DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 052 272 UD 011 637

TITLE	Analysis and Interpretation of ABE Experience in the Inner City: Toward a Theory of Practice in the Public Schools. Annual Report, May 1969 - June 1970.
INSTITUTION	Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y. Center for Adult Education.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	[71]
GRANT	OEG-0-9-422163-441(324)
NOTE	207p.
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.65 HC-$9.87
DESCRIPTORS	*Adult Basic Education, Adult Programs, Classroom Research, Counseling Programs, *Educational Practice, Educational Research, Field Studies, *Inner City, Interaction Process Analysis, *Program Evaluation, Research Methodology, Student Attitudes, Teacher Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS	Adult Education Act Of 1966, *Project Adult Basic Education

ABSTRACT

The project here reported was conceived as a two-year effort involving analysis, interpretation, and dissemination. Its first year was funded to permit comprehensive, in-depth, comparative study of selected public school Adult Basic Education (ABE) programs in six metropolitan areas. The purpose was to utilize field research methods to construct a dependable normative description of the multifaceted reality of urban ABE. From the study of commonalities, it was proposed to construct an analytical framework of operationally relevant generalizations so that these programs may be better understood and predictions more reliably made about their development. The study was designed to go beyond a pro forma catalog of data about each city's program to analyze qualitative processes over time, particularly classroom interaction and the perspectives of students and teachers relevant to motivations, and perceptions of students and teachers of the program, each other, and their involvement in ABE. To do this, it was proposed to use interview and participant observation methods in a comparative analytical study designed to produce the beginnings of an inductive theory of practice of urban ABE in the public schools. Beyond description, the study was to be a practical analysis of existing practice. (Author/JM)

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF ABE EXPERIENCE IN THE INNER CITY: TOWARD A THEORY OF PRACTICE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

OEG 0-9-422163-441(324)

ANNUAL REPORT
May 1969 - June 1970

The work presented herein was performed pursuant to a grant from the U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare. However, the opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the U.S. Office of Education, and no official endorsement by the U.S. Office of Education should be inferred.

Center for Adult Education
Teachers College
Columbia University
New York, New York 10027

ABE PROJECT
Center for Adult Education
Teachers College, Columbia Universtiy
May 1969 - June 1970

PROJECT STAFF

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY - HEADQUARTERS STAFF

Project Director	Jack D. Mezirow
Associate Director	Alan B. Knox
Assistant Director	Gordon G. Darkenwald, Jr.
Administrative Assistant	Rita Breitbart
Program Coordinator	Walter E. Sindlinger
Research Associate	Richard Videbeck
Participant Observers	Jay Samuel Jordan
	Bart Landry
	Pablo Navarro
	Charles Spears
	Robert Young
Research Assistants	Marcelle Habibion
	William Heck
	William S. Hoff, Jr.
	Alice Jacobson
	William S. James
	Eric B. Karlen
	Hong-Woo Lee
	Betty Rosen
	Ted Stock

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Supervising Sociologist	Anselm Strauss
Participant Observers	Gregory Abbott
	John Henry
	James Ishida
	Frances Katsuranis

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Supervising Sociologist	Eugene Litwak
Participant Observers	Robert A. Brown
	Bernard McLendon
	Willerfred Wilson

NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY

Supervising Sociologist	Blanche Geer
Participant Observers	Gerdes Fleurant Ann Sullivan

CONSULTANTS

Winthrop Adkins, Columbia University
Berenice Fisher, University of Wisconsin
Barney Glaser, University of California
Thomas Leemon, Columbia University
Leonard Schatzman, University of California

PROJECT EVALUATION SPECIALIST

Lee Rainwater, Harvard University

Analysis and Interpretation of ABE Experience in the Inner City: Toward a Theory of Practice in the Public Schools

ANNUAL REPORT
May, 1969-June, 1970

Contents

I. PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT AND METHODOLOGY

The Problem

Recent concern for creatively adapting educational programs to the unique needs of the urban poor has produced a variety of program efforts, often amid emotionally charged circumstances, with spotty, poorly documented results. Inner city demands for new and more relevant "quality" education have provocative implications for change in organization, form, content, methods and style of adult education. Planners and administrators responsible for developing and evaluating urban adult basic education in public schools have had to respond to community demands and opportunities afforded by the Adult Education Act of 1966 with little benefit from professional sources outside of their own immediate experience. Policy, research, program evaluation and professional education and training have not been systematically adapted to serve inner city target groups, particularly in illuminating critical operational issues and providing a sound basis for planned development.

Professionals concerned with making ABE work have been handicapped by the absence of a dependable picture of prevailing practice in urban areas within which to identify common practices and problems. Analysis of this many dimensional picture to identify the most important commonalities would permit the formulation of a set of operating-level generalizations with which to construct a reliable frame of reference for decision making. Against such a

frame of reference policy issues, major common problems and innovative practices could be identified, priorities for research and demonstration effort assigned, staff development needs clarified and benchmarks for program evaluation established.

To set out to systematically capture the complex and changing reality of urban ABE programs requires an effort almost unprecedented in the field of education. Not only would comparative data have to be secured from many cities about program structure and operation, but means devised to understand evolving processes of interaction among students, staff and administrators which explain the ways of program practice. And for this social and educational interaction to be intelligible, an exacting effort would be required to see the program and those relating to each other in it through their own eyes. Only then may priorities for planned change be charted with confidence.

To be useful to decision makers. generalizations made from this body of data should enable adult educators to better understand and predict the behavior of students and staff in ABE programs. Fully developed, such a set of generalizations would constitute an inductively constructed "theory of practice" indigenous to urban ABE programs as they operate in the public schools.

Because we have not had the benefit of this theoretical framework for asking the most relevant questions, research on urban ABE has been fragmented and largely unrelated to decision making priorities. When adminstrators turn to the professional literature they find a weak body of research either too particularized or generalized

to provide real guidance. Findings are seldom applicable beyond the institution in which the research or evaluation was conducted.

Similarly, quality of program evaluation has suffered from its separation from a theory of practice. Without reliable benchmarks pertaining to program structure, operation, interaction and the perspectives of those involved, the evaluator has had to rely on his own experience, mostly gained in other educational programs, and bits and pieces of the experience of others gleaned from the literature and professional meetings.

As a result, measurement techniques have frequently been indiscriminately used to measure only those aspects of program development most amenable to measurement. Qualitiative factors of evolving interaction critical to program success have usually been ignored. Objectives are often prematurely defined. Efforts by both researchers and evaluators to "operationalize"--to develop "instruments" for study of arbitrarily selected aspects of the complex and evolving reality of ABE--have resulted in what Whitehead refers to as "the fallacy of misplaced concreteness." A common tendency for evaluators to arbitrarily set the order by which program consequences should have priority in measuring success has further obfuscated understanding. And seldom have they raised their sights from preoccupation with program "output" to assess the development of organizational capability to mount and sustain relevant programs.

Objectives

The project was conceived as a two-year effort involving

analysis, interpretation and dissemination. Its first year was funded to permit comprehensive, in-depth, comparative study of selected public school ABE programs in six metropolitan areas. The purpose was to utilize field research methods to construct a dependable normative description of the multi-faceted reality of urban ABE. From study of commonalities, we proposed to construct an analytical framework of operationally relevant generalizations so that these programs may be better understood and predictions more reliably made about their development.

The study was designed to go beyond a pro forma catalogue of data about each city's program to analyze qualitative processes over time, particularly classrooom interaction and the perspectives of students and teachers relevant to motivations and perceptions of the program, each other and their involvement in ABE. To do this, we proposed to use interview and participant observation methods in a comparative analytical study designed to produce the beginnings of an inductive theory of practice of urban ABE in the public schools.

This approach was adapted from the work of Glaser and Strauss[1] as uniquely appropriate to a professional field such as ABE in which there does not yet exist an articulated theory grounded in the dynamics of the specific programs and processes involved. We saw in the concept of "grounded theory" provocative potentialites for practical decision making in educational policy, program devel-

---

[1]Glaser, Barney G. and Anselm L. Strauss. The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research. Chicago: Aldine Press, 1967.

opment and evaluation, and for the generation of researchable hypotheses keyed to action priorities.

Specifically, the study was conceived as an attempt to understand how urban ABE is organized and how the functional dynamics of administration work--including planning, staffing, recruitment, program development, reporting, staff development and institutional linkage. We also planned to focus on the interactional dynamics of the classroom--student-teacher relations, socialization, social climate, uses of methods and materials, and definition of content. Finally, we proposed to attempt to understand the point of view of students and teachers--their expectations, motivations and prespectives defined in terms of opinions and corresponding action.

Beyond description, the study was to be a practical analysis of existing practice; to the degree that we could come to see what is happening in ABE programs through the eyes of those most directly involved, we anticipated we could better assist professionals to understand and predict behavior in these programs.

In its second year, the project will build upon theory developed out of our first year's work to examine selected innovative program practices. A series of four six-city studies are planned, each using comparative field methods and each analyzing one or two specific practics. Purpose is to identify factors--organizational, programmatic, interactional--which impede and facilitate adoption and development of specific innovations as the basis for developing guidelines for planners. A survey of urban ABE directors will be completed and results interpreted, including a set of national

norms pertaining to urban program practice. We will also conduct four regional dissemination workshops for ABE directors and professors of adult education to review our findings and further test them against the experience of others.

Program Development

The plan called for resident study teams to be mobilized in four cities. In each city a senior sociologist was to supervise one or two graduate students employed half-time to serve as participant-observers and interviewers focusing on classroom level interaction. The plan was slightly modified to permit Professor Anselm Strauss (University of California) to supervise field workers in both San Francisco and San Jose. Professor Eugene Litwak (University of Michigan) supervised field study of the Detroit R.E.A.D. program as well as the Urban Adult Education Institute, and Professor Blanche Geer (Northeastern University) supervised field research in Boston. Graduate students studying both Title III and the Fundamental Adult Education Program in New York were supervised by headquarters staff at Teachers College. Professor Lee Rainwater (Harvard University) agreed to serve as program evaluation specialist.

The field workers were attached to the programs under study for the academic year. Each was initially assigned a random sample of ABE classes stratified according to type and location. Field researchers were free to investigate other classes as the need for theoretical sampling arose. Their assignment was preceded by a week of intensive interviews conducted by a team from Teachers Col-

lege. One hundred and five interviews (averaging an hour) with directors, supervisors, counselors, teachers, and other officials were completed.[1] Data from interviews and from documents and records were used to prepare a series of background papers distributed as orientation for field staff.

Team interviews focused primarily upon organizational and administrative elements of ABE programming; the field workers supplemented this with data pertaining to social and educational processual transactions involving students, instructors, and other staff at the classroom level.

Field reports from the graduate student participant-observers were reviewed every two weeks by faculty supervisors and forwarded to headquarters. These field reports covered two types of activity: observation of classroom interaction and unstructured interviews with students, teachers, and staff.

Headquarters staff and consultants carefully reviewed field notes to identify commonalities and differences that might suggest conceptual categories for further analysis.

By mid-year, preliminary study suggested a coding scheme for classifying and analyzing field data. Major headings included: type of class, student characteristics, student perspectives, teacher characteristics, teacher prespectives, helping patterns, encouraging, teacher control, methods, materials and content, intensity of

---

[1] A complete roster of respondents and the interview schedule, which was adapted in use to each type of respondent, are found in Appendix A-II.

engagement, social patterns, facilities, and student mobility among classes.[1]

The scheme indexed specific variables inherent in patterns of interaction to permit assessment of their frequency and "cross tabulation" with other variables such as type of class (day/evening, ESL/basic education, school/community), and salient student characteristics (age, sex, ethnicity). Data on student and teacher perspectives were coded using an analytic framework suggested by Becker, Geer, and Hughes in their study of students at the University of Kansas.[2] Categories included were sources of information, expectations and opinions about the program, expectations and opinions about goals, and awareness of job and educational alternatives and community resources. These and all other items included in the coding scheme were products of some preliminary adumbration of apparent patterns of interaction or perception which emerged from early analysis of field notes. Several able consultants worked with headquarters staff in reviewing field reports: Professors Barney Glaser and Leonard Schatzman (University of California), Berenice Fischer (University of Wisconsin) and Thomas Leemon (Teachers College). Professor Anselm Strauss gave leadership in advising on the methodology of "grounded theory."

Headquarters staff coded all field reports--a total of 237--using the scheme described above. Paragraphs or incidents from

---

[1] See Appendix A-II for copy of coding guide.

[2] Becker, Howard S., Blanche Geer, and Everett Hughes. Making the Grade: The Academic Side of College Life. New York: Wiley, 1968, Chap. III.

field reports were pasted to 5" by 8" McBee Key Sort cards. Every card was punched by code number corresponding to "cross tab" variables such as type of class. The actual coded data on each card--the "dependent" variables--were also punched for retrieval purposes. All coders participated in several intensive training sessions prior to actual coding in order to clarify the meaning of categories and resolve ambiguities of interpretation. A reliability check indicated inter-coder agreement at 76 per cent. There was a tendency for some coders to assign certain data to a wider range of categories; for the purposes of our study this was not a serious problem.

Data secured from the initial team interviews in each city, and various documents and records, were coded according to another classificatory scheme devised for this purpose.[1] The decision was made to depart from the original idea of producing case studies of programs in each city and instead to produce comparative analyses of functional aspects of ABE administration such as student recruitment, staff development, etc. Coding of interview and documentary information was completed, background papers were prepared for field workers from these data, and writing of comparative analyses was initiated. However, due to the necessity of referring back to each city to secure necessary additional data, the production of the written analyses will continue into the second year of the project.

From the interview data, documents and records, and field reports a prototype urban ABE program model was constructed. One purpose of the model will be to provide a frame of reference for

---

[1] See Appendix A-II.

next year's study of innovative practices.

A work conference for all project staff was conducted in February. The first day was devoted to a group consultation by six experienced ABE administrators from New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. These informed practitioners reviewed with headquarters personnel, Professor Strauss, and Professor Litwak key concepts in the model which had emerged at that point in time and identified leads for further investigation. This panel of informants constituted an important vehicle for reality testing and refinement of conceptual categories. During the second and third day of the conference, field staff met to review work to date, to share experiences and insights, and to identify priorities for subsequent field work. Tentative theoretical categories were tested in the give and take of lively intellectual interchange.

Following the original program plan, in February (after the conference) a team from Teachers College undertook a week's study of one additional city, Washington, D.C., to test the validity of what we had learned and to assess the practical utility of this knowledge in understanding the most important aspects of ABE program operation. Consequently, we have been able to add data from the program in Washington to that secured from the other five cities.

The project's plan of operation was amended to enable us to more firmly verify the universality of factors identified as significant and to provide the basis for formulating national program norms through a questionnaire study. The questionnaire was mailed

to the directors of Title III ABE programs in the 122 cities in the United States of over 100,000 population that have such programs. A twenty-eight page instrument was pretested with the cooperation of ABE directors in thirteen cities of just under 100,000 population. On the basis of the pretest, the questionnaire was carefully revised and shortened to nineteen pages.[1] Returns will be analyzed and results reported during the second year of the project. One important yield from the questionnaire will be information pertaining to the location of innovative program practices, which the project will study in the second year of its operation. The questionnaire data on innovative practices will provide the basis for assignment of field workers to some twenty-four cities to undertake comparative analyses of selected practices.

The original design of the project was further amended to produce four demonstration training "packages" involving lesson plans and supporting materials for teacher training in areas identified by our study as critically important. Winthrop Adkins, Jr., Associate Professor of Psychology and Education at Teachers College, agreed to adapt his "life Skills" approach to develop prototype lessons suitable for in-service teacher training in ABE. The Life Skills program provides

a) a systematic method for deriving a syllabus from actual problems by teachers or students

b) a structured four-stage skill-learning sequence which frames the problem in a provocative way, dignifies what the learner already knows and feels about it, provides multi-mode, multi-level means for deriving new knowledge, and requires application of knowledge to a simulated or real-life problem situation

[1] For a copy of the questionnaire, see Appendix A-I.

Titles of the four lessons are:

- Working Effectively with Emotions in the Classroom
- Getting Groups Involved on the First Day
- Identifying the Purposes of Questions in Group Discussions
- Using Student Motivation to Enhance Learning

Throughout the past year, headquarters staff have systematically reviewed, annotated and classified research studies, evaluation reports, and other materials that have implications for the development of an operational model of urban ABE. In this work we have been assisted greatly by the generous cooperation of the ERIC Center at Syracuse University and its director Roger DeCrow.

It need hardly be said that we are deeply indebted to the hundreds of ABE administrators, teachers, counselors, and students who through their cooperation and assistance made this study possible. We are particularly grateful to the directors in the six cities studied for their wholehearted cooperation and active assistance: Mrs. Doris Moss in New York, Mr. Ray Ferrier in Detroit, Mr. John Fox in Boston, Mr. Dalton Howatt in San Francisco, Mr. Bernard Sewell in Washington, D.C., and Mr. Leland Clark and Mrs. Esther Stone in San Jose.

THE FINDINGS: ABE IN AN URBAN SETTING

INTRODUCTION

Findings of our first year's study are presented in six sections which follow. They represent an interim report. Concepts reported are in process of development and will be elaborated and modified as additional data become available through results from the national questionnaire survey and the work of next year. We have used our experience in the six cities studied as the basis for this research-based normative description and analysis of current practice in the Title III ABE program. This will be used in the year to follow as a frame of reference for a comparative study of innovative program practices designed to produce a set of guidelines for decision makers.

Section II is an organizational model. It is a composite analytical description of the structure and functional dynamics of the six programs studied: setting, goals, staff, recruitment, sites and facilities, finance, materials, program development and counseling services.

Classroom interaction is described and analyzed in Section III with specific attention given the functions of attendance maintenance, rules and conventions, instruction, an ideology of minimizing failure and teacher control.

Sections IV and V are devoted to the two most important actors in ABE programs, the students and teachers respectively. These sections describe their characteristics and analyze motivations and perspectives--the way they see themselves in the program, each other, the program as such and, in the case of the teachers, their administrators and supervisors.

The role and problems of the counselor and his relationships with teachers and students is dealt with briefly in Section VI.

In Section VII selected implications are suggested for changes in policy, administration, program and staff development. These tentative recommendations, as well as the other concepts adduced, are subject to modification on the basis of further testing in our next year of study.

These findings represent the product of the hard work of a team of able people. Consultants Leonard Schatzman and particularly Barney Glaser provided seminal analysis of field data which influenced our definition of key conceptual categories. Responsibility for synthesis and initial drafting of Section II was assumed by Alan Knox, of Section III, IV, V and VI by Jack Mezirow, Gordon Darkenwald, Bart Landry and Rita Breitbart.

II. AN ORGANIZATIONAL MODEL

INTRODUCTION

Purpose

The purpose of this statement is to present an analytic model of the organizational characteristics of urban public school adult basic education (ABE). This model is designed to describe both the structural characteristics and the functional dynamics related to the operation of the ABE program, aside from the class unit. Uses of this model include the development of guidelines for the study of urban public school ABE programs, and the specification of innovative and effective practices to facilitate their diffusion from one ABE program and their adoption by another. This model is based on actual variations in practices within urban ABE programs in six cities that were studied in depth. However, the model was designed to facilitate generalization beyond the six cities. The six cities in which these programs are located are referred to by code names. The references to specific cities and practices are intended to illustrate the generalizations in the model and not to provide a cohesive description of program activities in any of the cities.

The statement begins with a brief description of the basic components of the ABE unit of the schools, followed by an identification of some major elements of the national and community settings in which the ABE unit operates. This is followed by a description of the typical structural elements in the organization and administration of ABE. The remainder of the essay consists of a series of sections, each

describing the structure and functioning of an aspect of the ABE activity including goals, administrative and instructional staff, counseling, materials, recruitment, facilities, finance, and program development.

This statement is one of several that have been prepared to describe the functioning of the total urban public school ABE program. The present statement describes the larger system of the ABE organization and its outside relationships with the school and community. The description of the organization includes relationships between classroom units and the administrative structure. Outside relationships include arrangements to obtain funding, facilities, materials, teachers and learners. Together, the sections of this essay describe the ABE organization as it attracts people and materials, and makes available the opportunities for the teaching-learning transaction. The other statements describe the smaller system surrounding the teaching-learning transaction that typically occurs in the classroom unit as a teacher and a group of ABE students interact, including detailed descriptions of transaction, learner, teacher and counseling. Each contains those references to aspects of the other that are necessary to achieve its primary purpose.

General History

Most ABE units were established as large and somewhat separate programs during the mid 1960's in response to the availability of federal funds. Although many units were established in a series of organizational decisions, the crucial initiatory act was the designation

of an ABE coordinator to administer ABE programs under Title IIb of the Economic Opportunity Act or Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Typically this had occurred by the end of 1966. In the larger cities, especially those in which many immigrants settled, there were long-standing programs of adult elementary education and Americanization. These functions continued after the establishment of the ABE unit, in some cities as a part of it and in some cities as a separate program. Separately funded and organized units with an Americanization orientation have continued in Beech and Hickory cities. Prior to the mid sixties, the ABE programs were small. For example, in Ash City, during 1965, less than three dozen adults completed the 8th grade certificate. In other cities, such as Maple City and Walnut City, the present ABE program had little precedent. Typically, someone who was working in or close to the ABE area was selected to direct the new ABE unit, usually as the only full-time staff member involved at the outset. For instance, in Ash City, the first ABE coordinator was an elementary school principal with social work experience and some recent course work related to adult basic education.

THE ABE UNIT

The purpose of this section of the statement on the ABE unit is to provide an overview of the components of the unit that will be analyzed in greater detail in the succeeding sections of this statement.

Unit of Adult Education Division

A separate ABE unit in the public school adult education division mainly reflects the availability of earmarked federal funds originally from Title IIb of the Economic Opportunity Act, then transferred to Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Some additional funds are derived from welfare, employment, and poverty programs. In comparison with the present federally funded ABE programs, the former efforts were small; and the rapid growth of the ABE unit during a few years is reflected in the structure and functioning of the unit.

In almost all instances the ABE unit is a part of the adult education division of the schools. Generally this division does not include the vocational adult education programs, which are under the jurisdiction of a director of vocational education for the schools, who is typically a counterpart of the director of adult education. Other parts of the adult education division are the evening high school programs and the non-credit adult education programs. If some ABE programs, such as the Work Incentive Program (WIN) or Welfare Education Plan (WEP), are separate from the "Title III" program, most of them will be within the adult education division. In some ABE programs there are specialized support services such as materials development, counseling, in-service education, public relations, and finance, that are part of the total adult education division and relate to the ABE unit as well. In almost all ABE programs, the various financial procedures related to payroll and purchasing are handled by these units in the school system with perhaps someone associated with the adult education division assisting with

parts of the process. Materials development and public relations tend to be handled on a project basis by the relvant units of the schools, such as when the audio-visual department produces a film on ABE and charges the ABE unit for the costs.

Basic Ingredients

The essential ingredients of ABE are a mentor and a functionally illiterate adult interacting for the purpose of increasing the adult's literacy level. In this statement, the term illiterate is used to refer to any adult whose literacy level is less than 9th grade of English usage. The mentor might be a teacher in a group setting, a counselor or tutor in an individual setting, or a writer of mass media materials such as the Operation Alphabet television series. In practice, almost all ABE mentors are teachers in a group setting, but some new mentor roles are being established, such as those associated with language or learning laboratories.

It would be nice if the mentor were very competent and the illiterate adult were very willing to spend the time and attention on the learning tasks so that achievement would be great, but such criteria are difficult to establish. When they are established it will be easier to distinguish between excellent, average and ineffective ABE programs. In the meantime, intent is sufficient--intent to teach and intent to learn. The intent of the schools is to reach and to teach functionally illiterate adults. The definition of literacy varies greatly from country to country, but in contemporary America it has been defined by public school adult educators as the equivalent of the communication skills and substantive knowledge of 8th grade; and more

recently high school equivalency has been suggested as the criterion of functional literacy.

If the ABE unit is to attract and retain some illiterate adults, it must develop ways to bridge the gap between the social system of the schools and the social systems of the illiterate adults in the target population it wants to reach. To do so is no easy task. Most of the ABE instructors teach adults part-time in the evening and spend the rest of their working time teaching children full-time during the day. During the past few years there have been a few efforts to increase the proportion of other persons as ABE teachers. This has been more evident, and in some respects easier to achieve, in co-sponsored programs such as WIN or WEP, or Manpower Development and Training (MDTA) programs, in which the roles of the Labor Department or Welfare Department make the employment of persons without local teacher certification more acceptable exceptions to the preparatory education part of the school system.

There is typically at least one full-time ABE administrator (in the larger systems there are more) and some program administrators who work directly with teachers. Often the program administrators are part-time with the ABE program, on top of full-time jobs as teachers, counselors, and administrators in the preparatory education day programs for children and youth. For some part-time program administrators this arrangement creates competing demands for their use of their time, with the highest priority typically going to the full-time day responsibilities.

Most of the ABE programs are held in school facilities, and most of the funds are federal but channeled through the state, with a largely hidden local "in kind" contribution, such as use of facilities.

Unit Functioning

An ABE unit is operating when ABE administrators are working with others to establish ABE goals, are arranging for facilities, staff, recruitment of participants, and finances; when mentors are establishing objectives, selecting and organizing learning experiences, evaluating, and engaging in the teaching-learning transaction; when teachers, administrators, and specialized curriculum staff are selecting and preparing instructional materials; when counselors or others are assisting in the diagnosis, course placement, achievement testing, educational guidance and sometimes referral and job placement of participants; and when functionally illiterate adults are finding out about the ABE program, deciding to participate, engaging in learning activities, and leaving the program after some degree of success or failure.

Other people are also important parts of the operating ABE social system--the school board members who allocate local funds to make the ABE program viable, the school business manager who assists in the development of different procedures that are necessary for an adult program, and the representative of a community group such as a church or a union that co-sponsors an ABE class for some of its members. In addition, an ABE program is influenced by other programs in the community, which are similar to ABE and which are serving various segments of the same general target population. It is this type of pattern of interaction over time that the model outlined in this statement should help us to better understand. One use of this model is to assist in the identification of the ingredients and circumstances that contribute to the effectiveness of specific practices.

The next section of the statement describes the national setting of federal and state government, professional associations, and ABE programs in other school systems with which an ABE program may interact.

NATIONAL SETTING

National Organizations

People in an ABE unit interact with people in organizations outside the local community, such as federal and state government, institutions of higher education, professional associations, and other ABE programs. The United States Office of Education (USOE) unit concerned with ABE administers the allocation of legislative appropriations for ABE, coordinates reporting, and encourages more effective programming. The impact of federal decisions on local programs is illustrated by the influence of federal guidelines for state plans, but also by fluctuations in the level of federal funding. The reporting and allocation of funds within each state are channeled through the state education department. The recently established HEW regional offices include an ABE staff member whose emerging role includes acting as facilitator and idea broker. Part of the ABE federal funds are allocated for special projects including staff training and demonstration projects, activities in which institutions of higher education have been active. Some of the ABE administrators have contact with their counterparts in other communities through associations such as the National Association for Public Continuing Adult Education (NAPCAE); the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. (AEA); and a variety of other regional and national professional associations. Nationally and in some states there are councils of ABE

coordinators. In recent years, urban ABE coordinators are gaining greater solidarity and visibility with policy makers as they band together within the state, region, and country to press for improvements in the ABE program.

Interchange

The foregoing vehicles for interaction facilitate the interchange of ideas and occasionally the exchange of staff members with other ABE programs. It would seem that the likelihood of another ABE program becoming familiar and an interchange occurring is increased when the other program is similar, has done something somewhat innovative or effective, has tried to become more visible, and when a "third party" has assisted in the process. A major "third party" has been NAPCAE as it has sponsored meetings, and a clearinghouse. Demonstration projects and training institutes funded under Title III 309 of ESEA have also served this purpose. Unfortunately evidence of the impact of these special projects has been fragmentary and anecdotal. However, a growing number of ABE staff have attended ABE training programs and several demonstration projects have presented evidence of impact. Information about ABE programs is moderately available, and the extent of familiarity of an ABE administrator regarding ABE in other communities depends mainly on the extent of his own information seeking efforts. For instance, some ABE administrators attend meetings of ABE staff, request and read newsletters and clearinghouse materials, visit other programs and request copies of their materials. As members of their staff attend meetings they share highlights with those who did not through brief oral or written reports. By contrast, others concentrate almost exclusively on their own programs and patiently discover what others have long since developed.

The relation between the local ABE program and the state ABE office is substantially influenced by the process of state reporting to the USOE and the preparation and implementation of the state plan. However, the largest city in the state often pays less attention to the state plan because of the traditional lack of effective working relationships between the largest cities and state government. Consequently, the primary concern for the state plan in the selected cities was for the purpose of maximizing allocations of federal funds.

COMMUNITY SETTING

Public Image

Most school systems tend to have a generalized public image that shifts slowly over time and varies from one segment of the community to another, but which is the way in which the schools tend to be perceived in the community. Like all public images, it is only partly accurate. Unfortunately, there is little evidence regarding the public image of ABE. The way in which the community perceives the school system would seem to influence the functioning of the ABE unit, and to a very small extent the image of ABE would influence the school system generally. In most cities the ABE administrator expressed the belief that the ABE program was gaining in visibility and prestige. In communities in which there is strong criticism of the public schools generally, this seems to be reflected in more and greater problems related to local ABE funds, and funding ABE programs through other sponsors. A more positive public image seems to contribute to the attraction of learners, teachers, and co-sponsors of classes. For instance in Ash City, there was variability

from neighborhood to neighborhood of the city. In poorer neighborhoods composed heavily of first or second generation immigrant families, there was substantial community involvement with and support for the ABE program, and a resistance to efforts to disrupt programs. In other poor neighborhoods, local organizations tended to view ABE with distrust as a traditional establishment program, and there was substantial unwillingness to even talk together. There is less indication of the impact of the ABE image on the school system.

Currently in most cities there seems to be little public awareness of and commitment to ABE. The general public image of adult education appears to be a "night school for those who missed it earlier," but it tends to be vague and mildly positive. This general image tends to influence decisions related to ABE. For instance, if the image of ABE is strong and positive, an illiterate adult would be expected to be more likely to decide to participate in an ABE program. Also, a favorable image increases the liklihood that school board members will commit substnatial local funds. This policy commitment is important because the ABE participants do not pay the program costs, as tends to be the case in much of adult education, so that the benefits of the ABE program must be communicated to policy makers who do not experience the benefits directly. The extent of local support for ABE, which might be reflected in the calls and letters communicated to a school board member, tends to vary considerably from neighborhood to neighborhood. The evidence of this variability is fragmentary and impressionistic. A major factor seems to be optimism that conditions can be improved. Where this is lacking, there is a lack of support for ABE and other public

services. The least responsive neighborhoods have tended to be low economically, high in mobility, and low in formal organizational structures. In similar ways the community setting influences most of the inputs into the ABE program.

Target Population

An aspect of the community setting that is especially important in the functioning of the ABE program is the nature of the target population of functionally illiterate adults. This target population can be specified according to size, socio-economic and ethnic characteristics, attitudes related to education, and social organization. When the target population is large, and especially a large proportion of the community, not only is the problem of illiteracy greater, but so is the problem of raising local tax funds for ABE. The characteristics of the target population, such as educational, occupational, and income levels, unemployment rate, and present literacy level and English language facility would seem to establish the conditions of curricular relevance. Variations in these characteristics related to interests and readiness might be reflected in differences in materials and teacher approaches, but there was little evidence that detailed information about the target population was being used in practice in program development.

The education-related attitudes of illiterate adults influence their commitment to participate and to persist in ABE programs. Their experience in family, work, church, and voluntary associations produce the level of awareness and social skills that to varying degrees

facilitate their participation in an ABE program. If daily experiences in work or church result in a level of expectation and optimism about the desirability and feasibility of substantially higher levels of literacy of illiterate adults, then ABE recruitment efforts should be fairly easy and successful.

A specification of the high priority knowledge and skill requirements of the target population in their major life roles contributes to need assessment to establish educational objectives. For instance, the proportion of persons who are illiterate in English but who speak another language and who want to learn English would be reflected in the relative size of the English as a Second Language (ESL) program; and the proportion of really hard core illiterates and unemployed would be reflected in methods designed to recruit them. In these ways, the ABE curriculum can be adapted to local interests. This local adaptation is not strictly by neighborhoods, however. For instance, in Oak City, one location for ABE classes was serving adults from all over the city, and in one neighborhood with a large number of illiterate adults there were no ABE classes being offered.

Co-sponsors

To the extent that illiterate adults are involved in informal groups and formal organizations, these community organizations can be co-sponsors of ABE programs and as a result facilitate participation. For instance, if a church or a union with many illiterate adults as members becomes a co-sponsor of an ABE program as an effective way to achieve some of its objectives, there are clear implications for the use of an organizational setting in which participants have a history of

shared experience at the outset of the program, for materials development, and for follow-up experiences. In this way, the individual's experience in the organization makes it easier to recruit him into the ABE program co-sponsored by the organization, to select and develop materials that are of interest to him, and to provide opportunities to use the newly acquired higher levels of literacy. Some churches provide child care along with facilities and recruitment assistance. Additional types of community groups include employers, higher education, welfare, housing, health, penal institutions, community corporations and CAP agencies. From these groups, ABE programs receive facilities, equipment, materials, learners, opportunities for job placement, and occasionally non-certified teachers. In these and other ways, the community setting influences the teaching-learning transaction and other operational aspects of the ABE unit.

There is a growing commitment to co-sponsorship of ABE classes as an effective practice. There is, however, little evidence from the field to support this commitment. If co-sponsorship includes only the provision of facilities, then it is relatively widespread. In the Title III funded programs in Beech and Maple cities, more than half of the ABE locations were in non-school facilities. However, school facilities more often housed two or more classes. If co-sponsorship is defined as active assistance related to recruitment, staffing, and materials, then very few instances can be cited. The theoretical value of co-sponsorship has not been reflected in practice.

Other ABE Programs

The community setting also contains ABE programs that are outside of the public school ABE unit, and these other ABE programs can interact with the ABE unit, if only in the extent to which their existence is a source of competition. Prior to 1965, about the only ABE program was the one that was serving the foreign born which had an Americanization emphasis and was using local and sometimes state funds. As ABE programs were established during the last half of the 1960's, somewhat different target populations were assumed. In practice, all programs have increasingly reached adults with substantially the same characteristics. As a result, in some instances the competition for participants in a neighborhood has become intense, but in other neighborhoods the programs work out an arrangement that minimizes competition. The other ABE programs are perceived to be more neighborhood oriented as a result of a greater proportion of ABE teachers from the neighborhood who are not certified by the local board of education. However, persons associated with the Title III-ABE programs tend to point out the lower level of teaching skills possessed by the teachers in the other ABE programs. The number, size, and effectiveness of these other ABE programs will influence the extent of interchange with the ABE unit and the extent to which the unit and/or the other programs are influenced. Some other ABE programs, such as those associated with MDTA and WIN will compete with Title III programs for participants, especially if stipends are provided. However, because the size of the target population is so much larger than the combined number of participants in the various programs, the competition is not necessarily undesirable. Some degree of coordination has been provided by such arrangements as Coordinated Area Manpower Programs (CAMP).

Increasingly, programs such as WIN and WEP are co-sponsors of ABE programs, especially when there are too few participants for a separate program.

Other Organizations

Also relevant are social systems such as housing, welfare, health care, and job opportunities that relate to the settings in which the participants should be able to perform more effectively if the ABE program is successful. The limited supply of jobs that require only an 8th grade education discourages some ABE participants, who are seeking employment and who are aware of the unemployment rate for adults with an 8th grade education. For an illiterate adult to complete the equivalent of 8th grade only to find that it really does not matter has major implications for the adult, the ABE program, and the other relevant social systems. One way of better understanding the functioning of the ABE unit is to identify the aspects of the community setting to which the ABE unit relates and to describe the ways in which it does so.

ABE units vary in the extent to which they are related with other organizations. The relationships may be related to inputs of learners, teachers, and materials. Regarding learners, the ABE unit may try to increase its visibility which will result in more referrals from other agencies. A few ABE programs receive a majority of their participants from agency referrals, but in general ABE administrators discuss the importance of referrals but have failed to develop effective relationships. The relationship may be related to program activities and include arrangements for field trips and facilities use. The relationships may also be related to placement of those who complete the ABE program in jobs or further education. The way in which these relationships develop

depends primarily upon the effectiveness of the ABE unit staff in encouraging the relationship. However, the other organizations also influence the relationship. For example, in Walnut City, fluctuations in the local employment situation were clearly reflected in ABE enrollments and attendance. In Beech City, one ABE program reported that the Welfare Department seemed to sabotage the ABE program because it threatened the passive dependency of the welfare recipients.

ABE ORGANIZATION

Staff Organization

The ABE unit is typically a part of the adult education division of the schools, although the official titles of the unit and the division vary greatly from city to city. The ABE administrator reports to the director of adult education who typically reports to an assistant superintendent of schools. The size of the ABE program and staff is somewhat related to the size of the city and the target population. In the larger programs the ABE administrator and some of his program administrators devote full-time to ABE. The variability is substantial however. In some comparably large ABE programs in the larger cities, the range is from only one full-time ABE staff person in Ash City, to more than three full-time ABE staff in the regular program in Hickory City. In smaller programs the ABE administrator may be the only person who devotes full-time to the ABE program. The lack of full time staff is partly the result of uncertain annual federal funding and inadequate long term commitment by the local schools. Reporting to the ABE administrator are some program administrators and supervisors who are sometimes called

teachers-in-charge. The teacher-in-charge is typically a full-time school teacher or administrator during the day, who in addition works part time supervising ABE classes in a geographic area. There may be non-instructional professional staff such as counselors or community relations specialists who may report both to the ABE administrator and to another administrator in the school system for units such as guidance or home and school relations. Almost all of these staff members other than the ABE administrator work a few hours a week with the ABE program and full-time with some other part of the school system. This is especially so in Oak City with its primary reliance on part-time staff. This heavy reliance on part-time ABE staff poses problems related to staff commitment and coordination as illustrated by trying to find a day and time when all concerned might meet together.

The program administrators and supervisors devote most of their ABE time to staffing and student advisement. Staffing may include selection and formal in-service training, but typically it consists primarily of informal supervision and assistance to ABE teachers. The program administrator tends to be the "cement" that holds the components of the ABE program together. When this vital full-time role is lacking, as in Oak City, the program tends to be smaller, to include primarily the easy-to-reach participants, and to include few services beyond the classes themselves. The effective program administrator compensates for the lack of institutionalization of the ABE program as he assumes a more major role in the process of goal setting, acquiring needed resources, and assessing progress.

Most of the teachers are part-time with ABE and are full-time teachers in the elementary schools, because they have experience teaching

reading and arithmetic, and because they want to keep adult education teaching available as a source of supplementary income. This part-time teacher arrangement is further reinforced by provisions in union contracts and references to "moonlighting" opportunities in recruitment efforts by administrators. Some teachers teach only in the ABE program, a few perhaps full time if there are many day classes. Each class is largely an autonomous unit, especially if there are only one or two classes at a location.

Coordination

Largely due to the different funding source, the ABE unit is more independent than are most of the other parts of the adult education division. Programs similar to ABE for the native-born, such as Americanization and English as a Second Language (ESL or EFL) may or may not be under the jurisdiction of the ABE administrator. The division of the total ABE effort into separate units within the schools tends to reflect several considerations, such as sources of funds, English as the native or a second language, school or non-school locations, type of application of what is learned (e.g., job, family), and evening or day classes. A major basis for sub-division of larger ABE units, especially in cities with a degree of decentralization, is geographic region. In these instances, a district supervisor, or center coordinator, or teacher-in-charge has general supervisory responsibility for many of the day to day operations. This tends to produce some conflicts resulting from the cross-currents of relationship with the district superintendent or principal on the one hand and the director of city-wide adult education or supervisor of ABE on the other.

In some cities, Title III funds have expanded the previous programs, while in others the Title III programs are separate and parallel. The existence of as many as four similar ABE programs increases the difficulty of coordination. When ABE and other adult education programs are housed in the same facilities, the coordination between the two is likely to be greater. Some adult education programs of the schools, such as MDTA, are not under the supervision of the director of adult education. The coordination between ABE and other programs under the supervision of the director of adult education will tend to be greater than is the coordination of the other adult education programs not under the director's supervision. Some people may work on ABE and on other adult education programs, which facilitiates coordination. This occurs in the instance of specialized staff for curriculum or guidance. Other coordinative efforts include supervisory staff meetings every month or two, faculty meetings once or twice a year, attendance reports every week or two, bulletins, and individual conversations in person or by phone.

Relation to School System

The ABE unit comes within the policy and procedural jurisdiction of the school board and of the superintendent's office, but the primary dependence of the ABE program on federal funds provides a degree of independence. School board members tend to be only slightly familiar with the ABE program. However, in some cities the strong orientation of some board members towards community problems results in their demonstration of greater support for ABE than is typically provided by the central administration. The continued receipt of informally allocated resources

from the school system depends more on the good will of middle level management than on formal policy statements. For instance, in many instances the use of certain school facilities and equipment depends primarily on the willingness of day school personnel to share them. The part-time staff appointments are individually arranged within school system guidelines, sometimes included in the union contract, regarding pay scales and limits on the amount of "moonlighting." In Oak City, the personnel bureau of the school system performs the major role in the hiring of ABE teachers and tenure rights makes firing by anyone very difficult. The ABE unit typically uses facilities under one of two arrangements. Under a centralized arrangement, such as in Ash City, the adult education division has automatic access to facilities after a set time in the late afternoon. Under a decentralized arrangement, such as in Beech City, the use of space in any school must be negotiated with the principal or district superintendent for that school. Use of day school equipment such as typewriters or shop tools tends to require additional arrangements. Materials are sometimes loaned but, if consumable, tend to be on the ABE budget. The non-instructional support staff of the school system such as business office, custodial, and clerical staff tend to service the ABE unit both in formal ways that entail, for example, budget transfers, and in informal ways. Another example of formal service is charging a staff person in the school accounting office to the ABE budget; and an example of informal service is handling ABE accounting procedures as part of the regular work load, as part of the "in kind" matching by the school system to accompany federal or state funds.

The extent and type of use of non-school facilities and staff depends in part on school system preferences, in part on the orientation of community groups, and in part on the educational approach of the ABE

administrative staff. Regardless of the extent of use of resources from other parts of the school system and from outside the school, the ABE unit is typically very dependent on various units of the schools, such as personnel, business, and facilities. As a result, more so than for most organizations, the ABE unit must win and maintain informal cooperation from people who do not have to cooperate, in order for the formal organization to work. Examples include arrangements for matching of outside funds, for use of school facilities and equipment, for full-time teachers to teach ABE classes, for the audio-visual department or the public relations office to service the ABE program, and for school libraries to be open in the evening.

Institutionalization

Some potential ABE participants prefer classes during the day and in non-school facilities. To the extent to which the program occurs out of the evening and out of school buildings, the organizational structure of the ABE unit will change. Day classes are more likely to lead to ABE facilities and full-time staff with the stability that these bring. Classes in non-school facilities lead to somewhat less dependence on day school personnel and somewhat greater interdependence with community groups. This may or may not lead to greater institutionalization depending on the degree of stability and continuing support for the ABE program. In contrast with the clear-cut assignment of responsibility and lines of command that characterize the stereotyped military organization, much of the ABE organization is based on informal arrangements based on friendships, arrangements that easily "come unglued" and require constant attention by the ABE administrators. This lack of institutionalization

of the ABE unit partly reflects its newness and partly reflects its marginality within the schools.

One major issue that confronts those associated with ABE programs is the extent and type of institutionalization of the ABE unit that is seen as desirable. At one extreme, it is a nuisance and a diversion of resources that could enable the ABE program to reach more people to have administrative staff constantly negotiating and reinforcing informal arrangements in order to provide resources that in most organizations are provided routinely. At the other extreme, one of the strengths of the ABE program is the flexibility that results from its lack of institutionalization, which in the day school tends to discourage experimentation. The ABE program provides a more permeable boundary of the school system and as a result allows for a greater degree of cooperation between school and community groups than is typical of the preparatory education program. A trend that will have major consequences for years to come is the extent and type of institutionalization of the ABE program. Too little may threaten its continuance. Too much may undermine its flexibility and responsiveness.

Demonstration Projects

In several of the selected cities, there was in operation a demonstration center funded under federal funds from Section 309 of Title III of ESEA. Each center was funded for a limited number of years for the purpose of demonstrating to the entire field the effectiveness of selected procedures, and in addition being of some benefit to the local ABE program. In each instance, there was an expectation that the demonstration center would have a somewhat different clientele or would

service them differently. In actuality, this clientele was very similar to that in the regular ABE program. However, the cost per participant hour was much greater than that for the regular program, in part because of the larger proportion of full-time staff, the more expensive staff services in addition to the ABE teachers, the smaller teacher-student ratio, and their own facilities for day and evening use.

Two of the demonstration projects were strikingly different in their working relationships with the regular ABE program. In one city there was substantial cooperation, including sharing of staff, and an effort to become continued on local budget funds as part of the total ABE program. In another city, there was almost no interaction between the demonstration center and the regular program, much misinformation, and some efforts to exaggerate differences, that appeared to minimize the likelihood that the demonstration center would ever function effectively as part of the total ABE program.

GOALS

Policy

The newness and marginality of the ABE unit contribute also to the lack of formalization of goals and objectives, which tend to be implicitly instead of explicitly stated. Project proposals and agreements with co-sponsors are instances in which more formal statements are prepared. The implicit goals tend to be reflected in the priorities that operate in practice, regarding such considerations as the characteristics of the target population; the balance between recruitment and instruction; the balance between reaching larger numbers of participants and assisting a

smaller number to progress faster and further; the relative emphasis on the several ABE content areas such as reading, writing, arithmetic, and consumer education; and the balance between the acquisition of basic competence and its effective application. Occasionally, such as in a brochure prepared by the ABE director in Beech City with the assistance of staff at the local and state levels, some of the implicit priorities and objectives are stated explicitly. Because the ABE unit lacks both a policy board and a full-time faculty, most of the goal setting is by the administrative staff, when, in best practice, they appraise learner needs and negotiate with school system and community groups for the best arrangements they can obtain. In some programs, the teacher-in-charge can influence curricular objectives substantially. In many instances goals are set by default as the path of least resistance is followed. Some of the most important policy decisions relate to the balance in emphasis between the various ways in which the learners should change as a result of contact with the ABE program. Typical substantive emphases include communication skills (reading, writing, arithmetic), content mastery (consumer education, vocational information, aids to urban living), self-image (confidence in one's ability to learn and adapt and take action), and a range of coping abilities (presenting oneself effectively in a job interview, locating a relevant social agency in time of need). In practice these emphases tend to cluster around preparations for high school, work, or other adult roles such as homemaker and parent. In Hickory City, several administrators emphasized that the goals were multiple, including high school equivalency, vocational, general improvement and consumer education as a vehicle for teaching reading and writing. Some ABE

administrators have emphasized that the ABE objectives must be broader than reading, and must be related to adult roles to provide relevance and motivation for the learner. There appears to be little participant interest in the 8th grade certificate as a major goal.

Establishing Goals

This process of goal specification is influenced informally by persons in a variety of components associated with the ABE unit. Given the fluid organizational structure, the administrator or teacher with strong commitments and at least moderate effectiveness can substantially shape the program with which he is associated. A co-sponsoring group with a strong sense of direction regarding ABE can also influence goals substantially. The adult participants provide a substantial short-term counterweight against any change in direction that does not seem to them to be useful. Their high rate of turnover minimizes their influence on long term trends as those who do not like a given change drop out to be replaced by those who do. A variety of persons within the school system and in state and federal government influence program directions less by proposing goals than by vetoing some of the proposals by the ABE staff. Professors of adult education may have a slight influence on ABE goals through the ABE staff with whom they come in contact as regular students and as workshop participants. In Walnut City, state and federal guidelines were perceived as having substantial influence on the local ABE program, such as by shifting the emphasis towards ESL and day classes.

Regardless of the stated goals and pressures towards certain outcomes, the major source of influence lies with the individual teacher who is granted great latitude. In Hickory, one administrator indicated that the

teachers did not follow even the general guidelines. The adult learners tend to establish demands regarding what the teacher must do minimally if the learners are to continue to attend, the other influences on goals tend to establish constraints regarding what the teacher may not do without incurring some limiting action, and the individual teacher can operate in ways of his own choosing within the gap between demands and constraints. One of the crucial decisions made by the teacher is the extent to which he will individualize instruction for each learner. The extent of individualization within the ABE unit is largely the reflection of the interest and willingness of the teachers. In Maple City, although the emphasis is on remedial reading and math, the individual teacher has almost complete freedom in the classroom, and this is substantially the case in Ash City. Another major decision is the extent of interest in raising the learner's morale. In Hickory City there was a major emphasis on teaching the participant what he wanted.

Reaching the Poorest

An example of an unresolved policy issue is the extent of emphasis that the ABE program should place on reaching the poorest adults. The problem is that most ABE programs lack an effective way to resolve the issue and to establish a workable policy that contains priorities for the allocation of resources. Differing opinions or "positions" are held by participants, community groups, other agencies, ABE teachers, ABE administrators, school system administrators, school board members, state education department staff, USOE staff, and congressmen. Most "positions" are variations on one of two themes--"reaching the poorest" and "maximizing service."

The "reaching the poorest" emphasis is stressed primarily by some federal staff who point out the "War on Poverty" origins of the legislation and the need for binding congressional and federal administrative support based on a commitment to social relevance; and by representatives of community organizations, especially those with a militant, minority group progress orientation. The basic premise of this position is that most of the ABE funds should be aimed at the poorest and least literate and that the word "basic" in ABE stands for helping adult to develop the basic competencies needed for them to survive and progress in society, of which only a small portion is literacy in the communication skills sense. The supporting arguments include: Few agencies are actually servicing the poorest; literacy and other problems of the poorest are interrelated and effective solutions will relate to all problems of being poor, the entire community will benefit because if the poorest are helped they will be constructive instead of disruptive members of society; most of the services designed for the poorest will be easily adaptable for the less poor while the reverse is seldom the case; the less poor have the strength to organize politically to demand that they too receive the services that are initiated with the poorest; when the less poor benefit from ABE programs they are more likely to move from the neighborhood and to reduce the pressure for the program to continue; and the relative position of the poorest may be worsened because, not having participated in the program, they are labeled with yet another failure and, having been left behind again, they may become even more disillusioned and embittered. The conclusion is that if the program is intended to serve the poorest, the procedures should be those best designed to most

effectively attract and retain the poorest, even if the unit cost is substantially higher.

The "maximizing service" emphasis is stressed primarily by the ABE administrators, by some of the participants, and by school personnel, who point out that the primary role of the schools is education and not broader programs of social welfare, and that the primary target population consists of those who show up. The basic premise of this position is that, in view of the very limited funds for ABE in relation to the enormity of the problem, resources should be concentrated on those who are most likely to benefit from them, and that as the least poor and most ready to move graduate from illiteracy and poverty then the resources can be transferred to the group below who have the best chance of benefiting from the resources. The supporting arguments include: The resources, orientation, and image of the schools are more relevant to educational assistance than to broader social welfare programs; other agencies in the community are better equipped to provide broader social welfare programs; we lack the technology and knowledge successfully to assist the poorest; those who are most readily attracted to existing programs are the ones who are most likely to benefit from them; substantial success comes slowly to the poorest because they have the farthest to go; by focusing on the already upwardly mobile poor, the success of the program can impress legislatures and foundations with its achievements and help to obtain more funding; a more homogenious clientele facilitates classroom and agency management; and minimizing the proportion of persons who are less socialized to middle class styles also minimizes the need for institutional change. The ABE administrators who stressed this "maximizing service" emphasis referred to the disaster analogy, in which limited resources are used to help the most people who

can make the most progress.

The major implication of this and similar policy issues that confront the ABE unit is the lack of procedures for the resolution of the issue. In practice the "numbers game" related to enrollments and continued funding result in primary emphasis on "maximizing service" with only lip service given to reaching the poorest as a way of reducing pressure from those who emphasize this position. An alternative to the selection of either of these two positions, which has been discussed but not really tried, is the compromise position of placing primary emphasis on maximizing service but including a secondary but concerted effort to reach the poorest. Throughout the entire program, the materials and teaching methods should emphasize adult life tasks related to work, family, and community both as an assistance to coping and as a source of readiness for efforts to increase literacy. The secondary effort to reach the poorest should be reflected in effective procedures to reach and to teach them. The benefits will include upward mobility for the poorest, community improvement, and institutional change for the schools.

ADMINISTRATORS

Characteristics

As with public education generally, most of the ABE administrators are former teachers, and they become administrators for the same reasons as most people in educational administration. The term administrator includes not only the person in charge of the ABE program (director or coordinator), but also supervisors and teachers-in-charge and others in

professional positions in the ABE unit aside from the classroom teachers. Included in the other category are district supervisors who have some supervisory responsibility for ABE in a neighborhood, and specialists in staff roles related to guidance, curriculum, materials, and in-service education. Althought the ABE administrator is usually a man, some of the other administrative staff are women, in part because the subject matter content of ABE draws heavily from elementary education with its large supply of women teachers. As illustrated by Maple City, most of the male ABE administrators are former elementary or vocational education teachers. The administrative staff tend to be middle aged 35-50), somewhat younger than city school administrators generally. Although most ABE administrators are former teachers, many with administrative certification, a few are not. The proportion of non-teachers seems to be growing somewhat and they come from a variety of backgrounds such as social work, the military, and the clergy. However, the number of non-teachers is too small to discern trends at this time. The ABE administrators tend to be action oriented with strong commitments about social progress and with optimism about the extent to which adults can change.

Differentiation

As the ABE unit becomes large enough to justify additional program administrators and as the existing staff gains sufficient experience to recognize the need for more specialized staff inputs, a formalized differentiation of function occurs. This is reflected in staff who concentrate solely on learner recruitment, or counseling, or program development (especially materials), or in-service education of teachers, or other support services. In Beech City, for instance, in one of the

ABE units, a major portion of the in-service training is handled by a specialized staff that is separate from the teachers-in-charge whose functions are primarily supervisory and administrative exclusive of in-service training.

Recruitment

The recruitment process is informal, largely within the school system and local community, and based heavily upon prior contact and acquaintance. When a person is identified who shows great promise as an ABE administrator, who is not a certified teacher in the system, ways can usually be found to make an appointment. However, this only happens occasionally, as in Hickory City for a former teacher in a private school who lacked a certificate for the local public schools. In general, salaries for ABE administrators are comparable to those for assistant principals in the rest of the schools, which tends to set a ceiling on recruitment efforts. In the past, another restriction on recruitment has been the temporary nature of ABE administrative positions which has reflected the annual federal funding and the lack of long-term commitment by the local school system. In Ash City and in Maple City there is only one full-time ABE administrator and in Oak City no one person who is providing full-time leadership for the total ABE program. This lack of local commitment to full-time administrative positions also makes recruitment of able administrators more difficult. However, after five years of federal funds for ABE, there is a growing belief that funding will continue and that future plans can be made. The financial incentives vary substantially. For instance, in Maple City an ABE coordinator who has met the qualifications as a teacher and

as a counselor receives about $7 per hour and works up to ten hours a week. In Oak City, the registrars receive $13 per hour.

For the part-time staff, the ABE administrative positions tend to be attractive ways to "moonlight," especially since the job does not involve children. Major incentives include administrative experience and visibility as an aid to subsequent promotion in the system, the challenge of being a pioneer and a "sort of entrepreneur," the satisfaction of doing something to help solve some of our urgent social problems, and whatever feelings of power and status that come from being an administrator. The feeling of making an important contribution to the mission of an organization is illustrated by the distinction between being a manager and being a leader. In a well organized unit of an organization, a manager can for a period of time just keep things going smoothly. However, in the typical ABE unit many important components are negotiated from other groups and an innovative and flexible administrator must constantly exercise leadership if he is to provide the "human cement" to enable the unit to function. As with most occupations, the set of incentives attracts persons who in terms of such qualities as ability and integrity find the incentives attractive, and it is out of that talent pool that staff selections can be made. There are several important types of qualities that are relevant to the ABE administrator. Three relevant qualities are having a sense of direction, attracting and retaining others who contribute to the ABE program, and working effectively with a variety of agencies and organizations.

Responsibilities

The job responsibilities of the ABE administrator vary with the specific position. Two examples may be sufficiently illustrative. The ABE unit administrator tends to deal with almost all aspects of administration. In a gross sense, his job is to keep the model outlined in this statement functioning. A major malfunction in any component can threaten the entire unit. The problem is compounded because of the necessity to coordinate the use of a component such as classroom facilities between the day and the evening program. One result is that the program administrator may report to two persons. In Maple City, this dual reporting role was illustrated by the effort to gain acceptance of the ABE program by the day and evening school administrators as part of "their" program. In Beech City, it was illustrated by the district supervisors' changing relationship to one of the ABE programs. The supervisors viewed their role as neighborhood development and coordination between programs, but the line responsibility of the ABE teachers-in-charge was centralized with the director of that ABE program. In Walnut City, there was both a center coordinator and a division principal with responsibility for the facilities in a geographic area.

Because the external pressures tend to be on reaching as many people as possible with the available money, and there is very little program administrator staff time available to assist him, most of his time is spent on solving the most urgent problems so that the unit will continue to function. For instance, the administrator is more likely to spend time on problems of staff performance and attrition than on

programs of staff recruitment and in-service education. In Hickory City, several administrators estimated that they spent more than half of their time on recruitment of participants. It is not necessary that the administrator perform the tasks himself. In Ash City, a secretary maintains attendance reports and contacts adult students after three reported absences. This problem solving effort is greatly facilitated if the administrator is familiar with the total school system and is able to work effectively with relevant offices on an informal basis. When the administrators come up through the ranks in the school system, they are more likely to relate to teachers and administrators in other offices in a non-threatening and colleagueal way. When, as in Ash City, there are few full-time administrators, this type of supervision and coordination is difficult. However, the appointment of part-time ABE administrators who work full-time in another unit of the school system can facilitate coordination with that unit. Little time is spent on long-term goals or on evaluation. Many ABE administrators indicated that they were so busy just keeping the ABE program going, that they could not justify spending time trying to improve it. Major attention is given to staffing, facilities, materials, finance, and community relations.

Supervision

Staffing is especially important to the success of the unit, and when functioning well is an elaborate process that includes informal ways of attracting able people as a supplement to the formal personnel system, careful placement, and supervision that emphasizes increased competence, and sometimes discourages inept staff from continuing. There is a recent trend towards tenure rights for part-time ABE teaching. For

instance, in Oak City, a regular teacher in the school system who teaches ABE classes three evenings a week for three years, may be discontinued only by "showing cause." This means that the program administrator must sometimes apply pressure to discourage an ineffective ABE teacher from continuing, with a formal "show cause" or "due process" procedure as a last resort. When a staff is functioning poorly, an administrator may spend much of his time dealing with emergencies. In the locations with a concentration of ABE classes, a teacher-in-charge will perform many of these supervisory functions. Because the unit is so little institutionalized, as reflected in the lack of standard operating procedures that are accepted by other units, much time is spent on negotiating informal arrangements and on reinforcing them so that they remain operable. The director of the Maple City ABE program endeavored to formalize some of these informal arrangements as a basis for more effective operation. The supervisor, usually a part-time teacher-in-charge, is likely to be a woman, and she spends time primarily on a variety of arrangements for individual classes. A great deal of responsibility for program effectiveness is placed on the supervisor. In Beech City, one of the ABE programs indicated that the function of the TIC was creative supervision including staff conferences and helping students in relation to the program and subsequent placement. One of the potential shortcomings of this decentralized supervisory effort is a lack of system-wide planning. As a way of dealing with this coordination problem, in Beech and Maple Cities, the coordinators met monthly and the administrator had informal contact with them three or four times a month. Staff supervision is a major part of the job, along with student advisement, and arrangements related to facilities, record keeping and instructional materials.

A crucial test of the competence of the program administrator is effective rapport with ABE teachers. Few of the staff have entered an ABE administrative position with substantial background in the administration of ABE programs. Some had completed a course or two, but most of the competence is acquired on the job. Many have participated in federally sponsored ABE workshops. In Hickory City, the ABE administrators are not required to take in-service education but may do so. There is little in-service training or staff development sponsored by the school system that is specifically oriented to ABE. This in part reflects the part-time staff and the few persons who are available to meet at any given time and location. In Beech City, there are plans to individualize in-service training to provide as much flexibility for teaching the ABE teacher as for teaching the ABE student.

Turnover

In practice, the turnover of ABE administrators has been small. When Administrative staff leave the ABE program they do so primarily to accept more attractive positions or because they are dissatisfied. They are seldom fired or forced to leave. In part because of the informal and personal basis of recruitment, it is difficult to remove an unsatisfactory staff member who does not want to leave. This is compounded by the limited supply of competent replacements.

The ABE programs with full-time administrators are too recent to discern clear trends in the career lines of the staff. One unusual relationship is the full-time director of ABE who reports to a part-time director of adult education. This alters some of the typical expectations regarding relative prestige, mobility, and promotion.

MENTORS

Characteristics

The category of mentors includes all persons who perform an instructional role, such as teachers and teacher's aides in a group setting, counselors and tutors in an individual setting, and writers of instructional materials. Regarding the size of the ABE program, the range was from almost a thousand part-time teachers down to less than fifty. Relative to the number of adults without any high school education, the range was from one ABE teacher per fifteen illiterate participants in Ash City down to one ABE teacher per eight illiterate participants in Maple City. Most school systems distinguish between certified and non-certified instructional staff. Almost all of the mentors are part-time with ABE. Although some ABE teachers are in their mid twenties, about three-quarters are between 28 and 35. In Ash City, ABE teachers are expected to have passed a three-point course about adult education. In the regular ABE program in Maple City, they are expected to have two years of teaching experience in the city school system. With the exception of the widespread practice that most ABE teachers teach elementary school during the day, there is no clearly defined preparation and career line for ABE teachers.

Performance

Most of the certified ABE teachers teach children full-time in the day and work two or three evenings a week in the ABE program for extra compensation. However, some teachers who are not working full time elsewhere do not follow the five to ten hours a week pattern, but work upwards to twenty hours a week, especially if they teach day-time ABE classes.

Many characteristics of the ABE program work against the appointment of full-time ABE teachers. Included are uncertainty of long-term funding, limited availability of school facilities in the day time, less attractiveness of a full-time job working primarily in the evenings, higher costs per hour for full-time teachers than for part-time arrangements that do not cover most fringe benefits, the administrative problem of long-term commitment to teachers who are not performing satisfactorily, and the interest of preparatory education teachers as expressed at contract negotiation time in preserving adult education teaching as an option for "moonlighting." As a result, in Ash City, only about one per cent of ABE teachers do so full time. In Oak City, the range is from two to thirty hours a week of ABE teaching with anything over twenty hours a week classified as full time. In Oak City, the ABE teachers who taught during the day were less satisfied with the arrangements than those who taught in the evening. In Walnut City, a lower percentage of the ABE teachers had full-time teaching jobs during the day than was the case for other adult education teachers in the system. In Hickory City, all ABE teachers are certified "day" teachers who must stop "evening" teaching after six years for one year and may then resume.

Although good teachers are always hard to find, there tends to be a waiting list, so the ABE program can be somewhat selective. A shift towards school system personnel office participation in the selection of ABE teachers is restricting the extent to which the ABE director can directly influence the selection process. Some city schools refer to teaching adults for extra pay in their recruitment of day teachers and specify hourly rates of compensation for teaching adults in the union

contract. Some of the non-certified instructional staff have teaching experience somewhere but are not certified in the ABE unit's city or state. In Hickory City, if a teaching position cannot be readily filled with a certified teacher, the ABE administrator has some latitude in obtaining approval for a non-certified teacher. In Oak City, the teacher aides typically perform substantially the same tasks as the teachers but have a junior college education and reside in the local neighborhood. Some aides are persons who had been enrolled in the WIN program. Money is included in the ABE budget to pay aides. In Ash City, there is a position of assistant to the teachers that is filled by persons who are qualified substitutes but who are not certified as permanent teachers. They are paid one dollar an hour more than aides. The remainder tend to be in assisting positions sometimes termed para-professional. Included are tutors and aides who work for pay, and volunteers. The para-professionals who work for pay tend to be from the neighborhood and to lack teaching experience. The volunteers have a variety of backgrounds but most of them are middle class. For instance, in Oak City, one ABE center used five volunteers during a semester, including a retired elementary school principal, a highly intelligent person who had not completed college, and a credentialed teacher who did not want a full-time job. They did individual tutoring with slow learners. The volunteers must complete a six-meeting orientation course. The school system is also offering an in-service course for teachers on the use of aides and volunteers. In the demonstration center in Hickory City, the volunteers were deemed not satisfactory.

The recruitment and selection of certified teachers from the system tends to be formalized, with prerequisite courses, exams, eligibility lists, and screening committees. In Walnut City, enough day teachers ask to be able to teach evenings that there is not need to recruit in order to fill positions. In Oak City and in Hickory City, the role of the school system personnel department restricts the ABE administrator's role in teacher selection. The recruitment of para-professionals is less formal, with former ABE students and contacts with co-sponsoring community groups as primary sources of referrals. The hourly rate for certified ABE teachers ranges from approximately the hourly rate they would receive for day teaching, although there is substantial variation, down to about half that amount. For instance, the hourly rate for ABE teachers is less than $7 in Maple City, about $7 in Ash City, Hickory City, and Walnut City, although with experience it can go up to about $8 in Walnut and Hickory Cities, and more than $10 in Oak and Beech cities. The hourly rate for para-professionals tends to be about half the rate for professionals. For instance, in Walnut City paraprofessionals largely from WIN classes work with teachers at slightly more than $2 per hour. In Ash City the aides receive $3 an hour. In Maple City there are three hourly rates for various categories of para-professionals ranging from less than $2 to more than $5. Some ABE programs have no funds to pay para-professionals.

In addition to money, incentives for ABE teaching include: the satisfaction obtained from working with adults who can apply directly what they learn, the lack of discipline and other problems associated with education for children and youth, working with motivated learners,

and working in a relaxed atmosphere with a high degree of autonomy. As was pointed out in Beech City, enjoying the working relationship with the teacher-in-charge is an incentive to continue because, due to the newness and lack of institutionalization, teachers have but a fragmentary knowledge of the total ABE program and often perceive the central administration of the ABE program as remote.

Teacher job security is limited, as there is typically no tenure and few fringe benefits. This reflects the uncertainty of federal funds and the lack of local commitment to continue the ABE program if federal funds were withdrawn. Some union contracts have made it more difficult to terminate an unsatisfactory teacher. Even in Hickory City, with no tenure for ABE teachers but a strong union, the ABE administrator must defend all teacher terminations to the personnel department.

Almost everyone associated with the ABE program would prefer a larger proportion of minority group teachers, but the small proportion mainly reflects the limited supply of qualified minority group teachers. Most of the school systems reported efforts to increase the proportion of minority group teachers. In Walnut City, there was a smaller proportion of minority group teachers than participants. Part of the reason was that those who were qualified were upwardly mobile and difficult to retain. In Oak City, few of the counselors were minority group and one-seventh of the teachers, and again the problem of qualifications was reported as a major reason. In Ash City, it was reported that about thirty per cent of the minority group teachers in the total school system were teaching in the ABE program, a higher proportion than for the remaining teachers.

One way in which an administrator can increase the proportion of teachers who have characteristics that he deems desirable, is to informally encourage persons with those characteristics to enter the formal recruitment and selection process. There are others who can help in this process. For example, in one of the ABE programs in Beech City, both the teacher-in-charge and the district supervisor recommend to the program director qualified persons whom they believe should be selected.

Competence

Although the para-professionals may have highly specific duties, the ABE teacher is given most of the responsibility for most of the crucial educational decision regarding objectives, subject matter emphasis, materials selection, instructional methods, and evaluation. Given the ways in which programs are typically organized, an ABE teacher must have substantial competence to be successful. Not only is it difficult to teach reading, but to work effectively with illiterate adults requires other abilities. The other abilities that are emphasized vary somewhat from community to community. In Maple City, although the ABE teachers, especially those who worked full-time, did not receive equivalent pay and fringe benefits, they were characterized as high caliber and dedicated. Also emphasized was staff contact with community organizations, by one of the ABE programs. Although almost all of the ABE teachers in Oak City were elementary school teachers during the day, an administrator stressed that preparation in elementary education was not necessary, and that four years of college and the ability to relate effectively with the adult participants were important criteria for

selection. In Walnut City, the criteria for ABE teacher selection were warmth, know-how and a sense of organization. Many were ex-nuns. Persons without a college degree could be credentialed to teach ABE classes if they had strong program support. There were no substantial differences between the full-time and part-time ABE teachers, except the advantages of stability and the disadvantages related to tenure that the full-time ABE teachers provided for the administrator. In Beech City, one of the ABE programs emphasized teaching ability as the main criterion, and another listed credentials, empathy and flexibility. Persons associated with the first program expressed the belief that the second program placed too much emphasis on empathy with the community at the expense of teaching ability in some appointments. ABE teachers in federally funded programs did not have to hold a teaching license and related personnel procedures. A portion of the ABE teachers were on the 5-year maternity leave from the school system.

To assist adults to learn how to read and function in basic areas, in a way that maintains and enhances their self concepts as adults, is a very demanding task, sometimes especially so for persons who are used to working with young students in other ways. While the teachers have great individual responsibility, they tend not to have many collective responsibilities as a faculty, in large part reflecting their part-time status with the ABE unit and their full-time allegiance elsewhere. The lack of a collective faculty position on policy issues related to ABE has resulted in greater power and flexibility for the administrators, but the increasing inclusion of ABE teaching in contract negotiations is changing the situation. There is some teaming up between instructional staff in relation to specific groups, but seldom on a broader basis

regarding materials development or evaluation. There tends to be little pre or in-service education for instructional staff beyond informal supervision and occasional workshops. For instance, in Ash City, with one in-service course on adult education, the in-service education available for ABE teachers during one year consisted of a few brief sessions during the year and staff supervision. Staff competence primarily reflects experience and selective retention.

The ABE teachers were consistently described as highly motivated and dedicated. However, an issue that was repeatedly referred to was the extent to which it was desirable to include as regular ABE teachers non-certified teachers from the neighborhood. Very few such ABE teachers were included in the regular programs in the selected cities, although they were more common in the demonstration centers. Some of the advantages of doing so were attributed to the use of para-professionals. The lack of evaluative benchmarks for ABE classes makes more difficult this type of comparative judgment between certified and non-certified ABE teachers. Especially with the heavy proportion of elementary school teachers who teach ABE classes, the emphasis on an "adult-oriented" approach tends to minimize the differences between the certified and non-certified teachers.

Recruitment

Because ABE teaching is a fairly attractive "moonlighting" option, there tends to be a list of willing teachers. Those who are satisfactory are retained, a process which the union contract tenure and due process provisions tend to make even more stable. The relatively small staff turnover reflects in part the stable program size based on a

fairly constant level of federal funding. In Oak, Beech, and Ash Cities, high stability and low teacher turnover were reported, about one or two per cent. In Beech City, this was facilitated by the retention rights that teachers have after two years. In one center in Maple City, only one out of seven of those who taught there the previous year did not return. A few new teachers are added to the ABE program each year to replace those who leave; some of them remain and the rest for a variety of reasons do not. Separation of ineffective instructional staff during their first few years of teaching is relatively easy because arrangements are short-term and part-time. The problem is often the difficulty of replacement with anyone better. After several years of ABE teaching, replacement is more difficult. A major alternative is to upgrade those who are available. However, in practice the programs of in-service education are thin and fragmentary. One reason is that there are few incentives to encourage the ABE teacher to participate in in-service education. Part-time arrangements make it more difficult to pay for preparation of in-service education. In the design of in-service education, decisions must be made regarding whether it is to be voluntary or mandatory, the extent of participation during a year, the areas of content to be included, the time and location of programs, the methods of learning that the teachers will use, and arrangements for recompense. For example, the in-service education program in Oak City and Walnut City was characterized as an optional annual workshop , courses at local universities, and available demonstration teaching and resource persons such as a helping teacher.

COUNSELING

Scope

An aspect of the instructional process is counseling and guidance related both to the educational program and to the application of what is learned. Ideally, aspects of this counseling role are performed by both teachers and specialized staff. Typically, there is only a small amount of counseling time available and that is related to the participant's study activities instead of their application of what they learn. For example, in Ash City, the least reported amount of counseling time was spent on personal counseling related to job, home, and personal problems. The focus was on the administration of tests, educational counseling, and assistance to teachers regarding their counseling function. One of the ABE programs in Beech City has a more application-oriented approach. The counselors do not administer tests. They help teachers with student placement, speak with community groups, and bring community resources into the ABE programs. The primary emphasis is helping the individual to better cope with the system. When community conditions are such that it is relatively easy for the person who completes an ABE program to apply what he has learned in worker or family roles, and when counseling is readily available through other agencies, then a counseling and placement role is not an essential component of the ABE program. Otherwise it is very important. For instance, In Oak City the ABE staff reported that they believed the counseling function to be a major factor in attendance. Illiterate adults tend to be insecure and to need help and advice with matters such as personal business and letter writing. When they realize that help is available from an ABE teacher or counselor they vie with each other for attention. One teacher reported that he does not

discourage the very unrealistic expectations that new ABE participants often have, but instead helps them to experience some substantial success as the basis for more realistic planning. Several Oak City ABE staff indicated that the greatest problem associated with the ABE program was the lack of extensive counseling services and psychiatric help. Pessimism about being allowed to use what is learned seems to be a major reason for non-participation in ABE. In Hickory City, a counselor reported that the practice of some community agencies of saying that jobs will be available after completion of the ABE program, when in fact they frequently are not, encourages some participants to drop out.

Functions

The counseling function is complex and if counseling objectives are to be achieved, counseling must be approached informally by most of the ABE staff. Most ABE participants are almost by definition very insecure so they need and appreciate personalized attention. However, there is little trained counselor time available per participant. In one of the ABE programs in Beech City, the counselor function is performed only by the teachers and teachers-in-charge. In one of the Maple City programs, there are no separate counselors; the counseling is done by the teachers and supervisors. In Oak City there are only two counselors, so the teachers help. In Ash City, each of the three major sites has counselors available, who also visit the other sites.

The majority of participants are young. In Beech City about 80 per cent were under forty. About two thirds of the participants were females. Fewer than 20 per cent receive welfare assistance. Although they are functionally illiterate, a large proportion had nine or more years of formal schooling. Some of the non-English speaking just want

to learn how to speak English. This is reflected in different relationships between the ESL classes and the other ABE classes. In Beech City, those who enroll in ESL classes do not typically transfer to ABE classes, whereas in other cities they typically do. The variety of characteristics of ABE participants and of the reasons why they attend result in much greater heterogeneity than is typical for preparatory education. However, the variability for an individual ABE class is comparable to that for public school adult education generally.

Many ABE students come with exceedingly unrealistic expectations regarding how much they can accomplish and how fast they can do so. This problem is further compounded for the addicts and the emotionally disturbed. At the first contact that a new participant has with the ABE unit, which sometimes involves registration and testing, it is apparent the extent to which academic counseling needs to be deemphasized in favor of personal counseling. The initial task is to establish rapport in ways relevant to the ABE program that will ensue. Counselor, mentors, administrators and support staff can all assist in the rapport building process along with initial diagnosis and placement, but to avoid confusion for the new participant one or two staff members must provide primary contact. In Hickory City, the initial contact between a new participant and the ABE program typically includes testing and placement in a class. A test, such as ABLE, is used, unless the entrant seems scared, in which case the testing is postponed. The placement is handled with an informal interview, during which, if the entrant says that he has completed intermediate grades, can read the phone book and

street signs, he is given a simple book to read as a way of estimating grade placement.

Tasks

Because there are few school discipline problems in voluntary ABE programs, such as are associated with mandatory programs of preparatory education, counselor time is available to help the participant understand and deal with the adult life responsibilities and problems that cause such a major portion of dropouts. In Maple City, Walnut City, and one of the programs in Beech City, the dropout rate each year is about 50 per cent as it is in Oak City, where the dropout rate for the regular adult school is about 20 per cent. In Ash City, Hickory City, and another Beech City program, the rate is one-third. The ABE absentee rate is also high. In Ash City, attendance is a big problem also. Follow-up of absentees is provided by phone or letter but because the undereducated are very mobile, many cannot be reached. Persistence rates appear to be especially low for those with the lowest literacy levels. The task of following up on attendance problems is complicated by both difficulty in reaching the absent participants and their preference not to be sought out (such as when the reason for non-attendance is because they are in jail). However, numbers, characteristics and reasons of those who drop out have great diagnostic value for program improvement. Most of the cities reported no follow up study on dropouts. There was a dropout study several years earlier related to one of the Beech City programs, but little evidence that the results were used.

It would appear that an effective division of responsibility for the counseling and guidance function would be to have the ABE teacher focus on educational and personal counseling that depend on a close

and continuing relationship with the student, and to have the specialized counseling staff focus on vocational counseling and referrals that depend on continuing contact with community agencies. Even if no one associated with the ABE program is competent to provide vocational counseling, the ABE administrators should be prepared to provide referral to persons who are competent to do so.

Benefits

The typical ABE participant who completes the program through the 8th grade equivalency spends about two years doing so. The likelihood of his doing so would seem to be related to the extent of staff contact with his out-of-school life, if only conversationally with his teacher. The lack of evaluation in most ABE programs has restricted the identification of likely ways to increase persistence. Another benefit of more evaluation is the contribution that is made to the participant becoming more test wise. For those who persist to about 8th grade reading level in one city, most take the 8th grade equivalency exam, and some testing about every 200 hours of instruction, typically administered by the counselor. In Ash City, most of the achievement testing is based on standardized tests, but resources are not made available for more adequate evaluation. The director believes that too much counselor time is currently spent on testing. He would prefer to use limited resources to offer more classes than to spend the same amount on evaluation.

Although there is considerable variation, in most programs about 80 per cent of those who complete the 8th grade equivalency go on to high school programs. Some programs encourage entry in the GED program

at that point. In other programs, however, there is a strong belief that for those who want to go on beyond high school, the GED program places too much emphasis on passing an exam and too little on acquisition of competence, and as a result encourages failure in post high school education. In most ABE programs there is little by way of placement, referrals, and follow-up related to jobs, housing, health examinations, or legal services. Ash City provides neither placement or follow up. Oak City also provides no placement, and one counselor suggested that they should not use their resources to do so when the Department of Employment is better equipped to help participants obtain jobs. At the demonstration center in Hickory City, the "biggest headache" was reportedly evaluation and record keeping, a function that tends to be taken more seriously in a demonstration project with less certainty about funding and thus more emphasis on being able to "present evidence."

MATERIALS

Sources

The flow of instructional materials through an ABE program is rarely formalized because of the great latitude granted to each teacher. Some teacher-made materials are developed by the teacher who uses them; others are developed and used by two or more teachers in the ABE unit. In Beech City, teams of ABE teachers have prepared curriculum units. In Ash City curriculum teams prepared guides to units. In addition, it was estimated that three-quarters of the ABE teachers in Ash City adapt at least some materials for their own use. Because materials are so closely related to the program development and instructional process, a central mentor role and high mentor commitment to their use is very desirable. In addition,

materials come from sources outside the unit such as commercial publishers, other ABE programs, other parts of the school system, and community groups. One task of the ABE administrator is to maintain a balance between the various sources of materials, but there is great variation in task performance. In Hickory City, each ABE participant is issued a library card and, as a member of a group of participants, visits a library to become familiar with appropriate books that are available.

Selection

The availability of materials from a variety of sources is only part of the concern about materials. Perhaps even more important is the way in which they are selected, the extent and type of use that they receive, and the evaluation that is made of their effectiveness. The ABE unit administrator is kept at least minimally aware of the major ABE materials by the publishers and by organizations such as NAPCAE. There is typically an effort made to acquaint the ABE mentors with these materials. One way is to assemble examination copies of as many materials as possible in one location and to provide each staff member with a list. This was done in Maple City. In Beech City, one of the early tasks of the ABE materials and curriculum specialist was to select and organize a carefully chosen materials collection that included both print and audio-visual materials related to reading and computational skills, minority group culture, and coping in the city. Staff can help to evaluate the materials and these evaluations can assist others to select from the list and can enable periodic modification of the list. The efforts to formally evaluate ABE materials have been fragmentary

at the local level. Some states and national groups have done so. Some communities have arrangements for approval of ABE texts by the school system. After that, the burden of responsibility tends to rest with each individual ABE teacher, and practice tends to be about as good as his individual performance. Unfortunately, the practice of paying teachers by the classroom hour does not encourage extra effort related to materials. Clearly, both mentor and administrator have important roles to perform in the decision-making process regarding materials. If they perform effectively, there will be a variety of materials on different topics, at different levels of difficulty for both native born and foreign born. In Walnut City, an ABE administrator is centrally involved in materials selection. She commented that beginning ABE teachers tend to try to use too many different materials. In Oak City, ABE texts are approved by the city and ordered by the central office, but the ABE administrator has substantial latitude. In Beech City, an administrator indicated that ABE teachers may substitute packaged audio-visual materials for more typical teaching procedures, but usually need assistance to do so effectively. Sometimes, persons associated with organizations close to the target population can react to materials regarding relevance. In several cities, some instructional materials are selected from the activities of adulthood, such as tax forms, job instructions, drivers manuals, or hobby newsletters. In Maple Citya specially prepared newsletter provides all ABE participants with reading material that meets most of the criteria, is of local interest, and includes articles written by the ABE participants. One of the problems related to published materials is the limited budget for materials

and related equipment in most ABE programs and the long delays encountered between when a teacher requests materials and when she receives them.

PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT

Characteristics

The process by which new ABE participants enter the program is a crucial one. Although some participants do receive specific and immediate incentives related to job, welfare, or a stipend, most ABE participants enter the program voluntarily in anticipation of a more long-term benefit. The younger men and mothers without husbands anticipate a series of better jobs over the years; the younger wives and mothers want to help their children with school work; older adults are interested in pride and a variety of general uses of increased literacy. Some attend for social reasons. Some enter the ABE program with unattainable expectations but after a semester, those who remain have acquired more realistic expectations. In Ash, Beech, and Hickory Cities, an 8th grade certificate is a goal but few attain it, even those who go on for the high school equivalency.

Encouragement

The decision to participate is not made easily and often needs encouragement. Failing a job related test sometimes provides this encouragement. If the encouragement is not provided, and the target population is not attracted, they cannot be taught. Furthermore, there tends to be the concern that if the enrollment is down, there will be a reduction in anticipated program funds. This problem is compounded by a dropout rate which is reported to be about 50 per cent, and which seems

to be highest for those with the lowest educational level. There is little substantial evidence regarding attrition.

Agency Effort

The extent of the recruitment problem depends on the difficulty in encouraging persons in the target population to enroll and the fit between the program and the participant's expectations. This fit is reflected in the persistence and retention rate. The reaction to a shift in the enrollment rate in combination with the retention rate depends on the extent to which there are available places rather than a waiting list. A ceiling on funds and a long waiting list tend to result in a low priority for recruitment and for efforts to reduce the dropout rate. Much depends on how the ABE administrator views the recruitment problem.

In cities in which income to the ABE unit is related to enrollment, there is greater effort to increase enrollment than in cities where a fixed budget means that recruitment only produces overcrowding of classes. For instance, when the budget is related to enrollment, it is more likely that one or two classes will be located in outlying centers in neighborhoods, a more expensive arrangement but one that tends to boost enrollment.

Approach

One major recruitment task is the specification of priorities regarding the characteristics of the target population to be reached. One way to do so is to decide on segments of the target population to be more actively recruited, using such criteria as age; sex; race; educational level; and occupational, family or welfare status. The definition of the size and characteristics of the target population provides a basis for

the selection of methods that are likely to reach them. This is the process referred to earlier as attempting to reach the poorest. Another approach is to use inexpensive, middle class methods of recruitment (such as mass media and contacting organizations) and then accepting whoever shows up as the clientele. This approach is likely to attract those illiterate adults who are most likely to acquire an 8th grade education or more. Either way a basic recruitment decision has been made. The director of one program indicated that there was no need to actively recruit participants because the reputation of the ABE program was sufficiently good that word-of-mouth resulted in all the participants that they had funds for. A small part of the target population in Oak City consisted of people above the poverty line who wanted to become more literate for business reasons. If the target population is the really hard core of unemployed and almost totally illiterate adults, then a highly selective approach must be made. Some programs, such as those in Ash and Oak cities, indicated that typical ABE programs could not reach the hard core; that stipends, work related components, and social service components were needed. In Ash, Hickory and Walnut cities, door-to-door recruiters were tried, with very little success. As the size and characteristics of the target population in the community shifts, this snould be reflected in the new enrollees in the ABE program. One vehicle for recruitment is relating literacy to vocational education. At the demonstration center in Hickory City, almost three-quarters are interested in jobs.

Channels

There are a variety of channels through which messages about the ABE

program might be communicated to a target population. The characteristics of the target population provide a major determinant of which combination of channels will be most successful. The channels through which potential participants might receive information about ABE include print and electronic mass media, conversation with an ABE participant, conversation with an opinion leader in their circle of friends, conversation with an ABE staff person such as a recruiter or a counsellor, participation in a vestibule program that "feeds" into the ABE program, and membership in a community group that co-sponsors an ABE course. Families, friends and co-workers seem to be the most common source of information. The use of a "feeder" class is a promising innovation. In Beech City, ABE administrators indicated that informal word-of-mouth by satisfied participants was the most effective method of recruitment. Also mentioned as methods were the efforts of teachers who wanted to establish and maintain a class with sufficient enrollment, organized efforts by present students, T.V. spot announcements, and working through organizations such as the PTA, CAP agencies, and welfare. In Walnut City, much promotional effort was reported, including work with the churches, leaflets distributed by teachers, and tapes prepared for use by an ethnic radio station. Maple City also used radio tapes and worked with churches. In Oak City, a former newspaper man was hired by the school system, with part of his time assigned to publicizing the ABE program. An ABE administrator there also urged greater use of employers as allies in recruitment. The community image of the ABE program as practical and adult-oriented will facilitite recruitment. The ABE unit staff can help to attract participants through informal contact with persons in the target population, or through more formal recruitment through

organizations or by going door-to-door. Most of the programs have discontinued door-to-door recruiting as ineffective. The ABE participants may organize clubs for other illiterates to encourage them to enroll. In Maple City, it is stressed to all ABE students that they have a stake in recruitment so that at least a minimum class size can be maintained and their class continue. Partly as a result, many ABE students on their own organized clubs to recruit their friends and neighbors into ABE classes. Government departments, such as neighborhood services and police, can provide suggestions of people in each neighborhood who are likely to be opinion leaders who could encourage illiterate adults to enroll. Ministers whose congregations include a substantial number of illiterate adults can talk convincingly about the value of ABE classes, and will be more likely to do so if someone from the ABE unit will help prepare the talk. Except in instances where ABE participants do not want others to know about it, photographs of ABE groups posted in their neighborhood can encourage enrollment by their acquaintances. Even though referrals from welfare and employment agencies have not been a very effective source of participants, the process can be helped by ABE staff contact. The availability of a stipend, even transportation money, can encourage participation of the poorest. In one ABE program related to the Welfare Education Plan, participants received a ten dollar a week stipend plus an allowance or child care facilities for baby sitting.

This important aspect of an ABE program can be better understood by describing the way in which the staff of the unit analyze and make adjustments in the ways in which the unit establishes linkage with

individuals and groups in the target population. For instance, in Maple City some of the ABE staff concluded that some illiterate adults reject the setting in which their early schooling occurred. They therefore tried to establish alternative settings for ABE classes. One was churches. One of the ABE program administrators meets regularly with the Ministerial Alliance. He found that some ministers who are in the process of setting up a storefront church in a poor neighborhood would like to schedule an ABE class on the same evening as the service in hopes that each activity would attract some participants for the other. He found, however, that some ministers resist cooperation with the ABE program because of concern for divided loyalties and a lessening of his authority. The program administrator tried to counteract this concern by showing some of the advantages including attraction of ambitious young adults.

One of the most promising ways to encourage participation is co-sponsorship or other ways to encourage various organizations and groups to provide referrals to the ABE program. In a few programs this channel is becoming the major source of participants. It is in some respects surprising that the extent of co-sponsorship of ABE classes is so infrequent.

FACILITIES

Locations

An ABE program takes place somewhere. It may occur in school, in a church basement or a union hall, or in someone's living room. Most ABE classes are held in school facilities, but an increasing proportion are being held in other facilities. In Maple City, about 40 per cent of the ABE classes in one program were held in school facilities, with the

remainder about equally divided between churches and other locations such as union facilities. In Beech City, one of the ABE programs had no more than two classes in any location that included schools, churches, storefronts, libraries, and housing developments. Non-school facilities may be closer, more familiar, and less threatening to the target population and more accessible during the day. However, there may be problems related to health, safety and instructional equipment. Some states have minimum standards that must be met if facilities are to be used for educational purposes by more than a set number of persons. Non-school facilities also tend to be more expensive to operate. In Ash City, state standards require that if non-school facilities are used for 9 or more persons the classroom must have at least two doors, there must be separate men's and women's rooms, etc. Many non-school locations for ABE classes do not meet these requirements. As a result of these types of decisions, each ABE unit decides on the proportion of classes that will be held in non-school locations and the criteria for selecting these facilities. One criterion may be the willingness of a co-sponsoring group to provide the facilities without charge. In Hickory City, an ABE class could easily be placed in a school building that was already open that evening for other adult classes, but otherwise opening a school was difficult and expensive.

Timing

An ABE program occurs at some time. The exclusive use of school facilities tends to severely restrict day classes, unless one or more adult day schools are provided. Although some programs reported adult day school facilities, many indicated that they confronted problems in

arranging for space for day classes. The WEP-related ABE program in Beech City that was originally day only, later added evening classes. Some segments of the target population require day classes, such as older adults, mothers of school age children, and evening shift workers. Facilities primarily for the ABE program contribute to institutionalization. This occurs because facilities provide visibility and the appearance of stability and continuity, because they tend to increase the number of persons related to the school system who include relationships with the ABE program as part of their routine, because facilities tend to be associated with a long-term financial commitment, and because keeping facilities utilized becomes a way of assuring continued use of facilities. In general, about ninety per cent of the Title III ABE classes were held in the evenings. There is a tendency for Spanish-speaking adults to be less interested in evening classes.

Centralization

Another consideration related to facilities, but also to programming, is whether the ABE classes are centralized in a few locations or decentralized with just one or two classes at most locations. Decentralization minimizes the time and expense of transportation for participants. It can also place classes closer to convenient transportation routes and work locations. However, small enrollments tend to increase the costs of the ABE program per participant. Centralization increases the possibility of specialization of class objectives and supporting services such as counseling, loan materials, and audio-visual aids. In several cities, materials were far less available at decentralized locations. At centralized locations with two or more classes

running concurrently, classes can be operated at different reading levels, or with specialized emphsis such as ESL.

Deciding on Facilities

Because the ABE unit tends to have very little floor space under its control, and that usually office space, the decision-making process related to facilities is largely a matter of the ABE unit administrator's negotiating with those who do control the desired space for its part-time use by the ABE program. These "others" in the schools may be in the adult education division, in the school business office, the principal of each school building, an assistant superintendent of schools or, in decentralized systems, a district superintendent. In Ash City, during the late afternoon and evening, one person has the responsibility to allocate all school facilities for adult education and other uses.

These "others" outside the schools are typically administrators of the community groups that have available facilities. In the latter instances someone in the schools or in state government may participate in the decision. The co-sponsoring group may contribute meeting space in return for the benefits of having the ABE program available for the membership, or it may want to rent the space to the schools as a way of helping the schools with "the schools'" program. In all of these decisions, one basic consideration is, what contribution will any given arrangement make to the achievement of program objectives? In addition to basic instructional requirements, and minimal health and safety standards, the facilities should encourage the participants to feel at ease. Aside from general requirements, there are some that vary with the instructional approach and attitudes of the target population. For

instance, tutoring centers require different facilities than classrooms for group instruction. Some illiterate adults may be more attracted to the prestige of a high school location than an elementary school, and some may be annoyed by smoking restrictions. The ABE administrator in Walnut City discovered that the best days, times, and locations varied substantially from neighborhood to neighborhood within their service area. Another consideration was the length of the term for each course, and the number of class sessions per week. They scheduled some evening classes to meet four times a week and some day classes to meet five times a week to facilitate rapid progress for persons who could spend this much time weekly.

FINANCES

Sources

Because ABE programs do not charge fees to the participants, the amount of tax funds from all sources for ABE in a city is the primary determinant of the size of the ABE program. For many adult education programs that charge tuition to the participants, this is not the case. For these programs, as the enrollment increases or decreases, so does the budget. With the ABE funds allocated annually, if the budget allows one hundred teachers, then the fluctuation in enrollment tends to be in class size until all classes are filled to capacity. When tax funds are increased or decreased a new ceiling is established. The size of the ABE budget is relevant to both the size of the community and of the target population.

The process by which Federal ABE funds under Title III of ESEA are allocated to an individual city for ongoing ABE programs is relatively complicated and varies somewhat from state to state. The total amount for

distribution to states depends on the amount provided in the federal appropriations bill. Because the appropriations bill is usually enacted during the year during which expenditures are to occur, a continuing resolution at the start of the fiscal year provides for expenditures at the same monthly rate as for the previous year until the appropriations bill is passed and establishes a new level of expenditures. If the appropriations for a program are cut substantially, the result could be that the annual federal share is entirely expended part way through the year when the total federal allocation becomes known. The allocations to the states are based primarily on population but with a basic allotment to less populous states. The federal administration of the ABE program is based on a state plan that is submitted or amended each year by each state. Part of the federal funds are used for administration of the ABE program at the state level. The state ABE director and his staff have responsibility for the preparation and administration of the state plan including the allocation of ABE funds to local school districts. The procedure by which the state plan is formulated and local allocations made varies somewhat from state to state. One major factor is the number of adults with less than a 8th grade education, the size of the target population. In some states the local share of the state allocation is relatively predictable and routine from year to year. In other states, the local school district must make a case for requested funds. Many states have some ABE funds that they can reallocate to some school districts, towards the end of the fiscal year. One factor that in some states influences the size of the initial local allocation and especially the year-end allocation of ABE funds, is

the reported number of adults who registered for or attended the ABE program. For two equivalent communities, the one that reports the larger enrollment will typically receive a larger state allocation of federal ABE funds under Title III. This factor is related to attendance reporting practices at the class, center, and district levels, even though the federal funds are not reimbursement based on enrollment or average daily attendance. The reporting of enrollments from the state to the federal levels does serve to present evidence to encourage Congress to appropriate the same or a larger amount of funds for ABE. For cities without state aid for adult education or a local contribution other than the minimum "in-kind" matching, the federal share of the local ABE program approaches ninety per cent. For cities that receive state aid and a local contribution, the federal share is about fifty per cent.

In addition to the federal government as the major current source of ABE funds, some states allocate money for ABE. The local community contribution tends to be "in kind" and hidden instead of a cash allocation. When there is no charge to the ABE budget for use of facilities, equipment, and the services of support staff, this hidden local contribution can be substantial. Additional sources of funds for ABE include contributions of money, facilities, or services by co-sponsors, contributions by community groups, and project grants from foundations or government.

Transformation

The collection of money from a few sources and its expenditure for standard purposes such as staff salaries and materials results in less complex financial procedures than for some adult education programs in which fees are collected from participants as well. However, the ABE