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ABSTRACT

The report describes the first year of development and present operation of the Career Intern Program (CIP), a component of the Urban Career Education Center's alternative school for high school dropouts and potential dropouts. The purpose of the program, operated by the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America under a contract from the National Institute of Education, is to provide opportunities for students with school problems to achieve their career aspirations. The program begins with 10 weeks of intensive orientation, counseling, and career investigation. Its second phase, lasting from 11 weeks to four semesters, features individualized instruction in basic academic subjects integrated with education; career exploration and hands-on experience highlight this phase. Disadvantages of the program's informality have included manipulation of staff by some students, conflicting staff standards for academic credit, and the great effort required to retrain the staff. Advantages have included a personalized school atmosphere liked by the interns, students' feelings of acceptance, and program flexibility. The document recounts the program's development, describes its students and the short-term effect on them, identifies those for whom the program works best, presents followup data, and discusses the program's implications. (Author/AJ)

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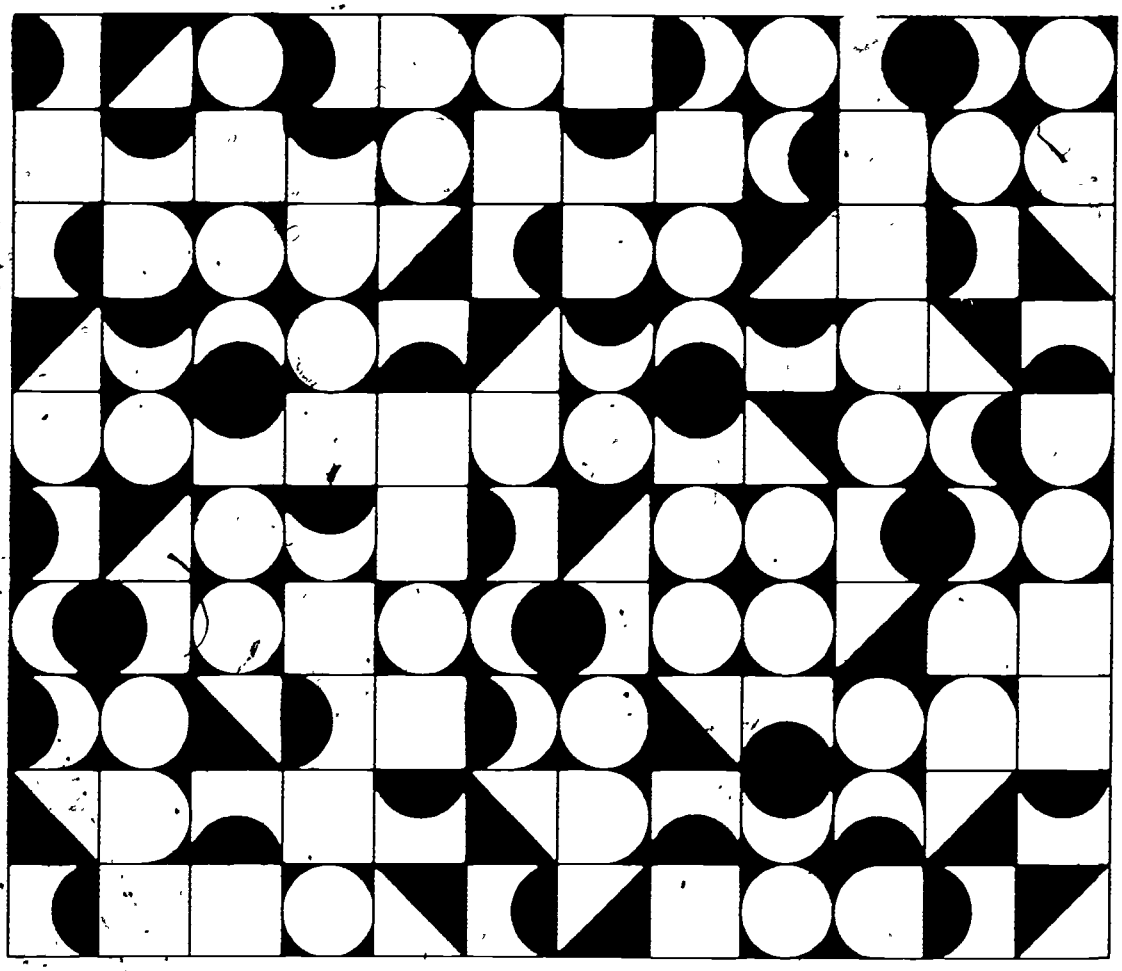
The Career Intern Program

Volume I

Preliminary Results of an Experiment in Career Education



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Interim Report

THE CAREER INTERN PROGRAM:

PRELIMINARY RESULTS OF AN EXPERIMENT IN CAREER EDUCATION

VOLUME 1

This report was prepared for the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Inc., which designed and operates the Career Intern Program, supported by funds from the National Institute of Education under contract number NE-C-00-3-0122. The evaluation of the program and the writing of this report was performed by:

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under a sub-contract awarded by the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Inc.

The viewpoints and conclusions reflected in this report are solely those of the authors. They do not represent the views of the National Institute of Education.

June 1975

FOREWARD

In the late fifties, James B. Conant referred to the unsolved problems of urban youth as "social dynamite." Today, in spite of billions of dollars invested in our inner cities and educational efforts, an explosion of greater magnitude than any riot of the sixties is more imminent than ever. Among young people, the level of violent crime, addiction, alcoholism, and gang activity has never been higher. The social and economic costs are being felt by every citizen; those of us whose roots are in the inner city feel the immeasurable waste in our failure to reach our most precious resources, our children.

This book is a preliminary report of how OIC has begun to de-fuse the dynamite by working with the basic needs and problems that face urban youth. We help them find a way out through goal setting, self-motivation, and sincere interest. We are realistic, hardnosed, and understanding.

We work with high school kids who haven't made it in regular schools. Some are hostile; others are quiet; most see little hope of getting an education and a good job. The exciting and hopeful fact reflected in this report is that we are reaching them--some kids have turned the psychological corner. They became interested in our program; they found that others cared; and they began to act more responsibly toward themselves and others.

We have had many failures, too, and this book describes both our ups and our downs. But we are on the way to finding out how to help people study and work and feel better about themselves. That is what we want for more youth, and we are committed to doing something about it now.

Elton Jolly
National Executive Director
Opportunities Industrialization
Centers of America, Inc.

PREFACE

This monograph tells about the efforts of the Reverend Dr. Leon H. Sullivan, Chairman of the Board of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Inc. (OICs/A), and his staff to help Black ~~urban youth get~~ a basic education and go on to further training or a paying job through the Career Intern Program. The locale is the inner city. The students, for the most part, are those who have dropped out of high school or who are very likely to drop out because of poor attendance and failing grades.

The Career Intern Program was initiated by OICs/A with support for development and evaluation from the U. S. Office of Education and, later, from the National Institute of Education. The development effort reported here, in addition to dealing with an important educational problem, attempts to link systematic evaluation to program development. This linkage may offer a promising way to move beyond sporadic development efforts by providing a firm base from which to assess program strengths and weaknesses.

For their assistance in helping us complete the work which has culminated in this report, we gratefully acknowledge the following people: Mr. C. Benjamin Lattimore, Program Manager, OICs/A, who provided management support for the development and evaluation efforts; Dr. Corinne Rieder, Associate Director for the Education and Work Group, National Institute of Education, for her initial interest in the support of the Career Intern Program; Dr. Lois-ellin Datta, Chief of Planning, Research, and Evaluation, National Institute of Education, for her critical review of the manuscript; and Mr. Albert D. Cunningham, Jr., Project Officer, National Institute of Education, for his efforts in coordinating the project and facilitating communication at critical junctures.

Dr. Michael Scriven, University of California, Berkeley, was most helpful in our efforts to develop a rigorous evaluation design which did not sacrifice the practical needs of the program staff and policymakers for certain kinds of evaluative data.

The people on our staff deserve special thanks for their contribution in data collection and analysis and for writing early drafts of certain sections of the manuscript: Mr. James Weiler, Director of Research, Ms. Angelika Melien and Ms. Elaine Simon, Evaluation Specialists. Ms. Cynthia Martin and Ms. Virginia Murphy deserve special thanks for their work in typing and editing the manuscript. In addition, we would like to thank Ms. Karen Ackoff for her cover design.

The first author also wishes to thank former Dean Neal Gross and Acting Dean William B. Castetter, Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania, for granting him academic leave to continue work on this project.

Richard A. Gibboney
Michael G. Langsdorf
David M. Smith

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report describes the first year of development and present operation of the Career Intern Program (CIP), a component of the Urban Career Education Center, which is an alternative school for high school dropouts and potential dropouts. The purpose of the program, operated by the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America under a contract from the National Institute of Education, is to provide opportunities for students having difficulty in the public schools to achieve their career aspirations through a combination of career and academic learning experiences.

PROGRAM OPERATIONS

The program begins with ten weeks of intensive orientation, counseling, and career investigation. The Career Counseling Seminar, conducted by teacher/counselor/career-developer teams, is intended to help young people learn how they can succeed in school and what this means for their future life and career aspirations.

The second phase, lasting from 11 weeks to four semesters, features individualized instruction in basic academic subjects, a system adapted to the irregular attendance and life crises these students often face. Career-oriented subject matter is integrated with academic subjects; and career exploration and Hands-On experiences highlight this phase. In addition, counseling support is continued.

DISADVANTAGES AND ADVANTAGES OF CIP DURING THE FIRST DEVELOPMENT PERIOD

Disadvantages have included: An informality that has sometimes encouraged world-wise interns to pit staff from different specialities against each other so interns are able to avoid responsibilities; conflicting standards among teachers and counselors for awarding academic credit which has been confusing to students; and the great effort required to retrain the school's staff to function in a context so markedly different from the schools with which they are familiar.

These disadvantages, observed during the first eight-month developmental period of a multi-year effort, are being corrected in present operations.

Advantages have included: A personalized school atmosphere the interns like, in contrast to the large, impersonal urban schools; the

ability to help many students feel accepted in school for the first time in their careers; and the ability to respond quickly to crises or to alter the program as experience suggests.

WHAT INTERNS WERE LIKE BEFORE THEY ENTERED CIP

Before entering CIP, interns were in serious academic trouble. Almost half had dropped out, and most of the others were about two full years behind their age-mates in academic credit and four years behind most students in the United States in reading and mathematics achievement. They saw themselves as failing in school because they were poor students and academically incompetent.

On the other hand, before entering CIP, interns showed on a nonverbal test of reasoning ability average levels of ability to learn; their self-esteem was high, and they saw themselves as people who liked and were liked by others. They reported their relationships with their families as marked by love and mutual respect.

With regard to career development, most students entered with a career choice already made (more so for men than for women, who had less frequently decided), had engaged in average levels of career exploration and planning, but had little factual knowledge about careers. Additionally, while students were oriented toward vocational and technical areas, their parents hoped they would enter professional careers requiring advanced education.

WHAT THE INTERNS LEARNED

During the first ten weeks (all the data available for this initial report), students continued to have a strong sense of self-worth, continued to feel liked by others, and continued to report good family relationships. Qualitatively, parents felt relieved and pleased with their child's academic commitment, and this sense of movement and direction is seen as strengthening parent/child relationships.

During the first ten weeks, the interns' academic self-image did turn around. Interns who reported before entry that they were failures academically now saw themselves as people who had not achieved before but could now, believing they could attain their high school diploma and acquire the skills and abilities they would need for a career.

During the first ten weeks, interns' skills in career planning, which were initially about average relative to youth of their age, climbed even higher.

During the first ten weeks, interviews and observations showed interns had substantial and accurate information about the careers they had selected for investigation and were on their way to setting a direction for themselves based on this information.

A follow-up study of graduates from an earlier version of the program showed employment rates at an acceptable level during a time of economic recession.

While these findings are encouraging, the next report, based on the now-stabilized program and on data collected prior to student entry into the program, at the end of Phase I and Phase II, and at established follow-up points, should give fuller information on the effects of CIP on participating interns.

WHAT HAS BEEN LEARNED ABOUT THE PROCESS OF PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

- Written program plans should be viewed as tentative ideas to be tried out, and these plans should be changed on the basis of experience guided by the program's basic purposes.
- The process of change or development takes time: the sooner this is recognized by program staff, the better.
- Everyone concerned with the program should be oriented to its objectives at the earliest possible opportunity, to the extent that program administrators can assure themselves that others fully understand the implications of the objectives.
- If most program people strongly disagree with one or more objectives, these should be reconsidered and perhaps eliminated or restated.
- Program staff must carefully think through the responsibilities of each of the specialized roles within a program; these roles should be communicated to all involved with the program at the earliest possible time.
- Alternative ways of behaving should be carefully described to all program personnel, most of whom will be unfamiliar with program operations and philosophy, particularly in an experimental program.
- Program participants should assure themselves that such behavior is consistent with the intent of the program.

- These alternatives should be provided, at least tentatively, before the program begins to operate and should be carefully explained to all participants.

- If an alternative school offers a learning opportunity for their children, parents will support it, even though an evaluation of changes in student attitude and achievement is an explicit part of the school's effort.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

This report is written for the educator or school board member interested in reading an account of a program combining basic and career education for high school youth who are not succeeding in regular schools. Since the intended audience for this monograph is more concerned with curriculum and policy decisions than with the technical aspect of evaluation, the authors have emphasized topics appropriate to this concern utilizing evaluation-based data in their treatment of the topics. Technical aspects of the evaluation design, a description of the instruments used, and a discussion of the data analysis procedures are fully covered in a separate technical appendix (Volume II of this report), which provides, as well, information about program costs. Researchers or others may find this material of interest if they want more information on the instruments used or wish to study the array of basic data in depth. Nonetheless, reading this report will be easier if the reader understands something about its context in time and the general outline of the evaluation design on which all data summarized in the report are based.

TIME SUMMARY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND EVALUATION OF THE CAREER INTERN PROGRAM (CIP)

Although the Career Intern Program was begun in the fall of 1972, the systematic linking of program development and evaluation began with support from the National Institute of Education in December 1973. As work progressed and tentative conclusions were reached on the time required to develop CIP and rigorously evaluate its results, time blocks were created, each with a major focus. This report is based on data collected during the first of the time blocks listed below.

> December 1973 - August 1974: Program development work continued; evaluation to facilitate program development (formative evaluation) and to make a preliminary assessment of major program results (summative evaluation) begun.
>
> September 1974 - February 1975: Program to be fully developed; evaluation used to facilitate the "fit" between the program as designed and implemented and the reaction of interns and staff to the program.
>
> March 1975 - February 1976: Program developed and implemented; evaluation to assess major results, to provide data to staff on the quality of their implementation efforts, and to document how the program was implemented.

The logic of the development-evaluation effort is that of working deliberately over time to adapt a "paper design" to the practical requirements of students, staff, employers, and post-high school education or training institutions. This first report on the development of CIP should be of interest to educators because it deals candidly with the difficulties and opportunities involved in trying to do something better for students with a history of failure in urban schools.

A final report on the development and evaluation of CIP is scheduled for publication in the spring of 1976 after the fully-developed program has been in operation for one calendar year.

OVERVIEW OF THE EVALUATION DESIGN

An evaluation procedure was developed, using a lottery process to determine which students were to be admitted to the program and which ones were not. The lottery process controls for the possible bias which might be present if students who volunteered for the program were compared with students who did not. The students chosen by lottery to enter the Career Intern Program constituted the experimental group; those not admitted, the control group.

The lottery was held for applicants who had completed interviews, taken achievement and attitude tests, and otherwise completed the required pre-enrollment procedures. No applicant knew whether she or he would be in the experimental or control group at the time the entry-level data were collected. Applicants who did not complete the pre-enrollment procedures were not included in the lottery. The experimental nature of the program and the use of the lottery were carefully explained to all applicants and their parents during the pre-enrollment process.

Students were enrolled (and control groups formed) at two times during the period covered in this report: January 1974 and June 1974 (CIP operated for a summer semester). Most of these students (called "interns" by the program) did not complete the program by August 31, 1974, except those of senior status who needed two or three credits to meet Philadelphia requirements for a diploma.

Follow-up studies were completed on as many interns as possible who had completed the program prior to December 1973. These studies were conducted to elicit some data on what graduates did after leaving CIP with respect to jobs held and post-high school vocational or general educational training pursued. The groups from whom data were collected are clearly identified in the report

along with other relevant descriptive information.

One other facet of the evaluation needs to be explained--the problem of the changing sample size (i.e., number of students from whom data were collected) reported in the text as different evaluation questions are addressed.

The reader will note, for example, that in Chapter Four the sample size used is sometimes 267, 140, or 78 (reported as N = 267, N = 78, etc.). The sample size varies depending on the number of individuals who completed the particular interviews or tests which supplied data pertinent to the question. The N of 267, Figure 4, page 64, reflects usable data from the total applicant pool for the January and June 1974 admissions (before the lottery was held). The N of 140, on the other hand, reported in Table I, page 67, reflects the number of students from the 267 in the applicant pool who completed the reading test. Some students completed the pre-enrollment interview during which the purpose of CIP was explained. At this point, some decided that CIP was not for them or that they did not want to "face" another reading test. This action, or comparable actions, resulted in a larger sample size for personal background information or educational aspirations than for reading scores--primarily since the reading and math tests followed the pre-enrollment interview.

The reasons for the changing sample size are usually clear from the text. Unlike most studies, this study does not have a constant sample size. Chapter Seven, for example, which discusses what happened to interns graduating from CIP, uses data from 39 individuals for the reasons cited in the text.

Other more typical reasons also contribute to a shrinking sample size. Control group students, who are not attending CIP, may not have an incentive to return information; interns may be absent on days tests are given, or they may return to their former schools or take a job. All of these factors reduce the number of usable data sets and hence the sample size.

We have tried to generalize to the appropriate sample as the N's changed, so that the conclusions are valid for that group. However, the reader should be alerted to the need for caution in recalling whether a particular finding was for all applicants, all applicants who took the relevant test, or other sub-groups within the populations. Differences in basic characteristics that might affect outcomes are noted where the sample size decreases.

CHAPTER ONE

WHY THE CAREER INTERN PROGRAM?

On Thursday, October 5, 1972, the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin reported:

> "'The eyes of the nation are upon you, Rev. Sullivan,' U.S. Commissioner of Education Dr. Sidney Marland said yesterday afternoon after he helped dedicate Rev. Leon Sullivan's new educational center for high school dropouts in Germantown. . . .
>
> "Called the Urban Career Education Center, Mr. Sullivan's new organization will work with Germantown High School pupils who have already dropped out or seem about to. . . .
>
> "'I cannot emphasize strongly enough that this is not simply more vocational education for blacks, something that has properly been attacked in the past as tending to segregate blacks into semi-skilled occupations, reserving college for the white middle class,' Marland said."

The Reverend Dr. Leon Sullivan, founder and chairman of the board of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (OICs/A), pointed out another dimension of the Urban Career Education Center when he wrote:

> "We want to improve the capability of elementary and secondary schools in order to make them meet the needs of disadvantaged youth. It is not sufficient just to supply quality education, as important as that is: a component like OIC is needed to use its prestige and its contacts in the business community to guarantee that disadvantaged young people have promising opportunities."[1]

In the sense of opening the doors at 62 West Harvey Street to youth and their families, October 5, 1972, was the beginning of the Urban Career Education Center (UCEC) and of its largest component, the Career Intern Program (CIP).

In another sense, the origins of the CIP go further back and

[1]From the proposal for funding submitted to the Office of Education on November 20, 1972.

include at least three traditions in education and social reform: alternative schools, manpower training, and community self-determination.

ORIGINS OF THE CAREER INTERN PROGRAM

The Search for Alternatives

The search for alternatives has characterized American education since colonial times. Citizens and educators have looked for better ways to teach reading and writing to children at the elementary level; and at the secondary level, for better ways to develop literacy, responsible citizenship, and the skills and attitudes necessary to find and hold a good job.

The elementary school as we know it did not appear until the last half of the nineteenth century. From the colonial period to the Civil War, many alternatives were tried in elementary education, among them the dame school, the writing school, and the pauper school, the last providing education to children of the poor whose parents could not afford private tuition.

At the secondary level other alternatives were tried. The academy, which introduced more practical subjects related to science and the world of work, had by 1850 replaced the Latin grammar school, with its more classical curriculum. And after the Civil War the high school was well on its way to supplanting the academy. Responding to the needs of an industrialized society and of diverse religious and ethnic groups, the high school broadened its curriculum to include content from commerce, agriculture, and industry, in addition to laboratory sciences, home economics, and the fine arts. Manual training, the forerunner of modern vocational education, was first introduced in 1880.

After World War I the number of public elementary and high schools rapidly expanded within well-established state systems of education. In the search for alternatives in the twenties and thirties, the basic structure of the relatively new 6-3-3 grade system was accepted. Reformers now looked within the system for sources of improvement. Such innovations as the teaching of academic and social skills through projects (e.g., building a model of an Indian village), the core curriculum, and the new instructional groupings were explored. In response to the ideas of John Dewey and his followers, efforts were made to vitalize instruction by using student interests as a starting point for instruction, and by giving more emphasis to creative experiences in the arts. Notable among these efforts was the Winnetka Plan, developed under Superintendent Carelton Washburne of Winnetka, Illinois, in which students pursued individually

designed learning contracts worked out with their teachers.[1] This progressive movement was the educational expression of a larger social reform movement which stimulated concern and changes in such diverse areas as child labor, women's suffrage, criminology, and safety standards for workers.

The progressive reform movement in public schools culminated in the Eight-Year Study of the Progressive Education Association, completed in 1941.[2] This study showed that, with respect to the 30 high schools in the study, a student's success in college was related to the degree her/his school deviated from traditional content and teaching methods. The changes made by most of the experimental public schools were in the direction of integrating appropriate subjects around selected problems (e.g., combining English and social studies to answer the question, How was life in the early industrial period reflected in the literature of this era?). World War II diverted attention, however, from what was perhaps the first and most significant field evaluation of an experimental program in our nation's history.

Private schools were also exploring alternatives in an effort to better meet student needs and the demands of the society in which they lived. One of the early experiments was the Laboratory School, founded in 1896 by John Dewey and his wife, Alice Chipman Dewey, at The University of Chicago. Interest in Montessori schools also increased. Among the private schools flying the progressive banner in the first three decades of this century were the City and Country School in New York City, the Francis W. Parker School in Chicago, and the Oak Lane Day School in Philadelphia.[3]

The progressive reform movement in education reached its peak in the early forties and declined thereafter.[4] Not until the sixties did a new reform movement in education arise. Although this movement embraced many kinds of experimentation, one result was the

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[1]Lawrence Cremin, The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957, New York: Vintage Books, 1964, pp. 296-97.

[2]Wilford M. Aikin, The Story of the Eight-Year Study, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1942.

[3]Harold Rugg and Ann Shumaker, The Child-Centered School: An Appraisal of the New Education, New York: The World Book Company, 1928, pp. 49-52.

[4]For an authoritative discussion of the rise and fall of the progressive educational movement, see Cremin, Transformation of the School, 387 pp.

formation of "alternative schools"--schools which tried to educate in ways different from those used by the typical public school. These schools were set up in store fronts, churches, community centers, libraries, and museums. Many were characterized by informality and smallness of scale--150 or 300 students, rather than the 1,000 or 3,000 commonly found in urban and suburban high schools. In addition, the new schools were based on the assumption that learning alternatives should be available which offer differing philosophies and curricula.

These alternative schools vary widely in their purposes and in the kind of students served. The Durham, Connecticut, schools offer a non-graded elementary school option begun because of parental requests for a "different" kind of elementary education. The Ramapo Senior High School, Spring Valley, New York, offers a School-Within-A-School option to juniors and seniors who want a greater voice in formulating their program of study. The school was developed by students, parents, and school staff. Instead of traditional grades, students and teachers write qualitative assessments of work done in a project or a course. The Street Academy of Albany, New York, is a non-graded, independent school using the city as its classrooms. The Academy was started by the Urban League and business organizations in Albany to serve dropouts or dropout-prone students between 13 and 18 years of age.[1]

The Philadelphia public school system has been among the national leaders in alternative education. In 1974 Philadelphia had 110 alternative schools serving 7,500 children ranging in age from 10 to 18.[2] There is, however, room for improvement. In 1974 the dropout rate in grades 9 through 12 in Philadelphia was about 13%, or 8,000 students. That the rate has stabilized in the past several years may mean the holding power of the schools has increased. Perhaps the fact that the city's students can select a school with teaching methods better matched to their individual needs or learning styles has aided stabilization.[3]

The Urban Career Education Center program is thus part of a time of experimentation, of trying out alternatives in the United States

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[1]James Hatch et al., A Catalog of Educational Alternatives, Trenton, New Jersey: New Jersey State Department of Education, The North Atlantic Regional Interstate Project, August 1974, 77 pp.

[2]"Alternative Programs Network: September 1973 - June 1974," Philadelphia: The School District of Philadelphia, 21st and Parkway, mimeographed, 42 pp.

[3]Leonard B. Finkelstein, Director of Alternative Programs, School District of Philadelphia. Data supplied by interview, October 1974.

generally, and in Philadelphia specifically.

As an alternative school, the Career Intern Program reflects the times. It offers academic and career education in a small "off-campus" setting, is close to its community, and is supported by both private and public agencies.[1]

Manpower Training

Manpower training, a second factor contributing to the Career Intern Program, is intended to prepare the worker for employment or to upgrade his/her skills. This training occurs after the worker has completed her/his formal education.

Manpower training programs are diverse and include such programs as industrial and governmental executive seminars, special training programs operated by universities, union-sponsored programs for members at all levels of responsibility, as well as special programs such as the Job Corps or the many retraining programs operated by the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (OICs/A) in over 100 cities. These programs share two assumptions: That human resources are worthwhile investments, and that the labor market operates to select, reward, and promote the most productive workers.

Manpower training programs traditionally have been available to upgrade the skills of those already employed.[2] There have been many forerunners of the manpower programs of the 1960's for the marginally employed or the chronically unemployed. During the Depression, for example, unemployment hit the young people the

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[1]Additional information on alternative programs may be obtained from the following sources: (1) "Changing Schools: An Occasional Newsletter of Alternative Public Schools," Educational Alternatives Project, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana; (2) National Consortiums for Options in Public Education, School of Education, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana; (3) National Alternative Schools Program, School of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts; (4) "Matters of Choice: A Ford Foundation Report on Alternative Schools," New York: The Ford Foundation, September 1974, 35 pp.

[2]For information on manpower training programs, see Manpower Report of the President, and a Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1973. See also Sar A. Levitan and Garth L. Mangum, Federal Training and Work Programs in the Sixties, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1969, 428 pp.

hardest. Among the programs for these unemployed, out-of-school youth was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), which provided not only a living, but also training in job skills that would help the corpsmen find employment when economic conditions improved.

Although the CCC was the most innovative of New Deal educational reform legislation, other programs also touched the lives of hundreds of thousands of youth. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) organized thousands of nursery schools, taught over a million illiterates to read and write, and ran a vast education program for almost 1.5 million adults yearly. The National Youth Administration (NYA) gave unemployed youth a chance to complete their education through part-time employment and developed an imaginative array of guidance, placement services, and training opportunities.[1]

In their determination to equip men and women for worthwhile jobs, and to correct wide-ranging injustices, the manpower training programs of the sixties took the programs of the thirties one step further. Youth programs begun in the mid-sixties reaffirmed the national commitment to break the cycle of poverty. Corps or work-experience programs, provided by the Neighborhood Youth Corps or Vocational Work-Study, continued the effort to help youth learn and earn.[2]

The educational and employment needs of adults were also recognized. Programs were mounted to help those on public assistance to get jobs (WIN), to provide jobs in the public sector (PEP), and to provide on-the-job training, as well as vocational-technical training in formal institutions.[3] Although the results of these programs have been mixed, often because participants were trained for non-existent jobs, manpower training and direct income maintenance are regarded as better strategies than service delivery or welfare for achieving equality of economic opportunity, and for meeting the problem of unemployment caused by technological changes.

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[1]Cremin, Transformation of the School, pp. 322-333.

[2]"Federal Youth Programs: A Discussion Paper," Washington, D.C.: Office of Economic Opportunity, December 1972, 175 pp..

[3]Programs mentioned in this section were funded under the Social Security Act as Amended (1968); the Economic Employment Act of 1971; the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962; and the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973. Information was provided by Mr. Samuel Janney, Manpower Administration Office (Region III), U.S. Department of Labor, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Community Influence and Control

The third strand of educational and social change leading to CIP and the UCEC is the increased participation of private agencies and the general community in educational decision-making, which began in the 1960's.

Increased community control of education has taken many forms. They vary from the formal adoption of policies guaranteeing students' constitutional rights, to efforts to institutionalize community control in decentralized school districts such as the Oceanhill-Brownsville district in New York City. They also include efforts in Philadelphia to involve the community on the influential advisory boards of its alternative schools. In other cases, citizens' participation is required by the regulations governing expenditure of federal funds. For example, the state advisory committees set up under Title III (Innovative Programs) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 must include lay persons from the community among their members.

One effect of listening more attentively to the voice of the community has been the establishment of the new types of schools discussed earlier. These include the Parkway program, Washington's Adams-Morgan Project, and the Role-Trade Model in San Diego, which is part of the national Follow-Through program.

The Career Intern Program at UCEC is among the first efforts in the country to create an alternative school focused on the career education needs of youth through the cooperation of a school system and a community organization with a successful history of retraining unemployed adults for work--the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (OICs/A).

THE STORY OF OICs/A

One of the first battles won by community action in the long, bitter, and continuing fight for racial equality in employment took place in Philadelphia in the late 1950's and early 1960's. Four hundred Black clergymen, outraged at the failure of gradualism, led the boycott of businesses which practiced racial discrimination in employment opportunities. The boycott was called the Selective Patronage Program. One of the initial targets of the Program was the Tasty Baking Company. After three months of the boycott of Tasty's products, the company agreed to hire Black workers. As the Tasty Baking Company acquiesced to the demands of the Selective Patronage Program, other businesses followed suit.

Once Black workers were allowed to seek employment opportunities, however, most were placed in unskilled jobs because of their lack of training and education. Thus, providing education and training for Blacks and other minorities became the motivation for establishing the first Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) in an old jailhouse in Philadelphia.

Today, it is often easy to forget the courage and dedication of these clergymen who demanded that jobs at all levels be open to all applicants, regardless of race. The Reverend Dr. Leon Sullivan, pastor of the Zion Baptist Church on Broad and Venango Streets in Philadelphia, was their leader. The first Opportunities Industrialization Center was founded in Philadelphia by Dr. Sullivan, who was concerned over how few minority workers were qualified to fill the newly available jobs.

By 1974, the local OIC programs sponsored by the national organization (OICs/A) had spread to over 100 cities and had trained about 195,000 persons.[1] The Wall Street Journal described OIC as one of the most successful manpower programs in operation. In April 1974, Thomas Bray wrote:

> "As founder and national director of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Dr. Sullivan has made a career out of self-help for blacks and other minorities. The OIC program began 10 years ago in an abandoned police station [sic] in the North Philadelphia slums and has since grown into a network of more than 100 job-training centers across the nation. Over 150,000 [2] disadvantaged and unskilled workers have been trained and placed in jobs ranging from brickworking to court reporting, and labor experts praise the OIC as one of the most successful and efficient manpower programs going."

Until 1972, the OIC programs served mostly out-of-school youth and adults (18 years and over) and emphasized preparation and training for a good job. The Reverend Dr. Sullivan became increasingly concerned, however, with younger people; with youth who might, with a better education, earn a better chance in life.

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[1]These are current data as of October 1974, as supplied by the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America.

[2]As stated above, 195,000 is a more accurate figure.

Career Education

The interest of OICs/A leadership in preventing adult unemployability through improved education coincided with U.S. Commissioner of Education Sidney Marland's development of the career education concept. As Marland wrote in 1972:

> "Career education is a systematic way to acquaint students with the world of work in the elementary and junior high years to prepare them in high school and college to enter and advance in a career field carefully chosen from among many. For adults it is a way to reenter formal education and upgrade their skills in their established career fields or to enter a new field. Career education intends to equip the individual to get a useful and self-respecting job."

A career education program for youth

- o merges academic and career preparation;
- o emphasizes career exploration, expanding options and choices;
- o provides an in-depth knowledge of how the economic system operates, and what the world of work is like from a wide variety of viewpoints; and
- o prepares youth for the continuing education required to enter the career of their choice, for apprenticeship or technical training, or for entry directly into the world of work.

Several factors influenced the formation of the UCEC and the CIP. First, the success of OIC programs in training unemployed adults had resulted in know-how among OICs/A personnel in the difficult area of adult training. Dr. Sullivan's concern with urban youth who were out of school and out of work was a second factor. Why could not the OICs/A concern and training expertise help them, as well? The final element needed was the concept of combining general and career education for youth. This was provided by Dr. Marland and his staff at the U.S. Office of Education.

Bringing It All Together

In 1970, Dr. Marland met with the Reverend Dr. Sullivan at the Seventh Annual OICs/A Convocation in Seattle, Washington. From this meeting came an Office of Education commitment to create an innovative partnership: OICs/A would bring its know-how in training low-income adults, its community-based support, its access to business and industry, and the OICs/A spirit of belief in achievement to the educational needs of inner-city youth, while the Office of Education (OE) would bring not only the money for the first program, but also the support of its staff and their consultants in developing, testing, and disseminating this experimental approach to career education.

The OICs/A leadership envisioned one program, the Urban Career Education Center, with three components: the Career Intern Program (CIP), the Community Career Program (CCP), and the Career Orientation Program (COP). In the spring of 1972 a grant was awarded to OICs/A by the Office of Education to plan and begin initial operation of such a program. OICs/A, in turn, subcontracted with the OIC of Philadelphia (POIC) to operate the program.

In August 1972, the National Institute of Education (NIE) was begun. In February 1973, officials of OE and NIE agreed that the Office of Education program would be responsible for the CCP and COP, while NIE's Career Education Program would be responsible for the CIP. On December 17, 1973, the NIE awarded OICs/A a contract to continue the development of CIP. A second award was made in September 1974 for 18 months to complete program development and evaluation. This present report describes the middle months of a new partnership and a new educational opportunity. The early planning period and the first 12 months of program operation are recalled but not documented. In the 18 months to come, the challenges of these middle 9 months, it is hoped, will have their greatest payoff.

The CIP represents an attempt to get at the root of serious urban problems. This objective is reflected in the statement of purpose included in the proposal submitted by OICs/A to NIE in December 1973: "To provide career education and career opportunities for urban youth to prepare them to lead full, productive lives."

In order to meet this objective, CIP is trying to provide a vital general education to youth, many of whom have not had this opportunity. CIP is also trying to provide a balanced career education program, and to create a personal, supportive school atmosphere.

Along with other experienced educators, the CIP staff realizes that no one truly understands the problems of urban youth or knows fully what to do about them. But CIP is putting some of its ideas into action, checking closely on the results achieved, and learning how to help.

CHAPTER TWO

WHAT IS THE CIP LIKE?

Unlike many dreams, the Reverend Dr. Sullivan's dream became a reality. The journey from dream to reality, from idea to working program, was long, often discouraging, sometimes exhilarating, and full of surprises. The following is a recounting of that journey.

CIP "ON PAPER": THE PLAN

The need for a program like CIP was apparent. Too many students were being turned off by urban high schools. Large numbers of students were dropping out before graduation. Statistics showed their chances of getting satisfying jobs were poorer than for graduates. Many still in school could be identified as potential dropouts, with poor attendance records and little skill in math and reading. They had not acquired career information, nor did they know how to find useful job opportunities. They were becoming increasingly negative and alienated.[1]

The Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (OICs/A), with its experience in manpower training programs, not only felt a need for a program to help these students, but saw it as basic to what it was trying to accomplish for its adult constituency. Programs directed at training adults for the job market, or at bringing employers to the inner city, solved part of the problem. Another problem seemed to lie in the schools. While many schools were helping students, others were turning students off by not providing realistic studies. A new kind of school was needed--one which succeeded in instilling usable skills and attitudes in such a way that students' interests were maintained and their dignity enhanced.

Designing a program to solve this problem, however, demanded clearing a number of hurdles. Such a school would have to meet diverse requirements: For example, it would have to be a respectable educational institution, with state-approved diplomas, in

[1]David V. Tiedeman and Anna Miller-Tiedeman, "Career Initiation When Alienation From Secondary Schools Occurs: A Review of the Literature," Washington, D. C.: American Institutes for Research, June 1974.

order to enlist the active support of the community. The curriculum would have to be different from that of the public schools so that it was relevant to the lives of the students, while at the same time, it had to instill the basic skills needed to compete with high school graduates in the job market. A special kind of instructor was called for--one with imagination, idealism, and sense of reality, who was able to operate without a ready-made educational model. Furthermore, in addition to assuring academic respectability, practical curricula, and dedicated teachers, this school would have to find ways to attract and motivate students with a history of failure.

Calling upon the expertise of its staff, OICs/A found the resources to design and implement such a program. A prototype was ready for implementation by November 1972. During most of 1973 the preliminary course materials were tested, and consultants were hired to review the results and to develop refined and expanded materials. By January 1974, the present program was ready to get underway. This program, as briefly sketched below, was designed not only to meet the requirements discussed above, but also to be consistent with the OICs/A philosophy of "focusing upon the needs of the people in a personalized manner."

The Context of the CIP

The Career Intern Program must be seen as one element of the Urban Career Education Center concept. UCEC offers a coordinated program to deal with the problems urban youth encounter in seeking meaningful careers. It simultaneously attacks the problem on three fronts. One component of UCEC, the Career Orientation Program (COP), is designed to service selected elementary, middle, and junior high schools. It attempts to demonstrate that through effective planning, guidance, and cooperation between UCEC and the school district, a successful career education program in regular schools will result. The primary concern of COP is to find a way by which career education can be integrated into academic education in traditional public schools.

Another component of the UCEC is designed to help parents in the community, particularly parents of interns in the Career Intern Program. This component, the Community Career Program (CCP), aids parents in obtaining legal and medical help, housing, and other community services. It involves parents in the education of their children, by making them aware of the school's programs and problems. Furthermore, CCP provides opportunities for these parents to get job training and placement in better jobs.

The Career Intern Program is the third component in the Urban Career Education Center. The CIP completes the approach of UCEC to the career problem. It is concerned with young people who drop out of public schools and who face severe problems in finding jobs. As part of the UCEC, CIP is a vital aspect of the OICs/A effort to develop a community-centered attack on the problem of urban employment.

The UCEC program is only part of the context important to the CIP. Its relationship to the public school system is crucial. To ensure a continuing source of interns and a continuing association with the public schools, CIP developed a special relationship to Germantown and other high schools in Philadelphia. Germantown was designated the primary feeder school for the program. Upon graduation, interns are awarded a diploma from Germantown or from the school previously attended by the CIP student. Germantown High School was chosen initially because it typifies the kinds of problems that are dealt with by the CIP, and is located in the same neighborhood as UCEC. School counselors from the sending schools reported a general pessimism on the part of many students repecting their post-high school prospects. The liaison between the sending schools and the CIP is primarily the responsibility of the CIP School District Coordinator and, to some extent, that of the CCP. The roles of the coordinator and CCP in recruitment will be discussed in more detail later.

The Structure of the CIP

Following is a description of the program originally outlined in the proposal submitted to the National Institute of Education (NIE) in December 1973, and instituted in January 1974. The proposal called for the development and testing of an experimental school, including control groups, pre- and post-testing, as well as other evaluative procedures. The program would enroll approximately 150 interns. Only applicants who had reached at least the tenth grade in public schools would be eligible to attend. The first eight months of the program were to be devoted to development and formative evaluation, i.e., evaluation for the purpose of improving the program during the developmental stage. The evaluation was to be conducted by external evaluators, using both experimental and participant observation approaches, and these evaluators were to work closely with the CIP staff to ensure that the data collected would be useful to the staff.

The following discussion of the original program consists of a description of the general curriculum design, a sketch of the administrative structure of the school, and a program blueprint of the

procedures a student was expected to follow from recruitment through graduation.

General Curriculum Design. The basic program was to consist of three phases (see Figure 1). Phase I focused on Career Awareness. The development of personal characteristics necessary for career and academic success and for practical exposure to career opportunities were stressed. Phase I included two days of orientation, two weeks of Development and Motivation (D & M) classes, seven weeks of courses in language arts, social studies, mathematics, and sciences, and three days of assessment by the staff.

D & M classes were designed to increase the interns' awareness of themselves, their strengths, their relationships to others, and the importance of their community. The academic classes focused around career cluster material which provided an opportunity for interns to review a significant number of careers, such as those in the fields of health, service, and communications.

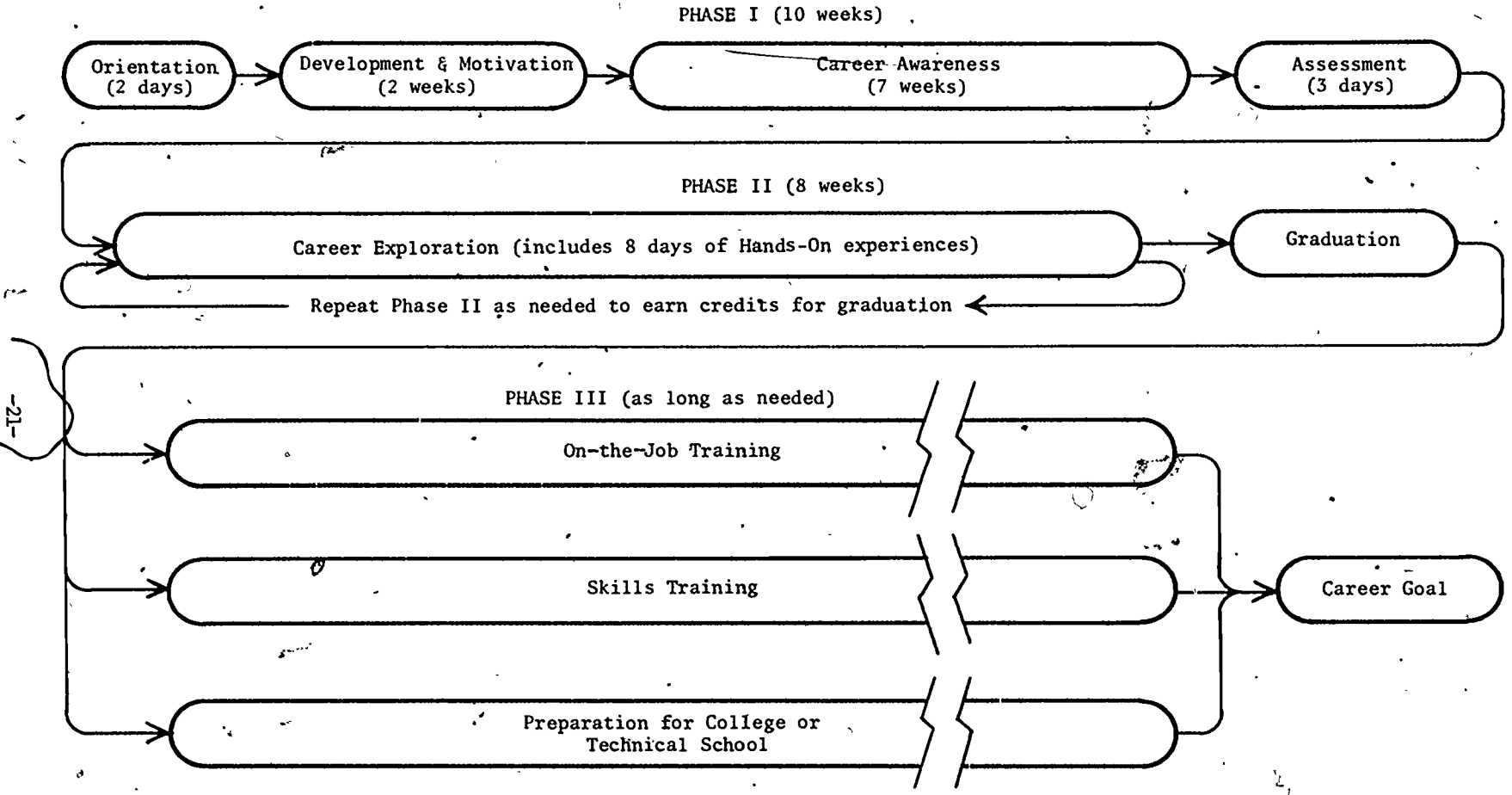
By the end of the ten weeks of Phase I, a counselor, in conjunction with each intern, would have prepared a Career Development Plan for that intern, which would be followed (with any necessary modifications) throughout the intern's CIP experience. Phase II, devoted to Career Exploration, lasted from eleven weeks to a maximum of four semesters. It was designed to enable interns to explore careers in greater depth, and to develop the basic skills needed to attain them. This exploration was carried on both in and outside the classroom. Each semester, interns were required to take four courses of Fused Academics, which focused upon mathematics, language arts, social studies, and science. The classes fused academic and career content within each subject. Interns were also required to participate in at least eight days of Hands-On experience. For the Hands-On experience, interns spent time in a place of business where they observed people actively engaged in careers. The observation was supplemented by as much participation as the situation permitted. These Hands-On experiences were supervised and monitored by a career advisor.

Phase III of the curriculum, after high school graduation, emphasized Career Specialization. During Phase III the intern embarked upon one of three paths: on-the-job training, skills training, or preparation for college admission. Intern entry into and completion of any of the three represented successful completion of his/her Career Development Plan. There was to be follow-up on all interns: one year for interns entering college and six months for those entering on-the-job training or skills training programs.

FIGURE 1

TIME LINE FOR INTERN PROGRESSION THROUGH THE INTERN PROGRAM

January - August 1974



Successful completion of CIP requirements qualified a person for graduation from the Career Intern Program. All interns who met the CIP requirements for a high school diploma could receive a diploma from their former high school.

In summary, the curriculum of CIP consisted of a Career Awareness phase, a Career Exploration phase, and a Career Specialization phase. Successful pursuit of this curriculum by an intern meant that she/he had participated in formulating a Career Development Plan, had obtained the basic skills in the academic fields, had explored a number of career opportunities, had participated in actual on-the-job experiences, and had received a high school diploma. Every effort would have been made to see that placement occurred.

Administrative Structure. The primary administrative slots in the Career Intern Program were: the UCEC Director, the CIP Coordinator, the School District Coordinator, and the four departmental supervisors. The relationship among these various slots is depicted in Figure 2, showing the organization of the UCEC.

The Director of UCEC was charged with general policy-making and over-all administration of the entire center. The operational head of the CIP was the CIP Coordinator, whose primary function was to coordinate activities of the various CIP departments, to make general policy decisions, and to facilitate communication among the staff. Furthermore, given the relationship that existed between CIP and OICs/A, the CIP Coordinator served as a primary channel of communication between the CIP staff and the larger organization.

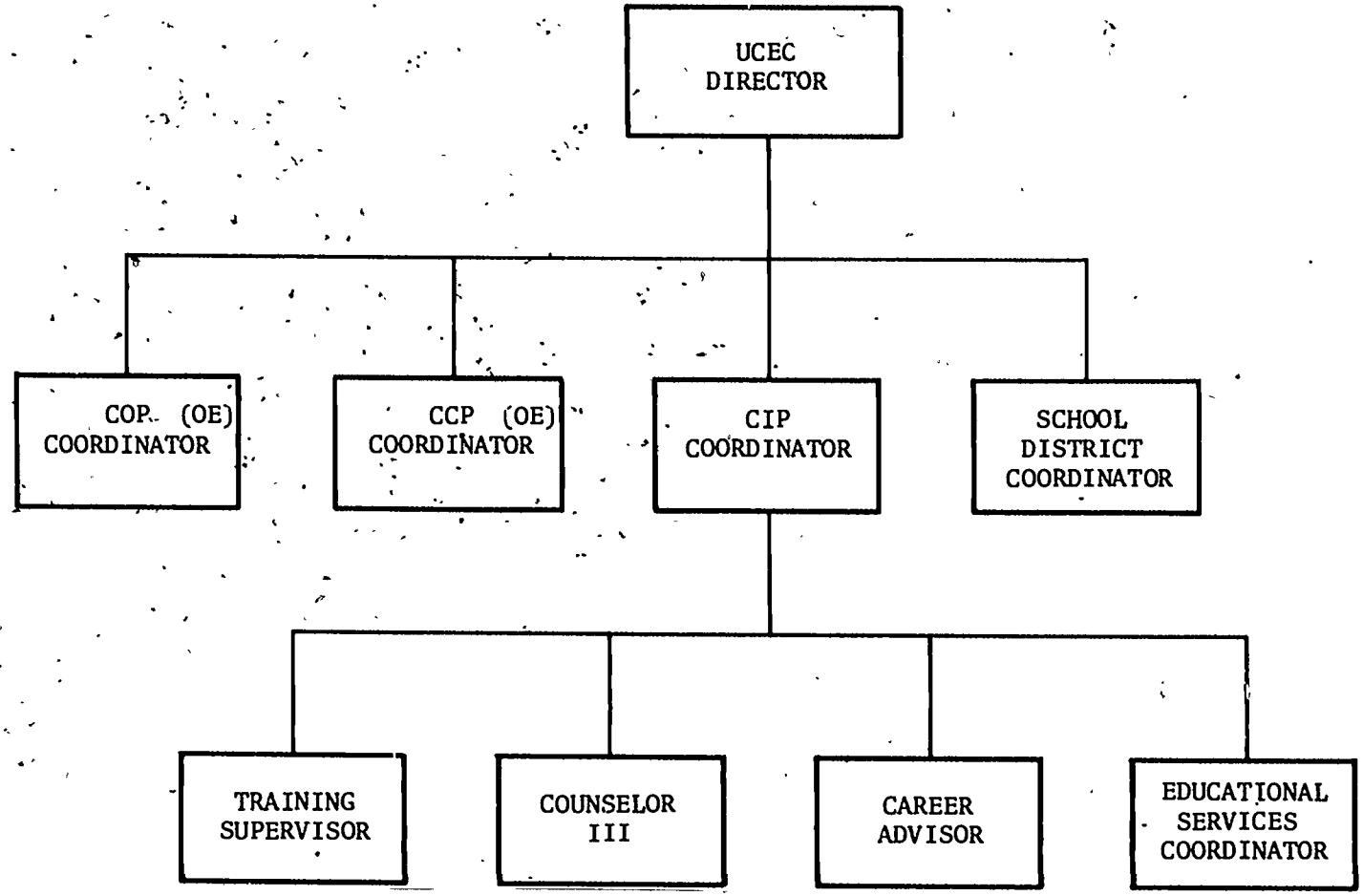
The School District Coordinator occupied a position in the hierarchy parallel to that of the CIP Coordinator. This person was charged with providing the liaison between UCEC and the area public schools and was responsible for seeing that public school personnel knew about the services offered by the various components of UCEC so that they could refer potential CIP interns. An additional task was that of facilitating communication between UCEC and school district administrators. Thus, the function of the School District Coordinator was unique, in that it could only be handled by an insider, and important, because the stronger the link between an alternative program and the public schools, the better for all concerned.

The supervisors of the four departments of CIP were directly responsible to the CIP Coordinator. They had to see that their departmental staff carried out assigned duties, and to maintain contact between department supervisors in the interest of a

FIGURE 2

U-C-E C TABLE OF ORGANIZATION

January - August, 1974



coordinated effort. The four departments were: the Counseling Department, the Instructional Department, the Career Department, and the Educational Services Department. The first two were directly involved in day-to-day contact with interns, while the last two were service departments, designed to provide material help and expertise in the task of training and educating interns.

The original Counseling Department was staffed by seven counselors plus the Counseling Supervisor and one secretary. The Counseling Department was the most prestigious and certainly one of the most important components of the program. It was involved with interns and their parents from the recruitment stage through the completion of their CIP experience. The Counseling Department provided individual and group counseling in order to assist interns in identifying career interests, moving toward goals, and resolving problems encountered on the way.

The Instructional Department was composed of five instructors, an Instructional Supervisor, and a math and a reading specialist. The basic responsibility of this department was the instruction of interns in the four academic subject areas and in a number of electives. The original design also called for math and reading labs for those interns who needed special help.

The Educational Services Department was charged with the task of curriculum development and with the maintenance of a Resource Center for instructors and students. In the development of curricula, members of the Educational Services Department worked closely with a consultant team hired to assist in this task. The Resource Center housed the information relevant to course material and independent study. It was designed as a clearinghouse for all materials used by interns, counselors, and staff. It was also a place where interns gathered to read or to pass their leisure time, and was available for independent study assignments.

The Career Department was designed to service the rest of the school by providing career information to teachers for use in class and to individual students. It was staffed by a Career Advisor, several career counselors, and a job developer. The department investigated and identified career opportunities and made information available to teachers and counselors. It also had the responsibility of guiding interns through their Hands-On experiences. In conjunction with the Hands-On, the Career Department offered periodic seminars to ensure that interns benefited from these experiences.

In summary, the Career Intern Program consisted of four departments: an Instructional Department charged with classroom teaching, a Counseling Department charged with guiding students through the

program and dealing with their personal problems, a Career Department charged with making available career information and supervising Hands-On experiences, and an Educational Services Department which provided resource materials for instructors and students. This structure was devised to provide academic training, maximum exposure to career opportunities, and individualized attention for interns with special problems.

General Program Processes. Four key program features will be discussed here which were designed to provide the kind of education envisioned in the original CIP concept. These are: recruitment and intake, the Career Development Plan, intern assessment, and placement of interns.

Recruitment and Intake. Through contacts with the counselors at the sending schools, the CIP School District Coordinator knew who were school dropouts, or who were identified by the counselors as potential dropouts. Potential dropouts are those who have expressed disillusionment with the school, who have a consistent pattern of poor attendance, or who have serious academic problems. After the names of potential and actual dropouts were received, the School Coordinator went to the schools and reviewed their records. From these records and from discussions with the school counselors, the School Coordinator decided whether or not a given student might benefit from attending CIP. Following this, a check was made to see if requirements were met--that is, no major disciplinary problems, and a minimum of a tenth grade education. The School Coordinator then submitted the names of qualified individuals to the CCP Program Specialist. The Program Specialist sent a letter to the parents of the prospective interns and requested that they telephone for an interview at CIP. Home visits were made in an attempt to locate parents who did not respond or whose letters were returned unopened.

The next formal contact prospective CIP applicants and their parents had with the Career Intern Program occurred after parents or applicants had notified CIP of their interest. This interaction, called the "intake interview," was conducted by a member of the Counseling Department and a member of the external evaluation team. The objective of the interview, involving both applicant and parent(s), was to explain the nature of the Career Intern Program and the benefit that could be derived by the applicant's enrollment.

Immediately following the interview, while still at UCEC, the prospective applicant was asked to take the reading section of the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT), Advanced Battery, to determine an entry level reading ability. If the score was at the fifth grade level or higher, the minimum entry requirements were met and the applicant

was asked to take a battery of additional tests.[1]

From the intake interviews and the testing procedures a pool of potential interns, roughly twice the size of the entering class, was identified. The entering class was chosen from this pool by lottery. Those admitted constituted the experimental group, and those not admitted were the control group. Each group was notified by letter, and those selected to enroll in the program were instructed to report to the school on a given day to begin their formal affiliation with the program.

The Career Development Plan. A second important program feature vital to each intern's participation was the Career Development Plan (CDP). Career Development Plans were written records of the interns' career plans which profiled their aptitudes and included the strengths and weaknesses that had emerged from the testing and Phase I experience. The CDP also recorded their Hands-On experience and reactions; indicated the kinds of academic credit they had gained and what was still needed to reach their career goals; and listed post-CIP options they might be interested in pursuing. The primary responsibility for the preparation of the CDP lay with the counselors, who worked in conjunction with the students, soliciting input from teachers, career advisors, and parents. The counselors also obtained additional information from such sources as their own records, test scores, and intake interviews. As the intern continued, the CDP was adjusted to reflect changes in career interest. This flexible plan provided the framework within which the intern worked for the remainder of the Career Intern Program experience.

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[1]The tests included the SAT math and reading tests, Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices (an I.Q. test), Rotter's Internal-External Scale, Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory, and Super's Career Development Inventory. Entrance into the program was not predicated upon test scores. The tests and inventories provided a baseline for assessing later intern achievement and attitude change in comparison with a control group.

Intern Assessment. Assessing the progress of interns presented unique problems. Interns in the program were individuals who had had problems with traditional schools. Futhermore, the goals of the program and the career objectives of the interns did not lend themselves easily to assessment by routine procedures. Since both counselors and instructors played important roles in the growth and development of interns, both had to coordinate their work with respect to the assessment of intern progress. In order for interns to have a realistic set of career ambitions, an accurate assessment of capabilities and potential was essential.

Formal assessment procedures were established at various points in the intern's progress through the program. The first major assessment took place during the last three days of Phase I. At this time counselors, in conjunction with the interns and with input from instructors and career advisors, completed the CDP's and drew up careful profiles of each intern's capabilities and potential. The individual educational goals decided upon at this time became the baseline for future assessments of progress. At the end of each semester students were assigned grades for the academic courses they had taken. These grades were assigned primarily by instructors, but counselors did have an input, particularly when there were mitigating circumstances, such as prolonged absences. The instructors and counselors tried to arrive at a fair grade for the interns. Although no grade was assigned, credit (necessary for graduation) was either given or denied for the Hands-On experience. An intern who failed to receive a satisfactory grade on one of the Fused Academics courses might be asked to repeat the course.

Assessment procedures were designed to be consistent with the CIP curriculum. Since the curriculum was based upon individualized instruction and an innovative approach to Fused Academics, rigid criteria were inappropriate. Instructors and counselors, therefore, depended upon their close association with students and the weekly counseling sessions to provide information for making judgments. This approach required cooperation between counselors, instructors, and career advisors.

Placement of Interns. Successfully placing graduates in either jobs or post-high school education was a major goal of the CIP. In the original design the procedural details were not delineated. The general charge to the counseling and career staff was to rely on the services and experiences of the larger OICs/A organization. Indeed, as the first group of interns finished their program, it was apparent that job placement was one area where the resources, reputation, and contacts of OICs/A and the Philadelphia OIC were invaluable assets.

The general procedure envisioned in the proposal relied heavily upon the counseling staff and upon a successful Hands-On experience. If the intern was happy with a Hands-On placement and

the employer with whom the intern worked was satisfied, CIP would arrange for the intern to continue in on-the-job training in the same position. Most employers were willing to do this, as OICs/A paid the intern's salary.

The large majority of interns found their first job exposure through this procedure, which was intended to provide an effective means of transition from the CIP to the working world. Many of these Hands-On placements and subsequent on-the-job training programs were carried out in actual OIC programs, which seemed to increase the likelihood of success. An assessment of the ultimate success remains to be made. Apart from the informal counseling that is always available to interns after graduation, few procedures have as yet been worked out to aid in the transition from on-the-job training to lasting employment.

Interns who wanted to pursue non-academic post-graduate careers took a different route. Some, as a result of their Hands-On, were hired directly by employers. In place of on-the-job training, a very few were hired by outside firms who had business contacts with OICs/A. A few others found themselves left to their own devices.

For interns interested in college or advanced technical training, the Counseling Department was a resource. One counselor was designated as the college counselor whose job was to know what kinds of programs were available, to assist interns in making applications, and to arrange school interviews for interns.

The degree of success in graduate placement is evidenced by the employment and college enrollment statistics presented in Chapter Seven.

THE PROGRAM AS IT ACTUALLY DEVELOPED: RUNNING THE HURDLES

The preceding section described the CIP as it was planned. This section describes what happened to the plan under the complex influences of "real life." The obstacles in translating the plan into a working school were formidable. Most of them stemmed from the innovative and complex nature of the program. These problems and the solutions found will be mentioned here because they are important in determining the "final" shape of the CIP.

Administration

One of the most difficult tasks was working out procedures to

administer the program. While the formal lines of authority and responsibility were clearly drawn on paper, they did not reflect the real demands placed upon administrators in serving several "masters." Administrators therefore felt a number of conflicting pressures. There were the demands of the basic OICs/A ethos to provide help to all who needed it, which sometimes conflicted with the demands of the evaluation design. Administrators were confronted with the choice of appearing inflexible in the face of a request for an exception or of compromising the assignment of students to the experimental or control groups on the basis of a lottery.

For example, one afternoon the School Coordinator called the external evaluation office about an intern who had dropped out of CIP to go into military service. He failed the army physical and applied for readmission to the program. His re-entry under those abnormal conditions would have risked skewing the experimental evaluation design. The School Coordinator, concerned with helping the intern, found himself helpless and frustrated in his attempt to do what he saw was his job.

In another case an applicant failed badly on the reading test and under normal circumstances would have been dropped from further consideration. However, investigation revealed that he lived in a home for boys and would have to be sent to a detention center if denied admission to a school. Again, the question had to be faced: "Can the program 'bend' to accommodate those whom (in the eyes of the program staff) it is designed to serve?" In both these instances the issues were resolved in favor of admitting the intern.

The demands for academic excellence and administrative efficiency had to be balanced against the realities of urban life and humanistic concerns. This conflict was couched in questions like: "Do we hire certified teachers although others are better qualified to understand the unique problems of inner-city kids?" "Because an applicant cannot read at a fifth grade level, do we keep that person from entering when she or he desperately needs and wants an education?" "Do we hire only qualified people for whom there is already a slot, or do we hire needy people and either train them or change the program slot to accommodate them?" These questions were posed repeatedly in many forms and demanded administrative decisions.

There were other conflicting demands felt by the administration--pressures to make the program look good to observers; pressures to maintain the students' motivation and interest, and at the same time bring up their scores on standardized tests; pressures to use curricula developed (in part) by consultants, and at the same time adapt it to the problems of the CIP classrooms.

In virtually every case, these decisions had to involve skillful compromises. For example, resisting the temptation simply to make cosmetic changes in response to observer criticism, while at the same time recognizing the importance of a "good press," OICs/A assigned staff to draw up and monitor action plans to ensure needed change. Classes in test sophistication were introduced both to help interns develop skills related to taking standardized tests and to aid them in overcoming the anxiety which most seemed to feel when confronted by such instruments. The problem of implementing curricula was solved by conducting intensive workshops which brought consultants and staff together.

Dealing with these pressures required not only a workable administrative structure and clear administrative policy, but an administrative staff equal to the demands. Such personnel had to meet several requirements. They had to have a clear philosophy of administration--knowing how to use pressures, when to buffer staff from pressures, and so forth; they needed a feel for and a conviction about the overriding goals of the program; they had to be imaginative and able to work without role-models; and they had to feel secure about their abilities.

In the early stages the program encountered serious problems in finding qualified people and groped for proper procedures. The causes were many but were mainly related to the undefined nature of the roles and duties of staff personnel. For example, was it the duty of the counselors to give grades in courses, since they were most intimately involved with the interns? How much personal counseling should the instructors undertake, given the de jure role of counselors? What did these considerations mean when it came to looking at credentials for hiring? These problems were compounded both by the newness of the program, and OICs/A's consequent lack of experience in hiring educational personnel able to function in innovative contexts.

The result was a general air of confusion concerning who was to do what, an unclear notion of how decisions were to be made, a pervasive attitude of defensiveness, generally poor staff morale, and a high staff turnover rate. This situation was reflected in the data and in the recommendations of the first formative evaluation report.

Happily, many of the administrative problems were solved. Simply getting through the shake-down period--during which roles, duties, and lines of communication were defined--led to solutions to some of the problems. The informal evaluation reports provided insights and data which the administrators used in making staffing decisions, and focused staff attention on underlying problems. As a result, an action plan has been drawn up and is being implemented. The

evaluators provide information to the CIP staff on the extent to which this corrective action plan is being carried out.

Modeling

A second serious problem was that of developing a program without a suitable precedent to follow. This problem showed itself in a number of ways. There were no established criteria for hiring staff--especially instructors, counselors, and career developers. Attempts were made to obtain people with experience in related areas--such as adult career education, OICs/A manpower training programs, public school counseling, or other alternative schools, however, the demands of their previous jobs did not coincide with the requirements at CIP. New roles had to evolve. The immediate result was confusion, lack of coordination, and tension as each individual attempted to defend his or her approach.

For example, a Director was hired with experience in a program where there were few external controls and little experimental evaluation. As a result, she felt frustrated over apparent infringements on her decision-making responsibilities. A career advisor was hired from an adult career program and did not understand the necessity for establishing a relationship between untrained youth and career information. A teacher was hired who was well versed in the academic nature of a particular discipline, although he had little understanding of the life of the students.

The lack of a guide was also evident in the area of student assessment. CIP attempted to do away with the effects of the standard grading system. The Fused Academics approach used at the program tried to give equal weight to academic progress, improvement of self-image, and affective growth, as well as to the development of career strategies and the acquisition of usable career information. Yet there was no available common denominator for assessing these aspects of intern growth.

The lack of a tested model raised a number of other important questions. What kinds of curricula should be developed for a program like this? How does one make sure that the careers being dealt with are, in fact, viable for the interns? How can interns be convinced that the program is going to serve their interests and will not leave them short-changed? What behaviors are appropriate for interns in this context? What can they get away with? What are the unspoken rules of the game?

While these problems are by no means completely solved, a number of mechanisms have been developed to deal with them, and these have generated some solutions. Attempts have been made to increase communication among the staff by instituting inter-departmental workshops and staff meetings focusing on specific issues. Classes taught jointly by counselors, instructors, and career experts are being offered. Less reliance is being placed on external consultants and more on the use of internal staff, who have a better grasp of the unique problems of the program. Several changes have also been made in the curriculum. For instance, the two-week Development and Motivation section has been spread over the entire Phase I and is team-taught by instructors, counselors, and career advisors as a Career Counseling Seminar. The number of career clusters to which interns have been exposed has been reduced to those few that are applicable. The successes generated have instilled a new confidence within the staff and have led to program and role definition.

In addition to these problems, several others of lesser scope had to be confronted. They are problems of built-in structural conflict between instructors and counselors in the school; of intern motivation which shows up most dramatically in absenteeism; and of intern recruitment and program image.

Instructors Versus Counselors

The first of these problems stemmed from an attempt to deal with the lack of individual attention interns experienced prior to entry in the CIP. To fill this need, a counseling program was designed with a staff size allowing for frequent contact between interns and counselors. Counseling was made co-equal with teaching, and counselors were given many of the functions normally assigned to teachers in traditional schools. They were charged with handling all personal problems of interns, as well as with ensuring their affective growth. Teachers, on the other hand, were to deal only with academic matters and with cognitive development.

While this concern to treat personal problems and affective development as paramount makes sense given the problems interns face, the solution posed serious problems of its own. First, given the lack of a model, definitions of responsibilities of counselors and instructors were a problem. If a student, for example, was doing poorly in math and the counselor was convinced the reason was not lack of ability but family problems, who should deal with the problem, and how? Interns were encouraged to seek out counselors for help with their problems. Since it is often impossible to sort out personal from academic problems, counselors found themselves giving

advice in areas that instructors thought impinged on their own areas of expertise and interest. As a result, a feeling of resentment built up, expressing itself in an attitude of competition that hindered the cooperation a program of this kind requires. Relatively simple questions, like "Who has the responsibility to dismiss students from class?" became major problems. Interns would go to counselors and explain that they had to attend to personal obligations; the counselors, being sympathetic, frequently granted permission to be away. Thus, instructors not only felt frustrated about the definitions of their roles, but also felt that they had lost control of the factors contributing most to the success of their teaching.

This conflict between counselors and instructors also created difficulties with assessment of interns. Since counselors based their assessment upon different criteria from that of teachers, there was often a discrepancy. Integrity or professional judgment was called into question, requiring a third-party decision. Furthermore, since counselors were judging the quality of affective growth, they found the number or letter grades of teachers unusable; and finding a common denominator became a serious stumbling block.

As a result of these conflicts, a number of changes were made. A series of workshops was held, attended by both counselors and instructors, so that problems could be discussed. Formal lines of communication were established between the two departments. The curriculum of Phase I was changed so that instructors and counselors together could teach some of the courses. Intern Disposition Review Conferences, where teachers, counselors, and career advisors can sit down together and discuss specific students, have been designed.

Absenteeism

Many interns appear to take a very casual attitude toward classes, with the result that absenteeism of over 50% is not unusual. This has had a negative effect on intern progress, on lesson continuity, and on staff morale. The causes have been difficult to isolate. One underlying cause, however, is the pattern of behavior developed in the public schools and carried over into the Career Intern Program. Another factor is the admission of students with poor motivation. Further, the CIP is often initially perceived by interns as a way to get through high school with as little bother as possible. In addition, poor attendance may also be the direct result of personal and home problems.

While the problem has not been solved, several steps have been taken to alleviate it. The changes in counseling procedures, with counselors and instructors working together, should help. Selective recruitment and intake procedures have weeded out those who are not motivated, and have made responsibilities clear to those who do enter the program. A series of micro-teaching workshops has been instituted to upgrade the quality of instruction. The curricula have been completely revised to offer courses that are relevant, interesting, and individualized.

Intern Recruitment and the Program Image

A final, unforeseen problem became apparent in attempts to recruit interns. The problem had two faces, the first being the difficulty of getting enough qualified applicants, and the second, defining the goals of the program.

The difficulty in getting enough applicants stems from several sources. In the early history of the program (before January 1974) there were no limitations on either the number of interns or their qualifications. Virtually anyone who applied was accepted. When the experimental design was instituted, several new factors were introduced into the recruitment process. First, only students with a minimum fifth grade reading level were admitted. In addition, the design called for a specific number of admissions, plus an equivalent pool of qualified applicants to constitute a control group. Thus, the sheer number of applicants had to be significantly larger than before. Furthermore, admission under the new design required a full day of interviewing and testing with no guarantee that an applicant would be chosen, even though qualified to enter the school. This had a discouraging effect on potential interns.

The major mechanism for recruitment was the contact of the School District Coordinator with counselors in the designated feeder schools. Since the public school counselors were never quite sure what the CIP was all about, they tended to send students without reference to an explicit set of criteria. When their records were reviewed by the School District Coordinator, many were judged to be unqualified for admission.

While the net result was that there were not enough qualified applicants, the implications were more far reaching. First, it was obvious that additional recruitment mechanisms would have to be developed. Second, it was apparent that public school administrators were confused as to the purpose and goals of the CIP.

The question came up in a staff meeting early in the summer in the form of a heated discussion as to whether CIP should project itself as "an alternative school for anyone who was unhappy with the public schools;" should stress the "remedial nature of its orientation and thus appeal to those identified as poor students;" or whether "the emphasis on career training should be pushed," In any case, the effect on recruitment and the possibilities for publicizing the program would be affected.

Several important steps have been taken toward resolving the difficulties associated with recruitment. In January 1974, in response to the immediate problem of getting enough applicants for the first class, several staff members were instructed to recruit students via telephone or door-to-door solicitation. This technique proved both time consuming and unwieldy, though it did increase the number of prospective students.

As a result of the recruitment problem, the School District Coordinator began a stepped-up campaign to advertise the program in feeder schools. He scheduled student body assemblies, combed student records, and intensified his contacts with school counselors. Furthermore, the number of feeder schools was greatly expanded to cover the entire city. Descriptive literature was sent to the principals and counselors of virtually every city high school.

As the Career Intern Program becomes more clearly defined and better organized, the staff believes it can accept an increasingly larger student body. This means that greater numbers of students must be identified. The problem appears to be solved. For one thing, people are hearing about the program by word of mouth, and the number of people who apply is increasing rapidly. For another, the intake procedures have been streamlined to reduce the total time for interviews and testing. Thus, they are less onerous to potential applicants.

In summary, the above appear to be the major problems faced in the early stages of CIP development. Basic, of course, are the problems resulting from the innovative nature of the program. These include development of a viable administrative structure and a set of administrative procedures, plus the job of creating a program for which there were no antecedents. Beyond this, there were a number of problems of lesser scope which had to be dealt with--the unforeseen structural conflict between counseling and instruction, the high absentee rates, and the problem of intern recruitment.

THE PROGRAM AS IT IS NOW

The net result of these processes has been the creation of a program which is in some respects different from the one originally proposed, but which is representative of the basic idea of the Reverend Dr. Sullivan and the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America. The result is not a compromise or a dilution of the original dream. Indeed, in many respects it is more exciting and responsive to intern needs than had been imagined.

This section reviews the changes that have taken place since the program's design and inception. No effort is made to describe again the basic structure of the school, which has remained much as originally planned. What has changed are mainly roles, emphases, and program processes. These major changes are in administration, instruction/counseling, and program development and review.

Administration

Perhaps the most significant administrative change has been in the hiring of a Director with a background of experience in teaching, school administration, and innovative educational program development. In addition to the improved morale resulting from this appointment, the new Director has instituted a number of administrative procedures that have significantly altered the shape of the program. Department heads are now required to prepare and submit to the Director bi-weekly reports of their activities. Each report is sent on to OICs/A and is circulated among the other department heads so that all administrators are kept abreast of every major development in the program.

Efforts on the part of the administration have been made to increase the quality and effectiveness of communication among staff. Instead of weekly general staff meetings, frequent staff seminars are held which focus on specific issues, and regular, individualized intern assessment conferences are conducted, bringing together instructors, career advisors, and counselors. Furthermore, in keeping with the effort to enhance staff communication, the results of the ongoing evaluation are made available to staff both as written reports, channeled through the Program Manager and UCEC Director, and as oral briefings to the entire staff by the evaluators. This immediate evaluation feedback permits quick response and implementation of suggestions on the part of the staff.

In addition to this administrative change, a number of others have been made which, while less basic to the operation of the program, have nonetheless made a noticeable difference in ambience. For

example, the office of the head of Educational Services has been moved to the Resource Center, greatly increasing this individual's interaction with staff and interns, and the title of the position has been changed to Curriculum Liaison/Resource Center Specialist. As a full-fledged department, Educational Services has been eliminated, because the bulk of one of its major functions--the development of a basic curriculum for a new and innovative program--has largely been accomplished. This has been the one major structural change to take place (see Figure 3).

A comprehensive action plan has been formulated to ensure that the recommendations of the formative evaluation are carried out. Department heads have been granted a great deal of autonomy in doing their jobs within the framework of the general program policy. At the same time, they have been made accountable through the required by-weekly reports.

In summary, the present administrative structure has been streamlined; qualified people have gradually emerged in key staff positions; procedures for effective communication have been and are being developed and implemented; a general administrative policy based upon respect for individual staff expertise has been articulated; and stress has been placed upon regular staff-staff and staff-intern interaction.

Instruction/Counseling

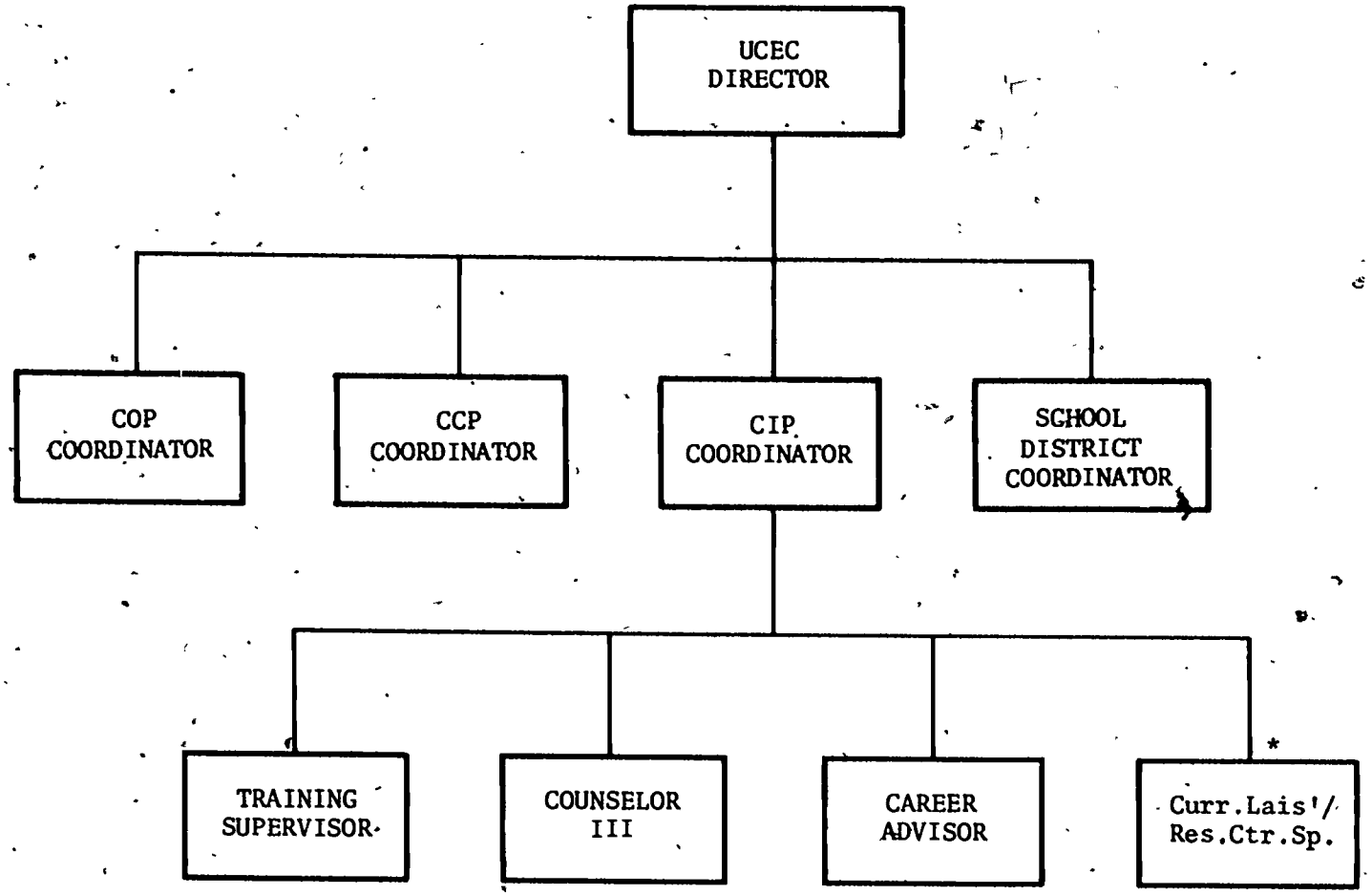
The above administrative changes have had important effects on the processes of instruction and counseling. One change has been that the tendency to separate teaching and counseling functions (which was never intended in the original design) has been reversed. The current emphasis is upon cooperation between instructors and counselors, which occurs in several ways. A Career Counseling Seminar is offered, taught by a team of counselors, teachers, and career advisors. In addition, regular Intern Formalized Assessment Conferences and periodic Intern Disposition Review Conferences are conducted and attended by all staff involved in an intern's program. Preliminary data relating to the effectiveness of such cooperation indicate that teachers and counselors have begun to see each other as equal partners in a joint enterprise.

New procedures have been developed to ensure successful Hands-On experiences. These procedures are designed to make sure interns' experiences are useful and relevant to their interests. In the new procedure, an intern's counselor keeps a careful record of the intern's progress in the program. Sometime during Phase I, after the Career Development Plan has been formulated, an Intern

FIGURE 3

U C E C TABLE OF ORGANIZATION

September 1974 - June 1975



*Major Change (Educational Services Dept. Dropped)

Disposition Conference is held, at which time the intern along with her/his counselor, instructors, and career advisor settle upon two career choices. When the intern is about to enter Phase II, his/her counselor sends a transmittal memo to the Career Department indicating that the intern is ready for the Hands-On and naming the two careers of interest to the intern. The Career Department then arranges for the Hands-On experience.

Careful attempts are being made to enhance the quality of instruction in two ways. First, new curriculum packets have been developed and are being used. These are designed to permit individualized instruction that answers the needs of the particular intern, and to fuse academic and career information. Secondly, teacher workshops are conducted by the head of the Instructional Department, the outside curriculum consultant, and other outside specialists. These are designed to facilitate implementation of the new curriculum. In addition, a series of micro-teaching workshops has been held using videotaping as a means of getting teachers to evaluate their own classroom behaviors.

In addition to the changes in courses and counseling, the program today features a large number of non-classroom activities. A successful career fair was held at the end of the summer for which interns studied various careers, designed visual displays, and made themselves available to discuss the careers with other interested interns. Excursions to various cultural centers--museums, the zoo, theaters, and so on--have been conducted, and more are planned. These all represent efforts to enrich the educational experiences of interns.

In summary, new procedures have been introduced to enhance the quality of career advising and to integrate instruction and counseling. High quality instruction is a constant concern and is being ensured through the use of updated curriculum packets supplemented by regular teacher workshops.

Program Development and Review

As it exists now, the Career Intern Program is not a static program. Procedures have been introduced to ensure that it remains flexible and responsive to the changing needs of interns and of the community it serves. Existing programs and practices are constantly under review.

The mechanism for effecting change and for monitoring the program includes the office of the Operations Planning Assistant of the Philadelphia OIC, who works with the Program Manager, reviews all

program reports, and maintains continuous on-site contact with the program and with the external evaluators. Based on the information received, the Operations Planning Assistant makes recommendations to the UCEC Director.

A second important mechanism for review is the external evaluation team. On-site fieldworkers constantly monitor the ongoing program and regularly report their observations to the Program Manager. Thus, they are able to evaluate the effectiveness of change.

The Curriculum Liaison/Resource Center Specialist, who works closely with an external curriculum consultant, is constantly searching out and reviewing new instructional materials and is actively producing in-house materials and methods. The Career Counseling Seminar, for example, was a direct result of the joint efforts of the Curriculum Liaison and the curriculum consultant.

Various instructors and counselors have been assigned the task of organizing and supervising extra-curricular group activities, which will add to interns' knowledge and give them a wider range of school experiences. For example, a Student Counseling Committee has been formed to provide a means for interns to discuss personal and school problems with other interns; a Progressive Student Association has been organized to give interns a voice in the program; and several activity groups meet regularly.

A new, streamlined procedure for intake interviews, using a slide show which can be shown to a number of parents and interns at the same time, has been developed and is being tried out.

Conclusion

The picture that emerges as the outline of the present Career Intern Program is sketched is that of an exciting and changing experiment in education. Some of the changes described above are a confession of failure. Some of the new programs and activities will undoubtedly prove ineffective and require further change. More importantly, however, the program has proven itself capable of meeting important challenges and of dealing with its own imperfections. CIP appears well on the way to meeting its original goal: to provide "the hope of productive futures for urban youth."

CHAPTER THREE

THE INTERN AND CIP: FIVE CASE STUDIES

The interns whose experiences are described here under fictitious names are selected on two bases. First, they represent a sampling of various student feelings about the Career Intern Program; and second, they exhibit the range of social characteristics typical of entering interns. Included are two males and three females, high school drop-outs and non-dropouts, one who has finished CIP, three who are midway through their programs, and one whose graduation is still sometime off. One of the interns is White, and four are Black. They come from a variety of home contexts and a number of different high schools. They range from good students to very poor. Taken together, they provide an accurate composite of typical intern experiences.

No attempt is made to describe the entire life history of any one intern. Rather, using their words and assuming their perspective, this chapter tries to describe what they find significant and interesting about the program. Each intern reveals the special, personal meaning the program holds for her or him.

Maria: "This Is My Family."

Maria, a slight girl with closely cropped hair, usually dresses in a bright blouse with modish slacks. She appears serious and thoughtful, considering carefully before deciding what to tell and what to withhold. To her, the CIP is not a lark, but an important part of her life.

> "I'd rather be here than at home. I most usually stay 'til 5:00 even though school's over at 2:00. These students are my brothers and my sisters."

Maria tells how she started the Student Counseling Committee:

> "It was like this. One day I was hungry, right? So I went to the lunch room, and so a student at the school had tried to commit suicide. And the man that worked in the lunch room, Brother Morris, we got to talking. We got to talking how it was like a shame students have these problems and nobody is ready to deal with them, and they just sort of say, like, 'It's your problem. 'Long as you graduate, that's

all we care about.' And so this other girl was standing next to me, and she say, 'Yeah, that's a good idea. I've been thinking about that, too.' So we stayed at the school that day 'til about 6:00 o'clock, just talking about it. We talked to Milton and Berry and the other people on the committee and the next day we took it to [the CIP Coordinator]."[1]

The Student Counseling Committee Maria initiated was set up. It now supplements the counseling provided by the staff of the CIP, furnishing a sympathetic ear to students having academic problems because their personal lives are in disorder. The rationale Maria gives reveals her attitude toward the CIP and its importance in her life.

"The absentee rate in some of the classes was high. Students just weren't coming. We were afraid that the people who pay for the school were going to think that it wasn't worthwhile if nobody came, and they'd close it down. We knew that the reason people weren't coming to class wasn't just because, you know, they weren't getting anything out of it, but because they were going through a lot of hassles outside of school. We didn't want the school to close down, or nothing, and since they're like our brothers and sisters anyhow, you know, we wanted to do something to help them."

Due to the efforts of Maria and other students, the Student Counseling Committee became a reality. The coordinator of the program made office space available, and during their free periods and after school this group of interns can be found ready and willing to talk to any intern who stops by.

The future and the effectiveness of the Student Counseling Committee remains to be seen. It is new. However, the willingness of Maria and her friends to initiate and work at the project represents a striking success for the Career Intern Program. Based

[1]The quotations in this section are virtually all verbatim transcriptions of actual conversations. They were either taken from tape recordings or from field notes written immediately after the conversation. While they were transcribed in standard orthography, they have not been "cleaned up." In order to preserve their flavor, they are presented using the actual dialect of the speakers, with no attempt to mask the oral, informal, and often emotional nature of the exchange.

on her record in the public school and her own self-assessment at the intake interview, Maria would have been an unlikely candidate for such a task.

Maria lives in the Nicetown section of Philadelphia, a predominantly Black working class residential area described by her grandmother as being quiet, friendly, and having a strong sense of community. Maria lives with her grandparents. Her parents are separated and her mother lives on welfare. Her father worked for a number of years in a rehabilitation center until he was forced to retire because of a physical disability. Maria has an older brother who is in the army and a younger brother and sister.

She speaks with pride of her family's educational achievement. Her mother graduated from high school with honors, and her older brother went through college in four years. Maria herself is a bright girl and scored well on the intake tests. Her reading achievement was above average for entering interns. She seemed sure of herself and strongly motivated by a desire to achieve through her own competence. While both her personal and social self-esteem indices were satisfactory, she evidenced little confidence in her abilities as a student.[1]

When Maria was contacted in the spring of 1974 by a member of the CIP staff who had gotten her records through her school counselor, her attendance was poor, she was failing, and her counselor indicated that she would certainly drop out.

Maria's reasons for failing in school became apparent in the intake interview. She claimed not to know how to study, did not feel challenged by her teachers, and saw her quick temper as a continual source of trouble between her, her teachers, and her fellow students.

She describes her experience in high school as follows:

> "I'm sort of a rebellious kind of person, you know. And if something is happening--since I do trust my own judgment--you know, if I feel it is unjustified, then I have to speak on it. And a lot of things were going on that just were unnecessary, and a lot of students were going through a lot of changes they shouldn't have went through. And the school was

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[1]Throughout this section, reported test results are from the battery of tests administered during intake interviews. They are more fully described in Chapter Four.

overcrowded. They gave you two minutes to get to class--five floors. There were approximately 5,000 students, and you're late one minute for three times, that mean a cut, and three cuts mean you're suspended. And one more time, and you're terminated. It was goo-gobs of people. You didn't walk up steps--people sort of pushed you. If you went to see the principal, you had to make an appointment. Your counselor--you had to make an appointment to see her. If you wanted to see her on Friday, you had to make an appointment on Monday. And if she had time, maybe she would get to you. There were 55 kids in class; so, like, the teacher didn't know you from anybody else. If you had a problem with your work, the teacher didn't have time to attend to you. I heard about UCEC, and I was going to drop out. I was going to go to the Air Force. But my mother asked me to get a diploma; so I came over here."

Thus, at the urging of her mother and the CIP staff member who had contacted her, Maria decided she would apply to the program. She also applied and was accepted at another alternative school with a reputation of being free and unstructured. This was the deciding factor in Maria's choice of CIP. As she puts it:

"I don't trust myself to be that free. If I went there, I probably wouldn't accomplish what I'm supposed to, and I'd just end up leaving."

Maria entered the program with the June 1974 class. Due to program changes, Maria skipped the usual orientation component and began with a Career Counseling Seminar (CCS). The CCS is a small class taught by an instructor, a counselor, and a career advisor, designed to introduce interns to careers available for them. The transition from her large, impersonal high school classes to a small class with three instructors was rough for Maria. She complained that the career simulation game they played was childish and really did not teach her anything. Furthermore, the team teaching seemed to bother her:

"More than one person teaching? They're competing against each other."

The informality of the class seemed to clash with her notion of what a proper classroom should be like. She says,

"I don't like it when the class is wild. They show film strips, and everybody just makes noise. I skipped class several days 'cause I wasn't getting anything out of it."

Maria's strongest criticism of this phase of the program centered on the use of the new learning packets the teachers were trying to implement. Her concern was that, despite contentions to the contrary, they were not being used to provide individualized instruction.

> "The packets are only thick books of mimeographed paper. I call them worksheets . . . It only takes 25 minutes to do work in the Career Counseling Seminar. If you finish early, you don't do anything. It's supposed to be individualized according to your academic level, but I don't consider the class to be individualized when you have to wait for the rest of the class. If you treat the whole class equal, someone's going to get left by, and with the packet, everyone's at the same level. The person next to me is forever asking for help. I'm doing my own and hers. Learning is more like a communicating thing. If I can take what was written on the board and not recite it back to you, but discuss it with you and share ideas, then I've learned. I've learned how to relate to other people, and I've learned how to understand things.
>
> "But, like, when they give me this piece of paper, ain't nothing happening, 'cause I could just sit down, read it, and give it back, and I got nothing to do all period, and I haven't learned anything, 'cause I learned that in elementary school. But that's the way the system is set up. If they used the packets as a foundation and you could go off from it . . . but you can't, 'cause people can't read or can't comprehend what they read. For them, packets aren't doing any good. It just doesn't connect. So what's the purpose?"

By the end of the summer, Maria's feelings seem to have changed. She had gotten to know a number of the students and staff. She realized how important they were to her and began to refer to them as her brothers and sisters.

When the new semester started in September, she was active in the Progressive Student Association, a student organization created to provide a voice for interns in the program. She found the new classes interesting and challenging. Her own attendance improved dramatically, and it was with a great deal of pride that she proclaimed of attendance in general:

> "Attendance has gone up 15% since we started our Student Counseling Committee."

Not only has Maria found a new set of friends and a degree of satisfaction in her academic pursuits that she never expected, but her career plans are beginning to shape up as well. She has not abandoned her idea of going into the service, but now she is considering the possibility of becoming an Air Force nurse. Because of a Hands-On experience working as an assistant to a bank manager, she is also thinking of pursuing a career in banking.

While Maria has misgivings about leaving her surrogate family at CIP when she graduates in February 1975, she feels she will be able to face the future with a better perspective of the possibilities open to her.

Wayne: "Do You Belong Here?"

The question, "Do you belong here?" was asked by Wayne's teacher in the first class he attended at CIP. It was a fitting question to pose, since all of Wayne's academic career--in a private school where he had a music scholarship, at the public high school he attended after the money from the scholarship ran out, and at CIP--could well be characterized as attempts to find where he belonged.

Wayne came to CIP at the end of his first semester as a junior in high school, having heard about it from friends of his who were concerned about him. He had only gone to the public high school for one semester, and his problems, unlike those of many, were not primarily academic, but disciplinary. In describing his high school experience, he says,

> "I went to the public high school, where hassles were as much a part of me as my black eyes, big nose, and my can't-miss, big, sensual lips. I hold a gold award for pink slip piles . . . ." (Pink slips are given as warnings for tardiness and absenteeism in the school.)

By the time he got to CIP, Wayne's hassles with the system had already taken their toll. Intelligent and sensitive, he was a talented pianist and dreamed of going on to become a professional musician. However, when asked about his career aspirations, he replied that he expected to be a salesman.

With respect to both appearance and personality, Wayne was in many ways the opposite of Maria. He was slim, with a boyish face, a ready smile, and protruding teeth. His clothes, obviously hand-me-downs, never fit and were seldom properly buttoned. Disarmingly friendly, he seldom missed an opportunity to express his opinion about anything to anyone. These qualities frequently made him the center of attention, but also got him in trouble with teachers and fellow students in school. Neither Wayne's father, who was an auto

mechanic, nor his mother had completed high school. At the time of his entry into the program, they were separated. Wayne lived with his mother, her boyfriend, an aunt, and two younger sisters. His family preferred that he take a job and contribute to the family income rather than spend his time in school.

Wayne entered the program in January 1974. He found the going difficult in the beginning. The long interviews, the testing, and the orientation sessions were baffling, frustrating, and boring. His open friendliness with a White girl led many of his fellow students to avoid or ridicule him. Two events got him through this period of adjustment. First, he met a counselor who took an immediate interest in him. Wayne recognized the significance of this.

> "When I met my counselor, I loved him right off! Just like that; my hatred of authority seemed never to have existed."

The counselor and Wayne soon became friends on a first-name basis--a development of great importance to Wayne.

The second important event in Wayne's first days in the program was the discovery of a piano in the hallway and an organ in an upstairs counseling room.

> "I saw the piano in the lunch room hallway. It looked like a grand. And there I was, sitting there playing the blues, and the next thing you know, I had company--lots of company. And they were shouting, 'Play this' and 'Play that.' My debut at CIP was a success. I walked out and went to play the organ in peace. And they all came upstairs in pieces, shouting, 'Play this' and 'Play that.' So I gave up and just kept playing until it was time to go home."

Although Wayne, savoring the role of loner, never made many friends among the other interns, his position was assured. His talent on the piano guaranteed him the attention and at least a measure of respect, which he found important.

Wayne was in many respects an unusual student for the CIP or any other school program. By the time he had completed the orientation and was ready to start classes, he had begun to keep a journal at the request of his counselor. Excerpts shed light upon his feelings about the classes and, more significantly, about the teachers, since he was always much more concerned with "who" than with "what." In describing his class on Personal Realization, he said,

> "Our teacher was a real together sister whose objective was to help Black kids to realize that their brown skin was more beautiful than they were forced

to believe. She told us about affective thinking, thinking ahead, and about the difference between symptom and cause. Our classes were very interesting."

His comments about his science class were equally enthusiastic:

"My science teacher is from Nigeria. He told us about Africa and how it was, contrary to what we programmed it to be . . . And he told us about our origin in Africa and how a small group of small-timers took over the country. I'll give all the stars in the world for that class, although we couldn't make out some of what he was saying, and they all laughed at him. That made me really mad."

Finding school interesting and challenging came as a genuine surprise to Wayne, since it ran contrary to the expectations instilled by all his past experiences. He had written in his journal during the last day of orientation,

"Oh well, I know one thing. Tomorrow is my first class. I am now a man. I'm in the army now. My warfare with education has started . . . once again."

He had even come grudgingly to like some of his fellow interns, despite his pique over their rudeness and lack of dedication. By the end of the first month, he wrote,

"But the dudes and dames in my class are good people, really cool. I like my class, despite the hassles they give me, especially about me and Ruth being so close, and that doesn't even bother me anymore."

About this time, five of the most popular teachers were transferred from their jobs in CIP to another school because of conflict with the administration. To demonstrate their support and concern, the interns went to the administration to get the teachers reinstated. When this failed, they went on strike for several days. Wayne, who had only been in the program a month, was troubled and of two minds about the whole affair. On the one hand, he was concerned about the lack of classes.

"We had no classes for about a week, and I wondered, 'When are we going to have classes?' because I don't want to lose out in any of my studies, and I want to graduate from high school. So I can't learn anything if the teachers are not teaching anything. So I got up, went downstairs, and walked out and went home."

On the other hand, he was impressed by the actions of his classmates and the obvious love they had expressed for their teachers.

> "I am very proud of the spirit of my fellow interns. It shows if we would work together and not play separately we can get something done. Right now, I'm in love, in love with my student body. They all are a good bunch of young ones. The interns were mad, and they wanted their teachers. That was that. Those kids didn't want to play ring-around-the-rosies. They were mad. I never saw no one so upset about their teachers in all my life in school."

After this, things appeared to settle down for Wayne, and he threw himself into his studies. When the first grades came out, he was happily surprised to discover that he had received all A's. This does not imply he was totally happy with all his courses. In commenting upon the career clusters, he was, in fact, extremely critical.

> "This was about the most boring classes I have ever went to. These people were talking about all these careers, and I wasn't interested in all those careers. I was interested in one of them--Music!! Does music sound like nursing or cashier? I wouldn't think so. All I did was see about all this career stuff, and I thought, 'Well, goddamn.' I felt it was unnecessary, because half of the kids knew what they wanted to do for the rest of their lives, and I was sure they weren't interested either."

During this phase of his program, while exploring career possibilities, Wayne's friendship with his counselor deepened. According to counselor logs, he and his counselor met every day during most of Phase I and nearly as often during the first part of Phase II. He came to see the counselor and his relationship to him as central to his program. In him he found not just a friend, but someone who, in his own words, was "pushing him to get an education."

By late spring Wayne was ready to go into Phase II of his program. Phase II consisted primarily of academic courses. By now, he had been identified by most of the staff as one of the most promising and conscientious students in the program. He also found at this time that, contrary to his expectations, he would not have to wait until January to graduate, but could complete his studies in August. As a result, he threw himself into his courses with even more fervor and determination than before. His journal entries at this point had much less to say about his counselor and concentrated upon the characteristics of the teachers. At one point, he described four

of his teachers, and gave eloquent descriptions of how they impressed him.

> "My teachers are by far the best. I guess my favorite is Mr. H. He sees to it that I pass his class, and he's very strict about it also. He seems to care about us but isn't going to let the student heel him either.
>
> "Mrs. J is very articulate. She's a very emotional person, the kind you have to be careful about what you say to her. She's very sensitive . . . She's likely to base our marks on how well we give our opinion instead of how, what, where . . . She'd say, 'In your own words, tell me' . . . .
>
> "Mr. K is a different story. Everything must be pip-perfect! He would take a point off your score if you say 'ain't' during the time he is marking your paper.
>
> "Mr. L is middle-aged. He was, I thought, the most solemn teacher in school. He was serious about helping us learn about our government and was willing to stay after school to help anyone to pass his class."

In CIP Wayne, though still alone, apparently found one place where he could belong. Although his sensitivity and seriousness caused him to be frustrated with his fellow students, he had made one close friend and had received a kind of recognition which had always eluded him in the past.

As graduation approached, his counselor friend informed him that he would be valedictorian and would give a speech at the commencement services. Wayne approached this task with the seriousness that had characterized his career in CIP. Before he was finally satisfied, he had written at least ten drafts of the speech and had tried each of them out on anyone who was willing to listen.

The graduation, held in the Reverend Dr. Sullivan's church, was a solemn occasion. Wayne was the star attraction, receiving recognition for his academic achievements, along with a $50 bond. The last entry in his journal expresses his feelings concerning the graduation exercises:

> "Graduation was BEAUTIFUL!!. . . We sang 'Lord Help Me to Hold Out,' and that song I sang with feeling. This thing came to be very well. I gave my speech, and I got the award I worked so hard to get and also got

a $50 bond. The students were well-behaved, and I loved them all. Just think--all those little creeps I hated before graduation, and now I'm going to miss them . . . I just couldn't make fun at graduation, because that was the best part of the CIP program, and it left me teary-eyed."

There is a postscript to Wayne's story. Throughout his participation in the program, it had been assumed that he would go on to college and pursue his dream of a career in music. Despite the repeated urgings of his counselor, however, Wayne never did apply for admission to a school. Upon graduation, he took a job with a local business. It lasted only a month, and he was let go. Since that time, he interviewed for and tried several other jobs. None lasted more than a few days. As of the last report, Wayne's counselor, who has maintained contact with him, had helped him to apply to a college in North Carolina. They are awaiting word on his acceptance and the possibilities of financial support.

Angie: "I Can't Let Myself Down."

"When I first came to this school, you know, I had my whole attitude about the system. I really hated school. I just got to where I couldn't even sit in the classroom. I was getting really upset, and everyone started caring about you and they would ask you how you are. At first I had the attitude--you know, it's-none-of-your-business attitude. But they kept on asking you, and they began noticing you, and when you were sad one day, they would tell you, 'You look sad. What's wrong?' Then you couldn't be hating them no more. And they was always concerned about you. That used to get me upset at first, because it was none of their business. Where now, I like it. And it started making me come.

"I was a very insecure person. Like, I didn't want to go to college. I didn't know what I wanted to do. I just wanted to get out of high school. And then I didn't know what I'd do. I just thought I'd probably end up living off welfare. Then I came to this school, and this school started letting me know, yeah, I <u>can</u> do stuff. They weren't telling me I could do it, they were letting me do it for myself . . . They treat you like a person, and then, when you can't do something, you're letting yourself down. It's not like you're letting someone else down; it's like you're letting <u>yourself</u> down. They let you know your good points <u>and</u> your bad points,

without you feeling bad."

Angie is one of two White students in CIP. Angie's whiteness does not seem an issue in her involvement in the CIP. In discussing the gang and race problems in the area with other interns, she said:

> "I noticed one thing. People in this school aren't really different from_____High School, 'cause they come from that school. The point, when you're in public high school, you hear things like, "That White girl, I hate her.' 'That girl Black, I hate her.' It's a convenience not to get to know a person. In this school they can't use that, 'cause they're going to have to sooner or later get to know me as a person, and if they're going to hate me, they're going to hate me as a person. That white thing, they can't use it, because I'm not just a White girl they see in the hallways, I'm not just something that, 'I hate her.' They are forced to get to know me. I'm in their classes. I speak. I get along good with the people I know personally."

This is not to say that the race issue has been eliminated in CIP. Wayne remarked in his journal and in conversations that his Black brothers and sisters gave him trouble because he spent so much time with his White friend. Furthermore, being a predominantly Black school, there is a lot of emphasis in classes and in informal gatherings on Black culture, Black history, and Black pride. Angie bases her acceptance on small classes, personalization of the school, and her own attempts to be friendly.

Certainly, friendliness, openness, and a willingness to talk are qualities that describe Angie. She is a small, slightly built girl with long brown hair, worn Veronica Lake-style. She is usually dressed casually and can be found between classes surrounded by a group of her friends. Her instructors report she is seldom tardy and almost never absent. She does her assignments quickly, willingly, and for the most part, well. She is considered to be a good but not outstanding student.

Angie's pre-CIP school behavior stands in sharp contrast. She came into the program in January 1974, having already dropped out of high school. Prior to that time she had had a serious absentee problem; and although she had maintained satisfactory grades, she was unhappy and disillusioned.

> "In_____they treated me like a child. I acted like a child. I got away with things like a child would get away with things. I got away without doing my work and still got those B's on

my report cards. I skipped through two years. I was proud of it. I got A's and B's. I didn't learn a damn thing in that school. I didn't do nothing. I gave a lot of sad stories."

Angie's problem in public school was not academic failure, but one of self-image. She was not made to feel important or given any reason to think she could trust herself. At the intake interview, her one criticism of the public school concerned its atmosphere and what it made her feel about herself.

While interns like Maria are critical of their classes--their content and the way they are taught--and others like Wayne tend to be laudatory, Angie sees these issues as relatively unimportant. In a discussion she and a number of other students were having about the newly introduced learning packets, she said,

"The packet is one system of teaching, and you shouldn't just base your whole school on just one system. . . I do them. I fall asleep. They don't arouse me. We have no discussion. You can't talk to a packet. I mean, if you talk to a teacher and all the other interns are working, they don't want to hear you. And also, they're kind of abstract. They need something more--like about yourself."

Relationships between people, however, are very important:

"When I first got here, I talked to my counselor like a father. But he told. He broke my confidence, and that really got me mad. Not only did he break it, but he interjected his opinion. So the reason I don't go to my counselor is because I know, and most of the students in the school know, that they write down what you say. I need to be talking to somebody as a friend, somebody who accepts me, and I accept him. I sometimes go to an adopted counselor who does this. She acts like a friend and even tells me feelings she has about staff members."

At her intake interview, Angie exhibited a neutral attitude toward her teachers and counselors, merely indicating that her relationship with school personnel was satisfactory and that she had no complaints about courses offered. Her attitude about classes, school routines, and other aspects of school life have not altered drastically, but her behavior has. For example, with respect to attendance she says,

"In _____ I got away with all that I could. I

could cut classes. They would hassle me a little, but I could get away with it by giving them a sad story. They didn't care. I never cut in this school. My absentee record was so bad, I missed the last three weeks of school. I hated school. Here, I never cut. I want to go."

In public school, Angie responded to school hassles by playing the game, by getting by the easy way, and finally, by dropping out. While in her old school she had felt helpless and insignificant, in the CIP she has become concerned with the program and is active in the Progressive Student Association in its attempts to bring about changes. One of her greatest concerns is the possibility that CIP is becoming more rigid, more strict, and more like the public school. In a meeting of the Progressive Student Association she offered the following analysis:

"They say there are new rules coming in. I don't know where they're coming from, but it seems we got new orders. We can't do this, it's not allowed anymore. Little things are getting stricter. They say, 'Well, the other way didn't work.' Try a new way, I guess. We notice the change. I don't know how strict or loose it was before, but all I know is there's a definite change since I've been here . . . You're not allowed to walk into the career counseling office anymore and sit down. You have to sign a piece of paper to see somebody. I just want to be able to sit down here for a few minutes and talk to somebody."

Again, the same concern comes up when talking about the new curriculum introduced in September.

"Using the packets is kind of like having a system, it's not personal anymore. That is sort of the problem in the regular school. There, it was overcrowding. Here you get the same effect. I mean, the teacher couldn't help you. You're in a room by yourself dealing with yourself. And that's why most of us are here--because we lost interest in that way of teaching. We need more personal attention."

Angie also worries that certain changes have significantly altered the personal relationships between interns and staff. Shortly after she entered CIP, several staff members were transferred who had been popular with the students. Angie felt there was a difference in the attitude of the staff from this time on.

"When a staff person gets to be friendly with the students and gets to be close to them, the other

staff start to say, 'Wait a second.' And they alienate the staff member, and they get jealous of them . . . Then there is a big explosion. We get to be friendly with one staff person. And the school allows it. But the other staff are trying to stop it. They're even afraid to say, 'How're you doing?' I see changes in the staff that used to be friendly with me. I used to sit down and talk with them. They say, 'You're not allowed in here anymore'. . . They're getting scared now. Gwen calls me 'Miss Smith' now, and 'Please do this,' and 'Please, don't do this.'"

Angie feels strongly about the program and its usefulness to her, and these feelings focus on the program's ambience. Her feelings were poignantly expressed in discussing rumors that the school would be closed for financial reasons.

"We were kind of sick when we first heard that. My fellow interns were all kind of sad inside, 'cause we said, 'Wow, it's a good program, and it's going great.' We're really kind of depressed about it, 'cause here we came out of the old system. We were all failing. Then we got put back on our feet. We got confidence. And the only thing that gave us confidence is being torn down."

The change in Angie's attitude, the new-found confidence she has in herself, is striking--and it is not just in the concern she feels for the future of the school, or in her increased attendance, or her activities in the Progressive Student Association; it also comes through when she talks about her future plans. She expects to graduate in February 1975. She had one exciting Hands-On experience with the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, and she is looking forward to another one with a reporter from the Philadelphia Inquirer. She plans to attend college, major in journalism, and become either a writer or a newspaper reporter. Her major concern is no longer whether she will go to college, but where and when.

In summary, Angie represents a special kind of success story. She probably could have finished high school and entered college. However, it is doubtful that she would have found the experience very satisfying, because she did not think enough of herself. Talking with her now, one gets an entirely different impression. She is a confident young woman, convinced that she can do what she wants to do and firmly determined to do it.

Larry: "Nobody's Always Coming Down on You Here."

Larry is a handsome, outgoing young man, gregarious and sure of himself. A modish dresser, he has a reputation for being a flirt with

the girls. His easy-going surface behavior seems, however, to mask both sensitivity and insecurity. In his conversations he has a lot to say about himself, how he feels about school, and about his philosophy of life; his emphasis is on being accepted and not being hassled. Larry came to CIP in January 1974, after being expelled from school toward the end of his junior year for getting into a fight with the assistant principal. His expulsion was the culmination of a bad school experience. Throughout high school, his attendance was poor, his grades were low, and he got into trouble with the teachers.

Larry had been out of school for about ten months, unsuccessfully looking for work, when he heard about the Career Intern Program through some friends. Sometime during this period, the CIP also contacted his mother at the suggestion of his school counselor. Discouraged about his chance of getting a job and encouraged by his mother, he decided to come to CIP for an interview. By this time he had little hope of either finding a good job or going on in school. He gave as a reason for his interest in the program that it was an opportunity to learn a trade and get a diploma. He decided he would try working either as a machinist or as a mechanic.

His attitude toward education was reinforced by the fact that neither his mother nor his father had finished high school. His father, a carpenter, encouraged him to go to the program simply because he was unable to find work; his parents felt a high school diploma would be an asset.

Larry's intake interview reveals the attitude he brought to CIP and the problems he had experienced in school. When asked if he felt the program would be of any help to him, he answered, "Yes, very much, because there's more understanding between the teacher and student." Later, in discussing his problems with specific subjects in school, he blamed his failure on lack of communication with the teachers.

> "Teachers didn't take time to understand why students did the things they did. So I fell behind and needed extra help, and then they weren't there to give it to me."

And finally, when asked what he thought was the most significant quality a teacher could possess, he replied,

> "I feel the teacher should return the respect that I am required to show."

Larry's debut in the Career Intern Program was less than a smashing success. He had to take the Career Awareness class three times before he finally passed it. According to his teacher the reason was

poor attendance. Larry's analysis was somewhat different.

> "At first, one of my teachers--I couldn't get along with him, and then I flunked. Then the second time we got along better, and my mark was higher. He didn't understand me the first time, and I didn't complain 'cause I knew the way I was was the cause of the poor mark. 'Cause I really didn't like him, or nothing. Now it's better. Could be better still, but it's all right."

After Larry entered the Fused Academics phase of the program, he continued to have problems. His teachers identified him as a poor attender, and he had a difficult time keeping up with the work, possibly because he is an extremely poor reader. This causes particular problems for him since the new curriculum packets depend heavily upon students reading and working on their own. Larry told his counselor he thought the curriculum was boring.

> "It's no kind of thing where you can explore. I could deal with doing for myself in a lot of things, but there's some things that teachers got to help with. Packets are for students who really like to read, but what about those that don't like to read? . . . What about the poor student that can't read?"

Although Larry is having trouble academically, he is happy with the school as a whole and has found several things that excite him. One recurring theme in his conversations is the attitude of the staff toward students. When asked to compare the Career Intern Program with his previous high school, he replied unhesitatingly,

> "There are a lot of privileges here. They're not always on your back. You don't have to worry about no one coming down on you, and this is something good. Here, you try to know all the staff members. It's not a thing of just getting to know one. And the staff members try to get to know us--as people, not as students, not as children or as kids--but as people."

He is also proud of the fact that he can call his counselor by his first name. In a heated exchange with another student over the changes that had taken place in the attitude of staff, Larry made the following observation:

> "You have people like this brother over here. Now, he's still dealing with everybody as an individual and as a person. His name is Andre. He's supposed to be a counselor, but he's really not. He's a person. He's not

nobody with a title stamped on his brain. Andre, that's his name, and that's the name I call him by. He's an individual who comes talking to us. He's not nobody we label."

As far as Larry is concerned, his greatest coup came when he successfully organized a student dance. As he put it,

"They gave us the opportunity to prove ourselves. But we had to go through a lot of unnecessary stuff from our own point of view. I thought up this idea of having a dance. I talked at the PSA[1] meeting, and at the time, they agreed on it. If it wasn't for the PSA--it's a group thing, you know--without the committee, it's really nothing. It has to be the whole committee. It can't be just one person. We went to Mrs. S [the director of instruction], and she said, 'Well, it's up to _____ [program coordinator].' So we went to him. We wanted to prove to him that we was people, but we had to, like, kiss his ass. At first, he wouldn't give it to us. Like, he couldn't just accept the fact that we wanted a party. It just didn't seem logical for young people to want a party for no occasion. That just didn't make sense to him. So he said, 'Well, I don't quite understand this. I'm not getting nothing out of it. I don't get paid extra for this. No, I'm not going to do it.' So then you got to run around and everything, and you got to say a slick lie, take it in and rap it down real fast, before he got a chance to ask you. Say thank-you . . . He said it wasn't planned, but we had it in our heads. A piece of paper not gonna do it, it's the people. But then he cancelled it, and then we called a meeting 'cause it was cancelled.' We just went down there. Sure enough, cold-blooded interns. We jumped in his collar. Then we had to present it to him again. We had to convince him that if we didn't have the dance that all the interns would go to another school to a party, and we should keep them in our own school. Then he said, 'Well, I see, I see. Well, O.K.' So it went through three or four changes, but we got our party."

(Interviewer: "Why wouldn't _____ want the dance?")

"Cause he's scared. He's an adult, and an adult always has to have responsibilities. It's worth his job, you know. He'll lose his job if anything happens. We think about that, too. We as students not only think about ourselves, but about his situation. He's in charge of us while we're here, and if anything happens--

[1]Progressive Student Association

like if someone comes in and wants to cut one of us or shoot one of us, he be responsible. Know what I mean? . . . Anyhow, that dance, that went perfect."

Encouraged by the success he had had with the dance and the easy relationship he had developed with the staff, Larry was, by the end of the summer, launched in another campaign--a campaign to change the program so that more free time was structured into it for students to get together. As he put it,

> "I feel the school needs some time worked in it to just talk with your friends. Now we have to stay after school if we want to do that. That's why a lot of interns are late for class. They need to talk to their friends. They just come from home, and they need some time to just laugh a little bit. Some time to get our activities together, to talk to our fellow students about activities we want."

Whether Larry will ever see his reform dreams become reality remains to be seen. Nevertheless, listening to him, it is hard to believe this was a student who was kicked out of school because he could not get along with the vice principal and his fellow students. He still is not sure he is going to be able to graduate with a diploma, but he is confident that he will be able to get a job and that he can expect to be treated as a person. For his Hands-On experience, he was hired by a construction company putting up aluminum siding. At the present time he thinks maybe this is what he would like to do. He found the job challenging and the people he worked with friendly.

Janet: "I Just Want to Get a Good Job."

The reading lab in CIP is a pleasant room containing two tables, one of which is piled high with materials; a large bookshelf, also attractively displaying reading materials; and three individual student carrels. Students with reading problems interfering with their regular course work are assigned to come to the lab for tutorial help. In addition, the lab is open for any students who are free and want to read or talk with the instructor.

One Monday toward the end of June, Janet came into the lab for her regularly scheduled class in reading. She was obviously upset about something. Without so much as a "good morning" to the instructor or the interns standing around talking, Janet sat down in one of the carrels and absentmindedly began to leaf through a vocabulary test booklet. The instructor walked over and asked her what was up. At first Janet simply shrugged her shoulders; then she said she

had just taken one of the tests administered by the evaluation team to find out what interns thought about the program. One of the questions asked for an assessment of teachers. Janet had given a fairly negative answer concerning one instructor. Now she was concerned that it might have a bad effect on the program, that the teacher would get in trouble or be forced to change the class.

Janet is a rather heavy, vivacious, happy, 18-year-old. She had only attended the feeder school a few weeks (having transferred from another Philadelphia high school) when she heard about the CIP from a close friend who had been an intern. Since she was failing in the old school, was having difficulty adjusting to the new one, and was being hassled about getting a diploma, she decided to come to the intake interview. At the interview she seemed hostile and impatient, giving information grudgingly and refusing, for the most part, to talk about her problems. She came alone, and it was with great reluctance that Janet agreed to complete the battery of tests. She barely passed the reading test at the minimum entry level of grade 5. Nevertheless, she was chosen in the lottery and invited to participate in the program.

Once in the school, Janet quickly made friends and became popular with most of the other interns. She gained a reputation for being fun-loving and not too serious. In speaking of her, a fellow intern remarked,

> "She don't get along too good in class, 'cause she always getting high and keeps messing around with dudes."

It is difficult to get Janet to discuss herself, her problems, or her school seriously.

Janet has another side, however--the practical, insecure, concerned Janet revealed in the incident related at the beginning of the discussion. This is the intern who, although she did not like high school, knows a diploma is necessary to get a good job. And who, when asked about graduation, can give the exact date she is going to graduate.

As one follows Janet through her daily school routine or talks to her instructors and peers, one becomes aware of the continuous struggle going on between these two aspects of her personality. Her teachers, on the one hand, characterize her as "the most goal-oriented student" in their classes. On the other hand, they throw up their hands in frustration because she will miss three or four classes in a row. The conflict is evident in her habit of asking for the most advanced vocabulary lesson in the reading lab so that she can be successful in her job, and then a few minutes later asking to be excused so that she can smoke a joint.

When five popular instructors were transferred from the program in February 1974, Janet reacted emphatically:

> "Before that we had an all-female staff. I mean, the school was really together. Everybody felt secure and everything. So, you know, after they were transferred, the school began. . . . to fall down . . . It was never the same. Now we have an all-male staff. Students, they learn to adjust to it, but it's not like it used to be. You need women teachers if you're gonna have a good program."

The same day, she walked out of one of her classes in frustration at not being able to understand the packet she was supposed to be reading and responding to, with the words:

> "I can't wait 'til February so I can get out of this place."

Despite her ambivalences, the practical, goal-oriented Janet seems to have won out, and in all probability she will graduate with her class in February.

Although she originally wanted to be a filing clerk, she now feels she can get the training necessary to become a social worker. The change results from her Hands-On experiences.

> "I did my first Hands-On down at Broad and Spring Garden, and I was on the fourth floor at probations in the voluntary services. I did social work. I enjoyed it, you know, I read the people's record, and if they were in prison or jail and stuff like that. My next Hands-On is going to be December 16."

The practical Janet has been impressed by the Hands-On experiences in the CIP. This is one of the things that really appeals to her about the school.

> "They put you in the Hands-On thing, in a career thing, of whatever you want to do. In high school they have courses like that. You know, they have something in commercial business, I think, and stuff like that. But you don't get the exposure that you get here. They send you out, you know, and you have all kinds of experience on the job and everything. And sometimes, if you do good, like, the company, they'll hire you for on-the-job training, and, you know, you can get pay for that, and you have to have this Hands-On before you graduate here."

Another important change has taken place in Janet's life. Her mother

has begun to take an active interest in what Janet is doing and to express pride in her daughter. Janet comments:

> "I wasn't going to school at all over in _____. I can't really say what it was. It was just something about that school, why I couldn't attend. And then, when I came over here and my attendance improved, you know, well, my mother was real happy about it, and pleased, you know. It was like, you know, when a child doesn't go to school, the parents, they get all upset because they feel like, 'Wow, I wanted my child to graduate, and I want my child to have a diploma, and I want my child to be something.' So, when I didn't attend school, my mother felt kind of hurt. But then when I came over here, I was going to school regular and everything, and she became, you know, real happy, and that stopped a lot of confusion at home."

Whether or not Janet will be able to get training in social work remains a question. She still has problems with her reading and could not be considered a good student. However, she does have a self-confidence and awareness of her own personal attributes which will help her find a useful and satisfying career.

And Some Other Observations . . .

The case histories above have not tried to cover every detail of the students' lives, but have concentrated on those things that help provide a picture of how interns see the Career Intern Program. Not all interns have been as relatively successful in their CIP careers. The CIP has also witnessed its share of failures.

For example, Lynn possessed one of the highest I.Q.'s of any entering intern. At first, she seemed to fulfill her promise and became known as one of the best students in the program; but she was shaken and disillusioned when in the second month of her tenure her favorite teachers were transferred. As Phase I continued, she became increasingly discouraged, spending less and less time in class.

Frustrated by what she saw as an ever-changing program and disappointed with her career curriculum--since she had come primarily to get a diploma as quickly as possible--she began to feel betrayed. Finally, toward the end of the summer, when it became apparent that her graduation would be delayed for at least another semester, she left in disgust to go to Virginia and live with a sister while continuing in another school.

There is also Roland, who came to the school before the present experimental program was instituted. He had dropped out because gang involvement in high school led to serious trouble with the authorities. After half a semester in the Career Intern Program, he dropped out and went to work as a short-order cook because of family pressures. Later on, he realized this was not the life he wanted, so he quit his job and went back to school. He is presently working to prepare himself for a career in fashion design.

In addition, there are a number of outstanding success stories. For instance, there is the story of Mitchell, who attended CIP when it was just getting started. In conversations, he tells how the class used to gather in front of a church each morning until they found out where the school would be conducted that day, usually in one of the local churches. He, too, had been a dropout from high school and is now working as a disc jockey at a local radio station while pursuing a university degree in communications.

Conclusion

The brief life histories presented above characterize intern experiences at CIP. The uniqueness of this program is found in its apparent ability to speak to the varied needs of so many different kinds of individuals, though perhaps not always successfully.

The emerging picture is not one of a group of cowed students who see nothing wrong with the school. They see it as exhibiting its share of injustices, unfairness, and needless political hassles. They are as frustrated, as scared, and as resentful of what they consider to be bad teaching as students in any school. However, again and again they reveal themselves as feeling personally responsible for seeing to it that changes are made. They are almost unanimous in their belief that while imperfect, CIP is better than anything they have experienced before.

CHAPTER FOUR

WHAT ARE INTERNS LIKE WHEN THEY ENTER THE CIP?

Jan is 18; if she were in the grade expected for her age, she would be a senior in Germantown High School. But Jan is not a senior. A bright, eager student for the first eight years of school, she dropped out of high school when she was 16, after a long history of poor attendance, "being fresh," and getting into one minor scrape after another. She reads at the eighth grade level; her math ability tested much lower, however--at the sixth grade level. This means Jan can read most newspapers easily but could not quickly and accurately make change, or apply arithmetic to problem solving. As far as people can tell from the way Jan describes herself, she is independent, self-confident in personal relationships, but unsure of her ability to learn enough to earn her own living. Since she wants to leave home, get her own apartment, and be independent, finishing high school and getting a good job are high on her list--she wants to care for herself and for her one-year-old daughter.

Carl is 16. Tall, dressed in the latest fashion, and well-coordinated, he looks as if he were 21. Carl is a sophomore--just barely. According to his school records and his achievement tests, Carl is bright, competent, and able to do almost anything he would like. But he is unclear about future plans. He "doesn't like school," and rarely attends. He has no fixed interests and, apparently, little sense of direction. Despite his physical appearance, he feels uncomfortable with adults, unsure of himself around the young men and women older than he, but bored with what kids of 16 can offer. Carl has worked off and on at various jobs since he was about 12--a few weeks here and there, but never leaving behind much of a welcome if he wants to return. He is not sure what he wants from the Career Intern Program, except that it sounds different from Germantown High and he'd like to try it. His parents, both white collar workers and increasingly concerned that Carl may "go wrong," are even more eager.

Jesse, at 18, is in his senior year, but 1 credit short of the 12 required for graduation. It does not look as if he is going to make it. Jesse has been passed on from year to year, apparently because he seems to be trying and makes no trouble. His reading scores are barely at the fifth grade level, at the threshold of literacy, and his math performance is not much better. These are the upper limits of Jesse's skills in most circumstances: he can barely comprehend a newspaper article, and his writing skills are, at best, elementary. Jesse's guardians have less than an eighth

grade education and are employed as service workers. Despite their concern for Jesse, they have had little time to visit his school, to work with him at night, or to be his advocates for better educational support. Jesse sees himself as at the mercy of whatever luck--good or bad--comes along; he does not believe that what he does will make much difference in his life. He is an applicant for CIP mainly because a school counselor, afraid Jesse will not be able to graduate and seeing little future for him even if he does, has urged Jesse to try the Career Intern Program. His guardians are at best neutral. They are unsure of what CIP can offer and, since Jesse has not gotten into trouble, wonder if it will be too permissive or lax for a youth accustomed to the fairly structured and strict situation at Germantown.

Each of the 116 interns now in CIP is, like Jan, Carl, and Jesse, an individual with distinctive hopes, abilities, and problems. Some look as if they would probably do well in almost any situation. Some would present challenges to the most successful of schools. What they have in common is a marginally successful experience in school.

In this chapter a profile of the students who applied to CIP is presented in the form of group data,[1] but it is important to keep in mind the complex individuals represented in the findings. In later reports, sufficient data will be available to describe in more detail how individual students may be alike.

AGE, STATUS, AND SEX OF APPLICANTS

The applicants range in age from 16 years (80 out of 267 students who applied to CIP between January 1, 1974, and June 1974) to 21 years of age (4 applicants). Over half of all applicants (179 out of 267) are 17 or younger.

Of the 267 applicants, 107 had dropped out of the public school system. Of the 160 still enrolled in high school when they applied for the Career Intern Program, more than 136 had poor attendance records. Thus, approximately 243 of the applicants either were not participating in some kind of formal education or were participating only minimally.

As Figure 4 shows, age and status are related: most of the applicants 18 or younger were still enrolled in high school, while all of those 19 and older had dropped out.

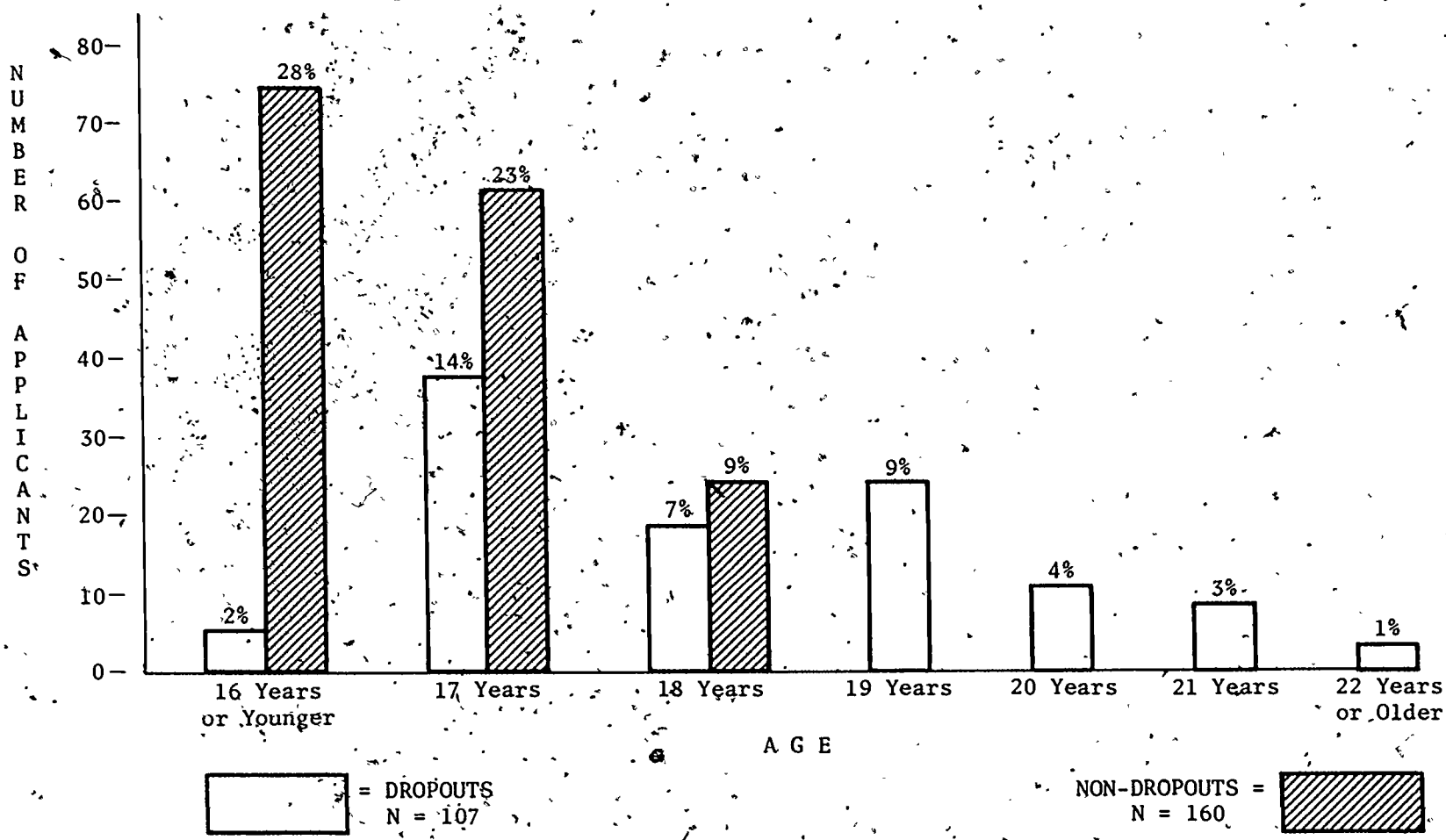
If applicants had made normal progress, of the 267, 40, or 15%,

[1] In January 1974, 175 people applied to CIP, and 92 applied in June 1974.

FIGURE, 4

DISTRIBUTION BY PERCENT OF AGES OF DROPOUTS AND NON-DROPOUTS APPLYING TO CIP

N = 267



would have been in the tenth grade; 139, or 52%, would have been in the eleventh grade; and 88, or 33%, would have been in the twelfth grade. The average age for all applicants was 17.

The dropouts were not, by and large, attending some alternative school. Eighty-three were working or actively looking for a job, and 16 were just "staying at home." Of the 16 applicants at home, 11 were women, and 2 of these had children. Only 8 were either participating in or waiting for admission into other programs.

Overall, slightly more of the applicants were men. Of the 160 applicants still in school, 81 were men; and of the 107 not enrolled in a high school 62 were males. Thus, men were slightly more likely to apply to the program than women. However, this difference is insignificant.

HOW WERE THE APPLICANTS DOING IN SCHOOL?

Many alternative schools are believed to attract applicants who would probably be successful almost anywhere. Were the CIP applicants, dropouts or not, having trouble at school? And if so, why?

There are several ways of answering this question; grade-point averages, how many credits the students were lacking for graduation, performance on measures of academic achievement, and statements of parents, counselors, and students themselves. Taking these all together, the answer seems to be that almost all the applicants were in academic difficulty, but few seemed to be in difficulty because they lacked the ability to learn.

Grade Point Averages

In the Philadelphia schools, a grade of D or less is failing; a grade of C or more is passing; and grades of B or A are considered academically superior. Most (65%) of the CIP applicants (174 out of 267) either were failing during the semester before they dropped out or were failing during the semester before they applied. Some (25%) were passing, but with low C averages. A few (10%) had academic averages suggesting superior performance.

Credit Deficits

A student needs 12 Carnegie units to graduate. At an average rate of four units per year, this means a junior should have completed four units, and a senior eight units at the beginning of eleventh and twelfth grades, respectively. The credit deficit is the difference between what the student is normally expected to have and

the credits actually completed. The larger the deficit, the further behind the student would be for her/his age and grade level.

Virtually all CIP applicants have credit deficits. On the average, applicants to the Career Intern Program are deficient by four units, or one year, though some are as much as seven units behind. It seems fair to conclude that few of the applicants would graduate with their class. The situation for the dropouts showed distributions almost as discouraging, although the group was older and might have been expected to have completed more credits.

Performance on Achievement Tests

Achievement tests yield scores that describe the grade-level attainment of a student relative to what other students at that grade level can do. If, for example, almost all students at the beginning of the tenth grade can correctly solve the problem, "What should be Dick's change? He gave the clerk $5.00 to pay for a ball that costs $1.50 and a flashlight that costs 97¢," and a given student correctly answers that question as well as others like it but fails questions most other students in tenth grade fail, the student would probably receive a grade-equivalent score of 10.0.

Table I shows the distribution of grade-equivalent scores for the 140 applicants taking the test,[1] while Table II indicates the distribution in mathematics achievement for the 138 applicants taking that test (127 and 129 respectively of the original 267 applicants did not take these tests).[2] (The reader is referred to Appendix I.B., Volume II, for the raw score distributions of the reading and mathematics tests.).

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[1]With regard to the 5.0 grade equivalent score in reading mentioned earlier as a base requirement for admission, it should be mentioned here that in actual practice a 4.5 grade-equivalent score was used as a cut-off point, since this figure is still within one standard error of measurement for this instrument. Thus, 1.4% rather than 8.5% of the applicants were initially denied admission to CIP because of their reading scores.

[2]Not all applicants took all tests for several reasons: Some decided that the program was not for them; some left in the middle of testing without explanation; still others made initial application but never returned for formal interviews and testing.

TABLE I

APPLICANT READING ACHIEVEMENT

N = 140

(Range = 3.9 - 12.7)

GRADE EQUIVALENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
4.4 or Less	2	1.4
4.5 - 4.9	10	7.1
5.0 - 5.4	22	15.7
5.5 - 5.9	10	7.1
6.0 - 6.4	10	7.1
6.5 - 6.9	17	12.1
7.0 - 7.4	12	8.6
7.5 - 7.9	7	5.0
8.0 - 8.4	20	14.3
8.5 - 8.9	9	6.4
9.0 - 9.4	-	-
9.5 - 9.9	6	4.3
10.0 - 10.4	5	3.6
10.5 - 10.9	5	3.6
11.0 - 11.4	-	-
11.5 - 11.9	3	2.1
12.0 - 12.4	1	.7
12.5 - 12.9	1	.7

Average Grade Equivalent for Group = 7.2

TABLE II

APPLICANT MATHEMATICS ACHIEVEMENT

N = 138

(Range = 3.0 - 12.9)

GRADE EQUIVALENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
4.4 or Less	12	8.7
4.5 - 4.9	3	2.2
5.0 - 5.4	3	2.2
5.5 - 5.9	6	4.3
6.0 - 6.4	29	21.0
6.5 - 6.9	12	8.7
7.0 - 7.4	9	6.5
7.5 - 7.9	12	8.7
8.0 - 8.4	15	10.9
8.5 - 8.9	10	7.2
9.0 - 9.4	7	5.1
9.5 - 9.9	8	5.8
10.0 - 10.4	6	4.3
10.5 - 10.9	-	-
11.0 - 11.4	2	1.4
11.5 - 11.9	1	.7
12.0 - 12.4	-	-
12.5 - 12.9	3	2.2

Average Grade Equivalent for Group = 7.2

These tables, along with other data available from Germantown High School, indicate five important points:

1. Most of the applicants to CIP (85% of whom were in the eleventh or twelfth grade) were substantially behind the performance of average eleventh grade students nation-wide in reading and mathematics achievement. If these skills are important to later academic or life success in the majority culture, the students were seriously deficient.

2. The CIP applicants' performance on these tests was not significantly different from that of average Germantown High School students.[1] This means that the students who applied to CIP were not less academically able than students who stayed in school, and in turn, suggests that they were not leaving the regular schools because of academic deficiencies per se.

3. The average reading achievement was about the same as the average mathematics achievement scores. This suggests that the two may be related, as each was an average four years below the national norm for students in eleventh grade. Both reading and mathematics achievement may be serious problems, if they are, in fact, important to later educational or career success.

4. Thirty-eight percent of the applicants tested were at the low end of the scale (6.4 and below) on reading, and 38% were on the low end of the scale in mathematics. There were some applicants at both the lower and relatively higher ends of the scale ~~for~~ each test, and the average achievement was the same in reading and mathematics.

1 Germantown High School averages are based on (1) an examination of a large sample of Germantown High School student records; (2) achievement data published in the Philadelphia Inquirer, February 15, 1975; and (3) personal communication with research personnel in the office of the School District of Philadelphia.

5. Finally, some applicants had high achievement scores in reading. About 5 students were at grade level or above nationwide.

These test results are not synonymous with intellectual potential or ability. That is, they are not to be construed as reflections of ability to learn reading or mathematics. Rather, achievement tests assess performance, which in turn reflects learning ability, motivation, and educational opportunity. The wide spread of performance, but overall low scores, indicates that the applicants are a diverse group and that many are well behind the national norms for their grade level.

Performance on Measures of Ability to Learn

Cognitive ability may be roughly defined as skills by which we gain knowledge of ideas, or as our ability to learn from experience, to think, and to reason. This capacity can be measured in several ways. Most frequently, "I.Q." tests are used; and of these, one of the most frequently administered is the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC). While the term "I.Q." has gained great currency as a descriptor of individual potential, the traits constituting the "intelligence quotient" remain open to disagreement among test developers, researchers, and educators.

In assessing the cognitive or intellectual potential of minority individuals, the notion of I.Q. has generated considerable controversy. I.Q. is essentially a ratio of how much one has learned to one's age. If everyone's opportunities to learn were equal, the I.Q. would be a good indicator of inborn ability to learn from experience--i.e., intelligence. But learning opportunities are decidedly unequal; so many contend that the tests commonly used to measure intelligence fail to yield high scores in minority populations because such tests are biased in favor of the majority culture.

The average score on most intelligence tests is 100, which indicates average learning for average age, and the test items from which scores are computed usually reflect the experiences of a majority, middle-income culture. To reduce such bias, applicants to the Career Intern Program were given a test of non-verbal reasoning. That is, the test does not contain verbal problems (believed to be the most biased) but does require much thought and reasoning about relationships between the pictured "model" and other pictures, all of which closely resemble the model. For each of the 60 items in the test, applicants were asked to pick from six or eight choices the one most closely related to the model.

Table III indicates that of the 124 applicants taking this test, 91, or 73% of the group, scored average or better than what most high school students score. Further, an average score is roughly equivalent to an I.Q. of 100 and equal to 100 on the WISC. Of the group of students applying for CIP, well over half performed as well as or better than most people their age on this measure of ability, and about one third performed at levels usually indicating well above average ability to learn. Thirty-three, or 27%, however, performed at levels suggesting low motivation, slow learning, or perhaps severe lack of opportunity to learn. (See Appendix I.B., Volume II for raw score distributions on Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices.)

TABLE III

APPLICANT NON-VERBAL REASONING

N = 124

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Low	2	2%
Low	7	6%
Below Average	24	19%
Average	52	42%
Above Average	38	30%
High	1	1%

What has been learned so far? First, that the applicants are having academic problems, and second, that lack of ability to learn is not a problem for most. Why, then, are these young people dropouts or potential dropouts? There are several possibilities: problems at home, problems in the schools, problems with other teenagers, or problems within the students themselves--e.g., little self-confidence or not believing that hard work can make a difference. For most applicants, all the above may be true to varying degrees. Below, each possibility is discussed for the group as a whole. Later reports, based on more interns, may permit a more complete picture.

WHAT ARE THE APPLICANTS LIKE?

For the most part, CIP applicants have average or above average learning potential, but, in many cases, they lag far behind the

national norms in their mastery of critical reading and mathematics skills. That is, the majority of applicants did not achieve at a level commensurate with their abilities.

The reasons underlying the divergence between ability and performance are as diverse as the pool of students applying for the program, but one hunch has been that the problem is motivation. That is, people who believe they cannot succeed will not succeed; that those who believe they are victims of external forces will not attempt to direct the course of their own lives. At issue here is not that these perceptions are accurate reflections of reality; rather, that negative perceptions regarding oneself and one's ability to control one's environment are harmful to success in school and in later life. This is the conclusion drawn by OICs/A and has been supported, in part, by earlier research, indicating student perceptions may be subject to change.

Do Applicants Feel They Control Their Own Destiny?

Historically, Americans have believed that through hard work people can succeed and, further, can control the course of their own lives: "It is what you are, not who you know." For children growing up in minority cultures, however, this sense of individual control may be lacking. In the classic study of inequality in American education, for example, James Coleman et al., found that students from low-income homes tend to feel an inability to control what happens to them: they feel who you know, and luck, is what really makes a difference. Coleman also found that low-income youth who believed they could make a difference did well on measures of verbal and mathematical achievement, while self-esteem had no association with achievement. For higher income students, the reverse was true. Students who had a high sense of self-worth had high scores, while internality or externality of control was unrelated to test performance.[1]

On the basis of this finding, a substantial body of programs has grown up aimed at increasing the low-income person's belief that what one does makes a difference. One of the basic assumptions of OICs/A is that this belief is the beginning of successful career education.

It would be expected, by this line of reasoning, that many CIP applicants may have a sense of external (luck/influence) rather than internal (my abilities and energy) control. Table IV indicates that about one-third of the applicants to the Career Intern Program fall

[1]James S. Coleman et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

within such a category. A slightly smaller percentage feel that they can in fact exercise control over their lives, while the remainder fall between the two extremes.

Most of those students indicating they felt control rested within themselves scored at the lower ranges of this category. That is, few of the applicants who took this test believed with certainty that they were in control of their lives. They indicated this by disagreeing with statements such as, "Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action," or, "What happens to me is my own doing." As a group, then, these students' view of society is not one where anyone can succeed through hard work. (See Appendix I.B., Volume II, for the raw score distributions for Rotter's Internal-External Scale and derivation of categories.)

One of the beliefs of the Career Intern Program is that students served by the program need to be "turned around," or remotivated to realize they are or can be in control of their own destinies. For a least a third of the students applying to CIP this assumption seems valid. While these applicants may, and probably do, have other problems contributing to their difficulties in school, their belief that they cannot control their destinies appears to be one of the largest problems the Career Intern Program has to overcome.

About one-third of the applicants indicated by their test scores a belief that they do in fact control what happens to them. For these individuals, particularly, one must pose other ideas which might throw light on their lack of success in school. Such factors as family relationships, relationships with friends, and self-image may, for example, provide explanations for school-related problems.

TABLE IV

APPLICANT INTERNAL - EXTERNAL SCALE

N = 129

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Internal	11	9%
Internal	28	21%
Non-differentiated	49	38%
External	38	30%
Very External	3	2%

Do CIP Applicants Tend to Have Trouble With Their Families?

Data presented in Table V indicate that, by and large, applicants do not have trouble with their families. (See Appendix I.B., Volume II, for raw score distributions and the derivation of categories used for Tables V through VIII. Data presented in these tables are based on Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory.) About two-thirds of these students tended to view their family relationships positively, of which slightly more than one-third viewed these same relationships very positively. Only about one-third of the students assessed family relationships negatively, but more of these felt only slightly negative, with a small minority of 8%, or nine students, rating relationships to home and family very negatively.

Applicants indicated their general feelings regarding family and home by responding "Like Me" or "Unlike Me" to items such as "My parents and I have a lot of fun together," and "My parents expect too much of me." The fact that, for the most part, responses were positive does not mean CIP applicants never have family-related problems.

According to additional data collected through individual interviews, many applicants have experienced family-related problems which may well be connected with their previous school performance. Such problems include: assuming responsibility for a large number of younger brothers and sisters, working because the family needs the extra money, coping with the economic problems associated with women who are the breadwinners of the family, and coping with the economic problems associated with low family incomes.

TABLE V

APPLICANTS' FEELINGS ABOUT HOME

N = 120

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Negative	9	8%
Negative	29	24%
Positive	40	33%
Very Positive	42	35%

Of the total pool of 267 CIP applicants most come from families with at least two younger children as revealed by Intake interviews. The

applicants--by and large still children themselves--must assume at least partial responsibility for rearing them. While they may feel very positively about their brothers and sisters, as previous data have shown, the fact remains that the need to care for younger children affects the amount of energy and time a student can realistically make available for school-related activities. As one applicant said, "Look, man, before I can even think about coming to school in the morning, I got to feed and dress four younger brothers and get them to school. Then, when I get home, I got to take care of them 'til 7:00 or 8:00 at night. I don't have time for school."

Much has been written in recent years about job discrimination encountered by women. One of the worst aspects of such discrimination is the lower wages paid to women for jobs performed by both sexes. An overwhelming 70% of applicants to the program come from homes in which a female parent or guardian is the primary breadwinner. Further, the jobs held by heads of households for this student population are low-paying and/or seasonal in nature. Thus, a chronic shortage of money would seem to be a recurring problem for most of these applicants. Not only do most of the jobs held by heads of households tend to fall on the lower end of the economic scale, but since more breadwinners are female, their wages may be lower than could be expected for men holding similar positions. Because of this, 65% of the applicants report the need for at least a part-time job while in school in order to help support their families.

Do the Applicants Like Themselves?

Most of the applicants who took the tests felt they were not in control of their lives. One might infer, therefore, that as a group the applicants would have a negative self-image. How well you like yourself may be more important than how much other people like you. It is widely believed that one of the worst outcomes of poor educational experiences is children who do not feel they are worth very much, who feel they are not smart, pretty, fun to be with, or worth caring about. (The extreme converse, "I'm perfect; just ask me," is believed to be over-compensation and not particularly desirable.)

But, contrary to expectations, data presented in Table VI show that most of the applicants were in fact positive when assessing their self-worth. They indicated this by responding "Unlike Me" to statements such as, "I often wish I were someone else," and "I can't be depended on." While the remainder saw themselves in a less positive light, few scored in the lowest category of the self-esteem scale. This suggests that, while applicants' perceptions of themselves differed from individual to individual, from highly positive to slightly negative, few considered themselves lacking individual worth.

TABLE VI

APPLICANTS' GENERAL SELF-ESTEEM

N = 120

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Low	7	6%
Low	28	23%
Average	53	44%
High	29	24%
Very High	3	3%

How the applicants described themselves on the test was consistent with other perceptions. When asked in an interview whether they had been well thought of in previous schools, approximately 98% of the interviewees responded "yes." Thus; the picture of these applicants is that they seemed to like themselves. Apparently, the negative experiences they may have endured, either in previous schooling or within a family situation, had not weakened their self-esteem.

Most Popular, No, But I've Got Plenty of Friends.

One might suppose that, since relationships with one's peers are a crucial element of any school situation, these applicants may have experienced problems in relating with other students and that, therefore, their sense of social self-esteem might be low. Do the data support such a possibility? To the contrary, as Table VII indicates, 89% of the applicants felt sure about themselves in a social context. They illustrated this by saying "yes" to such questions as, "I always know what to say to people," and "I'm popular with kids my own age."

TABLE VII

APPLICANTS' FEELINGS TOWARD FRIENDS

N = 120

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Negative	1	1%
Negative	12	10%
Positive	69	58%
Very Positive	38	31%

What Were Their Former High Schools Like?

So far, it seems that whatever the causes of applicants' problems in school, these were not associated with difficulty in getting along with other people, nor were they related to doubts about self-worth. To find out what the problems were, one must turn to different areas.

One likely place to look might be the applicants' original high schools. Within such schools one might begin to identify contexts, if not causes, which provided the soil where school-related problems took root.

Two major feeder schools from which prospective students come to CIP are Germantown and Roxborough High Schools. These schools have student populations of 3,100 and 2,700 respectively. In each school six counselors are available to assist the entire student population. The student population of Germantown is predominantly Black, while that of Roxborough is mostly White. These are large, urban high schools, serving twice as many students as they were designed to accommodate. With few counselors plus overcrowded classes, they are unable to give students the individual time and attention wanted. As several of the applicants to CIP have stated during interviews:

> "The relationship that can be attained here [at CIP] between staff and students seem much closer, whereas in high school there is really only time for the much brighter students."

> "[Another] high school doesn't give you much help. The people don't seem as friendly [as at CIP]."

"[The] classes were so overcrowded."

"Other schools try to give you a hard way to go . . . as if you were in prison . . . ."

" . . . in high school you are treated as a class; here it seems to be on a personal basis."

These quotes are representative of statements made by a majority of the students applying to CIP. One gets an impression of students somehow unable to cope with the size of their schools or with the consequent lack of personal attention they wanted but did not receive. Given these perceptions, it is interesting that as a group these students were not particularly hostile about their high schools. A large majority (82%) said that they felt they got along reasonably well with their teachers and that they were fairly treated; most (74%) also indicated that, given the size of the student bodies, the schools were being run as well as possible.

What, then, were the consequences of having attended schools such as those described above? For one thing, most of the students (63%) said they just "grew tired" of what seemed an oppressive atmosphere. Most of the applicants were not getting good grades (the mean grade point average of this population was 1.2 out of a possible 4 points), and most had attendance problems. Certainly, given a student population with family and economic problems, an "oppressive" and "impersonal" school atmosphere could contribute to the fostering of additional problems.

How Did They Perceive of Themselves as Students?

Given the conditions described above, one could ask, "Might not a school experience with which students have had little reason to feel successful contribute to a negative image of oneself as a student?" The data overwhelmingly indicate "yes." Table VIII shows that almost half the students who completed the test perceived themselves very negatively, as evidenced by their answers to statements such as: "I find it very hard to talk in front of the class," and "I'm proud of my school work." Conversely, only 2% of the group expressed very positive feelings about their "academic" self, and less than a fifth of the group expressed positive feelings. As a group, the applicants perceived themselves as unsuccessful students. One may conclude, then, that as a group they do not expect to succeed in school. Given a past history of failure, such feelings are hardly surprising.

TABLE VIII

APPLICANTS' FEELINGS ABOUT THEMSELVES AS STUDENTS

N = 120

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Negative	56	47%
Negative	42	35%
Postive	19	16%
Very Positive	3	2%

Neighborhood Problems

Are there any other problems not related directly to either school or home which help to characterize these applicants? There appear to be several which may be defined as "neighborhood-related" problems, such as gangs (along with the fear and danger they generate), and drugs.

How severe is the "gang problem"? Applicants are very reluctant to discuss gangs at all, and if pressed during an interview, they will rigorously deny gangs cause any problems at all for them. Parents and guardians, however, frequently cite gangs as areas of concern. Within the Germantown area there are approximately 35 gangs, although the number of active fighting gangs fluctuates from day to day. Several gang-related concerns do affect the CIP applicant's school experience both in the public schools and in the Career Intern Program.

Virtually all the area of Philadelphia served by the CIP has been sub-divided into turfs by the gang organizations. The question of gang membership becomes a very real concern for children in early adolescence, since the children are forced to become involved. As the children enter junior high school and, later, high school, they become accustomed to sporadic school corridor gang fights and perhaps take part in a few themselves. They learn which neighborhoods to avoid, and may be forced to take numerous detours in getting to school. At times, they may not be able to leave home at all.

One of the frequent inquiries made by parents during the intake session concerns the turf on which the Urban Career Education Center is situated. Many were relieved to find that UCEC is neutral territory, although the surrounding area is considered Haines Street gang turf. Such things as these not only create attendance problems, but

gang obligations, conflicts, and pressures go with the student into the classroom, and can seriously affect school performance.

Gangs, then, are a fact of life in the school community. Their very presence suggests intimidating forces with which many of the students have to cope on a daily basis.

What about the problem of drugs? All one can say is that drugs are in abundant supply, and that the peer pressure brought to bear on these students to "get high" is enormous.

> "Hell, I get up in the morning and my brother's already high; I come to school and pass my friends on the way, and they're stoned. How can you avoid it?"

The combination of gangs and the fear of physical violence, on the one hand, and of drugs and the mental disorientation it produces, on the other, presents a series of problems and potential problems which lessen the likelihood of school success.

In Summary

- For the most part, applicants don't believe they control what happens to them.
- In general, the applicants feel good about themselves and their worth as people.
- They feel good about their relationships with their families.
- They tend to have family-related problems, such as the care of younger brothers and sisters or the need to help support their families. This can affect their performance in school.
- They feel good about their relationships with friends.
- Overwhelmingly, they have negative feelings about themselves as students.

ARE THE APPLICANTS READY TO UNDERTAKE CAREER EDUCATION?

So far, certain factors have been discussed, such as academic performance, intelligence, and self-esteem, which may in part account

for the previous lack of academic success. While a knowledge of such factors is essential to a description of Career Intern Program applicants, it is not sufficient in helping the program administrators judge group readiness for career exploration. Since the Career Intern Program is, by definition, an educational experience seeking to help young people "turn on" to careers, it is essential to know if the applicant group is ready for such an experience. While the term "readiness" is difficult to define, a start can be made by asking four related questions: (1) Are these individuals motivated to undertake such an experience? (2) Do they have the capacity to integrate career information by making long-range career plans? (3) Are they likely to use outside resources in making career plans? (4) How much accurate career knowledge do they currently have?

Are They Motivated?

This is a difficult question to answer, for the notion of motivation has many facets. In a sense, the term encompasses many of the school-related difficulties cited earlier in this section, such as poor grades, and low reading and mathematics achievement levels. If these are taken as criteria by which motivation is to be judged, then as a group the applicants to CIP are not well motivated to succeed in school. This chapter has also discussed several other factors which may contribute to a lack of previous success in school. Family-related problems, economic problems, problems with neighborhood gangs, with drugs, and with child-rearing, all pose potential explanations for a lack of previous success in school. Such problems may not be simply ascribed to "low motivation." Certainly, their previous school experiences have not led these applicants to believe that schools can help them overcome these problems. In this sense, then, the motivation of these applicants may be described as low.

The evidence supporting the conclusion of low motivation is entirely historical. It is based upon previous attendance problems, previous grades, previous experience. While this evidence is not to be taken lightly, the fact that these students were seeking admission to the program may indicate that, at the time of application, their motivation was relatively high. Applicants were sufficiently motivated to make an initial visit to the program and to submit themselves to lengthy interviewing and testing--all with the knowledge that, having completed the application process, they still might not get into the program because of the lottery procedures. This suggests that, as a group, applicants are motivated to the extent that they wish to make a major change in their lives.

In light of negative experiences with school, why did applicants who had dropped out apply to the Career Intern Program, thereby giving education a "second chance"? Most indicated during their intake interviews that they realized (some of them after trying unsuccessfully to obtain jobs) the need for additional education and viewed CIP as an alternative means of acquiring it.

Do They Make Use of Resources?

One way of finding out how prone the applicants would be to use career resources in the future would be to ask, "How extensively have these applicants used career resources which may have been available to them in the past?" The data presented in Table IX show the group had used extensively whatever resources were available. High scores on this test meant applicants had talked to people in the world of business, or to teachers and/or school counselors, and had consulted books or audio-visual aids in obtaining information. (See Appendix I.B., Volume II, for the raw score distributions and the derivation of categories used for Tables IX, X, and XI. These tables are based on Super's Career Development Inventory.)

TABLE IX

APPLICANTS' USE OF RESOURCES FOR CAREER EXPLORATION

N = 118

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Low	0	0%
Low	4	3%
Below Average	25	21%
Average	30	26%
Above Average	38	32%
High	17	15%
Very High	4	3%

The average score (259) for the group of CIP applicants in this case was higher than the average score (238) for students taking the test in general. That is, as a group, the applicants to the Career Intern Program took greater advantage of the resources open to them than did other students around the country who took this test. Not only

could most of these students plan their careers, but in creating career plans, they tended to utilize external resources.

Clearly, then, while these students may have either dropped out of school or may have been considering such an action, they were still concerned about their futures. While they may have been uncertain as to the best means for getting where they wanted to go, they did have a destination in mind; and in choosing that destination, they had solicited information from a large array of sources.

While about two-thirds of the applicants did make use of a large number of outside resources, about a third of the group did not. This may mean that such applicants were not aware of the resources available to them, that they did not respect the judgments of others, or that they did not find it necessary to consult external sources when making career plans. It does not mean, however, that this sub-group--given a rich and pertinent array of decision-making information--would not take advantage of it.

Little is known about the quality of the resources utilized by most of the applicant group. Career information received from outside sources may have been correct, or it may have been completely erroneous. In addition, resources consulted may or may not have taken into account the aptitudes and abilities of the applicants. Regardless of the quality of the resources used, however, these applicants as a group described themselves as taking advantage of career resources available to them. This tendency to remain open and to explore various sources of information is important to the program, for it means that applicants have not closed themselves off before the fact and will tend to use information sources made available by the program.

What Is Their Degree of Career Information?

The preceding discussion raised some questions regarding the quality of the resources applicants tended to use prior to their application to the Career Intern Program. These questions, however, are really an offshoot of a larger issue, namely, "How much career information do students possess when they apply to CIP?" The data on Table X show that; as measured by the test on career information, they do not possess very much. The average score for the group was 13, a full standard deviation below the nationwide average of 17, indicating that these applicants possessed far less actual career information than most other students around the country. This suggests that while the applicants had made extensive use of available resources, the latter tended to be scanty and/or misinformed. It further suggests that in making their career plans, these applicants did not, as a group, use accurate sources of information.

TABLE X

APPLICANTS' CAREER INFORMATION

N = 129

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Low	10	8%
Low	27	21%
Below Average	46	36%
Average	31	24%
Above Average	13	10%
High	2	1%
Very High	0	0%

The preceding generalizations are true for about two-thirds of the group who completed this instrument, or 83 people. About one-third of the group, however, possessed enough information about careers to score at or above the national average.

Given the range of educational problems described earlier, it is not surprising that, by and large, applicants do not possess accurate career information. Moreover, in terms of traits far more critical than the possession of actual career information--such as willingness to seek out external resources--these applicants were not at all deficient. Given appropriate information, the applicants, as a group, would probably use it and integrate it into long-range plans.

Because of the importance of this finding, more details about the measure used seem important. Low scores on this instrument indicate students are unable to respond accurately to questions concerning the "fit" between certain abstract personality traits (i.e., "liking to do your homework alone") and the demands of certain job situations. It is likely that most of the students in this country who achieved high scores on this test are exposed for long periods of time to individuals who hold jobs within a broad spectrum of occupations. The average middle-class child, for example, is probably unconsciously exposed to a large amount of career information. Such a child matures in an atmosphere (both at school and at home) filled with adults from most, if not all, of the common professions. She/he attends school from kindergarten onward with the children of professionals from many fields. Due to such prolonged exposure, these children are constantly confronted by social, economic, and career-related values important to the predominant beliefs of middle class

culture in the United States. While children from lower-income families, such as applicants to the Career Intern Program, are also exposed to various careers, in all likelihood, such career-exposure is not analagous to that experienced by the middle-class children.

Figure 5 shows the different occupations of 303 parents of applicants to the CIP. The data show that only 1% of all parents interviewed had professional occupations such as medicine, law, accounting, education, and the like; that about 25% were unemployed (versus a national average of about 5.5% as of August 1974), and that over 40% were employed in manual labor. Furthermore, less than 5% of all parents were employed in any of the higher status occupations, including both professional and managerial. It can be concluded then, that the applicants to this program did not grow up with a working knowledge of a broad range of middle-class careers. This helps to explain why many of the applicant group possessed so little information about the careers included in this test.

How Mature Are the Applicants in Their Ability to Plan for a Career?

Data presented in Table XI indicate that, by and large, these individuals were able to utilize career information in the formulation of plans for their futures. This means that most of the people tested were able to relate information about specific careers to their individual aptitudes and interests. The average, or mean, score (97) of the applicants who completed the instrument measuring ability to plan was slightly less than the national average score (104), but this small difference is not significant.

TABLE XI

APPLICANTS' PLANNING ABILITY

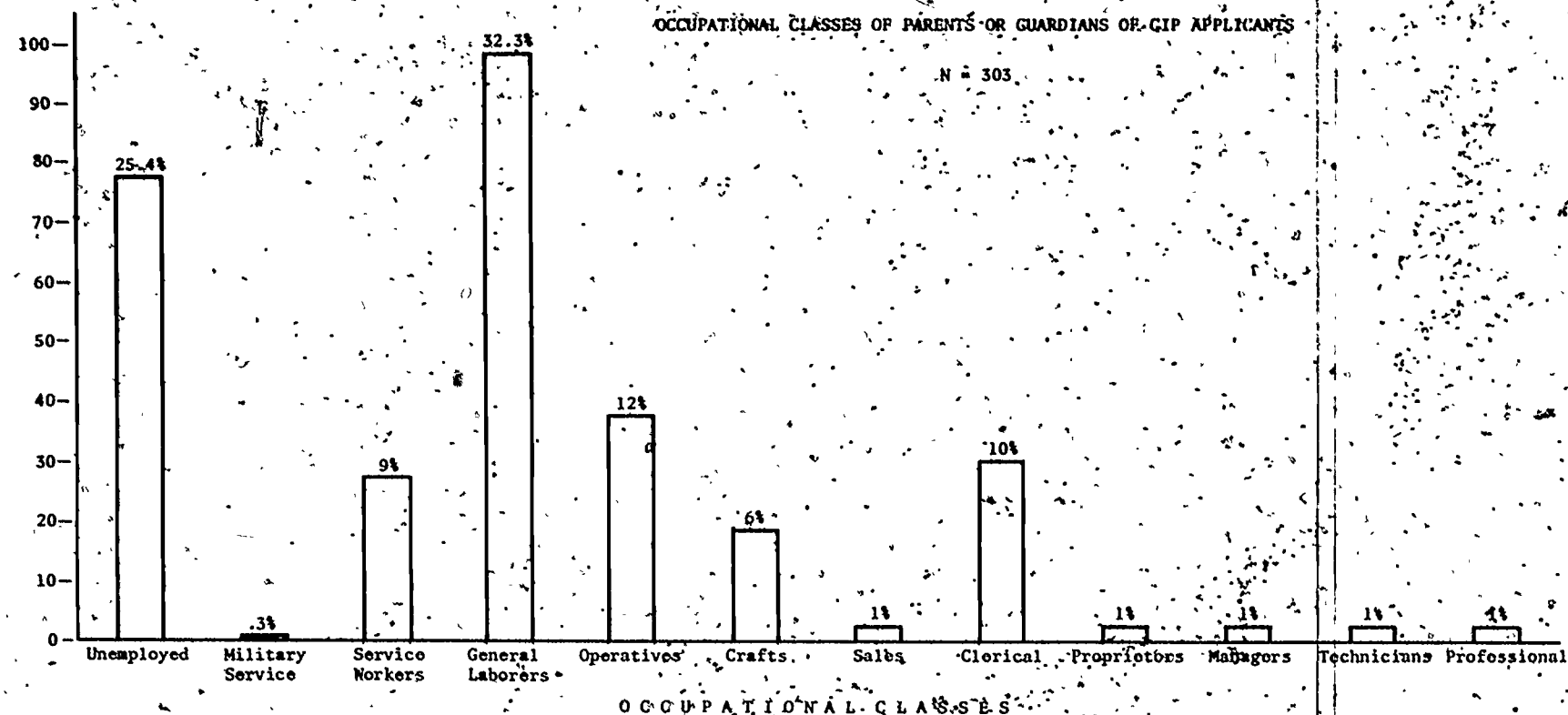
N = 119

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Low	3	3%
Low	11	9%
Below Average	32	27%
Average	26	22%
Above Average	29	24%
High	12	10%
Very High	6	5%

FIGURE 5

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES OF PARENTS OR GUARDIANS OF GIP APPLICANTS

N = 303



About 40% of the group scored above the national average, while about the same percentage scored below the average. In terms of ability to plan for a career, the pool of applicants to the Career Intern Program falls into three groups: those who cannot plan very well, those who can plan reasonably well, and those who can plan very well.

Previous discussions have stressed the scope and depth of the problems affecting the lives of these individuals when they applied to CIP. In the context of these problems, it is noteworthy that those who completed the test evidenced, on the whole, such a high degree of maturity.

As a group, the applicants to CIP have the ability to plan for their careers. During interviews, the applicants indicated they had already made some career plans. Such data suggest that virtually all applicants interviewed had some sort of career in mind when they first applied to the program. This, in turn, means each individual in the applicant group had at one point or another thought actively about the future. One may suppose that applying to the Career Intern Program was viewed as a way of acting upon this future.

STUDENT ASPIRATIONS/PARENTAL ASPIRATIONS AND WHERE THE TWAIN SHALL MEET

Aspirations of Applicants for Themselves

Most of the applicants had considered specific careers before applying to the Career Intern Program. What were the careers that they hoped to follow? Figure 6 shows that almost 40% of the group (about 83 people) hoped to follow a career in one of the professional occupations. Since previous discussions have indicated that most applicants in this group did not possess adequate career information, some might argue that these students did not actually know the skills required to pursue such occupations, and that their aspirations were unrealistic. Yet Figure 7, which presents some data on educational aspirations, shows that a quarter of the group wanted to attend a four-year college, while an additional 15% hoped to go beyond college to medical school, law school, or some other post-graduate work. Fully 40% of the students applying aspired to a four-year college or beyond. The students indicating aspirations for a professional career were the same as those who wanted college and post-graduate training. At least in terms of the educational requirements for professional occupations, the applicants were realistic.

FIGURE 6

CAREER ASPIRATIONS OF CIP APPLICANTS
AND PARENTS AND GUARDIANS FOR CIP APPLICANTS

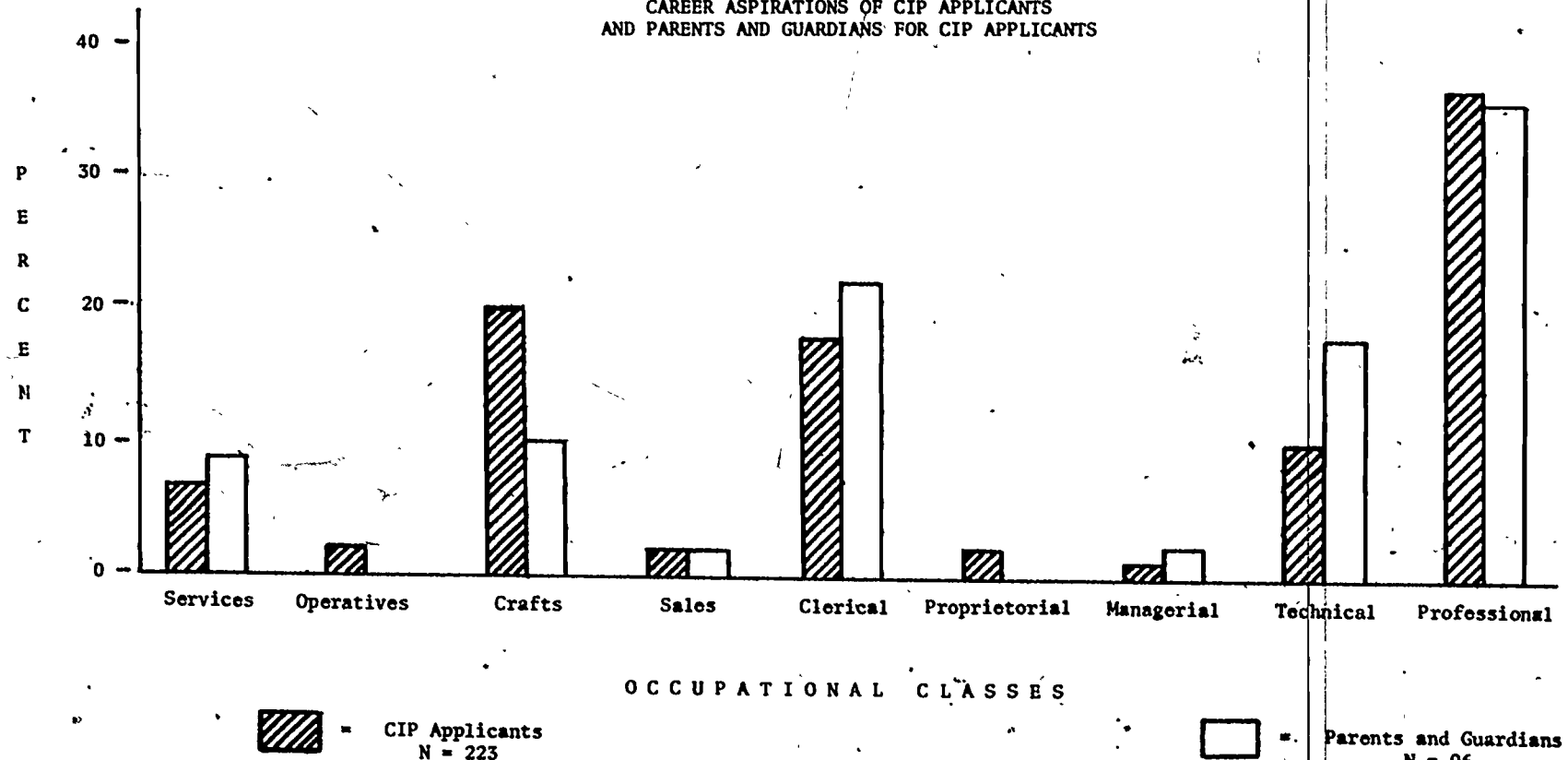
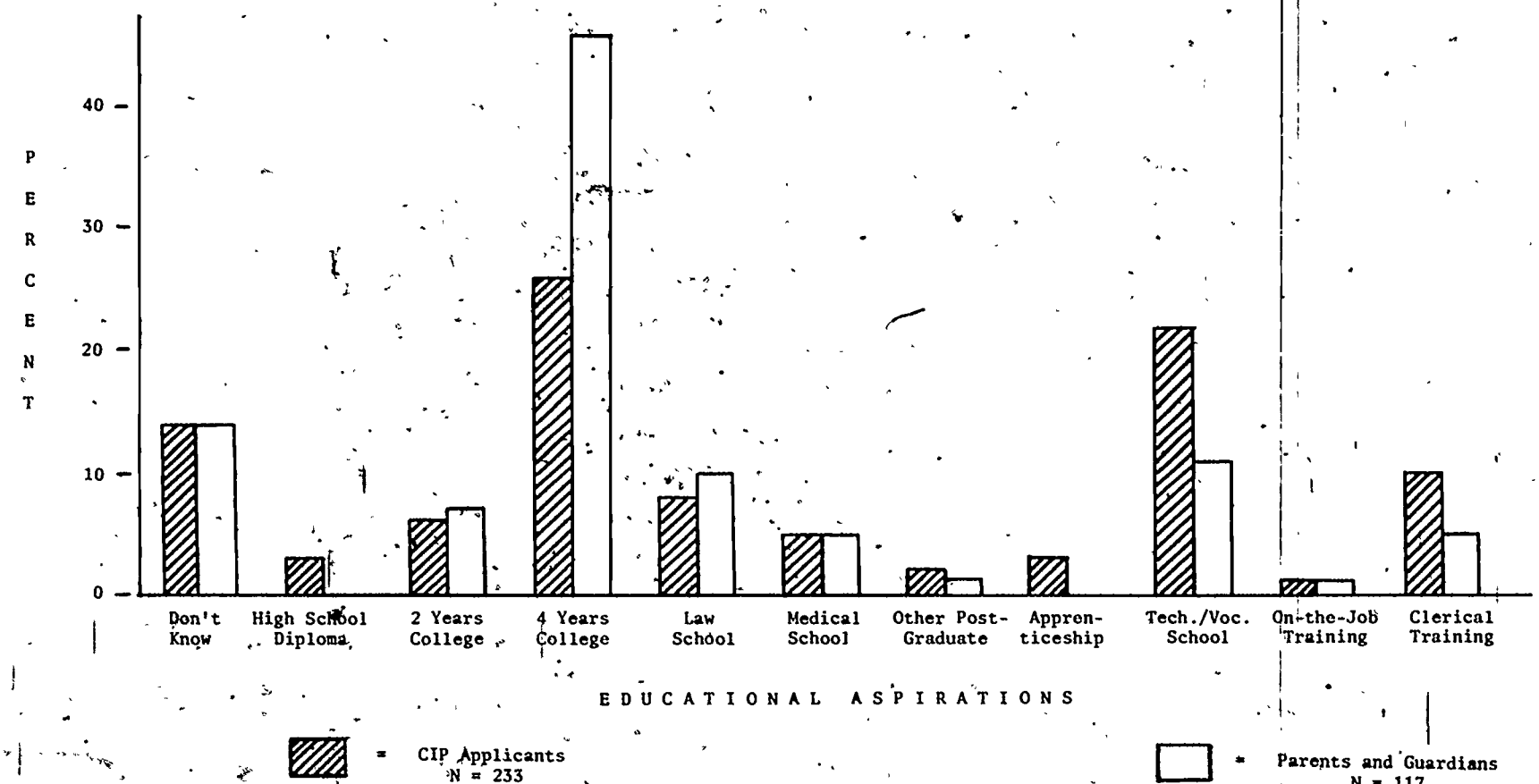


FIGURE 7

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF CIP APPLICANTS AND PARENTS AND GUARDIANS FOR CIP APPLICANTS



In the other occupational areas, the relationship between career and educational aspirations is also clear. Twenty-two applicants (10%) indicated they hoped to pursue "technical" occupations like computer programming, radio servicing, or drafting. Some of these careers require on-the-job training, still others, work at a two-year college or technical/vocational school. The 22 persons desiring careers in these areas were among those who indicated that their educational aspirations ran to two-year colleges, on-the-job training, and so forth.

Twenty percent of the group, or 45 applicants, wanted to pursue occupations in the crafts area, such as carpentry, pottery, or cabinetmaking. Many of these were among those indicating they wished either apprenticeships, on-the-job training, or technical/vocational schools. This was also the case with those few applicants who said they hoped to become machine operators.

A fifth of the total group said they wanted to go into some sort of clerical work. When talking about their educational aspirations, however, only 10% said they wanted post-high school clerical training. The remainder indicated they did not know what their educational aspirations were. It may be, for example, that some of those wishing clerical positions did not know what, if any, additional training would be required for such positions.

Five percent of the group, or 11 people, were fairly evenly divided in their aspirations among occupations in sales, proprietorships of their own (unspecified) businesses, and business management. These individuals were scattered along the range of educational aspirations, as were the 16 applicants wishing to pursue service careers.

Most of the applicants aspired to specific careers, and while they might not have known very much about these occupations, most seemed to have a general notion about the education required. Furthermore, almost 40% of the group were interested in careers calling for at least a college diploma, and a large majority selected careers which would require some post-high school education and/or training. This indicates that, as a group, the applicants tended to be fairly ambitious when discussing their hopes for the future.

Parental Aspirations for the Applicants

Educators have known for some time that parents exert a tremendous influence upon the direction of their children's lives, both in and out of school. What are the aspirations of these parents for their children? In general, they tend to be higher than those of the

applicants. Educationally, for example, Figure 7 indicates that almost twice as many parents hoped their children would go to four-year colleges as did the children themselves. Conversely, about twice as many applicants expressed a desire to attend technical/vocational schools or clerical training as did the parents for their children. This discrepancy is to be expected since most parents want more for their children than they had for themselves. Figure 8 shows that almost half the parents had less than a twelfth-grade education, and only about 6%, or 13 parents, had any technical training beyond high school. Eighteen parents (roughly 9%) had some college education, and four (2%) had completed college. It is reasonable to suppose that parents, even more than their children, recognize the importance of additional education, and this can account for the difference between parents and children in terms of educational aspirations.

During initial intake interviews, parents were asked about the types of occupations they wished their children would undertake. These data are shown in Figure 6. In most cases, parental hopes were quite similar to those the applicants expressed. That is, parents tended, by and large, to want the same careers for their children as the children wanted for themselves. The largest category of occupational aspirations was in the professional fields for both parents and students, while the second largest field selected was clerical occupations.

There were, however, two areas of substantial disagreement between parents and children. Only 10% of the applicants indicated they hoped to pursue a technical career, while 18% of the parents said they hoped their children would follow careers in this area. Conversely, 20% of the applicants expressed a desire to have a career in the crafts area, while only 10% of the parents hoped for these same careers for their children. A factor here may be that of job status. It is not unreasonable to suppose that, in the eyes of parents, jobs in the technical fields have a higher status than those in crafts. Therefore, parents would prefer that their children adopt careers within higher status areas.

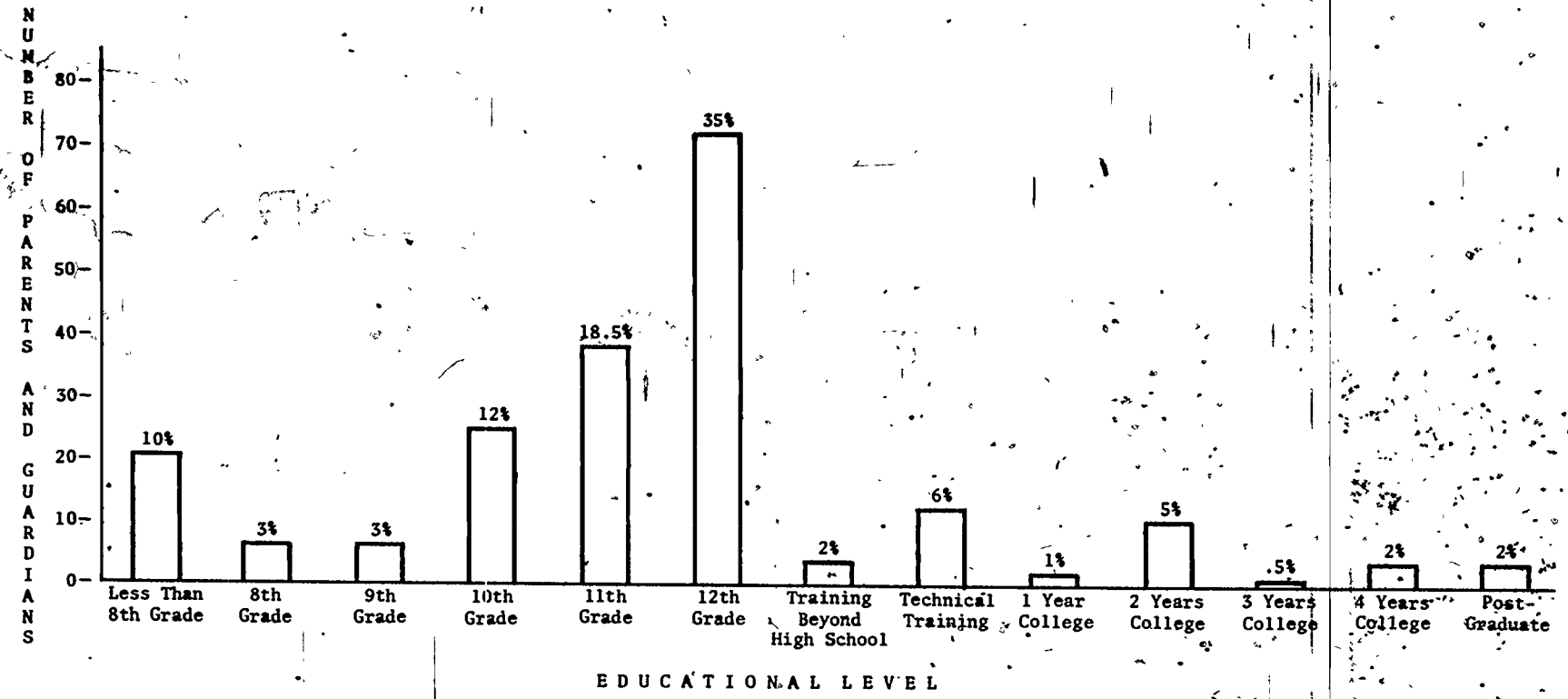
This discussion has revealed the following about applicant and parental aspirations for careers and education:

- Applicants to the program hoped to pursue careers requiring a higher degree of education and having more status than the jobs held by their parents.
- About half the applicant group wanted to have careers in either professional or technical fields.

FIGURE 8

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF PARENTS AND GUARDIANS OF CIP APPLICANTS

N = 204



- Parents of applicants hoped their children would have more education and higher status jobs than the children wished for themselves.

- By and large, parents and their children agreed on the types of careers the applicants should pursue.

WHAT DO THE APPLICANTS EXPECT OF CIP?

This section has discussed at length what the applicants bring to the Career Intern Program in terms of hopes, dreams, and problems. What do the applicants expect CIP will do for them? Figure 9 shows the kinds of expectations most applicants had of the program. About one-fourth hoped the program would help them either get a job or learn a trade, while about one-fifth merely stated they expected the program to help them get a diploma. Another fifth hoped CIP would help them learn more than they had in their old schools, and an additional smaller group expected the program would help them "do better" academically than they had in previous schools. Interestingly, only 4% of the group expected the program to help them get into college. About one-fourth of the responses were so individualized that they could not be lumped together into any single category. Here are three examples of such responses:

> "I have a job now but I want to get one that pays better."
>
> "I don't really know what [I expect], but I hope it's better than what I have going now."
>
> "This is the only school where I can bring my baby with me."

Of the answers which could be put into categories, most concentrated upon the educational rather than the career aspects of CIP. Half the applicants mentioned such factors as getting a diploma, learning more, and doing better academically.

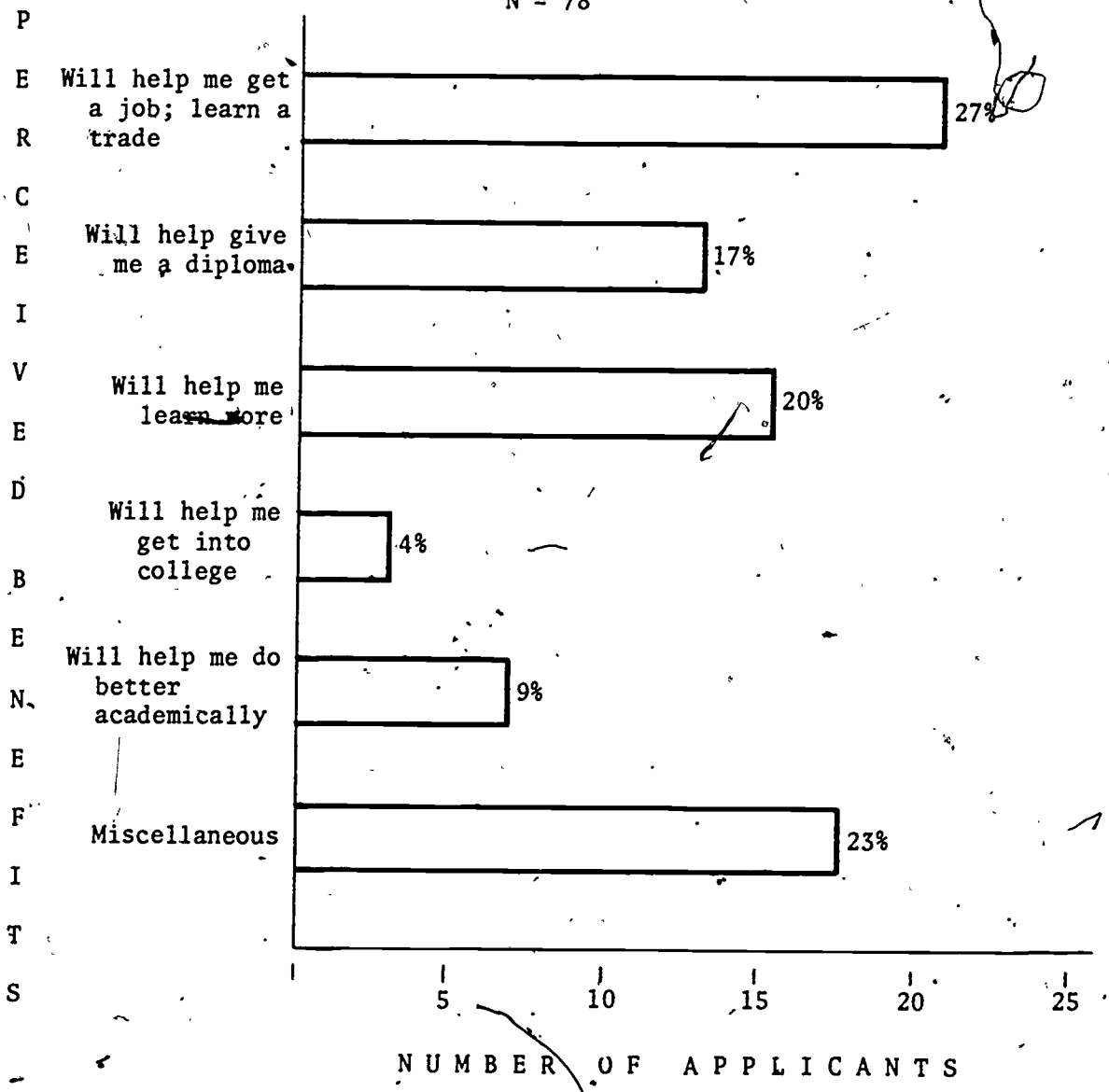
A SUMMARY OF APPLICANT CHARACTERISTICS

This section has tried to present a picture of what these applicants were like as a group when they applied to the Career Intern Program. As noted in the beginning, group pictures do not tell the whole story, for each applicant differs from the others. Still, since large numbers of applicants have certain characteristics in common, it is possible to make some generalizations about the group. Here, then, are some statements which seem to apply either to the group as a whole or to

FIGURE 9

BENEFITS OF CIP AS EXPECTED BY CIP APPLICANTS

N = 78



large subgroups of applicants:

- Most applicants were 16 or 17 years of age, though a few were 19 and older.
- Slightly less than half the people applying had already dropped out of school, while the remainder were still attending school.
- Applicants were fairly evenly divided between men and women.
- Almost all applicants had very low grade point averages in their previous schools.
- Most applicants had far fewer credits for their grade level than they should have had.
- Most were reading far below grade level but not necessarily below the level of most students in their grade at their previous high schools.
- Applicants tended to fall below their grade levels in mathematics.
- The "average" intelligence of this group was about the same as for students of similar ages throughout the country, and a large subgroup demonstrated above-average intelligence. Most applicants, then, did not lack the ability to learn.
- A large group of applicants believed they could not exercise much control over what happens to them in life.
- These students' view of society was not one where anyone could succeed through hard work.
- Many applicants either had to help support their families or had to take care of younger brothers and sisters because parents worked long hours in order to support the family.
- The applicants came from homes where the primary breadwinner tended to be engaged in a low status occupation.

- Most applicants had very high opinions of themselves in general and thought their friends had high opinions of them also.

- Most applicants had low opinions of themselves as students.

- The applicants tended to come from neighborhoods where gangs presented real problems to their safety coming to or leaving school.

- Applicants had the ability to plan for careers and had used whatever resources were available to them in thinking about future occupations.

- The group as a whole did not possess much accurate career information.

- The parents of about half the applicants did not have a high school diploma.

- Both applicants and their parents hoped that the former would have occupations that far exceeded the status level of the parents' jobs.

- Applicants and their parents hoped that the former would have a much higher degree of education than the parents

- Many, if not most, of the applicants seemed more concerned about the academic aspects of CIP than about the help the program could give them in relation to choosing a career.

WHAT TO EXPECT OF THE CAREER INTERN PROGRAM

This discussion has said quite a bit about what applicants to the Career Intern Program are like, and has shown that they score quite high as a group on some of the characteristics measured and quite low on others. One of the ways to judge the success of CIP is to determine how able it is to help people grow in areas of weakness, while helping them to sustain their areas of strength. It is reasonable at this time to ask, "In what areas can the CIP help interns, and in what areas can the program be expected to have a measurable influence?"

Should CIP Affect Reading and Mathematics Achievement?

The highly individualized nature of the program and the special curricula should help almost all interns make substantial improvements in both mathematics and reading skills. As the first criterion for judging the CIP, large increases in mathematics and reading achievement test scores are therefore suggested.

Can the Program Have an Effect on Intelligence?

As indicated in Table III, almost 75% of those taking the test to measure intelligence scored average or better. It is unrealistic to expect much growth (as measured by the tests) for these students during their tenure at CIP. For those scoring below average, however, given the new educational opportunities presented by CIP, some growth can be expected. Thus, intellectual growth for below-average students will be a second criterion for judging program effectiveness.

Should Change Occur With Regard to the Notion of Internal/External Control?

Some social scientists, such as Richard Hope and Vincent Pennick[1] argue that successful vocationally-related programs will promote the idea of external control in their students, i.e., that others control what happens to them. They state that for poorer Black children this is, in fact, an accurate perception of reality. Others, such as James Coleman,[2] note that Black children seem to exhibit less belief in their ability to control what happens to them than do White students. Coleman further notes that "this deficiency is a real and serious disadvantage...," because it relates to "some of the major skills necessary for further education and for occupational advancement in modern society.... If a child feels that his environment is capricious, or random, or beyond his ability to alter, then he may conclude that attempts to affect it are not worthwhile, and stop trying...." Coleman thus implies that belief in internal control of one's environment is preferable to that of external control. Neither Coleman nor other educators, however, are certain that change is possible. It may be that the notion

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[1]Richard Hope and Vincent Pennick: "Internal and External Control as Related to Training and Race Relations." Paper presented at the American Psychological Association Conference, August 1974.

[2]Coleman et al: Equality of Educational Opportunity, pp. 288-290.

of internal or external control is a deeply rooted personality trait of uncertain origin, which may be reinforced by living situations, socio-economic status, and the like. It is not clear, then, that any educational program, of and by itself, is capable of effecting a change in individual perceptions in this area.

The Career Intern Program, however, believes that internal control as a factor in determining future success in life is very important. It is hoped, therefore, that those in the program who think others control what happens to them will move toward a belief that they are in control of their own lives. In light of all the controversy surrounding this concept, it would be unreasonable to offer such growth as a firm expectancy of CIP; however, movement toward a belief in internal control is offered as a tentative third criterion by which the program may be judged.

Can an Increase in Home Self-Esteem Be Expected?

Because most applicants already felt very positive about their relationships with their families, it is unlikely that these feelings will increase to any measurable extent. As with the other characteristics, however, the scores should not decrease.

Should an Influence on General Self-Esteem Be Anticipated?

Most of the applicants felt quite positive about themselves, and it is unlikely they will feel more positive as time goes on. It is, however, reasonable to expect that current, positive self-images will be maintained. Scores may not increase significantly, but they should not decrease.

Can the Program Affect Relationships Interns Have With Their Friends?

Again, the applicant group does not have much room for measurable improvement, since almost all applicants had very positive feelings about their relationships with friends. It is entirely possible that the CIP may help interns redefine the nature of friendly relationships (interns might, for example, begin to perceive each other as potential learning sources); yet it is doubtful that future analyses will note an increase in the test score measuring social self-esteem. Again, while one would not expect the level of social self-esteem to rise, it should not fall.

Can Improvement in Academic Self-Image Be Anticipated?

The academic self-image of CIP interns should improve dramatically. As students, these applicants saw themselves in a very poor light. If the program meets its objectives, interns should begin to experience feelings of success in school. This, in turn, should lead to a substantial increase in positive feelings about themselves as students. This, then, is another major criterion by which the success of the program will be judged.

Should CIP Affect the Degree to Which Interns Use External Resources?

For the majority of interns, little growth can be expected in the use of external resources. As a group, applicants were prone to use such resources--so much so, in fact, that they scored well above the national average in this area. However, CIP can still have an effect. It could help interns use more efficient and appropriate resources, but the degree of usage will probably not increase appreciably.

Can CIP Help Interns Gain More Accurate Career Information?

The program should indeed help interns acquire more accurate career information. The great majority of applicants to the program have an insufficient amount of accurate career information. Because one goal of CIP is to provide interns with this information, the program, if successful, should effect substantial increases in both the depth and the scope of career information possessed by interns. This is a fifth major criterion for measuring the program's effectiveness.

Should the Program Affect Interns' Abilities to Plan for Careers?

In most cases, CIP should not affect planning ability to a great extent because most interns have already scored fairly high in this area. For the majority of the group, only slight improvement can be expected. This does not mean that the program cannot help interns generate more realistic plans (if in fact their current plans are unrealistic); rather it means that, according to the measurement used, the applicants to CIP are only slightly below the national average. While test scores should increase somewhat after interns have been in the program awhile, this increase will probably be small, since test performance has left little room for measurable growth.

Should Expectancies Be Limited by Scores on Standardized Tests?

The basic focus of the Career Intern Program lies in preparing interns to enter careers in which they will be happy, successful, and satisfied. All the criteria above are prerequisites to this outcome. Therefore, the most crucial criteria for judging CIP should relate to what happens to interns after they leave the program. Suppose graduates have wonderful feelings about themselves in every respect; suppose they have learned to read well and perform mathematical problems with excellent proficiency; and, further, suppose these hypothetical graduates feel completely in control of their lives. Then, is the program effective? That depends. Graduates should leave the program more prepared to enter the job market than they were upon entering, or they should be placed in a context within which desired skills can be learned; these, too, are criteria by which program success can be measured. Ideally, graduates should be able to acquire and hold jobs in the fields of their choice--jobs of higher status and greater pay than those held by their parents; jobs in which they feel the future is bright, and in which they have an opportunity to move up the career ladder. Given prevailing economic realities, however, particularly in relation to a growing unemployment rate, these "ideal" criteria may be unrealistic. Within the current economic context, whether or not CIP graduates are able to obtain and retain employment may be the only reasonable criteria by which to ascertain program effectiveness in relation to placing interns within the job market. Succeeding chapters offer tentative conclusions about how successful CIP has been, thus far, in meeting some of these criteria.

CHAPTER FIVE

WHAT ARE PROGRAM EFFECTS AFTER THE FIRST TEN WEEKS?

This chapter will answer some questions regarding the short-term effects of the program. Questions relating to longer-term effects will be addressed in Chapter Seven, "After Graduation." The phrase "short-term" in this context refers to the first ten weeks of the program. This period, known as "Career Awareness," has two major purposes:

1. To help interns begin to feel better about themselves and the amount of control they can exercise over their lives.

2. To help interns begin to gain greater amounts of information about careers and a better ability to make plans for careers.

This chapter will focus primarily upon these two purposes in an effort to determine how successful the program has been in their achievement.

Chapter Four described several characteristics exhibited by people applying to the Career Intern Program. Included within that section were several statements about self-esteem, career knowledge and planning ability, and so on. In some cases, such as with general self-esteem, further growth was not likely. In other areas, such as the possession of accurate career information, there was substantial room for growth. In examining the notion of program effectiveness, it would be reasonable to re-examine each of these areas. The criteria, then, for making some tentative conclusions about the first ten weeks of the program are as follows:

- Internal/external control - while some movement among interns toward the belief that they are in control of their lives would be desirable, it is unrealistic to expect any such movement during the first ten week of the program.

- General and home self-esteem. Interns were already very positive in these areas; little growth is expected, but interns should maintain high levels.

- Relationships with friends. No major growth but continued positive feelings should be anticipated.

- Academic self-esteem. Interns should feel better about themselves as students than they did when they applied to the program.

- Degree to which interns use outside resources. Not much change should be in evidence here, as interns were already very likely to use available resources.

- Amount of accurate career information. As a group, the interns should possess more accurate information, as this is a major emphasis of the first ten weeks of the program.

- Ability to plan for careers. Students applying to the program evidenced excellent ability for such planning; there should not be much change.

These are the criteria for judging the success of the first ten weeks of the program. In all cases, interns' scores were compared to those of control group members, who took the post-tests at the same time. For other criteria, such as intellectual growth or an increase in academic achievement, it is too early for assessment. These will be dealt with later in the year and reported in subsequent documents.

SHORT-TERM PROGRAM EFFECTS ON PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory and Rotter's Internal-External Control Scale data on which conclusions were drawn relative to program effects and personality characteristics may be found in Appendix I.C., Volume II.

Do Interns Feel More in Control of Their Lives?

By and large, interns do not appear to feel more in control of their lives, at least as measured by the instrument administered. However, it is unrealistic to expect change over so short a period. The degree of internal or external control possessed by interns will be measured again after a year and the results reported in later publication.

Do Interns Become More Positive About Themselves in General and About Relations With Their Families?

As expected, interns as a group continued to have very positive feelings about themselves and about their families, although these

feelings did not increase over the Career Awareness period. What is important here is that, with two minor exceptions (see Chapter Six), their self-esteem did not diminish. Interns do feel good about themselves and remain convinced of their self-worth, a feeling the school helped them maintain.

While the strength of these positive feelings regarding families has not changed for the total group, it is likely that the nature of the relationship of the interns to family members has altered for the better, probably as a result of the success that these interns are experiencing in CIP. At the initial interviews conducted during the application process, a large majority of the parents expressed concern about their childrens' lack of success in school. For the most part, these concerns centered around the importance of a high school diploma, which parents believed their children would not receive if they were not admitted to CIP. Both applicants and parents agreed that school problems often produced strains in the parent-child relationship. Parents now state that these strains and the concerns which generated them have largely disappeared, as the following composite statements illustrate:

> "All of a sudden my boy seem to like school. . . . He wants a career. . . to be a salesman. . . He got himself a part-time job and. . . he's going to get his diploma."
>
> "I know what's happening now in school with my daughter . . . her counselor calls me once or twice a month. . . She is passing everything and going to class. . . Even when she was sick last week, and I wanted her to stay home she snuck out of the house to come to school . . . She is a changed person. . . maybe she can even go to college."
>
> "Before, my son was afraid to come to school. . . gangs on the corner kept bothering him. . . he didn't go too much. . . Now he goes every day. . . he going to graduate in June. . . he going to get a job."

For many families, the Career Intern Program has helped to improve the relationship between parents and children. While this impact cannot be measured by any of the tests administered, it nevertheless seems to have been a positive effect of the program.

Does CIP Affect Interns' Perceptions of Their Relationships With Friends?

In one sense the program has not had any measurable effect on interns'

perceptions of peer relationships. That is, interns continue to perceive these relationships in a positive light. As was the case with parental relationships, however, it is possible that the nature of peer relationships has changed. In this sense, the program may be having a positive influence upon relationships among friends.

The CIP experience stresses group counseling techniques, so that interns with similar problems may, under the direction of a counselor, discuss their concerns and possible solutions together. Furthermore, in their classroom activities, interns are urged to consider each other as possible learning resources; so that the career research performed by one often becomes the focus of discussion for an entire group. In a sense, interns function as both counselors and teachers to each other. In the process, perceptions of the nature of peer relationships tend to change:

> "Group counseling is good for me. . . . I come to know that other. . . students have the same problems as me. . . and we can help each other."

> "The other day, in Mr. C_____'s class, Larry did a report on bein' a automobile mechanic. . . I learned a lot from him. . . I never knew they made such a lot of money. . . I learn from reports of other interns."

> "In my other school we had to learn everything from the teacher. . . Here though. . . we can learn from other people too. . . like each other. . . . Course the teacher's still important but. . . what I have to say in class is important too. . . Other people can learn something from me."

Based on preceding comments, it is possible that the peer relationships of interns have broadened, so that, while these relationships are still positive, there is a qualitative difference for some interns.

Do Interns Feel Better About Themselves as Students?

Most data sources indicate that CIP has had a positive effect on the way interns feel about themselves as students. While students' scores on tests used to measure this dimension did not improve significantly, intern comments and comments made in confidential counseling records suggest that after ten weeks in the program interns do think more highly of themselves as students. This shift in attitude may be attributed to a conscious attempt on the part of all CIP staff to convince interns that they are not failures and that

they can succeed in school. The concepts of individualized instruction, small classes, and frequent prolonged counseling sessions have paid dividends in this case, as the following composite statements by interns indicate:

"I about flunked out of _____. I never got good grades, and I didn't like the teachers and they didn't like me. . . I was made to feel dumb. . . It's different here 'cause you get a feeling that people are your friends. . . they really care about you here. . . I'm starting to get some pretty good grades."

"On my last report card from _____ I only passed two subjects, and I only got a C in one and a D in the other. . . I never did real well in school. . . I come here and I started getting B's. I'm passing everything. . . People really care about me. . . I know I'm not so stupid."

"I could never do as well in school as my brother. . .and teachers always expected that I could do as good as him in school. . . they made me feel dumb. . . Well, here no one expects me to be anyone but me. . . I'm doing all right. . . I even got an A in a math test last week. . . I always used to fail math. . . it scared me."

That students find their academic self-image becoming more positive is further reinforced by the following entries, excerpted from confidential counseling logs:

"When Steve B____ first came to see me he was extremely hostile toward me and toward the idea of school. He knew he needed a high school diploma to get a job as a lab assistant at _____, but he really didn't want to be here. . . I reviewed his past records with _____, and it's just failure after failure. . . last year he only passed one subject. . . After three weeks he got his first marks at CIP, the results of two tests; he got a C in one and a B in the other. . . he actually smiled. . . It's now the last week of Career Awareness, and during our regular session today, Steve said something like, 'I really don't think I'm so dumb after all.'"

"Saw Janet _____ for the first time today, she's already thinking of leaving. . .asked her why. . .she says that she's not a good student and doesn't think she'll get passing grades, also says she doesn't read too well. . . I think I convinced her to stick it out for a few weeks. . .[Three

weeks later.] Janet got a C on her first test, she still isn't confident, but seems pleased with the grade. . . . Have spoken to all of her teachers about her fear of failing. . . . Mr. C_____ says that she really doesn't read badly but seems afraid. . . . [Six weeks after first contact.] Janet got three test grades back this week, two C's and a B. . . . She didn't say much about them, but she took the initiative in showing them to me and I let her know how pleased I was. . . . She was also pleased, I could tell. . . . [Seven weeks after first contact.] Janet is passing everything with at least a C. . . . Today, she admitted that she's really not as bad a student as she had thought at first.

These entries, representing highly condensed versions of detailed counseling records, are illustrative of the general trend of student perception in the area of academics. The movement from extreme negativism to at least cautious optimism is clear. As has been previously stated, test scores did not show any significant improvement over the ten-week period. This could possibly mean that ten weeks was simply too short a time span to expect the occurrence of measurable growth, or that the test itself may not have been appropriate. This test will be readministered in ten months, and the results of that administration will be reported in a subsequent publication.

SHORT-TERM PROGRAM EFFECTS ON CAREER AWARENESS

The conclusions in this section are based on career information data secured through the administration of the Career Development Inventory by Super, et al. These data may be found in Appendix I.C., Volume II.

Do Interns Show Any Increase in Their Tendency to Use Outside Resources?

As a group, interns did not demonstrate an increase in their tendency to use outside resources. This was expected, since they were already well above average in resource usage as applicants. However, neither did they show any decrease in this area. This is important, for it means that the program was able to maintain interest in a wide array of career resources.

While the frequency of use of these resources did not change over time for the group as a whole, the type and quality almost certainly did. Applicants to the program frequently cited as career resources teachers, family, friends, counselors, and very occasionally, books

or articles. These may be described, for the most part, as secondary sources of information, because they do not involve first-hand occupational experience. The resources most frequently cited by interns after ten weeks at CIP include more primary sources, such as people working in fields of interest to interns. While interns also continue to mention teachers and counselors, they also cite such diverse sources as films, Department of Commerce job publications, and occupational encyclopedias.

The educational program at CIP provides interns with an environment rich in career information, through a Resource Center stocked with easy-to-use and current career information, through Hands-On experiences which directly expose interns to the realities of work situations, through the constant use of classroom speakers, and finally, through the use of films and other media. The test data indicate interns take frequent advantage of these resources.

Is There Evidence of an Increase in Accurate Career Information?

The last chapter noted that interns did not possess much accurate career information according to the results of the measurement test used. To assess whether or not during Career Awareness interns increased the amount of career information they possessed, two data collection strategies were employed: a readministration of the initial career information test, and frequent observations of Career Awareness classes. Data from these two sources will be discussed separately.

Data From the Career Information Test. Results of the post-test data did not indicate significant gains in this area. This does not necessarily mean that interns did not have more accurate career information; it merely indicates that interns did not make gains on this particular test. There are two possible explanations for this:

- Perhaps the reading level of the test was too demanding for most of the interns.
- Perhaps the test was not appropriate for measuring the specific content of the curriculum (i.e., perhaps there was a lack of "fit" between the emphasis of the test and the curriculum.)

In an effort to interpret the interns' lack of growth as measured by the tests, these two explanations will be explored in depth below.

Was the Reading Level of the Test Too Demanding for Most Interns?

Because the average reading level for students entering the Career Intern Program was approximately seventh grade, it is reasonable to question whether the reading level of the test was too difficult for most interns, thus accounting for their failure to make gains on the test.

While the average reading level for those entering the program was about seventh grade, several interns read at much higher levels. In fact, an analysis of the pre-test data revealed a significant relationship between reading ability and the possession of career information. That is, good readers were more likely to score higher on this test than poor readers. For the former, the reading level of the test was probably not too difficult. The only other question is whether or not they had already scored so high on the pre-test that little room for growth was possible. Analysis of the pre-test scores of the good readers reveals this is not the case. While good readers did score higher than poor readers, they still had room for substantial improvement.

Although the reading level was not a problem for good readers, it may have been too demanding for poor readers. To test this hypothesis, an analysis was performed which took reading levels into account by holding them constant. This analysis revealed no significant gain with reading level controlled. Thus, lack of gain on the career information test cannot be attributed to poor reading ability.

Was There a Lack of Fit Between Curriculum Content and Contents of the Test? The test used to measure acquisition of career knowledge does not stress career-specific information. That is, it does not assess whether or not those taking the test are cognizant of discrete factors pertaining to particular careers. Rather, the test emphasizes the fit between certain personality traits and the psychological demands of given careers. Examples of actual test items are presented below:

> "Peter is the best speaker on the school debating team. The school yearbook describes him as 'our golden-tongued orator' . . . Peter will probably graduate in the bottom half of his class, although his test scores show that he is very bright. His only good grades (mostly B's) are in business subjects . . . The facts about Peter suggest that he should think about becoming: an accountant, a salesman, an actor, a school counselor, a lawyer."

> "Jane likes her high school biology and general science courses best. She likes to do her schoolwork alone so she can concentrate. When she begins to think about her future occupation, she should consider: nurse, accountant, medical

laboratory technician, elementary school teacher."

One could argue that the fit between the scholastic aptitudes described in the test and the occupations listed as choices is dubious at best. Even if the match-up were perfect, however, the test does not reflect the major stress of the Career Awareness curriculum, which is based almost entirely upon the concept of "career clusters," or groups of interrelated careers, such as medical professions, service occupations, and technical occupations. During the course of the Career Awareness cycle, interns are exposed to a single cluster per week. Each intern is required to pursue one career in depth every week and present oral and written reports to the rest of the class. In all, each intern is required to prepare at least seven reports on different careers. By and large in these reports, interns tend to focus upon the following:

- Availability of a given career in the job market.
- Salary ranges of a particular career.
- Type and amount of education required to pursue a given career.

The CIP curriculum, then, emphasizes the mastery of information in relation to specific careers. It does not dwell during the ten weeks under discussion here upon the fit between personality traits and general types of occupations, though this kind of emphasis does occur later in the program.

Conclusion. There is reasonable evidence to suggest that the curriculum utilized to teach career information and the test used to measure it are mis-matched. When the test was initially selected, the program's objectives relating to increase in career information had been formulated, but the materials and techniques to be used had not been finalized. Because of the lack of congruence between the curriculum and the test, the latter has been discarded. In its stead, another instrument, not available at the time of initial data collection, will be utilized. The contents of this test have been analyzed in relation to the curriculum, and the two have been judged congruent.

What Do the Classroom Observations Reveal? Data from classroom observations suggest that interns did learn a great deal about careers from Career Awareness. The seven required reports are the foci for discussions of various careers. Classroom observations reveal that, for the most part, these reports tend to be completed on time; that interns seem to understand their content; and that most classes

actively participate in discussing each of the reports. The contention that interns did learn much about specific careers is substantiated by the following comments, solicited from a random sample of interns both during and immediately after Career Awareness:

"When I came here I didn't know what I wanted to do. . . I didn't know about the field of communications. . . Now I'm seriously thinking about a career in this field."

"I came in [to CIP]. . . wanting to be a nurse. . . I didn't know how much education I'd have to get. . . Now I think I'll be a secretary, 'cause they make good money. I can get a job and won't have to have any more school."

"I always liked science, but didn't know what to do with it. . . I learned about medical technology since I came, and it sounds like what I want."

"I learned so much about lots of careers that I have been able to choose one that most interests me. . . I'm seriously thinking of going to college to be an accountant."

In defending her choice of a career in the field of medical technology, Jane C _____ states: "I have four reasons for wanting to be a medical technician. It will pay me about $6,800 a year right after training, which is about what I need to support my daughter and me. I can leave my baby in the daycare center at the hospital and it won't cost me too much. I can finish most of the science courses I need (to get accepted into the program) this year. The hospital will train me and will pay me a little while I'm training. Also, it's a career where I'll have a chance to help people and keep learning new things."

Quincy A _____ decided he did not need a high school diploma, "because I learned a lot about the field of carpentry during Career Awareness, and I am going to start on-the-job training after two months. I can get my union card after about a year, and I can make pretty good bread. After six years or so I can make about $13,000 or more. Besides, I always like to build things, I like to be outdoors. It's a pretty good career for me, and people always need carpenters."

Dierdre H _____ feels she will go to college, because "during Career Awareness I got to spend a few days helping an elementary school teacher in the classroom and decided that this is the job for me. I always liked kids,

especially young ones, and I've been doing very well since I came here [to CIP]. I think I will be able to get into college, and Ms. R _____ [her counselor] thinks she can help me get a scholarship. Anyway, the money you get for teaching is pretty good, the fringe benefits are good, and probably I'll be always able to get a job."

Frank D _____ entered the project feeling that "I don't know what I want to do. I never thought much about it, but I know I'll need a high school diploma, so I came here." Now he has decided he would like to enter the field of communications. "See, during Career Awareness, I think it was during the third or fourth week, I did research in communications."

These quotes, while not conclusive, do represent the predominant trend of intern opinion regarding the first ten weeks of their experiences in the Career Intern Program. They suggest the interns have picked up a considerable amount of career information important to them, enough information in most instances to permit them to make some sort of realistic career decision.

The ten-week Career Awareness experience discussed in this chapter is intended to culminate in a document called a Career Development Plan. This plan, completed by counselors working with each intern, lists the career choice of the intern, plus an accompanying series of steps by which the intern will attain a chosen career. In providing input to their Career Development Plans, interns are urged to draw upon all they have learned in Career Awareness.

These plans are not an absolute indicator of mastery of career information. Yet, to a certain degree, the quality of such plans reflects both the degree of understanding interns have of the career they have chosen and the quality of thought that has gone into the making of such decisions.

"I worked at W___ [a local radio station] for a few days and really got into it. I want to either be a broadcast engineer or maybe go into being a disc jockey. I don't have to decide yet, because I can decide exactly what I want to do when I get to broadcasting school, where I've already been accepted. I know I can make at least $8,000 or $10,000 a year, and the future is good. I can even move around the country if I want."

The examples cited in this section are representative of most interns in the program and suggest that Career Awareness was fruitful in enabling them to explore several careers, to select those which appealed most to them, and to make some plans for pursuing careers of their choice.

Do Interns Increase Their Ability to Plan for Careers?

Because applicants had demonstrated excellent ability in career planning, no change was anticipated for interns as a group after ten weeks. Therefore, it is surprising to note that the intern group did improve considerably in their ability to make comprehensive career plans, in comparison to the control group, whose abilities did not increase.

The term "career planning" as used in this context refers to the ability to integrate facts about given careers, relate these facts to various situations which apply to the interns' lives, and synthesize all this information into an appropriate long-range career plan. Interns who took the test measuring planning ability were asked to indicate what action they had taken with regard to such statements as:

> "Finding out about educational and occupational possibilities by going to the library, sending away for information, or talking to somebody who knows about the possibilities."
>
> "Dealing with things which might make it hard for me to get the kind of training or the kind of work I would like."
>
> "Doing the things one needs to do to become a valued employee who doesn't have to be afraid of losing his job or being laid off when times are hard."

Throughout the Career Awareness cycle of the program, the teachers and counselors stress the importance of creating Career Development Plans. It is reasonable to assume that the emphasis placed by the CIP staff upon such plans is at least partially responsible for the increase in career planning ability. This seems particularly likely in light of the fact that, from the outset of their involvement with the program, interns are constantly confronted by both counselors and teachers with questions and suggestions relating to individual career choices.

IN SUMMARY

This section has presented several effects or "outcomes" of the first ten weeks of the Career Intern Program. It has made the following points:

- On the instrument used to measure internal/external control, interns did not move toward the notion of internal control over the ten-week period, although it is probably too early to expect such change.

- Interns continue to feel very positive about themselves in general, and about their relationships to their families; and the nature of family relationships has improved.

- The relationships interns have with their friends continue to be viewed very positively, and for many interns the nature of such relationships has considerably broadened.

- Interns have higher opinions of themselves as students than when they first applied to CIP.

- The types of career resources used by interns broadened considerably, and the frequency with which they used such resources remained quite high.

- Interns did not demonstrate through testing any gains in the amount of accurate career information they possess, but their failure to do so may reflect an inappropriate test measurement.

- On measures other than the test for career information, such as intern interviews, classroom observations, and Career Development Plans, interns showed an excellent understanding of specific careers of interest, and a good grasp of the steps necessary to obtain these careers.

- Despite the fact that improvement in career planning ability was not anticipated, interns as a group did demonstrate, after Career Awareness, a marked gain in planning ability over their already high levels.

The reader is cautioned to note that the summary statements presented here refer only to the initial ten weeks of the program. Subsequently, interns are exposed to at least nine additional months of the Career Intern Program, including experiences that should broaden both their mastery of basic academic subjects and their knowledge of careers. As of the writing of this report, no data are available regarding the impact of this additional period of treatment. Such data are currently being collected and will be reported in future publications.

CHAPTER SIX

FOR WHOM DOES CIP WORK BEST?

The question discussed in this chapter is whether the Career Intern Program is more effective during its first ten weeks for some types of interns than for others. Three groups have been identified for analysis: (1) actual and potential dropouts, (2) good and poor readers, and (3) men and women. Only statistically significant differences between groups will be reported. While several minor differences between groups were apparent from the test results, these differences were not statistically significant and are probably attributable to chance. The reader is further cautioned that even the criterion of statistical significance may, in some cases, be misleading, particularly where initial differences between groups seem to disappear after ten weeks. The disappearance of initial differences may be accounted for by regression effects. Ideally, such an hypothesis should be tested by assessing pre- and post-test gains in corresponding sub-groups within the control group. Unfortunately, response from the control group was not sufficiently large to permit such comparisons. In the future, when sufficient control group data are available, these comparisons will be made. For the present, however, the conclusions regarding differences between groups cited here should be construed as tentative and subject to further investigation.

The data for this chapter are based on the Career Development Inventory by Super et al. and the Self-Esteem Inventory developed by Coopersmith. These data are presented in Appendix I.D., Volume II.

DROPOUTS AND POTENTIAL DROPOUTS

Were They Different When They Entered the Program?

Career Decision-Making. Analysis of the pre-test results reveals no significant differences between dropouts and non-dropouts. That is, neither group had significantly better planning skills or more accurate career information, nor had one group tended to use career-related resources more than the other. This is not surprising, given the fact that, while dropouts had already left school, those who had not dropped out were considered by their counselors to be potential dropouts and probably would have left school had they not entered CIP. The line dividing the two groups, then, as it pertains to those traits constituting career decision-making is negligible.

Self-Esteem. Prior to entering the Career Intern Program, dropouts felt somewhat better about themselves in general than did non-dropouts. There are two possible explanations for this finding:

- At some point in time, and doubtless for a variety of reasons, the dropouts decided they needed or wanted to get back into school and earn a high school diploma. Perhaps they were not able to find a good job; perhaps they were urged to return to school by someone whom they respected. Whatever the case, they learned of the Career Intern Program and decided to apply. Most likely, this was a very important decision for them to make, considering the length of time they had been out of school (most had been out for longer than six months). Certainly, making another attempt at succeeding in an educational institution was something in which they could take pride, thereby enhancing their feeling of general self-esteem. Potential dropouts, on the other hand, did not have to make a decision of such monumental proportions. Their decision was to continue their structured learning via an alternative educational route, giving them less reason to have a revitalized sense of self-worth.

- Potential dropouts may have had their sense of self-esteem constantly undermined by the problems they were experiencing within the school context. The actual dropouts, however, having left this context behind them, were not the recipients of negative reinforcement, and their self-esteem was not weakened.

On all other self-esteem measures, dropouts and potential dropouts were not noticeably different at the time the pre-test measures were administered.

Does the Program Work Better for Dropouts or Potential Dropouts?

The major portion of Phase I, the first ten weeks of the program, is known as Career Awareness. Its main purpose is to provide interns with information on many careers that could be pursued in greater depth later on. Also during this period, the CIP attempts to motivate interns, to give them a greater sense of self-worth, and to make them believe they can succeed in a career. One difference has been noted between dropouts and non-dropouts at the time of application. After ten weeks, the mean self-esteem score

for dropouts fell 1.4 points (from 20.5 to 19.1), and .2 points (from 18.8 to 18.6) for potential dropouts, making the difference in the post-test mean scores non-significant.

This drop does not mean that either group assessed its self-esteem negatively at the time of the post-test administration. To the contrary, both groups continued to evaluate their self-worth in a very positive light. For the dropout population, however, their self-esteem was slightly less positive after ten weeks in the program than it had been at the outset, while the potential dropouts felt much the same.

GOOD READERS AND POOR READERS

Are Good and Poor Readers Different Before They Enter the Program?

Since reading ability is usually thought of as being very important to success in school, it is logical to ask, "At the time of application, were there any differences (other than reading achievement) between those who read poorly and those who read well?" An answer to this question might be important in determining at a later point whether the program works better for interns who read well or for those who read poorly.

A large difference on the test of intellectual ability (a non-verbal test) was found between high and low readers (a mean of 41.1 versus one of 37.4 for low readers). This is not unusual, since reading achievement and intellectual development are closely related. A similar difference was noted in mathematics achievement; good readers also performed well in mathematics. (High readers had a mean of 23.2, while the mean for low readers was 16.2).

These were the only differences found between good and poor readers. On other important factors, such as self-esteem, there were no differences between good and poor readers.

Does the Program Work Better for Good Readers or Poor Readers?

One important difference between good and poor readers became evident by the end of Career Awareness. Good readers made significant gains in their ability to plan for careers (the mean going from 100.4 to 116.1), while the poor readers did not improve significantly. Thus, at the end of Career Awareness, good readers were significantly better in their ability to plan for careers than poor readers, in terms of the measurement instrument used. Because good readers tend to score

better than poor readers in abstract reasoning ability, it may be that career planning draws heavily upon these abilities, thus accounting for the differential scores between the two groups. Whatever the case, it seems clear that after ten weeks in the program, good readers show a much firmer grasp of the essentials of career planning than do poor readers.

In terms of all other variables measured, however, the two groups were not distinguishable. Post-tests in reading and mathematics achievement and cognitive ability will not be administered until the interns have been in the program for a year. Whether the initial differences which appeared in these areas will increase or decrease will be addressed in later publications.

MEN AND WOMEN

How Do Men and Women Differ When They Come to the Program?

On all characteristics measured, such as self-esteem, amount of career information possessed, and the ability to plan a career, the sexes could not be distinguished from each other.

Does the Program Work Better for Females or Males?

At the end of Career Awareness, there were no significant differences between men and women on any of the variables measured. Each group made gains on the test which measures skills related to planning for future careers. The mean for women went from 96.9 to 108.7, and for men, from 98.1 to 108.1. The differences between the two groups on both the pre- and post-test measures were, however, non-significant.

It is not possible, at this point, to assert that the program works better for women or men along any of the dimensions measured. Differences between the sexes may appear after each group has been in the program for a longer period of time. If so, these differences will be reported in subsequent publications.

IN SUMMARY

It is important to remember that this section discussed the effectiveness of the first ten weeks of a program designed to last much longer. Therefore, conclusions about those groups for whom the program works best must be taken as highly tentative, particularly in light of the fact that so many comparisons between good and poor

readers, dropouts and non-dropouts, and women and men were made. It may be that those differences identified are the result of pure chance, and that the likelihood of finding significant differences between groups is increased as the number of comparisons is also increased. In an effort to fully explore this possibility, the same comparisons will be made in the future, using applicants for admission later in the year. With this limitation in mind, statements made in this section support the following generalizations:

- Prior to entry into the program, dropouts had better feelings about themselves in general than did potential dropouts.
- After ten weeks in the program there were no noticeable differences between dropouts and non-dropouts in the area of self-esteem.
- Prior to their entry into the program dropouts and potential dropouts were indistinguishable on any of the other variables measured.
- As applicants, good readers scored significantly higher on tests which measure cognitive ability and mathematics achievement than did poor readers. They were equal on all other variables measured prior to entrance.
- After ten weeks in the program good readers scored significantly higher than did poor readers in tests which measure ability to plan for careers.
- After ten weeks in the program there was no discernable difference between good and poor readers on tests used to measure self-esteem and career development.
- Prior to entry into the program there were no discernable differences between men and women on any of the variables measured.
- After ten weeks in the program there were no discernable differences between men and women, though both made gains on the test which measures skills related to planning for future careers.

The failure to isolate many significant differences among subgroups, given a time interval of only ten weeks from a program which comprises a longer period of time is not surprising. As the program proceeds,

and as more control group data become available, several additional sub-group differences may become apparent. This may be particularly true in areas which depend upon long-term follow-up activities, and which address such variables as ability to acquire and retain a job, ability to remain successfully in a post-high school educational context, ability to generate realistic and long-term career plans and the like.

CHAPTER SEVEN

AFTER GRADUATION

The case study profiles presented in Chapter Three revealed a group of interns, each with a unique set of aspirations, problems, and abilities. Maria, for example, saw CIP as part of her "family" and initiated the Student Counseling Committee to help increase student attendance at CIP. Angie, a high school dropout with satisfactory grades, used to "hate school"; and though critical of some aspects of CIP, she developed a greater sense of responsibility for her school work and set a post-high school career goal. Larry, expelled from high school for getting into a fight with the assistant principal, could not find work and enrolled in CIP. Although he is still having academic problems, Larry likes school better and has gotten some work experience with a construction company as part of his curriculum at CIP. These are fairly typical interns--trying a different way to learn, in the hope that a blend of general and career education might help in the long climb from adolescence to responsible adulthood. This chapter, "After Graduation," looks at what has happened to some of the graduates of the Career Intern Program.

The Career Intern Program began serving students in November 1972. The first class of 21 graduated in June 1973, and a total of 95 interns have graduated through June 1974. This section will present major trends in the follow-up data collected on CIP graduates. After a brief description of data collection procedures and a breakdown of what graduates are doing now, a picture is presented of graduates classified as "at home." A discussion of the occupations of employed graduates and, in particular, of the high instance of females going into clerical occupations follows. The question of job changes made by the graduates is next addressed, and the chapter concludes with brief discussions of preliminary data gathered on employer evaluations and on post-high school educational pursuits of graduates.

It is important to remember that the data presented here were collected before the establishment of a completely developed and tested program. The CIP is still in the middle of its developmental period, which will be completed in February 1975. Program development is a slow process. It is easy to become impatient for definitive findings. Ideally, the effectiveness of the CIP approach should be judged by what interns who enter in February 1975 accomplish after they graduate from CIP in February 1976. One study, for example, documents the extensive changes in the career aspirations of youth from ninth

grade through one year after graduation from high school.[1] Since it is reasonable to assume that changes in career aspirations could lead to changes in careers pursued, follow-up studies of CIP graduates for three to five years after graduation would be desirable. The data reported here should be regarded as indicative of trends which will provide follow-up clues for future evaluations.

HOW THE DATA WERE COLLECTED

Questionnaires were sent to the 95 interns who graduated through June 1974. Of the 40 questionnaires returned, 39 (41% of 95) were in usable form. Twenty-seven of the returns were from women, twelve from men. Ninety-five questionnaires were sent to parents, of which 24, or 25% were returned.

WHAT ARE THE GRADUATES DOING NOW?

The present activities of 39 graduates fall into three broad categories:

12 graduates (31%) are "at home."
20 graduates (51%) are employed.
7 graduates (18%) are taking post-high school education or training.

GRADUATES "AT HOME"

Since 12 graduates were in the ambiguous "at home" category, the evaluators followed up with telephone interviews about three months after the graduates had completed the questionnaires. A summary of these interviews is given below with all names and places altered to protect individual identities. Information was obtained for seven of the twelve graduates.

George M., age 18, worked in a car wash for two months after graduation. Interested in music education, he plans to attend college in January 1975. George said he was held up by all the paperwork required for college admission. Poor timing made him miss one chance for financial aid. When asked if he really thought he could get this aid, George replied, "Sure. You only have to be poor to get it, and I'm sure as hell poor."

[1] John C. Flanagan and William W. Cooley, Project Talent: One-Year Follow-up Studies, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1966, p. 229.

Mary M., age 20, was out when we called, and the following information was provided by her mother: "Mary has been lookin' for a job since graduation. She couldn't find one and got disgusted. I have to take care of her, since her father died. He worked for the city; so I get social security. I don't want her to go on public assistance, 'cause once they get on that they don't want to work anymore. Everything got mixed up it seemed. No job after lookin' and lookin', and she even had bad luck with the Community College grant. She got a $1,000 grant from the city, but it came too late [in September] to help her. Mary's been at home since graduation. She quit lookin' for a job about a month ago. The college thing really did it. I think she'll go there, but right now she's disgusted."

The mother has diabetes and cannot work. She also reports that she has seven other people to take care of. The mother stated she thought OICs/A was a very good organization because it helped Mary.

Joe K., age 19, started work after graduation at the York Precision Machine Shop. He quit after several months because he did not like factory work. He found another job as a clerk in a men's clothing store which he liked better, but he lost this job when the store went out of business. He has since applied at a national department store chain for sales work but has so far heard nothing.

Joe is torn between getting a job (for the money and the experience) and going to Community College to study business administration. Joe says, "If I don't land a job I'll apply for a grant at Community College. I want to go--probably will. But I would like to work awhile first."

Harry L., age 17, is not living in Philadelphia. His father reported that the last he heard, Harry was staying with an uncle and working in another city. No job details were given. Other information indicates that Harry is indeed in another city, but is in police custody with a serious charge against him growing out of an attempted robbery.

Robert M., age 21, is studying business administration at a well-known eastern state university. His father reports that Robert started school this September and seems to be doing well. According to his letters and a phone conversation his father had with him last week, he seems to be enjoying the university.

Sarah B., age 19, is married and expecting a baby. Her husband has a good job with the electric company. Sarah has no immediate plans for more education or a job. She feels she needs neither because she is very involved with "fixing up" her new house and making plans for the baby.

Richard A., age 20, has been out of work for the past 15 months since graduation. He has tried to find work with the city as a laborer but feels his lack of political connection has been part of the reason he has not been hired. "I'm waiting for something to come up. Everyone says jobs are tight. I go for a job and the man says, 'Hire you? We're layin' people off.' It's rough." Richard lives at home with his mother.

Four of the seven "at home" students either are taking post-high school education or are planning to pursue it; two graduates have not tied up with a job or taken additional education; one is married and expecting a child.

OCCUPATIONS HELD BY CIP GRADUATES

Most jobs held by graduates fall into two major categories of the U.S. Bureau of Census job classification system. Of the 20 employed graduates,

- 8 found jobs in clerical and related work.
- 7 found jobs as service workers.[1]
- 5 found jobs in crafts, sales, or professional/technical work.

Female graduates account for five of the seven jobs held in service work and all the clerical jobs. The males found work in a wider range of jobs, which included crafts, sales, and professional/technical work. Of the two professional/technical jobs, one was held by a female, one by a male.

Approximately 50% of the CIP graduates responding on the questionnaire held full-time jobs in 1974 in clerical and related work, in service occupations (health, protection-technical work. Project Talent data indicates that 71% of high school graduates were employed in 1966.[2]

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[1]The category of service workers excludes work in private households and includes jobs related to work in food service, cleaning, health, and protective services (police and guard work).

[2]Flanagan and Cooley, Project Talent, p. 44, It should be remembered that the youth surveyed by Project Talent represented essentially White, middle-class groups; CIP graduates are predominantly Black dropouts or dropout-prone students from inner city schools.

Given the effects of a recession in 1974, the 50% employment figure for CIP graduates is judged by the evaluators to be comparable to the 1966 employment rate reported by Project Talent.

The difficulties encountered by CIP graduates in entering the better-paying, more prestigious occupations is borne out by the Project Talent data.[1] In that sample, none of the males, for example, and 0.2% of the females were in government or law; only 2.4% of the males and 0.6% of the females found work in the scientific or medical technology fields.

When career choice before enrollment in CIP is compared to jobs actually held, several shifts are apparent:

- o More than twice as many graduates, both female and male, are in service-related jobs as prior choice would indicate.
- o More females held clerical or related jobs than prior choice would indicate.
- o Substantially fewer males or females held professional/technical jobs than prior choice would indicate.
- o Almost the same number of males entered craft-related jobs as prior choice would indicate.

Several factors may account for the shifts noted between aspirations and jobs held. One is the general availability of service and clerical jobs in the Delaware Valley region in which the graduates live. According to an earlier survey of employment agency executives, persons seeking service and clerical jobs are easily placed. The interns are told about job availability as part of the Career Intern Program.

The discrepancy between those interns desiring professional/technical jobs and those actually holding these jobs may be due to several reasons. First of all, it is unrealistic to expect recent high-school graduates, particularly those with a history of school failure, to be in professional or technical careers. In addition, such careers may have been unrealistic for some of the interns, both because of their general lack of funds with which to pursue extended education or training, and because of a possible lack of motivation or ability to follow extended formal study. In this case, the CIP

[1] Ibid., p. 46

may be of some help in the selection of more realistic career objectives. Another reason is that Blacks still have more than the usual number of obstacles to overcome in obtaining high-status jobs because of overt or covert prejudice in our society.

Although the number of males responding was low, it is hoped that follow-up studies to be conducted over the next year will show an increase over the number who secured jobs in the relatively hard-to-enter crafts category.

WHY DO SO MANY FEMALES GO INTO CLERICAL OCCUPATIONS?

In an effort to isolate variables influencing females toward the clerical professions, one can begin by looking at questionnaire-solicited responses given by interns regarding final career choices following their Career Awareness classes. A cross tabulation of these choices with career choices prior to entering the program reveals a number of interesting shifts.

The data indicate that as far as the males were concerned, Career Awareness had little effect. Only one male changed his initial career goal (selecting construction as a career rather than teaching). The remaining ten males maintained their original career choice. Females, however, seemed to have been more strongly affected by the Career Awareness experience. Those who had made no previous career choice, as well as those who had selected the armed services and professional careers, switched their career goal to the clerical field. Only one of the five interns who had selected the clerical profession prior to her CIP experience failed to stay with this choice.

If the above results can be generalized to the group of interns graduated from CIP, it appears that the Career Awareness component has the greatest and most permanent effect on females. Perhaps males come into the program with firmer occupational aspirations. A third of the females, however, have not made career choices prior to entering CIP. A large proportion of these females, as well as those who have made "definite" choices, tend to select clerical occupations following Career Awareness. Apparently, many females, after being exposed to clerical professions, make the decision that a job in the clerical field would be the most desirable, considering the educational level required, their aptitudes and abilities, and ease of placement in the current job market.

HOW OFTEN DID THE GRADUATES CHANGE JOBS AND WHY?

Twelve of the 20 employed graduates changed jobs once or not at all; 3 changed jobs three times. Females had fewer job changes than males; the 12 graduates who changed jobs one or no times were all females. Two of the females changed jobs three times.

The reasons given for making job changes were:

More pay	4
More interesting job	2
Tired of job	2
Fired	2
Personal reasons	4
Miscellaneous	6

The jobs secured by graduates in a time of economic recession are judged to be acceptable. It is not easy to get a job if you are young and Black. It is even harder when "times are tight" and some college graduates, such as those wanting to teach, face a shrinking job market.

Although these data are not conclusive and only indicate trends which will be followed up after the CIP has been fully developed, the picture is hopeful. The Career Intern Program has set itself a very difficult task--motivating and providing career knowledge and academic skills to young Black Americans who, for various reasons, have experienced failure in regular urban schools and our urban society.

EMPLOYER EVALUATIONS

Fifteen of the forty-five questionnaires sent to the graduates' supervisors were returned, but only six were fully completed and three partially completed, severely limiting their usefulness. Supervisor responses are summarized below as possible trends which will be fully evaluated over the next year.

Supervisors were asked whether they were satisfied with the graduates' attitude toward the job. Five supervisors responded affirmatively, stating the following employee characteristics as the reason: punctuality, compatability, willingness to accept work assignments, good personal grooming, and enthusiasm toward the job. Those supervisors who indicated they were not satisfied with graduates' attitudes stated the graduates in question were usually late for work, did not get along with their co-workers, and were never satisfied with work assignments given them.

When commenting on job performance, most supervisors once again stated they were satisfied with the graduates' performance. Reasons given were the graduates' conscientiousness about the quality of their work and the fact that they performed their jobs just as well as anyone else could. The major reason given by the supervisors expressing dissatisfaction with job performance was that the graduates seemed to be putting the least possible amount of work and time into their jobs.

Supervisors responded fairly positively when questioned on the possibility of raises and promotions for graduates. Four stated that the graduates had or would be receiving a raise in the near future, and four indicated the graduates had or would be receiving a promotion in the near future. In rating the quality of the graduates' work in comparison to that of other employees, most of the supervisors responded that their work was "average," while two indicated it was "below average."

The supervisors were further questioned on how well they thought the graduates were prepared for the jobs when they were first hired. Most of the graduates being evaluated had come to work directly after graduating from the Career Intern Program. Most supervisors felt the graduates had the academic background but not the skill necessary for the job. This is understandable, since providing interns with a vocational job skill is not one of the objectives of CIP. Two of the supervisors felt the graduates had both the skill and the academic background necessary for the job.

POST-HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION

Although the majority of graduates are actively employed, another important group are those who have chosen to enter either vocational or technical school, or college. Since the number of responses is small, the data will be summarized below.

Of the 39 graduates from whom data were received, 7 indicated they were attending post-high school learning institutions. Three had entered OICs/A skills training programs, one, a technical school, one, a community college, and two had entered four-year colleges.

The two females who are presently attending OICs/A skills training programs selected the clerical field as their area of study, while one male selected automobile body work. The female student attending technical school recently received her degree as a dental assistant. Major fields of study selected by the three students enrolled in the community college and the four-year colleges are general science, psychology, and stenotyping (a two-year program).

The duration of enrollment for these students in their respective training programs or schools varies from one month to almost a year for one of the students in four-year college.

CHAPTER EIGHT

WHAT HAS BEEN LEARNED SO FAR?

The preceding chapters have described the Career Intern Program, and some tentative judgments have been made on its effectiveness. There have been no generalizations beyond the program itself because these judgments cannot be applied to other programs in career education or dropout prevention. This chapter will summarize some of the things that have been learned from the experiences with the CIP during its early developmental and trial phases.

The CIP is now in its second year of development. The process of development may reveal some ideas helpful to others who want to start career education programs.

Each part of this chapter begins with a listing of the major ideas gleaned from the developmental experience; these ideas are then briefly discussed. Some of the ideas are bland when judged by criteria of intellectual brilliance or novelty. They are reported, nonetheless, because the confusing flux of experience in the "real" world of educational practice too often obscures the more obvious (and sometimes more important) factors of success or failure. Rather than being understood with clarity, as they need to be, they are dimly seen.

TIME AND PLANS

- Written program plans should be viewed as tentative ideas to be tried out, and these plans should be changed on the basis of experience guided by the program's basic purposes.

- The process of change or development takes time; the sooner this is recognized by program staff, the better.

The process of program development takes time. This seems so obvious it is scarcely worth repeating, except that failure to keep it in mind results in unnecessary feelings of frustration by on-line staff. Plans are masterpieces of logic--on paper they make perfect sense. Usually, such plans are written before the fact; before teachers are hired; before children first walk through the doors; before reality has had a chance to intrude some of its own illogical notions. Such plans reflect "the way it is supposed to be."

This is not to ridicule planning. It is essential to have a blueprint for action. Plans, however, must be tentative; those responsible for carrying out the plan must realize that intelligent change is necessary as problems emerge and are recognized. In the case of the Career Intern Program, elements of the plan did not work in the classroom. The teachers and interns were the first to realize what would and would not work; the original developers were the last to know. Plans make assumptions about where the students "are" when they enter; for example, that they have certain levels of motivation; that they possess certain levels of academic skills; that they possess a certain degree of information about careers. Only after the program has begun can program personnel learn, on the basis of experience and pre-tests, which of the assumptions are invalid.

Plans, then, must remain flexible and should change according to what is learned by teachers, administrators, and evaluators. Although change should not be capricious, it should be anticipated and welcomed. Development takes time--an enormous amount of time--and those involved with a new program must be prepared to cope with this reality.

OBJECTIVES: ARE THEY FOREVER?

- Everyone concerned with the program should be oriented to its objectives at the earliest possible opportunity, to the extent that program administrators can assure themselves that others fully understand the implications of the objectives.

- If most program people strongly disagree with one or more objectives, these should be reconsidered and perhaps eliminated or restated.

The idea of program objectives has recently gained popularity. Evaluators love objectives because they provide criteria by which to judge a program. That is, evaluators can say, "This objective was or was not met; therefore, the program either is or is not successful." Administrators love objectives, too, because if they know what is supposed to be happening, they can determine whether it actually is happening. Objectives, then, are devices. They indicate what program developers intend to happen; they provide a way of deciding whether these intentions are being carried out.

But objectives do have their drawbacks. There is a danger that they will be mindlessly written or blindly pursued. On the other hand, they can be ignored by staff. Some objectives may be wrong or restrictive, closing doors to other desirable outcomes; others

will be trivial.

If program objectives constitute part of the context within which program activities occur, it is important that administrators, teachers, counselors, parents, and students understand and agree with them. Educational objectives are usually written before the start of the program. This means that students, parents, and staff do not have a chance to influence or even learn about the objectives presumably guiding their work. Consequently, program personnel may be held accountable by evaluators and administrators for certain objectives of which they are ignorant or unaccepting.

ROLE FUNCTIONS: WHO DOES WHAT TO WHOM?

- Program staff must carefully think through the responsibilities of each of the specialized roles within the program; these roles should be communicated to all involved with the program at the earliest possible time.

Professional roles and their interrelationships are difficult to define and operationalize. At CIP, problems arose in such areas as the following: If teachers counsel and counselors teach, what is the practical instructional role of each? How does the curriculum development staff work with the teaching staff in the excitement and confusion generated by an innovative program? While professional roles should remain flexible, it should be possible to redefine roles on the basis of experience to reduce some of the confusion and role-overlap which can become counterproductive.

HELPING THE STAFF TO CHANGE

- Alternative ways of behaving should be carefully described to all program personnel.
- Program participants should assure themselves that such behavior is consistent with the intent of the program.
- These alternatives should be provided, at least tentatively, before the program begins to operate and should be carefully explained at the outset to all participants.

The CIP staff came from traditional schools. In such schools the teachers learn to teach, the counselors learn to counsel, and the

students learn to be students. Many of the things "learned" within schools are subtle; there are tacit rules governing the behavior of people. This behavior may not be appropriate to the kinds of things an alternative program wants to accomplish, but the traditional school model often gets in the way of such a program. The intent of the CIP, for example, was to provide interns and teachers with individualized learning packets so that interns of different abilities could learn at their own pace. For the first six months of its operation, however, the program was not able to provide teachers with enough direction and support to carry out such a plan. Many teachers therefore fell back on the behavior they knew best--that of the traditional subject-matter teacher in the traditional urban high school.

The intent to experiment is not sufficient to guarantee that experimentation will take place. Tradition dies hard. The expectations of the Career Intern Program are different from those of the typical high school. A new program must provide alternative structures (in-service workshops, new curriculum materials, appropriate schedules, and so on) which will enable staff to meet those expectations.

COMMUNITY SUPPORT FOR EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS

- If an alternative school offers a learning opportunity for their children, parents will support it even though an evaluation of changes in student attitude and achievement is an explicit part of the school's effort.

Given the support of a well-known organization in the community (the Philadelphia OIC) and a cooperative credit awarding arrangement with selected city high schools, parents and students ultimately accepted the requirements of the evaluation design. The great prestige enjoyed in the community by the Reverend Dr. Leon Sullivan and his staff at OICs/A also contributed greatly to the acceptance of the evaluation component of CIP. The school's general and career education program and services and the requirements of the evaluation design were outlined for parents and prospective interns during the enrollment interview. Most parents accepted the need for evaluation, including the selection of students for both attendance at CIP (the experimental group) and non-attendance at CIP (the control group) through a lottery process.

THE DISADVANTAGES AND ADVANTAGES OF CIP

Disadvantages of the Career Intern Program include the following:

- o An informality that has sometimes encouraged worldly-wise interns to pit staff from different specialties against each other so that interns are able to avoid responsibilities.
- o Conflicting standards among teachers and counselors for awarding academic credit (later corrected), which has been confusing to students.
- o CIP's dependence (at this time) on outside funding to carry it through the developmental period.
- o The great effort required to retrain the school's staff to function in a context so markedly different from the familiar traditional schools.

The Career Intern Program has these advantages:

- o A personalized school atmosphere which the interns like, in contrast to the large, impersonal urban schools.
- o The ability to help many students feel accepted in school for the first time in their careers.
- o The ability to respond quickly to crises or to alter the program as the evaluation or experience suggests.
- o The fusion of academic and career education which has provided a motivational spark for many students.

CIP has progressed beyond the "plan on paper" phase, and its staff is involved in improving and implementing the plan under practical school conditions. This work will be completed by Febrary 1975, and will mark the end of the developmental phase. The one-year stabilized program will begin in March 1975, and during this time a one-year evaluation will be made to determine whether or not CIP is meeting its major objectives for students.

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