately chosen social targets. We need to offer them a course in the theory and practice of guerrilla warfare against selected institutional arrangements. They need to be taught how to ruthlessly modify the attitudes and values of the so-called "good people" in our contemporary world; whose "dirty" work is performed frequently by many of those who are poor and in institutions of correction. This also may contribute intentionally and unintentionally to our correctional institution clients acquiring a deepened sense of dignity and self-respect.

Advocating the teaching of controversy, revolution, guerrilla warfare, rebellion, and the power of thinking may strike you as strange. Perhaps it is. But the precedent is established in correctional institutions of teaching the Word -a euphuism for religion-, and certainly no more harm could be done by radical educational curricula.

In conclusion I am proposing an alternative to the traditional vocational education scheme for the typical residents of correctional institutions. This alternative is that we make true rebels, revolutionaries, and subversives out of them through a rationally devised and pragmatically tested educational program. This program of education should enlist the most brilliant, versatile, and creative teachers from our schools, colleges and universities as well as activists of all kind from other mass movements current today. The educational alternative is to be characterized, in short, by excellence throughout all its parts. It is too costly for all of us to make do with less than the best for those found in correctional institutions. The proper target of this radical educational program, therefore, will not be the victims themselves but the total systemic organization which produced them. The objective will be to change, adapt, subvert, or destroy this man-made monstrosity so that it no longer can produce humans who only find refuge or haven in so-called correctional institutions.

I have attempted not to bore and insult you by wrangling over definitions of the poverty culture, implications of the present vocational/technical education movement, and describing the structure and process of correctional institutions. I accept, generally, the analysis by Oscar Lewis of that phenomenon called the culture of poverty (Scientific American, pp. 19-25; and Trans-action, pp. 17-21). Three points require brief emphasis however. I define conflict processes as the key element for understanding the cause, consequence, and providing solutions for that societal system labelled poverty. I am not concerning myself here with that measuring device of the Federal government which, for 1966 incomes defines the poverty level of nonfarm

residents as ranging from \$1,560 for a woman 65 years or older living alone to \$5,440 for a family of seven or more persons; and \$3,335 for a nonfarm family of four (Consumer Income, p. 1). Thus, the educational alternative offered above basically involves guided confrontation with conflict and power processes: schooling blacks and the poor in how to identify and resolve conflict situations. Power must be captured and used; and I say that officials of correctional institutions should consider reflectively the implications of this reality in their work with their clients.

Related to this is my next point that the culture of poverty is considered to be essentially a consequence of political processes. According to Waxman (1968), Haddad (1965), and Coser (1965, pp. 117-148) the politics of poverty are emerging more and more into the mainstream of systematic study and observation. An implication of this development is that educational and correctional institutional officials ought to pay strict attention to ALL areas of possible intervention, and consider diverse strategies and tactics as they might bear upon the total systemic phenomenon of poverty and its consequences.

Finally, I call attention to the possibility that positive attributes may be found in the culture of poverty; we tend, ordinarily, to define out only the negative attributes and compare invidiously with "square" or middle-class segments of society. I am not prepared to submit that the latter is necessarily the ideal model to which we should direct our clients' attentions.

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BEHAVIOR FEEDS INTO SELF-CONCEPT

Mary B. Kievit*

Propositions held to be true about significant aspects of human life are expressed in many forms. The philosopher, the theologian, the composer, the psychologist, the sociologist each have a mode of expression uniquely his own. The proposition to be elaborated upon is illustrated in the lyrics of a Rodgers and Hammerstein (3) show tune.

Whenever I feel afraid I hold my head erect
Whistle a happy tune,
So no one will suspect, I'm afraid -

While shivering in my shoes I strike a careless pose,
And whistle a happy tune
and no one knows I'm afraid

The result of this deception is very strange to tell,
For when I fool the people I fear I fool myself
as well!
I whistle a happy tune and every single time,
The happiness in the tune convinces me
That I'm not afraid.

Make believe you're brave and the trick will
take you far,
You may be as brave as you make believe you are.

In Charlie Chaplin's mode; "Smile, though your heart is breaking..."

Social-psychologist Erving Goffman, (2) refers "to deciding to perpetrate a fraud while performing an unfamiliar role which an audience expects one to play and by so doing, one convinces oneself that the role played is a part of the self."

Philosopher-psychologist William James has been reported as having said that actions contrary to feelings can lead to a change in feelings. In brief, the proposition that behavior feeds into self-concept has been expressed in many ways. The purpose here is to consider the relevance of this proposition to vocational education in any setting, with

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special attention to its relevance to vocational technical education in correctional institutions. Three questions serve to focus our considerations.

1. Specifically what is meant by the proposition, behavior feeds into self-concept?
2. Why is it significant to human life?
3. What specific relevance does it have for vocational-technical education?

With reference to the first question, consider the terms, "behavior" - "self-concept". Behavior has been categorized as covert and overt. Covert referring to thoughts and feelings which are not expressed in action, and, therefore, not observable to any one other than the person having these thoughts and feelings. Overt behavior refers to action which can be observed by others. Self-concept refers to the image or picture which an individual has of himself as an object. Verbalizations are important indicators of the concept a person has of his self. A person who consistently expresses inability to achieve; a child who says "I always get into trouble," are expressing low self-esteem. Others are excessively defensive, expressed as aggressive, hostile action designed to keep others away, or possibly simply retreating from as many personal associations as possible through passive non-responsive behavior. Man's capacity to see himself as an object has been referred to as one of those abilities which differentiate him from other forms of animal life.

The self-concept includes both a picture of the ideal self and one of the real self. The ideal self can be thought of as the individual's aspirations for himself-goals towards which he or she may be striving. An infant is not born with a concept of self, rather through interaction with other humans, i.e., acting, receiving a response, evaluating that response and reacting, the self-concept develops. The personality has a dynamism which selects and distills out of cumulative experiences, those attitudes and values related to the self. These become internalized as the self-concept. Thus behavior and self-concept are circular. Behavior provides a basis for the every changing self-concept, while self-concept is an important partial motivator of behavior. The expectations of other persons are reflected in behavior which influences the behavior and in turn the self-concept of an individual. Movie-goers who saw "To Sir, With Love" will recall that as a new teacher, actor Sydney Potier accepted the expectations held by other teachers for the students. He, too, initially saw them as restless youth, disrespectful, generally, and disinterested in learning. The behavior of students conformed to this expectation. When, however, he restructured the situation; defined them as approaching adult responsibilities; modified his expectations of them to be consistent with the definition; communicated his changed expectations in the demands he made for their behavior and

the topics discussed; accepted their right as maturing adults to learn about matters which they considered important, behavior changed. To the extent a film is able to portray, one also surmises, that a number of the students began to change his or her self-concept

A nurse teaching an MDTA course to prepare persons to become nurses aides described one of her slower adult students. As an instructor it was necessary for her to focus on the personal hygiene and appearance of her students as well as course content. With considerable tact and effort she was able to help a middle-aged woman complete the course content successfully and acquire habits of adequate personal hygiene. After the program was finished, the student came to her and said, "You always expected me to do as well as anyone else; this meant a lot to me "

Some research currently in process suggests that children whom teachers label as slow and from whom low performance is expected, in fact, perform at low levels. Yet children of similar ability levels, labeled as bright to teachers who in turn expect higher level performance, perform at higher levels

The circularity of the relationship between behavior and self-concept makes it possible at some point to break the circle of negative behavior, negative self-concept, and through a structuring of experiences and relationships with others, approved behavior can be initiated and through repeated experience feed into the emergency of more positive self-concept.

Having elaborated on the basic proposition, let us turn to the question, "why is it significant to human life?" Part of the answer is implicit in the above statements, for if human behavior both influences an individual's self-concept which in turn influences behavior, the quality of human experience and life will reflect the behavior of individuals as members of groups. Anti-social, socially disapproved conduct as well as conduct socially lauded are partially motivated by self-concepts. Thus, it is important that persons develop self-concepts which are favorable and which lead to socially acceptable, productive behavior. Perhaps due largely to the inadequacy of conclusive, systematically derived, evidence combined with the comparative recency of psychology and psychiatry, and competing demands on human and material resources in society, the experiences which are instrumental in the development of favorable self-concepts have been largely left to chance

Perhaps, to say "left to chance" is somewhat of an exaggeration since the structure of the family in our society has been designed to incorporate, at least ideally, the values of parental love, respect for individuality, and responsibility for nurturing the young in this setting. Yet, encounters with persons, to the knowledgeable analytical individual provide ample evidence that the structure as is has been far from fully

adequate. An article by Harold Bessell, (1) describes the Human Development Program being developed in California. The La Jolla School is a laboratory for developing curricular materials. The purpose of this program, envisaged as eventually extending from pre-school through an 8 year program, is to develop awareness of self and others, with reference to motivation of behavior; to develop self-confidence and to understand the causes and effects of behavior in interpersonal relationships. The basis for the program is Karen Horney's theory that basic human drives are to achieve mastery and to gain approval, her conviction is that the child with such armor develops a healthy self-concept and the incentive to strive for further self-realization. Further successes increase motivation and lead to an even further success in an ever-upward spiral. (Bessell, op. cit. p. 34). The program is designed to destroy the delusion of uniqueness which people have and which makes them feel somehow inferior.

By eliminating this delusion, the possibility exists to develop in a socially constructive way with solid feelings of identification, compassion and empathy. The purpose ultimately is to produce confident, personally, effective people. If, according to Bessell, the program is built on valid premises and is successful, "it will mean fewer drop-outs, fewer failures, fewer angry men, and fewer disenfranchised members of the human family." (1) p. 61)

But for those of us concerned with vocational education, the students in the class or shop have not had such a program to develop a favorable self-concept, and though some, perhaps many, view themselves favorably; others do not. What relevance have such understandings to vocational education?

Behavior which can contribute to a favorable self-concept is of many kinds. Vocational competency is a significant one. As an individual is introduced to the information and skill required to do a job, an opportunity exists for him to develop competency, to become more sensitive to his latent abilities, and to experience success. It is also an opportunity to experience inability to learn, the too narrow limits of competencies, with possible frustration but perhaps much worse, a retreat to the limited satisfactions available. Several factors which must be taken into account in vocational education, are the selection of trainees for programs where aptitudes and interests hold out some likelihood for success. The attitude of the teacher towards the learner is crucial. Jacob Kaufman has reported (at AVA, Denver, Dec. 1966) that findings of a study in press show that high school dropouts, returning after one year, remained in programs not on the basis of whether these programs were vocationally or academically oriented, but whether the teachers genuinely considered the students worthwhile human beings. Students dropped out, in higher proportions, where teachers considered the students, from the "scum" of the population, and unworthy of respect. These students were eliminating a series of experiences which threatened the minimal self esteem which was present.

This finding pinpoints the fact that individuals seek out experiences which provide recognition and approval. If derogation of the self is prevalent in specific relationships, efforts will be directed to modifying the relationship or leaving it. Unfortunately, many of the young and "not so young" have found that relationships with teachers in formal instruction situations have provided neither approval nor an increased ability to master new information or skills.

Thus vocational teachers with groups of "out-of-school" youth or adults are confronted with the difficult task of modifying the negative expectations which the trainee has for teachers and instruction. At this time, an opportunity exists to break into the circle of negative experience, made up of, unsuccessful behavior resulting in low self esteem.

Note that in some group context, approval and recognition may have been won by engaging in socially disapproved behavior. The endeavor of the vocational teacher is to extend the opportunity for recognition and approval beyond the limits of a select group, the values of which lead to unproductive behavior.

In the January, 1968 issue of Harpers, Marion Sanders (4) describes an effort to provide more adequate medical care to residents of the Morrisania section of the Bronx. This section is characterized by poverty, unemployment, overcrowding and gang activity. Dr. Harold Wise who initiated the program did so because he became aware of the gap between patient and physician. Physicians prescribed for patients in isolation of the resources available to the person. Thus, though the prescription may have been a medically acceptable one, no action resulted, and the patient was not helped. Dr. Wise developed a team approach which included medical specialists, public health nurses, and family health workers. It is this latter group of interest here, for these persons are residents in the area who have been trained in an 8 week core course and have had two months of practical experience as hospital and home health aides. Marion Sanders describes a team experience:

"Their first assignment has been to take a medical census of the area, and several find it irksome to fill out the detailed forms which will one day provide fodder for a computer. Brooke talks patiently about the research design. Dr. Wise adds some explanation about the value of a good history to the doctor in making his diagnosis. He picks up one of the forms:

"By the way," he says, "I don't know if anyone has mentioned this but you must always remember that a patient just might by mistake get to see his own record. So never write 'cancer'; the word to use is 'neoplasm'; and

never put 'syphilis' on a record; we call it 'lues.'

"Heads nod. There is a look of professional pride as the doctor goes on to discuss--in a matter-of-fact, unpatronizing way--how to probe into the real cause of death when it is given as pneumonia; whether or not allergies are hereditary. He has managed to make this a medical discussion--if not among people of equal knowledge--among people of equal responsibility."

And one might surmise that changes in self-concept are in process for those who share this "equal responsibility."

"Frank Threatt's Quiet Drive on Prejudice," described in the December 15, issue of Life magazine, (p. 39) illustrates the impact of holding favorable expectations. Frank Threatt started a steel plant near Columbia, South Carolina, Congaree Iron and Steel Co. The majority of his workers cannot read or write, 4/5 are Negro and many have prison records. Ex-cons, he found, become devoted employees. According to Threatt, "The ones that make the best workers are the murderers and rapists..." "Thieves don't usually work out so well because they plan their crimes."

Threatt recruited from the county chain gang. His superintendent in charge of production had been sentenced to a 12 year hitch for shotgunning a man to death. Threatt got Garrick's sentence reduced to three years. Garrick now owns his own home and buys stock in the company. In terms of our discussion Threatt has acted in two important ways: (1) he has implicitly and explicitly communicated to the ex-con that the ex-con has something of worth to offer a legitimate business; and, equally important, he has (2) provided a competitive alternative to a life spent violating the law. Both actions should provide opportunities for behavior to modify the self-concepts of the ex-con.

To reiterate, the attitude of the teacher, and the likelihood of success are two factors which would appear to be of considerable importance in vocational programs in correctional institutions. It is impossible to generalize to a total population, in or out, of correctional institutions. Age varies; the number and type of offenses committed; the number of times in prison; the motivation for the violations. Certainly to view as a singularly effective approach to rehabilitation, the provision of vocational training designed to develop favorable self-concepts as well as vocational competencies would be the grossest of oversimplifications. What can not be ignored, however, is the need for persons in correctional institutions, to acquire the skill to earn a livelihood by honest endeavor, if none is already known. Further, the youth in correctional institutions tend to be disproportionately drawn from the stratum of society characterized by family instability and low educational

achievement. Many of these youths have not had the experiences needed to develop an image of themselves as socially acceptable persons behaving in a socially approved way. A study of young boys in a high delinquency rate urban area found that boys who saw themselves as "good, " not "getting into trouble, " did in fact at a later period have fewer encounters with the police, than did those boys who saw themselves as "problems, " and "getting into difficulty. " At some point, if these persons are to be assisted in becoming productive effective adults, there must be a break into the circle from bad behavior to negative self-concept (and expectations) to socially disapproved behavior. Instruction in vocational skills which is carried on with the consistent, and more implicit than explicit assumption, that these youths can and will become contributing members of society, behaving in socially acceptable ways is one step in the direction of breaking into the circle. Fostering positive behavior feeds into a positive self-concept which reinforces positive behavior which in turn reinforces a positive self-concept.

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WHAT IS A CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION DOING
IN VOCATIONAL TRAINING
AND
HOW CAN IT INCREASE ITS INVOLVEMENT

Henry J. Noble*

I. INTRODUCTION

A. A proper consideration of vocational training cannot be given without including the subject of academic education, prison industries, institutional treatment programs, psychological factors such as counselling and some of the comments expressed in the President's Crime Commission Report as well as in the current literature on the matter of causes of crime and coping with the situation.

B. To start with it may be well to consider the difference between vocational training and education. While any kind of learning is education, vocational training as a sub-division of an education program may be defined as that portion of the institutional program which is designed to prepare the inmate student to obtain employment and to function in an acceptable manner at a vocation in the free community. This, of course, would entail basic training in the skills involved in any particular vocation, related education and practice in the acquired abilities. Related education on the other hand encompasses the knowledge that the inmate student should have to provide better understanding and the mental skills necessary to facilitate his vocational training and the actual practice of it.

II. OBJECTIVES

A. Correctional institutions are concerned with vocational training as it is an integral part of their responsibility to engage in constructive activities designed to aid in the resocialization of persons committed to them. Therefore, we can say that one of the objectives is to aid in the rehabilitation of inmates by providing marketable skills which will enable the inmate to obtain employment, to earn sufficient funds so as to make it unnecessary for him to engage in crime. It has been stated that crime is another way, other than working for a living, of obtaining money with which to purchase basic needs. By providing the inmate with the means of a more constructive and socially

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acceptable manner of obtaining funds, then there is no economic need to engage in crime.

B To qualify the inmate with the necessary knowledge, the mechanical ability, the proper social training and the proper attitude for employment. To provide the institution with another means of keeping a portion of its prison population occupied and out of mischief,

III. TRAINING FOR PRODUCTION

A In addition to training inmates for a vocation to be practiced when they leave the institution, it is also necessary to train them to meet the production necessities of the institution. Consequently, many inmates are assigned to activities which are basically designed to produce such items as clothing, dairy products and printed materials; as well as handle the laundry needs of the institution and engage in the maintenance activities which also require the application of many mechanical skills. One of the more important work assignments that fall into this category is that of clerical work within the institution. Generally, the more intelligent type of inmate finds his way into a good assignment in an office where sometimes he is given too much authority and independence in his work which puts him in a position to do business with other inmates and work his way into the good graces of the institutional staff members. The skilled help necessary to fill the various positions mentioned above is not always available, consequently inmates have to be trained for it and acquire the necessary knowledge and experience that could be applied to a job in a free community

IV. VOCATIONAL TRAINING SUBJECTS

The spectrum of courses ranges from farming all the way up to sophisticated computer program. Some of the more prevalent activities are in the following areas: tailoring, bakery, culinary activities, printing, wood work, laundry, construction, service station, auto body-fender repair, shoe repair, machine shop, farming including animal husbandry, commercial art, barbering, beauty culture, radio and television repair, sheet metal, upholstery and clerical assignments. Sometimes institutional recreation programs, such as "Shows," take on the nature of vocational training. An excellent example of this is the institutional band at Riker's Island which has trained many inmates to become accomplished musicians who have subsequently obtained positions in bands in the community. Another example, is one in which I observed an inmate who was a star in one of the homosexual shows

in a night club I attended who received his theatrical training in the preparation for the Christmas Show in the institution. Another example, is the Theater of the Forgotten, which is a professional theatrical group presenting dramas in correctional institutions. They include talented inmates in their cast. Some of these inmates have become permanent members of theatrical groups.

V. CRITICISM OF CURRENT VOCATIONAL TRAINING PRACTICES

In order to properly discuss how can correction improve its involvement, it is necessary to face the facts which exist in our present vocational training programs which are continually under criticism, and then discuss how these conditions can be improved.

A. Vocational training programs generally are not properly coordinated and organized. They do not effectively use the procedures that would enable the institution to select the proper inmate for the proper job. By this I mean the use of a criteria based on the inmates aptitudes, his attitude, the probability of his working at the trade he will learn. The social situation, the time element and the institutions capability of providing the full training that he would need. Many prisoners manipulate the institution to get into vocational training activities for reasons other than what they should be. Sometimes courses are given in a more pleasant environment and under a more lenient instructor, in areas where friends can be met, where "swag" is more easily available and which permits avoiding some of the more unpleasant chores. I have seen rather wealthy racketeers and gamblers learning the shoemaking trade. Obviously they would not work at it when they left the institution but it looks good on the prison records which are consulted on matters concerning classification procedures and parole. It is in his favor when such records contain a notation that an inmate is taking vocational training and is getting along well in the school.

Some inmates enter the institution highly skilled in an occupation which they have been following for many years. In such cases, it is important from the viewpoint of the inmates resocialization to help him retain those skills and possibly improve upon them by further study.

B. Over-manned jobs - A survey has shown that approximately 25 per cent of the inmate population in Federal and State institutions are engaged in prison industries. This percentage will approximate the number engaged in vocational training. When jobs are scarce in the institutions and there is a large number of inmates to keep busy, the tendency is to assign a

surplus to certain shops, thereby providing three men to do the job of one. This practice is, of course, not conducive to promoting good work habits.

C. Antiquated machinery - Budgetary limitations generally dictate the type of equipment that vocational training activities have to employ. Therefore, many inmates will be trained to work with the machinery that they would not find if they were to enter shops in the community, thereby creating one more factor that would interfere with the ex-inmates adjustment on the new job and contributing to the possibility of failure and frustration.

D. Development of poor work habits - Since the situation in prison industries and vocational training activities should approximate, as closely as possible, those in the community, allowing inmates to work no more than five hours a day when the average worker works eight hours a day, does not help the true purpose of vocational training. Traditional prison practices, which are influenced greatly by security requirements, make it necessary to conduct counts of prisoners, frequent searches and frisks, as well as regimented movement throughout the institution. This cuts into the working and training hours of any particular day. Other activities, such as visits, purchases at the canteen or commissary, baths, attending the library, staff interviews, etc., also reduce the working and training hours available.

E. Poor incentives - The inmate taking vocational training generally is not given any wage for the time he spends learning a trade. Should he learn the trade and then be assigned to practice it within the institution, the wages that he would receive are generally so small as to fail to encourage him in his efforts. More important is the fact that he could look forward to a great deal of frustration in attempting to get into some unions or better places of employment, as most of the unions are closed and it is more difficult because he is an ex-prisoner. It would seem that it behooves us to turn out a better trained person than public schools produce, in order to compensate for the fact that he is an ex-prisoner. He would have to be better than the next fellow in order to be retained on the job. We all have heard of the difficulties people, in general, have in trying to get into the Electrician's Union or the Building Trades Union or into the Steamfitter's Union. The case is even more difficult when the ex-prisoner is a Negro or a Puerto Rican. The difficulty in placing ex-prisoners is further aggravated by mediocre efforts and inadequate personnel, to work on getting them assigned to a job. Ex-prisoners who have been accepted by a public spirited employer and have not succeeded and sometimes have committed crimes within the new job, have made it harder to

place another ex-prisoner within the firm. The objection has been made that it is difficult to teach trades and certain skills that might lead to employment in short-term institutions. This is not quite true, because any institution that might be given to such inmates puts them that much further ahead. However, within a term of even three months confinement, sufficient could be taught in, for example, automobile maintenance and tailoring, to give the inmate an opportunity to get a foot-in-the-door of that occupation. Upon his release from confinement, he can at least get a job on a beginning level in a garage or a clothing manufacturing industry and then develop himself from there, if he is so motivated. To talk about motivation, sometimes it takes various forms. I recall talking to some of the girls in the Womens House of Detention in New York City, and attempting to motivate them to attend the beauty shop to learn beauty culture and possibly get a job in a beauty parlor upon their release. Some, of course, were interested, while others told me that they can make more money in one night hustling on the street than the other girls might make in a week working in a beauty parlor. Apparently, a different approach is needed.

F. Unqualified instructors - Vocational training in institutions in many cases is taught by people who are assigned by means of institutional expediency or accommodation as a favor rather than for their ability to do an effective job of training. The instructors are recruited from the ranks of the inmate population, physically disabled officers and local political organizations.

G. Restrictions on prison industries - The amount and type of work that may be afforded to inmates is greatly influenced by the labor market in the free community. When labor is scarce, prisons may operate with more freedom and more flexibility in vocational training and production. Quite the opposite happens when periods of unemployment follow in a free community. Then labor unions exhibit a jealous attitude towards people trying to compete with their members and gain membership into their unions. Of course, there is some rationalization for this attitude but, nevertheless, it has had grave social consequences, not only to its effect on prison industries but its effect on the members of the minority groups as well.

There are certain laws, such as the Hawes-Cooper Act and Ashurst-Sunnars Act, which, in general, restricted the movement of prison made goods from state to state and limited the use to State Governmental Agencies and sub-divisions thereof. However, these Acts have many loop-holes and their implementation has not been favorable, in the sense that the negative aspects

have overridden the beneficial elements. Its most favorable clauses allow prison made goods to be sold to federal agencies, colleges and schools and other governmental agencies have been inadequately applied. There are very few colleges and very few lower level schools that have placed orders for any of their materials with prisons. As a matter of fact, the New York State Correction Law prohibits the manufacture of any items other than what can be used within the State or Governmental sub-division of the State, except that printing is limited only for use of the Department of Correction; in other words, a correctional institution in New York State may not print for, let's say, the Police Department or the Board of Education or any of the State Governmental Departments.

VI. What can be done to improve vocational training - Diagnostic Procedures and Classification.

A. Basically, we have to get the right man into the right assignment. Like everything else within correctional institutions, this will be contingent upon proper classification which is preceded by proper diagnostic steps, including aptitude testing. There must be every effort exerted to see that an inmate assigned to an activity is fit for it, is properly motivated towards achieving the skills and will work within that occupation when he is released from confinement. A serious limitation to these requirements is presented by one of the considerations of the Classification Board, which is the security classification. A man who is classified as Maximum Security cannot very well be placed on a farm situation to learn the skills concerned with agriculture and animal husbandry. On the other hand, a Medium or Minimum Security inmate may be assigned to a laundry, where all the doors are shut and where he is always under surveillance. Sometimes, for the convenience of the institution, Minimum Security inmates are assigned to a construction or farming activity despite their aptitudes for trades in which the ex-inmate is more apt to work when he enters the free community.

B. Provide an educational program related to the trade training. - There should be related training to any particular vocation. The inmate in the woodworking shop should know length, measurements, how to fill out a work order, how to read instructions and other basic skills related to the trade. These subjects require an academic classroom setting. In this connection, it has been found that Programmed Instruction can be advantageously put to use. An example would be: a course in basic electronics, for those inmates studying electricity, as well as Radio and Television Construction and Repair. If many corporations and the Armed Forces see fit to provide programmed instruction for their men, we could follow their example and apply it to our educational

programs. At this point a word about Programmed Instruction might be appropriate. Since many of the inmates are school dropouts who have found their basic schooling to have been very unpleasant and fraught with frustration and failure, anything resembling the conventional school has an unpleasant association and is abhorrent to them. It has been pointed out that most persons who become involved with delinquency have a history of failure or retardation in the schools. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, also points out that this fact, compounded by the inability of many schools in slum areas to motivate students and by the tendency to push them out when they fail or misbehave within the school, has been a contributory factor towards crime. The challenge is: to instruct the inmate in such a manner as to make learning a trade a more hopeful, acceptable and rewarding experience, rather than an activity in which they can anticipate only failure and humiliation.

Programmed Instruction has a number of values that seem to compensate for negative attitudes towards education. Its principle characteristic of allowing the inmate to work individually, usually in a cubicle, following the detailed step-by-step instructions, seems to be welcomed by the average student. Of course, he will need occasional instruction and supervision, as well as frequent encouragement and recognition for his achievements. Like Skinner's Trained Pigeons, they need the rewards and encouragement to spur them on to greater efforts. Programmed Instruction, despite a slow start, has, nevertheless, established a definite place in the education programs of many institutions. Its value as an educational tool is enhanced by the fact that it can be used even in the smallest of institutions, where there are no classrooms and the inmate can study in his cell. While preferable, the teaching machines are not necessary, as many of the programs are contained in books which serve the same purpose.

C. Courses should be carefully planned and graduated. - There should be planned and gradual accumulation of skills so that the inmate is not forced to go beyond his present capabilities but may be advanced to a more demanding activity when he proves he has the ability to handle it. Such recognition and advancement is rewarding and encouraging.

D. Opportunity to work at new skills - Whenever possible, the vocational training should be integrated with the work program of the institution, inasmuch as the actual application of the acquired skills can reinforce them and keep them sufficiently sharpened. I have observed cases where inmates were put through rather difficult courses of instruction, passed their examinations, and then were returned to their cell-blocks in the

institution, to pursue the normal institutional routine, without the opportunity to practice their newly acquired skills. Is it any wonder that upon their release from confinement, six months to a year later, that they either cannot qualify for the job or lose their interest in doing so.

E. Counselling and social education must be provided - Consider the case of an inmate student who comes from a slum area and is taught the skills relating to Data Processing and the operation of machinery within that area. To begin with, this is a type of activity that would require him to be stationary, to work in a large organization, generally with people who are not of his ethnic group; who dress differently, speak differently and who have different interests and values. It is to be expected that he will have a great deal of difficulty in adjusting to this situation, particularly if he has to go back to a slum area at the end of the day and mingle with an entirely different type of person. In order to facilitate the adjustment, it is essential that inmates getting such training also receive a planned program of counseling or social education. The idea being to present anticipated problems to him and to discuss their solutions. Such counseling should also be available in the initial stage of his employment. Inasmuch as the inmate-student is still a member of the prison community where he is subject to the effects of the negative attitudes of his fellow inmates, it is necessary that the counseling be directed at mitigating this situation. The counseling program could also keep the inmate keyed-up and looking forward to learning and making good on a new job. It could point out the desirable factors and highlight the meaning of the training and work experiences.

F. Placement - Every institution having a vocational training program worth its salt should have a Vocational Placement Director on its staff. The object is to have someone who is a trained specialist in obtaining positions for trained personnel. He should be one who is familiar with the background of the individuals, their training progress within the institution, their aptitudes for certain jobs and the degree of their adjustment on the job. He should be familiar with the labor market and be able to sell the Personnel Departments of the larger organizations, as well as small business men, the desire to employ ex-inmates on a job. The staff member should also be on the Re-classification Committee and conduct job counseling sessions from time to time so as to keep the inmates informed of the situation in the community, opportunities for advancement and the manner of achieving success.

G. Follow-up on progress - It is not enough for the institution to train a man, arrange for his employment and then forget about him. It would be advantageous to find out how he is progressing, the problems with which he is confronted, the causes of failure and the steps that led to success. An institution may find that such information would cause a readjustment of its training program.

H. Community relations - Requirements for effective prison industries - One of the basic requirements is the recognition by industries in the community, public leaders and unions, to the fact that idleness in prison will yield results that will be more costly, both socially and financially, in the long run than efforts to teach inmates a skill and trade. And, realistically, get them placed in a plant on the outside where they may make a good adjustment and get the satisfaction of achievement; acceptance; earning of money, that is available to others. Furthermore, the rewards that ensue produce a good citizen who is adding to the tax coffers rather than being a burden on society, who will be required to support him in prison, sometimes for the rest of his life, at a great expense. It is generally conceded that prison labor is no longer a substantial threat to free labor in industry. With less interference, the products of prison labor could find wider distribution and the programs and funds that might result therefrom would enure to the benefit of society.

A number of institutions have been successful in the public relations program by inviting to the institution, representatives of labor and industry. Such representatives have been enlisted as members of the institutional board. When sincerely interested, they can be of inestimable value in helping with the vocational training program and providing jobs for successful graduates. Most institutions provide a certificate issued through a local educational institution so as not to create a stigma for the released inmate by identifying him as having acquired his skills in a correctional institution.

I. Qualified instructors. - Instructors for vocational training should be qualified in the skills involved and sincerely interested in helping the inmates better themselves through the acquisition of training. Instructors in correctional institutions vary from inmates up to college teachers. In some cases, the inmates, due to past experience and unusual personalities, might be superior to the type of instructor that the institution would ordinarily supply; but such is not generally the case. An excellent combination of instructor is the man who is a correction custodial officer skilled in the topic he teaches and respected by the inmates in his charge. In such a case it is not necessary to assign an additional officer to act as a constant guard and the officer himself imparts certain skills to the inmates which they

appreciate. By working along with them in a cooperative effort and gaining their respect, he not only achieves the function of a leader and teacher and guard but also engenders a respect for the man in uniform, which could be transferred to the police in the community. There is a growing tendency to obtain the services of the local Board of Education for both technical assistance, training materials and qualified instructors, who bring with them a whiff of the fresh air of the free community and the attitudes of free men. The Philco-Ford Corporation has developed an Education and Technical Services Division which provides quality package courses of instruction for vocational training programs in correctional institutions. I understand that they have a program in Kansas State Prison for the past two years which has been enthusiastically received. They are endeavoring to obtain local, state or federal funds so as to establish these programs with little or no cost to the institution.

J. New Programs - The work release program. The work release programs have been the most dramatic change in correctional administration in recent years. Yet it is not a new concept, because many a small town sheriff holding prisoners in confinement would release them to a neighbor or a friend at harvest time to help out on the farm. However, this is an oversimplification. The purpose is to provide the inmate with a realistic situation, with a trust and opportunity to take his place, as any man, in a free society would. To stand side by side with free citizens; work with them; compete with them; earn money like they do and go back to a home, although not the same home as the present time, at the end of the day. With these earnings prisoners usually pay their costs and expenses which include transportation to work, their lunch, incidental expenses, necessary work clothes and tools, also union fees and most important they pay income taxes. Some programs provide on the job training while others require highly skilled individuals for jobs that are hard to fill by other means. Mr. Sanford Bates told me about a factory in New England that needed a number of tool designers which were very difficult to obtain. Arrangements were made to provide the instruction for this skill in the correctional institution and to place the successful graduates of the course on this job. Obviously, the work release program is a very close approach to complete freedom for the inmate. Most reports indicate that they have been very successful while some point out the risks involved through escapes and other incidents outside of the institution. One can't help but wonder if an inmate can be so classified as to be trusted to that extent, whether we couldn't go a little further and place him in a small community-based annex to the institution. The values of such programs are numerous. To list a few, the inmate is allowed to work in a relatively healthful atmosphere where he may acquire some of the attitudes and values of the people

in a free society. This program allows an inmate to gradually adjust himself to living as a free citizen while still under a degree of control by the institution. He can gain encouragement and assurance by a constructive job, well done, that would allow him to continue either on the same job or a similar position when he leaves the institution. Some inmates have succeeded in doing exactly this but had to move back to their original home town, where there was no opportunity to work on the skills he acquired. The work release program provides the same salary as given to other workers, the inmate may be allowed to join a union and participate in group activities promoted by the company. His salary is not only a tangible form of encouragement but provides funds for purchasing of necessities within the institution, items of health and comfort, payment of fines and even making restitution to a former victim. The inmate may send some money to his family, thereby helping to cement family relationships and relieve the welfare roles of his town. He may be a contributor of taxes to the government instead of a burden, by having the government support him behind bars. Simultaneously he can also be accumulating a nest egg of funds to help him make his adjustment once he gains his freedom.

IN CONCLUSION, may I say that there are some hopeful signs of improvement in vocational training and education within correctional institutions. Society has learned that it cannot forget the man behind bars, and large corporations are beginning to assume a social, as well as financial, responsibility by taking an interest in the training of inmates and their adjustment on release. It will be many years before the causing factors of crime are eradicated but even now some are diminishing and inmates who could look forward to nothing but frustration before, are now finding doors open to them. It is our responsibility to give them the confidence to walk through those doors with a feeling of hope and an expectation of success.

OBJECTIVES OF CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Alexander Smith*

In order to function with understanding and consistency, the agencies involved in handling apprehended criminals: courts, probation, penal institutions and parole must have an understanding of the following:

1. Changing attitudes toward punishment
2. Attitudes toward criminal behavior, and
3. Factors in society and the personality of judges which affect objectivity in sentencing.

Without an understanding of the foregoing by all of the above agencies, sentences by the courts, supervision by probation departments, incarceration in penal institutions and post release parole supervision create problems instead of leading to an integrated approach to the treatment and/or punishment of criminals. This lack of basic knowledge with its attendant lack of understanding, is as much characteristic of the courts as it is of probation, correctional institutions and parole. While the prestige status of the judges is higher than probation and parole officers, which is higher generally than that of personnel in correctional institutions, all people involved in the punishment and treatment of criminals must understand the interdependence of these services in handling criminals. All need additional and continued training in the disciplines having to do with human behavior; all need insight into each other's problems.

Correctional personnel are confronted with prison inmates who have committed identical crimes but have been given disparate sentences. The psychological mechanism of relative deprivation creates serious problems in prison administration. At the very least, the prison staff should understand the problems confronting a sentencing judge, and his gaps in knowledge which lead to marked differences in leniency in sentencing.

In this paper I discuss some of the factors which affect the relative severity of sentences, which staff in correctional institutions should know.

A nineteen year old youth of dull intelligence and low socio-economic background was arrested minutes after he had been picked

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up by his friend who had previously stolen a car. The former had one previous appearance in a juvenile court and had adjusted well after that incident. His parents, in an effort to improve the boy's situation, moved from a high delinquency area to a "better neighborhood." This defendant was made to plead to a felony and was committed to a reformatory with a five year maximum sentence. Another case involved an eighteen year old youth who in practicing a quick draw with a pistol, accidentally killed his sweetheart. He had no previous court record, but was committed to a reformatory with a sentence that had a maximum of five years. A third case may be cited. A twenty-one year old man, who grew up in a culture different from ours, impregnated a sixteen year old girl who submitted willingly with the thought of marrying the man. The latter had no prior record but his school record was poor and his work history was spotty. He was committed with a three year maximum sentence. It is quite conceivable that before other judges these three men would have been placed on probation.

These cases may be contrasted with the following cases involving crimes that received, by comparison, lenient sentences. A man in a paroxysm of rage killed his wife who had been drunk and had been nagging and irritating him. He was placed on probation because his three young children would have been made to suffer and because his employment background was good. As compared with the first three cases, disparity in leniency in sentencing is also evident in the following case. An eighteen year old defendant was involved as a follower in a supermarket armed robbery. Although his past behavior showed little promise for constructive behavior, the judge placed him on probation. There is a likelihood that these last two sentences could have been more severe with different judges.

When the sentences imposed within the federal and various state court systems are reviewed, a marked disparity, lack of uniformity and absence of objectivity in the severity of punishment is apparent. Within the legal framework of these court systems, the laws usually provide for minimum and maximum limits for sentences to penal institutions. Within these limits, to which is added the other possibilities for sentences: restitution, reparations, fines, suspended sentences, probation, or some combination of these forms of punishment, our judges have been given tremendous latitude in their sentencing powers. This alone does not account for wide variations. There is little likelihood that there will be improvement in the sentencing picture unless the matter is considered carefully and scientifically in the light of social, culture development and the findings of the behavioral sciences.

Only if we examine the causes of disparity in our sentences can we possibly arrive at a solution of this problem with which our judiciary has continued to wrestle. It is this writer's opinion that the core problem is objectivity, and if this can be attained then greater uniformity in sentences will result.

Sentencing and the philosophy underlying it, are related to attitudes toward punishment. Moreover, these attitudes in turn are affected by the degree to which the findings of the behavioral sciences which make an effort to explain motivations of all behavior, including criminal behavior, can be utilized. In addition, sentencing depends to a great degree on the personalities of the judges who sentence.

The Background Of Punishment In Law

At the level of the tribe, village, or other small social system, conformity is relatively easily achieved. When society expands, then personal relationships no longer effectively control human interactive behavior, and law develops. With the development of complex, heterogeneous, urban societies which are characterized by impersonal and anonymous social relations, legal power shifts from the kinship group to the state.

A summary of the anthropological and sociological literature pertaining to the development of law indicates that law came into existence when the social control which stemmed from the fact to face relationships of the tribal system lost a great deal of its effectiveness. What we call primitive law, which is private in nature and operation, is nothing more than custom enforced by cohesive kinship groups. Law is a product of societal growth and urbanization. It emerges in a society whenever intimate personal relationships no longer serve to effectively control human interaction.

Modern life is characterized by social impersonalization; there is a lessening of close human relationships and a development into what is sometimes called "mass society." When this takes place, there is a change from primitive law to state law. In societies whose cultures are relatively simple, the matter of meeting out punishment is usually left to the kinfolk or next of kin of the injured individual. However, in complex societies and cultures, the administration of justice becomes the concern of impersonal agencies and nonrelatives. The aggrieved person or his relatives no longer attempt to obtain vengeance or restitution, but society itself takes on the function and delegates it to the police and to the courts. In our English derived legal system, the "people" have become the aggrieved party in a criminal prosecution, while the injured person has been relegated to the position of complainant.

Roscoe Pound, the great legal scholar, has succinctly encapsulated the above thought by stating, "in the modern world, law has become the paramount agency of social control. Our main reliance in the society of today is upon the force of politically organized societies." He traced the development of law from the preliterate period to the modern era when the use of force and physical coercion has been completely taken over by the state. Francis Merrill put this in another

way, "The massive shift from primary (family) to secondary (governmental) control is part of the fundamental change in the structure of society."

In the past, social scientists have been concerned mainly with analyzing the causes of crime and understanding the criminal. Very little research has been done with respect to gaining an understanding of the societal reactions to law breaking. The literature of anthropology and sociology indicates that the differential reactions of societies to crime depends upon differences in culture. Members of all societies disapprove of criminal behavior but this reaction is not in the direction of imposing punishment in all cases.

The question of punishment should be discussed objectively for our own social system, from the standpoint of our cultural situation. This means that our attitude toward punishment may change with changes in our culture or social structure. Punishment must be considered in relation to its function in our societal system.

As our political, economic and social systems have undergone changes, there have also been changes in our attitudes toward punishing crime. Three of these points of view can be briefly described at this point: the classical school, the neo-classical school and the positive school. There have been other philosophies of punishment but in recent years these have been the most widely accepted.

The classical school holds that an individual calculates the possible pleasures or pains of an act before embarking on any course of action. For that reason the punishment to be imposed must be designed to make the pain exceed the pleasure to be derived. Punishment would be uniform no matter what the mitigation for the crime or the background of the criminal happened to be.

The positive school held that crime was a natural phenomenon and a criminal, therefore, could not be held responsible for his own acts and should not be punished. However, if a criminal were dangerous, he could be put to death or be put away to protect society. This was done not for the sake of punishing, but for the safety of society.

Changes In The Philosophy Of Law Which Have Altered The Need For Punishment

A brief consideration of the changes which have occurred over the years with respect to punishing criminals might throw some light on the following questions. Has there been a real change in our philosophy of sentencing which has done away with the need for punishment? Is the component of punishment a true latency in our present system of criminal jurisprudence which was functionally effective in the past but no longer in our present social system? Or, is there still a real need for punishment (some type of punishment, but punishment, nevertheless) in our system of criminal law without which we cannot effectively operate within our philosophy of administering justice? Has our social system so changed that there is no longer a place in it for punishing those who violate our laws? Or has the element of treatment completely taken over the implementation of our criminal laws?

In primitive times it was believed that crime was caused by the action of evil spirits and the purpose behind punishment was to placate the gods. Later, when crime was seen as a willful act on the part of an individual who had freedom of choice, as well as a challenge to God and religion, punishment became an act of retaliation.

With the codification of laws by Hammurabi and later by Moses, came the formal recognition of the element of revenge in punishment. In following the evolution of punishment we first see the penalty for death for capital crimes, in addition to exile or corporal punishment for lesser crimes. At the end of the 18th century in this country and the countries of Western Europe, although the death penalty was retained, sentences of imprisonment were substituted almost completely for exile and corporal punishment. In the past 175 years there has been a change in the direction of more humane punishment, but punishment, nevertheless. The element of revenge seems to be lessening. No longer is a convicted person sentenced to be punished; sentences no longer have the provision of hard labor or other cruelty. Instead, commitment to a correctional institution is punishment in itself. The question that then arises is what purpose does punishment serve?

A large segment of responsible opinion holds that punishment acts to deter a large part of potential crime. When this assumption is examined critically, we see that swift and certain punishment of the comparatively mild type imposed for traffic violations has markedly reduced traffic violations. However, the assumption that severe punishment will deter even if not imposed with the same high degree of certainty is not subject to proof. As a matter of fact, the experience of 18th century England indicates that even where there were over 200 listed capital

crimes, and the executions were held in public, pocket-picking (a capital crime) became so common at these spectacles that the executions had to be held in private. Our American crime statistics reflect that there is a large disparity in the number of crimes committed when compared with the number of crimes reported, crimes reported when compared to arrests made, and arrests when compared with convictions. We must acknowledge that because there is a high degree of uncertainty of arrest and conviction after the commission of a crime that the statistically remote possibility of conviction and then punishment would not act as a strong deterrent. If that is so, then why retain punishment?

Many sociologists, cultural anthropologists and members of the other disciplines and professions who study behavior in a social setting argue that society itself has a stake in imposing punishment on one who violates the law; that when punishment is imposed on a transgressor the societal bonds are made stronger. The justification for retaining punishment is that it acts to reinforce the bonds that bind the members of society to the social group. It also acts to immobilize convicted criminals who are a danger to the people in society. This demonstrates that the element of punishment as we see it now, different as it may be from punishment as it existed in the form of lex talionis, an eye for an eye or a tooth for a tooth, still has an important place in our legal structure. This is punishment in the dictionary sense of being any pain or detriment suffered as a consequence of wrong doing. As a reflection of the collective feelings of society it has an integral place in our social system. To accept this is not to disparage treatment which has achieved a well merited place in the processes of penology. Indeed, there should be no dichotomy between punishment and treatment.

In any given society, the role of a sentencing judge has been exercised in accordance with the ethos of that particular society or social order at that particular time. Over the years the judge, lawyer or anyone else connected with the enforcement of laws has performed his function in accordance with the demands of society. That has not been done in a mechanical manner, and at any one time there has been wide variations in the manner in which different judges have treated similar problems of sentencing. Consideration of these variations can in all likelihood be explained by differences in the personality of judges and the differential impact of public opinion.

At present we are undergoing tremendous changes in our social system which follow from the vast changes in our economy and the state of technological advance. These changes have been accompanied by a large scale influx of low socio-economic disadvantaged minority groups, the members of which have grown up in different subcultures. Members of these groups have come before our courts in large numbers. This fact has made it necessary for the judiciary to take into consideration the culture conflicts and the problems of readjustment experienced by these people.

In our ever changing society a judge must understand the changes that are in the process of taking place. Unless the entire judiciary is made aware of these continuing changes, it will be unable to function with any acceptable degree of objectivity. This is a specific area of social ferment which has to be brought to the attention of our sentencing judges in their seminars, institutes and conventions.

The Personality Of Judges As It Affects Sentencing

Sentencing by a judge is human behavior and as such must be the resultant of a host of factors as is the case with any other type of human action. No one can ever be in a position where he is fully cognizant of all the forces affecting his behavior. Nevertheless, in the areas where crucial and important decisions are made affecting the lives and freedom of others, a special effort must be made by the judge toward understanding why he makes one decision rather than another. In writing about applying the law of insanity as a legal defense, Judge Bazelon described his choice of alternatives as an "awesome decision" (1960, pp. 32-56). This is a very sensitive description of the judge's responsibility in making one particular type of decision. However, making any decision with respect to the freedom or incarceration, or even the very life of a fellow human being is just as much an "awesome decision."

Unless a judge comes to his position in a criminal court with a background of experience in sentencing, there are few places he can look to for guidance aside from the wide limits defined in the statutes and the special cases in the reported judicial decisions. Unlike the situation in a few other countries, a judge in this country receives no prior training. Certainly, our law schools do not focus on the special needs of judges sitting in a criminal court. In short, there is no specific preparation for this highly important position in our society. At present, an intuitive understanding of the requirements of sentencing is as much as we can expect from any lawyer assuming so important and demanding role.

Within the limits set by the statutes, and the hindsight judgment of the appellate courts, judges have little in the way of restrictions in sentencing, except their own feelings of what a proper sentence should be. In few cases does the proper sentence result in "justice," which may be defined as equalizing the crime by the punishment imposed. Prior to 1962, in the mandatory sentence for Murder 1st degree in New York State where a life was paid for by a life, this might have met the standard of equality between crime and punishment. However, this type of justice cannot indiscriminately be extended to all crimes. Can an auto joy ride theft as compared with the theft of an auto for resale lend itself to that same type of disposition? Do we want justice in all cases, and does the community demand an absence of any type of discrimination in applying sentences? Certainly in the case of murder

"when Cain kills Abel, the very earth cries out for vengeance," a severe penalty (not necessarily execution) meets the culturally defined demands of our public as well as the culturally defined sentences of our judges. However, in the vast majority of cases, the "right" sentence is not necessarily the one that is "just."

For a viciously executed crime or a crime on the other end of the continuum, where public sentiment is only incidentally aroused, the dispositions may be fairly uniform. However, it is in the middle range of crimes that the right sentence is difficult to arrive at. What is the proper sentence for a confirmed criminal who has behaved and has been steadily employed for more than a dozen years? What is the proper sentence for a serious crime committed impetuously by an individual who previously has lived a constructive, conforming, law-abiding existence? In these cases, the judge cannot poll public opinion, and indeed, should not do so. There are many instances where the proper sentence will initially provoke severe censure in the public and the various kinds of mass media, and then, with the passage of time, the wisdom of the particular sentence will become clear. The public, as well as the mass media, can be made aware of the necessity of "making the punishment fit the crime," and in addition, fit the criminal as well as the situation.

All judges are aware of the importance of precedent in arriving at decisions. However, how many of them are equally aware of the importance of their own personal characteristics and background influences in making their rulings? I have enumerated the following personal variables which are important in the decision making process of a judge: age, sex, ethnic background, nationality derivation, religion, race, marital status, socio-economic status, law school and background of legal practice. It is likely that other equally important factors might be added to this list.

Integration Of Philosophy Of Sentencing, Punishment And Treatment

The problems inherent in sentencing which have been discussed may make it easier for the staff in penal institutions to understand the lack of uniformity in sentences. Indeed, it may add understanding of the fact that we should not expect uniformity in sentences.

We need judges, probation officers, corrections personnel, and parole officers who have been given training in the disciplines which assist us in understanding crime and the handling of criminals. We need formal training in colleges and universities before certain positions can be filled. We need in-service programs, workshops, and institutes for those already in the field. We must have understanding of the roles of all agencies involved in the correctional process.

At the very least, the judges, probation and parole officers should have a thorough understanding of penal institutions based, among other things, on a relatively lengthy visits. They should know what a typical day of an inmate is; what kind of food he eats; the monotony of his existence; his problems of sexual adjustment; and, what he has to look forward to.

We don't expect that judges, probation officers, correction officers, and parole officers will be able to interchange jobs. We do expect a more sympathetic understanding of each other's jobs, responsibilities and capabilities.

THE STARTING LINE

David Hays*

(While Mr. Hays is talking, Mr. Fass is interpreting to the deaf performers in their own sign language and lip reading. The ease of communication and the responsive expressions on the faces of the deaf actors is amazing. When the actors actually perform, Mr. Fass reads the script. It reminds one, who remembers silent movies, how much we have lost in this form of communication.)

This is quite a change of pace here, I think. Let me explain exactly what we are going to do and start filling in. First, I am going to describe the Company. Lou Fass, the only hearing member of the Company whose parents were deaf, is translating which I am saying into very ordinary, everyday speech of the deaf, which is used by most deaf people. It does resemble, but it is not the same thing as, the speech that is used in performances. We develop it into a lot more elevated form for them. What Lou is doing might be called talking. The way we perform might be called singing. These are perhaps the equivalents.

So I am going to describe the history of the Company, then we are going to do three short pieces from our repertoire of poems we do. Then I will introduce the film. We will show the film and then I would like to discuss that briefly and then open for any questions.

This Theater of the Deaf started as an artistic movement, but it is turned into something which has had a lot of social consequences and has, I think, had good social results. Many deaf people dreamed of having a deaf theater for many years. They felt that it was a remarkable medium. Also, Ann Bancroft and people like her were working on a play called "The Miracle Worker," a play about Helen Keller. At that time, our theater was not funded. It was funded a little more than a year ago by the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration. We now have grants which total about \$400,000 from that organization and from the OE of the Handicapped. The federal government sees this as a way to advance deaf people in every way. It brings theater to them. They are a community which are deprived of ordinary theater. It gives them, as a deprived or so-called backward group, a sense of pride in their own achievement. The Company, without any kind of "spectacular" ascension, has risen to a top bracket in the entertainment industry, or cultural art-call it what you will. But, if this is a tremendous factor of pride for the deaf

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people, it is important because it mixes people at a public function. Hearing people and deaf people come to see these performances together. The thing that really can focus government funds on projects like this is that it helps in the employment of the deaf and in that hearing people see these performances, many of them for the first time realize that deaf people are highly intelligent and skillful. I think this is a very fundamental thing to the government. It corrects the misconceptions about the deaf. We have toured coast-to-coast and we have played live in 40 communities. We will be touring coast-to-coast again next year. We have had television exposure estimated at 80 million. That's a lot of people who, I think, have a changed idea of what deaf people are like.

Professor Rush used the term handicapped in his introduction. I have a handicap of my own in that I can't think of them as handicapped because they are such brilliant artists working in the media. Now, here is something that is unusual about this. I should say, this is one of the many things, crazy things, that are unusual about this kind of thing. There is nothing else that I know of in the field of rehabilitation which is directed toward showing the people that deaf, blind, disciplinary problems are just as good as the non-handicapped. What I am saying in this theatrical media is unique to these people. We get and we bring out something that normal people, so-called, can't do. Accordingly, the wine taster is a little better if he is blind because his senses are focused. That's not circus, that's not theater; that doesn't reach 40 million. No, we have this project which shows handicapped people are better in some areas. It is a wholly unique approach to the idea of rehabilitation. We have plans for going to Europe next summer. We will go to Japan's World's Fair and play there with a Russian company, we hope. Then tour Russia and bring the Russian Company here. You will have these two companies with so-called handicapped people. The Russian Government has the only other professional deaf theater. Imagine, these two companies working hand in hand; the international rehabilitation implications of this are tremendous.

Now all of this is government. The O'Neil Foundation, which sponsors it and holds the grant, is in this for only one reason. They think that the arts of these people are so fine that it's unique. It is terrific! It is a new medium and people like myself in the theater are devoted to developing it. You take from the theater, then you give back. This is our way of giving back by developing a new art form. The government knows that our aims are not social-I think they are all the more pleased with this, because I think they do not want to give a theatrical project to a rehabilitation center. They want to give it to a theater company that believes in these people as artists. And believes in them as successful artists! Ultimately, the rehabilitation goals will be achieved.

I see you are watching Lou's translation and not me. This shows the interest. In fact, the reason Lou is such a marvelous translator is that his own face and expression is so vivid. These people grow up this way. That is why they are so brilliant in communication in theatrical

work. They grow up in a game of charades. The game of communications makes them natural actors. You can understand much better if you watch Lou than if you watch me. You listen to me but you watch Lou.

We present our plays for hearing people. That's one of the conditions of the government grant. Everything we do should be intelligible to hearing people. This brings the hearing people into it. Lets the hearing people watch us, makes the hearing people watch us, makes the hearing people recognize the ability of the deaf. From an employment point of view, this is the government's interest in our Project.

We play for many unusual groups of people. We play for children; it is a great fascination for children, they have something to watch, they have something to listen to that is not abstract like ballet; it's not curious like pantomime; it's not talk which is boring to children; it is a combination. What Lou says is a little hypnotic, it keeps these kids in their seats. We have had tremendous success playing for them. We have a second company funded now which is going around now just to play for children. It will work between tours with the main company and will be composed of the same people as in the main company. It is not going to be a second rate company by any means.

We have as many kinds of other programs as we have funds for. We are sending scripts to deaf people so that they can pre-read them. We go around the country begging people to open theaters for deaf people. Things like that are more or less social. Again, my aim is artistic. That is the only way that the other social goal will succeed. In other words, I have a hell of a show. Wherever we go, we have received top reviews from the major dramatic critics. Again, without compensation of any sort. That's the key to this project, I think. The lack of compensation. Recognition has to be given to these people as artists. They may achieve an acceptance without compensation only in the artistic field. So many people, my own people even, viewed the Negroes as being out in the entertainment field. At times, when the Jews were not accepted in the club, people were flocking to hear Al Jolson. You asked them, "well did you enjoy him on stage?" There are no answers. Marion Anderson, Paul Robeson and others led their groups. You see, I keep mixing the social and artistic. Forgive me for doing that. I'm trying to get a lot of material across here, but the two are mixed. Whatever our goals.

Before further explanation though, let us give three poems from our repertoire of plays. We are going to have two complete evenings of this starting this fall. It is based on plays done in full production with full sets, full costumes. We have a selection of poetry which has been handy for us to bring around to demonstrations just as this one today. We don't need the sets and costumes for it, so we are going to give two poems. The first is a rather unusual thing that we came across on the road. As a reading style, don't confuse this with the full production. When we do the poem you will get a little bit of an idea of the performance. First, with Lou Fass,

Annie does one we performed April 8, 1968 in Los Angeles. We feel that it is even more appropriate for today than it was then, a day of National tragedy.

"I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed. We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal. I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of the former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit together at the table of brotherhood. I have a dream that one day in the state of Mississippi, a desert state sweltering with the heat of injustice and depression will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the contents of their character. I have a dream today. I have a dream that one day the state of Alabama, whose governor's lips are presently drifting with the words of interposition, nullification will be transformed into a situation where little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls and walk together as sisters and brothers. I have a dream today. I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exhalted. Every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plains and the crooked places will be made straight and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed. I don't know what will happen now we've got typical days ahead, but it doesn't matter with me because I have been to the mountain tops like anyone else, I would like to live a long life but I am not concerned with what I just want to do God's will. And he has allowed me to go up the mountain. "

With great success, we have been doing children's poetry from a collection called "Miracles" by Robert Louis. The poems were written by kids. Here is a poem by a boy named Charles Gluck, age 10, from the United States and done here by Kim Scanlin.

"I'm a nice boy. I am more than just nice, two million times more. The word is adorable."

Theatrically, this is good for us. We can do things in the language of the theater that you don't ordinarily do. You have the words in your hand and if you can play with them, you can act. There are lots of little doors open to us, theatrically. Important here today is the kind of response we have been getting to this from all kinds of people. One thing that you will see in the film we are going to show later is a bad photograph of a girl in the company. The woman is one of the most beautiful women in the entire world. It recalls an incident when we were rehearsing. A very sophisticated woman came up to one of the directors and said, "Is that woman deaf?" He said, "Yes, she really is deaf." The lady replied, "But, she

is so beautiful." It's a parallel problem the things you people say to the things you are trying to overcome in your work. This is what our theater company can do that perhaps no other theater company can. It carries the conviction, carries the example, with it in a way that very few other devices can. I have been told again and again by people in the government that this company has done more for the deaf in a year than was done in the 65 to 100 years before that. Their cheering me up during hard times was perhaps the one thing that has made a tremendous impact.

Now the next item on the agenda is a film. What you are going to see is a film that we made up at Roden, at the Job Corps Camp. I believe in looking for ways to use the company, so we came across this idea of playing for a Job Corps camp and then teaching in the Job Corps camp for the day and recording it on film. It seemed to be a fascinating confrontation between these two groups of people. Whoever thought that the Job Corps boys could lead? Who would have thought boys in trouble and the deaf people could become virtuous? Neither of which did start at the "Starting Line." Again, the federal government financed this as they thought it was a good idea. They have been very pleased with the results. I think that the film shows something absolutely pertinent to your gathering here.

The O'Neil Foundation is interested in developing new forms of theater. It is interested in giving a shot in the arm to the American theater which certainly needs it. We must find not only new media in the theater, as we have here, we have got to find new audiences. Audiences nourish the media as well as nourish the performers. It is the audience that is the key to live theater, which is why people like myself are still in this antiquated business of live theater as opposed to the flicker or even better and farther reaching media of television. There is still something about the process of being alive in a group of people and seeing them there. This, I think, basically, is the richest part of theatrical experience. So we are, to put it right on the line, deeply interested in playing for many of the groups you represent. I shouldn't say more about this until you see the film and see the result that it has on the boys.

There is nothing faked in the film; we got a standing ovation last night when we played at Kilmer. At Rodman we got a standing ovation. This is a tough audience: these are kids who walk out; these are kids who "boo" even popular groups like the "Supremes." And yet, we got this kind of response from them.

Let me proceed again with something which is in the proper order of things. The boys at Rodman Camp devoted two full issues of their camp paper to us after we left. And they said, as every paper of this sort does, phrases such as "indelibly printed in the hearts of all of us was a visit of this company." They printed four pages of photographs and even started writing poetry. With the opportunity, they would still be at it for it was going strong when the camp closed. Just stimulated by this

experience they started writing poetry. We have letters from them; they still keep in touch with us.

Now, why is it? I think it is because simply they see people and for the first time they say here's someone worse off than I am, or so they think. And they see achievement and they put the two together in this form. They see people they should feel sorry for, or at least they think they should feel sorry for. They see here are people who are worse off than they are. The boys say it in this film, they get to it. One of the boys says, "we thought we had troubles but we have gifts that these people would long to have and yet look at what they've achieved." This combination of things makes a tremendous impact on them.

Now it's hard to assess culture. This film just falls under culture; I worked for years with George Balamshein of the New York City Ballet, a man who is regarded as one of the greatest international artists of the world. A very elite thing, ballet, and the kind of people who go to it-it's a pretty crazy world. Balamshein had no use for this, he says, "the hell with culture, I want circus." He says, "the culture follows behind, the art follows behind. I want performance. I want to go out and grab those people and then let them call it; if it works call it art, culture." This is what grabs these boys. I've been in touch with Assistant Warden Parks, at San Quentin, which perhaps is not exactly the kind of institution that we would expect to be most useful in. I think we would be more useful in an institution for younger people. They have a structured drama program out there which was started, curiously, by Jules Irving and Allan Mandel, who now run the Lincoln Center Repertory Theater in New York. They've maintained it and Warden Parks is very proud of it. He says it does a lot of good work for him.

The use of this company, I think, would be to play, to stay and teach, to work with these boys. As I have said, the impact on them is tremendous and can be long lasting. I think there is a great deal of fine dramatic activity. It is a tremendous activity for young people. It can bring the different skills together, working in a short range project of great emotional involvement toward a common end. These are different skills, the different types that are needed, and there's nothing quite equivalent of this process. These are a lot of the boys who would not be athletes, you can bring in all different kinds of the boys that you work with. The point of this is not specifically to be in occupational training because I would not force the ups and downs of the theater world on people as being a necessarily sound occupation. And, of course, deaf people are a little bit conservative in their choice of a profession because they feel "I already have a couple of strikes on me. I don't want to get into something so risky." But there are many skilled people who cannot find certain theatrical work. And another great "fall-out" of this work is that the schools have learned that structured drama activity which the deaf have started is one of the finest ways to bring out kids who are backward. All kinds of devices, closed-circuit TV, they see themselves on the television; the kids grow...

grow tremendously with this, as a way to express themselves. More and more people recognize now in psychological terms and in occupational and enjoyment terms, theater can be of tremendous advantage for an individual, backward in any number of ways.

I should like to mention one extremely important point. In many ways, the most important point of the appearance at Rodman, in terms of the camp management, was that they brought the community into the camp for this presentation. In other words, a professional theater company came to Rodman. They invited the local community in as well as their corpsmen. Townspeople saw something which is first-class from any professional entertainment point of view. A performance which had their kind of social overtones. The kind of people they saw, the kind of thing that the performers did, made a tremendous effect on the relation of the community to the camp.

LESSONS TO BE LEARNED
FROM THE JOB CORPS

William F. Grady*

After five months of operation, a group of people decided the Job Corps needed to be evaluated and I got involved in it. We didn't agree on too many things; we got in the New York Times and there was all sorts of hell raised. I'll discuss this in terms of what we might learn from the Job Corps in terms of public relations. Not only in institutions, penal and otherwise, but those that are so intimately involved from the standpoint of private enterprise, such as Job Corps run here at Camp Kilmer by the Federal Electric Corporation, the service arm of ITT.

I want to give you first of all a brief description of Camp Kilmer in terms of an overview, to put you in a setting. Perhaps many of you are familiar with the Kilmer Job Corps. On April 26, in the Saturday Review, Peter Schregan had an excellent article on the Kilmer Job Corps and it is a quick and easy reference for you if you can pick it up in your own libraries. I went along with Pete so it's probably a prejudiced report, but I think he tried to get in under some of the things that perhaps we inadvertently tried to hide from a very perceptive person. I'll try to be both sanguine and cynical. I don't vouch for the mix and I'll leave that up to you and I hope that you would reserve for the question and answer period both your bile and your insights.

The Federal Electric Corporation has been in the business of training young lads from sixteen to twenty-one, all dropouts, all rejects from various areas around the country, notably impacted areas in the northeast. We have put through about 4,000 graduates from our fourteen vocational programs. This is out of approximately 12,000 that came to us. So, like a respectable major league batter, we're batting about 300. Some of the public, and perhaps the business community, may not be enthused about the average. Yet, one might inquire, rather introspectively, as to just what a respectable average is when dealing with a population of the type, not only what the Kilmer Job Corps has but the Job Corps across the country have. When you're entering SAT scores in Math and Reading equating to 6.0 and 6.11 respectively, you're dealing with some pretty challenging situations. Not only with your program, but as you know from your own experience, you're dealing with men. At least the bodies of men, but in many instances, the minds of boys. It's a terrific problem that we have, and one that you face in correctional institutions. We save about one-third through graduation. They

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complete the programs that run anywhere from six months to roughly fifteen months in duration. What about the rest? In this brief overview, in kind of a taster I might add, we have had over 400 of our boys go into the armed services; we have had many of them go back to the public schools saying, "I'll be darn glad to get back there after taking a look at the No-Cal treatment that they give at Kilmer." They are talking in terms of not only where they live, but in the type of rather Spartan existence that is provided for them there.

Any of you who went through Camp Kilmer during the war know it is a typical army base. We instruct in those barracks as they were constructed in 1942. So there is nothing fancy about this arrangement at all. Many of the vocational programs are in buildings we have redone, or in some of the permanent buildings constructed during the Hungarian relief period or the Korean War. I think it is important to note that we are not in any way in competition with the public schools. We don't want to be; we feel we have another mission. If you want to be smart aleck about it, we've taken what they couldn't handle. This is not to deny the public schools because thirteen years of my experience has been with the public schools and I bring, I think, an empathy of the problems with which that institution is faced. We do have our young men, twenty-four hours a day, and I can tell you that is the difference in the Job Corps program. That probably is the sole difference as to why we can do a better job than any public school can do with this group of people, without any of the other fancy jargon.

Let us take a look at a few of the statistics in which Kilmer reports every month. Our reports cover some sixty areas of information, all the way from the percent of minority groups that exist on the base to the numbers of staff on duty. We have 80 percent minority members opposed to the Caucasian element at Kilmer. These run all the way from 100 Virgin Islanders, to a few Eskimos, American Indians, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Negroes from the north and south and all points either way. Each group representing its own hostility; its own separate communities with which we have to function. Those of you who run any institution dealing with impacted groups of this kind are fully aware of the problems. Not to say that it is impossible, but it is very challenging! We run, in addition to fourteen vocational programs, a complete GED sequence at Kilmer. This is kind of a kaleidoscopic overview before I get into depth in some of the things I think we've learned because we've fouled up in several areas along the way.

Our GED program has run approximately 400 youths through its program since our opening three years ago; it's a voluntary program within Job Corps. That will change after July 1. We experienced roughly 70 percent success with those young men who take our tests. They take it according to New Jersey standards, which are very high. We turn out about 70 percent success here, which is very good. Some very able youths are in Job Corps. The crucial year, it seems to us as we take a

look at these young men, is the tenth grade. Most of them have left school in that crucial year. We have two attendance officers on the base. This seems incredible, but we do get them out of dorms and make sure they get into their academic and vocational classrooms. We keep these two men busy all the time. Our attendance, strange to say, parallels the public schools; on Mondays it's 7 or 8 percentage points lower than during the middle of the week. This is matched by our Fridays' decrease.

You must understand the Job Corps is a volunteer program. These kids can come and go. There is nothing authoritarian about keeping them there and they are recruited through the U.S. employment agency, and I suppose via television and other media. It is my opinion, I think in a rather prejudiced fashion, that one of the chief faults of the Job Corps is the basic predication: that you have to start and work with all dropouts. I think those of us who are in schools of any kind recognize the necessity of a model that has achieved something which other schools can emulate. Yet, for some reason, we are refusing to say to the public schools, "look, Charlie Brown, we know that you have many youths as they approach the ninth and tenth grade who have had it with the public schools. Perhaps not because of the public school curriculum, but because of some dissident family situation. What are you doing keeping them there?" Why isn't this a positive referral? What is the lack of communication between Job Corps and Job Corps-like situations in the public schools? This is a nagging question with me. It is one of the lessons we might learn from Job Corps. In prejudice, I think the state of New Jersey, which consists of one slum from Passaic to Cape May almost unbroken, terrifically impacted with the American Negro and Puerto Rican, is doing very little to recognize the potential of dormitory instruction. The around the clock instruction, attitudinal change that can and does take place in the Job Corps. It amuses me in many ways that we focus in on just the job and vocational training. You know if it wasn't so serious, I'd laugh. That, at best, is a piece-meal answer. I'll be getting to those points in a moment.

Our staff at Kilmer consists of 45 percent minority people. We find the relationship among our staff members to be very positive, there's a good deal of give and take. If there's anything we've learned from Job Corps with respect to staff personnel, it's the fact that, when you run an outfit like this and you run it openly and candidly, you don't have to be too concerned about the Civil Rights Commission and the Fair Employment Practices Act. We have boards and we have complete open channels for any of our staff to address themselves to a particular problem. I think that is an extremely important lesson we have learned from the Corps. We have taken people and we have advanced them without looking rather snively for all the degrees that one might trot out to prove a kind of formal proficiency or that you had enough guts to stay awake in class. We have made many of our group leaders who have lived with the kids for a year or more into counselors. They may not have anywhere near a counseling degree. One of the missions of Job Corps is to prove that

"whitey," in some ways, is big enough to overlook a few of our ridiculous notions, to bridge that gap, in a real hard nose sense, by meeting the levels of aspirations of these people on the staff. So that we have promoted a great many of our people from within. We've tried to match a person, for instance, on his drive and perception with another staff member who has all the degrees and we find it works extremely well. It's the proof of the pudding for these people that we, in fact, mean what we say and I don't mean FEC in a sanctimonious manner. I just think that this is a kind of rule of thumb from which we all can profit.

I've stated before our pupil population is 83 percent minority. One of the things that we have a great difficulty in this regard is the young rural lad from New Hampshire or Maine who comes to us and who immediately falls in with a group of rather hostile Negroes looking for a cigarette. Of course, the kid, in most instances, probably doesn't have one, so he ends up getting a bop on the chops. This is the initiation we run into at Kilmer, perhaps all too often. We have a difficulty here in the orientation days in taking these youngsters who have never been exposed to a minority group of any kind and saying, "Job Corps is for you, Charlie Brown." And, after he gets a whack in the mouth, he's not so sure. We have a tremendous amount of counseling to do, back up and support services, in most instances we are not successful. So in the recruitment of these people from all over the country, there is something needed before they get to Job Corps, where they are thrown into a highly impacted situation of an 83 percent minority set-up. This would apply, I presume, to any institution. We are learning something and hope to do a bit about it. Our program covers a tremendous number of courses ranging all the way from seven different aspects of welding to four distinct programs in one food service school. All the way to our GED program, our five levels of reading programs cover from the almost non-reader all the way up to the language master and language lab techniques. But we ask ourselves the question: "Is it really important that they come out of Kilmer a baker or a cook or a welder or an automobile mechanic or any of these things?" And I'd like to suggest that while this is laudable and for most of the public and for ourselves when pointing to something that is really tangible and hard nose, we say, "Hell, yes!" He is a welder; he's an entry level cook, he can go out on an Esso tanker and make himself two hundred bucks a week. But we're overlooking something I think terrifically important: because what Kilmer has really done with this kid is to enable him to finish something. I don't think it makes much difference what he finishes in terms of a program. I'm not downgrading the vocational aspect of this, but I am saying that I think it is being super-exalted as an answer to the social ills of America. I think it is but one vehicle that we can use. I think it is only one and I'm not so sure of its success. But what we do turn out at Kilmer, at the time of graduation, is the kid who has said to himself that he can finish something. He has an attitude built into him that he is going to be a normal kid from 17 to 21, and that it's not going to be an insult to him that he can change a job after he is out on his first assignment. We have, through a kind of remedial speech program, given to this youngster the kind of mouth-eye coordination

where he can look at a white man and spell out exactly what it is that he should like to do for this or that company. That's the important thing. We have a program that costs roughly \$5,200 per corpsman per year. Everyone's always interested in these figures. I've been before all the clubs and institutions and I get the barbs thrown: "Well, what the hell, I can send my youngster to Princeton or anywhere else for that kind of money." But, if you've been in the public school business, you know that what you're dealing with here at Kilmer, and other Job Corps centers, is not the average student. You're dealing with a typical disadvantaged youth. Ask the good secretary of the board of education what it would cost to educate a cerebral palsy kid in the public school. Ask him what it costs to educate a kid who is mentally retarded in the public school, and see what he comes up with for a cost figure. Then take a look at a Job Corps youth who starts by being atypical, a failure, and identified by society as such and then you can add to it clothing him, paying him thirty dollars a month, setting aside fifty dollars a month for family allowance, providing all his recreation, medical and dental facilities, transportation, annual leave, cost of instruction and the counseling and the job placement that he gets and I think that \$5,200 a year is a damn cheap investment. I can defend it before any forum of school business officials.

What about discipline in the Job Corps? This is always a question that people ask me. They say, "God, Brady, it's good that you are as big as you are; it kind of insures your success." You know, I kind of laugh at that, it's just like walking into a penal institution and saying-- "how big are the baths that you use?" and you have to kind of grin and bear it. We allow no armament at all on our Security personnel; there are no clubs, there is no mace, there is no tear gas, there are no handcuffs, and there are not guns. The reason for this, gentlemen, is simply because we have to prove by example to these youngsters that we aren't taking the route of force, that we are going to practice what we preach. In our daily sessions with them we say: "It's a lot more economical and it's a lot better for your physical well-being, especially your mouth, and in keeping your teeth in it, if you can learn to discuss your problems, to think in a logical manner, and to learn to be aware of what an alternative means to that swat in the chin by another corpsman." You can't have guards with clubs on the chow line as they line up and say that you are teaching them a lesson, or in the pay line either, or when they go to the base movie. It just doesn't work, at least, it doesn't work for Job Corps.

I would like to suggest probably one of the healthiest things that we have to offer to any outfit in terms of an example of how you can take seemingly intractable youths and make them largely self-disciplinary. This is not to say that we don't have difficulty and that we don't have our fights in the chow hall or in the chow line, we do. You can't have 1700 kids, 17 to 21, in any institution, whether it is in an academy or whether it is in Job Corps, without having some kind of fracas. I would like to point out one thing that was quite remarkable and happened about two months ago. We had a dance on the base and because the base is so large,

we invited a school at a time. A transportation school, for example, which numbers about three hundred young men, holds a dance, while the other schools are not invited. We don't have room and we import our young ladies from the Jersey City Job Corps Center and from the Keystone Center out in Pennsylvania. And we try to keep it very orderly, we try to provide enough room and graciousness so these kids can get a taste of what an ordinary secondary school kid or freshman or sophomore in college would have. Well it so happened that a few dance crashers came in and it touched off a fracas that carried over from Saturday night into Sunday. By the time Sunday night rolled around, the place was up in arms. I guess most of you have from time to time been in close, but when you see this group of people agitated and you see the fear and the hostility here, it is truly amazing what a job our group leaders did on these kids who had bottles and taken our beds apart and using the braces. You all know the army beds and that brace is a pretty formidable weapon. They were really about ready to blow the lid off that place. Our comparatively small staff without arms, again I wish to stress this, walking in among them, keeping them moving, breaking them down, was able to break up a sort of a melee that involved approximately 800 of our Corpsmen. This was without any resort to tear gas or mace. So it can be done with these young men. I probably wouldn't have believed it could happen on that scale if I hadn't seen it.

This brings us to another question. Why don't we know about these things? How many kids in Job Corps, for instance, are involved in violations on and off the base? How many Job Corps youngsters have police records and on and on and on down the line. And what lessons do we have to learn from this? I've chosen the vehicle of public relations to relate some of these things and put them in the context of reality. Our Public Relations Department consists of six full-time people and they are going night and day. New Brunswick is one of the prime areas of concern to the Job Corps. Our youngsters come back here from New York, Newark, all points north and east, funnel through New Brunswick, the railroad station, the bus station, to be picked up by the Kilmer bus. Those of you who have been in downtown New Brunswick know that it is a place that has a few outstanding nightspots and they cater, naturally, to many of our Corpsmen, both in drink and other evils to society that prove rather lucrative. We have a little problem in New Brunswick and we constantly work with Chief Petrone to iron these things out. We not only have our security force down in the town, but we have group leaders down in the town riding around in our curfew patrol cars, walking the streets, going into the bars, the bus stations, the railroad stations and so forth. And we have Corpsmen down there, lead Corpsmen, who can earn as much as an extra fifteen dollars a month by performing some services for Job Corps of this kind. It is a terrific problem--terrific expense to keep this kind of relationship on an even plane with the community nearby. And the same goes for the towns of Edison and Piscataway, which completely surround the base of the Kilmer Job Corps. If you are running a reformatory,

as in Yardville, Bordentown, Annadale and some others, you have similar problems. The problem you have is not only the head-to-head business with the police, but it is also with the press. And how do you handle these people and what do we learn from Job Corps on this? I believe the lesson, and other institutions, I believe, found this out the hard way, is that you have to be absolutely honest with them. What, for example, if you have a fracas and a kid throws a rock at Joe Doe's car going by and he has a broken windshield to prove it. Well, for heaven's sake, don't say it wasn't a Job Corps kid. We have found that if we will deal with the press with perfect candor, all of a sudden the press takes such articles from the front page and buries them in an insignificant spot in the interior of the paper. Just plain common sense and really the calling of the news people before they get it through the grapevine. I think that is a pretty darn important lesson we had to learn. ITT almost got out of Job Corps during the early days because of very bad publicity; not having one who understood some of these common functions. We have terrific liaison we think with Kwianis, Rotary, and so forth; these are traditional modes of keeping your public informed of what you are trying to do and to keep yourself out of trouble.

We have a tremendous student council on base, you wouldn't think so, but these young men have tremendous organizing ability and, to a great extent, they help solve community relations problems. They have Chief Petrone come in and speak to the Corpsmen every few months to tell them the rules and rights of the town and to show them that the cop also doesn't have to carry a gun and a club.

Now, what are the lessons, 1, 2, 3, down the line, let me be pedantic here for a moment. There is a tremendous need in the education of these kids, 17-21, for the development of the idea that there are alternatives. In terms of the culture from which they sprang, this has not been a part of their education, it has not been a part of their world of reality. What are the sensible alternatives to a Corpsman if he gets a young lady in trouble? These problems are discussed in our group meetings and the sensible alternative is not to terminate from Job Corps, but to seek out our legal advisor, to seek out social agencies, to find the alternative for the pickle that the youth happens to be in. One of the prime things that we try to teach these kids is that their feet are for something else besides running away from life and from problems. It's by getting into these nitty gritty matters that you develop what an alternative to a precipitous action is and to a scared youngster, this is an extremely valuable kind of thing. This goes all the way to alternatives to being stuck with a teacher that they don't like in the GED program. What do you do about this one? You discuss it in a group meeting and the group leader sees the teacher. The kid is saying, well you don't run away from it, you don't have to terminate from Job Corps, you don't have to give up the GED program, what are the other reasonable alternatives? And you have to tell this kid these things. You have to show him the way home. Prior to entering Job Corps, did he not know what alternative was, nor

did he know how to spell it, but he had no idea that such things were available to him in most instances. This is an extremely important thing that we feel we do for youngsters in Job Corps.

One of the things of dealing with an impacted group of minorities, such as we do at Kilmer, is to try to find an answer of how to eradicate the feeling in these kids that they have to have immediate gratification on almost every level. If the chow is two minutes late, look out for a riot. If that group meeting doesn't start on time, maybe they won't be there. If that pass isn't ready on Friday afternoon, boom they've gone without it. Don't wait around, the sense that if it isn't right there on the dot, out they go or they're off. This has such tremendous implications for us in the world of work. This far exceeds any technical training that we can give a kid and is one of the main lessons that we have not learned well at Kilmer, even yet. How to do something about getting this kid out of the immediately oriented self and his world. And I would like to suggest that an American Negro coming from Brownsville is almost totally without the kinds of things that enable us to be other than immediately oriented. I would like to suggest that you look at each of your families and, as you go on vacation this year or as you take your family camping, think back as to when you told your kids you were going to go camping. Or when you told your kid when his birthday was and that he could anticipate some sort of a reward or a present; that if he did a good thing in school that he had somebody there waiting to give him an accolade. I submit that this is not the case in the American Negro culture. It explains to a great degree, why we have an immediate oriented society with the predominate group at Kilmer. It is extremely difficult to fill in the kinds of long-range promises that normal parents and that an affluent society, mainly white, has provided for the majority of our youths. I don't know how you break this down but we're working on it. It's a problem that a Job Corps has and it's a lesson we'd like to get some answers from you.

I'm a great advocate of the dormitory school. I think the reason why the public school failed in many instances is because they haven't had a twenty-four hour operation where they could really work on attitude modification. Most honest public school men will tell you the same thing. This is the real essence of Job Corps, we have them twenty-four hours a day, right around the clock, right around the year for as long as their program goes. You can really get to a kid after a while at any number of levels, whether its the teacher, vocational or academic, or whether its his friends in group meetings. There are seven or eight different levels, where this kid has some kind of resource. He can be talked to, be guided by, suggested to, shown alternatives; it can even happen in a dormitory set up. I think this is a very positive lesson the Job Corps has to offer. One of the disasters of the Job Corps program has been the fact that it starts too late. The 17-21 year age range is really making the raw material that you are expected to work with even more case hardened than he should have been allowed to become.

In walking the streets of Newark, I've had numerous parents comment to me, Mr. Grady, why don't you have a Job Corps for my ten year old boy? I don't know where my husband is, I've been separated for years, I have to work, I have no older children at home to watch to be sure that he will attend school, what's being done for him? Well, what is being done for him? The truancy rate in our ghettos is fantastic. Regardless of what you want to do, you must call the enforcement officers. Right here you begin immediately to ingrain the fear and hatred of law enforcement in an area where none should exist. I say the Job Corps really should be run by the State and I believe, from what I've seen, preferably outside of the formal education program. In other words, let the state sublet it out to business and industry or other kinds of private enterprise: the Ford Foundation or whatever you have. But let's get it spread around and let's get it down to the age group where you become preventive instead of kind of guilding them over as we have to do when we wait too late.

In our placement of the youths who complete our vocational experience, rightly or wrongly, we try to place them in a location other than that from which they came. We don't want to turn them back into Brownsville or East Harlem or below Columbia University. We like to place them up at the Electric Boat Company in New London, Connecticut, if, for example, they are welders. There we work with the UMCA. If they were from rural South Carolina, we would like to place them in a city. We like to kind of spread them around and we think this is a very good thing to do. We find that the youth who come back to visit us are extremely appreciative for what we have added to a horizon, a curriculum, they never thought they would be seeing or experiencing. There were many people who would disagree with this concept. They seem to feel that we should feed back into the ghetto some positive model to those who made it. And perhaps the question becomes academic. But I feel strongly that relocation is one of the functions of the Job Corps program and one others might deem worthy to emulate.

Despite the fact that I work in private industry and could be subject to being fired immediately, I would like to say that the job consideration itself is one of the biggest messes we have on the face of this earth. It is the Puritan epic, the eight-to-five homosapiens, who somehow must be rewarded because he is more schedula. Business through the National Alliance of Business is now trying to undo years of getting their personnel departments from excluding the kinds of people we are now looking for: the hard core, as they are referred. What do we do about these people? Is the job the only thing? Is vocational training the answer?

What do you do with them after you have got them a job, after you have broken them into the eight-to-five habit? Are you and I and is business perceptive enough to realize the next step may be open housing? Keeping success on the job is going to have to be translated into the kind

of thing that is meant for you and for me. A choice of where to live. I am not so sure that we are ready to make it now. That is why I go back and say that one of the lessons to learn from the Job Corps is emphasis on relocation. Get the hell out of the habit perpetuating the ghetto and segregation. There is a tremendous need at this time to develop a Job Corps, not only for the ten to fourteen year old group, but to develop an institution that will deal with the addict, the dope. The biggest reason for termination at Kilmer is dope addiction. This goes all the way from possession of marijuana to heroin. There is a lot of it. These people can function, they do function, and yet we arbitrarily remove them. We send them backward to referral agencies with the state and, once they leave us, who knows where they go? Nobody seems to want to touch that problem, and yet, it is one of the biggest problems of the core city. It will be one of the biggest problems that business will face when it begins to hire these hard core adults in the 21-45 age group. I wonder if they know what they are getting into? I wonder if they can put up with this thing? I wonder if we can drop the myth, the morality against dope addiction and get down to the brass tacks of what we are going to do about it. If only it is from a dollar and cents point of making them productive people. There is a need for our agencies, for private industry, to develop training programs for drug addicts much on the style of Rockefeller in New York on a voluntary basis. Where the program, I believe, has proven to be extremely successful. You don't put up bars, you let them come and go. Many bright, perceptive people are being blighted by a kind of morality that we have thrown around the question of drug addiction. We deal with it daily at Kilmer. We do not deal well with it. Part of the reason, of course, is public relations. We try to save our conscience by saying, "Well, we do for one-third of these, we can't handle all the rounders."

I have already talked to you about the cost. For \$5,200 a year, it is a steal and I'm not working for any chamber of commerce. I have been in public education too long to be convinced otherwise. I believe in a couple of days some member of the staff here at Rutgers will speak on the cluster preparation for youngsters going into vocational fields. It's a pretty smart theme, I think. I'd like to hear that discussion but it is one of the ideas that I think I'd like to leave with you as I terminate this discussion. We have got to introduce the kid to many kinds of vocations, not being a machinist, not being a welder, but what are the related areas in and about these particular skills this youngster needs to have an insight. We are finding that this kills us; you train for a specific skill without an awareness of where it can be applied in the field and you are doing a disservice to the kid. So what we are trying to do is to begin to emphasize this cluster arrangement where a kid will go through a sequence and have it inside in four or five different areas in which he might make a living at a later date. I think this is right and it kind of takes the sting out of vocational education as a panacea for dealing with the hard core people.

I'd like to close by indicating the Job Corps, despite my enthusiasm, is not in itself an answer. It is an approach. There are other agencies and there are other people, more gifted perhaps, that ought to be in this ballgame. But I submit that after three and half years, FEC have these things and it's staff to suggest to you. And I would close by saying, that the one thing that institutions and industries have got to realize is that when you call upon a staff to work with these people day in and day out, you had better provide someplace for R&R in your program. Rest and relaxation are needed more often than the yearly vacation period. You'd better be more perceptive in dealing with your staff if you expect them to have sensitivity and humanity going at hundred and five percent day in and day out. This is what is needed to deal with these people in a believable way. We have got to accept radically changed programs of handling personnel. You have got to take people who are dealing with these youths out of a line of fire on a very frequent basis so that they can have their own vision reconstituted and their own sense of care reinforced. I see people who have worked at Kilmer for three years who have become almost vegetables in terms of having and being faced with problems. You wear them out, friends, you run humans through the mill and squeeze from them the thing that you want them to do in the first place. So that, I think, is one of the enormous challenges and a very high cost factor. It must be faced, however, if you in institutions, I in business, the National Alliance for Business and the Federal government are going to handle this problem in a reasonable and humane, and yes, in a hard nose fashion.

THE USE OF TEAM TEACHING

Marvin Hirshfeld*
Ralph Bregman

Are you amenable to change? If your answer is NO or MAYBE, do not go further. ----What we are proposing is a team teaching approach using vocational educators within the correctional institution.

Team teaching is a valid idea since there is a pooling of time and energy, integrating lesson plans, exchanging of ideas, appropriate application of specific talents, and the opportunity to come closer to individualizing instruction.

There are various ways a team teaching approach might be organized to accomplish the above. For example, teachers may be assigned according to their interests and abilities. A teacher especially skilled in teaching human relations is assigned to teach that subject whether he be a trade and industrial instructor or a language teacher. Other teachers talented in providing remedial instruction could be teamed with the content specialist and assigned to a small group of students needing help with business mathematics. The paraprofessional may work with part of the group in the use and application of the cash register, while the clerical assistant will read and note errors on student papers, prepare tentative group instructional lists, and other assorted tasks. The above pattern should be established after joint planning meetings involving members of the immediate team.

Although this approach seems costly, the criteria for acceptance must be the benefits derived by the students and teachers from such an experience.

OPERATIONS

In order to implement the team teaching function, its operational components must be understood.

TEAM VARIABLES. A team relationship occurs when a group of teachers and/or students as an organized unit, accept and carry out decision-making responsibilities for a set of instructional variables such as time, space, group size, group composition, teacher

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assignment and resource allocation.

Team teaching requires the development of new concepts in the use of space and time. The use of time is best served by flexible scheduling through the arrangement of instruction in larger, smaller, and intermediate blocks of time with varying numbers of teachers and other staff personnel.

The role of the specialist in the school and institution will also be greatly altered. The function of the librarian, the audio-visual person, and the supervisor-coordinator tends to become an expanded one in supporting the team or teams.

DIVISION OF TASKS. Successful team teaching requires a certain specialization of each team member and interlocking understanding by each member of the other's special competency. Intimately related to this requirement is the sub-division of tasks. It is at this point that absolute care must be taken to ensure through comprehensive planning, that sub-division of tasks is worked out and related to team teaching's specific aims. This sub-division of tasks may be based on the assumption that all tasks can be divided into objective, relatively simple, component parts. Interns, para-professionals, clerical aids and other educational assistants can clearly serve the sub-division of task concept.

PROCEDURES. The team needs to develop a set of working policies and rules that will guide the planning process and resolve the inevitable disagreements. The policies should be in written form, and subject to revision by the team members so that each teacher has some recourse when the operation of the unit demands too much conformity.

TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS. The role of the teacher in a sound team teaching program is one of hard work. Any teacher who believes his work load will automatically be reduced when he becomes involved in the program will be disillusioned. In order to succeed in team teaching, a teacher must have a genuine interest in the educational development of his pupils. Only then is he willing to give the time and effort which is necessary to build a strong program. He must be willing to share his good ideas with his colleagues and they with him. He must be willing to receive and use constructive criticism that will further improve his teaching. He must be willing to cooperate with his fellow teachers and to solve problems that arise on a non-emotional level. After experimenting he must be willing to admit to himself that some ideas work better than others, and that the same technique of teaching is not necessarily the best for all phases of all subjects. Any teacher who is affirmative in these characteristics will be highly successful in the team teaching approach.

SUMMARY OF OPERATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. A teaching team consists of 2 or more teachers jointly responsible for the instruction of pupils from one or more grade or age levels.*
2. Teams may have teachers assigned to different levels of responsibility depending upon their ability and experience.
3. Most team teaching programs permit supervision of the junior members of a team by the senior or leadership personnel. The schedule also permits less experienced personnel to observe the master teacher in action.
4. Team teaching programs emphasize the team, rather than the individual teacher in planning, teaching and evaluation.
5. The team teaching specialist is a teacher of teachers as well as teacher of students.
6. All team teaching programs emphasize the effective utilization of the strengths of each member of the staff.
7. The theory of continuous pupil progress (non-gradedness) is basic to most team teaching programs.
8. Team programs emphasize varying class size and class lengths based upon instructional objectives, techniques and pupil needs.
9. Many team teaching programs use para-professionals and assistants for non-professional tasks.
10. Most team teachers make more effective use of mechanical and electronic equipment and other resources within the school and institutional milieu.
11. Team teaching will only be as effective as each individual team member fulfills his commitments.

*Students and resource people may be included as part of the team.

Specific Application of Team Teaching Characteristics
To A Correctional Institution

I. The most obvious application is the establishment of teams within the institution. The following example illustrates this application.

Illustration

A. Assumptions

1. Class members can type
2. English teacher is the most qualified person to teach correct letter form. Typing teacher is most qualified to apply correct typing principles
3. Clerks are available for a block of time
4. Subject mastery will take 1 1/2 hours

B. Problem

To type and recognize a business letter using correct form.

C. Procedure

The team consisting of the typing teacher, English teacher and clerks have planned a lesson. Students will be given two business letter drafts and asked to produce two mailable letters. The English teacher will present the parts of a business letter. The Typing teacher will then instruct the class how typing principles are applied to produce these letters. Clerks will circulate during letter preparation phase to provide individual assistance. As students complete this work they will be given additional tasks to reinforce skills just learned. This may include evaluation of previously prepared letters under the guidance of the English or Typing teacher in a small group setting. Students in need of additional help should be assisted by using other students who have demonstrated a mastery of the assignment.

II. There are other types of relationships.

- A. The instructional team supplemented by one or more vocational teachers from outside the institution will provide their expertise in specific areas. Example: A distributive education teacher demonstrating correct display techniques.

- B. A vocational team brought in to work with institutional instructors. Example: Home Economics Personnel (food service) to team with food service instructor to identify and correct unsanitary food serving in a restaurant.
- C. Mini-team. Vocational instructor teamed with institutional instructor for a specific unit. Example: Beauty culture instructor with institutional instructor to demonstrate latest hair styles.
- D. The institutional instructor working as a team member of a public school or manpower program team. Example: Institutional instructor explains how to work with the "disadvantaged."

APPENDIX I

Definitions*

Team Leader

The team leader is at the apex of the team hierarchy and is an experienced, mature master teacher with the ability and willingness to assume major responsibility for administering, coordinating, and supervising the work and activities of the teachers, pupils, and aides of his team.

Senior Teacher

A senior teacher is an experienced, mature master teacher with a content specialization in at least one area, who exercises coordinating and supervisory leadership for the team in that area. He also teaches in other instructional areas under the supervision of the team leader and other senior teachers.

Teacher

He (1) teaches most subjects to pupils with differing needs in groups of varying sizes in many types and sizes of rooms; (2) serves as a member of the teaching team; (3) shares in cooperative planning and subsequent evaluation of units and lessons; (4) studies unique needs of pupils to aid in planning better learning opportunities; (5) keeps parents informed through conferences and written comments as well as through participation in meetings with parents; (6) cooperates with team leaders, senior teachers, and other teachers in the planning, teaching, and evaluating cycle.

Para-Professional

In team teaching, a para-professional is a team member who, although lacking a teaching certificate, usually does have some academic background and can successfully function in most teaching situations while being supervised by a certified team member.

* Medill Bair and Richard G. Woodward, Team Teaching in Action (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1964), pp. 68-82.

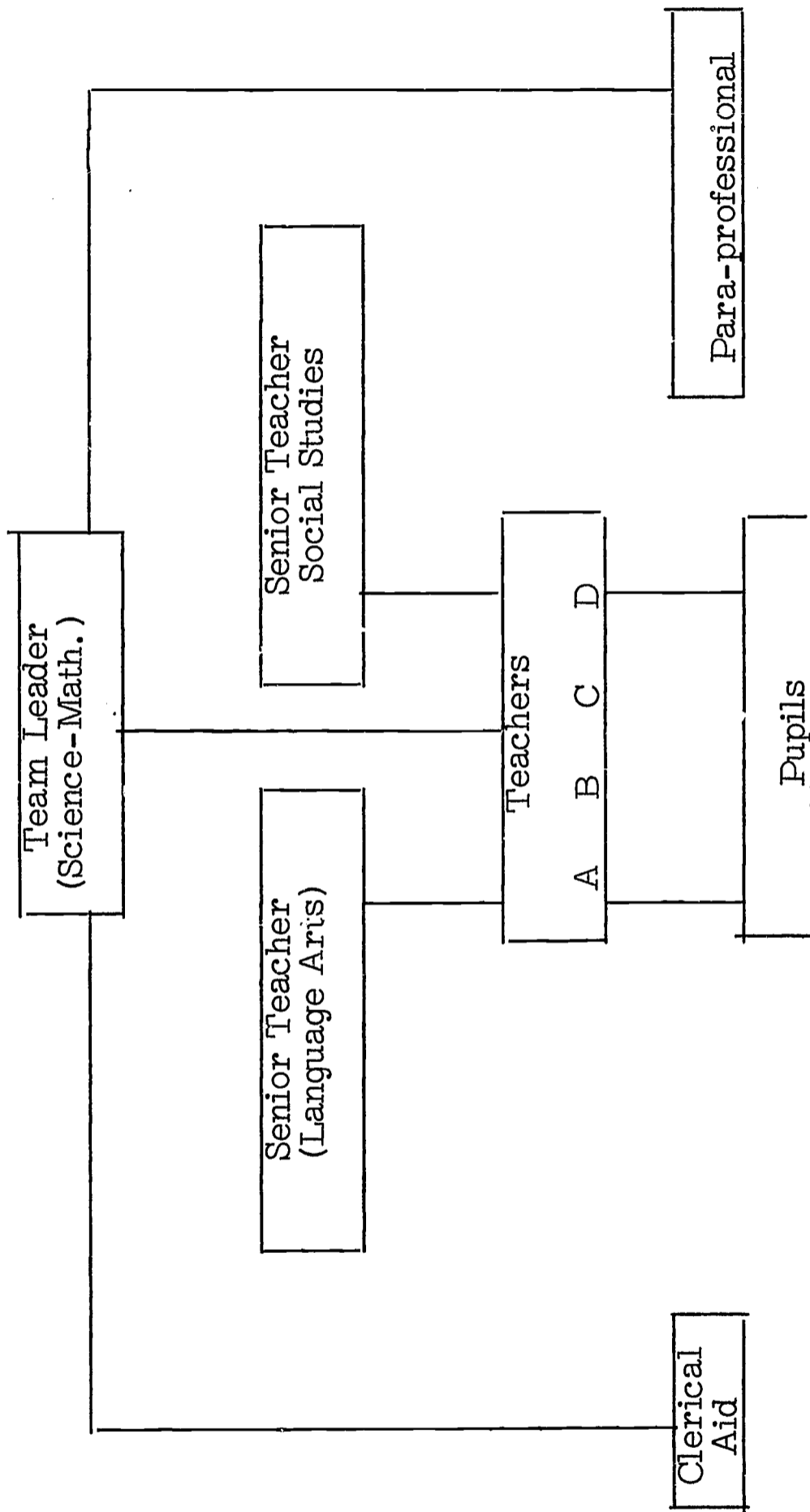
Robert H. Johnson, Jr., and John J. Hunt, Prescription for Team Teaching (Minnesota: Burgess Publishing Company, 1968), p. 4.

Clerical Aide

He (1) runs errands; (2) gets and distributes supplies; (3) makes teaching devices (visual aids, bulletin board materials); (4) records on grade cards and records; (5) keeps pupil folders up to date; (6) assists in team-wide tests; (7) arranges parent conferences; (8) assists in large-group lessons; (9) assists the other aide on the team.

APPENDIX II

A TEACHING TEAM*



*Medill Bair and Richard G. Woodward, Team Teaching in Action, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1964), p. 68.

APPENDIX III

TEAM TEACHING SCHEDULE*

<u>Type of Scheduling</u>	<u>Description</u>
Back-to-back	Two or more teachers scheduled with different groups, but at the same time.
Unit-Specialist	Teachers move from class to class, and students' schedule is stable.
Varying class size	Large and small groups are regularly scheduled and teachers may have assigned group responsibility.
Block-of-time	Students are scheduled for designated blocks of time in set learning groups, and teachers exchange teaching responsibilities.
Ad Hoc	Teachers and students have no set schedule; class instructional groups are rearranged throughout the month by teacher decision.

*David W. Biggs, Team Teaching, Bold New Venture (Indianapolis: Unfield College Press, Inc., 1964), p. 67.

APPENDIX IV
 VARIATION OF GROUP SIZE*

<u>Represented Activities</u>	<u>Groups</u>	<u>Facilities</u>
Presentations Stimulation of inquiry Enrichment Relating various subject matter fields Building concepts Relating field of knowledge to reality	LARGE GROUPS 60-300 STUDENTS	Large audiovisually equipped classrooms with fixed seating, little theater or divisible auditorium.
Discussions Forming opinions based on knowledge "Trying on" of new ideas Reporting experiences with others Building attitudes towards learning	SEMINARS 12-16	Small classrooms furnished with a round or oval-shaped table and chairs.
Programmed Experiences Listening Drill on facts or skills Learning at varying rates Reading Writing Sub-group discussions Teacher-pupil planning and evaluation Experimenting	LEARNING LABORATORIES 15-60 Psychological Group Size 1-4	Large, open areas furnished with carrels, divided tables, and chairs. Carpeted. Listening booths, rear-projection devices, books, small conference rooms. Teachers' offices adjoining.
Interest-Centered Experiences Research Project Work Interest-centered reading Viewing Listening Experimenting Conferring Evaluating	INDEPENDENT STUDY GROUPS 1-4	Library or resource center furnished with divided tables and carrels. Shops, project rooms, homemaking kitchen, laboratories, Community resources utilized.

*David W. Biggs, Team Teaching, Bold New Venture (Indianapolis: Unfield College Press, Inc. 1964, p. 78.

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REMEDIAL READING

Martin Kling*

This section on Remedial Reading will be divided into four parts. Part I will deal with learner considerations in remedial reading. Part II will be concerned with teacher consideration in remedial reading. Part III will indicate some generalizations about methods used in teaching remedial reading. Part IV will comment on some materials and resources that should be considered in remedial reading.

PART I: LEARNER CONSIDERATIONS

A comprehensive definition of the remedial reader cannot be given by examining present remedial reading programs. Kress (3) has defined two kinds of remedial readers, those that have corrective problems and those that have remedial problems.

The corrective problem learner is often retarded in reading from a few months to several years below grade level. The main deterring factor inhibiting progress is the inability of the classroom teacher to give instruction within the learner's present range of word recognition and comprehension skills. No basic neurological or psychological learning problems are manifest. Therefore, no special learning techniques are necessary except adjustment of instructional practices to appropriate level where learning can succeed.

However, a remedial reader is not only faced with similar frustrations as the corrective reader, i. e. reading materials are at an inappropriate learning level, but is also handicapped by basic neurological and/or psychological difficulties. Manifestations of remedial behaviors are often associated with difficulties in recognizing words, poor memory and asking for repeated help with the same new word. Often such labels as "emotional blocks," "learning blocks," "primary reading retardation," and "dyslexia" are given to these remedial readers.

Kress notes that corrective reading can be done in the classroom and remedial reading can only be done by using highly trained clinicians.

The writer is not in complete agreement with the definitions and consequences of Kress's corrective reader and remedial reader.

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Another definition by Spache (8) appears more appropriate, functional and realistic. A remedial reader according to Spache (8, p. 300) is:

"An individual who is retarded in a number of reading skills by one year or more, if in the primary grades, or by two years or more if older, below that reading level necessary for full participation in the reading tasks of his age or socioeconomic group may be considered a reading disability. It is assumed that the person has had normal opportunities for schooling, and that he has continued to show this degree of retardation below his estimated capacity despite corrective efforts extending over a period of months."

Recognizing the age and socioeconomic aspects of the reader, Lewallen (4), in a recently completed master's thesis done at Rutgers, developed words and phrases for sign, form, and job. The sign category dealt with words or phrases that require some decision to change or maintain behaviors such as survival, traffic, want ads, menu, etc. Form classification dealt with basic vocabulary and phrases found in job applications, income tax, W-2 employee forms, disability and credit applications. Job words and phrases were analyzed as to health jobs, transportation and warehousing, construction and wholesale and retail work.

Mitzel (5) has also worked out a functional word list for adults.

Careful recognition of the kind of remedial reader being dealt with will determine the kind of objectives, teacher, materials and method to be employed.

PART II: TEACHER CONSIDERATIONS

Since many correctional administrators are involved in obtaining staff for developing reading programs, the following minimum standards for the professional training of reading specialists has been adopted by the International Reading Association in 1965.

Minimum Standards of Professional Training

- I. A minimum of three years of successful teaching and/or clinical experience.
- II. A master's degree with a major emphasis in reading or its equivalent of a bachelor's degree plus 30 graduate hours in reading and related areas as indicated below:

- A. A minimum of 12 semester hours in graduate level reading courses with at least one course in each of the following:
1. Foundations or survey of reading
A basic course whose content is related exclusively to reading instruction or the psychology of reading. Such a course ordinarily would be the first in a sequence of reading courses.
 2. Diagnosis and correction of reading disabilities
The content of this course or courses includes the following: causes of reading disabilities; observation and interview procedures; diagnostic instruments; standard and informal tests; report writing; materials and methods of instruction.
 3. Clinical or laboratory practicum in reading
A clinical or laboratory experience which might be an integral part of a course or courses in the diagnosis and correction of reading disabilities. Students diagnose and treat reading disability cases under supervision
- B. An additional minimum of 12 semester hours from the following courses:
1. Measurement and/or evaluation
 2. Child and/or adolescent psychology or development
 3. Personality and/or mental hygiene
 4. Educational psychology
 5. Literature for children and/or adolescents
 6. Organization and supervision of reading programs
 7. Research and literature in reading

- 8 Linguistics
9. Communications
10. Curriculum

C. The remainder of semester hours be obtained from additional courses under IIA, IIB, and/or related areas such as:

1. Foundations of education
2. Guidance
3. Speech and hearing
4. Exceptional child

Some of the implications of the requirements for professional reading specialists are that his educational background is interdisciplinary, he is not likely to promise panaceas, that reading is a complex process requiring high level competence.

PART III: SOME GENERALIZATIONS ABOUT REMEDIAL READING

Recently, the U. S. Office of Education supported some 27 First Grade Reading Projects published in the May and October 1966 issue of The Reading Teacher. Second year extensions were presented in May 1967 of The Reading Teacher. A comprehensive scholarly review of all the 27 First Grade Studies is given in the Reading Research Quarterly, Summer 1967, Vol. II, No. 4.

A careful examination of these studies and others cited in Schell and Burns (6) has given rise to the following generalizations:

1. There is more than one way to teach reading
2. Essentially, if most of the relevant variables are taken into account, one approach is about as good as another for normal functioning learners.
3. Essentially, the more closely related the approach is to the particular test or skill used to evaluate reading, the greater the association between the particular test and the skill measured.
4. Essentially, most of the reading approaches can be categorized as appealing primarily to the kinesthetic, auditory and visual sense modalities or combination thereof.

However, these modalities are not single entities but represent complex super systems undergirded by diverse,

yet interrelated subsystems. This inference is warranted from recent works of Kling (2) and Singer (7).

PART IV: MATERIALS AND RESOURCES

The Zeitgeist ("spirit of the times") seems to warrant the use of all kinds of flashy expensive equipment such as, controlled readers, tachistoscopes, moving pictures, etc. Most of these materials fly in the face of a basic tenet in remedial reading--appropriate material for the particular learner! The materials are often inappropriate or narrow as to objectives, level and transfer value. The objectives are very limited. For example, quite a number of tachistoscopically (flashmeter presentations) programs emphasize digit span. Now, digit span might be increased from 300%-400%. But what of it's crossover to reading from the printed page. The answer is that the transfer is negligible. However, if our objectives were to train key punch operators, then a heavy dose of digit training would be warranted. Soon key punch operator functions will be replaced by voice-to-tape-to-computer operations!

Further, in the few controlled studies directly comparing materials, teachers, learners, etc., the results were a draw or the book came out ahead.

For the time, money, effort and talent necessary to make machine versions of book materials, it doesn't seem sensible to purchase equipment since, for the same amount of money, quite a few paperbacks, dittos and hard covers can be acquired.

A Kinescope on Remedial Reading (16 mm-40 minute film) shown to the group highlighted screening, diagnosis, remedial procedures and evaluations used in remedial reading.

A visit to the Rutgers Reading Center displayed many of the materials listed and annotated in the Kinescope Institute Remedial Reading Reference Materials (1) which the participants in the seminar received.

Questions from the participants were related to much of the formal presentations.

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A PILOT PROGRAM IN
COOPERATIVE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Gene Dolnick*

For the past week, we have listened to some of the dynamics involved in working with our inmate populations by experts in their respective fields. If at the end of the past week it has stirred us enough to re-evaluate our existing programs in terms of the needs of our populations, if it has reinforced basic premises that go into the conceptualization of new programs, or if it has provided new insights in which we deal with our populations, then this national seminar has served to meet some of its stated objectives.

Psychologists and sociologists tell us the inmates we serve are "stripped individuals" when they enter the institutional system. Stripped in the sense that their lives are void of meaning. Before the individual was something to somebody, now, in the eyes of the inmate (whose self-concept is governed by his perceptions), he is nothing to anyone, a failure unto himself. What he is, however, is a reject of society who has been sent away. The primary question we as educators must ask is-- Away to what? Is the inmate sent away to learn the "ways" of the institution and his fellow inmates, away to exist and play the role of "good Johnny" so that the indeterminate sentence will be as short as possible? Don't mistake what I have said. Roles and role playing are a vital part of successful rehabilitation but are dependent upon identification. As has been pointed out many times during this seminar, teaching a vocational skill or even a cluster of skills in and of itself is not enough to insure a successful return to society. If our inmates play the positive-negative role of existing within the institution, at some point in time they will return to the institutional system to be included in the recidivist count. What, then, should our roles as vocational educators tell us as to the types of programs we should offer our population? Let me first begin by stating what I think we should not be doing. Our role parallels that which public schools should have been doing and, for the most part, explains why they have miserably failed segments of their population. They have failed in their responsibility to their ghetto populations because they have been locked-in by tradition and parochialism. Tradition not only in the manner and method of teaching but also in traditional programs and concepts engendered in the public schools. The key to their population's needs was flexibility and originality in programs and

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curriculum; instead the response, in many cases, was orthodox rigidity. This was the past, and the future of education is changing. The future isn't saying to the public schools throw all your traditional programs out the door and try something new that is unproven. It is saying, however, try something new, try something different; it says experiment, innovate, develop, evaluate, and then change. Instead, all too often, the answer from educators has been it is not within the school's domain to experiment; hence, parochialism. Therein lies the educational challenge, for we work within correctional institutions that are also rich in tradition. Our challenge is to develop programs that offer positive experiences that are relevant in terms of having meaning to the individual during his confinement as well as having transfer value upon parole; programs that stress and develop responsibility within an environment that traditionally has taken away responsibility, decision making and freedom of choice.

I come before you not with the answer, but with one of the approaches we are attempting within a juvenile training school in the State of New Jersey. It has as one of its basic premises the value of Cooperative Work Experience supplemented by coordinated classroom experiences. I am committed in the field of vocational-technical education, whether it be public, private, or institutional, to this method. It offers the individual a chance to develop skills and to put his skills to the test, to reinforce his notion of self-worth by functioning as a responsible citizen, to subjugate himself to the prevalent habits and attitudes of a model group, and to make and form lasting positive relationships with people. Our approach is based upon the psychological phenomenon of interaction whereby a re-socialization and social-conscience may be molded.

Thus, it is my privilege to present our Pilot Project: Distributive Education for Incarcerated Youth. As you are well aware, the pilot project technique is utilized in attempting to provide programs that are innovative, exemplary, or demonstrative. The funding is available through the Vocational Education Act of 1963.

Our program is a joint effort of the State Department of Education, Vocational Education, and the State Department of Institutions and Agencies. It is only with the leadership and cooperation of such men as Dr. Robert Worthington, Assistant Commissioner of Vocational Education, and Mr. Albert Wagner, Director of Institutions and Agencies, and their staffs that this project could be taken from the drawing boards and established within a correctional institution.

What may well be the first program of its kind in the nation, this pilot project utilizes Distributive Education classroom experience, along with cooperative work experience outside of the institution. By offering vocational training and on-the-job instruction to youth normally completely removed from general activity in society and placed in a confined environment, it is hoped a significant reduction will be made upon the recidivist rate.

Distributive Education at the State Home for Boys has the following broad objectives: (1) acquaint youth with the "world of work" and the "world of distribution" through an earn-while-you-learn program; (2) teach youth through actual experience(s) how to secure employment, maintain employment, and advance after employment; (3) develop within youth favorable work habits and attitudes; and (4) offer placement possibilities upon parole consistent with youth's vocation aims by (a) placement into a high school Distributive Education program, (b) securing permanent employment if education is terminal and/or (c) making arrangements with other agencies (Manpower Development Training, Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation) to serve youth's needs.

At this point, perhaps a short overview of the institution would be in order. The State Home for Boys is situated on 725 acres of farm land near the town of Jamesburg, in rural central New Jersey, twenty miles northeast of Trenton. Youth are sent to the institution from all twenty-one counties comprising the State of New Jersey. They have been incarcerated by the courts for offenses ranging from petty violations of the law and school truancy to the more serious acts. The terms of their incarceration is indeterminate and is dependent upon the youth's adjustment while in the institution as well as his ability to function within society. The average period of incarceration is nine months. Basically, the institution functions as a Training School for boys between eight and sixteen years of age classified by the courts as incorrigible. It does function at times as a foster home for boys waiting placement, a temporary home for the severely mentally retarded waiting placement in the proper institutional setting, a psychiatric center for the emotionally disturbed delinquent, and a home for the homeless, the rejected, and neglected youth of New Jersey. In the past, the current average population of the Home has been around 550, although currently the enrollment is approximately 425.

Juveniles who first arrive are placed in a Reception Cottage where orientation and adjustment to institutional life occurs. During the reception period a diagnostic "work-up" is compiled--a complete psychological, educational, and physiological examination--for purposes of classification. The classification committee selects cottage and educational placement. Educational placement consists of one of three programs: (1) Academic, (2) Manual, or (3) Special. Applicants for Distributive Education are taken from the institutional enrollment only upon completion of the evaluation procedure at the Reception Cottage and the Classification Board. The applicant in order to qualify for acceptance must meet the following criteria:

1. The applicant must be at least fifteen years of age or reach his fifteenth birthday in no less than a three month period upon initial acceptance into the program.

2. The applicant must be a resident of the institution for at least six months after receiving initial acceptance into the program
3. An applicant who has committed an act of heinous nature prior to incarceration will not be qualified for entrance into the program.
4. The applicant must have obtained a favorable psychological screening at the Reception Cottage. This will be of prime concern in determining ability to profit from the program and willingness to learn the functions to be performed through a part-time cooperative work experience program.
5. The applicant's intellectual capacity should be within the normal range of intelligence or, if below the normal range, a notation by the psychologist as to potentiality. Wide Range Reading Scores should be no lower than 3 (reduced from original score of 6) and the applicant should possess an understanding of the basic mathematical processes.
6. The applicant shall obtain one recommendation from the institutional staff attesting to character during the applicant's stay at the institution.
7. The applicant shall appear before the Classification Committee and the Superintendent for review and obtain a satisfactory rating.

Screening candidates for Distributive Education from the institutional enrollment is accomplished through a multi-facet approach. Staff personnel are encouraged to recommend candidates to the Coordinator along with his active solicitation for youngsters in the school and cottages. Candidates confidential files are examined to determine whether prescribed criteria are fulfilled, and, if so, the candidates are invited to meet the coordinator for a personal interview and explanation of the program. A formal recommendation for acceptance into the program is transmitted to the institutional Classification Committee, which in turn passes its recommendation to the Superintendent of the institution for final approval.

Acceptance into the program is provisional until the candidate has passed an orientation period, usually four weeks. During this time, the youngster attends a full day of school substituting a period of Distributive Education for a period of wood or print shop. Upon completion of orientation, the candidate is recommended for permanent membership and an outside cooperative work experience of their choosing, where the employers

pay the going hourly wage. At that point, a change in educational schedule places them in English, Social Studies, Distributive Education, Physical Education, and Human Relations. Students attend school for only part of the day and are employed for the remainder of the day (a maximum of forty hours school plus work). As a full-time Distributive Education student, each is entitled to receive five Carnegie units for their Distributive Education classroom experience and five additional Carnegie units for their practical on-the-job training.

At the onset of the pilot project, a community survey was instituted within a fifteen mile radius of Jamesburg to establish the various types of employment opportunities existing in distributive occupations. As mentioned previously in this report, Jamesburg and the area surrounding Jamesburg is basically rural with limited opportunities to cultivate adequate training stations. It is an obvious fact that a vocational program in the distributive occupations can function only where there are adequate distribution sources. If this rule of thumb is accepted for a regular high school Distributive Education program, multiply this many times when you're dealing with a correctional institutional population especially one with such a young membership. Fortunately, to the north of the institution are the urban and industrial centers of North, South, and New Brunswick; to the south of the institution is the steadily growing suburban and industrial area of Hightstown; to the east of the institution is the suburban community of Freehold. Geographical locations of institutions have rather important implications as to whether work experience programs can be initiated and/or survive. Philosophies that call for institutions to be constructed far away from large population centers certainly do not complement the aim of rehabilitation envisioned by our program. The State Home for Boys was constructed over one hundred years ago and suburbia has, due to urban pressures, reached a commutable distance of the institution.

After identifying large potential areas of distribution and possible training station sites, the coordinator constructed training station priorities. One of the aims was to place youngsters with national and regional companies wherever possible. It was hoped by doing so, that youngsters when returned to their communities (in all parts of New Jersey) might either secure part-time employment after school hours or full-time employment if their education was terminal, or have access to a training station for continuation within a high school Distributive Education program. This goal was based on a number of assumptions, such as: (1) Youngsters would achieve successfully at their training stations and be recommended for employment by the store manager to another regional manager, (2) Regional stores in the vicinity of the institution would wish to become involved and identify with the goals of the program, and (3) Youngsters after their primary training experience in Distributive Education would desire to continue with the business organization in the same capacity either part-time or full-time upon their return to the community.

One of the difficulties encountered in following the proposed fore-mentioned plan was the placement of adolescents whose age ranged from fifteen to sixteen years of age. Large retail chains, as a rule, were reluctant to hire youngsters below the age of sixteen, citing their regional and national store policy did not conform with existing Labor Law statutes (current child labor laws in the State of New Jersey allow employment of minors at the age of fourteen for part-time employment). This created a gap in the work experience program which of necessity had to be filled by the smaller businesses within the community.

Initial discussions held prior to installing the pilot program recognized the need for transportation and the responsibility for filling that need as an institutional function. Transporting students to their training stations is a responsibility of the institution as well as the coordinator and employer. The employer has the responsibility for scheduling work hours which are realistic in terms of the institutional schedule. At the same time, the institution must see that the trainee is able to be punctual in meeting work schedules. Tact when in contact with employers or their agents is a must and should be as inconspicuous as possible during pick-up and delivery of students. A program whose "home base" is removed from the urban area is totally dependent upon transportation facilities. This function should not be thought of as just another burden or a non-essential element to be handled haphazardly, but is a most important ingredient that can spell success or failure for a program that is committed to cooperative training experiences.

The mainstay of any successful cooperative work venture is the training station. It is of particular importance when dealing with youngsters with special needs that as many positive experiences as possible be provided within a positive environment. However, it is a virtual impossibility to have prior knowledge as to the worth any particular training station may contribute. Worthiness is a relative quality, and, as such, may be shaped or formed to meet a program's specifications. In the initial contact with employers or their representatives, by discussing program aims and objectives, as well as listening to business needs, the coordinator can evaluate the business in terms of program identification. When the program identification takes place, a formal pattern of basic learnings at the training stations may be jointly developed. Periodic visits to the training stations, reviewing the learning experiences and the employer-employee reactions are all measurement devices by which the coordinator can ensure the positive qualities engendered within the training station. A fundamental point within the program allows the potential employee to choose the area of employment in which he wishes to work. The vocational choice is his, and once he sells himself to the employer during the interview and is offered the job, it is his responsibility to fulfill requirements of the position to the best of his ability. This necessitates a large number of employers being initially contacted and informed of the program so as to solicit a tentative response to their involvement

Finding and identifying training stations is basically a canvassing function and requires the ability of a job developer. Cultivating training stations is not an easy task, but, at the same time, we should not be our own worst enemy. There can be a development of community responsiveness to inmate work-release programs if the job developer can excite and challenge employers to join the so-called "grand experiment." Many training station sponsors remember the hardships they faced as adolescents; many remember the helping hand that was once outstretched to them; many have sons or daughters and realize youth's needs; many of them believe that the business community has a responsibility to perform in rehabilitation; many have job-entry positions available due to the shortages in manpower; and many wish to employ relatively cheap labor. The point is simple, whatever the motivation, there is a very definite reservoir of training stations that will support an institutional work-study program.

Our participating employers have hired students with the full knowledge that their work tenure of approximately six months would be interrupted by furloughs and special visits home. What was thought to be another obvious handicap in securing training stations was accepted as a challenge by employers who understood the full meaning and implications of the program. Through the support of participating employers, who identify with and are responsive to the goals of our program, youngsters were given an opportunity to accept the responsibility of a job, and thus have a chance to grow and mature. Functioning as a part of the work-community, youngsters were able to experience success, (in some cases for the first time in their lives) and, therefore, also experience a new found self-respect.

There has been, as a result of this program, many changes taking place within student behavior as noted by staff and teacher observation and commentary. Within the cottage where the Distributive Education students all reside, there seems to be a new type self-respect that some have described as an esprit de corps. This has been evident in many different ways. Expressions by them of their self-esteem and self-worth are more frequently positive; whereas, in the period of their initial acceptance, this type of verbalism was few and far between. General appearance and personal hygiene have been focused upon by the students and new candidates for the program are sometimes subject to peer criticism for not displaying a positive appearance. Teachers have made comments as to an improvement in students' general motivation in non-Distributive Education subjects and school grades have remained generally constant with perhaps a trend to better grades. Problems in the school, as well as in the cottage, in terms of disciplinaries and trips to the principal's office are rare; whereas, in some individual cases prior to acceptance into the program, they were a matter of fact. Students, when first admitted to the program, are informed as to the importance and significance of the program not only to themselves as individuals but

also to the youngsters who will follow them in future years. This approach is followed so as to afford the students a goal and/or a commitment to the program and, at the same time, a realization of the responsibilities entrusted to them. The total program is based upon mutual self-respect and honesty. Our fellows have, seemingly, accepted the challenge and have built the foundations of a successful work-release program.

Our pilot project may be defined as a mini-project by today's standards and terminology. It was designed specifically for twelve participants at the State Home for Boys. Since the program's start on November 10, 1967, there have been eleven youngsters enrolled within the program. Of the eleven, nine have had experience on off-grounds cooperative work training station. Two enrollees "washed out" between the orientation session and actual placement due to gross infractions of institutional rules (run away and multiple infractions). All nine youngsters sent on an outside training experience have successfully met the demands of employment and have earned the praise of their employers. Only one of the nine, who also was successful on-the-job, was removed from the program due to institutional infractions occurring within the institution itself. Participants have worked, and currently are working, in the following distributive areas: Supermarket Grocery Clerk (2); Service Station Attendants (2); Department Store Stock Sales (1); Food Service Workers (Receiving-Shipping-Counter Work and Short-Order Food Preparation-Counter Work) (2); and Shipping Clerk Assistant in a Manufacturing Plant (1). Two Distributive Education students have left the institution (one was paroled and the other "recalled" by the court) and, at the time of this writing, have had a more than adequate adjustment in the community. Both youngsters have stated they intend to return to public school in September and one received a regional store transfer and has continued within the supermarket industry.

It might be of value to discuss some of the unique problems, that only temporarily have been answered, evolving from the program. The first, deals with the registration of minors for "working papers" and the second, return into the traditional public school setting.

In the State of New Jersey it is necessary for all minors below the age of eighteen to have employment certificates registered with the State Department of Labor. Therein arose a curious situation involving institutions and educational programs within institutions. As specified by existing State legislation, a school district is responsible for issuing and registering youth for "working papers" and the State Department of Labor to enforce existing labor statutes. The person who issues working papers (called the Issuing Officer) must be recommended and appointed by the local school board representing the school district as specified by law. However, educational facilities existing within an institution are not administered by local school districts; but, are administered by the Department of Institutions and Agencies. Thus, all working papers sent in by the coordinator were not validated due to the fact that the Issuing Officer was not duly appointed. Although the administrative set-up was explained to the State Department of Labor, their hands were tied due to

the exact specifications of the law. Apparently, what exists, is a gap in State labor legislation. It was not at the time of legislation and, currently is not, recognized that institutions are responsible for their educational functions and that minors residing within institutions might be employed in surrounding communities in work-study programs. With this in mind, it has been recommended to the Department of Institutions and Agencies that it ask legislators to make adaptations within existing statutes. In the interim, with the cooperation of a location school district's superintendent and school board, an appointment has been made to surmount this problem. At best, this is a temporary solution, one that was made possible by a cooperative neighboring school district.

Youngsters who wish to return to their community school district and continue with a Distributive Education experience are faced with a problem. Distributive Education within the State of New Jersey is, in the majority of cases, a two year experience. The actual cooperative work experience takes place in the senior year of school. The problem arises in that many of our student's chronological ages are appropriate for outside placement if equated to proper grade level; however, many of the youngsters in institutions are below grade level. Some schools take the traditional approach that students cannot be placed within the program until they reach grade level. The best that has been attained as of this writing is a quasi-relationship between the Distributive Education instructor and prospective student. There is a wide gap when an individual is exposed to a program, motivated by the program, and left to wait a year for entrance into a program he has initially experienced. In all due fairness, the personnel in the State Department of Education have been assisting in tackling this problem. The implications of such inaction are obvious for, whereas, the adult offender has some independence in directing his life, the juvenile offender who elects to return to public school may be subjugated to stigmas not only from students but sometimes by teachers.

In summary, I have tried to give you a brief description of an approach utilizing vocational education within a training institution in the State of New Jersey. Although small in funds and numbers, in scope and implications the program may be immense. Admittedly, the program is in its infancy and much more remains to be done in the area of researching our results. It was presented to you, for your consideration and thought, as something that might be developed throughout the United States within juvenile institutions.

PROGRAMMED INSTRUCTION--
WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT WORKS

Garland D. Wiggs*

Programmed instruction (PI) is a relatively new phenomenon on the educational and training scene today--yet it seems destined here to stay and to hold a significant place in educational programs in the immediate future. It is for this reason, educators must know and understand the values and special contributions programmed instruction can make to their educational programs.

Before adopting programmed instruction as an integral part of any educational program several important questions must be answered:

How does programmed instruction fit into existing patterns of instruction? What does it replace? What can it supplement?

Will PI help teachers become more efficient, and if so, in what ways?

What can PI contribute to the solution of immediate and continuing problems of education? Will students using PI learn more, learn better, learn faster than by present methods? In what subjects and at what grade levels can PI be used?

And simply, just what is programmed instruction?

The purpose of this paper is, in part, to help answer these questions.

One small word of caution... the newcomer to the programmed instruction field is often confronted with much sophisticated gadgetry consisting of flashing lights, levers, multi-colored push buttons, and other intricate and exciting visual and auditory devices, making it far too easy to be dazzled by the presentation device ("teaching machine") before the essence of the matter--the educational program--is mentioned. Since the same "program" may often be adaptable to several different modes of presentation, only some of which require the use of machines, this paper will deliberately play down the role of the "teaching machine." The reader should note that in some cases there may be

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some distinct advantages in presenting a "program" through machines... the programmer's good judgment should prevail.

Programmed Instruction Defined

Programmed instruction may be defined as "a planned sequence of experiences, leading to proficiency, in terms of stimulus-response relationships."¹

This definition, although not entirely complete, says that a program is an educational device that will cause a student (a trainee) to progress through a series of experiences that the programmer believes will lead to the student's proficiency.

Using the term "experience" in the definition indicates that the student must participate in the learning process. It is not enough that the instructor tell the student about his, the instructor's, experiences, they must be the student's own. For this reason, programmed instruction material requires a great deal of effort on the part of the student. Whether the device that stimulates and motivates the student's effort is an instructor, a book, a slide-tape presentation, or a computer is really immaterial, so long as the device-whatever it might be-accomplishes its purpose.

"Planned sequence" in the definition implies that the person developing the program has determined not only what experiences the student should have, but also in what order they should occur.

"In terms of stimulus-response relationships" refers to the basic behavioral science concepts upon which all programmed instruction is based. This, too, implies that the programmer is knowledgeable in the field of behavioral psychology...not an expert on the field, but has an understanding of the principles, behavior, and learning.

The only addition to our previous definition of programmed instruction would be the phrase "that have proven to be effective." It is impossible to develop a program without students... a program cannot be considered a program until students have proven it will work... that it will cause them to have the proper experiences, in the proper order, and that they will be able to do what was expected of them before they started the program after its completion.

This paper will devote nearly equal portions to the preparation,

¹Espich, James E. and Bill Williams. Developing Programmed Instructional Materials - A handbook for program writers. Palo Alto, California: Fearon Publishers, 1967, pg. V.

construction techniques, and editing and testing of programmed instruction materials for the amount of time necessary for the development of any program that is divided almost equally into these three phases of work. Writing the program frames is a time-consuming and arduous task but preparing to write them and making them work after they are written are just as time-consuming and arduous.

Before proceeding, it should be noted that all programmed instruction devices have three common characteristics:

1. They present information and require frequent responses by the student.
2. They provide immediate feedback to the student, informing him whether his response is appropriate or not.
3. They allow the student to work individually and to adjust his own rate of progress to his own needs and capabilities.

Preparing For Programming

Before producing the actual program on any subject or a segment of a course of study, there are three basic questions that must be answered:

1. Should the subject be programmed?
2. If this answer is affirmative, what programming techniques should be used?
3. What medium or combination of media should be used to present the programmed material to the student?

The answers to these questions are determined during the first major phase of programmed instruction preparation by conducting a "feasibility study." A "go or no go" decision must be reached at the conclusion of the study. It must be decided whether the material to be taught and the teaching situation involved lend themselves economically and educationally to the development of a program. The programmer must consider many variable factors... factors that may exist in differing degrees in varying situations... before reaching the "go or no go" decision. Among these factors are:

Is the subject matter stable?

Is the material something that is subject to frequent changes? Will the subject matter remain in the course permanently or will it be something that is taught today and not taught tomorrow?

Is a program already available?

Today, less than ten years after programmed instruction began to take hold, over 2,200 instruction units are available "off-the-shelf" from more than 400 publishers.

Existing commercial programs, however, must always be evaluated before an adoption decision is made. Write to the publisher requesting a copy of the objectives of his program, the validation test, a description of the population on which validity of the program was tested, and the statistical results of the validation tests. If the program has been properly tested and found validated, these items will be available and usually furnished free of charge.

Can you prepare the program in the allotted time?

Preparing a program is a time-consuming matter. If the programmer is faced with a "yesterday's" deadline, he can forget about programming the subject. With some experience, the program writer can usually "guesstimate" the amount of time needed to meet his stated training objectives. Considering the fact that the human element is a must in program writing, it is impossible to give any kind of general time standards for preparation due to the many and varied complications that may arise.

Is there a training problem to be solved by PI?

Is the trainer being asked to do the impossible, or something that is really not a training problem? If so, PI is not the answer, but, in fact, may deter its solution. For example, PI can do little to solve problems involving morale, inadequate or inefficient equipment, shortage of personnel, etc.

Are the desired objectives of the training realistic?

What specific objectives or goals have been established for the training? When a subject is undergoing a feasibility study prior to programming, it is implied that the subject is presently being taught in great depth. If it is found that this is not the case, and students are really not expected to obtain detailed information, then PI is probably not the best teaching device to use.

Can PI ease the instructor's burdens?

One of the easiest ways to gain acceptance for programmed instruction--for the programmer, too--is to take on one of the subjects that the instructors are all reluctant to teach. Can PI replace the instructor and do as an effective job in stimulating the student's efforts to learn the subject?

Can standardization be achieved?

One of the primary advantages of programmed instruction is the standardization of procedures or information achieved by its use. A good programmer can take the subject knowledge of an "expert" and produce a program that permits the sharing of that knowledge with others.

Will the results justify the expense?

What are the real learning outcomes of present teaching methods. If adequate, or almost so, can you justify the cost of producing a program? PI might not be able to improve the real results at all.

Will the number of students justify the expense?

In order for PI to be an economical method of instruction, it must serve large numbers of students. No one can really afford to produce a program to train eight people a year! The cost of producing a program must be amortized over a long period of time and by the numbers of people trained by its use.

Can PI reduce training time?

Will the program be able to teach more material than the present method of teaching in a shorter period of time? The very nature of programmed instruction eliminates much of the unnecessary material that so often "clutters" other subject matter coverage through other teaching methods. However, the thoroughness of PI causes consideration of other factors that were previously ignored, resulting in some cases increased time requirements.

Can the desired results be measured?

As trainers and educators, many of us have a tendency to develop vague training objectives for our programs. Objectives are often expressed in such terms as "to know," "to understand," or the old familiar: "to realize the importance of." They are all nebulous terms, making it extremely difficult to design any kind of evaluative criteria against which results can be measured. Programmers must learn how to define specific behavioral objectives, state them clearly, and how to measure their student's progress in achieving those objectives.

The second phase of the feasibility study is to decide on the programming technique to be used. This decision can be reached only after the programmer has thoroughly analyzed the behavioral aspects of the task or information to be taught. The technique chosen will depend upon the type of mental activity required of the student in the learning process. This paper will discuss the various programming techniques in the section dealing with construction techniques.

The third, and final phase of the feasibility study is the determination of a medium or media to be used in presenting the program. This selection should not be made until the program has been produced in rough draft form. All programs begin on paper. From paper the programmer may move to another device--if an advantage can be gained from its use. The vast majority of programs in use today are of the pencil-and-paper variety. They are, by far, the most economical since they require nothing more than a simple shield or mask to cover answers or subsequent material.

Analyzing the Material to be Programmed

Once the "go" decision has been made, the programmer's real job begins. He gathers material and analyzes it so that he can put it into workable form for the development of the program.

A programmer's analysis of material can be broken down into three separate and distinct phases: the observation phase, the curriculum phase, and the "expert" interviews stage.

A vast majority of programmers are dealing with subjects with which they are often totally unfamiliar. Their lack of knowledge of the subject matter can be a help as well as a hindrance. One basic fact can be stated here: By the time the programmer has developed a program on any subject, he will most certainly have become something of an "expert" on that subject himself!

The Observation Phase...

The observation phase is the programmer's first effort to determine just what is required of a learner to really "know" his subject. When developing a program that will teach a manual skill, the programmer will soon recognize that his task will go more smoothly if the physical actions to be taught are isolated before programming is begun.

Task analysis is the integral function of the observation phase. Task analysis is the breakdown of procedures and activities on a step-by-step, logical, sequential basis. To accomplish this task analysis, the programmer should conduct an observation of the task to be performed by the student.

The programmer, with his pencil and paper in hand, goes to the place where the student will be required to perform the task and observe a skilled person performing it. As the individual performs the task, the programmer makes detailed notes on his every activity. He asks questions. He notes the tools being used, the source of raw materials, if any. Each step is recorded in detail. When the task is completed, the programmer will observe it being performed again and again. Once a clear picture of the task's complete chain of events--from its beginning to its ending--is recorded, the programmer begins to have proper material to produce the program.

The programmer must then determine what sequence of events as performed are mandatory or optional. His questioning of the person performing the task must be detailed and comprehensive. Those places in the procedure where the operator was forced to make decisions or adjustments must also be determined and recorded in the programmer's notes, along with the person's criteria for the decisions or adjustments he made.

The more detailed his notes, the better off the program writer will be. Although much of the material collected in the notes will later prove to be extraneous to the program itself, the programmer will find it is better to be meticulous in note taking than to discover later that several links in a chain of events are missing. Then, too, the programmer must be certain he knows why each part of the task was performed--his students are going to want to know why!

The Curriculum Phase...

During the curriculum phase of material analysis, the programmer searches out and examines all the written materials presently being used in teaching the subject. Instructor's guides, course outlines or syllabus, course requirements, student tests, textbooks, manuals, technical instructions, study guides, workbooks or handout materials all contain a wealth of information for use in the development of a program. All these materials should be collected and examined thoroughly by the programmer. Finally, the programmer should, if possible, attend actual class sessions to observe the training aids in use to pick up additional ideas for the program.

The Expert Interviews Phase...

Immediately following the observation and curriculum phases of material analysis, the programmer should concentrate his efforts on interviewing someone who is an expert on the subject matter to be programmed. These interviews are important to the development of any program and especially so when the task to be taught is not an observable task, or when the subject to be programmed is not presently being taught and no course materials are available for study.

The expert interview is held to determine just what is to be taught and the depth to which it must be taught. Just what are the specifics that need to be taught? The programmer must develop the ability to recognize a generality and skill to "home in" on it to narrow it down to a specific through skillful questioning of the expert. The programmer must elicit concrete facts from his expert. At this stage of the game, the programmer has no idea which facts are important and which are insignificant... they are just facts concerning the subject he is trying to program. At the end of the first interview, the programmer should have a list of pertinent, technically correct facts concerning the subject...and that is just about all he can hope to obtain in a single interview.

He does not yet know: Which facts are necessary? What should the student be able to do with the individual facts? At a second interview, the programmer presents a particular fact to the expert and will ask him, "Is this a 'must-know' fact, 'should-know' fact, or a 'nice-to-know' fact?"

To bridge the gap between what the expert says he wants and what he really wants, the programmer must use a language that is familiar to both himself and the expert. He must have a method to insure that the program will be teaching to the level the expert deems necessary for proficient performance. To determine concrete levels, the programmer and the expert must agree on the answer to the question: "What will the student be expected to do with this particular bit of information or knowledge?"

To help the programmer classify each piece of knowledge according to its importance to the student's learning, the following five levels of learning have been devised:

1. Exposure level. If the expert cannot justify the existence of a particular bit of information or knowledge for any other reason than "It would be nice for him to know this existed," the fact belongs to the exposure level. If it is material not needed to perform the task, all efforts should be made to have it excluded from the program. Exposure level material, in essence, is enrichment material; it lends a degree of smoothness and direction to a program, but it is something that is not absolutely necessary for the student to retain. If it is decided that the information is needed by the student, then a higher level of learning is called for and the material no longer belongs at the exposure level.
2. Recognition level. At this level of learning, the student can recognize a statement or an object when it is presented along with similar yet different statements or objects. In general, the recognition level requires very broad discriminations.
3. Recall level. At this level of learning, the student is able to define a term or state a law or theory, etc., using his own words. At the recall level, the student is not required to respond verbatim with the knowledge he has acquired.
4. Memory level. At this level, the student is able to define a term or state a law or theory, etc., verbatim, using the exact wording he has learned.
5. Concept level. This is the most complex learning level at which the student has the ability to generalize and make fine discriminations. He has the ability to solve a problem or to supply new examples for a law or theory. Basically, the concept level requires the application of knowledge.

The programmer should design a test question that will test the same fact at each of the five levels of learning. By suggesting test questions to the expert for each fact supplied by him, the programmer can determine the level to which each fact should be taught.

The net result of the programmer's labors with the expert interviews is a list of teaching points... a teaching points outline, if you please. Each teaching point is a fact, with which the student is required to perform in some manner or another. Classification of each teaching point will tell the programmer to what degree the student will be required to perform. In addition, the programmer will have reached agreement with the expert on the type of questions that will test the student's attainment of each desired objective.

Diagramming the Material...

Diagramming is extremely helpful in developing a program. A diagram of the material makes the work much easier, prevents the inclusion of superfluous material, and reduces the possibility of omitting fundamental material from the program.

There are two basic methods of diagramming material, by flow charts and by schematics. The decision to use one over the other is dependent upon the type of material that is to be taught.

Each method of diagramming has its distinct advantages and disadvantages. As a general rule, however, a flow chart is most effectively used to depict a procedure or process involving different physical activities or steps. The schematic is used primarily to depict mental activities. Both types of diagram, however, indicate the individual steps through which the student must be led, and which he must learn, whether these steps are observable physical actions or non-observable mental activities.

Construction Techniques

Types of Responses...

No matter what types of construction technique is used in a program, the student's response will be either overt or covert. An overt response is observable. For example, filling in a blank, selecting a multiple-choice item, working a problem, drawing a diagram, pushing a button, etc., are all overt responses. A covert response is not observable; on the surface, the student does nothing to indicate what response he has made, if indeed, any at all. A program which requires a student merely to "think" his responses relies upon purely covert responses.

The important point to be made concerning the matter of overt versus covert responses is the fact that it is impossible for the student to make an overt response without first making a covert one. This is true in all situations except for simple reflex actions as when you touch a hot stove...no covert response is made to move your hand away from the heat. In all other cases, as before filling in a blank with a word, the student must covertly think of the word to be supplied; if he is to supply the answer to a problem, he must first covertly think of the method by which the problem is to be solved.

Let's Look at Construction...

The two most popular programming methods currently in use are linear programs and branching programs. There are other special-purpose methods or methods which combine elements from linear and branching programming. This paper will deal exclusively with linear programming and branching programming for its purposes.

The Linear Programs...

A linear program suggests a straight-line approach to programming...all the students are normally required to take all of the frames in identical sequence. By far, the most common linear programming technique in use today is the Constructed Response Frame Sequence. It is the technique upon which programmed instruction cuts its teeth, and it appears in some 80 per cent of the programs currently on the market.

Dr. B. F. Skinner, through his studies in behavior, led the way in developing programs requiring a constructed response. According to Dr. Skinner, recalling an answer is superior to recognizing an answer in the process of learning or memorizing. The very act of responding tends to cause learning and Dr. Skinner felt that the student should not be exposed to incorrect answers or alternatives.

The Constructed Response Frame Sequence is the technique most people find easiest to use. Although it may appear to be no more than a series of short statements containing blanks, the Constructed Response Frame Sequence technique contains a great deal more than simply writing short sentences and taking out a word here and there.

As the word "constructed" implies, no choices are presented to the student in a Constructed Response Frame. He does not select one response from many, as in multi-choice questions. Instead, the student must construct his own response each time. That is, he must supply the answers from his knowledge.

At present, the trend is away from Constructed Response Frames. There are several reasons for this. First of all, Constructed Response Frame Sequences have a tendency to become boring to the student.

Normally, Constructed Response Frame programs are broken down into very small steps, which in itself lends a degree of monotony to the program.

Another factor causing the use of Constructed Response Frame Sequences to fall out of favor is the fact that the physical makeup of the Constructed Response Frame limits the scope of material that can be presented. It is almost impossible, for example, to program a physical activity using the Constructed Response Frame Sequence.

The third reason for the decline in popularity of Constructed Response Frames is that the student who learns by means of such a program may sometimes experience difficulty in obtaining transference. It is possible to build a Constructed Response Frame program that will achieve transference. But, if the program is not built for transference, it cannot be expected to provide it.

The Constructed Response Frame Sequence is basically a two-part structure, the set frame and at least one practice frame. The number of practice frames used, of course, varies according to the amount of application or practice deemed necessary to teach the student to reach the desired proficiency level. It may be compulsory to have several practice frames with each set frame.

The Set Frame...

Whenever the response asked for is found in the information portion of the frame, it is known as a set frame. The student may never have seen the desired response prior to reaching this frame, but he is able to supply this response simply by deducing it from the data supplied within the frame itself.

The Practice Frame...

A practice frame follows the set frame. This frame gives the student a chance to practice what he has learned or discovered in the set frame. It is important that he practice only the information that he has just gained from the set frame. The key point here is that the student must be given the opportunity once or several times to be practicing the use of the information. The practice frame is not able to stand alone. It is dependent upon previous learning in the program; in short, it is dependent upon a set frame.

It is not necessary that the practice frame immediately follow the set frame. However, both frames, the set and the practice, are necessary, since together they form a unit. Of course, in each case, the student is immediately told whether he has supplied--copied or constructed--the correct response. His response is confirmed or corrected at once.

The Terminal Frame...

A sequence of Constructed Response Frames will normally progress from the simple to the complex. The final frame of the sequence is known as the terminal frame. In the terminal frame, the student is given few prompts, or none at all, and is asked to respond on his own. The final frame in the sequence gives the student the minimum of stimulus and the maximum response is required of him. Conversely, the first frame in the sequence (the set frame), contains maximum stimulus and requires minimum response.

The Sub-Terminal Frame...

In developing Constructed Response Frame Sequence programs, the terminal frame should be developed first; then, the sub-terminal frames should be developed. Sub-terminal frames are those that lead up to the terminal frame. They supply the student with the knowledge necessary to enable him to respond correctly in the terminal frame. The first sub-terminal frame will call for a small portion of the terminal response. Succeeding sub-terminal frames should build word upon word, item upon item, until the student has reached the mastery desired--the ability to respond correctly in the terminal frame.

Cues and Prompts...

The response desired of the student must be indicated within the set frame. It is done through the use of either cues or prompts. The use of cues and prompts, however, is not limited to the set frame. Often, it will also be necessary to use them in practice frames in order to give the student some inkling of the response he is to construct. The Constructed Response Frame Sequence is not a guessing game. The program should lead and control the student's learning activity.

A Look at Cues...

A cue is a mechanical aid that enables the student to make the desired response. Some of the most common cues are: underlining the correct answer, placing it in italics, or calling it to the student's attention in some other typographical manner in the data portion of the frame. Another frequently used cue is that of putting the desired response in capital letters in the data portion of the frame. Another commonly used cue technique is to have the number of blanks to equal the number of letters or words in the desired response. This technique is used almost as frequently as underlining or italics. This is by no means all of the possibilities existing for cues.

However, it should be pointed out that the use of cues is undesirable and should be avoided entirely, if it is possible. Whenever a student encounters a program that makes heavy use of cueing, he automatically

begins looking for the cued word and using it for the response instead of reading the material. He is liable to completely disregard the remainder of the frame and still supply the desired answer.

A Look at Prompts...

A prompt is usually a verbal hint or help, but it may also take the form of an illustration. Generally speaking, it will be a form of transposing--turning the fact around and saying the same thing in a different manner. The development of cleverly prompted frames require a considerable amount of thought and originality. The prompt can be just as over-worked as the cue, so the programmer must be careful of not getting into the habit of using transposed iteration in its most basic form in every frame. Nothing is less challenging than an over-prompted or over-cued frame.

Some Do's and Don'ts in Linear Programming...

There are a few basic construction rules to follow if a program of the Constructed Response Frame Sequence technique is to be successful.

1. Always place the blank near the end of the frame. This rule, one of the most important, applies both to set frames and practice frames. When the student reaches the blank or the point at which he is required to respond, he should be able to respond without having to read a lot of additional material following the blank.
2. Avoid sequential prompting. This form of prompting occurs when the same word is used as a response several times in a row. After a couple of times, the student responds without even bothering to read the frame. This is especially true if it is the programmer's habit to follow each frame with four or five sequential practice frames.
3. Include only one thought per frame.
4. Ensure that the desired response is relevant to the data supplied in the frame.
5. If an illustration is included in the frame, require that the student use the illustration in order to make his response. Illustrations should always be considered as either prompts or as stimuli that cause the student to think. Do not illustrate merely for the sake of illustrating. An illustration should be an integral part of the frame itself. It should always be relevant to the material being taught.

The Branching Programs...

In a broad sense, the word "branching" suggests any deviation from the straight line--linear--programs. The primary reason this technique is so readily accepted by programmers is because it is quite popular with students. It is generally considered to be more challenging, and therefore, more interesting to the student. Many types of materials can be programmed using this technique, but it lends itself best to learning situations involving a choice of solutions to a problem situation.

The branching programs represent another concept to learning developed by Dr. Norman Crowder. Wrong answers, while not encouraged, are not avoided in a branching program as they are in a linear program, since they may be corrected before the learner moves on. The overt response, according to Dr. Crowder, is a measurer rather than a fixer of learning. Inappropriate responses can be used to uncover misconceptions and areas of weakness and, therefore, have great value.

Branching, in an elementary form, can be used as a way of explaining why wrong answers are wrong; to enable the student with a good background to get through faster than the student who needs additional work; or remedially, to catch the student who does not understand what has been covered.

The assumption in branching programming is that a wrong response does not necessarily hinder the learning of a correct response. The response, according to branching enthusiasts, is useful mainly in guiding the student through the program. Each response is used to test the success of the latest communication to the student, and, in that sense, it "lets the program know" where to take the student next. The programmer must second-guess the student and attempt to predict what aspects of the material will lead the student astray. The student will be allowed to make a logical error; then he will be told why his response was wrong and where he became confused. He, then, is presented the problem once more and asked to try again. In this manner, the most logical errors are brought to the attention of the student, and this reduces the probability of his repeating them in the future.

The Branching Frame Sequence Technique...

The development of a good Branching Frame Sequence requires a great deal of planning--and a lot of good luck--on the part of the programmer. In a Branching Frame Sequence, the programmer tells the student that he has made an error for a particular reason. It is annoying and frustrating to the student if he made the error for reasons other than those given by the programmer--the programmer did not allow for all possible errors.

A Branching Frame Sequence will usually consist of several main steps through which every student must progress. In this respect, Branching Frame Programming is linear, since all of the students must go through each of these main steps in the designated sequence.

Home Pages in Branching Frame Sequence Programs...

These main steps or frames, for want of a better name, are called home pages. A correct response to each frame will lead the student directly through the home pages of the program. On each home page, the student will be presented with a body of material--a short paragraph or two. Then, based on the information he has read, the student is presented a problem-solving situation with three possible answers. He is then asked to choose one of the answers and go to the page indicated beside his choice

If the student has chosen the correct solution to the problem, the page indicated by his choice will be the next home page in the program. Therefore, if a student chooses only correct responses as he works through the program, he will proceed from home page to home page and complete the program in the minimum number of steps.

Each home page has two "branches," one for each logical response other than the correct one. The branches, which are also referred to as "wrong-answer" pages, will inform the student that he is wrong, give him remedial instructions, and send him back to the same home page he was on to select another answer. It might be possible for a slow student to go through the program and find it necessary to take each of the home pages and all of the branches. However, it would seem more likely that a student would take each of the home pages and only one or two of the branches.

There is a definite format for home pages. First of all, on all pages after the first home page, home pages as well as branches, there must be a repeat of the response that the student selected on the preceding home page. This is to prevent confusion in the event the student has accidentally turned to the wrong page.

On a home page, following the reiteration of his response, the student is informed that his response was the correct one. It is the custom in Branching Programs to congratulate or informally praise the student for getting the correct response. Such phrases as: "You're 100% right!" - "Good Job!" - "Well done!" etc., are commonly used.

Another important point should be made here: A branching program is much more effective when considerable thought is given to the plausibility of the branches--the wrong answers. The programmer must put himself in the place of the student and ask, "If I were a student, where would this material most likely lead me astray?" The

answers to these questions will supply the wrong-answer alternatives.

The necessity for plausible wrong-answers cannot be over-emphasized. The technique is ineffective if the student can find his way through the material, home page to home page, by the simple process of eliminating ineffective wrong-answer choices.

Writing the branches (wrong-answer pages), begin the same as home pages, with a repetition of the response that brought the student to this particular page.

Following that repetition of the response, the student is told that his response is wrong. This, too, is done informally with such expletives as "Ooops!" - "Sorry, but..." - "Try again..." - "Better luck next time!" The idea behind the informality is to avoid antagonizing the student. He is told that he is wrong as tactfully as possible, for it will do the program no good to make the student angry by insulting him.

After the student has been told that his answer is incorrect, the next item on the branch page should give him a clue or hint as to why his answer was wrong. It is very important that he is not actually given the correct answer at this point. The purpose behind this section of the page is to start the student thinking along another track and to clear up misconceptions by bringing them out into the open. The programmer is trying to help the student find the error in his reasoning.

The last item on the branch page is a statement that directs the student to return to the previous home page, reread the material, and select another response. If the remedial instruction has been successful, the student will know why his previous response was incorrect; and, after rereading the material on the home page, he will be able to choose the desired response.

Some of the limitations of the Branching Frame Sequence technique are inherent in the system itself. First of all, the question arises as to whether or not the student is ever allowed to construct his own response. Each time, he is offered several responses and is asked to choose one of them. As a result, it is debatable whether or not the student's abilities can progress beyond the recognition level of learning. Secondly, through a process of elimination, all students may eventually get through the material. There is no way of knowing by looking at the program whether the student has comprehended the material; the fact that he has arrived at the last frame in the program does not necessarily mean that he has learned everything the program is intended to teach.

A third disadvantage of the branching technique is its inability to control the student. Behavioral psychologists contend that this method

does not shape the behavior of the student the way a program should. The material is not broken down into small stimulus-response pairs that are presented to the student one at a time. Larger chunks of material are presented, and it is impossible to employ the traditional conditioning in order to make the proper connection between stimulus and response in the student.

Editing and Testing

A thorough program edit may uncover many program inadequacies prior to testing. The edit can result in a smoothness that may make the difference between the success or failure of the program. There are three types of editing involved with a program; editing for composition, editing for programming technique, and editing for technical accuracy.

It should be obvious that all three types of editing cannot be done at the same time. So, the question of which do first arises. There is a definite and logical reason for performing one type of edit before another: to eliminate wasted effort.

The technical accuracy edit should be performed first. If an item within a program is taught that is technically inaccurate, no amount of composition editing or programming technique editing will correct the situation!

After the program has been edited for technical accuracy, the next edit is that of the programming technique. Changes required as the result of an edit of this type are generally of major scope. Making changes to programming technique usually negates any editing for composition that has been done, so the composition edit would have to be done over.

Once the programmer is certain that his program is technically accurate and that his programming technique is as it should be, he begins the final edit, the composition edit. An edit of this type will not usually negate any other type of edit, since changes made will be relatively minor in nature. Editing for composition is the final polishing given to a good program. It supplies the look of professionalism necessary to instill the proper attitude toward the program by the student.

Testing the Program...

Programmers hold to the axiom that without learning, there is no teaching. Without learning, it isn't a program. The device, or whatever it is, fails to live up to the purpose for which it was designed if the student doesn't walk away from it possessing those terminal behaviors the program was intended to impart. The student must learn; and, if he doesn't, it is the programmer's responsibility to modify the program as

extensively and as often as necessary to reach the desired goal.

There are three basic types of testing: one-to-one testing, small group testing, and field testing. Each type is designed for a separate and distinct purpose. It is not a question of testing a program with one or another of the three--but all three types of tests are required to uncover all of the inadequacies of any program.

One-to-one Testing...

Testing on a one-to-one basis involves the programmer and a representative of the group for which the program is intended... its population. With the help of this one student, the programmer attempts to uncover as many program inadequacies as possible and eliminate them from the program.

From the results of this type of testing, the programmer is ready to move on into small group testing.

Small Group Testing...

After the program has been tested several times on a one-to-one basis and revised each time to eliminate inadequacies pointed out by the students, it is time to try the program out on a small group of students to determine how much of the material they can learn from it.

The procedure for group testing is quite different than that for one-to-one testing in that there is no personal contact between the programmer and the students while the students are taking the program.

The students are given a pre-test and a post-test to determine the amount of learning they have gained through the program. After grading each student's post-test, the programmer sits down with the student and discusses the program. He leafs through the student's copy of the material and isolates those areas marked as difficult. After this completion interview with each student is finished, the programmer is ready to begin a statistical analysis of the program. If the small group has reached the standards set for the program, he is ready to go on to field testing of the program.

Field Testing the Program....

As in the small group testing, the field testing requires the use of pre-tests and post-tests of the students taking the program. However, in field testing, the program is tested on an entire class within the population or out in the field in an actual training situation. The instructor or teacher, not the programmer, presents the program to the students just as if it were a normal part of the class routine or training procedure.

Since the programmer does not physically administer the program, field testing gives him an opportunity to test another extremely important factor of the program, the instructions to the user of the program.

The main purpose of field testing is to validate the program--to determine whether or not it can do the job it set out to accomplish. After a large enough group of students has been tested under similar conditions and the test results indicate a successful program, the program can be considered a valid one--one that will work whenever it is administered to a similar population under the same conditions.

A Final Word...

A program must have a methodical and logical line of development. It must have continuity and cohesion. All of the parts must fit together to make up a homogeneous whole. It must read like a well-written textbook insofar as flow of material and development of ideas are concerned. Give the students meaningful examples that relate to the subject matter of the program and to the real world.

Programs have often been likened to the old tutorial method of teaching where the teacher sat down with the student and guided him step-by-step to learning. Programmed instruction, too, should guide the student, control him at times, and always lead him step-by-step through a logical development of the material he is to master. This goal should be constantly in sight...

COMMUNITY REINFORCEMENT FOR JOB PERFORMANCE

Leon Jansyn*

When it comes time to criticize something, and we start looking around for a good whipping log, anything in the field of correction is fair game. Until recently, corrections was one of the most criticized areas of endeavor. More recently our welfare systems have been taking a beating, and still more recently, people have become aware of things that are wrong about the way we educate people.

One of the reasons for the kinds of criticisms we get is that so many different things are expected of corrections. Everyone who has anything to say wants some different result. Think of the purpose of Vocational Education in corrections for a minute. I imagine you have all heard more than one goal being promoted. There is a whole range of purposes, going from training in particular skills to instilling (whatever that means) good work habits.

Another reason for so many purposes comes from the fact that the people we deal with have different kinds of difficulties. One man may really need to develop good work habits—he may have considerable skill, but just can't get himself started while another may work like a dog for two hours doing something that a skillful man could do in a half hour.

So I think there is good reason for our many purposes and I am not going to stand here and try to argue for one purpose or another. Instead, I'm going to talk about the situations men get into when they are released and ask you to think about getting the inmate ready for these situations.

Now this sounds very objective and reasonable, but before it can be done I have to say something about my ideas of the purpose of corrections. Because the bias also effects my description of the release situations and has to be taken into account in listening to what is said.

If I had to decide between training for skills and instilling good work habits, I would vote for skill training as producing good results for the greatest number of people. The good work habit approach presumes there is something wrong with the person that needs to be

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changed, or that can be changed. It probably includes the idea that a person needs a good attitude to work. But I think not, he only needs a good reason to work. For many of us the reason is money-what we can do with that money to maintain our relationships with people who are important to us, to keep our families together, pay other people to work for us, and maintain ourselves in a way that will attract and keep our friends. In short, to maintain a "style of life" we have learned.

So, I don't believe we are well advised to concentrate on inmate habits and psych-attitudes when we are thinking of keeping them at work and using work to keep them away from crime. I say this because I don't think most inmates differ a great deal in this respect from people on the outside-who live in similar lower class neighborhoods from which most prisoners come. This applies especially to those who need Vocational Education.

The offenders' situation, or their relationship to other people do differ. We could say, they don't fit well into the social system. One important difference is that they do not understand the work situation. They know that they can expect poor paying and low level jobs upon release, but they expect that once they get outside and on their own, they will be able to move rapidly upward in the work world. They find out they don't get ahead as fast as expected and this realization has been found to be a major factor in re-violations of many parolees who seemed to be satisfied with their circumstances early after release. They are impatient with a modest rate of progress.

This unrealistic view of the future outlook is said also to characterize the lower socioeconomic classes from which the majority of offenders come. But we must remember that most of them come to realize that they aren't going ahead as far and as fast as expected and, yet, they still do not turn to crime.

If we consider the differences between the situation of the ex-offender and the non-criminal lower class person we can see important differences-the non-criminal person is brought to the realization of the kind of picture he can expect earlier in life. It comes along with a number of realizations. For instance, it is made clear to him that it is now time to settle down, go to work and get married. He should quit hanging on the corner and misbehaving. Behavior that used to be tolerated, or even encouraged as part of being young and lively, is now frowned upon. The realization of his rather poor occupational future doesn't seem too bad, it's just one of the miseries of being an adult. Then, too, there are other important things going on. He has to find a wife as well as a job. And he receives support in all this when friends and relatives are sympathetic. They know what it is like to be 17 or 18 and just starting out, and he is not ashamed in accepting help because it is right for them to help out.

It's a little different with the offender. Here he is, twenty years old, no job, no established contacts. If he has a job, someone had to go out of his way to help him get it. He has no wife, and the prospect is poor. The realization of his future is likely to hit harder, because he should be past all this by now. The support he gets in face of problems is less effective perhaps because people don't feel right helping someone of his age with a kid's problem. Also, the job he has may be a job that is more suitable for a kid; one he should have moved from by now.

Another observed fact about parolees is that men who move out of prison to good jobs are more likely to keep them, and keeping a job is more important to success on parole than having one when released. Many unskilled jobs are temporary and often, if gotten before release, are shams. But, this is no revelation. The question is, what does it mean?

Besides steady employment, successful parolees more often have successful marriages, close relations with family members, more friends and belong to organizations. Obviously, the recidivism and to some extent these other social conditions, may be causes of unemployment rather than consequences. However, it seems reasonable to infer that employment was usually a major factor making possible an integrated "style of life" which included non-recidivism, successful marriage, and satisfaction in other social relationships.

This "style of life" is part of fitting into a system of S.R.'s. We call the community a society and work is a big part of the style. But a style of life is built and learned over the years, and there must be people who understand it and respond to the way a person acts. It is these responses that gives one confidence that what he is doing is right. If he doesn't get response and reinforcement, he cannot act right and fit into the system. It is hard for the people in the system to respond to him in a way that supports and maintains his involvement because he isn't acting right. After all, here he is, a grown man and doesn't even have a steady job. The same kind of thing can happen to an alcoholic who is trying to quit. It is hard to get supportive response from people.

There are many ways he can respond to not fitting into the system. He could just knuckle down, struggle with his problems, and gradually build himself a positive place in society and prove that he belongs. This is probably what we would like and I guess this is what most offenders end up doing. He can also conclude that he can never measure up, or that there's really no place for him and lead a kind of marginal life, which we do not want. Or, if he's relatively young, he may seek a short cut to get money which he often sees as a means to participating in community life. Of this we do not approve, and according to some researchers, it accounts for much of the recidivism we want to stop.

The offender shares this inability of fitting into the system with many other people. Some who have come to be called bad are actually unemployed. In fact, offenders are very frequent in this group.

For many good reasons, a number of government and industrial leaders have decided to try to get these people into the system through getting them to work. These people are not only unemployed but, up until recently, would be considered unemployable.

How this is to be achieved effectively is a problem. One large manufacturer has set up a special factory in a slum area and employed people whom it probably never would have employed before. The idea is to bring people into this "vestibule plant," teach them the jobs, and when they are performing well enough, transfer them on to one of the regular plants. This environment is intended to be supportive. The plant must tolerate what we might call bad work habits: arguing, tardiness and absenteeism, and even go as far as to waking people up in the morning.

It reminds me of reports of the early years of industrialism in England where factories employed "knockers-up." Men who went through the village in the morning, rapping with long poles on the windows of workers who didn't get up.

Put more generally, we can see the whole thing as a process of trying to get the person through a transition from a non-worker dependent position to one of working independence. It is similar to the transition from lower-class adolescence to lower-class working adulthood, beset with the same problems and the same need for support. It is an attempt at developing a new institutional form for integrating people into the system, counteracting for the offenders the desire to find a short cut.

The question of choosing between teaching good work habits or skills doesn't seem too important now in thinking about a guiding principal for this kind of program. The problem here is to engage the man in performance, and to support that performance in any way necessary until he comes to see it as a meaningful part of his life through the social stability it introduces, or the command which the wages give him over resources he can use to structure his own social life.

The skills learned in this plant are actually minimal. The key is support, response and reinforcement. This requires a very individualized approach—one where you watch and see what it is that interferes with the man's work, then try to do something about it.

One of the main ways social relationships are important to us in this text is that people have expectations. In order to keep or gain support and response, one has to meet these expectations to some extent. It requires also that he be interested in maintaining the relationships,

but if one rejects the relationships or for some reason has no confidence in their permanence or in his ability to fit in, the relationships cannot be effective in eliciting or reinforcing desired behavior. And getting conformance to conventional expectations is our problem.

Operating within a relationship, such as the job, one can perceive the supervisor's expectation in terms of the relevance of his own performance, to his whole system of relationship, or in term of authority. Authority is often accepted because we think the supervisor has some control over our future. This basis for authority is more important the younger a person is, and by "younger," here, I mean socially younger-far away from having a firm position in an adult system. So authority is a substitute for an established position in rehabilitation systems.

I think it is particularly important that neither principle works with offenders, if they are not in a conventional system of relationship and they often will not accept authority or supervision. They are likely then, either to try a short cut into the system or withdraw and lead a rather marginal life.

Now released offenders are not the only people with this kind of problem. However, it may just be worse for them, especially the refusal to take supervision. But our system does have a way to minimize having to take orders, and even to give the appearance of offering a short-cut which is, therefore, especially suitable for offenders. This is self-employment.

Self employment should be attractive to a large proportion of ex-prisoners for the chance to work without close supervision and to avoid dependence. The person can be able to see more clearly, than he might in a low level job, how his performance is directly related to what happens to him in the future. And his relations with others can be stronger because they can be based on a real mutual interest rather than having to think that others are just doing him a favor. The ex-prisoner's strong need for a sense of independence can often be met in this way.

But, perhaps the business venture is most important in what the man can learn from it. As I said before, the offender often does not fit in because he doesn't understand the system, and because of this he has no confidence in it; he doesn't know how to act or what to expect. For him, the business venture can be a way of learning about the system, and getting a feel for the conventional work world. If his business doesn't make it, he will at least have increased his non-criminal contacts and even put himself in a better position to get a good job.

We can look at the business enterprise just as we looked at the vestibule plant set up by manufacturers to bring in people who can't get employment in the ordinary work world. It is an attempt at education, or acculturation, something that is done naturally under ordinary circumstances but must be continued for our people.

In more general terms, the goal of much of these efforts is to use work as a form of social control. We believe, and not without good reason, that if somehow we get people who have rejected the system or have been unable to make it, participating in the system, somehow all the normal, controlling, relationships can come into play. The system will provide reason to work and conform.

This is, obviously, an abstract and one-sided view. There are other systems of relationships in which people can participate and gain the things men need. In fact, we expect steady employment to keep men out of these other systems--to increase, as we often say, his non-criminal contacts.

It is difficult, however, to make the conventional system more rewarding than the criminal one for people who do not fit. For the person who is criminally inclined, there is always the appeal of getting money in relatively large amounts quickly. However, one does not typically move from a conventional working existence into a criminal one easily or quickly. The criminal alternative, at least for those who are likely to end up in prison, is usually accompanied by an extensive participation in street-corner life.

It is difficult to keep a job and participate in the street-life, partly because much of the street-life takes place at night, but more importantly because social relations in the street-life are insubstantial, and in order to maintain them, time and effort must be expended, or as one author put it about social control, all energies are given over to the construction and maintenance of personal relationships.

Elliot Lielow, in his book Tally's Corner, gives us an interesting description of the social control man's outlook: Getting a job, keeping a job, and doing well is of low priority. "Arthur," he writes, will not take a job at all. "Leroy" is supposed to be on his job at 4:00 p. m. but it is already 4:10 and he still cannot bring himself to leave the free games he has accumulated on the pinball machine. "Tom" started a construction job on Wednesday, worked Thursday and Friday, then didn't go back again. On the same kind of job, "Seacat" quit in the second week. "Sweets" had been working three months as a busboy in a restaurant, then quit without notice, not sure why he did so. A real estate agent, saying he was more interested in getting the job done than in the cost asked "Richard" to give him an estimate on repairing and painting the inside of a house. But "Richard," after looking over the job, somehow never got around to submitting an estimate. During one period, "Tom" would not leave the corner to get a job because his wife might prove unfaithful. "Stanton" would not take a job because his woman had been unfaithful. Thus, the man-job relationship is a tenuous one. At any given moment, a job may occupy a relatively low position on the street-corner scale of real values. Getting a job may be subordinated to relations with women or to other non-job considerations.

The commitment to a job one already has is frequently shallow and tentative.

The reason so much effort must be given to these relationships is that they have little or no basis in an established social order. The same people are often used in many relationships. A relative, for instance, becomes a friend and often a co-worker. You depend on your friend who may have a car not only to tell you about a construction job out in the suburbs, but also to give you a ride there. That may even be why he told you to get help with gas money. And for the men we may be most concerned with, if he is going to go jack-rolling, mugging or breaking into stores, he needs someone to go with him.

Friends are even turned into kinsmen in the street world as what is called "going for brothers." This is a public declaration that claims obligations, expectations and loyalties of the friend relationship, are at their maximum.

Many and deep friendships of this demanding type are extremely valuable in increasing physical and emotional security. People come to romanticize their friendships, to exaggerate, from our point of view, the value of these friendships. People often act as if they were engaged in a deep friendship who really know each other slightly.

Basically, the relevance of this, for our interests, is that it is so demanding of time and commitment that the job sort of fades back out of view and becomes quite unimportant-especially if it is low paying and not permanent. For people who are in the system, the job is a source and support for friendships and family relations. For those who don't fit in, it often becomes an interference with needed relationships. It seems likely for people in such a situation, that unless relationships of substance, which do not need such constant attention, can be established, that jobs can never become useful means of establishing oneself in a conventional society.

The street life is not something one leaves easily because of his need for it, and also because of its prevalence. The street life in which the unemployed ex-offender participates is characteristic of the neighborhoods in which offenders live. But still, many succeed on parole under these conditions, perhaps those who do succeed have less participation in street life. Through an extensive study of Federal parolees, Daniel Glaser wrote that contact with prison associates was the best predictor of subsequent criminality that could be found in the data on non-family social life. Such contact implies a greater participation in the street life. Unemployed men, Glaser goes on to point out, were more likely to encounter prison associates on the street and in their more frequent visits to the parole office. Again, as in the case of recidivism generally, there is a question of whether unemployment is a cause or consequence.

But I think the fact of these conditions being linked the way they are is important in itself and indicates how job success is tied to adjustment in other areas of life.

But, again, there is something within their same setting that enables some men to avoid its harmful effect and that thing is what we might all expect, family life. Glaser found also that those men do best who live with relatives upon release. Their relatives need not be wives, although men whose first residence is with their wives have the fewest failures and those living alone have the most failures. Our impression from case studies, says Glaser, is that residing alone is unfavorable largely through its requiring the release to find company away from his residence, and the tavern provided the most readily accessible home away from home.

The good effect of family life in lower class neighborhoods emphasizes the point that the street life is insubstantial and undependable, it is the independable character that makes it interfere with work performance in that it consumes energy and makes jobs seem irrelevant. It also detracts from family life, it emphasizes that marriage is a poor risk but, contrary to marriage, it gains influence only by disrupting and draining strength from other relationships, it has no structure or ideology of its own.

There has been much written about what is called the culture of the street. However, I think we are coming to see that the street really has no culture, that it is a system constructed to make up for the lack of ability to fit into the "real" society, to fill a sort of social vacuum. My own research has found street corner groups of adolescents to have a chronic tendency to fall apart. In fact, much of the activity they engage in appears to be directed toward promoting interest in the group and pulling it back together. Another study in Chicago has demonstrated that in many cases boys who participate in groups are unable to perform well among conventional people. They are outcasts in a way. A researcher in Los Angeles said that forming groups is an attempt to expand the status universe. The boys actually attempt to involve others and make up rules so they can merely have a group in which to gain recognition.

Perhaps another statement from Liebow's book will help make this point more clear. Liebow desires that things like lack of future orientation, or what might be called a footloose attitude are really parts of a culture. The street-corner man, he writes, does not appear as a carrier of an independent cultural tradition. His behavior appears not so much as a way of realizing the distinctive goals and values of his own subculture, or of conforming to its models, but rather his way of trying to achieve many of the goals and values of the larger society. Or, failing to do this, of concealing his failure from others and from himself as best he can. In the course of concealing his failure, or of concealing his fear of trying, he may pretend that he did not want these things in the first place. If he claims that he has all along been responding to a

different set of rules and guides, we do not do him or ourselves any good by accepting this claim at face value.

Such a frame of reference can bring into clearer focus the practical points of leverage for social change. We do not have to see the problems in terms of breaking into a group circle, of trying to change values. What appears as a dynamic, self-sustaining cultural process is, in part, at least, a relatively simple piece of social machinery which turns out cultural book-alikes. But this is not to say the street life seems shallow to the participant as it does to us. He's involved in it and we are not. Street life provides no support for work performance, and contrary to conventional relationships, it is sustained by undermining other relationships. Possibly, the only source of conventional expectations, the only contact of the conventional world has with the people in the street life is through women.

It is true that women, even in the lower class world of the street life, are more conventional than men. And the husband-wife relative is possibly the only relationship available to the man that gives rewards anywhere near its costs. And just as women are somewhat more conventional than men, the demands of the marital relations, again even in the street life, are accepted for conformity. Not as in the demands of the street for toughness are often bizarre behavior.

Once more, I'll turn to Liebow's description of the street world for a statement on the woman's point of view. By itself, Liebow writes, the plain fact of supporting his wife and children defines one principal obligation of a husband. But the expressive value carried by providing of support elevates the husband to manliness. New married men, however, do, in fact, support their families. Money is in short supply. Moreover, although providing such support would be, insofar as the husband is concerned, necessary and sufficient. The wife, who seldom gets even this much, wants more, much more.

She wants him to join them as a full-time member of the family, to participate in their affairs, to take on active interests in her and the children, and she wants this loyalty to be public knowledge. She wants the family to present a united front to the outside world. Most important of all, perhaps, she wants him to be head of the family. She wants him to take over, to be someone she can lean on--alas, she ends up standing alone, or even worse, having to hold him up as well.

If nothing else, this all leads to the conclusion that job performance is tied in closely with a number of social relationships, but more importantly, this means that the job is itself a social relationship, one of two which are possibly available to the offender into the conventional system.

One is at least a potential in the marital relationship. I'd like to

give an example of how this potential can be lost. In a recent interview with a young man in one of our local prisons, I had asked him to tell me of some of the problems offenders and their wives run into. Wives sometimes cause men to steal in order to provide for the things she wants. He said wives would always complain about men going out on the street at night. When he came home with a pocketful of money, then they didn't complain. I also asked him what would happen if he told her ahead of time he was going to steal.

When this happens the potential good in the relationship is lost. The interesting thing, however, is that, though the woman may have stopped objecting when an important tangible result was there to tempt her, the man seemed to have no objection to stealing in the first place. It seems that the corrections business should be able to find a way to help women in keeping her man in line. This is probably the only point of even bringing up the marital relationships. Marital relationship and the job represent the only points of contact with many young men and, therefore, needs to be supported. Another inmate told me that wives could help by keeping the man aware of the effect of his action on her and their family life. I guess if we were cynical we'd call this nagging, but he said something else that made me think he meant something a little more positive. He told me that he often played cards and might be out gambling every night for a week. I asked what he would think if his parole officer found out about it and he told his wife. He looked at me kind of funny and said, "beautiful, that would be beautiful"-so I said, "What do you mean?" He said, "I mean if he (the parole officer) went to my wife instead of busting me that would have to be beautiful"-I asked what he'd do about it then and he said he would quit for sure. Maybe it's the gambler's principle to quit while your winning.

Now I should summarize all this and say what it means for Vocational Education. That I don't know unless Vocational Education teachers should become part-time counselors like everyone else in the corrections business.

TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS, RECRUITING TEACHERS,
AND STRUCTURING PRE-SERVICE AND IN-SERVICE
TRAINING FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

John Ames*

Professor Rush doesn't know this, but the reason I accepted so readily is because I am not going to talk about what he thinks I am. I have found that this business of education is a most interesting one for me. I have spent many years, as you can tell by my gray hair, plodding along, I think "plotting" at times, both as an administrator and teacher; disturbing at times but also having some very good times. I hope that each and every one of you feels exactly the same way and I suspect that you do.

As a superintendent, as a director of teacher education, life wasn't always so happy-but as a teacher, it was fairly great. I remember as a superintendent walking out in the park and around feeling dejected; in fact, so dejected that when the pigeons flew over I just looked up and said, "Go ahead, everybody else does." But, you get over those things.

Well, I do approach this today with a good deal of humility; in fact, a great deal of humility. What can I say to sophisticated educators such as you that you haven't already heard, what can I say that is new or novel, or even interesting? So I'm going to bring to you today, for better or worse, some of my bias'. Maybe they are new, I don't know, at least if they aren't new and you agree with them then you will think it is a good speech. But, in this presentation, I am going to do a number of things, I warn you. I am going to overstate, I am going to understate, I am going to make my presentation from the standpoint of, I guess, a philosophical and maybe a psychological base. I haven't decided what it is, maybe a little mixture of both. But, I hope that you forgive me if I do overgeneralize or oversimplify, but I do want to make a point.

I would like to discuss with you three areas of understanding which seem to me to be very important. Important as we consider this exciting, this difficult task of educating the young. And I would like to divide my presentation into three topics: one, Who is a Learner and How Does He Learn? The second topic, Who is a Teacher and What is Teaching? The third topic, How Can We Prepare Teachers Who Will Work Effectively With Children Who Have Special and Social Cultural Problems?

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WHO IS A LEARNER?

A child is born; there is the first cry; the senses react, the child begins in these first moments that long, and we hope, interesting journey towards becoming a social human being. Every child is different as you know. There are differences in intensity of the sense organs functions; differences in mental and physical performance and reaction. Differences in body chemistry, differences in appearance and so on. These differences as educators we know exist and we must deal with them. I am not sure that we have done a very good job reconciling differences, but we know that they are there. Over the years, however, I have come to recognize and accept the notion that, in spite of differences, there is one universal characteristic that all humans have in common. It seems to me that educators must recognize this characteristic as they work with people young or old.

The universal characteristic I have chosen to call "self-enhancement." It is the need of a human being to be a part of a group, whether the group is small or large. Friends or a large organization. It is the need, not only to be a part of a group, but a very important part; it is the need to be accepted by other human beings as part of their social structure and to be an individual. This need, it seems to me, leads to a searching for the kind of relationships, provides a feeling of self importance, and an image of self that is reflected in the mirror of human response that comes back from other human beings to you. Now it seems to me that this is the great human quest. And you people sitting here are in this very same endeavor right now. We are all seeking self-enhancement. In one way or another, it is part of every man and we search as best we can for those experiences that tell us who we are. That helps us find this self-enhancement.

And so the child also seeks this self-enhancement need. He wants experiences that tell him who he is that he has worth, that he is noticed, and that he is respected; that his being alive makes a positive difference to other people. If others like me then I like and respect myself. If my ego is wholesome and confident, then I will like and trust other human beings. But I can't do it unless it is. The human who is functioning somewhat normally will search out these groups, these humans who satisfy the self-enhancement needs. For that is part and parcel of man's nature. His quest may lead him to many groups: the family, a circle of friends, a cluster of friends, the school, church, or the gang. Sometimes when the quest ends, a person is very ill-too ill to function, or he is dead. Now the human animal, each is different in his own way, yet he is part and parcel of being very much like all other humans. But, especially, he shares in the common one great need of all other humans for self-enhancement. And if he finds one avenue toward self-enhancement blocked, the search goes on to find another. If the family, as he perceives it, degrades him or doesn't fulfill his need, he seeks another avenue. If the school closes down on him, perhaps the street will do a better job. But, anyway, the quest goes on.

Now for you people who have worked with children with special problems, I suppose you have seen many children that life has closed down on and they were forced to seek their self-enhancement in areas that were not conventionally or socially approved. But they were healthy individuals; they were fighting; they didn't take it laying down, and I suspect that these youngsters, if their experiences are right, can change. But it will take the right kind of experiences, it will take time to get this person his self-enhancement in an avenue that is socially and culturally approved. Anyway, a child is very fortunate who has a home, a mother and a father that gives the kind of support that enhances self; that have a school where the curriculum was built and developed especially to meet their needs; who have in their community organizations that are especially designed again to meet this need.

But as you teachers know, this is not happening to all children. Now why do I bring this to you today? I am sure this is something that you have heard many times before. But a teacher who approaches children with a point of view which doesn't recognize this kind of need, I think, is not going to help these children very much. So I would say that in the preparation of teachers, in the selection of teachers, great human understanding must be within that person. Understanding of the kinds of drives that human's have; understanding the kinds of needs; how does this person learn; how does a person learn; how do we come to know. How did you learn?

I am not going to be very scientific; I am going to be very brief and say that a person comes to know because he was born with very complex, delicate kinds of equipment. He has receptors and these receptors take in stimulus: the eye and the ear, sense of touch and all the rest of them, but a remarkable, marvelous kind of thing happened. The only thing the eye can do is to let in light waves. The only thing the ear can do is to let in sound waves. He has this marvelous equipment. Then he has a mind that we know very little about, but we do know that the mind can remember and recall and foresee the future. Isn't this a complex organization? Isn't it a bit humbling when we think about our responsibility in operating, helping and influencing this kind of mechanism? A person as he takes in the light waves, as he takes in the sound waves, registers pain, registers pleasure, reacts and he forms perceptions. As he forms perceptions, he gathers these perceptions together and they fit into patterns, involving all the emotional and feeling of these experiences. Emotion of feeling good about it, of feeling bad about it, or feeling angry about it. Built into the experiences each time are the emotions. So the child, as he experiences, is able to remember past experiences; he recalls them; he can bring them back. Then, at a certain time, after he has had enough experiences, he can foresee. For example, there isn't anyone in this room who can't foresee some immediate future. You know if you can live through this particular hour that you will get up in a certain time; go out a certain door; go out to a certain street; get into a certain car; drive a certain way home; and receive a certain kind of greeting when you get there. Each one of you can foresee this. The only reason why you can do this is because you have had experiences. So a person is nothing more than his accumulated experiences.

So as I look at you, I see you as persons, as personalities. But I must also remember that you, that your personality, is no more or less than the sum total of all your experiences. I don't know if you like to be called a bundle of experiences or not, but it seems to me that that is what we are. And so when I behave in a certain way, I am behaving because of piled up kinds of experiences that I have had. And I suspect that I couldn't behave any better if I wanted to. And the only way I could make any kind of change in my behavior is if someone lead me into another kind of experience that would make me reorient it. Then I would work from that experience. Each experience builds into past experiences. We know only what we have experienced. You see there is no such thing as knowledge in books. Sometimes we educators pretend this. Knowledge does not reside in books. All a book is is printer's ink on paper, arranged in symbols. It isn't until these marvelous receptors receive the image and get inside your head that there is knowledge. So the knowledge is within you. Your interpretation of the reading material is no deeper-no firmer-than your experiences which will allow you to interpret it. That makes us look at teaching a little bit differently.

Sometime I think some teachers get the notions that all knowledge is in books there in the library. I hope you will remember that the only knowledge in books is knowledge that children can work with, that the teacher can work with, it is in the kids and within the teacher. Now it is true that the book may help to reorganize those experiences or it may also be true that the book will bring new relationships to the experiences and, yet, the kid can't read. I think that this has happened to many children. Children that you know very well. In the home, in the classroom, each child is relating constantly to a situation in terms of his experience; and each experience sets a stage for the next. It is very hard if you can take this point of view to get really angry with the person. You might get very much disturbed about behavior and say things, but he is reacting to things that should never have happened. You will have to say what he is going is practically driving me crazy, but I can't say this is a bad child. Here is a child who had bad experiences.

These are the kind of things I think we have to help our new and young teachers to accept. I think without it they are not going to work very effectively with children who need this special kind of help. The youngsters who need this help towards getting their self-enhancement need to be somewhat satisfied in school. Now learning is always taking place, whether it is intended for learning or not, but it is taking place; so the child sitting in the classroom is learning regardless.

I had a young student this year who is a reading coordinator and is having a very difficult time with some youngsters who were socially and culturally deprived, who were not reading very well. He was trying remedial reading. He was trying this and that and, of course, he had some discussions on how do they feel? He didn't know. He decided, I suppose with a little help, that perhaps these youngsters who were in the sixth

grade could work with first graders. So a plan was worked out where these slow readers were the tutors of the first grade youngsters. And they were called in like this, "We really need someone to work with the first graders--these kids really need help."

An amazing thing happened to these sixth graders. They began to come early to school. They began to get upset when their little protege didn't show up. "Why isn't he here?" They began to take primers home, first grade readers home. They began to get easy reading books out of the library. They wanted a little help on the presentation of a story. Another amazing thing happened, the little first graders missed their tutors when they weren't there. In fact, I saw one little first grader with tears in her eyes to find her tutor wasn't there. But, the most amazing thing of all, something that was not discussed with the youngsters, happened. They began to read. Within the course of the year, those practically non-readers gained about four years, measured by a standardized test. For the first time in school, they felt that "I am an important person. Somebody needs me. I can manage this reading stuff. I have taken the first step and I can do it. I can read harder stuff." There are literally hundreds of examples like this and yet we keep on as teachers doing the same old kind of thing. When segregating these kids you know what we do to them. This is something that must be broken.

Well, who is a learner? And how does he learn? To oversimplify, a learner is a human, old or young, I would say, in search of self-enhancement. I would say that if his learning is purposeful and directed, it is optimistic. All purposeful learning must be optimistic. You are not going to invest energy and time in something if you don't think it is going to accrue benefits to you; you are just not going to do it. That goes all the way from the five year old to the sixty year old. So purposeful learning is optimistic and the learner has to be sure that he is going to get something out of it.

Now you may be thinking of different things, I don't know. In fact, there are some people who would attend workshops simply for the money but, even still, they are getting something out of it. But, anyway, it is an optimistic kind of behavior, it is purposeful learning and learning is governed by ones experiences because the person has accumulated experiences and he has nothing else to work with. And the perception of the world, our perception of people is formed and shaped as a result of all that we know. Really, we know a child knows only what he has experienced. In working with teachers, in the education of teachers, in the selection of teachers, there must be a point of view. As I said, I have given you my bias, simplified it and probably overgeneralized. But, at least, I wanted to make point one "self-enhancement."

WHO IS A TEACHER? WHAT IS TEACHING?

Well, this is fairly easy. A teacher is any person who goes through fairly standard academic procedures, secures the mandated sanction of the state department and school district is a teacher. I suspect the teaching done by these people ranges all the way from superior excellent to terrible horrible. Most of them are somewhere in between, I mean we do a little of both. We can define teaching in many ways. I suppose anytime we perform an act that moves the behavior of children towards reaching the goal that has been identified, we have done some teaching. Now I don't know how often we do this but there are some good definitions.

What are the characteristics of teachers? I don't know what they are. That is why I couldn't do much with this. I really don't know what the characteristics of a good teacher are. A lot of studies have been tried on characteristics but, as far as I can tell, they don't add up to very much. There have been some fairly good studies on looking at what teachers do. So I thought that it might be more helpful if we took just a little time and looked at what it is that teachers do, rather than talk about characteristics.

Well, just what is a teacher, what does he do? You know what you do and what I, we, do is: we try to cause behavior, we try to form and shape the lives of children, these we try to do. But, I suppose, that it is not so much what teachers do that makes a difference between a good and poor teacher, but how they do it. Most teachers know what makes a difference between a good and poor teacher, but how do they do it. Most teachers want to do about the same thing-most of them-it isn't so much what they do but how they do it. In the studies of teaching, all teachers did all about the same thing. It was fairly uniform. They give directions. They give assignments. They grant and deny requests. They set standards. They evaluate, disapprove or approve what is being done. They voice opinions. They reprimand, even accuse. They threaten or maybe promise future actions. They demonstrate, they clarify and elaborate on the problems of the contents on the discussion. Now this is what teachers are observed doing. Then, too, once in a while, teachers are seen to support and encourage individuals-but not very often-only once in a while. Once in a while they are seen in a different light-the light of saying, "All right, I made a mistake, I can make a mistake!" Not very often will many teachers ever admit to making mistakes. Once in a while teachers are observed doing personal things for individual pupils-not very often. You may want to look at some of these studies of classroom behavior. Most of these studies tell us that the major function performed by classroom teachers is 40 percent control activities, trained to control the kids! Forty percent of the time! This is a little startling, isn't it? Now, if 40 percent of all the acts performed are those of control, it is probably one of the most common problems. And almost all of the mental activity invited by teachers of their students is "what do you do" or "this was." Simple memory and recall. That was an overwhelming kind of mental activity. What kind of activity is this? You memorize it and you spit it back; there is much use

of drill, repetition is common. The mental activity of children associated with choice with the exploration of ideas, with the analysis of personal ideas, with the form of problem solving, with a spontaneous reaction to content is seldom found, for very few teachers use it. Now, these are the areas that ought to be the heart of teaching, a workbook can do the memory and recall bit-a machine can do it much better than a live human being. So the real teaching is in these areas that are seldom found.

Over the last thirty years, teaching has changed very little. We have changed the school buildings, we have the color on the walls, we have increased the lighting, beautiful books with more pictures, yet teaching itself has changed very, very little. We need a revolution. I can talk about this, I don't know whether we need to tear down the teachers colleges or not, but I suspect that the teachers colleges and the public school itself perpetually performs the kind of teacher behavior that ought not be perpetuated. And we ought to do something different about it. In reading one of the studies, one done by Dr. Hughes, she used two terms that I thought were interesting. In her studies, she said that she found very few teachers, if any, who used what she called public criteria and universal criteria as a way of evaluating the classroom procedure. Now I want to tell you what those are so that you will know what I am talking about if you haven't read Marie Hughes. Public criteria means that you make it public. You are now a group of fifth graders and I say to you, "A lot of us are in here, aren't there? We are apt to get into each other's way and we have a lot of important things to do. We have gotten the books down here and we need this, and that, and the other. How would be some good ways to do it?" We talk this through. And so we establish some public criteria; maybe no more than two should get up at a time-I don't know what it would be. With this many in the room, maybe we ought to be very quiet if we are going to work in small groups, but we establish this and everybody knows and it is the public criteria. And it is accepted. So when Bill gets up the first time we get working and he is talking in a loud voice over there when he is in his small group, I can say, "Bill, remember the criteria?" And as the kids say "Yes," well, it takes away from being very personal to Bill, it's different than it would be if the criteria had not been established and I had said "Bill, be quiet." This is more personal. It does one other thing, it has a relationship to society and law. And it ought to be built and we ought to have public criteria work out in the schools. Children ought to learn this and they ought to learn that rules are made in order to do things better, in order to be safer. When rules are made, they are obeyed and they should respect the teacher as the adult member of the group to set the line. They will expect you to do that. Many of our children in Harlem say, "We like a teacher who makes us do the right thing." They want you to be fair; they want to understand; they don't want it to be personal. Children need this. That is public criteria.

The other one that she talks about is the establishment of universals. Now the public school and the teacher is the mediator of the culture; that is why we are set up. I am not sure that we have done a very good job of it.

I think TV has taken over. But, we are supposed to be the mediators of the culture and there are certain kinds of things that we have to do. Now there is a universal language and the school should teach this universal language. There are periods at the end of certain sentences, capitalization, you know the whole bit. All these are universals. Many of the children you work with have an "in-group" language. I came from an area that had an in-group language. We always, as I remember, went out and picked the corn and we harnessed the horses, and things like that. We could communicate, we could talk with each other and we knew we could communicate and what we were talking about.

It was a good language, but being raised in this community, I also needed a universal language. There is nothing wrong with the word "ain't." Everyone knows it. One day maybe it will be in the universal language. But if you are going to teach about it, you might teach that it isn't in the universal language-it isn't as of now, but maybe someday. We had a very delightful student who went to our college last year. I think she was our first Puerto Rican youngster who came out of the ghetto area and went through college and became a teacher. In her first teaching job, she was assigned down in an area where it was a bit rough. About two months ago she came in and I have to tell you what she said. She said "my third graders just simply couldn't read and so I devised all kinds of schemes." See, she wasn't following the book. She wasn't following the methods courses, she tried everything. She said that she finally figured out a little game where she put the alphabet on a board. She said, "then we practiced the alphabet and learned something about it. We put a hand on the board and we would spin it-when the hand stopped, then the child would say a word and I would write it on the board and we would talk about it. The children liked to spin this thing and it was a game-around it goes and it stops on the letter "F," Alecias came up with a four-letter word. The kids sat up to see what was going to happen. Did you hear what she said? What are you going to do to her?" And this wise young teacher did nothing! "That was a word, you recognized it immediately when she said it. It's a word you can find all over the walls in this area but she said that it is not a word used by everybody in the country. In fact, it is a word that many people think ought not be used. There are other words that you use instead." But she said that it is a word and she was right. They went on and talked about it a bit. Now she did several things. She established the need for the universal language; she established the fact that there is a need for in-group language; she established the fact that it was a word, if everybody recognized it-it was a word and she didn't destroy the child. She told me that after that episode, not once did that particular word crop up in her classroom at all.

We, universals, established the universals-now accept the in-group language, accept the ways of living and accept the family structure; you may not like it, but accept it. Because if you destroy a youngster's image of his family because of your own middle-class values, what are you doing to him? He has only two choices. To tell you to go to hell

and hate you and the school or degrade himself. I hope he is healthy enough to do the first, don't you?

I thought that those were two interesting concepts that she had--again some things I think we have done very poorly in helping teachers understand and use. We neither use public criteria or universals in the building of values, or in the building of social rules, nor perhaps even in relating the school to this larger society. We just haven't done it. Now I suspect rather than characteristics we can now take a look and say, "Here is a job we ought to do." We ought to see that this is done.

The teaching behavior that is being responsive to children on a personal basis is rare and wonderful when you can find it. For the most part, all of the studies found teachers interaction with children remains controlling, directive, and there is no opportunity for the pupils to exercise initiative and solving problems. The classroom, as I have told you, has changed the furniture; yet, basically, the pattern of child-teacher relationships have remained about the same.

How do we find and recruit the kind of teachers we need? Here I don't know. Maybe you have some answers and you could say. I really don't know how we find them. But, one thing is for certain, we have not done a very good job, in this society of ours, in building the kind of image that teaching should have. In fact, some of our magazines and newspapers have done a good job in downgrading the profession of teaching. But, hopefully, that is changing a bit; maybe the militant teacher groups will do it.

Anyway, if I were to believe in my self-enhancement theory, and I do, I would say, if we want the very best kind of teachers, we must make the job of teaching enhancing. Enhancing in terms of it's own personal rewards. I don't care if you have a missionary spirit or not. It is all right as long as you feel good about what you are doing--working with other people. Again, I would say enhancement--we get some of the good old missionaries zeal, many of you people had it when you came in. Do you have it yet! But we get the other kind of people too. Those who come into teaching because they think this is an easy thing to get into and they have certain skills but can't do anything else. The job of teaching is difficult. It ought to be made difficult. It ought to require the very best minds we have. It ought to require the kind of personality that understands and likes other human beings, regardless of their make-up or their personality.

How can we prepare these teachers? We have had very little experience. I suppose most teacher preparation institutions are doing about the same thing they have always done. Now it seems to me that one of the problems in the preparation of teachers is the problem I faced for many years; that of the college people who do the pre-teaching training and the public schools who receive and do the in-service education--trying to destroy each other. And so the teacher preparation

institutions might do certain things, certain kinds of philosophies to get out into the public schools. The public schools say, "forget all that junk, now this is the way you do it." It ought to be the reverse. But none are really trying to work together. No real attempt is being made to sit down and say, "Now this is what we believe about kids. This is what we would like to try. This is how we would like to work." Let's see if we can make a certain continuity in the pre-service and the in-service training that will help lead people through.

The late Dr. Leonard Cornbird came up with this notion and we submitted a request and got a grant to try it out. It was at least 99 percent Negro and in an area where the people were very poor. One of the reasons we wanted this school, we had found a very interesting thing in that the youngsters in this school, with an IQ of 60 or 70 at the sixth and seventh grade level, had entered Kindergarten with IQ's well over one hundred. Now that is something to think about. You would be amazed how often this happens. What happened to these kids? What did the school, or what did life do to them? What happened to these children? Well, this is the school that we selected, we called this the Bridge Project. What we decided to do was to take three of our newly graduated students just out of student-teaching, an English teacher, a Social Studies teacher, and a person who could teach math and science. We asked for three groups of seventh grade students so that we could have these three teachers work with the children. They would work with them in seventh grade, eighth grade, and ninth grade. They would take this one group and go right through with them. That these three new teachers would have a person working with them. We would have a control group set up for kids who were pretty well matched to the ones we took. We would try this out for three years. During the process of these three years, we would have conferences and the conferences would center around these children. They were going to have the same children for three years. New York City Board said, "Well, we'll go along with you, but your project is doomed to failure because of the mobility you can't keep these kids. They will move out-and be gone." I was a little leary of this but, well, let's try it. We didn't try to pick good student-teachers; we took them randomly and then we asked them. As it turned out, we got one excellent one, one who was poor to begin with came out well, and one who began poorly never did develop into a very good teacher. But, we didn't select the teachers. We did work with these children for three years. The Board's prediction didn't come about; we found that when families moved out, they didn't report it if it was anywhere in walking distance so the kids could get back. They came back. Many interesting things happened. If you should get the study and were to read it carefully, you would find that there was some gain above the controlled group in academic subjects. But there was a significant gain in IQ. I think we couldn't show much of a gain in academic subjects because of the kinds of tests we used. But there were a great many things in which we found these youngsters were interested. These alienated kids were interested. Anything about the body, the human body was a sure-fire

topic. They liked to talk about various things-people for example. They liked make-believe stories. They liked almost anything if put in a way that they could understand it. They liked to make puppet plays. They liked music. We didn't find alienated kids. These kids weren't alienated. And we didn't have difficulty getting them to school.

Here is a book that was written by one of my colleagues. She was one of the people who worked in the Bridge Project and half of her book is about it. Right in the back is a little message that one youngster wrote when asked what she liked best about the three years, she wrote: "Well, best I liked the teachers and the way they helped us learn new things. We just liked them, period." She then wrote this to the college professor: "We hope your students will say the same about you." They were interested, as I said, in the human body. This might be interesting. I'm not selling this book by the way but such questions came out of this group: "Why don't some people have a bone in their nose? What causes swelling? Why is it that if you get hit in the finger by a ball, it hurts all the way up your arm?" These were kids who were classified as non-readers, alienated, "...if a pistol gets pregnant, how long does it take to develop (talking about plants). Does it take nine days, nine weeks, or nine months?" We also found that in this particular enterprise, one of the most important things was the case study.

Now I would think that all teachers need a chance to sit down and talk about children. Case studies were done on different children. Remember the three teachers had the same kids and there were the same supervisors. But to sit down and talk about them. Sit down and figure out what it is that he is doing. What we are doing. Where do we go from here? Do we need to get help? Can the parents help? The case studies were invaluable. They were not only invaluable from the standpoint of helping the children, but also in developing the teachers. I think this is where we did the most good in developing these young teachers. But after the end of the three year period, we came out saying very strongly that New York City should try the idea more. More little schools within these huge schools--break it up, let fewer teachers know fewer children. So far, I guess not one has been established. After the Bridge Project, everybody said it made sense, it's wonderful but they didn't do anything about it. This seems to be a pattern.

A few years ago I got the notion that we ought to do something again to relate our elementary school preparation of teachers to the public schools. So we became involved in what was known as the Great Cities Project. I think Philadelphia and Pittsburg were the cities involved. There were about three of the projects. We established what we called SUTEC (School University Teacher Education Center).

Now SUTEC was to be a public school in an area where we have children who are poor. It was to be a school in which we would have a great number of students from the college preparing to be teachers, it

would be a school where there would be joint planning and joint operation. So there was to be two directors--one from the college, one from the public school and they were to work together. If you ever set this up, think about it twice. Lots of in-fighting but we got it squared away. We were to teach our methods courses, child development courses, in the center itself. We were also supposed to set up in the center a place for parents. A place where parents would feel comfortable. Now in the cities where you come from, I am sure this doesn't happen, but in New York City and in many schools, parents feel alienated. They have always felt alienated and there is a screening process to get in. We said that there would be no doors locked--the doors would be open. We were warned that we would regret it. There will be rapes in the hall; all sorts of dire things. We said that we would try it. After two years, it hasn't happened.

Very briefly, what we had hoped to do was to bring our young undergraduates, about junior year, into this school setting. They would have their methods courses there; each one of them related to various aspects of working with children. After they graduated from student teaching, then they were put out in what we call a cluster school. We put them out in groups of eight. Feeling that if the eight of them went together, they couldn't be knocked off one at a time. They could stand together. But, in addition to this, we also released one of the teachers who was in the SUTEC for a full year to go with the eight and to work with them. All the visiting firemen were kept out. They worked only with this one person. I do think it has worked beautifully this year. This is the first year when we had them go out in the cluster school, but it seems to me that it is working beautifully. A number of other things have worked as well.

For the first time, we have had parents in the school who feel and say, "this is our school." Mrs. Ames and I were in the school last year and saw that we were two strangers they didn't know. One came up and said, "Are you visiting?" I said, "Yes, we just stopped by." He said, "How would you like to see our school?" I thought that we must have some new teachers. We were taken around, "this is our sewing room, etc." They were parents--this was their school. It can happen in New York City. This makes a big difference with the youngsters. Many of these children's parents have asked, "Could we have classes set up? Classes in English? Could we have classes in Arithmetic?" We set them up. The attendance of the adults has been great.

We have a sewing room. Parents have run it entirely. Parents have set up what was known as swap-shop. To describe a swap-shop--if you have little children that have out-grown their clothing, bring them in and leave them, we will put them up somewhere. But do feel free to browse around and take anything you can use. There is no payment, no cost. Just bring it in. So we canvassed the college and we brought in tons of clothing, but there is no charity--it is a swap-shop. There is no

one saying: "Don't take too much, don't take this, browse around and if there is anything you can use, you take it. If you have something at home you can't use, you bring it." It has worked beautifully.

I suppose that I have taken a rather long way of saying that I think we need to scrap our old traditional ways of educating teachers. I think we must get out into the public schools and not only into but be a part of them. Now maybe not officially, I don't know how it is going to work out, but I know the Bridge Project and in the SUTEC Project have made a difference in teacher education. To have the young students right out there with the children in school. I suspect you can't do very much with the methods courses, or maybe even an Educational Psychology course unless you are working with children and have them right there and you see the complete setting.

To react in terms of all those experiences, the world may hate you and you may hate mankind, but a person isn't going to change and isn't going to do anything differently until you are creative enough to make some kind of feeling that involves him in an experience so that he can make some reorientation.

It isn't going to be easy-I know. It is going to be most difficult. But I have seen youngsters change and I am sure you have too. Change suddenly. We have on our staff a fellow by the name of Pappanac who talks radically about a school where he was the superintendent for many years. Floyd Paterson is one of his boys. A great many of these were tough kids, now if you know Ernest you know what I mean. He is the kind of person who can let youngsters be tough, mean, yet he is firm. If you are to make it, in a different direction to meet the problems these kids have, you must be creative.

IMPLICATIONS FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
TEACHER EDUCATION

Carl Schaefer and Staff*

In this part of the program we are going to concentrate on the specific areas of Vocational-Technical Education which you can use in your agencies and institutions. We have a rather unique organizational pattern at Rutgers. For example, there is one department of vocational-technical education. In that department are the various curriculums, each headed by a specialist in his particular field. The program started five years ago under the direction of Dr. Carl Schaefer, whom you met earlier. This morning you will hear from curriculum specialists in business education, trade and industrial education and distributive education. This afternoon you will hear discussed the programs in technical education, home economics and vocational agriculture. Dr. Schaefer will introduce each member of the panel who will present his subject area as it might apply to your activities. After each has completed his presentation, we can entertain questions for answers by the speakers. Dr. Schaefer, welcome... Thank you, Professor Rush... As Ralph indicated, we do have a department of Vocational-Technical Education here at Rutgers. The word "and" between vocational and technical was dropped for the simple reason that it seemed the title was a little long. While we were one of the first to adopt this terminology, it is interesting to note the U. S. Office of Education, Vocational and Technical Division, adopted the title some time after. There was some concern in our minds whether or not it was really justifiable to use "vocational-technical," but as you read the literature, you'll see that the term "vocational-technical" is coming into national prominence.

Now there could be all kinds of philosophical discussions relative to the difference, if there is, indeed, a difference, between vocation and technical. But, based on the premise of "vocational-technical" at the beginning, we then pulled together the necessary resources in New Jersey. This department was envisioned by Dr. Albert Jochem, (then Assistant Commissioner of Vocational Education in New Jersey), to provide teacher-education and certification through the advanced degrees in the areas that Rutgers could best handle.

We now have expertised in all the areas. We do not have undergraduate programs, in business education or distributive education. This is for the simple reason that two of our state colleges and some of

*Dr. Schaefer is Chairman of the Department of Vocational-Technical Education, Graduate School of Education, Rutgers - The State University.

our private colleges are serving as a rest here. Trade and industrial education through our university college has a large undergraduate program. Home economics also has an undergraduate program as well as vocational agriculture. We have based our programs upon the following premises. The first is that differing teacher types and teacher styles are required to meet the needs of individuals as they progress through formal education. Teachers, consequently, differ in their interests and their abilities to work these individuals at various levels of their development. In other words, the elementary teacher who is thrust into a secondary school program will probably be as frustrated as the kids he tries to teach. This is because he is used to a different teaching style and used to working with younger people. Vocational-technical teacher preparation needs are both broad and specific. No one teacher can be expected to become a master at all levels and in all areas of specialty. No one institution possesses either the physical setting, the philosophical orientation or the staff to meet all the varied teacher preparation needs. There are certain philosophies in existing facilities which can carry out specific functions better in one given institution than in another.

There must be a two-pronged attack on preparing teachers for the broad spectrum of occupational preparation. One should focus on preparatory teaching, while the other stresses in-service or continuing teacher education. This is something you're engaged in right now, the continuing education of teachers. We, certainly, have not done enough to this and it is rather obvious that some vocational and technical teachers are absescent in their technology.

Probably the most valuable existing resource lies in the willingness of the teacher educators to work together and institutions must cooperate in giving their personnel time to exploit this asset. Coordination of this effort should come from the state departments of education working in cooperation, in many cases, with the board of higher education to assure the total program of teacher education. This will give you a little of our underlying philosophy and background. Now, I would like to get into some of the program specifics, through some of the specialists in our Department and State. Thank you. . .

DISTRIBUTIVE EDUCATION - Ralph Bregman*

In order to establish a basis for understanding, a definition and applicable program organization of Distributive Occupations is necessary.

A distributive occupation is one engaged in by proprietors, managers, or employees primarily in marketing or merchandising of goods or services. These occupations are commonly found in various business establishments such as retailing, wholesaling, manufacturing, storing, transporting, financing, and insurance.

The distributive education structure which seems most appropriate to the institutional setting is the work release program. The student goes to school for half the day and is released for related supervised work experience the other half. The student's in-school education includes instruction in the distributive occupations which is related to his paid part-time work experience. (See Appendix I, Bonding Project)

The teacher education institutions must be charged with the responsibility to prepare competent distributive education teachers who will work in or with correctional institutions. To accomplish this objective, a dialogue among vocational teacher educators, institutions and agency personnel, and state vocational specialists is mandatory.

(The use of vocational instructors not possessing teaching licenses or credentials and whose experiences and educational achievements are far removed from the traditional education requirements is strongly recommended.)¹

The results of this discussion should provide direction for effective teacher preparation. The following is a suggested "Blueprint for Change." The ideas are not mutually exclusive and any combination or further extension to satisfy local needs might be needed to provide the desired solutions.

Course Content in Teacher Education Institutional Preparation

Certification courses are justified on the basis that the student instructor will be given the skills and knowledges needed to implement the environment for effective and efficient learning.

Specific courses, workshops, and seminars on understanding and educating the disadvantaged² should be made available to pre- and in-service

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teacher educators These courses can be modified and made available to vocational teachers. Some examples of new courses which might be made available are: individually prescribed instruction (IPI),³ team teaching,⁴ guidance and counseling of the disadvantaged, instruction through multimedia,⁵ and the language and culture of institutionalized inmates.

Specially designed "short" or modular courses which can be adopted from present college programs are: developmental and remedial reading courses for the disadvantaged,⁶ group dynamics,⁷ and special education.⁸ The United States Department of Labor is also encouraging colleges to revise and establish new courses of study such as LINC (Learning in New Curricular).

All courses should be offered to undergraduates and full-time non-degree students. Development of these individuals should be of primary concern since, at the present time, the wealth of talent and motivation of these students is not being properly utilized. Two examples can help to clarify this position. Student teachers should be given an opportunity for supervised student teaching in an institution. Another approach is that three or four pre-service vocational teachers working as a team in an institution develop a proposal for institutional involvement with vocational education.

In some locales, it would not be feasible to have all institutions of higher learning providing the same services. Therefore, a consortium could be established for pre-service, as well as in-service, instruction from the college having the best facilities and faculty for that particular course.

Another course of action might be the establishment of a center to prepare administrators, vocational guidance counselors, and vocational teachers to identify and prescribe vocational programs and materials for the disadvantaged. The center could also serve the National Teacher Corps⁹ and Upward Bound¹⁰ personnel.

The following are various acts which have applicable revenue provisions:

Titles I and III ESEA, Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act, and National Teacher Corps.

Opportunities for Teacher Candidates

Researchers from Columbia University working at the Seward Park High School in New York City as part of a study by the mobilization for youth's tutorial project found "that high school students not only brought the below-average grade school pupils up to a normal reading level, but made remarkable gains in reading ability themselves."¹¹

If other studies confirm this result, then there are implications for teacher education. Every effort should be made to provide opportunities for the disadvantaged to participate in certification and para-professional teacher education courses. The current use of admission tests purportedly used to predict success is really a screening device to keep out students. The lack of success is substantiated by the number of students dropping out of college.

The following financial aid is available to the disadvantaged for teacher candidate participation: In Brief...

College Work-Study is a program of employment in which the student, particularly one from a low-income family, is compensated for the number of hours he works for the institution or for an eligible off-campus agency.

National Defense Student Loans is a program of borrowing, primarily for needy students, in which the student has an obligation to repay his loan, with 3 percent interest within a 10-year period following college attendance. If a borrower becomes a full-time teacher in an elementary or secondary school or in an institution of higher education, as much as half of the loan may be forgiven at the rate of 10 percent for each year of teaching service. Borrowers who elect to teach in certain eligible schools located in areas of primarily low-income families may qualify for cancellation of their entire obligation at the rate of 15 percent per year.

Educational Opportunity Grants is a program of direct grants in which the student receives a nonobligating award of funds, based on exceptional financial need and evidence of academic or creative promise.

Guaranteed Loans is a program of borrowing, primarily for students from middle- or upper-income families. The student has an obligation to repay his loan with 3 percent (middle income) or 6 percent (upper income) interest. (See Appendix II for Loans to Vocational Students.)

For graduate students, there are Prospective Teacher Graduate Fellowships under P. L. 89-329, Higher Education Act of 1965, Title V, Part C.

Contact the Division of Higher Education at your State Department of Education for specific details.

Recruitment of Teacher Candidates

The recruitment of individuals with potential to work with the disadvantaged is a critical element in developing a vocational-institutional program. Some sources are: private trade schools, military educational facilities, peace corps, job corps, and released inmates from correctional institutions.

Summary

For distributive teacher education to provide concentrated services to institutions as well as public school special needs students, an immediate dialogue between all parties is paramount. We must not stand on ceremony! Teacher educators with other specialists should restudy the availability of courses for understanding and educating the disadvantaged, student teaching practices, relationships with other colleges, and admission and recruitment policies in order to provide the needed personnel.

FOOTNOTES

1. National Committee for Children and Youth, Project Challenge, The Final Report on the Experimental and Demonstration Program Prepared by the National Committee for Children and Youth (Washington, D. C.: National Committee for Children and Youth, Inc., 1968), p. 77.
2. Disadvantaged is generally defined as the absence or deprivation of advantage (or of equal opportunity).
"We have never defined the term sufficiently for research or evaluation purposes. We began at a point where it was cultural deprivation, but soon recognized that this was an absurdity in that all children have a culture and none is truly deprived of culture. We move on to terms like 'socially disadvantaged,' 'educationally disadvantaged,' and now it has become simply 'disadvantaged,' which, of course, returns us to the question: disadvantaged in terms of what?" (This paper deals with the absence of adequately prepared teachers.)

David J. Fox, "Issues in Evaluating Programs for Disadvantaged Children," The Urban Review, Vol. 2, No. 3 (December, 1967), 5.
3. Individually prescribed instruction is a system of managing instruction so that each child's work can be evaluated daily and, if necessary, the teacher can make an assignment for each child which is tailored especially for him. In order to be able to do this, the teacher should be able to conduct: small group dynamics,

tutorial instruction, individual progress diagnosis, prescription writing, tests and measurements.

Robert G. Scanlon, Individually Prescribed Instruction (Philadelphia, Penna., Research for Better Schools, Inc., --), pp. 9-10.

4. Marvin Hirshfeld and Ralph Bregman, The Use of Team Teaching, A Report to the National Seminar for Vocational Education in Correctional Institutions (New Jersey: Rutgers - The State University, 1968), pp. 1-10.
5. J. L. Burns, "Our Era of Opportunity," Saturday Review, January 14, 1967, p. 39.
6. Ruth Stranz, "Teaching Reading to the Culturally Disadvantaged in Secondary Schools," Journal of Reading, Vol. X No. 8 (May, 1967), pp. 527-535.
7. "What Approaches to Curriculum and Learning?" A Report from the National Conference on Education of the Disadvantaged, Washington, July 18 to July 20, 1966, Prepared by the National Conference (Washington, D. C.: The Conference, 1966) p. 24.
8. William R. Carriker, "Special Education and its Implications for the Training of Teachers to Work with Disadvantaged Youth," Preparing Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth (New Jersey: Rutgers - The State University, --), pp. 10-15.
9. The National Teacher Corps was created to bring together experienced career teachers and enthusiastic beginning teachers who will work in the slums. For information, write to the Community Affairs Branch National Teacher Corps, Office of Education, Regional Office Building 7th and D Streets, S. W., Washington, D. C. 20202.
10. Upward Bound is an educational program funded under the Economic Opportunity Act and aimed at motivating impoverished high school youngsters toward college. High school students, primarily 10th and 11th graders, are enrolled in a full-time residential summer program for 6 to 8 weeks, and receive individual tutoring and counseling, and participate in creative and cultural enrichment programs throughout the school year in addition to regular high school studies.
11. New York Times, September 18, 1966, p. 54.

APPENDIX I

ES Bonding Project*

A Trainee Placement Assistance Demonstration Program is being conducted jointly by the Employment Service and the Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation, and Research, to determine whether special government-supported bonding aid will help place persons who are denied suitable employment because they cannot obtain commercial bonding primarily because of criminal activity. Known as the Bonding Project, it is a pilot program authorized by a 1965 amendment to the Manpower Development and Training Act.

To be eligible, a person must have participated in one of the following federally financed activities: (1) Training, (2) work training, (3) work experience, or (4) counseling, and be seeking employment through the public Employment Service.

APPENDIX II

Guaranteed Loans For Vocational Students

This loan program is designed to make it possible for students to borrow money for education and training in schools of business, trade, technology, and other vocational fields. This purpose will be accomplished by providing the means for students to obtain guaranteed loans from private commercial and other eligible lenders, with the Federal Government paying a part of the interest on behalf of qualified students.

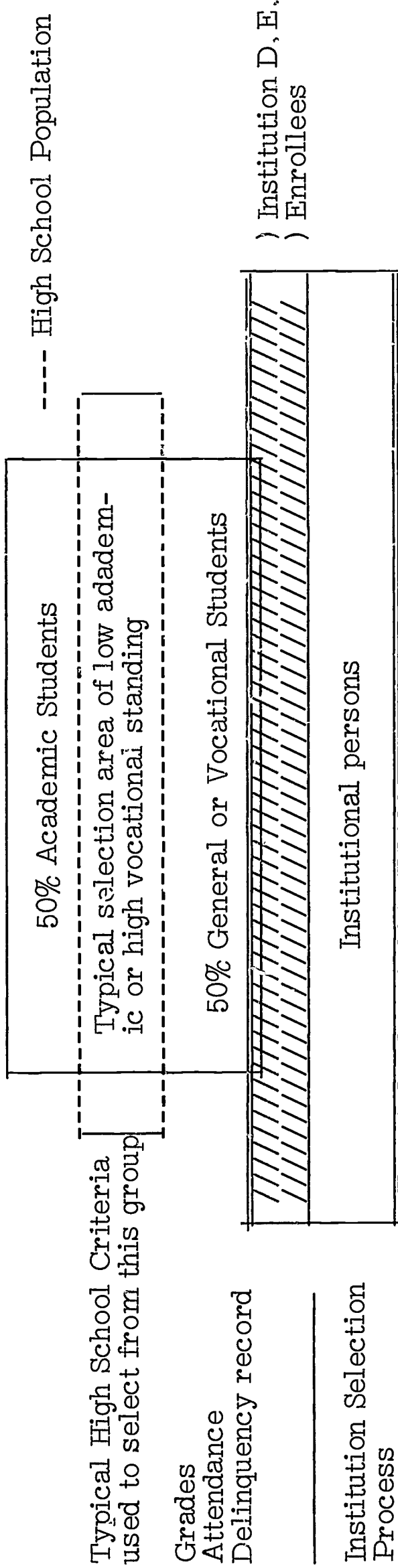
Any student who has been accepted for enrollment in an eligible school or who is already in attendance and in good standing, may apply for a guaranteed vocational student loan. In some State programs, half-time students may be eligible, but most programs require full-time attendance. There are no age limitations. The student does not have to be a high school graduate, or even an elementary school graduate. However, the student must be capable of benefiting from the program in which he is enrolled.

*ES Bonding Project, "Employment Service Review," December, 1966, pp. 63-64.

APPENDIX III

SPECIAL NEEDS MODEL

Distributive Education Student Selection Process
In High School and at an Institution



The selection process for the institution as of this date has been successful. Success of phase one is defined by the number of run-aways and infractions of institution rules.

If the institutional program is able to serve students who would not otherwise be accepted into a regular Distributive Education high school program, then a tentative conclusion that can be made is that the typical selection process is inadequate.

BUSINESS AND OFFICE OCCUPATIONS - Michael N. Sugarman*

Introduction

Today, I am going to briefly examine vocational business and office education and the business and office occupations.

When speaking of business education one usually thinks of subjects such as typing, shorthand, business arithmetic, business law, bookkeeping and possibly a course in office machines. These are the traditional business education subjects; subjects which were usually studied in high school or a private business school. They were subjects in which a student sat in a sterile classroom for a 40 or 50 minute period.

Most of the traditional business education subjects were skill oriented, and yet, had little relationship to the real world of work. Vocational office occupations education was born as a child of the Vocational Education Act of 1963. It is now a balanced program. It is balanced with general education, within vocational education and within office occupations education in response to community and national needs.

Office occupations education includes vocational orientation of instruction, vocationally competent and experienced teachers, coordination of in-school and in-office experience and most important, sufficient time for effective teaching and development of skills and abilities needed on the job. The key to the new program is the office occupations education cycle developed by Bruce Blackstone of the U. S. Office of Education.

Essentially, the system consists of job analysis, curriculum construction, program operation, realistic work experience, placement and follow-up of students. Office Occupations Education is making important strides in breaking away from the traditional subject oriented curriculum. Educational experiences are increasingly being formulated on the basis of the office occupations education cycle. Greater attention is being paid to a balance between the general education program required of all students which should include:

Basic Business Education, or how to live in a business filled environment
Business Principles, where the student learns about what he will face in office work

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Occupational specialization, where he learns the necessary skills

Realistic Office Work Experience, where he practices the skills and knowledge in a realistic situation

Coordinated Group Activities, which are an integral part of the curriculum

The secondary school program, although still the largest effort, is taking less and less priority over post-secondary and adult preparation according to Dr. Blackstone. In 1966, approximately 65 percent of the total enrollment in office occupations education was at the high school level, a little over 13 percent at the post-high school level, and 22 percent in adult programs. Dr. Blackstone predicts that by 1970, Office Education will be in support of 23 percent of the work force. The jobs will be there. The critical problem is the training of qualified workers.

What are the Business and Office Occupations?

Business and office occupations is defined by the Vocational Education Act of 1963 as "Those occupations pursued by individuals in public or private enterprises or organizations which are related to the facilitating function of the office and includes such activities as recording and retrieval of data, supervision and coordination of office activities, internal and external communication, and the reporting of information."

Today the Office worker organizes data for decisions, supervises and controls activities, coordinates work, and provides for communication of a vast amount of information. Automation is changing the speed and methods of doing office work. The day of the quill pen is gone, the day of the printout is here. For example:

1. Office work is the second largest employment classification in the United States; more than 16 percent of all employed persons are involved in office work.
2. Thirteen percent of boys and 60 percent of girls graduating from high school but not attending college enter office work.
3. There is a shortage of and a continuous demand for more office workers, particularly those qualified to handle jobs created by the change to electronic data processing, and those skilled in work involving public contacts. The need for clerical workers as a group is expected to increase by more than one-third between 1964 and 1975.

4. More sophisticated offices require more sophisticated preparation of workers.

The major occupational clusters or groups include:

- Accounting and Computing Occupations
- Business Data Processing Systems Occupations
- Filing, Office Machines, and General Office Clerical Occupations
- Information Communication Occupations
- Materials Support Occupations: Transporting, Storing and Recording
- Personnel, Training, and Related Occupations
- Stenographic, Secretarial, and Related Occupations
- Supervisory and Administrative Management Occupations
- Typing and Related Occupations
- Miscellaneous Office Occupations

Clerical and Related Occupations

Government manpower statistics have revealed that about 12 million clerical and related workers were employed in 1966, about 7 of every 10 were women. Clerical and related workers comprise the largest group of white-collar workers.

More than one-half of all clerical and related workers are employed in manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, and public administration. Large numbers are also employed in insurance companies, finance and real estate firms, educational institutions, and professional service organizations.

Clerical workers acquire their training in a variety of ways. Large numbers acquire their skills in high school business courses. Some high school students train for clerical jobs in cooperative work-study programs which enable them to acquire practical work experience under trained supervision. Many clerical workers prepare for their jobs through post-secondary training in business schools, junior colleges, or 4-year colleges. More recently a substantial number of clerical workers have received training in programs operated under provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act.

The employment of clerical and related workers increased almost steadily between 1947 and 1966, rising from 7.2 million to about 12 million. This rapid increase in employment reflected not only the growth of the economy, but also growth in size and complexity of modern business organizations and government. The increase in the

amount of communications conducted through mail, telephone, and telegraph also brought about a need for more clerical workers.

Employment requirements for clerical and related workers are expected to reach 14.6 million by 1975, nearly one-third higher than the 1965 level. Many new positions are expected to open up as industries employing large numbers of clerical workers continue to expand. The trend in retail stores toward transferring to clerical workers functions that were formerly performed by sales personnel also will tend to increase the employment requirements for clerical workers. Furthermore, the continued increase in size and complexity of modern business organizations will help to increase the demand for clerical workers.

Technological developments are expected to limit somewhat the growth in employment requirements for clerical workers. For example, the use of electronic computers, bookkeeping machines, and other mechanical devices for the purpose of processing routine and repetitive work is expected to result in substantial reductions in the number of clerks employed in jobs such as filing, sorting bank checks, making up payrolls, keeping track of inventories, and billing customers. On the other hand, the laborsaving advantages of these innovations will be offset to some extent by growing requirements for machine operators.

Growth in requirements for secretaries, receptionists, and other clerical workers whose duties require judgment and contact with the public is not expected to be significantly affected by technological innovations.

Institutional Programs

A number of correctional institutions have realized the great demand in the business and office occupations area especially in data processing and computer operation

One such program which has been described in detail has been at the Indiana Reformatory. The program there was initiated in 1961 as a data processing training school and also a punch card statistical system. The program has grown in several phases. The first of these, phase one, covers operation, principles, and control panel wiring, key punches, verifiers, sorters, interpreters, reproducers, collaters, and accounting machines or tabulators. In phase two, the students receive intensive training on the operation, control panel wiring, and programming of the Univac and IBM computer equipment. In phase three, the student is trained in flow charting, system analysis, operation, and programming of IBM, Honeywell, and Burroughs computer system. Upon completion of this program, the student is

awarded a diploma which is endorsed by the central Indiana chapter of the Data Processing Management Association.

According to the Indiana Reformatory, "armed with the diploma and with the on the job experience obtained in the program it is almost impossible for the graduate parolee not to easily find employment in a data processing installation in Indiana."

Another program is at Rikers Island, New York City. This Manpower Development Training Program was established in 1965 at the adolescent division on Rikers Island. Basically, the program consisted of a 300 hour training cycle broken down as follows: Typing 125 hours, Basic business machines 30 hours, bookkeeping machines 100 hours, IBM key-punch 45 hours. For those students who completed the course successfully, a referral for further training in a specific area was made to one of the seven manpower development training centers run by the New York City Board of Education.

If your institutions decide to initiate programs in the office occupations area, I would hope that you do not make the same mistake that many of the public schools have made in their program. That is, that we have taught subjects and not students. We have sent students out into the job market with the belief that they are employable because they can write shorthand at 100 and 120 words a minute and can type at speeds from 40 to 60 words a minute, but we have frequently overlooked the traits of dependability and cooperation, the importance of manners and appearance, the necessity of proper attitude, initiative, and industry. The student will have an excellent chance of getting a job if he has the necessary skills, he can keep the job only if he has those characteristics which go over and above the skills.

In establishing programs in the office occupations area you may wish to look towards the Manpower Development Training Program for they have developed a number of curriculum guides. They have a one year suggested curriculum on clerical and record keeping occupations, also a curriculum on stenographic, secretarial occupations. There is a suggested curriculum on electronic business data processing peripheral equipment occupations, and also a suggested two year post-high school curriculum for computer programmers and business application analysts entitled Electronic Data Processing-I. These publications are available from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents. Suggested curricula and training materials are also available from many of the equipment manufacturers such as National Cash Register, Underwood Olivetti, and IBM, among others.

Summary

In summary, I would like to point out that Office Occupations area is one of the largest employment classifications in the United States. There is a shortage of and a continuous demand for more office workers, particularly those qualified to handle jobs created by the change to electronic data processing. Technological innovations, including the use of computers, have tended to reshape the nature of the work of the office machine operator, and create entirely new functions such as those performed by electronic computer personnel. Employment in these fields, though less numerous than among the traditional clerical occupations, is growing the fastest.

I would urge you to seriously consider these developments when you establish your vocational education programs.

TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION - Albert J. Pautler*

When Mr. Rush, the Director of the National Seminar for Vocational Education in Correctional Institutions asked me to speak concerning this subject, he asked that I address myself to the point what does trade and industrial education service have to contribute to institutional vocational education? The secondary concern would be implications for vocational teacher education.

Trade and industrial education as defined by the American Vocational Association is stated as, "Instruction which is planned for the purpose of developing basic manipulative skills, safety judgment, technical knowledge, and related occupational information for the purpose of fitting young persons for initial employment in industrial occupations and to up-grade or retrain workers employed in industry." I would imagine your responsibilities in training inmates would be concerned with preparing young inmates for initial employment, as well as up-grading and retraining inmates for employment upon probation or release. This statement appears to be supported by the fact that the federal prison population as of April 1967 was 20,000. Most of the inmates at that time were in the age bracket of 18-23 years of age. Most were serving time for violation of the Dyer Act concerning transportation of a stolen automobile across state lines. Most of the men in federal prisons are unskilled or semi-skilled. Therefore, it appears to me that a great deal of initial employment training, as well as retraining, are essential in the prisons of this country.

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Myrl Alexander, past director of the Crime-Correction Center at Southern Illinois University, has indicated that the median age of 21,000 federal prisoners is 21½ years. Mr. Alexander has also indicated that a substantial part of all crime in this country-it is much higher than 50%-is committed by people who have been in prisons. Likewise, Mr. Alexander, in an interview with U.S News and World Report staff, indicated that the mental age of prisoners compares with that of the general population. Only 15 percent of the inmates suffer some form of mental illness; therefore, the remaining 85 percent are not mentally ill. However, as far as education is concerned, the population of prisons is 4-5 years behind the general education level of the average person. Of all individuals admitted to federal prisons in 1965, 92 percent had no employment skills.

Prison correction officials have done much in recent years to improve the training and retraining programs available in our penal institutions. Rehabilitation, not punishment is the by-word. Guidance centers, psychiatric help, part-time work experience and schooling is now available in many prisons. New approaches to education are used. The new approaches are orientated to outside adjustment in the community. "Half-way houses for youthful offenders are used." As you so well are aware, these are for pre-release prisoners and have a heavy emphasis of guidance orientation

It appears to me that your programs of training inmates are limited to in-prison activities as well as, in some states, to release type programs for outside on-the-job training or additional schooling.

I would like to review some of my impressions with you concerning methods and techniques providing meaningful and worthwhile programs to your inmates. Likewise, some of the following comments would be directed at teacher education personnel and what they might be able to do to prepare your staff personnel to work in the general area of trade and industrial education.

1) Are instruments used to assess prisoners vocational aspirations and their attitudes toward work in your prison?
A study by Gary Boyles (1967) had indicated that, of 175 inmates in a North Dakota prison, 35 percent of the inmates planned to get more education, and 52 percent planned to get a job, and 7 percent planned to work at home, and 6 percent had no definite plans after release. At least 20 inmates expressed an interest in each of the following specializations.

1. Heavy equipment operation and maintenance
2. Welding
3. Automotive mechanics
4. Auto body rebuilding
5. Farm management

6. Bricklaying
7. Carpentry
8. Farm equipment mechanics
9. Barbering

The concern here is that inmates be encouraged through proper guidance to prepare for occupations that are, or will be, in demand. Therefore, a close working relationship with state labor departments concerning labor trends should be of an extremely high priority. Vocational personnel at the state department level, as well as state teacher education personnel, should be of assistance in working with correctional institutions in curriculum and program development.

2) Large penal institutions offer large physical plant facilities. Does your institution make use of all the in-prison occupational experiences that are available? I am thinking of on-the-job training as it applies to many areas of trade and industrial education. I would like to list some that might be readily available. (Auto service trades; baking shop; barbering; boiler room operation; cabinet making; carpentry; cosmetology; culinary arts; dress making and design; electrical maintenance; food service; machine shop; maintenance mechanics; oil burner mechanics; painting and decorating; plumbing; printing; waiter/waitress training.) No doubt, knowing your institution as you do, many more on-the-job training situations might be available within your own institution. Do you make full use of the facilities and opportunities available within your institution? Teacher educators could help by providing college level programs for coordinators of occupational education who would be in a position to assist with the education in the on-the-job training taking place in the prison. Related instruction could be made available to the inmates involved in this on-the-job training. A second obvious step after in-prison training would be for prisoners to be released during the day and be employed in the local community, in occupations for which they received their training while in the confines of the prison.

3) As you so well are aware, President Johnson on September 10, 1965, signed the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1965, popularly known as the Work Release Law. (Gengler; 1967) Through this release law, prisoners are able to leave jail for work and then return home to jail in the evenings. As of November 13, 1965, at least 25 states had work release programs in effect. (Samuels; 1965) I did note in the May 8, 1968 edition of the New York Times that the New York State Assembly defeated 42-73 a measure that had been passed by the Senate on May 7th to allow certain prisoners to take outside jobs in preparation for a full return to society. Opponents

expressed fears that the program might be an invitation to further crime. (New York Times, May 8, 1968) It seems safe to say, therefore, that there must be some serious concern in that 25 states have release type programs and 25 states do not have programs of this type. Recent articles have noted the value of release type programs. The release type program seems to be a fine idea. In Santa Clara County, California, in the period of February 1957 to November 1965, 2,373 inmates earned \$1,212,780.35. This money earned by the prisoners was spent for the support of their families, to pay their fines, for room and board, and for personal expenses and for trust fund investments.

Have you made use of the knowledge of teacher educators and coordinators of work experience programs in the preparation of your staff personnel in working with a program of this nature? I feel that teacher educators would be more than willing to assist in the education of the coordinators that assist and work with the prisoners in a release program. We, as teacher educators, no doubt, would learn a great deal about the problems of prisoners and the difficulties associated with placing prisoners in part-time or full-time employment outside of the prison by having the opportunity to work with prison coordinators.

4) Here in Middlesex County, New Jersey, arrangements are made whereby prisoners in the local workhouse are able to attend special classes during the year in Middlesex County Vocational-Technical High Schools. Have you, in your local states, explored the possibility of making use of facilities in local high schools, technical institutes, and community colleges? I would assume that with some investigation and common planning, many state education departments and local directors of vocational education would be willing to work out cooperative arrangements whereby inmates would be allowed to attend special classes in local schools. This, in some smaller prisons, might be of value and be less expensive in the long run rather than having your own shop facility as well as a full-time teacher.

I think, as far as trade and industrial educators are concerned, you would find a fine spirit of cooperation that would exist in helping you with your problems dealing with training staff personnel

5) Would it be possible and reasonable to assume that many of your inmates might make good vocational teachers? Could some of your inmates take part in vocational teacher education programs with the idea of returning to the prison

as an instructor upon their release? Could they be employed throughout the country in various schools as teachers of our young people? This question might be worthy of further investigation.

In conclusion, I would like to say that I learned a great deal about correctional institutions, and feel that vocational teacher educators could help in a number of ways. At the same time, teacher educators would learn a great deal about the training programs in correctional institutions. Some of the implications for vocational teacher education, in my opinion, would be:

- a) Active involvement in the preparation of T&I instructors for penal institutions, could be included in regular college and university programs, or if a sufficient number are involved, special classes could be arranged.
- b) T&I teacher educators could assist as advisors for program planning and curriculum development within prison institutions.
- c) Preparation of release coordinators could be arranged, along with the normal preparation of secondary, work-study coordinators.
- d) If inmates could be released, and if state laws permit, the entrance of these inmates into local teacher education programs could be arranged.
- e) Teacher educators should become aware of the opportunities available in prisons, and make this information available to T&I students.
- f) Cooperation between vocational teacher educators and your staffs are essential. A sharing of ideas and interaction is essential. I hope that this National Seminar will help achieve this type of cooperation.

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TECHNICAL EDUCATION - Angelo C. Gillie*

Introduction

The title of this paper contains the word "disadvantaged" because individuals with criminal records can rightfully be considered to be in that group. There are two reasons for classifying them as disadvantaged persons: (1) It is safe to assume that many of them have originated from ethnic and social backgrounds that fall within the rubric of "disadvantaged Americans." In fact, many psychologists and sociologists would claim their early experiences have as much to do with their present dilemma as any other factor. (2) Regardless of whether the individual originated from a disadvantaged group to begin with or not, he certainly becomes a member of another disadvantaged group upon being arrested, convicted, and imprisoned. With their return to society, they become subjected to discrimination, particularly in the area of obtaining employment. Discrimination, as used in this paper, takes place in the hiring of an individual when a preference for not employing persons from a recognizable group

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(i. e., those with criminal records) influences decisions to hire that individual, regardless of the comparative economic productivity of this person. Since this person is subjected to various acts of discrimination, he can be considered a disadvantaged individual.

Certainly every person in this group is aware of the problems related to various discriminatory practices against individuals with criminal records. The fact is repeated here because it is an integral factor to be considered in the design of technical education programs for these persons.

Criteria for the design and conduct of technical programs:

The first step in the design of technical programs is to establish a working definition of "technical education." The traditional definition of the term emphasizes that technical education is of relatively high academic level (i. e., post-secondary) and that it necessarily is based upon a fairly rigorous foundation in mathematics and natural sciences. This writer feels that such a definition is obsolete and can only serve to hamper the design and development of modern and relevant technical programs. This approach to technical education results in student prerequisites that are very similar to those now required for entrance into the pre-professional programs offered by the public community-junior colleges. The result has been increased difficulty in recruiting people into the technical programs.

Let us look at technical education in terms of a more modern and meaningful definition: Technical education incorporates those programs which deal with the preparation of people for technology related work. It is important to notice that this definition has nothing to say about academic level or subject matter content. This frees us from much of the stultifying restraints imposed by considerations for academic level and subject matter content. The new definition stresses people as our starting point for program design, not jobs. Using our definition of technical education, we can now examine the criteria for the design and conduct of technical programs for the disadvantaged group of people being considered in this workshop.

Design and conduct of technical programs:

Technical programs for the disadvantaged should be designed in a manner which differs from the traditional methods. The following six steps are considered by this writer to be the most significant elements in the design and conduct of such programs:

1. Identification of Student Characteristics
 - (a) Academic
 - (b) Psychological
 - (c) Financial
2. Establishment of programs to match student characteristics in the three areas listed above. Some programs can begin in the institution, others can wait until the individual is returned to society.
3. Incorporation of work practicums in which the student receives pay and academic credit. Provision for privacy-so only the employer knows the status of the student.
4. Job placement after completion of program.
5. Provisions for retraining and further education.
6. Evaluation from beginning to end.

Technical programs can be in the following broad areas:

- A. Engineering related curriculums
- B. Health related curriculums
- C. Service related curriculums

Because of the present trends in which technological changes are taking place rapidly, it appears that broad based curriculums would be of longer lasting value for the students. Heavy specialization, requiring the use of a considerable amount of expensive equipment in school laboratories, should be avoided. The more specific aspects of each curriculum should take place as a work practicum-which becomes a joint endeavor between industry and the educational establishment. The work practicum, which should begin during the first semester of the program, should be carefully coordinated with an ever constant eye on work experiences that are conducive to student development. The work practicum coordinator would be in constant touch with each student and shall transfer a student from one work situation to another when it is deemed to be in the best interest of the student. In this way, it is entirely conceivable that certain students may be switched from one work practicum placement to another as often as several times each semester. Other important characteristics of the work practicum would include payment of the participants at the going wage rates and the awarding of academic credit for the practicum. The practicum should require fifteen

to twenty contact hours per week and can be awarded from four to five semester hours of academic credit.

A program which includes the proposals made in the preceding paragraphs is shown below. It is called "The General Technician" Curriculum, and has been designed for the disadvantaged.

(1) MACHINE SHOP PRACTICE

Operating instructions for the drill, lathe, bandsaw, grinder, and torch. Techniques for cutting various types of metal. The use of associated measuring instruments (such as the micrometer, caliper, scales). Use of the bending brake, sander, sheer. Ability to use both metric (cgs and mks) and English units. To know the precautions to be taken when using the machines listed above.

(2) SELECTED TOPICS IN CHEMISTRY

A general knowledge of acids, solvents and alkali bases. The major emphasis will be on precautions and techniques for handling these materials. Some analysis of Vapors. Use of analytical balances, microscopes.

(3) BASIC ELECTRICITY

A practical course on the fundamentals of direct current and alternating current. Some general transformer work (at least to distinguish between step-up and step-down transformers).

(4) BASIC ELECTRONICS

Heavy emphasis on the use of certain basic instruments, including: Oscilloscopes, Voltmeters, Ammeters, Ohmmeters, x-y recorders, Bridges (for circuit balancing), Frequency Meters (oscillators). Special attention given to spectrum analysis, including a good treatment of frequency and wavelength. Treatment of integrated circuits (what they are) and transistors (how they work). No work on amplifiers will be included.

(5) VACUUM TECHNOLOGY:

Knowledge on: How to operate the mechanical pump, diffusion pump, deposition (the process of evaporation of metals). Familiarity with the following types of heating: electron beam, resistance and inductive. Knowledge of cold traps, various sub-strates (such as ceramics, glasses). The reading and measurement of vacuums. Know how to measure deposits of metals.

(6) CRYOGENICS:

The characteristics of temperature. Fundamentals of heat flow down-hill. Knowledge of the temperature scales and conversions between them. Heavy emphasis on demonstration and laboratory performance-a practical approach throughout.

(7) MATHEMATICS:

Review of the fundamentals of arithmetic (addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, fractions, decimals, percentages). Introduction and review of general mathematics, simple linear equations, algebraic processes, the slide rule, elementary topics in geometry and trigonometry. Scientific notation will be stressed in conjunction with the use of the slide rule.

All topics in mathematics will be related to the technical subjects being taught at the same time or that will follow shortly. The related approach to mathematics, with heavy emphasis on practical applications, will be stressed.

(8) SELECTED TOPICS IN PHYSICS:

Units of measurement (including mks, cgs, fps frequency, wavelengths). Principles of current flow (from which will come the concepts of current flow in metals, solutions, and then semiconductors). The concepts of solids, liquids, and gases. Some practical theory on how the vacuum pump works. Some practical treatment of temperature measurements and the relationship between temperature and the behavior of certain materials. Some practical principles of magnetism and electromagnetism.

Light (ultra-violet and infra-red) principles. A few selected concepts on photosensitivity.

(9) TECHNICIAN WORK PRACTICUM

Work experience in business and industries. The practicum would be offered for the entire four semesters. Each student would be limited to not more than twenty contact work hours per week. They would be payed by the employer and be given academic credit for the experience. The major objective of the practicum would be to provide the student with a varied work experience over the two-year period (he would be assigned a new work practicum each semester). There would be no serious attempt to match work experiences with the curriculum.

(10) GENERAL EDUCATION:

A special designed sequence of interdisciplinary studies. Selected topics to be included are English (oral, written, listening); Social Sciences (history, sociology, psychology, anthropology, economics); Humanities, Fine Arts. These studies will be oriented around the topics relevant to the student of today.

VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE-Charles C Drawbaugh*

Institutional Farms and Gardens

Farming and gardening are not recent innovations but rather well established programs fostered by correctional institutions. Institutional farms served a dual role by providing a resource for rehabilitating men and by furnishing food for the inmates. Whether major emphasis was placed upon rehabilitation or upon the production of agricultural crops and livestock depended somewhat upon the background of the farm supervisor and the objectives established for the institutional program. Little is written in the literature about agricultural education being a systematic part of institutional farming programs.

A review of the articles published about correctional agriculture

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the past were ideal educational laboratories used only sparingly for the occupational education of inmates.

Agriculture Is More Than Farming

Farming is only one of the many agricultural occupations. Less than five percent of the population is engaged in farming. There are approximately seven million farmers and farm workers, while six million workers are supplying and servicing farmers, and another ten million workers are handling and processing farm produce. Off-farm agriculture provides jobs for more than twice the number of workers as does farming and ranching.

Until the Vocational Education Act of 1963, agricultural education at the high school level was limited to a program for preparing boys for establishment in farming. Presently, vocational education in agriculture in public schools continues to prepare boys for the business of farming, but it also prepares boys and girls for off-farm agricultural occupations as well.

What are the major instructional areas in agriculture, you may ask? Other than farming or agricultural production which was discussed, the major instructional areas include agricultural supplies, agricultural mechanics (sales and service), agricultural products (processing and marketing), ornamental horticulture, forestry, and agricultural resources. Each area may be a separate curriculum. The areas are organized on the basis of clusters of occupations requiring competence in specialized agricultural subject matter fields.

The broadened definition of agriculture has encouraged many vocational educators to make employment surveys and to establish programs in one or more fields in addition to or other than vocational education for agricultural production. Studies in twenty-six states (19), mostly completed in 1964-1965, show that agricultural supplies, agricultural products, and ornamental horticulture are the off-farm businesses and services that will employ the largest numbers of workers needing knowledge and skills in agriculture in the next five years.

Therefore, agricultural production or farming and gardening are not a panacea for the rehabilitation and occupational training of inmates at correctional institutions. Time required to train for proficiency in farming is extensive, cost of getting established in farming is high, wages earned by farm laborers are relatively low and need for farm workers has dwindled because of mechanization. These and other factors should cause administration to re-evaluate their institutional farm and garden programs. Training for entry or re-entry into the agricultural labor market must be realistic and thorough. Jobs must be available, they must be within the abilities of the individual, and they must afford a reasonable satisfaction and compensation.

reveals that many were written to extol production in terms of pounds of dressed meats, bushels of potatoes, and cases of canned vegetables; to report the annual gross farm income; and/or to praise the virtue of work as the approach to rehabilitation. It would appear from a limited review of the literature that the economic factor was given priority over rehabilitation and education in the farming programs of the correctional institutions throughout the Nation

The real products of the farm used as an educational laboratory are rehabilitated men trained for gainful employment in meaningful occupations with satisfactory monetary rewards. If rehabilitation and education are important, then production of crops and livestock are nothing more than by-products of the institutional farm. Farms used as learning laboratories should not be expected to maintain themselves and earn a profit for the institutions unless that profit includes rehabilitated men as well as food produced. It is difficult to put a monetary value on the usefulness of a rehabilitated man over a period of years, while it is relatively easy to estimate accurately the value of the annual harvest of potatoes, sweet corn, and green beans. Useful men returned to their home communities by correctional institutions can sell vocational training to an informed public. At the same time bountiful yields of crops and livestock will be unknown to the same public. Which emphasis should be nurtured and encouraged at correctional farms--men or the crops they produce?

Much has been written about prison gardens which provide a therapy for some and bring beauty to the institutional grounds. At the risk of sentimentality, I believe that to observe seed germinate, to study the mysteries of growing plants, and to "soak in" the beauty and fragrance of a garden of flowers particularly at the beginning or end of the day, causes one to ponder the relationship of man to God. Prison gardens, however, can provide more than therapy and beauty to the inmate. I firmly believe that prison gardens should serve as a resource for teaching men and women basic and advanced horticultural skills. The prison garden could be an ideal setting for changing attitudes and developing sound values. A true test of progress would be that point in time when beautification of the grounds is initiated by the inmates rather than from orders by a supervisor. The followup test would be the placement of gardeners and landscapers in meaningful jobs upon their release from the correctional institution.

Educational activities accompanying institutional farming and gardening, it would seem, have been limited severely by the lack of qualified and certified teachers, insufficient funds with which to purchase supplies and equipment for the classroom and laboratory, and less than satisfactory course materials and class time. Do these deficiencies exist at many institutions simply because education interfered with production and work? It would appear that farms and gardens of

Contributions Agricultural Education Can Make to Correctional Institutions

Instructors. Teachers are the most valuable resource agricultural education has to offer vocational education at correctional institutions. Teachers of agriculture have farm and agricultural backgrounds, hold baccalaureate and often advanced degrees, and they have acquired a wealth of teaching and human engineering skills and experiences. Over 10,000 teachers of agriculture are engaged in teaching youth, young farmers, and adults throughout the Nation. One teacher in four now teaches part-time in the new agricultural programs such as agricultural supply, agricultural mechanics, ornamental horticulture, or forestry, in addition to agricultural production and marketing.

The teacher is the most important element in a training program. Best results are likely to be achieved when competent, fully qualified and certified teachers are employed to preside over agricultural classrooms and laboratories. In addition to a sound vocational and professional preparation, it should be the aim of supervisory personnel at correctional institutions to select emotionally stable teachers possessed of good judgment and interested in the challenge of delinquent behavior. In any setting, but particularly in the correctional setting, the influence of a competent, wholesome teacher upon his students may be more important and have more lasting value than the knowledge and skills he imparts.

Teachers of agriculture are located in communities near most, if not all, correctional institutions in the United States. The resource is available and ready to be tapped. It is a matter for someone to clear lines of communications, begin the dialogue, introduce the need, and make a formal request for the services of agriculture teachers.

Teaching Materials. The many and varied kinds of teaching materials are another resource agricultural education has to offer vocational education at correctional institutions. Out of necessity, stacks of teaching materials for vocational education in agriculture have been "cranked out" during the past several years. Off-farm agricultural occupations course outlines, modules, lesson plans, programmed materials, and transparencies were produced quickly at a time when expansion of the total program demanded them. The teaching materials, useful for initiating new programs and for updating ongoing programs, differed as much as the individuals who prepared them. Some were concerned with instructional levels, others with occupational objectives, and still others with just the reorganization of subject matter.

Teaching materials prepared for vocational agriculture in public schools at various levels for different age groups may or may not meet the total needs of instructors at correctional institutions. Manifestly, those materials are best which prepare for specific teaching

situations. It is suggested here that teaching materials written and prepared for specific educational institutions and conditions must be carefully evaluated if they are intended for use in an institution of another kind. Only those teaching materials which contribute most efficiently and effectively to the course of study and the occupational objectives of the students and program should be used.

Agricultural teaching materials are available from state departments of education, Land Grant colleges and universities, and elsewhere. The Eric Clearinghouse located in The Center for Vocational and Technical Education at The Ohio State University publishes Abstracts of Instructional Materials in Vocational and Technical Education (6), a quarterly publication informing educators about new teaching materials. The American Vocational Association (15) publishes annually a listing of teaching resources specifically for agricultural education. Then, too, agricultural businesses and industries, United States Department of Agriculture, and agricultural societies and organizations make many kinds of teaching materials available just for the asking.

Laboratory Plans and Equipment Lists. Farms and gardens at correctional institutions, invaluable laboratory resources for agricultural educators, are not adequate in themselves for preparing inmates for off-farm agricultural occupations. Commercial-sized greenhouses, ornamental nurseries, and agricultural mechanics shops are examples of additional laboratory facilities believed necessary to support specialized occupational education in agriculture. In certain geographical areas, educational facilities which include real or simulated garden centers, roadside markets, floral shops, and agricultural supply stores can be used to advantage in preparing inmates for agricultural sales and service occupations.

The laboratory is a highly desirable facility for teaching occupational education. The laboratory should be managed and operated similar to that of its counterpart in the business world. And, too, each laboratory should be furnished with modern machinery and equipment regardless of the excess manpower readily available at the institution. The idea of a well-managed, modern-equipped laboratory is to lessen the amount of application or transfer of learning required in making the transition from class to the job and, thereby, increasing chances for success on the new job.

While suitable locations for vocational laboratories may pose problems relative to security at correctional institutions, specifications for laboratories should be similar to those used by public school teachers. Plans and specifications have been prepared, revised, and refined by agricultural educators for the various kinds of laboratories mentioned previously. Concurrently, lists of machinery, equipment, and tools were prepared for use in the different kinds of laboratories, and in some instances, the items on the lists were ranked in order of importance for

teaching and learning. Plans and specifications for educational laboratories; lists of machinery, equipment and tools to furnish and operate them; and related research findings justifying them are all available upon request to personnel of correctional institutions.

Summary

In summary:

1. It would appear that farming and gardening, firmly established at many correctional institutions, are utilized primarily for the production of food, beautification of institutional grounds, and for providing inmates with a kind of therapy. Updating inmates in and re-tooling them for occupations in farming and other agricultural occupations are of secondary concern.

2. Inmates should be prepared for occupations which list numerous job openings, provide a reasonable compensation, and require skills and abilities the workers are capable of performing. Agricultural supplies, agricultural products, and ornamental horticulture are the off-farm businesses and services which will employ the largest number of workers in agriculture in the immediate future.

3. The 10,000 teachers of agriculture are the most valuable resource agricultural education has to offer vocational education in agriculture at correctional institutions.

4. Agricultural educators have prepared many kinds of teaching materials written at several levels. The teaching materials are available to the correctional institutions at little or no costs. To be most effective, however, they should be adapted to the situational particulars of the institution at which they are used.

5. Farms and gardens, invaluable laboratory resources, need to be supplemented with additional laboratories for preparing inmates for off-farm agricultural occupations. Plans and specifications for greenhouses, nurseries, agricultural mechanics shops, garden centers, roadside markets, and other kinds of educational laboratories are available with lists of machinery, equipment, and tools to make them functional.

Personnel at correctional institutions and agricultural educators are destined to form closer professional associations. This Seminar may be evidence of the acceleration of that trend.

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HOME ECONOMICS-Cora Foltz*

Home Economics offers many and varied opportunities in vocational training for boys and girls in correctional institutions. Although a few areas may be less possible for some persons depending upon the offenses for which they were committed to the institution, I feel that it would be unfair and unwise not to include the widest possible gamut of vocational possibilities that with careful supervision may appeal to the varied interests and capabilities of an assorted group of people.

Let me enumerate the clusters of diversified Home Economics occupations around which occupational programs may be organized. The knowledge and skills of Home Economics service specializations can be grouped in the following major areas: food services; clothing and textile services and production; dry cleaning and laundry services; health, welfare, and child care services; and specialized family services.

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I would like to stress the job opportunities that exist for young men in these fields. In the food industry some entry level jobs and those that require advancement through entry level occupations as well as positions that require special vocational training include a waiter, cook, cook's helper, short order cook, busboy, food checker, dish washer, baker, baker's helper, counterman, grocery clerk, stock boy, weigher, cake decorator, caterer, kitchen steward, pastry chef, apprentice meat cutter, to name a few. The female counterpart of many of these jobs could provide work for girls with interests and aptitude in this area, and, in addition, they might fill the position of cook in a private home, hostess, demonstrator, sandwich or salad girl, etc. Quite obviously, many of these jobs would require a joint effort of teachers from different disciplines.

If you think for a few moments of outlets for employees such as these the list would be quite lengthy and would include restaurants, private homes, drive-ins, diners, hotels, motel hotels, resorts, nursing homes, hospitals, industrial plants, vending services, caterers, delicatessens, retail grocery stores, department store restaurants, and so forth and so forth.

Institutions and industries are in need of good custodial and hospitality service. Some of these positions for which our discipline could provide training, would be housekeeper, housekeeping aides, room clerk, houseman, gift shop operator or sales person, maid, etc., in addition to the food handling jobs I mentioned previously.

Young people with the interest and aptitude in working with clothing or textiles or the making of cloth items could be trained for an array of positions in factories, department stores, clothing stores, private homes, cleaning and dyeing shops, and the theatre. Some of these jobs require varying degrees of skill and knowledge and would necessitate some training in other disciplines. They would include the clothing maintenance specialist, dressmaker, sewing machine operator, upholsterer, hand sewer, hand presser, work distributor, women's garment salesperson, yard goods salesperson, personal laundry service, seamstress, tailor, costumer, wardrobe attendant, wardrobe mistress, hat designer, hat maker, hat trimmer, laboratory tester (textiles), hand weaver, demonstrator of sewing equipment. Many of these jobs may seem remote, others may suggest possibilities according to your situation.

Positions particularly for young men are available in dry cleaning and laundry services in community establishments, hotels, motels, hospitals, nursing homes and other institutions. These positions entail three levels of skill from entry or lower level through upper level positions which require technical training. There are many specialized "production-line" type of jobs which we may not like but do exist and offer many opportunities for variations of skills and intelligence. Some of these jobs are net sorter, checker, sorter, pricer, box maker, box

tier, driver, counter service starcher, silk finisher, wool presser, spot cleaner, rug dyer, hand laundryman, tailor, inspector, weigher, pin distributor, hand presser, laundress (knit goods), launderette attendant, furniture cleaner, etc.

For the person with abilities and interests in home furnishings and decorating there are possibilities for employment in retail and decorator shops, department stores, furniture and equipment stores and with realtor companies. Many of these positions are distributive in nature but definitely make use of Home Economics knowledge and skill. Some of these jobs would be selling furniture, floor covering, china and glassware, curtains and draperies, window display work, florist's assistant and realtor's aide to mention a few.

There are some opportunities for employment of young people in the areas of health, welfare and child care services, but they usually require careful supervision. These jobs would include the nursery school aide, playground assistant, assistant in children's library room, or children's hospital ward, day care center, nursing home aide, assisting handicapped children, nurse's aide and orderly.

Many of the positions that I have mentioned would readily lend themselves to an occupational "mix" which would call for a joint contribution of Home Economics instruction and other professional, business or industrial training

Perhaps the greatest advantage of training for many of these occupations is that they require little, if any, special type equipment for instruction. I would think that the average need for clothing repair and alteration in an institution could provide enough experience for learning this trade. An idea that has been used for training in alterations and repair has been to conduct a clinic, either simulated or actual type business within a school. Dressmaking could also be learned in this way. I am sure that there would also be a need for upholstery work as well as the making of draperies, slip covers, and curtains

To provide training for housekeeping aides and custodial-type jobs, a training plan of practical experiences in the principles of efficient housekeeping, working with equipment and household supplies, laundering, linen repair, equipment care and safety could be taught with the normal routine activities along these lines.

Similarly, many of the food service occupations that I have mentioned might be taught in the kitchen, cafeteria or dining hall of the institution. Or, if the interest prevails in the line of baking and funds are available, a small bake shop could be operated.

I have found resource people from the area to be very generous and cooperative in instructing and demonstrating such things as cake decorating, corsage making, gift wrapping, etc. The woman who did the gift wrapping told the students how she started a tremendous business with this skill and she was eager to pass on this enthusiasm to others.

You must experiment to find the most effective training techniques; for instance, I tried several ways to teach how to apply for a job. The most effective lesson to date was a discussion led by a lady from the State Employment Office. She had a wealth of real life experience, humorous and sad and she stimulated their interest much more than the previous efforts.

IMPLICATIONS FOR AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

Richard L Bruner*

I've been wrestling in the last few weeks about what I could say to a group of people who have been listening to problems regarding vocational training in institutions. What new do I have to offer, if anything. I thought back to my earlier experiences in institutional work in New Jersey and back to certain impressions I had originally when I first came into this business. I would like to share them with you because I think they may set the tone of the kind of remarks that will follow.

I was in Bordentown Reformatory Farms back in 1960-1961. Bordentown has a large dairy farm with well over a hundred milking cows. I used to go out to the dairy farm once in a while to see what was going on. I discovered that there were quite a few inmates working out there at everyone of my visits; maybe fifty or so. Most of these were Negro youngsters from the Newark area, our largest and most highly industrialized city. Some of them were from Camden, another large New Jersey city just across the river from Philadelphia and also industrial. Most of these boys had never seen a cow up this close before. I came to the conclusion that since we regularly sent these youngsters out to work on the dairy that there must be somewhere in the Newark area and Camden area some very large dairy farm. To date I have not been able to find one in either city!

But we are training inmates in how to take care of cows, how to milk cows, how to clean cows, how to clean up after cows. Then we send them back to Newark, Trenton, Camden, where they will never again see a cow up that close unless they get locked up again.

That's one man's observation. I'm sure you have the message. Another observation: We have something that is officially called "state-use industries" in New Jersey. This means that inmates can work at certain trades in some of our institutions producing various goods, (no services), but only those goods which can be purchased by state, county, and municipal officials. Various kinds of things are produced by prison labor, which may range from clothing to various kinds of metal objects such as milking cans, foot lockers, etc. Some of these are purchased by the other state institutions.

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Our prisons have a monopoly in one area, we make the only automotive license plates in the state of New Jersey. I, at first, came to the conclusion that we should be training these inmates for competitive jobs in the state because we train an awful lot of license plate makers every year. I mean it is amazing how many license plate makers we train. They go out thinking there is a big market for license plate makers somewhere in New Jersey. Maybe they commit offenses in other states and get locked up, then they get hired to make license plates in the other state, I don't know.

It's funny but it's also sad because there are only two examples of what we do in many other states, as well as in New Jersey. I know that we are not the one state guilty of training people in, what I consider, useless skills which they cannot really transfer over into the community when released. We all do a lot of this and I think it is finally beginning to dawn on us that we're doing much, far too much, of it. The old fiction of teaching people a habit of work is a rationalization. We use the "habit of work" excuse and pay them twenty-five cents a day. This somehow is supposed to help our youngsters when they return to the community.

I have some very serious questions, and so do some other people, as to whether or not we are really doing vocational training when we do these things. I don't think we are. Let me state that, generally, I define vocational training basically as having to include the following: a trained instructor (not an inmate instructor), and classroom instruction correlated with on-the-job instruction. That's what I am talking about when I talk about real vocational training. I'm not talking about on-the-job training, I'm talking about incidental learning or incidental training when I discuss vocational training for the rest of this morning. This is what I am referring to: Classroom, correlated with real shop or work experience with a trained certified instructor. I'd like to do two things, first explain to you where our training stands in the state of New Jersey; not so much to tell you how wonderfully we are doing, because I already told you that we are not. Secondly, I would like to tell you how we in the central office are devising ways to move some of our monolithic institutions. Shake them away from dead center and get them thinking about establishing real vocational training. One can go to the superintendent of an institution and say, "You will have vocational training," and walk away. A year later he doesn't have anymore than he has now. This technique just doesn't work. For example, one of our institutions was given a small, modest federal grant to do some basic literacy training for adults. Now I'm not talking about our training schools here but one of our prisons. It was a modest amount of money. It enabled us to hire a teacher or two, equipment and supplies, so that we could plan for literacy training. This institution assigned a staff member to take care of the problem. Inmates were assigned to the class. A couple of weeks ago I heard the federal government is going to withdraw the funds. Why? Well while all inmates are assigned, they are not given any administrative priority in these programs. Any time there is a vacancy out in a dairy or the prison needs a milker or

needs to move a man to another shop, an inmate-student gets yanked out of the program and put into some other assignment. This is a low priority program, in fact, it is a "no-priority" program. None of these men stay in the class long enough to learn anything. The federal government says what's the point of having these men cycle in and out. This is how you effectively kill programs and I just saw a couple of people shaking their heads, so I'm sure we are familiar with this kind of problem.

But let me get around to some of the things that inmates face when they leave New Jersey. I have to talk about the New Jersey experience because this is what I am most familiar with. When an inmate leaves an institution in New Jersey, he is given \$25 gate money. Twenty-five dollars gate money was approved by the legislature in February of 1918. It's still \$25. It came up before the state legislature this past week to raise it to \$50; but was turned down. We've been trying for years to raise it. So the prisoner goes out with \$25, unless he has managed to save more. He is given a clean set of civilian clothes that was probably made in one of these state-use industries. In our prison system, one out of three parolees from the prison system does not go back to a family situation, he is on his own.

Now what happens when the inmate gets out into the community and begins to look for a job? What has been happening in the past and also what has been happening since we have been trying some new things in the community and the institutions?

Let me give you some of the limitations facing an inmate getting paroled in this state. Let's say that he has a history of alcoholism or narcotics addiction and has somewhere along the line been arrested for driving under the influence of alcohol. Well, he may not get his license back for two years. His driver's license can be held for two years and it still doesn't have to be returned then. I found out the other day that if you have been arrested for driving under the influence of drugs in New Jersey you lose your license for ten years. Ten years, and even then, it can only be returned to you upon the discretion of the Director of the Division of Motor Vehicles. Obviously, in a state that is as mobile as this one, where most people drive to work, or drive at work, it would effectively cut out a whole range of job possibilities for any of these people who were so adjudicated with this kind of history. There are all kinds of limitations such as this. There are licensing sanctions and you cannot become, or you have a very, very difficult time becoming the following if you have a criminal record in New Jersey: a barber, a beautician, a dental hygienist, an embalmer, a funeral director, a physical therapist, a practical nurse. These are just to name a few as there are licensing boards for many others too. The reason this takes place here is all these are licensed professions for vocations in New Jersey and every one of them has set a very rigid licensing criteria. Almost routinely, you'll see that if you have a history of being incarcerated, it's very difficult or you're out altogether. You cannot be routinely turned

down for a state civil service job just because you have a prior record. I should say you cannot be turned down categorically. However, many times they are turned down. There is no question that civil service in this state makes very little effort to think about the employment of parolees. I don't mean in the correctional system because that creates problems, but there are many, many others. In fact, one of the odd things about it is that we have somewhere between five hundred and seven hundred inmates working with inmates in state institutions that are not correctional. This is a very interesting thing. We have about one hundred inmates working in a regional laundry. This is a laundry that services the entire department of institutions and agencies. These men get thirty-five cents a day. We have sixty men who work at a colony for the retarded down in southern New Jersey. They, plus five civilian food supervisors run the entire food service operation for the institution of twelve hundred severely retarded males whose ages are from five years old to eighty-five. These inmates also make thirty-five cents a day; they work on the institution grounds; they live on the institution grounds; and we even have been able to get a couple of them hired in civilian jobs once paroled. But, here they are, working for the state in a sense, in other institutions at thirty-five cents a day. Its perfectly okay under those conditions, but parole them and try to re-hire them and it is extremely difficult. The percentage of re-hiring is, I'm sure, under one percent. There are various roadblocks which are not only inside the institutions but in the communities. Again, I imagine other states have all these nice little stumbling blocks placed here and there. So sometimes when an inmate says, "You know, I really can't get a decent job out there. I can get a job, but not a good job," maybe he's telling us the truth.

Let's, for instance, take an inmate who might be released today. What else does he have up against him? Right now, he's competing with all the kids out of college and high school. In May of 1968 the unemployment rate in New Jersey was down to 3.5 percent for all workers and to 6.4 percent for non-white workers, which were the lowest figures since 1958. This is going to make it pretty tough for the parolee coming out this summer. He has to go up against all the young kids coming out of high school and college plus the lowest unemployment rate for a decade and that's rough. As yet, we don't have any devices to enable him to get into that market.

Perhaps I ought to give you a little advice about some of the very basic characteristics about inmates which we have in our institutions. I think this is important. You already know, we have about five thousand as of May 31 this year. It was 5,148 plus 400 women. Sixty percent of all our inmates are Negro. Forty percent are white. In the state of New Jersey, 12 percent of our population is Negro, 88 percent is white. So, obviously, again a disparity. The average reading level of our inmates is somewhere around the sixth grade average. That means fifty percent of our inmates are reading below the sixth grade because averages only tell you where half of them are. Fifty percent are below the sixth grade. I estimate that in the state prisons today, fifteen to twenty percent of these inmates are illiterate or

functionally illiterate; that is, they're somewhere around 2.0 reading level. I'm sorry to say we don't have any basic data for overall testing isn't done. If you are talking about vocational training, how are you going to train these people? They can't read!

A few months ago when Martin Luther King was shot, we had some riots in Trenton, our state capital. A group, under the direction of the Mayor and some other interested people in the community, got together and found, or created, a list of 100 real positions in their companies. These weren't "make work" jobs. They were real jobs, real vacancies, that did not require very much in the way of skills, but some basic skills they felt that would support the trade. These positions were going to be held exclusively for Negro males from Trenton, which is over fifty percent Negro. These men were found by local community agents, such as ministers, priests, and social workers in the community. It was discovered that when they brought them together to fill out applications, well over three-quarters of these men could not fill out an application. I'm not talking about inmates, I'm talking about males in the community. They couldn't fill out simple application forms! This was a shock to the local industrial community. They asked how can we begin to train these to work? If I want to have this man as a stock clerk, he can't read nor can he fill out an invoice. If I want to employ a truck driver, he has forms that must be filled out. But he can't read! He can't write! How's he going to know how to check in a shipment?

We are willing to teach them something about the job, but we can't teach them reading or writing. And yet, we regularly parole illiterate inmates every three months, right out of prison. I'm not even talking about vocational training but about basic instruction. I believe it is very much related to vocational training for I don't see how you can divorce the two. This is crucial and I think the government sponsored programs like MDTA have recognized the need and have built in some basic training. But this is a problem that we must solve in all of our programs.

Let's list some of the other characteristics of the prison population. The majority of our inmates are non-white. Three-quarters of them were first committed at less than nineteen years of age. Eighty-five percent of all our inmates are less than 25 years old. And, I don't think that this is so different any place else. Again, a very striking fact, when you think about it, is you're not dealing with middle-aged men. We are dealing with young people who have some real needs. I think that some of these must be faced and met. As you all know, the great majority, well over 95 percent, will return to the community. Many of them within three to four years of their incarceration; and, many of them less than that. In the reformatory complex, it is probably around fifteen months; in the prison, it's around thirty months average stay; in training schools, it's around eight months.

So although we have a smaller population, remember we are turning them out quicker. The turn-over rate is higher. What do we have? We have non-white, under-trained, under-educated people, young people, from large industrial cities. This is our problem group. This is what we find in most states.

Our Trenton prison has about 1300 inmates. It has a dubious distinction of being the oldest operating prison in the United State. The New Jersey State Prison is somewhere around 150-160 years old. There are some buildings still being used which are actually that old. Every couple of years the legislature gets all excited about the prisons. They have a commission go out and say, "Oh, it's terrible, it's awful. My God, we ought to close that place down! How come you people are running this old, antiquated prison?" Well, we estimate that it would cost about \$25 million to replace, to build 1300 beds. All of you saw Yardville this week. There were 896 beds, right? Did anyone tell you the cost? Fifteen million. A little simple division will indicate to you that per bed it costs somewhere between 15 and 20 thousand to put an inmate there-just the bed. Now you want to build one for thirteen hundred people? Twenty-five million! The question then is where do we want to spend our money, in a prison or someplace else! I don't know that other states are that different. I'm not talking about the administration, I'm just talking about the physical plant which can determine your program. The architecture can determine your program. The physical plant can determine our program. It's something to think about.

I'd like to talk to you now a little bit about some of the things that we are doing with inmates. We have a labor force, if you subtract inmates in reception, medical and other regions, of some thing like forty-five hundred inmates in our institutions. Most of them, twenty-eight hundred of them, are in institutional maintenance work. They work in food service, laundry, building and ground maintenance, paint shops, garages, storerooms and general housekeeping and whatever other things you have around like this. About nine hundred of them work in our state-use industries, they making clothing, license plates, metal and wood furniture, they make shelving and represent a variety of trades. There is no word or device that we use to fit inmates into these vocational, not vocational training areas, but just vocational areas that exist. We don't do this in any systematic way. When a man comes up before classification and we're short ten people in the kitchen, well, the fact that he may be experienced as a plumber or a plumber's helper or an electrician, may really not make any difference-that week he goes to the kitchen. The fact that he may hate kitchen work because his mother is a waitress, again seems to be irrelevant. He goes in. We don't have objective methods. I should say we don't use them for they do exist. We can place these inmates into appropriate kinds of programs through which they can get on-the-job experience. But, don't do this in any rational way, we just put them where we just happen to have needs, without any real

attempt to evaluate other than basic IQ and ability to read and write. But, other than that, there is no vocational testing, interest testing, abilities testing, etc.

One of the people I was talking to about this the other day said, "We pay inmates very little on the average, thirty cents for a day of their work. When we do this, maybe we're giving him a very negative perception of that job area. Maybe there are some real values, maybe there is a potential here, but we're only paying this kid or youngster thirty-five cents a day or thirty cents a day to do woodworking or to do plumbing." And he said, "I wonder whether or not this really sours the kid on the particular area because the regard he is getting for his work is so very little."

Now, although he may know that outside there are possibilities for earning more money than that, nevertheless, his experience is that he earns a very small amount of money. I think we all realize the fact that a certain percentage of our inmate population is needed to provide service and maintenance work in the institution. We may question whether or not we need to utilize this many. Maybe we can say let's just drop out 20 percent and key them into vocational training programs. Could we do this and still maintain the institutional operation? I suggest we can because very often inmates are over-assigned and you'll find that they put in an hour of work in the morning and an hour of work in the afternoon and the rest of the time they sit around. And, very often, a work assignment is made merely to get the man out of his wing or out of his cell and into some place else where we can watch him: not necessarily to watch him work but just watch him. So there are some real possibilities for taking 20 percent, or even 25 percent, of this available work force in any state and say, okay, we're going to train X percent of the people.

Now, I think these are some of the questions. Let me raise a few more. One of the problems that we don't have answers for, are which of the inmates need vocational training? It's not necessarily true that all inmates need vocational training! Some of them don't and some of them shouldn't have it. Which ones need it? And what kind of training should they get? We don't know this. This is just one of the problems that we have.

A few of our institutions do have vocational training programs. Most of these are sponsored by federal monies. Clinton Reformatory has some MDTA programs for its women in hospital service functions and food service functions; the Annadale Reformatory has them in a number of trade areas. We have a very good distributive education program in our State Home for Boys at Jamesburg, but it's only for ten boys. These boys learn how to work in supermarkets. They actually go out during the day for on-the-job training. But, again, one of the problems here is that it's only a very, very small program. Some of them

have actually been hired once released from the institution.

We have enormous resistance within our own prison system, when it comes to establishing vocational training programs. We hear that we don't have space, we don't have facilities, we don't have this, we don't have that! How do we get off the ground?

I would like to take a side issue for a moment. How do we get institutions off the ground to begin thinking about vocational training? What do we do? You just tell the superintendent this is what we want and this is the direction that correction seems to be taking. We have established a system of what we call administrative standards. We publish standards for which my Bureau is responsible in various areas. We are in the process of promulgating standards in the area of vocational training this week. These standards will be sent to all institutions, to all superintendents, and will indicate to him the basic responsibilities that he has to establish programs in vocational training. Here is a copy of the kind of document that we are talking about. This written document is going out over the signature of the Director of the Division of Correction and Parole to the superintendent of all the state correction institutions. These are the basic requirements.

Basically, let me summarize. We are requiring that a diversity of courses be established. That they be taught by instructors holding certain kinds of certificates, that they be aimed at skills for which are possibilities for future employment; we've included criteria be established for selecting trainees. We require that there be both shop and classroom instruction; that there be definitions of the expected outcome; that there is co-ordination between the department of education and institution for a school program in the institution with outside agencies assistance. The report required the chief executive office to submit a program by a certain date to us in the central office. We will have them returned on or about December 1, because we tried this in other areas. This report will be evaluated by education specialists and our central office staff. This is merely a method. Obviously, here the Director of the Division is stating very clearly he wants vocational training. It's the top man, the superintendent can even take refuge in the fact that if his staff doesn't like it, he can say, "Well, my boss wants it, fellows, so here it is. It's not just me, the superintendent or the director of education, or me, the supervisor of vocational instruction. The top man wants this, and here it is."

I'd like to just summarize quickly some of the kinds of things we need to see in the community.

For example, we might have the Division of Employment Security making available in each institution an employment counselor, to council inmates prior to parole, in job development, in job placement, perhaps we can even begin to take inmates out for job interviews before they are paroled. This is done in other jurisdictions, New York City does it.

Perhaps this is what we have to do. We have to breakdown that barrier between the one day you're in the institution and the next day you're out. The Rehabilitation Commission has come into some of our institutions and is providing special job training, special psychological and vocational evaluations so that this inmate is better prepared. So, some of the community agencies, which traditionally have been community based, are moving into our institutions and establishing field people inside the institutions rather than waiting for that inmate to be released to the community. I think this is a very desirable kind of development and it breaks down this barrier that the inmate walks into an employment agency, the state employment service and he doesn't know anybody. Now he does know somebody; he knows that agent who has been in his institution and working with.

You have, I think, another development that we'd like to see. It's up before our legislature this week. It is work relief. Some states have it, some don't. I think it is basically desirable, if for no other reason than you breakdown the barrier between the institution and the community. The inmate is placed out there in the community and then you can put him in a county jail for work release in or near the community where he is going to be released. And you begin to get some of the kind of training that you need, some of the on-the-job experience, because I think there is a real problem in this transition period between the institution and the community. I think there needs to be some real work done on breaking down that barrier and breaking down that wall prior to release to reduce the shock value. We are beginning to get the concept that community agencies place themselves in the institutions by virtue of placing field workers in the institutions. Only then does it create some of the beginnings of this kind of contact.

I don't think we can return to the kind of earlier solutions that we've used in this business, nor do I think we can continue to train people in the habit of work, so to speak, and fool ourselves that by training a kid how to milk a cow that somehow he is going to be a better worker in the community. I think these kinds of solutions should be seen for what they are: it provides the state with cheap labor. If we see it for what it is, fine, but I don't think we are training inmates for anything useful, real, rational, and reasonable when we do this. These inmates know we aren't, they are simply cheap labor. As long as we call it cheap labor, then we are being honest. I think if we call it something else, then we are fooling ourselves. I also think that we have to use these mechanisms, some of the theory mechanisms, to aid the offender in his re-entry into the community. He has a re-entry problem. Just like a rocket has a re-entry problem, from space into our atmosphere, an inmate has a re-entry problem into the community. And I think these bridges and these transitions that we're making may make a difference by developing real training programs in the institutions and real ways of hooking the inmate into these programs into the community.

SUMMARY

The Seminar was scheduled in such a way as to provide for maximum individual activity by each participant. Each formal presentation was followed by a period during which everyone had an opportunity to discuss the presentation with the scheduled speaker. The participants then reported to their assigned groups, of which there were five. Each group (1 through 5) then discussed the presentation under the direction of one of its own members serving as group leader and another serving as reporter. Following each day's program, one half hour was given to a critique by all participants in the Seminar in general session. A report from each group was presented orally for discussion and then the written report was filed with the Director.

On the last day of the Seminar, each participant submitted a step-by-step plan for disseminating the information gained and implementing plans for the future. In this way it was hoped that each participant would pass the benefits on to others with whom he had contact or influence. The following is a quote from just one of the many letters received from the participants.

"Since July 10, I have had four meetings with groups interested in Vocational-Technical Education, and the results have been nothing short of fantastic. After the first meeting, other parties were calling asking to be included in subsequent meetings. As a result, September 15 is the target date for opening three new vocational programs at this institution. These programs will be administered by _____ College. A dark horse prior to these meetings."

Even at this early date, the multiplier effect is evidenced by reports from a large number of the participants and it is regretted that space does not permit excerpts from each in this report. It is planned that the final report will include a section giving a broader picture of the results of the Seminar.

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