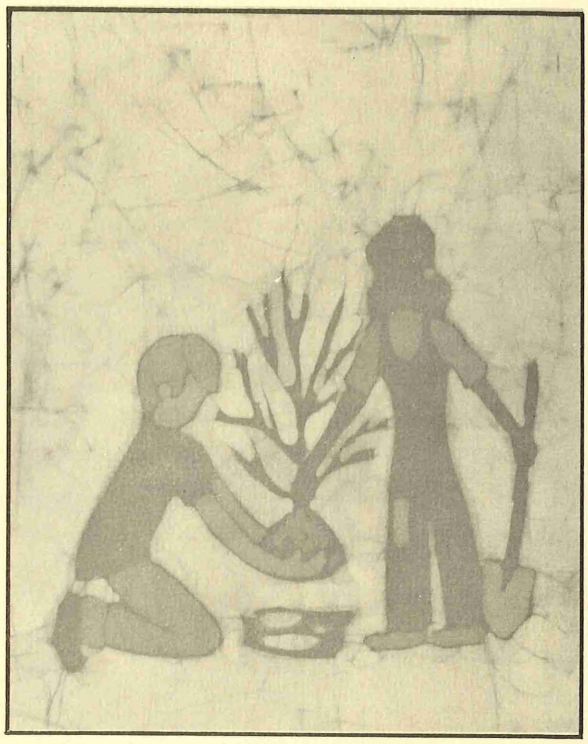
LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE LIBRARY
HD6274.M6 B34
Baizerman, Mich - Youth and work : Minnesota summer
3 0307 00028 6958

2837-11



LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE LIBRARY
STATE OF MINNESOTA

Youth and Work

Minnesota Summer Youth Employment Program Evaluation

A publication of the
Department of Economic Security

HD
6274
.M6
B34

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE LIBRARY
STATE OF MINNESOTA

396316

YOUTH AND WORK

MINNESOTA SUMMER YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM EVALUATION (SYEP)

"This report is made pursuant to Contract No. 7-064 between the Department of Economic Security, State of Minnesota, and Center for Youth Development and Research, University of Minnesota."

No part of this Report is to read as necessarily implying support by the staff of the Center, the College of Home Economics, the University, or the Board of Regents.

December 1977

ADMINISTERED BY TWO PRIME SPONSORS

by

Michael Baizerman, Ph.D.	Principal Investigator
Brian Aldrich, Ph.D.	Project Coordinator
Jane Berdie, M.S.	Project Coordinator
Beth Brokering	Interviewer/Data Analyst
Sharon Bush	Interviewer
Margo Driscoll	Interviewer
Zvi Eisikovitz	Interviewer
Karen Garrison	Interviewer
Dorren Higgin	Interviewer
Pam Lawrence	Interviewer
Everett Joe McLean	Interviewer

This Report was written by Dr. Baizerman and Beth Brokering with a special section by Dr. Aldrich.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to note here the support given by the youth, the site supervisors, the staff of the two Prime Sponsors--City of St. Paul and Southeastern Minnesota. Everyone connected with the local programs at every site was helpful; and many program staff were gracious.

Further, we would like to note here the professional support of staff at the Department of Economic Security. Every effort was made to facilitate the processing of the study proposal and our every-day research and writing activities. Ms. Susan Erkel, Ms. Joyce Walker, and Mr. David Newman were our primary contacts. They provided professional consultation many times throughout the summer.

Our colleagues at the Center for Youth Development and Research and in the College of Home Economics, Univerisity of Minnesota, were, as always, supportive, helpful, and friendly.

Last, I, Michael Baizerman, want to acknowledge the fine and competent job done by the Project staff and to note their youthful and joyful presence this summer. We worked hard and we had fun and what could be more appropriate for such a study of youth and work and SYEP?

NOTE:

The research study upon which Youth and Work is based was begun in June, 1977 under a contract between the Governor's Manpower Office and the Center for Youth Development and Research. In December, 1977, the administrative responsibility for the contract was transferred to the newly created Minnesota Department of Economic Security of which GMO became a part. Any references to GMO in this study or in other articles or abstracts already in existence should be interpreted to mean the MDES.

QUOTES

In the place of work we have substituted the job.

Work is man's strongest tie to reality.(Freud)

Without work all life goes rotten. But when work is souless, life stifles and dies. (Albert Camus)

As the labor of children has become unnecessary to society, school has been extended for them. With every decade, the length of schooling has increased until a thoughtful person must ask whether society can conceive of no other way for youth to come into adulthood. (Youth: Transition to Adulthood)

I also learned a lot that was not in the curriculum at Boston Latin (High) School. I learned how to deal with irrational, exasperating, unfair and diversely loathsome adults -- the customers and my boss. I also discovered that some grown-ups were worth talking to and would talk to me. (Nat Hentoff, 1974)

It is a conspicuous general feature of our languages that the words for "work" are synonymous with "pain," "suffering," "hardship" or "distress." (T. Thass-Thienemann, 1973)

I earn my living. I make enough to get by and it takes all my time. If I had more time I could do more for myself and maybe for others. (Carl Sandburg)

Productive work is, in our society, so highly valued that it serves as a measure of self-esteem. (Mary Howell, 1975)

If you get one CETA worker, you get one worker; if you get two, you get half; if you get three, you get none. I asked him to explain this a little more and he said that if there is more than one young worker around they will tend to sit down on the job whenever they get the chance. They reinforce each other's poor working habits. (A SYEP Supervisor)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Abstract	I
	On Expectations About This Report	VII
	Introduction	1
	On Using This Report in Policy Formulation and Program Development	3
Chapter I	From 'Child Labor' to 'Youth Employment'	6
	Notes for Historical Context	
Chapter II	A (Partial) Model and Philosophy of Youth Development	12
Chapter III	The Orientation and Approaches of the Study	18
Chapter IV	The Interview Data (St. Paul)	24
Chapter V	Southeastern Minnesota	112
Chapter VI	Newspaper Coverage of Summer Work Program	134
Chapter VII	Work Journals	139
Chapter VIII	Critical Incidents and Situations	151
Chapter IX	SYEP Summer: Interviewer as SYEP Youth	168
Chapter X	Brief Idea Papers About Youth and Work	171
Appendix A	Study Design and Instruments	189
Appendix B	Bibliography	216
Appendix C	Annotated 'Requirements for Healthy Development of Adolescent Youth'	218

ABSTRACT OF

YOUTH AND WORK:

MINNESOTA SUMMER YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM EVALUATION (SYEP)

ADMINISTERED BY TWO PRIME SPONSORS

This is an abstract of a much longer report presented to the Dept. of Economic Security, January, 1978, pursuant to a contract between that office and the Center for Youth Development and Research, University of Minnesota. The abstract is intended as a very short copy of the full Report, one which presents an overview and select content from it. The organization differs from the Report so that we could make maximum use of this little space. We present what we think are the most important findings, with the realization that others could differ.

Why an Evaluation of Summer Youth Employment Programs?

The simple answer is that most people who design, implement or administer programs want to learn if the Program or service "works," i.e., what is its impact? Other reasons include the legal (and moral) requirements that a program serving people be evaluated to learn if it did what was planned (and hoped) for. Further, and obviously, political interest and accountability are other reasons for doing an evaluation study. No doubt, and appropriately, there were aspects of all of these reasons in this case.

Why Contract with the Center for Youth Development and Research, University of Minnesota?

The Center for Youth Development and Research is a University unit with staff who specialize in the study of, work with and the teaching about adolescent youth.* From our point of view, we were a very appropriate contractee because of our knowledge about youth and our experience in working with them. Given the existence of a unit such as this, it is in our view a "natural" decision to try to develop an evaluation study based upon knowledge about youth. At best, such a study would not lose sight of the youth-ness of these young workers.

Different CYDR projects about youth and work have included public seminars, a major local conference, a statewide Minnesota Youth Poll of youth understandings of work. In particular, Dr. Baizerman of the Center, the Principal Investigator, has directed a number of qualitative field studies about youth including a major program evaluation effort.

The Spirit of the Study

The study was designed to learn about youths' experience in SYEP so that these experiences could be presented to SYEP staff for use as partial evaluative data. The study sought to capture the everyday work world and program world in SYEP as experienced by youth, their supervisors and others.

---

* For more information, contact Center for Youth Development and Research, 48 McNeal Hall, University of Minnesota, St. Paul, MN 55108, (612) 376-7624.

The study was designed by us using an explicit model of youth development, i.e., a model which includes the necessary experiences for healthy development in all aspects of a young person's life. Therefore, our values and our philosophy were made explicit. Since our philosophy of youth development would infuse our every action in this study, we believed that the reader and those interviewed had a right to know these.

The Study

The study approach was decided in several meetings of staff from the Department of Economic Security and the Center for Youth Development and Research.

About 100 youth and an equal number of supervisors, friends and parents were chosen from enrollees in City of Saint Paul and Balance of State Prime Sponsors. Names were provided by the Prime Sponsors who chose them to represent a broad range of participant youth. All were approached to ask for their informed consent to participate in the study.

The intent was to collect a variety of verbal, written and visual data and to do a content analysis of these qualitative materials. No attempt at statistical treatment of the data was planned or done, nor were any standardized research instruments designed or used. No attempt was made to restrict the data collection to "attitudes" or behavior; rather, we hoped to learn about the youths' summer work experiences in whatever terms youth chose to use.

The Information Collected

A research staff of youth and adults, males and females, whites and blacks, Minnesotans and others was hired and trained to collect the information.

Several kinds of information were collected. Face to face interviews were done with youth, supervisors and others; some limited observation was done at the work sites. A few youth were asked to keep a work journal and to participate in a group meeting about work and the journal. An experimental videotape was made so that one could literally "see" youth work at work. A content analysis was planned and done on clips about youth and work in Minnesota newspapers.

Finally, some very small substudies were done in consultation with staff at another Prime Sponsor in order to learn if these were practical. Included were several ways of doing follow-up interviews with youth who left the program before the end of summer; a large meeting with young supervisors to learn their views of their work; and group discussions about work held at a learning center.

What Did We Learn?

We spoke with youth and work supervisors at a variety of worksites in rural areas, in small towns and in St. Paul. Youth worked in schools, in hospitals, in community centers, in public recreation areas, in government offices among other sites. They were doing a variety of tasks and jobs including running office equipment, supervising children near swimming pools, building trails and cookout facilities in a park, helping patients in nursing homes and hospitals, working as a secretary, a tennis coach, a library helper--on a wide range of unskilled to semi-skilled jobs. SYEP youth worked as the sole young person in an office of adults and on youth-only work crews. We interviewed young men and women, youth who were white, black, Chicano and Native American, youth who had never had a job and some with a relatively long work history.

We learned from these youth that most were happy to have a job and to be earning money for their family, for school, for dates and for "just shopping" or buying gas for their cars. Many learned the skill(s) they wanted to learn, although some were disappointed because they did not learn enough or did not learn exactly what they wanted to learn. Some youth developed new interests as a result of their work experience and interests which they planned to pursue in school or in training.

Youth seem to use the word "skill" in a very special way: "Skill is something one learns to do which will likely be useful later in the "real job world" (in contrast to "The Program"). To be on the Program and not to learn a skill is to "have an experience." Youth who learned skills were those who worked with objects which they learned to use. Youth who "had experiences" tended to be those who worked with people. Our hunch is that those who worked with people did not learn a vocabulary to talk about what they did so that they were unclear about what they learned. They talked about "looking after" or "watching" or "helping" others--all general activities; and they talked about growing up and learning about themselves by working with and learning about others.

Work for many youth consisted of the same tasks every day with little variation over the summer. Some examples of these tasks were those done by youth on "work crews" (small groups), working out-of-doors on general maintenance of a recreation area and/or on the building of a trail.

Some youth found work uninteresting, boring, with little variation or responsibility; but this was not a universal finding. Youth and others seemed "to confuse" the work crew as a means of organizing work with the negative aspects of particular tasks. Some youth, in particular those on crews, felt that their tasks were "make work," hence not "real work" or necessary work. This seemed to us to be a valid point in many instances. Crew work was group work and hence a good experience for youth. This provided opportunities for youth to meet

"different kinds of kids" and to learn to work cooperatively. We found obstacles to this, such as the kind of work which crews usually do and the reputation (status) and supervision of crew work.

We learned about some sexual and some racial "integration" in work crews and at work sites. We learned about "racist" practices from youth, supervisors, and parents. We also learned about "sexist" practices--particularly around the use of equipment. By law, there are age rules about the use of some equipment and these may be implicated in claims of racial and/or sexual bias. There undoubtedly were more such instances than we learned about.

A more explicit "discrimination" is found in those who use the words "underprivileged" and "program" and "disadvantaged" to cover a variety of racial and income groups. We found that these words were for some youth and supervisors almost "code" words for racial and income groups. It is particularly sad to learn about this because those who use these words in this way cannot "see" or understand the actual youth s/he is working with.

Many supervisors did not have an explicit orientation of supervision and most had no conception or only a limited conception of youth development. By and large, the Program does not seem to be a youth development philosophy-in-action; rather it seems to be a work program for youth.

Many youth worked with school teachers or other school staff in school buildings--the very people and buildings they had just left for "vacation" time. On one hand, this shows the close relations which exist between SYEP and local schools. On the other hand, this closeness seems to result for some in SYEP being too much like school, and hence unlike work in the real job world, that is, unreal preparation for the future, etc.

Safety on the job was not a big issue to youth except at work sites in hospitals. On videotapes and during site visits we saw little use of special work clothes or safety equipment such as shoes, gloves or hats. Related to safety is the use of chemicals such as marijuana or alcohol on the work site. We learned from youth that they did use these substances and that adult supervisors were not very skilled in dealing with this. Supervisors also report chemical use and some report discomfort and lack of skills in working with youth who use these.

Youth came to be on the Program in a variety of ways including siblings, friends, school staff, living near a work site, and the like. There were some comments about the jobs "being wired," i.e., for some youth to be given a job "unfairly." We found these comments to be both false and true. These are false in the negative connotation of "wired," that is, an "unfair" practice of putting someone on the Program, and true in the fact that there is a vast network of school staff, family, and friends in some areas for recruiting youth for the Program. In these areas, it seems to us that some youth had "better"

access than others to the Program, but that all had "fair" and timely access.

We learned that Prime Sponsors have almost no lead or start-up time for the Summer Program. This has direct and profound consequences for the youth in that there is literally no time to train and monitor supervisors and do the necessary consultation at work site.

Related is the finding that the Prime Sponsors have a relatively very small staff to design, implement, and monitor the Summer Program. In our opinion, they have far too few people to even consider doing more than they did last summer.

Our Evaluation

SYEP was created and implemented on the community level in a very short time with few staff and with almost no lead time. Given these points, the Program seemed to youth, work supervisors, and to us to be at least adequate in most instances, and at times, excellent.

For instance, many youth and supervisors liked SYEP because youth gained exposure to a variety of work experiences in one field. In this way, both were satisfied that youth received a good picture of what future employment might be. SYEP was a way for youth to experiement with possible work experiences. Several youth, particularly those who chose their job placement, found that SYEP gave them beneficial experience and expertise in a field of interest. Youth and supervisors thought it important that youth developed a knowledge base from which they might evaluate their future education and training.

Preparation for career and educational goals were not the only positive aspects of SYEP. Many youth themselves and their friends, families, and supervisors, saw the participant's "personal growth" during the summer. Youth and others were pleased with these changes. Many gained confidence in their ability to develop personal friendships and professional associations with those of a different age, race, sex or background. In turn, youth learned more about their individual qualities and felt better able to contribute to their families and communities.

In a very real sense, "good programs are made by good staff." Where the adult staff was oriented to placing work within the context of youth development, youth, adults, and we outsiders caught the spirit and substance of what SYEP could be. Clearly, Prime Sponsors need and want to develop "the best" Program they can. To achieve this, we believe that the Prime Sponsors need more "start-up" time which can be used to select, orient, and train both youth and adult supervisors who will work directly with youth. Assistance in this is available in the State and at least one project has begun.*

*MDES Project with Ms. M. Seltzer, Center for Youth Development and Research, to train Minnesota CETA youth program administrators, planners and program operators

Given our Report, the training sessions funded by the Department of Economic Security to Ms. Miriam Seltzer and the ongoing meetings between Prime Sponsors, Economic Security and ourselves, we believe that this study achieved the goals of focused analysis, discussion, and appropriate modification of Minnesota Summer Youth Employment Programs.

ON EXPECTATIONS ABOUT THIS REPORT

This Report does not presume to tell you what to do. It only presents data about the Program which you can choose to use or not. There is no "truth" in this Report; there are only data about the Program which you can choose to use or not.

In this way, "the University" is not telling you what to do about your everyday work. How could it? And how could we? You live in your everyday world and we don't!

What we can offer is a potential, the possibility which comes from being an outsider, a stranger in your world and seeing your world from that perspective. We can offer, but only you can choose and decide.

It is possible that some who read this Report might say that because we are staff at a Center for Youth Development, we are "pro-youth" and (hence) "anti-adult."

We claim that because we are at this Center for Youth Development and Research, we are sensitive to the needs and wants of youth as they are found in youth-adult and adult-youth relations. We concentrate our work on a relationship which many take for granted and, hence, "don't see or hear" very well anymore. It may be only that in this study we have "captured the already known." To place this knowledge in this Report may be to see and hear it anew.

INTRODUCTION

This report is part of the evaluation done of the Dept. of Economic Security program called "Summer Youth Employment." A contract was drawn between the Center for Youth Development and Research and the Department of Economic Security, State of Minnesota to do the following:

1. Select and ask permission to conduct several interviews with 100 youth enrolled in SYEP of the City of St. Paul and "Balance of State" Prime Sponsors.

2. Interview the supervisor, friend and parent of each enrollee.

3. Develop a video tape presentation about youth and SYEP.

4. Develop a Critical Incident inventory of summer enrollee and supervisor experiences.

5. Develop a group of enrollees to do a work diary.

6. Do a content analysis of newspaper and reports and stories about SYEP.

7. Prepare a final report, including a video film.

Attempt was made to complete the terms of this contract, for all intents and purposes this was accomplished.*

This report is a draft because of our intent to share it with Prime Sponsors and some of the youth and supervisors interviewed. In this way, we give the intervieews an opportunity to respond to our understanding of their world. This accomplishes two ethical research tasks:

- it gives feedback to study participants

- it gives study participants an opportunity to critique and challenge the Report.

In addition, during the process, the researchers can learn from the participants and they can incorporate new comments into a final report.

It is our understanding that the Report is the property of the Department of Economic Security and, as such, is a public document. Copies

---

*See below, pp. 189 regarding research methods, study strengths and weaknesses, and the like.

of the Report can be obtained there.

This Report is not about a typical evaluation study; and the Report itself is not typical in either content or layout. The reasons for these changes are explained below on pp.

The Summer Program

Since we refer to SYEP almost exclusively in this Report, we would like to explain that "The Summer Youth Employment Program" was composed of several programs: CETA (Comprehensive Employment Training Act), YCEEP (Youth Career Exploration and Employment Project), and GYP (Governor's Youth Program).

While there are differences between and among these programs as to participant eligibility, sources of funds and the like, these differences seem most obvious to adults and seem to be important only to adults.*

A final point about the Summer Program is that, in a very real sense, we were looking at the summer phase of year-long youth work programs.

A Note About Statistics

The reader will come to learn that there are almost no statistics in this Report. This is done to support the notion that the reader must come to understand the range of youths' words, ideas and actions before asking how typical is any one action or idea.

A Final Note

These very feelings, ideas, and actions are needed by adult decision-makers if they are to understand the Program as the participants do. If they do not (or cannot or will not) understand youths' experiences, how can they design a program to serve youth?

---

*The one exception to this is the classes about career help for some youth and not others.

ON USING THIS REPORT
IN POLICY FORMULATION AND PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

There is a difference between using quantitative and qualitative data in policy formulation and program development. It is far more common to work with numerical data than with words. Because of this, we offer these notes as thoughts about the use of the data presented herein. We begin with some distinctions which are not usually made. First some issues and then some hints.

Using v. Applying: An Issue

It is common to read the words "applying findings" in discussions about research and its use. "To apply findings" seems to mean that the research finding is read and then applied as in it is "put to work."

We distinguish this usage from one in which the focus is on the reader who will use (utilize) something in a research report. The acting unit is not "the finding" but is the person as reader and doer.

In other words, "findings" are neither self-evidently appropriate or self-evidently operational. People decide and use data and it is in their actions and in the consequences of these actions that we come to know whether a finding is applicable and useful.

The issue of "how to implement" a "finding" or a program is taken for granted and hence has not been too often the focus of analysis.

"Findings" v. Any Content: An Issue

It is most common to look at the "research findings" or the "study conclusions" as the location of the content to be applied or utilized in program development. This makes sense but only with certain styles of research such as, for example, crop research or in studies of metal strength.

There is another view of where to look and take material for application or utilization: any place within a research report. Here is the crux of the issue in the context of this Report.

It is our position that this Report contains "findings, conclusions, answers, questions, data, insights;" and the like. The SYEP Program staff can choose any of this to use in policy formulation or program development; that is, any of this material is useful to the extent that the reader, who is SYEP staff, is stimulated, has ideas, etc.

But, some would reply, you are not distinguishing between "content" and "findings" on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the relative "truthness" of the content. Are you saying that all the content has the same (or very similar) "truthness?"

The answer:

1. True, we do not draw a sharp line between "content" and "findings" because "findings" are a special kind of content and all content is equally, potentially, usable and useful.

2. True, we avoid the issue of "truthness" except to assume that all content is of the same order of truthness; and that there is not "basic" or "real" or "true" or "valid" "truthness." There are only conceptions and perceptions and interpretations.*

On Responsibility: An Issue

To shift away from a model in which there is "truth" and in which findings can be applied to a model in which people read and decide and act is to place the responsibility on people; for it is they who must make the program (and the world) by their words and other actions.

On Hard v. Soft Data and On Hardheaded v. Softheaded Reasonings: Two Issues

Are the data "hard or soft?" The data are "hard" and the data are words. Is your reasoning "hardheaded" or "softheaded?" "Hardheaded."

Some Hints on Using This Report for Policy Formulation and for Program Development

Some Don't's

1. Don't let the data talk to you or tell you what to do (data can't talk--only people can).

---

*Qualitative data can be written so that it is placed in a category "findings" or a category "conclusions." So the issue is not qualitative v. quantitative.

2. Don't get thrown off the trail of looking for something you can use by assuming that the only useful stuff is in the sections on findings or conclusions. Don't let "form" throw you --look for content.

3. Don't try to find something which will do itself (things don't work that way!)

Some Do's

1. Read Report with this question in mind: What is my "purpose-at-hand" for reading this? (or, what am I looking for?).

2. Read Report with this other question in mind: Can I use this idea in my everyday work? (and/or for other "purposes-at-hand)."

3. If you find some idea which you think or sense you could use in your work, ask yourself: How do I think that I can use this in my work? (or, if I tried to use this in my work, how would I change what I do now and in that way use the content in my work?).

4. Think about building a bridge between what you think might work and how you will act so as to "implement" it.

   Then build another bridge between your actions as you "implement" and what you anticipate will happen and won't happen.

These bridges are action hunches or action hypotheses. It is in monitoring these that you will come to answer the question of whether or not your idea "worked" (in everyday practice). In other words, utilization of research in practice is a process, not one or two steps; it is a process which you monitor and/or evaluate.

CHAPTER I. From "Child Labor" to "Youth Employment:" Notes for a Historical Context

Purpose: To sensitize the reader to the topical issues of youth and work in the early 1900's and in 1940. This is a way to remind us that programs such as SYEP can be placed in a historical stream. To do this is to help the reader achieve another dimension of understanding the program and this study.

FROM "CHILD LABOR" TO "YOUTH EMPLOYMENT:" NOTES FOR A HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The current issues of youth employment, underemployment and unemployment have a fascinating history. At the turn of this century, it was commonplace to see children and youth working on farms, in factories and mines and in retail stores. It was accepted as natural and taken for granted by many that youth should work. The questions at that time were about the age at which children and youth should begin work (or end school), the conditions of work and the consequences of working on youth themselves, their families, and on society.

In 1977 it is common to see teenagers working on farms, in offices, in retail stores, and, particularly, in fast food outlets. It is very hard to realize that what is now accepted as commonplace about youth and work--particularly the "positive aspects of work--" is almost opposite of what was held earlier.

In the early 1900's it was argued that it is bad for youth to be around adults at an early age because of what they would learn to say ("curse") and how they would learn to act ("bad"). Now, the absence of opportunities for many to be near adults at work is thought to be "bad" because youth have limited exposure to the "worlds of work." This is pointed out to remind us:

- that "times change;" and
- that what we take for granted now does not have to be the same as what others took for granted; and
- what we take for granted about youth and work is a mental image. We use this image to compare and evaluate, for example, our image about how common it is for youth to work.*

It is important to remember that the issues or problems**of youth and work are not "natural essences;" instead, these are "man made" (intentionally or not). Social policy and/or economic policy are not in stone; but they are what we have to work with. Things do not have to be this way. Our perspective is that we have (some) control over the very creation and configuration of the problems of youth and work and that rational socio-political action can change these.

---

*Some argue that the image is necessary in order to see the phenomenon. We literally can't see unless we have a name for what "we see."

** For discussion of "problem," see Baizerman, et al, (1976) and Baizerman and Hall, (1977). The point made there is that problems are man made, are "constructed."

To realize and to accept that we can do something about the many issues and problems of youth and work is only the first steps. Next, we must decide what to do. Some would hold that this would be a simple matter if we had good social scientific data about youth and work.

Such data is necessary but is not enough, for policy and action are social and personal value choices, too. In this Report, values are used directly and explicitly. The Report continues with an overview of one set of values--those about youth development.

Excerpt from The Bitter Cry of the Children*

The moral ills resulting from child labor are numerous and far-reaching. When children become wage-earners and are thrown into constant association with adult workers, they develop prematurely an adult consciousness and view of life. About the first consequence of their employment is that they cease almost at once to be children. They lose their respect for parental authority, in many cases, and become arrogant, wayward, and defiant. There is always a tendency in their homes to regard them as men and women as soon as they become wage-earners. Discipline is at once relaxed, at the very time when it is most necessary. When children who have just entered upon that most critical period of life, adolescence, are association with adults in factories, are driving to their tasks with curses, and hear continually the unrestrained conversation, often coarse and foul, of the adults, the psychological effect cannot be other than bad. The mothers and fathers who read this book need only to know that children, little boys and girls, in mills and factories where men and women are employed, must frequently see women at work in whom the signs of a developing life within are evident, and hear them made the butt of the coarsest taunts and jests, to realize how great the moral peril to the adolescent boy or girl must be.

No writer dare write, and no publisher dare publish, a truthful description of the moral atmosphere of hundreds of places where children are employed--a description truthful in the sense of telling the whole truth. No publisher would dare print the language current in an average factory. Our most "realistic" writers must exercise stern artistic reticence, and tone down or evade the truth. No normal boy or girl would think of repeating to father or mother the language heard in the mill--language which the children begin before long to use occasionally, to think oftener still. I have known a girl of 13 or 14, just an average American girl, whose parents, intelligent and honest folk, had given her a moral training above rather than below average, mock a pregnant woman worker and unblushingly attempt to caricature her condition by stuffing rags beneath her apron. I do not make any charge against the tens of thousands of women who have worked and are working in factories. Heaven forbid that I should seek to brand as impure these women of my own class! But I do say that for the plastic and impressionable mind of a child the moral atmosphere of the average factory is exceedingly bad, and I know that none will more readily agree with me than the men and women who work, or who have worked, in mills and factories.

---

*John Spargo, The Bitter Cry of the Children, New York: Macmillan Co., 1906, p. 181.

I know a woman, and she is one of many, who has worked in textile factories for more than 30 years. She began to work as a child before she was ten years old, and is now past 40. She has never married, though many men have sought her in marriage. She is not an abnormal woman, indifferent to marriage, but just a normal, healthy, intelligent woman who has yearned hundreds of times for a man's affection and companionship. To her more intimate friends she confesses that she chose to remain lonely and unwed, chose to stifle her longings for affection, rather than to marry and bring children into the world and live to see them enter the mills for employment before they became men and women. When I say that the moral atmosphere of factory life is contaminated and bad, and that the employment of children in mills and factories subjects them to grave moral perils, I am confident that I shall be supported, not, perhaps by the owners of the mills and factories, but by the vast majority of intelligent men and women employed in them.

---

* Spargo, The Bitter Cry of the Children

Excerpt from Youth Work Programs: Problems and Policies*

For more than seven years now, government youth work programs have been an increasingly important element of our social-economic experience and an issue of national policy. The four federal youth work programs now in operation--the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Work Projects Administration (in its employment of individuals under 25), the National Youth Administration student work projects, and its out-of-school work projects--are currently providing financial aid, work, and some measure of training to well over a million and a quarter young people, with the likelihood that this figure may be increased in the near future. Indeed, in October 1939, the American Youth Commission definitely recommended that employment under public auspices in some form of service be provided for every young person needing it, which might easily raise the total by a million or more.

Despite all this growth, it cannot be said that a government youth work program has become a fully accepted part of "the American way" of doing things. The place of a publicly operated work program in the life of American youth and its relation to general social-economic policies are still far from clear. There are differences of opinion as to the need for such a program in the near future and as to its content if it be continued.

The present study is concerned with the problems and policies involved in such a program, and it attempts to suggest the lines along which a youth work program might be developed. The questions raised are: What is or should be its main purpose. For what youth should it be? On what principles should work projects be based--social use, or training value, or both? How should they be planned and organized? How extensive should the program be? What should it render to the participants in the form of wages, training, and social welfare? How can it be adjusted to the programs of social groups having similar aims and to the activities of related social institutions, for example, the public school system?

---

*From: Lewis L. Lorwin, Youth Work Programs: Problems and Policies, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1941, pp. 1-2.

CHAPTER II. A Model and Philosophy of Youth Development

Purpose: To present "the eyeglasses" we used to design the evaluation, to do the study, and to write this report. In this way, the reader can come to know our perspective.*

---

*See Appendix C.

A (PARTIAL) MODEL AND PHILOSOPHY OF YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

Basic to this Report and to the evaluation study was a conception and a philosophy of youth and youth development. By youth we mean generally the ages of 12-22 years (with exceptions). By youth development we mean the biological, physiological, psychological patterns and socio-economic stability and change which seem to occur generally to most members of the age cohort 12-22 years. By a model of youth development we mean personal and social values about how the processes and patterns of youth development ought to occur.*

A very clear statement of our youth development** philosophy and a partial model of youth development is found in Gisela Konopka, "Requirements for Health Development of Adolescent Youth," Adolescence, Vol. VIII, No. 31, 1973.***

Several topics can be added to expand that paper: Cognitive development; moral development; work as the achievement of adulthood; adolescent-middlescence conflicts; youth in groups and groups of youth; youth, sex, and race. We present a few words about each as an introduction.

Cognitive Development

This idea is associated with Piaget, the Swiss psychologist, who studies infants, children, and youth to learn how they think and the similarities and differences across ages in the structure of thinking.

Moral Development

This idea is associated with the Harvard researcher Kohlberg who studies how children, youth, and adults decide about interpersonal, moral, value and sociopolitical issues. The hypothesis in this research is that there are mental structures which change (over time; development) and these are related directly to how decisions are made and to the moral content of decisions.

---

*Clearly, we believe that a philosophy and values have a central place in socio-behavioral and evaluation research.

**Remember that youth as we know it is a recent social invention which goes back only to the early 1900's.

***A text of this article, annotated by Beth Brokering with quotes from this study, is available from Center for Youth Development and Research, University of Minnesota.

Work as Achievement of Adulthood: True

This is an American belief and image which is "real" because it is widely accepted and acted upon; but this is not the only reality. Work is an aspect, a part of life for most adults,* but is not the whole of life or the whole of becoming or being an adult. This we know in our own everyday lives.

On the other hand, we have learned from youth in at least two Minnesota studies** that "the real job world" is not the student work world, and that this reality will come "after school," i.e., closer to when they are adults and "independent."

Youth in Groups and Groups of Youth

It is natural in our culture for youth to want to be with friends their age, to go places and do things together. We did, our kids do and youth we work with do. It is true, too, that for many adults, groups of youth are scary. Groups of youth stir up for many people an image of a "gang," a gang out of our control or a gang going to do delinquent acts.

If one looks at many youth standing together and "sees" a gang or some other scary social image, s/he very likely will act toward those youth as if they "really are" a gang. And this would be inappropriate. This process of defining first and then reacting is basic and normal and not at all "crazy." For example, consider the person who hears a loud noise and defines it as a car backfiring; s/he will not likely be afraid. But another person who defines the sound as a bomb or as something crashing would likely respond differently to this definition. This pattern of defining and reacting to youth in groups is directly related to topics of supervision and to age, race, and sex differences between and among youth, and between youth and adults (especially adult supervisors).

Youth, Race, and Sex

Many adults are uncomfortable with youth, particularly with many youth and particularly as a supervisor (or teacher or other youth worker) of a group (or number) of youth. In our society, race, social class, sex and age can be thought of as potentiators, as facts about a person (or group) which multiply and strengthen our reactions to the

---

*Remember here the social problems of youth and adult employment and current public welfare.

**This one and Minnesota Youth Poll, "Youth's Views on Work," May 1977, Center for Youth Development, University of Minnesota.

individuals (and to the group). These can "work" alone and/or in combination. For example, a white adult supervisor without day-to-day contact with blacks, may experience or be less comfortable with a group of black teenagers than with a same size group of white youth of the same sex and age.

Youth Participation in Choices

Basic to our philosophy of youth development is the value of youth participation; i.e., the belief that youth should (must) be invited to participate meaningfully (in a "real way") in decisions which affect them.

This is not to argue that every youth alone should decide everything of import to himself (herself). Rather, it is to advocate that youth as a class of people be involved in the structure of decision-making (how decisions are made by whom) in youth serving agencies and at their jobs.

It is to argue that once we distinguish between and among different decision content on the levels of the individual, the work group, and the organization, it becomes clear that individual youth can be included as decision-makers on some topics, but not all topics. Behind this value lies a history in politics and mental health about how participation enhances the competence of youth to decide about themselves as youth and later as adults.

Adolescence and Middlescence*

It is now recognized that adult middle-age is a developmental period very similar to youth. The major similarity is also the major difference: what youth are working out for themselves are the very topics which adults (in their 30's and 40's) are questioning; youth are formulating positions and adults are re-evaluating the positions they formed earlier. While this may be a modern phenomenon, it is real and can be found in youth-adult relations in the family, in school, and at work. Supervisor-youth relations may also be understood in this way.

Some Words Regarding Youth

Here the point is simple: to show easily and quickly that different words which refer to youth have different images, expectations, and meanings for us:

---

*Barbara Smith, "Adolescent and Parent: Interaction Between Developmental Stages," Center for Youth Development & Research, Quarterly Focus, Fall, 1976.

Female	General	Male
	Adolescent	
	Youth	
	Kid	
Girl		Boy
	Teenagers	
	Worker	
	Young Worker	
	Student	
Young Woman	Child	Young Man

Our Use of This

This philosophy and model is used in this evaluation as a pair of eyeglasses through which we looked at the everyday activities of youth and adults in the program. Put another way, the Program at best is a youth development program and we tried to learn in what ways this was implemented and what was achieved.

Using This Model in Our Everyday Work with Youth

In our everyday work with youth, it is important to know how people this age typically act, talk, think, and feel about a variety of personal and social topics and situations. Further, it is important to be able to compare any one youth or a group of youth with this artificial typical youth. This is a way we can get a perspective, for example, about the actual teenagers standing in front of our desk. "Getting a perspective"is one form of understanding. "Putting into context" a youth or a situation is another. One example is given by a hospital supervisor in reference to her SYEP worker:

> This young woman comes from an upper middle-class background and has not been exposed to lower income people and their problems. I think it is important for her to see the kinds of problems the young mothers (she works with) are having. This is important for her especially, both so that she becomes more aware of the real world, and also because much of nursing work (which she wants to do in the future) is in large public hospitals and involves working with lower income people...It's important to know the (youth you're supervising) as an individual. I am careful to see that this girl gets a variety of work experiences. Because she's so competent, she tends to get stuck in certain kinds of jobs that she does well and that need to be done.

To argue for this philosophy and model of youth development is not to advocate that we be "strict or lenient," "liberal or conservative," "soft-headed or hard-headed" about adolescents. It is to argue, however, that adults working with youth have a moral (and professional) responsibility to try to know about youth in general and try to understand the specific youth s/he works with. It is to argue that youth as people must be treated as one treats any human being. But, in addition, youth in some ways are typically different than the "average" adult we know; and it is these differences which youth workers must be particularly aware of and responsive to. It is so hard to realize and to accept sometimes that the adolescent standing in front of you is not a young version of an adult; but instead is a youth!

This is the very basic meaning of the idea that adolescence is a stage of development important in and of itself. Emphasis is on the "now," on the everyday, living present more so that on the upcoming, on the future and on the relation between the present and the future. For me (Baizerman), this point can be put best this way:

> Focus on the living present and work with the youth in terms of the present as it is lived and experienced and understood. If this is done well, the future (which in spite of us will happen anyway!) will be better.

"Accept the youth and show respect to the person; then both of you deal with the behavior." An old aphorism I (Baizerman) just made up! This way of working with youth is done in the hope that the youth, too, will be, and will relate with others in the same way. This is central to a social ethic. We teach this by living this (as people and not as super-people).*

---

*This point can be put another way: "Any man, when confronted by this situation, ought to do as I have done." This is a quote from C. Stephan Evans who is paraphrasing Sartre (1971).

CHAPTER III: The Orientation and Approaches of the Study

Purpose: To introduce the researchers' orientation and the approaches they used in this study. This is an overview and not a detailed, technical statement.

PROBLEMS IN THE STUDY OF THE EVERYDAY

"Nothing evades our attention so persistently as that which is taken for granted." Ichheiser (1970)

It is difficult to see what is obvious; and this is a problem to us in writing up this study about youth and work in SYEP for people in the Program. Who better knows the program, youth and their work, than those who design and carry-out the program?

The problem is very simple: for us to have done an effective study in our terms was to "capture the already known" by those in the Program and to understand their world as they understand it. But to do this is to risk the comments of program staff and participants that all we accomplished was "to learn the obvious." Well, we will be pretty satisfied to hear this comment because then we will know that we saw and heard and experienced the world as insiders; and this was part of our task.

The other part was to compare these insider views with outsider views. Here, the familiar can become strange and you may not recognize the obvious any more. Hopefully, both the obvious and the new will be meaningful and useful to you.*

---

*As a poet said, to change meaning (by interpretation) is to be present at a birth.

RESEARCH ORIENTATION, DESIGN, METHODS AND APPROACHES TO ANALYSIS

Introduction

This study was done within a philosophy of youth development (see above) and conceptions of social research and of program monitoring and evaluation (Baizerman, 1974; Baizerman, et al, 1976). It is important to understand these philosophies and conceptions because these were the sources of our ideas and practices; and because this Report and the video tape are for many an unusual program evaluation. Most expect to read a final report and to read the researchers' "findings, conclusions, and recommendations." This is not so here; we now give our reasons for our approach.

Research Orientations

The research orientation was qualitative social research, with a focus on learning about "the everyday life" of program participants as they understood, saw, and talked about this "commonsense, taken for granted, everyday world."

Our belief was (is) that the more we can "capture what is already known" by some participants in the program, the more this could be shared with other program participants; and the "closer" we as outsiders would come to understanding how insiders understand the Program. The more we and they (outsiders and insiders) understand the same things the more we can say that what we know about what they do is "accurate." The more accurate our understanding of their knowings and doings, the easier it is for us to use the eyeglasses of youth development to evaluate the program as presented and understood by participants. And the better able we are to suggest foci and directions for program change. And the better able we are to do this in the language and with the same or similar understandings of program participants.

One goal was to learn "to pass" as an insider (a participant) as a result of mastering the understanding, talking, feeling, thinking, and acting of an insider. But to be an "outsider," too. And to be both an "insider" and an "outsider" simultaneously!*

Everyday Knowledge and Work: Some Issues Re: Research and Evaluation Approaches and Methods

---

*This goes along with the research aphorism, "to believe everything and nothing simultaneously."

One part of what is called "commonsense, everyday life"* is what is "taken for granted." It is thought that we are so close to what we take for granted, that what we take for granted is so much a "part" of ourselves that we don't know about it, that we are unaware, usually, of this very knowledge.

For many of us, work--the job--is so much a part of our mundane, everyday life that we "just do it;" we do not "dwell on it" unless something "unusual" occurs. Work in this sense is part of our taken for granted, everyday knowledge of the world. New workers by definition do not (are thought not to) have taken for granted knowledge of their work; they are not workers and hence can't know as workers know. Therefore, one focus of our study was learning how youth "became" workers. A problem with research data about things which are everyday is that it is difficult to "see" the data because we are so much a part of our work world and hence take all of this for granted!

The Notions of "Findings and Conclusions"

It is traditional to have, in research and evaluation reports, sections or chapters entitled "findings" and/or "conclusions;" often, one finds also a section called "recommendations." There are no such chapters in this Report. This was done because this whole report and the video tape are "the findings and the conclusions." To use another word, the report and tape are the answers to the research and evaluation questions.**

---

*Some argue that this very term is a special research construct and hence is not a commensense everyday term.

**A report is a reality; and, in the same sense, "research findings" are realities.

Our style is intended to remind the reader that people decide (using certain rules,etc.) what is to be considered and called "a finding." In this conception, "findings" are not "handed down from above" and are not "given." Instead, findings are constructed or determined or decided. One implication of this view is that "findings" can be debated on grounds other than study design and/or method.

DATA COLLECTION: HOW IT WAS DONE

The Video Tape

The final 30 minute video tape and cassette about youth and work was made from nine rolls shot in both locations and edited under Dr. Aldrich's direction. He also wrote introductory comments and text. The model was ethnographic film and not a television show.

The Newsclippings

The DES contracted with Western Press Clipping Service, Minneapolis, to clip all articles, stories, and photographs about SYEP. These were loaned by the DES to the researcher.

A content analysis was done of the news stories, photographs, and editorials by date.

The Work Diaries

Two Project interviewers met with youth at a St. Paul facility where SYEP youth were placed. The youths kept diaries of their day at work using prepared guidlines. Group meetings were held to discuss the diaries and the job. Content analysis of diaries was done.

The Interviews

Individuals: Youth, supervisors, friends, and parents were talked with individually after informed consent was given.

A Group: One group of youth met as an interview group so we could learn whether this more efficient data collection means was also more effective and appropriate.

Other Approaches to Data Collection

Some interviews were conducted using the telephone so as to learn, as above, if this was a useful, effective, appropriate, as well as an efficient, approach.

At times, two interviewers were present to interview one sample youth or one sample youth with other youth to chat with at the same site.

Other data collection approaches were tried in consultations with Ms. Cameron Kane, Youth Employment Specialist of Quad County Consortium.

DATA ANALYSIS: HOW IT WAS DONE

Content analysis was the primary approach used for data analysis. This is a method found in a variety of professions and disciplines where it is used to understand subjects as diverse as propaganda, movies, talk, body movement, poems, songs, indeed, almost any kind of "data" such as words, body movements, and sounds. This is the method of choice for qualitative social data.

The analysis was done in essentially the same way for all the data--interviews, work journals, news stories, photographs, and the video tape. The way we chose to do the content analysis was "to ask questions 'of the data' and then to use the data to answer the questions."

For example, one question we used was, "What conception(s) of youth development is found in the data before us?" This question is like a pair of eyeglasses which the reader used to look at the news clippings. When the reader found "an answer," this was noted. We looked at a distribution of the answers, or "themes." This distribution gave us the range of youths' ideas, feelings and actions.

The questions came from several sources: our conception of youth development, our observations and readings, the interviewees and others. For example, someone asked if we found out anything about Program dropouts. This analysis question was used then to examine the data collected in the "field" from youth and others.

CHAPTER IV: The Interview Data (St. Paul)

Purpose: To present analysis of the interview data collected from approximately fifty youth and fifty supervisors (and others) in St. Paul SYEP.

There are 7 Sections in this Chapter, each devoted to either an interview question or to a broad theme in the interview data.

Major Sections:

A. Getting On The Program

B. The First Day

C. What Do You Do Here?

D. Work as Work, as Play, as School

E. What Do You Do Here?

F. On The Job

1. Sex & Sexism

2. Race & Racism

3. Safety

4. Supervision

G. What Do You Do After Work

SECTION A. GETTING ON THE PROGRAM

Introduction

We wanted to learn how youth "got on (in)" SYEP and how they "got the job" they had. And we wanted to learn the words youth used and the ideas which youth had about the process which they had just been through.

To learn what youth knew and did about getting on the Program, we chose to ask them a question, one worded in an unusual way. Our question was: "How did you come to be at work here?" The question was asked this way so as not to suggest to the youth either the words "job" or "program" so we could learn their own words and not to suggest that we thought s/he had responsibility "for finding or getting the job," e.g., "how did you get your (this) job?"

It will be shown that youth heard or chose to answer our question in one (or more) of four ways:

As "how" did I get a job/get on the Program

As "why" did I get a job/get on the Program

After we present youths' answers to this question in a brief list, we give a table of the youth-reported process of coming to be "on" SYEP. Each step (or stage) in the process is then discussed briefly. Finally, our analysis of the process is presented.

How Did You Come To Be At Work Here?

Youth discussed and answered our question in two ways. First, they talked about their personal contacts and the process of "finding" or "getting" a "job." And second, many youth chose to talk about WHY, rather than how, they came to be at work.

The following lists how youth heard and responded to the question, "How did you come to be at work here?:"

How did I get a job here?

*This was the process I went through to get my job; this is what it was like for me.
*These were my previous work contacts and experiences which helped me get here.

How did I get on the Program?

*These were the people I talked to in the community who gave me a job.
*This is how people in my family who knew about the program got me a job.

Why did I get a job here?

*This is why I wanted to work at this place.
*These are the reasons why I needed a job and needed money.
*I wanted to be closer to the real world, to prepare for adulthood. I wanted to have an advantage over others my age. This is how being here helps me prepare for my future.
*I feel like I had control in getting this job. I wanted a job and wanted to work. This is the common denominator between me and other kids I work with, not socio-economic status.

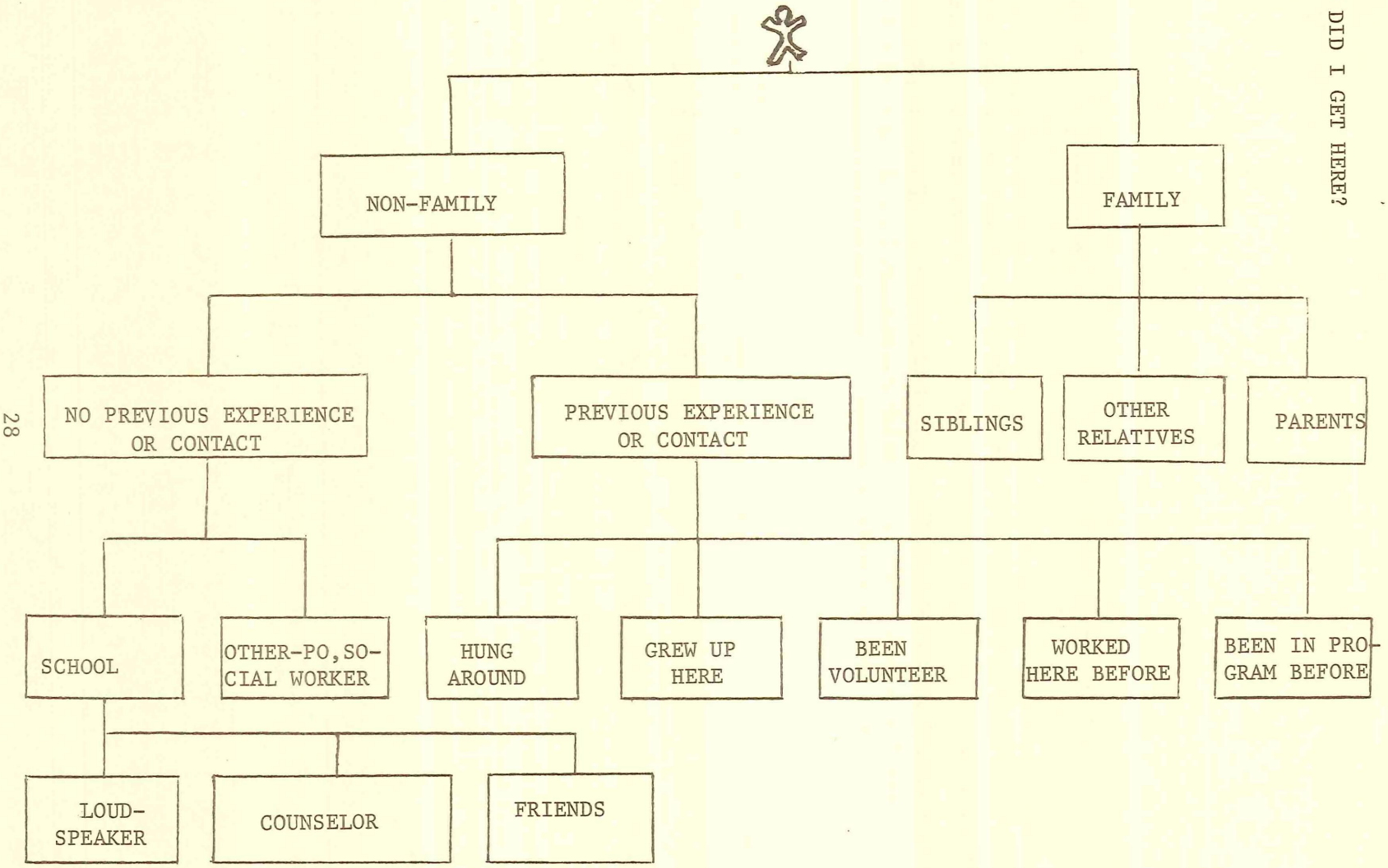
Why did I get on the Program?

*These are my social characteristics and economic "qualifications" which have brought me here.
*I feel like I had no control in getting here. My skills, experience, and personhood were not important.
*I have a job here because I'm different--an outsider. I don't live in this neighborhood.

The following list is youths' responses to the question they understood as, "How did you come to be at work here?:"

*I was pushed into it/nudged into it.
*I spoke to someone. I wanted to work and they told me about the Program.
*I've been in the Program before.
*I signed up to work here.
*I transferred from another job.
*I knew about the Program from school and went through the procedures with my counselor.
*I applied and had an interview.
*I filled out an application and was asked if I wanted to work here.
*I went through the SYEP director at Johnson.
*The supervisor got me set up.
*Friends told me about it.
*Someone gave me the job.
*I always wanted a job--wanted to work.
*I went to the counselor to get papers to get the job.
*I listened to the loudspeaker.
*I looked for other jobs and couldn't find any so I got on the Program and someone gave me a job.
*I knew most of the people around here.
*I've hung around here most of my life.
*My mom told me to get a job.
*I got an application from an older brother or sister.
*My sibling took care of it.
*I wanted to work here so they got me on NYC.
*I've been working here for 3 years so I know I can work here.
*I filled out two applications to make sure I got the job.

Contacts and information which youth saw as helpful in leading them to summer employment came from both family and non-family connections. The process can be visualized as the following:


NON-FAMILY
FAMILY
NO PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE OR CONTACT
PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE OR CONTACT
SIBLINGS
OTHER RELATIVES
PARENTS
SCHOOL
OTHER-PO, SOCIAL WORKER
HUNG AROUND
GREW UP HERE
BEEN VOLUNTEER
WORKED HERE BEFORE
BEEN IN PROGRAM BEFORE
LOUD-SPEAKER
COUNSELOR
FRIENDS

About the Diagram:

Family

The family helped SYEP youth make decisions about where they wanted to work. Many youth had older brothers and sisters who had worked on SYEP before:

> I started (here) at age 13. My sister started at the same place in her 1st or 2nd year of work. My sister told my mother that it was a good place for me because it was safe and convenient, being close to home...I worked at this site last summer even though my sister didn't.

Youth who had younger brothers or sisters usually began assisting them by "buying things for them," and eventually helping them "get on the Program." Those youth would, in turn, help their younger siblings:

> I'd say it would be good for my little sister. All our lives, our mom took care of us. I figure I'd help my mom--pay back and help with the expenses. That's important with my situation. It was just me, my brother, my sister and my mom.

Many older brothers or sisters were directly responsible for helping siblings. Youth spoke frequently of trusting an older brother or sister to "take care of everything." These youth felt most secure about their "chances of getting a job:"

> I got the form from my brother and he told me about how to go about doing it. He told me to go to school and get the application and when I got the application he filled it out; he helped me and then he took it down to the playground and talked to the supervisor there. He worked here 2 years ago and he knew the supervisor so he just took it down there and she signed it and said they needed people to work there and then he took the application and sent it back to school. (I knew I'd get the job.) I didn't worry. (My sister also works here. She got the job the same way I did. We didn't have to do anything but sign our name.)

---

*Is the Program wired? Many youth in the City of St. Paul sample said or implied that getting on the program was "wired;" that is, that getting on is "fixed." We did not find this to be true in the pejorative sense.

Those who were helped by brothers and sisters thought that other youth had access to the same work but would go about getting it in a different way. Most thought it was common to work with a brother or sister:

> My brother got the application for me. He worked in (similar program)...I didn't have to have an interview. I was supposed to but they knew my brother and I didn't have to. (Most people working here had brothers and sisters in the program.) No one said anything about this at school. I found out from my brother.

> I found out about the job from my sister who had been working at this school. (Most of the kids here had brothers and sisters who worked here. A person who didn't could get a job here) if they came here and had an interview. I didn't need one because my sister had worked here. I didn't hear about the Program through school--it's not very publicized. The guy who hired me works up at school but I didn't find out about it through school.

Youth also cited other relatives as being helpful in providing information or contacts which would lead to SYEP employment. According to youth, these relations had associations with SYEP or had introduced them to people or places who did:

> I had worked on a different program--I think it was REAP. This was my first job when I was 12 years old. I had money and I was happy. When I got done with that job I worked (here) because I could get more money. At first, my mother told me about the job. As I grew up I could do it on my own. My older brothers had worked in the Program, so it just grew on me.

One youth who worked for his guardian felt he would not have wanted to work there without this relative's presence and he believed that if this person had not been there, he would not have had a job with the Program:

> ...because they had lots of kids older than me that they would probably take first. They would probably figure that they can do a better job, they're older.

Non-Family

Not all youth found out about SYEP through their family. Teachers, counselors, friends, and other community members informed youth about SYEP. Some youth had a previous connection with their work place and others worked at places which were new to them.

No Previous Experience or Contacts

School

Youth who had no work contacts most often learned about SYEP at school and usually recalled seeing a sign posted or hearing an announcement over the loudspeaker:

> I listened. They have announcements at school--they tell you a certain time when you can get these things done. I knew how to do it because I listened.

Like anyone else, youth were impatient with the application process and worried until they received further news. Some youth felt so much anxiety that they called the counselor several times and believed they would not have heard from him again had they not done so. When youth did not have to wait for further information and were immediately told they could meet with their supervisor, they interpreted this as assurance of a job--which may or may not have been the case. Youth did not understand the application process and wanted to be clear about what to expect of this. The lack of standardization was confusing. Misunderstandings between the counselor and the youth or conflicts between the counselor's information and what the youth actually experienced later led to confusion and disappointment:

> This man gave us the job. He told me about it but I took it wrong. I thought it would be a job where you work here 3 weeks and you'd go to the learning center for the rest of the summer. But, I found out we'd go to the learning center for four weeks and then here for the rest of the summer. We go there 2 days out of the week.

The school counselor usually told youth where they would work but some made their own contacts as well:

> I heard about the program so I went to go see my school counselor. I filled out an application and then I called the director of the Program and told her that I wanted to do office work. She then sent me to Shirley, my supervisor, and then I went in for an interview. Shirley told me to come in tomorrow and give it a try, so I came in the next day and gave it a try and I liked it and I'm still here.

Youth added that school personnel often recommended them to SYEP, though these youth were not always as enthusiastic about work as those who approached school personnel themselves:

> I got the job through school. My grade school teacher signed me up for it. He sort of nudged me

into it. I was pushed into it. (Crew work) isn't the sort of job I want to do in the future.

Youth considered friends to be instrumental in passing on information encouraging them to work and supporting the "right" of young people to work:

> I needed a summer job and went to the Minnesota State Employment Office and put down that I had volunteered with a day care camp program and they got me a job working with the park board so I could work and get paid. The way I found out about these jobs was through a girlfriend who read something in the paper...

> My friends were all trying to get me to work, even before I came here. They just thought it would be good for me (to work) anywhere. They just wanted me to work.

> (One of my friends) never has enough money. I think (his parents) should let him have the job.

Although youth valued being able to work with friends and liked making new friends at work, they also emphasized that their work identity was independent of their friends' presence:

> The guy that gives out jobs called 'cause I sent out an application. I got it from my boss. My friends told me he had applications. I don't know how they knew about it. They wanted jobs, too. I needed a job. (If my friends hadn't gotten jobs here I still would have.) I needed money.

> (I don't work here because of my friends) because most of them graduated last year or two years ago.

> Most of my friends work with me. They feel the same way I do. I like it, so they ain't got no choice because I really don't care.

Other

Youth with no work contacts said they received information from community people and agencies other than school:

> I went to talk to a social worker at some community place around my house. I had known this social worker for about a year. We had a group and did some community things around my house after school. I asked her where to find a job and she told me about NYC and YCEEP.

Previous Experience or Contact

Youth who said they had former connections often referred to past involvement with SYEP or previous contacts with their places of work. Sometimes these contacts were social, such as with youth who "grew up around here," and sometimes contacts were work-related.

Hung Out There - Grew Up There

Many youth found it desirable to work at a place where they "hang out"or a place in their neighborhood. Youth liked working at familiar places when they were conveniently located,or when youth had friends or were well-known there. Youth who had such jobs said that they were "easy to get" because they were known as a unique person. The work was said to be "natural" and rewarding, in part because it was familiar. Youth in such positions said they asked for a job there or someone who knew them asked them to work in the local facility:

> I used to come here.... The supervisor asked me how old I was and would I like to work there. My foster mother didn't want me to work so I called my social worker. She thought it would be good for me to work here, so I came here and took an application home to fill out. I came back here with my social worker to talk to one of the supervisors. We talked about what I'd be doing, how much money I would get per hour, whether I would get paid every week or every two weeks and if I could take vacations.

Two girls who were interviewed both visited a large agency on a social basis long before being asked to work there. These youth were asked if it felt different to be working there rather than coming in as one of the "kids." They remarked that the culture and activities remained the same, but "getting paid" changed the way they felt in regard to their roles or status as compared to other youth:

> I used to come here for Saturday clubs so I knew pretty much what they did and knew mostly everybody. I don't feel that it's really different to be a worker than it was to attend the clubs, because workers do the same things kids do. But I feel different.
>
> Yes, in a way it was different. You get to work instead of doing what the kids do...it's all the same, but you're just getting money...

In other words, youth who experience such a change in roles, seem to identify "getting money" as something which transforms everyday activities into "work," and changes "kids" into "workers."

In part, youth may have desired work at familiar places because of the type of work they would be doing such as coaching sports or working with "kids." More important to youth, however, was the feeling that such places were special for other reasons, such as: friends, recognition, feelings of belonging and acceptance.

Worked Here Before

Many youth said they "came to be at work here" because of previous work contacts they had which in turn helped them get the job. Contacts were both volunteers and previous employment. The majority of youth who returned to former work places had previously been paid--either by some form of government money or by the agency:

> I was working here last year but I was on the agency pay. The old director hired me for "agency pay." Then, the new director told me I could get on NYC, so I got on NYC for the summer. There's a supervisor (who was) at our school. The director gave me a form to fill out and brought it to (supervisor) at school. He told us where we'd be working and what we'd be doing. I knew I could have a different job, but I really wanted to work here. If they would have gave me a different job, I would've taken it. It's really all the same. It seems like you'd be doing the same things but at different places and you'd finish at different times. If I worked at a playground, I would still be watching kids.

Some youth were given opportunities to change to other "more favorable" jobs. These options were turned down when the job they had was interesting and especially if their relationship with the supervisor and other workers was personal.

Some youth did not care for some aspect of their employment yet "had never looked into anything else." Others chose to return to their job because they felt most comfortable working in a familiar setting:

> In school they told us about it over the loudspeaker, I signed an application and got the job. It took about one month. They told us what we'd be doing and where to catch our bus. I didn't even know enough about it to care where I went. I probably could have transferred, but I wanted to come back here. I know the place better, I'm more used to it.

Been in Program Before

Finally, many youth answered that they "came to be at work here" because they have been in the Program before. To them, "being in the Program" symbolized job security: if you were already "in" the Program, you would be guaranteed a job, either your former job or

something new--hopefully better. Many of these youth also assumed that working in the same place for at least 3 years would guarantee permanent placement there, and possibly future employment in some other capacity.

THE "PROCESS OF FINDING A JOB" AND "GETTING ON THE PROGRAM"

One aspect of working youth spoke of was the "process" of finding a job--how it feels and what one must know. Many of youths' conclusions about the job market were based on their experiences during this part of the "work cycle." Some found that personal contacts were helpful and sped up the process of finding work. Youth who got jobs through siblings experienced less time and involvement with this process and, hence, may not have "benefitted" from the positive, educational aspects of looking for work:

> I applied a long time ago, filled out some forms in high school. But I wasn't contacted before my brother, who worked close to the school in a playground, found out that there was an opening in this school and let me know about it. I decided to contact the lady who was in charge of the program at school and got the job right away.

Youth who did not have personal contacts said they first applied for jobs around their neighborhood. If unsuccessful in "finding a job on their own," youth spoke to an adult and learned about SYEP. After such an experience, the language of youth shifted from, "I looked for a job," or "I couldn't find a job," to "he gave me a job," and "I'll find you a job." Youth who considered "real jobs" difficult to find came to view "being on the Program" as different because of the way they "got the job:"

> Of five kids she's the youngest. I asked if others in her family were on the Program or have been on a program of this sort. She said, "No, all of them went out and got their own jobs."

Youth agreed unanimously that jobs were difficult to find and there are only a limited number of job openings:

> She believes that she would not have gotten the job if she had not been persistent in calling the school counselor because (he) told her that there were very few jobs and lots of applicants.

Some youth made "early" decisions about summer work. Thinking they "couldn't waste any time," they began looking for jobs in February or March. Youth who knew about the Program applied early in the "work cycle" to secure work at the place of their choice and to "get the good jobs."

Because jobs were considered valuable and scarce, youth showed concern for protecting their work status:

> It's hard getting a job if you're trying to get one now. If you quit during something, you will be recognized, so I never quit.

Qualifying for a Job - Definition of Self as Person v. Definition of Self as Social Category

Those youth who felt anxious and uncertain about work began to see the world as"larger"and jobs as"fewer." "Real job" qualifications were thought to be based on age and experience. However, youth who were seeking jobs and heard about SYEP as another way to work, spoke differently about qualitifcations. When first applying for SYEP jobs, youth noticed that they were not asked about their experience and only in an unimportant way were they asked about their age. Instead, information requested was directed toward specific social characteristics of the youth--not their "personhood."

Youth viewed "getting a job on the Program" as being different because their qualifications were based on their place in the social structure and not on their development as a unique person. Rather than age and experience, qualifications youth now spoke of included:

* race
* low income
* lots of kids in family
* welfare or ADC
* foster child

In other words, socio-economic status, not individuality, was important:

> My friend and I applied (at the same facility) but my friend didn't get the job. I guess her mother didn't make enough money (i.e., the "right amount" of money to qualify). I know that and (my friend) knows that, too. She kind of was mad at me for awhile, but I guess we're friends. We were over at my house before we knew about getting the job and my mother said that we both have a good chance at getting a job, but that I would probably have a better chance. I know that my mother gets money from ADC, so I figured that I'd probably get on the Program.

"Getting a job" because of one's place in the social structure enhanced the youth's sense of being different. However, youth see these social characteristics as important because they help one get on a program. This in turn guarantees them money:

They say your income has to be a certain amount for each member of the family. Ours was $50 over. We only have four people in the family. I thought,what if he's wrong, what if he's right and I won't be able to get it. Somehow, I think he was wrong and they changed it.

I was happy when I was accepted. Some girlfriends I have can't work and they're really mad. You have to make a certain amount of money first.

Up at school, there are jobs for kids whose parents don't make enough money. I saw a big list of places to work. I didn't want to work at a playground, so they sent my papers here. I've been on NYC jobs since 1974. Before, when I lived with my parents, they were on welfare. So, I had an NYC job. $2.30 ain't a lot but it's better than nothing. The very first time I found out about the NYC deal, because I saw a sign in black magic marker, DO YOU NEED A JOB?, SEE SO & SO; I didn't have no money no where and never got no money from no one.

Youth as well as supervisors spoke about "state kids" and "federal kids," the difference being race and family income, the similarity being that they all had the same kinds of jobs.

There are two classes of kids--one is middle class working people, the other is project kids, although they don't want to be called by the word "project" any longer...kids are pretty much the same now as far as when programs started; the middle class kids are still good as far as the job goes--they come on time and are dependable. Some of my CETA kids have been lemons--they hung onto the Program, but didn't do the job well...I'm not doing these things to treat them like a bull, but rather for their own good. Some of my kids are professional welfare receptionists. There are 4 generations in the projects who continually receive welfare. I try to get them steady jobs but I can only lead them so far...Parents of the white kids appreciate the Program. They thank me for helping the kids. I have never met project parents, and it could be that they don't have any home life.

When I recruit state program kids, I know their background, am familiar with their schools and neighborhoods, and I know how they need money and will use it. I talk to them, looks them over, tell them about work. When recruiting federal program kids, they will go to school, speak with a counselor, ask how to get on the job, fill out an application from the counselor, who goes through the Baker School counselor; then they see me. I tell them about the work and tell them if they don't want to do it, don't come back.

I would like to see the state program kept up. Fifty percent of the money should be used for people of poverty and the state funded money for the middle class. They should go to the federal government to take care of the project ones. There are no jobs for middle class kids so they turn to vandalism; these kids are ones whose fathers have something, but not enough to dish out to them. The big shots get their kids on programs and these kids don't need it. They have enough family income to send their kids to college; they can also afford to pay the kids for cutting grass. There is no grass to be cut around here.

In summarizing this supervisor's notion of "state and federal kids" and their "attributes," this composite emerges:

State Kids: White, middle class working people, hand-picked, want to work, appreciative parents.

Federal Kids: Black, project kids, recruited through school, don't want to work, superficial interest in program, no family life.

This view of youth presents many difficulties when it influences the way people look at each other:

For supervisors in the form of "problems:"

(supervisor) The YCEEP Program should not be so easy on these kids, that is, they should not give them chance after chance...saying things like, "Well, this kid's from a bad home, why don't you give him another chance?" This is detrimental to the kids who learn very quickly just how they are and just how much goofing off they can do. They can push certain people and will push to the very edge.

(supervisor) Crew leaders on more racially diverse sites may treat those kids different, but, hopefully, will treat them fairly. Because the kids do differ, they may spend more time learning about individual kids.

For future employers in their preconceptions and prejudices about youth:

(supervisor) For future references I think future employers get bad impressions about YCEEP people from other people that come and apply. Say they call me up and I give them an impression. They kind of think this person was on charity and really

didn't do anything on the job. Even though they may in earnest call up and ask what they did and I may tell them, they are thinking in the back of their minds that they didn't really do anything; this person's job was just to pay them and hand in time cards and keep them out of trouble.

For youth in socio-racial conflicts:

(supervisor) (If the summer work program were ideal, it wouldn't) create clashes between kids in regards to certain kids getting their salaries for being on this part of town or this program and certain kids getting a salary for being in the other part of town and a different program. All this breeds resentment in the kids and thus causes social clashes as well as social classes.

Discussion

The personal and social process of "getting on or in" SYEP is a most important subject for inquiry and analysis. This is so because SYEP is a service program and hence must recruit potential "clients." SYEP can be thought of as a linkage program between time cycles (spring and summer), and between social organizations and institutions (family, school, and work). This linkage (bridge) functions only when there are youth, for they are the "raw material," the trainees, the objects of SYEP's "people changing and people moving" orientations.

There are several words and ideas in various professions and disciplines which can be used to discuss the process of getting on social programs. These include: "becoming a client," "pathways to the program," "the social screen in the community which filters applicants," "referral," "recruitment," "job-finding careers," and the like. These are all useful for analysis here. But at this point we want to emphasize another useful but less known concept, "cognitive map."

Cognitive Map

A person's cognitive map is his/her mental picture of how to get from here to there, e.g., how to get a job. Dimensions of these "job finding" and "program finding" maps are actual geographic distance, subjective geographical distance, subjective sense of "accessibility," and the like. Now let us use this notion with our data. This is a crucial topic.

Looking For A Job v. Getting On The Program: Stages In A SYEP Career

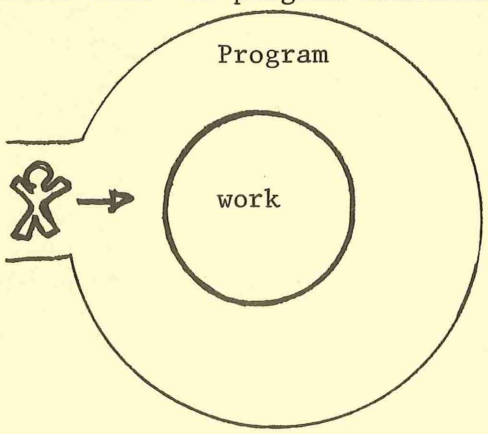
The following is one career line: First, youth looked for a job in a variety of ways noted. Next, they spoke with an adult who directed them to SYEP. Then they got on SYEP. Let us look closely at what happened:

There was a shift from:

(a) looking for a job, to

(b) getting on the Program.

The result is the same only insofar as the youth has a job and is at work. The result is different to the extent that the youth is on (in) a program which is to the program staff (usually) more than "just work." Note that if youth do not change their orientations and expectations from "work" to "program," there could very well be crucial differences and/or conflicts between program staff and youth. The social process by which this is "dealt with" is program socialization.



Now, when youth move across these career stages there is a concommitant shift in the required and actual presentations of self. For example, there is a shift from "who am I" to "what job experience I have" to "I need a job" to "I am a poor minority." This, then, is a shift from a personal definition of self as a person to increasingly external social facts about the self.

One way to use this career pattern to understand SYEP is to suggest the hypothesis that youth become somewhat frustrated after not finding a job on their own. This in turn could lead to their initial definition of SYEP as a "last chance" to get a job and of themselves as "lucky" or fortunate.

Herein lies a paradox to some, for it is in being poor that they are "rewarded." This is the familiar equation of "welfare;" so is the program-ness of SYEP--the services and education which go along with training. This, too, is welfare-like:

> I find kids don't work as hard as they used to. They have to be paid for everything.... My goal for these kids is to give them a better chance in life.... We try to be patient, no screaming or yelling, because I'm sure these kids get enough of that at home.

> I never put kids out (of the Program) even if I don't want them.... Other people ask me why I wouldn't give a certain kid the boot. I feel that I can keep them because I am supposed to rehabilitate them and because I don't want the black ones on my back...in a few years they will respect the pushing.

> Some family members hope that the Program will do something for the kids they haven't been able to do. I'm concerned because most of the young people I worked with were from low income families. There is not much parental support which I feel is very much needed for these young people.

Some supervisors expressed concern for this aspect of SYEP and cited some negative consequences:

> If the kids have an incentive, they'll work harder but with federal programs, they just get a certain amount of money and nothing that kids can do can change that or make it better.

> Kids are so worried about getting on the Program they lie, cheat, steal, whatever. For instance, in filling out an application...a lot of parents are proud so they'll put down $16,000 between 2 parents, but the application doesn't say that of the $16,000 they have 8 kids...and a house that's mortgaged above their heads.... Now when kids fill out an application the opposite is true...they put down $2,000 for both parents.... We want them to get on the Program because we feel that's the only way they're going to get the job, but we don't think they should blatantly lie like that.

Supervisors of all ages and races were, at times, direct about the "welfare-ness" of SYEP and could project the effect of "being on a program" on youth in later life:

> Since kids see themselves on a program, they know they're going to get the money anyway, and since supervisors know that since the kids are on the Program they need the money and, therefore, really don't care if the kids come in or not, they still

sign the time cards and give the kids the money. Kids kind of lose perspective of how the real world is. The real world isn't going to give you something for nothing...I feel sorry for these kids. They are going to get lost--the real world is going to eat them up. I wonder if in the future these kids turn to crime, get on ADC or welfare or general assistance, developing work ethics like that. Do they see the Program as being on a program?

The most important thing to me is to cut back on federal spending. I do not agree with Perpich's bill. We have ample monies but it's not reaching the kids. We aren't even helping them, we're hurting them. A lot of them don't know anything or do anything all day but sit on their asses.... Kids learn so fast now not to do. They're quick, but they're learning how to get over without a lot of work. I feel that the Program is responsible for three reasons: 1) the verbal commitments are broken. If a kid promises a supervisor that he will work with him, he may later break that promise by transferring to another supervisor; 2) that other supervisors are accepting students into fun jobs from jobs that are more difficult; and 3) it is not realistic in the job world that you can transfer jobs until you find a fun one. However, in the Program, the kids learn that certain jobs are easier and they can transfer and still be hooked up with the system. This does not teach responsibility.

Most have the idea that the state, county, or the government is going to always take care of them. They have become dependent on these services. What I think is really sad is that I see young kids working in the playground and they're too lazy to stoop over and pick up a piece of glass out of the sandbox. It blows my mind to think that those kids will be the ones to be on welfare later. I am also upset at the comment of a 7 year old girl who told me that she wouldn't walk down the block to (this center) for a free lunch. She cries when she has to walk here. Because of this, we deliver lunches down the street. Can you believe that?

THE "JOB INTERVIEW"

Job interviews are used usually in the process of selecting an applicant. The interview can be used in a decision to accept or to reject the applicant. Youth in the study who talked about the interview seemed to take it for granted that they would be interviewed by their prospective employer/supervisor. With this in mind, their comments make sense to us.

Youths' comments about the interview can be ordered as:

* he didn't need an interview because his sister worked there (waiver)

* the interview was very short

Note the latter. The last comment can be read to suggest that the interview was not a "job interview" as much as it was an opportunity for the supervisor to "screen out" youth "sent over to her(him)." This has the symbolic and actual consequences of giving supervisors some control over which youth work for them. It also has the consequences of confusing some youth who did not understand why their interview was so perfunctory.

SECTION B. THE FIRST DAY

Introduction

For most youth and adults, the first day at work is "a big deal--" it is a mix of joy, fear, anticipation, expectations, and the like; it is also often the time when you realize that you "dressed wrong," that your co-workers are all boys or girls, or white or black, or Chicano, or married, or whatever. Also, the first day is often when the job becomes real because you are "given" an orientation to work.

We wanted to learn about youths' first day at work for several reasons: To learn what went on, to learn whether youth expected what went on to occur, to learn if and where youth learned cues about work and the job, and similar topics. The first day of the "transition to work" is an important locus of practical and theoretical interest. Because it is also something new, it can be exciting and scary simultaneously. The reader will note that the orientation to work could be more effective, could begin earlier, and could include more content about SYEP.

What Did You Do On Your First Day?

> I remember (my first day of work) very clearly. (This was 3 years ago). It was raining and all the kids were in the classroom. I was only about four feet tall and everybody was staring and quiet. I hid behind my sister who was a lot taller. I filled out some forms, met the instructors, and later one of the instructors had me weeding and hoeing because those things needed to be done. They got the notion I wanted to do those things all summer. The instructors told us that we could get an extra credit by doing book reports, so I started looking at books.

Not all youth reported vivid impressions of their first day at work. Most youth remembered being scared, bored or confused. For others it was a day of disappointment. Youth who knew what to expect found the first day to be fun and exciting.

Some felt confused or embarrassed about the clothing they wore to work on the first day and several youth were sent home to put on "more comfortable" dress. One group of youth working on a crew sympathetically chuckled about the girl who came to work in a three-piece suit. Youth who were told about what to expect had the least traumatic first day:

> After my interview I went home and changed my clothes. I worked in the afternoon. I had worn a skirt and a blouse and my supervisor told me that I could dress comfortably. Then I looked around and most of the other people were wearing slacks or jeans under their white clinic jackets... skirts were uncomfortable to work in and I wanted to dress like most of the other people.

The first day was spent in many different ways. Some were taught about work roles and job expectations, while other youth began to work right away. Youth who reported that they received no job orientation were those who said they already knew about the work. This knowledge was said to come either from previous work at the same place or because of familiarity with the kind of work they were to do:

> She had some familiarity with the hospital before, though, because she worked for one year, two summers ago, as a volunteer on one of the OB-GYN wards and last year she worked on a research study at the hospital on V.D. and pregnancy. So, while she didn't know the clinic, she had a general understanding of the particular hospital and hospital culture.

Some of these youth had associations with their place of work, either because of previous work or because they "hung out" there.

Youth who were returning to a place where they had worked before usually were introduced to people, talked to the supervisor, and then began to work:

> I walked in, went to the supervisor's office, introduced myself, and me and another guy started emptying the garbage and putting it in the dumpster...I felt at ease, I wasn't really scared (when I first came here). It was my first job, but the supervisor is a pretty mellow guy and he made things very easy for us and very relaxed.

Youth who said they "hung out" at their place of work also said that they began working right away:

> (You didn't have orientation?) No, not really, because you figure that most of the people working here wanted to work here and they live around here, too, so they knew mostly what is going on so they didn't have to be told that much.

Some youth, e.g., those who were coaching or typing, spoke of their familiarity with the work itself. They received no orientation and thought this was because they already knew what to do:

> I am going to Vo-Tech school for keypunch. I started here in accounting, I stayed two months, then I asked to be moved to keypunch, but I learned keypunch in school, I had three months of it, so I just slid right into this job. I didn't need much training.

Others said they were not given an orientation but that the work came "easy" or "naturally" to them:

> (I know what to do because) it comes easy because I've lived here my whole life and the little kids know me. It comes naturally because little kids like me.

Of those youth who received some training or orientation to work, many felt that it was insufficient. Youth very often expressed uncertainty about what they should do this first day and took to watching others and asking questions. These youth suggested that much of their learning was dependent on their own ability and willingness to question and observe because few orientation materials were available. Even though youth may have been exposed to an orientation, it was not always meaningful to them:

(The first day) was so confusing. All I know is we were supposed to go to a meeting and I did and we just sat up and talked about what we might be doing and what they wanted us to do and that was it.

For one youth who said he received sufficient orientation the first day went something like this:

I remember we didn't get lunch when we were supposed to that day, but we did have some type of orientation. I met the staff and took a tour. They gave me a general description of what I'd be doing that summer. Then we started on cleaning the road.

Youth who "worked with things" (or worked in hospitals) usually reported spending at least their first day "training in." Orientation for these youth was very formal, helpful and consistent in style and content. They learned specific "skills," "rules and regulations." * In contrast were those youth who said they "learned as they went along." They felt overwhelmed with work and thought they would never learn what to do.

Youth who worked with people often spent their first day at work meeting and learning about those they would be servicing. One youth gave a descriptive account of her first day: **

On my first day, I came here. (My supervisor) assigned me to what bus I would ride on. We had a meeting before we went to pick up the kids. (The supervisor) was telling us how to treat the kids and how to help them. He told us, 'Don't holler at them and don't push them around because they'll start crying and it will hurt their feelings.' He said to do the things that they're doing and play the games they want. If they're sad, to get them happy. (There are lots of ways you can make a kid happy. First,) you can talk to them. You can ask them where they live or you can ask them if they know how to swim or rollerskate. (Second), you can buy them some candy, pop or popcorn. (Third), you can show them things you've got, and (fourth), you can show them how to play games. On my first day I

---

* We had orientation. We took a tour of the hospital. We learned the rules and regulations and the dress code. The dress code is a white uniform, white stockings or white socks, and flat, comfortable shoes. We met the head lady. I really wasn't trained in until the second day.

**Youth who worked with people, like youth who worked with things, also became very adept with regard to their jobs. However, they had more difficulty recognizing the skills they learned as being useful to them. See pages 124 for further discussion.

also had to learn the kids' names. I worked in the kitchen. If you sit with the kids, you get to learn their names, so I didn't have to learn their names the first day. After the meeting, we went to pick up the kids and we took them to a park down by the (Mississippi) river where we had a scavenger hurt. After that, we had a tug of war and then we went swimming. When swimming was over, we ate and took the kids home. It seemed short, but it was real long. I felt alright that day. I was happy.

When youth worked with people, their first day often involved opportunities for them to share information about themselves with those people they were learning to work with:

(On my first day) all the NYC help were in the library (of a school for handicapped people). They were given a piece of paper with the rules on it--not the rules for the kids but the rules for us: proper dress, no beating of kids, what number to call if you're late, and things like that. The group I was (working) with came and got me and took me to her (class) room. I sat on a mat and people asked me questions about myself. They described me (physically) for the blind kids. I don't know a lot about all of them, but I got to read files on the kids I work with. I know that the other ones get mean and angry. After I told them about myself, they assigned me to one certain person. I was told all about that person.

The following list represents the activities of youth on their first day of work:

*We had a meeting (discussed roles, rules and regulations, safety, dress).
*I asked questions.
*They asked me questions about myself.
*Took a tour of the building and outside area.
*I had an interview.
*I brought in my application.
*We cleaned. We detrashed the area.
*I was trained in.
*I observed people.
*I saw a film.
*We just worked.
*I received a job description.
*We set up plans and programs.
*I got a schedule.
*I was assigned to work.
*I learned what they expected.
*I was introduced to people.

SECTION C. WHAT DO YOU DO HERE?

Introduction

A basic question to ask about work is, "what do you do here?" We asked youth during every interview about what they were doing or had done today or yesterday. We also asked supervisors and others about what they thought the youth did at work.

We asked this question so often, in so many different ways of so many different people in order to learn about the range and kinds of activities (tasks) that made up the youth's job. We wanted to learn if the job was always the same or whether there were differences in the work over time. Put another way, we wanted to learn whether the job included a variety of learning opportunities and a variety of skills--whether it was "rich--"or whether the job was essentially the same day after day and did not have a variety of learning opportunities.

We wanted to learn about the agency and the work group as settings for work learning and for personal growth. All of these questions and answers can be viewed using the youth development eyeglasses presented above (Chapter II).

We have chosen to present the answers to this set of questions in several Sections (C - F). Based on the ways youth spoke about work, they major themes we use to organize the descriptive material are:

People-thing work
People-people work
"Crew work"

Youth answered this set of questions by presenting a list of activities or by describing what they do; by comparing their work to other work, to play and/or to school; by evaluating what they do with reference to: what they like to do now, what they want as a career, (their "future"), and the occupational prestige of the job. Some of this material is mentioned in later sections, as noted.

People-Thing Description of Work

Youth who described work as primarily work with "things" were those who worked in libraries, schools, hospitals,* and offices. These youth described a variety of specific activities they did. Office work was "any kind of job that's open for the day or week--odds and ends jobs," or "whatever people who need the work done want me to do." This included tasks such as running errands, doing inventories, cleaning, and organizing the office, answering phones, typing, mailing, and making coffee:

> Today, I got here at 8:30. I sat down and waited for my boss. Then I answered some phones, typed three letters and addressed and stamped 13 post cards, then I ate lunch.

> On a typical day, I would make coffee, read the paper, make sure the phones and back room are straightened up, empty ash trays, wash dishes and clean the carpet. Then people call to talk to the social workers and the boss. I'll answer the phone. About that time of day, I would talk to a social worker and find out what's new about new clients and their problems--just out of curiosity. I have wanted to be a social worker for quite a few years now. At lunch time I would go to the Burger King or bring a bag and eat at work (by myself). The rest of the day I answered the phones. I'm not nearly as busy as you'd think.

Youth working in hospitals said that they did things that doctors and nurses "didn't have time for" such as preparing patients for exams and discharges, setting up exam rooms, filing charts, running errands, relaying messages, stocking supplies, changing beds, and scrubbing bathtubs, taking pulses and temperatures, assisting patients with baths, passing out food trays and cleaning up after doctors and nurses:

> (Today, one of the things I did was) set up the exam room. I got out the GC plates, the frosted slides, the fetuscope, the gowns for the patients and arranged everything in proper order for the doctor and the patients. Then I prepared a patient for examination. (This means I showed her where the gowns are, where the bathroom is, and went over the (registration) intake form with her to make sure everything was up to date. It's my responsibility to make sure that the things that the nurses should have done aren't left out. After the patient and doctor have left, I clean up. (This involves) disposing of any waste paper,

* Work in hospitals was considered people-people work, or "kid work" by one youth who was placed on a pediatrics unit.

putting dirty utensils into a cleaning bucket and preparing the room for the next patient. All in all, I'm the only one responsible for preparing 6 rooms every day for about 18 patients...

Maintenance was another kind of people-thing work. This was often called "odd jobs," "ground work," "handy work," and "clean-up." Most youth reported doing this kind of work at sometime, particularly during the end of summer. Youth who only did this said they cleaned floors, windows, and bathrooms; fixed plumbing, windows, and machinery; mowed and raked lawns; cared for gardens; moved garbage and cleaned up trash; cleaned and lined recreational fields; dug trenches; trimmed and cut down trees; cleaned and polished floors, and arranged chairs:

> I panel and paint the broken garage, I paint doors and bases, I clean up the big mess (in the field) from carnivals, I pick up rocks and throw them in the dumpster, I pick up paper, I sweep and mop floors. If the floors are bad, I sweep them first. I also pick up rocks and things on the baseball field, cut grass, cut branches off trees, cut trees all the way down to the ground too. I pick up twigs, dig little trenches along the sidewalk--I don't know what they're for. I rake the field, using (what can be called) a steel, iron or road rake or (another kind which is called) a broom or leaf rake. I also line the field with a liner... Today (my supervisor) wasn't here for a while, so we went inside, watched t.v. for a while, then went outside. There is a big cottonwood tree, so we picked up tree branches. They get all over the place, so we pick up the big ones. When we come back from doing this,(the supervisor) was here again. (They call these things) odd-jobs, or ground work.

People-People Description of Work

Youth who did people-to-people work were placed in a variety of settings. These included playgrounds and recreational centers, and agencies for mentally and physically handicapped:

> (The people we work with) have certain things that they do everyday. They have tokens. After their programs, they can trade their tokens to do something they really like, like listen to headphones. If one guy pinches in the lunch line, I take it away. If he doesn't pinch, he can trade it in for a dessert. The aids also have a toilet program. When they raise their hand, it means they want to go and I will take them. In the morning, some of them get toothpaste and a brush and go to the bathroom. Some have to grab a pail, a wash cloth and comb and go to the bathroom. Some grab a pail, a washcloth and a timer, so they don't stay in the bathroom too long. I go over these things with them and give them assistance.

Other examples of youths' work with people include transporting children to and from the agency, "babysitting" during specified programs, participation in money-raising functions, serving lunch to kids and community, umpiring, coaching and supervising kids in sports and recreational activities, helping with arts and crafts, teaching kids game/reading skills, passing out flyers, and taking kids on field trips:

> When mothers want to go grocery and clothes shopping, or have time to clean up and have time without the brat being with them (they) will bring their kids over to me and I will take care of them. (I also work with) a bunch of little kids, none over the age where they can take care of themselves. The little kids come and I teach them art, drawing, how to paste and color. Also (during this program) the public library gives the kids library cards and they can check out books. Every 3 weeks the library gives them puppet shows (during which) I make sure they're quiet so the other people can hear; I make sure they're not in the way of the viewing of other people; and I try to keep them in a group so none of them wander off and I have to go looking for them.

Youth who worked with people were more likely to speak of their work as an "experience," than a "job." Most were satisfied with the activities at work, but were dissatisfied with what could be learned on the job. Because what they learned was not clear to them and was not understood as a skill, youth believed their jobs were "less real" than ones working with things. Youth who worked with people spoke of their responsibilities as "watching," "helping," "looking after," and "getting things going."* They spoke of tasks in a general way, for example:

> I help wherever help is needed.

> I just work with them. I really don't know what I'm supposed to do. I know they're handicapped and that they need help.

---

* These points are crucial and are discussed in several sections. See pages 174-179.

CREW WORK: A SPECIAL CASE

Many youth in the Program were organized into "work crews," i.e., 5 to 15 youth who "worked together" on one or more jobs or tasks at one worksite. Work crews were constructed at only certain work sites and, it appears, only to do certain kinds of work. This work seemed to be of two kinds: manual work without craft or skill training, and manual work with craft or skill training. Examples of the former are carrying and loading things, "clearing garbage, leaves, and wood; examples of the latter are building and/or constructing fireplaces for outdoor cooking using stones and cement, the use of power tools and machines such as a wood chipper.

Until recently, crew work would have typically been "man's work." Except for the crafts, crew work had a relatively low position on the occupational scale. By and large, crew work was "lower class" and working class work, usually for the unskilled, poor, and, in some places, non-white worker. It was work which was "outdoors, hard, and dirty," often dangerous and usually poorly paid. In Minnesota, crew work also meant being exposed to a wide climatic range, and to mosquitos and other insects. In every sense, crew work was real work, old-fashioned work, and necessary work.

But what of today? How did youth and supervisors describe and understand the work crew and crew work?

Crew Work on the Program:

Youth said they were "divided into groups" and "led by crew chiefs and supervisors." Youth worked out-of-doors when the weather permitted:

> At first, they explained what the job was and put us in groups. Then they took out tools and explained what they were. When it rains, we stand over there in the tunnel until it stops. Sometimes (the supervisor) has to call the bus and we go home.

Crew work was considered "clean-up" and "left-over work" work you get "pushed into:"

> No, (we didn't have a choice about where to work). All you do is check off a lot of things. They don't care what you want, just what they think you want. All you are is a name and they feed it to a computer. They said this was the only thing open because I started late. I don't think anyone can get what they want because so many sign up at the same time.

Youth gave as examples of crew work: carrying tools, rocks, and logs; cutting grass and weeds; raking ground; picking up trash; cleaning the premises; clearing trees; building recreational fields; carrying tires; digging trails; laying bricks, and cementing:

> I make retainer walls to hold up the dirt so it doesn't wash down. The rest of my time is spent digging, cleaning up, and carrying railroad ties. I might sit around when I'm doing this. I talk about different things people did, like on their weekends. Today, I was mostly digging, (that is) putting filling in behind the retainer walls. For filling I usually use dirt, rocks, or any scrap material so the hills don't wash away. I'll probably do this all day long.

For girls in particular, crew work usually consisted of: sweeping around the work shed; painting the shed; handing out tools; answering the phone, and delivering messages:

> (The supervisor) allows people with health problems to work (in the shed). We switch off every week. But my girlfriend will stay in there. She's very lazy. The first day everyone had to pick up garbage. (This girl) didn't like that and her mother called the supervisor. She told me that her heart is not that bad. The supervisor says that he can't favor anyone too much. Today, I answered the phone. I write out how many tools someone took out. If a tool is lost, the whole crew is responsible to go out and find it. We cleaned up trash and leaves around the shed. If the supervisor doesn't say anything, we know just to sweep up. He told us to bring a book because time goes slow. We mostly talk, but we run out of words.

What Crew Work Meant to Supervisors

Supervisors of the work crews discussed the crew in the context of the worksite and the job to be done. Crews are primarily ways of organizing workers to do a job. Supervisors who used the crew form of organization seemed to do so because of a tradition that this is the "best way" to get the job done with anyone unskilled and with youth "like these."

The supervisors' view of self was one who teachers others to become workers. Supervision of the crew was seen by supervisors and crew chiefs as meaning the teaching of "good work habits "good work attitudes," and some skills. Among other things, these good habits, attitudes, and practices included coming to work on time, not being absent

without a good reason, ways of working with peers on a crew or on a team, and ways of accepting supervision, i.e., "what one needs to learn" to be a "worker" on the crew:

> These two kids would not have to have a program like this to form good work habits but it hasn't hurt them either.

What Crew Work Meant to Youth--

Youth talked about several aspects of crew work, some of which were quite meaningful:

Being Part of a Real, Meaningful Group:

> I got money, learning, friends.

> We all get along well, talk to each other as if we have known each other all our lives; it's a real close feeling with the kids on the crew.

> I wanted to work here and continue working here, because I meet a lot of different people from different places like (foster) homes.

> The kids that I work with (on the crew) make me feel good. If I was the only one working (here), there would be no possible way I would be here now.

> It makes me uncomfortable when the crew leaders yell at other kids on the crew. I guess I've learned how to make friends and how to get along with different kinds of kids. I guess I've learned what other people do.

Learning How to Cooperate and Help Others:

> One time I had a negative temper tantrum. Another worker wasn't using his abilities. I was made because I live up to his expectations of me, when he doesn't meet up to my expectations. In this kind of work it is evident that it takes more energy to do something wrong than to do it right. For example, if you carry half a load in the wheelbarrow because you're too lazy to carry one full load, it takes more energy to do the job. I didn't think it was right for this other worker to be lazy at the expense of others.

> I learned that you have to depend on everyone to help, otherwise the work doesn't get done; like carrying

logs--you can't do it yourself. We do it together, so if one person gets hurt we all get hurt.

Other workers...help us out when the supervisor tells us to do something.

The workers help me out. They are the kids--my friends--who work on the crew with me. They help me move logs, cement, rocks and frames...I can't think of anything they haven't helped me with.

Making School Credits:

We go to school on Thursday and Friday. We get two credits for high school and we get three hours' pay. We'll be done with school this week so we'll have five weeks with those days off. I like getting credits because they're for Math and Science and I'm not too good at Math...

We get credit for (going to the Learning Center). I forgot in what, but I like that.

Learning More About Money Management:

The (Learning Center) helped us out a lot to learn about banking businesses and job appointments. It might help me when I grow up, coming out of school.

They also taught us how to open a savings account. That was good for me because last year I blew my paychecks on food and entertainment.

Learning How to Build and Take Care of Neighborhood Facilities:

I learn how to make things and how to take care of them. I think it's nice that when I get older and have kids I can say to them, "I made that." And I learn how to take care of these things by watching how others destroy them. We made stuff here laying bricks, and people dug it out. It hurts.

Some aspects of crew work which youth did not find meaningful or beneficial were:

Building Facilities in Someone Else's Neighborhood for Others' Use:

(If I could change the whole summer) I would come down here and wreck this place. I do not

feel that we owned it and it didn't really matter to us whether it stood or was destroyed.

See that area over there? Friday, we worked all day filling it up with firewood. All day Friday, and they burned it up in one weekend. We built this whole firepit by hand, but we can't use it, it's not ours. I'd like to do something like this in our own neighborhood.

Not Learning Something "Real" or Useful:

I didn't get anything out of working on the crew except money.

Yes, I think we are learning something. We will be able to use these skills in the future. If we ever want to cut down a tree or a trail or whatever, we'll know how to do it.

In terms of next summer, I would not like to do anything like the Program I was in. Take me to a college and let me be a colleague of somebody. This has formed negative ideas about working for a government program.

I feel the work is fine and dandy, it gives us an education on how to use manpower without machinery. The work in the out-of-doors, but actually this accomplishes nothing because when we get another job in the future, we have no education as to how to use the sophisticated tools there. They're not here just for the money but for an education, also.

Working Hard Under Dangerous and Uncomfortable Conditions:

(All I got out of working on a crew this summer was) money, callouses, blisters, sore feet, sore shoulders, and not enough sleep!

Usually I know what to do, but with that chipper, he had to show me because if you get close and get caugth you would get sucked in and cut up into a million pieces. It would cut your head off and keep sucking you in. It sounds gross, and I don't like working with it because it reminds me of my motorcycle accident; but it was a different job, and I wanted to do it at first.

I got sawdust in my eyes, because I didn't have any goggles to wear and it was just flying in there and stinging me.

Working Under Supervisors Who Seem Unappreciative and Unfair:

> They don't make you feel like you are helping. There is no compliments after you are done. If they did compliment you and make you feel like you help, you would feel like you accomplished something.

> (I work) more than most of (the supervisors) because a lot of them just walk around. They have responsibilities, but they don't really contribute to the work like we do.

> (The supervisor) doesn't do nothing. He just yells and screams at us, stands over us, and tells us what to do.

Being "On a Program" But Not Feeling Like a Real Participant:

> NYC paid my salary (but I didn't think of myself as being on a program), only when I got that check.

> NYC (paid my salary). I feel that NYC should have just given us money because that place was absolutely useless; it was a waste of creative time. To be frank, I didn't consider myself on a job because the days of using those tools are over. The Program was a complete failure bacause of that. We worked like kids, not men and women. You wouldn't consider it a program if you don't know the people behind the program and just see the paper, like if somebody gave you a game but not the pieces, or the rules of the game without the pieces.

Discussion

Crew work is a special case in St. Paul because the phrase is associated with certain work sites and neighborhoods, with certain kinds of activities, with a certain racial mix, etc. In short, "crew work" is an important symbol in SYEP, one which has great implications to those who know the history of SYEP and earlier youth employment programs.

In our judgement, it is crucial to distinguish "the groupness" of the crew from all these other aspects. We believe that "crew" in the sense of a youth work group is an important work experience--yet we wonder if this experience is limited by the very connotation of the term, to youth and others. If surgery is decided upon, it will have to be done deftly so that youth will continue to have a variety of group work experiences.

SECTION D. WORK AS WORK, SCHOOL AND PLAY *

> I want to tell you first of all that I consider this a job and, personally, that I consider it school because I work and learn, too. We also have a recreation day. This is only on payday Friday and for one hour after lunch. The kids look forward to recreation day and can't wait for lunch to end.

Youth described their activities as similar to real work, to school and/or to play. Youth wanted an ideal job, one with equal parts of each. Youth considered activities to be "work" when they were both difficult and like the "real world."

Sometimes youth considered what they did to be like play. Often this view of work (and the view of work as "real") reflected the opinions of others, particularly parents and supervisors. Jobs which were considered most like play were thought to be "fun" and less "real." Youth with these jobs said they had few pressures and did something they liked exceptionally well:

> My dad thinks its easy. He always tells me that I have to get a real job. Maybe I'll be sitting at home and I should be at work. Nothing will happen to me for it and he knows it.

> I don't think of this as a real job. (Teaching tennis) is just what I like to do and its pretty good that it works so that I get paid for doing something I like to do. That's what I consider fun...My mom doesn't look at it as a job. She thinks it's something I play at because she doesn't consider (any kind of athletics) a job. A job, to her, is something you go to everyday and you work real hard and you sweat (something you have to go to that you don't enjoy).

Youth reported other times when work and play were integrated and play became a reward for work. The monotony of work was interrupted by "breaks" or "free-time." This could mean smoking a cigarette, watching t.v., playing frisbee or football. Some youth had special "play days" and "recreation days." Youth viewed these days as chances to "get to know each other better," and "time to do something for ourselves, together, after working all week." Supervisors who integrated work with play did so both as incentive for youth to come to work on pay day and as a way of recognizing their "youthness." Both youth and supervisors agreed that there were benefits in including a certain amount of play in the work day. However, they presented this as if the spontaneity was lost:

* For further discussion see page 180.

This year we may take extra long breaks if the day is hot; if we have worked hard, we may take a longer lunch or play touch football for a while, however, this is based on a reward system and occasionally is used to break the monotony. Last year work was more of the break (here); the only thing they accomplished was to pick up the trash. There couldn't have been much personal satisfaction or pride in that.

(The most important thing in supervising young people is) providing something different. It's important that they should have a lot of variety. They should be complimented on jobs well done, they should be shown how to do and encouraged while they're doing it, and it should be fun. Just because we're adults we need to realize that the kids working for us are kids and still need to have fun.*

Some youth went to a Learning Center two days out of the week. Because they went on field trips, heard speakers, saw films and made credits, youth considered the Learning Center more like school than work, even though they received pay for both:

When I'm not at work I'm at the Learning Center. The rest of the time I'm playing basketball.

We go to school on Thursday and Friday. We get two credits for high school and we get three hours pay. We'll be done with school this week so we'll have five weeks with those days off. I like getting credits because they're for math and science and I'm not too good at math. At school I also see films, video tapes of the job interview, field trips, and speakers. I was taken to banks and they taught me how to keep a savings account.

For many, the Learning Center was preferred because the learning was practical and the atmosphere was friendly:

We go there two days out of the week. At the learning center we go on field trips and have speakers. Its better than out here (crew) because you can get along with people easier. I like the field trips. We've gone to banks. A couple of them told us how to bank our money.

I also go on field trips. These are learning experiences...I also made an extra credit for doing a book report, which helped. I feel this is very important to my work in high school.

---

* Where is it written that adults don't play?

To some, the Learning Center also had elements which seemed like welfare because little was required of youth;

> (The classes were not beneficial). The whole thing was lousy. We were supposed to learn something about jobs. The whole set up was procrastination. We never had tests or papers; that's what I call a classroom. When they show the films you could go to sleep and nobody would care. Many did and I don't blame them (because there were no tests to take). I would like to know where we earned it. The government says, 'look what we've done, we got them off the streets, gave them a job, gave them 2 credits and an education! They set out to accomplish this. The federal government gave something to the people who are below the income guidelines. Now, the guidelines are just a way of eliminating crime because they know crime is part of the poorest neighborhoods. The intent was to postpone their reason to steal by employing 90% of them.'
>
> I had to go to the classes because I got paid for it, just like work. It was about as mandatory as the job, which wasn't mandatory. (Work has) definitely not (helped me in school). In their school they were talking about these jobs you could explore. The only way they could help me would be to survey the jobs young workers in a program want and help educate them in those specific jobs--to learn, if nothing else. To most kids, (work) would help in buying (school) clothes, but to me it is not enough. I wanted to do work up to 100% of my capacity.'

Youth's only criticism of the Learning Center was that at times the speakers were boring:

> We also got paid to go so it was worth going in spite of the fact that it was boring.

> I was told that you don't get paid for nothing you don't take part in. They all went, a lot of them looked forward to it because it was fun. At first I didn't want to go because it was boring, but then when we got back to work everybody started wishing about the Learning Center.

> The Learning Center was different places for different sites. We were there three hours a day. We didn't do that last year. We get credit for this, I forgot in what, but I like that. What was not good about this was that it was not great listening to them speakers, they're boring. I can't sit in one spot and listen to people talk and talk.

Some youth were confused by the similarity between work and school. The use of school facilities and personnel by SYEP was misleading in that youth expected work to be like school. Supervisors also noticed that some youth misjudged work in this way:

> I went to the Learning Center. I consider it both class when we had a speaker and school when we go on field trips to banks. It helped us out a lot to learn about banking businesses and job appointments. It might help me when I grow up, coming out of school.

> Kids think that because they are recruited through school and given school lunch, that it will be a picnic, but it is not; its like a regular job.

> (The kids) have learned how to take directions and can't get away with a bad-assed act. This is because teachers don't have anything over them, but I can hold the paycheck over them and make them behave appropriately.

Some of the language used at work was similar to language used at school; e.g., the youth as an "enrollee," as "absent," "tardy" or "suspended." The work place was also spoken about in the same way that the school premise was*:

> I'm supposed to be out of the building by 7:00, so I go home.

> My instructor, or supervisor, or whatever you call them, said I couldn't bring the tool back.

---

* See Chapter X regarding the transition from school to work, role continutiy and discontinuity.

Discussion

Consequences of Not Being in the Real Job World

Youth see the Program as more school-like than real-work-world-like. So what? What are the consequences of this for youth, Program, and others? It is an aphorism that things which are taken as real are real and so it is that this youth distinction is "real." The question now is "what are the consequences of this real distinction? If the distinction is real and youth act, feel, and think in terms of this difference, will they be "any worse off" for so doing?

It is conceivable that some youth will be "worse off," for they will not be able to (or will choose not to) use the Program for learning. Others will accept the difference and, as with school, will try to learn some things.

It could be that in general, youths' failure and/or inability to learn during SYEP because of their definition of SYEP as being "not the real job world" will not be a terrible problem to them, although it will be a problem to SYEP.

It is reasoned that while youth in SYEP can learn something about work orientation and work skills, those who do not use the Program "effectively" are not kept out of other programs. In other words, SYEP can be used to one's benefit, but failure to do so does not keep one out of programs, services or job markets.

The Exception

The one significant exception could follow from youth's conception of SYEP as welfare-like. Youth could now come to see themselves as "clients" and see their future as one on "welfare."* Public programs designed for those within a given economic category are at risk to similar personal and public definitions.

The extent to which youth employment programs are "residual welfare" programs and have a public image of "welfare" will no doubt

---

* (Supervisor)"Since kids see themselves on a program they know they're going to get the money anyway, and since supervisors know that since the kids are on the program they need the money and, therefore, really don't care if the kids come in or not, they still sign the time cards and give the kids the money. Kids kind of lose perspective of how the real world is. The real world isn't going to give you something for nothing...I feel sorry for these kids. They are going to get lost--the real world is going to eat them up. I wonder if in the future these kids turn to crime, get on ADC or welfare or general assistance, developing work ethics like that. Do they see the Program as being on a program?"

be related to how youth define themselves in the Program; as more client-like, as more learner-like or as more worker-like. The importance of this is best understood by remembering that client-hood is a learned set of feelings, thoughts, and acts.

Summer Youth Employment Programs

For SYEP, there may be a problem to the extent that public, administrative, and political expectations are held that SYEP will help, or youth will use SYEP to achieve a better opportunity in the work world (and thus in life) than could have happened otherwise. At the very best, only long-term program evaluation can even possibly come close to finding answer to this.

It may be that youth who do well in youth employment programs would do well in most skill development experience, while those who don't do well would be less likely to do well. If this is found to be true, it may be that SYEP will help those who "can be helped," and "push away" those "who can't or won't or aren't able to be helped." In this, SYEP may not serve well those who "most need the service or experience." This too, is a common pattern.*

Job Evaluations

Many youth had strong opinions about their jobs. Frequently implicated were the following: quality and usefulness of work, job location, interpersonal relationships, and opinions of others. Youth appreciated jobs which seemed more in line with their goals. Youth complained of jobs which were inconveniently located; some suggested compensation for travel time. Many youth found their jobs boring and tolerable only because the money was needed and alternatives were few:

> The first day was real boring...I didn't really get to see the building. They just took us to this one area and told us that that's what we'd be doing for a while until there was something else for us to do. I did that for three or four weeks and I thought I wouldn't last very long. I actually wanted to quit but I really needed the job. I thought that if the job was going to be like

---

* "We always keep or tried to keep our top-notch workers. However, I feel that some kids were hopeless or lost causes and they did not last long in the Program. I'm talking about kids who have been labeled as negative influences within their environment--bad kids, problem kids, incorrigible kids. Those were the kinds of kids that needed the Program most, but were also the kind of kids that did not last in the program. I hope that YCEEP would take a closer look at plugging those kids who really needed to work, or those kids who really needed the experience."

this all the time, I really couldn't do it that much. There was no challenge to it...It got real boring. My eyes started hurting and my butt hurt, you know, there was just no challenge. All you had to do was look in the telephone book and see if these peoples' names and addresses had changed and that's a lot of work. After a while you started squinting and you get real uneasy. I started looking forward to my breaks. I suppose (I could have gotten up more often) but then people start looking at you funny. So you just kind of sit there and get through it.

After a while it gets kind of boring. You do the same thing all the time, its no different. I don't think that (switching things) would work because this is the way (the supervisor) wants it.

Youth who had no previous work experience and youth who were doing the same kinds of jobs thought they did not have a good basis for evaluating their own work. Many were influenced by the judgements of others. As expected, youth listened to their friends and parents when making their job evaluations.

SYEP youth and their peers often compared jobs. Youth who spoke of their friends as not finding work talked most about having a job and not about the quality of the job. Youth said that independence from one's family is important at their age. Many were happy with their jobs because of this and said that many of their friends were not able to find work except with relatives.

Some youth had jobs in which the day went slowly. These jobs were commonly viewed as boring and unsatisfying. However, youth whose friends thought they worked harder than SYEP youth considered these positions enviable. One explanation for these differences could be: "When you ain't got nothing, something's good; and when you got something, something else is better."

It appears that the most important reason the job was good or bad was the quality of interpersonal relations between youth and supervisors:

Most important, it is the people you work with and how you work with them that matters if you learn anything and if you like (your job).

Youth insisted that good relations with peers and particularly supervisors influenced decisions to keep their jobs. For example, one youth turned down a position in his field of interest (library science) to continue working in maintenance with a supervisor he admired and could learn from:

> This job is a dead-end job--it has no future. I'm not learning anything from the job but I am learning from people here who are older and wiser. I really respect (my supervisor). He's a teacher and he took this job for the future because he needed money. It's interesting how he can act like a janitor when he's working as a janitor, and like a social science teacher when he's teaching. Even when he's a janitor, you can tell he is a teacher because he's explaining everything.

Some youth felt less fortunate because they had few positive contacts with those at work. As a result, youth were strongly dissatisfield with work which was otherwise meaningful to them:

> I really like my work, this is what I want to do but I don't know if I can come back here another year because of the way I am treated.

Youth evaluated their work by its importance to the agency, to peers, family, society and to self. While working, youth learned about their position in the larger social structure of their place of work; they learned how important their job was to the organization:

> (Who are these other people you talk about at work?) Are any of them more important than the others and, if so, which ones?) Clients are people that need help. They are usually worried and scared. Social workers are people who give help and offer time. A supervisor is a person that has the run of the place and really knows what's going on... (hesitation) well...then there's us...I guess we're like an answering service...Well, we sometimes put down secretary on our job descriptions for N.Y.C. The supervisor is most important, the social worker would be next...(hesitation) and then we are, then the client.

Youth also learned about occupational prestige. Some youth created their own standards of prestige among peers, yet most were aware of the social value of their work to outsiders:

> My friends think this is a high class job (maintenance aid). They always ask me, 'how did you get that job?' and I just think it's kind of a normal job, but they seem to be impressed about it.
>
> Put down maintenance, it sounds better.

Youths' personal values about their work differed. Outside opinions of youths' jobs were both consistent with and in conflict with their own values. For instance, when asked what they did, youth on crews made comments such as:

Sure, I know what to call (my work). It's sloppy, dirty work.

If you pardon my language, this job is a bullshit job, that's the only way I can describe it.

I fight against erosion. I chop down dead trees; I make for the beautification of the park.

Youth evaluated their jobs or work in terms of personal needs and wants. Some elaborated on their job in relation to their aspirations while others discussed specific goals they had at the time. Most youth had expectations of what they would gain by working. Specific objectives youth wanted to achieve were:

Money

* for a stereo system
* for parochial/private high school
* for college
* for trip to visit friend/relative
* to redecorate bedroom
* for school clothes

Experience

* in a designated field/place
* with a particular skill/talent
* with certain kinds of people

Some youths' aspirations were less specific. Oftentimes youth said they anticipated these "rewards" after talking to youth or adults with work experience:

* more money
* independence
* job experience
* something to do
* ways to meet people

Youth most commonly evaluated their work in terms of its relevancy to "the future." This could mean several things, such as: preparation for adulthood; experience and references which could be applied toward a "better job;" a testing-ground for decisions about "life" and careers; and "help" in making career and educational goals possible. When youth felt their work provided these, they considered the job "useful." Because the relation of work to "the future" is crucial to youth, several quotes are included to demonstrate how work did or did not fit youths' expectations:

If you pardon my language, (working on a crew) is a bullshit job. That's the only way I can describe it. Some of us, because of our economic status, have to be out here. I will retain absolutely nothing from it that will be beneficial later, except for working in my own yard.

I have been working on making video news shows that have news, weather, and sports. I did interviews with shopkeepers around my neighborhood. I like movie-making. I would like to act someday.

(Summer jobs) give (young people) an education for what it will be like after they leave the home.

I want to get a well-rounded education in everything you can. You won't be stupid that way and only have prepared yourself for one thing. This way I always have an ace in the hole in case something else fails.

I don't know what to go into in school and I feel that this experience will help me in that decision. I may go into landscaping because my supervisor told me there is more money in it than in horticulture.

I like it so much that this is my third year working here and I hope that maybe after I get out of high school that I'll be able to get a full time job here, because I really like working here.

I thought that by working here I'd find out whether I want to (work with people) or not as a full-time job.

I enjoy the job. I'm learning a lot, besides, I'm going to college for nursing, anyway.

I'm learning a lot of things and hope to go into OB-GYN as a career in the future.

I was sort of pushed into working on a crew. It isn't the sort of job I want to do in the future, but at least I get paid for doing it.

I think structure helps me to make decisions. That's why I like working at school. It will help show me what I like and what to take later on in college.

Many youth spoke about their job transitions, i.e., changing to a different job "on" or "off" the Program. Work experience helps youth to evaluate their jobs and work in general. In this way youth are able to

seek jobs which better fit their expectations of how much money and what kind of "experience" work should provide them. Youth who had made job transitions assessed those changes with respect to personal satisfaction. Youth cited both good and bad experiences as being reasons for their changing to or keeping a job:

On the Program-

I would not like to work on a work crew again but I knew that last year. I want to work on a program in a gym. I learned I never want to work outside. I would like to go into business and be indoors, but not really.

The director of the YCEEP Program at Johnson asked me if I wanted to work at the historical library. I said no, I didn't want to work there, I'd rather stay where I am now because I like what I'm doing and I'm learning a lot about maintenance and I feel that by the time I finish high school it would be very easy for me to get any kind of job in maintenance because of my background and also because I would get a very good reference from my supervisor.

I had a crew job last year, but I didn't want to work there. I have worked with kids before, so (the counselor) gave me some idea of what kid work was available. He asked me if I was interested in nursing work at the hospital and I said yes. I filled out an application and I got the job in pediatrics. I like the job because I like kids and this is where I want to be.

Off the Program -

(Crew) I want to go into something worthwhile, like business.

I might not go back on NYC next year. I would rather take a job as a nursing assistant because I have the experience and they pay more than NYC.

(Youth) (I'm) not really (learning anything anymore). I wish I was. (That's not a reason for my wanting another job.) I'm kind of learning as I get older that I have to be better financially. There is more to do with your money. I already knew a lot about the job before I came here... I'm going to apply somewhere else so I can have a better job (more money) and better things. I am saving for a car now and if I had a better job it would be easier to buy the car.

(Supervisor) If he could get a full-time job at the place where he now has a part-time job, there would be a chance of him getting raises and promotions. I would encourage him to do so and to get off the Program.

Another way youth evaluated their jobs was in regard to the purpose of their work they did during the summer. Many wanted their work to be mostly youth-oriented rather than program-oriented:

I wasted (my summer), nothing ever came of it. I expected to be able to use it sometime later on (but) very few go back on that line of work (crew). The purpose of the Program was (supposedly) to get us to work like men and women, not like kids. (However, I now see the purpose as) preventing crime. This way, every two weeks we got a pay check, so we stay off the streets for money. In the process we don't learn anything. They give us $2.30 an hour not to rob them but just because I won't rob you doesn't mean that someone else won't. The government is not stupid but I am not stupid either.

Youth and supervisors gave suggestions for improving the Program in a way which shifts the emphasis to youth. The following subheads categorize and introduce their suggestions:

Job Mobility

Changing to new and different work and exposure to a variety of learning experiences helped youth make decisions as to what kind of work is best for them. Because youth have relatively little experience with work, many are unaware of the possibilities available to them. Often times youth said they engaged in a variety of activities so they could get good exposure to a field of work rather than one certain task. Those who had no such opportunity were less certain about their work being suitable:

(Youth) We have chances to do different jobs so we can learn what each one is like. We rotate every Monday.

(Supervisor) My first objective is to try to expose the students to all aspects of horticulture, such as gardening, landscaping, lawn and maintenance care, taking care of the nursery,and work in the greenhouse. I try to provide an atmosphere so the kids know whether or not they would like it as a career and don't get disappointed later after they find out what it's really like to do this kind of work.

(Supervisor) The most important part of my job as her supervisor is making sure that she does get a balance of

work experience. I feel very strongly that she should be getting a variety of work experience so she can gain exposure to the field of nursing... I'm guided by (this) purpose of the Program and am more concerned for her (exposure) than in getting the clinic work done.

(Youth) I knew the past director. He gave me the application. I went to him and said I was interested in working with kids (in the future), especially educational things, and said is there a possibility I can work here to see if I like it and he said sure, so he told me to go talk to his assistant, who told me about the NYC program and adult education program, community service education program. I took (an application) home and talked with my family about it. They (older brother and sister) helped me fill out the form and sent it back in and it said yes. I really didn't qualify for NYC but I qualified for the special community education thing.

(Youth) This job isn't hard. It's not as if I'm breaking my back to do this. It's good (but) I wouldn't want to stay in this kind of job because I have a short temper. If I ask a kid to do something, there would be one or two kids with a smart mouth. I'd have to chase them and run them out. I've never looked at anything different than recreational stuff.

Job mobility enabled youth to acquire new interests and discover new personal and professional pursuits:

(Youth) This job has really made me interested in teaching. Now I'd like to take some childcare courses or psychology courses at school when before I didn't want to.

(Youth) The classes (I'm taking) are alright. I'm learning quite a bit. Before I wasn't off into art, I think I like it and I will take it in school or later on.

Economic Mobility

Youth aspired to jobs which could improve their economic status. Therefore, work hours and pay became an important consideration, as did the skills they learned. Youth were critical of jobs which did not seem to fit these needs, particularly jobs which could become obsolete or marginal. Supervisors and parents also supported equitable pay, increased hours, and economically useful work:

(Guardian) I don't think the job should have quit when it did. It should have continued up to Labor Day. The kids

don't have anything constructive to do. Park and recreation facilities are not open; they're closed early and on Sunday. All they try to instill in them is athletics. To hell with athletics--give them a classroom; even summer school is only six weeks long.... I just felt the Program wasn't long enough. Six weeks is not enough time to get into the job. If you don't like it at the end of six weeks, you still don't like it.

(Supervisor) I feel that the organizations that sponsor (youth) should pay a cash bonus to (them). For instance, the school doesn't have to pay out any money for the kids and they do a lot of work. I don't think it's fair that the organizations or sponsors didn't have to pay any money. I also don't think it was fair that kids on the Program got paid the same amount, although they had a variety of jobs. I heard of some girls working for the _____ who sat around in an air conditioned office all day and occasionally answered the phone; and then there's kids who worked under me who had to do a lot of hard work, like scrubbing the floors or scraping the wax off the floors. I don't think this was fair. Other people should be more in touch; such as the supervisor above me, (so they can) pass on the information that a kid was doing a good job and should have a raise, or go to another job if the kid could do better at that other job. But with the federal government, it loses its personal touch. (One of my youth) is very intelligent and it would be better for him to be in a different job.

(Youth) I wanted to go to a private school and to make that possible I had to get a job to help. Money means a lot to kids who want to work. They like money for activities. The experience will also help in later life and because they had a job when they might have a better advantage in the future. About half of my friends work.

(Youth) (Kids) work mostly for the money, to buy stuff they've always wanted. For me, it's something to do with money but it's also just something to do. They're about the same. The job is good enough. Last year, I'd blow my whole paycheck. I started spending it on better stuff instead of wasting it, like on clothes. I used to go to the store and buy food and go to restaurants all the time.

(Youth) Because this job is so low-paying and because my father is a truck driver who makes enough money to keep off welfare but not enough for us (kids) to be able to afford some of the things we want, I had to get another job (in addition to the Program) on weekends so I can pay for my clothing and college tuition.

(Youth) Why don't they give us a job that will make us use our brain, not physical labor. Fifty years from now there is not going to be anyone doing construction work. In our technological society, it is beneficial to use computers. In the future you're not going to go out and dig a hole in the ground for work. You will have to use your brain to make money. I think the forest should be cleaned out, but can't we go to Control Data and learn from them? We could do both, fifty-fifty. When you are around nature, man's natural instinct is to survive. We know how to use nature, let us learn how to use our brains. Where are the big strong men that the state department and city hired to keep these parks clean.

Work Incentive

To some, the Program seemed like welfare because the ways for youth to develop work incentive were insufficient. Supervisors suggested that increases in work hours, improved job placement, along with small raises in pay could provide incentive and thus benefit youth:

(Supervisor) If (youth) have an incentive, they'll work harder. But with federal programs they just get a certain amount of money--24 hours a week--and nothing they do can change that or make it better.

(Supervisor) The federal government doesn't provide any incentive for (youth) to work harder. Adults realize they're working for money and that they can get a raise and get a promotion but this doesn't exist on the Summer Youth Employment Program and I feel it should. (Youth) need an incentive to work harder.

(Supervisor) I would like to see some kind of incentive for the kids to better (such as) getting a raise. I feel more hours would be helpful. The kids can't get in enough hours and don't make that much money on the Program. I find that working in a one to one relationship with a kid is better because kids will see (by) working with me (that they could) try to do a better job for me as an incentive. My suggestion is that the supervisors be allowed to evaluate the people that we're supervising. This would provide some incentive for the kids to do a better job if they could get a positive evaluation. Even a nickel raise would be something for the kids to work for.

(Supervisor) It would be good if the Program could be set up so (youth) could work towards a more ideal job. For

example, if (the youth) working for me is interested in horticulture and did a good job with this janitorial job this summer, then next summer (the youth) could possibly get a job working with horticulture. This would be incentive for (the youth) to do a better job.

Employment Interests

Youth, supervisors, and parents greatly emphasized the importance of job placement for SYEP youth. Supervisors felt they would benefit by working with youth who had motivation or competence in their work. Youth would benefit by knowing where their strengths and interests lie. In many cases, youth wanted greater participation in their job placement process. Some youth were able to define career goals and were most satisfied when they were placed accordingly. Some excelled in areas which were not a part of their work and considered their talents "wasted." A final quote is included as an example of a good job placement, and to demonstrate that this does occur:

(Youth) Everyone told me I had to wait until I was 18 to work in electronics, but at home I'm doing a lot of work in electronics--I'm constructing a (stereo) receiver for myself and doing a lot of repair work.

(Youth) There's some guy from the Program who comes out every second week asking some questions. I think he is interested in how I am doing in the Program. I think he's trying to find a job for me that's closer to my house, and closer to what I'm interested in doing.

(Youth) I don't feel good about leaving to work here (maintenance) when I really like electronics. This job is a dead-end job; it has no future. I don't think I can learn very much from this job.

(Supervisor) I would like to make the Program available to all kids; I'd cut out the financial requirement. I would try to get as many jobs as I could in as many different fields as I could. Another thing is that I'd throw out the clause about non-profit organizations because they seem to be the ones to get the most kids and it's really bad for the kids because kids' interests vary so much. It is actually hard for them to work in a heart foundation or the YMCA and just do secretarial work. I think that these people, whoever they are, federal or state job recruiters, should actually go out and get into some of these private corporations and get young people actually into fields of endeavor they are really interested in because that is very important.

(Youth) In their school (Learning Center) they were talking about these jobs you could explore. The only way they could help me would be to survey the jobs young workers in a program want and help educate them in those specific jobs to learn, if nothing else, how to use all kinds of tools.

(Supervisor) I think the Program, from what I know of it, is really very good. I agree with the idea of giving experience and pay to young people. I think that is the best way (for them to) make career choices. I think one thing that needs to be done is to find out before job placements are made whether particular young people are really interested in the job they are being sent to. There are several supervisors with YCEEP workers in the hospital who have young people who are unmotivated and not very competent at their work. I think it's important that the Program take the responsibility of sending kids (to their work places) who are motivated (to work there).

(Youth) Since June of 1976 I had been working in the _____library with the YCEEP program. I liked the job okay but wanted something that would give me more experience in research, more direct experience. So, I talked to my supervisor there and she called around several places and (two were) in the Forestry Department. She lined up the job interviews for me and told me that I could have my pick of either job. I went to the first interview and I didn't like the kinds of things that I would be doing there. So I went over to the second interview and decided that I would like that type of work a lot more than at the first place. I'm going to the Minneapolic Technical Institute...and felt the more kind of research experience I had, the better. I've really learned a lot. I have been interviewed by a woman from Washington, D.C. about the YCEEP Program. I guess it's because I'm one of the best ones.... I think I have one of the best jobs you could get on the YCEEP Program.

Finally, youth felt it important to comment on the meaning of work for young people, their likes and dislikes. The following list sums up some phrases they used:

Summer employment means:

* savings
* my own money

* money coming in
* freedom, independence
* status
* a place where I like to hang out
* work
* responsibility
* a good experience
* to get something you must give something
* money for things and entertainment
* bikes, food, clothes, stuff for relatives
* trip to see my brother
* field trips
* having something I've always wanted (job)
* a way to help out my family
* making a credit for school
* learning and education for the future
* boredom
* interesting work
* finding out what work and the real world is like
* terrible food
* money, callouses, blisters, sore feet, sore shoulders, and not enough sleep
* a safe, convenient place to work
* practical experience in my field
* an advantage over other kids
* getting to be a part of things
* community work
* help in making decisions about the future
* friends--getting to meet a lot of different people
* learning to understand people of different ages
* money for school (trade, vo-tech, college, private)
* a way to find out what I'm interested in doing with my life
* preparation for the future--an ace in the hole

LIKES

* working directly with children, animals, people
* working at a place where I like to hang out
* thinking about other things while I'm working on something boring
* freedom and status of working
* money coming in
* jobs which help me for the future
* having a job that relates to my interests
* being able to pick where I work
* getting along with people at work
* feeling important, like somebody
* sun and exercise, not excessive
* knowing a lot about my work place
* flexibility in work hours--for vacations, or special arrangements--time off if they make it up, additional work hours if they are needed, especially through the fall
* getting job backgrounds and references
* when supervisors help, when they do equal amounts of work
* field trips
* not having to break my back working
* having something to do besides sit around all summer
* having a "play day" or "recreation day"
* feeling like I am part of the place where I work
* sharing according to the amount of energy which was put into the project
* having supervisors give me credit for what I know/have learned
* being respected verbally, physically
* being depended on
* meeting people from different places, of different backgrounds, particularly my age
* being able to know and work with both adults and children
* learning things that help me make decisions about what to do after high school
* getting to be a part of everything, being shown how decisions are made and participating in them instead of being told what to do without explanation/inclusion
* being able to bring outside people to work and show them around
* earning school credits
* group participation in activities, including supervisors
* having supervisors who set good examples
* having fun too
* working at a place that is conveniently located--close to home
* having free access to work money if needed
* being able to transfer to another job when the people are hard to get along with or when the job is dead end.
* direct experience in my field

* learning how to make things and how to care for them
* being able to do things on my own, not having anyone standing over me
* just being able to have a job
* being able to talk with supervisors, ask questions, discuss problems, make suggestions for improvements, just be friendly
* talking with different people on the phone at work and getting to meet them
* being able to feel like there's a future at a place where they've worked for a long time
* having some free time at work
* feeling like I'm helping other people
* being able to observe teachers part of the time (jobs at schools, day care centers, or centers for handicapped)
* classes/instructors included in Program
* being checked up on during the summer by an outsider who is interested in how things are going for me
* being able to express myself at work without being punished
* having breaks when they are needed
* being able to joke around with supervisors sometimes--not being punished for making jokes with each other when it is not disrespectful
* being noticed for work I initiated on my own
* being complimented and appreciated--feeling like I am helping
* learning how other people live
* working with the handicapped and realizing they're human, too
* having things explained to me
* knowing what the other people at work do
* getting help when I need it
* having a job that my parents and I can be proud of
* getting a chance to learn how to safely use equipment that is usually prohibited (trucks, tractors, wood chippers, etc.)
* being able to help my family with finances
* learning how to make friends
* being able to do what I want after I finish my work
* when work is boring, having a slow day so I can do what I want
* learning useful skills
* the security of knowing someone at work
* contributing toward my own neighborhood--doing things that I can show to others in later years
* learning good work habits
* learing proper ways to use tools and equipment
* being able to earn money for my education
* helping other kids who need money to get jobs
* being asked what I know instead of always being told what supervisors know
* being able to do a little research concerning my work--especially if I get credit

* seeing progress with work, places, and people
* organized activities at work
* learning how to teach other people about something I like
* learning how other people live and work
* learning how to relate to people personally/professionally
* being recognized from other years
* being satisfied from working

DISLIKES

* filthy work
* extremely difficult work
* being bossed around
* being bad-mouthed by people at work when I don't deserve it
* having to work so much that it hampers my social and family life
* not having time for other things because of work
* not being able to use modern equipment on crew sites
* not being trusted with all the responsibilities a task requires
* learning skills that are obsolete
* only getting paid and not being educated in something useful
* not getting paid on time
* not getting lunch on time or at all
* when others don't do their fair share of the work
* being told what to do and not asked
* not having a choice about what I do
* that people who get paid more don't have to work more
* having to be rushed
* being hurt and not having anyone to believe it and help me
* being told to do something that's too hard
* bad attitudes and threats--disrespect
* physical or verbal abuse
* being promised work conditions that aren't later allowed
* being left out of interesting things at work because of having worked there other years
* being expected to do things I've never been shown or taught
* being expected to do too much
* supervisors who make racial/sexual preferences
* having to follow supervisors around when I already know what to do
* not being able to show responsibility or leadership
* being so tired after work that I don't feel like doing anything except watch t.v.
* working so far from home that I spend too much time travelling and don't get compensation
* terrible food at work
* girls having to do strenuous crew work, or not having to do it and feeling guilty because others do
* lazy supervisors
* not having enough choices on job placement--picking something and not getting it
* working with kids who don't accept me because of my age, sex, race, or school
* wasting a lot of time looking for a job and not getting one

* knowing kids who need money and can't work because their parents won't let them, they can't find a job or can't get on a program
* having to depend on parent(s) for money
* having to sit in one spot and do one thing--not being able to get up and move around
* boring work--no challenge
* losing motivation to work because of a slow or dull job
* doing the same thing all the time; no variety
* having to start work at 8:00 a.m.
* low pay, no chance for a raise
* jobs which don't fit interests
* jobs with "no future--" "dead-end"
* being punished for things supervisors are responsible for
* being taken advantage of by supervisors who use their power to control kids
* not being able to offer explanations for behavior which is criticized or punished
* having to work more than other kids at my job
* being punished for something when I didn't know I shouldn't be doing it
* feeling pressured because staff/supervisors didn't pace their work properly
* being afraid to make mistakes
* having to ask questions before I do anything so I don't get punished
* when I feel bad vibes but no one tells me why
* being the scapegoat
* being blamed for things that don't go well for others
* being talked about behind my back
* having a job that embarrasses me
* having a job I'm not proud of and don't want people to know about
* not doing anything because I am lazy/bored
* working under dangerous conditions
* having to give a portion of my paycheck to my parents
* having friends and relatives beg money off of me
* being cheap labor for the government
* making mistakes
* being yelled at for making mistakes
* having to find a second job because I need more hours
* when the supervisor is in a grouchy mood
* when people fight
* having to pull the load for others--seeing them not working up to their full potential
* being insulted or embarrased by someone at work

* feeling insecure or unsafe when working in a different neighborhood
* seeing things vandalized/destroyed, not understanding why
* improving facilities outside their community and not being able to share them
* watching other people get punished and not knowing or accepting the reasons
* being expected to do more than I'm able
* having to give myself credit for what I do because no one else does
* supervisors taking minimum responsibilities and not contributing to the work itself
* when younger kids act wise or disrespectful and setting bad examples for the children around them
* parents/adults not considering what I do to be a real job
* parents/adults thinking my work can't be fun or enjoyable to be real
* having too much work dumped on me at once

SECTION E. KNOWING "WHAT TO DO"

Youth gave a variety of explanations of how they came to know what to do at work. Some youth knew what to do because they were simply told to do a specific thing. Others related complex strategies for learning what to do, strategies which they often took for granted. All said they were told what to do.

Most youth saw their own personal development as related to learning and "knowing".* Supervision was seen as crucial for this learning process. At first, youth wanted "close supervision", but they later wanted less assistance and more responsibility. Youth saw the process of "loosening up" on supervision as correlated to their learning and competence.

The following are some ways youth said they came to know what to do:

* Someone tells me what to do and how to do it.
* Supervisor gives me orders or directions.
* By getting ideas from others.
* By being told at a meeting.
* I do what they want so they notice.
* I learned what others expected of me.
* It depends on what work is left from other days.
* It's routine - I know my routine.
* I expect certain things on certain days.
* From training - orientation.
* I follow a specific set schedule.
* From a list of things to do.
* From being assigned to something or someone.
* I'm given work by someone.
* I know from other days of work.
* I know the ropes.
* From experience.
* You learn as you go along.
* By asking questions.
* From watching people and films.

---

*These are ways youth described the value of knowledge regarding development: "Someone fixed it who knew all about it"; "I watched another kid who knows what he's doing"; "Another girl showed me who knew how..."; "I didn't have any choices at first but now I know how to do it and can do the way I think is best."; "No one tells me what to do. I know myself."; "I know more than they think I know."; "When I am asked to do something I know exactly how to do it."; "One of the supervisors acts like I don't know anything."; "You asked me what I know but they just tell me what they know."; "No one helps me out. I do it myself. I know what to do."; "If I was in control, I would spend 3 weeks teaching them how to use material. After that, they would have that knowledge when they worked."; "I learned a lot about myself and what I know."

* From observing things around me.
* I have a program to follow.
* Someone has shown me.
* I follow a plan.
* I do it on my own.
* I found something to do.
* It comes easy/naturally.
* I have a feel for it.
* There's nothing to know.
* I don't know.
* I've read books about it.
* I can tell where others need me.
* I choose from kids' suggestions.
* I make my own worksheets and lesson plans.
* We get together and decide.

Many youth viewed themselves as active in deciding what to do at work. At the same time, youth unanimously portrayed supervisors as "giving orders, assignments and schedules" which instructed them as to what they "should, must, ought to, have to do:"

> The supervisor told us (what to do). We can't disobey that way.

> In the morning the instructors tell me what to do but when I finish I find something to do on my own. I don't ask the instructors, but I do the things they want so it's noticeable.

Youth talked about "knowing what to do" in two terms--their actions and others' actions, e. g., "what I know because I'm told" vs. "what I know on my own;" "what they decide" vs. "what I decide on my own":

> The head teacher here likes to have certain things done. She writes them down and we follow a plan, I guess, and the rest of the stuff I do on my own.

> My supervisor usually tells me but most of the time, since I've been here two years, nobody really has to tell me anything. I like to do things on my own.

A Strategy

Many youth said that asking questions was a primary way of learning. Youth understood question-asking as a skill, one crucial to their learning the job and the larger culture of work. Youth often felt it necessary to take initiative and ask questions, even when they did not believe this to be encouraged or permitted by supervisors. While youth found that asking questions was important on many occasions, it seemed to them most necessary during the beginning of the summer when there where many new things to learn:

> In the beginning, I didn't know what to do at all. I just paid close attention to what I was shown and told and asked a lot of questions. I asked questions mostly of the people I follow around--the clinic supervisor and the clinic attendant.
>
> There weren't any orientation materials and she learns her whole job by watching people and asking questions.
>
> I used to have to ask what to do, but now it is all routine and I don't need any assistance.

Youth stressed the importance of asking questions, both in order to achieve something good:

> If I need help, all I have to do is ask.
>
> I asked to be moved to key punch.

and also to prevent something "bad:"

> Sometimes I ask before I do things I don't know a lot about so I don't get into trouble.

The questions youth felt they "had" to ask were "how to" and "may I" questions, i.e., permission:

> Anytime I didn't know what was happening I asked questions.
>
> If there's something I don't know how to do, I can ask my supervisor and she'll show me.
>
> If I don't know what needs to be done, I ask. Like if the weeds are high, I might ask if I can chop them down.

A Second Strategy

Youth used a second strategy in learning about work: "watching" or observing. Youth usually "watched" other people, particularly ones who were doing the same kinds of things expected of themselves. Many learned by watching films and movies:

> (I learned what to do) from training at the beginning...I saw films...In the beginning I mostly watched the person that was going to leave after I started--this was the other NYC worker. I picked up things from watching her and also asked her some questions. I spent the day mostly observing.

It was found that youth did not talk about "listening" as a way of learning. On one occasion, a youth answered that she learned how to "get the job" by listening.* However, in all other cases, youth reported this as "being told." This is a subtle, crucial point:

> They told me what to do; they told me what my general duties were.
>
> (The supervisor) tells all the workers what we're going to do and a day ahead or in the morning when we get there. At the beginning of the week, on Monday, we have a meeting. He tells us what our jobs will be.
>
> My supervisor mostly tells me and I watch and other people around give me ideas or tell me what I should do...she tells me where they need me.
>
> My supervisor tells me (what to do). I come up here in the daytime and we have a regular routine (for certain things) but, basically, my supervisor tells me everything that I'm supposed to do. What she tells me to do, I do it.

Some youth felt that most often they did not know what to do until they were told, while others had no such "problem":

> ("How do you know what to do?") I just wait for people to tell me.
>
> Today I just waited for my boss to get here so I'd know what to do.
>
> My supervisor just tells me. She says, today we're going to do this in the morning and when we get there that is what we do. If there are any changes or anything, she just says it as we go along.

Youth interpreted simply being told what to do in different ways. There are several explanations for these individual interpretations. Some did not want to have many choices. They preferred to have expectations clearly outlined. Youth had different "needs" and capacities for showing independence and initiative. Finally, some youth were so satisfied with their tasks that they were willing to do the work with little concern for the way it was supervised:

---

*I listened. They have announcements at school. They tell you a certain time when you can get these things done. I knew how to do it because I listened.

> They tell me what to do. When you get out here in the morning, they say, "We're going to do this today." You don't have no say in what you want to do. They say, "I'll give you a choice to do it, or else." To me, that ain't no choice. You either do it or you get suspended or fired.

Another stated:

> It's kind of like I have my own responsibilities. I get a job told to me by (my supervisor) and I go through the whole process myself of doing whatever he tells me to do...I like doing it. It gives me the chance to be kept busy, it gives me a chance to do what I want to do. In other words, I can do it myself at my own rate of speed and I enjoy it. Before when I was typing, all I did was sit in one place and do just one thing. Now I get to move around and do a whole process of things.

Some youth did what they were "told to do" because they enjoyed the task or work. Those who did not enjoy the work said they responded because there was no "real choice." The latter youth complained of feeling "mistreated," "unimportant," "bored," or "confused." They also felt uninvolved with and unaware of the larger culture at the work place. The following is one example:

> I work with kids, ages 5 - 18. I just work with them. I don't really know what I'm supposed to do. (What have I done today?) I don't know, the same thing I do everyday. It turns out to be a regular routine. I like this job but it's boring.

Youth, regardless of where they worked or what kind of work they were doing, recalled being told or shown what to do by someone on some occasion.* The instructor could have been either an adult or another youth. Youth, unlike supervisors, did not acknowledge youth instructors as "leaders" but rather as "another kid who knows what to do" or "had more experience." Youth recognized these individuals as having "gained expertise" by virtue of having worked longer; they referred to them as "the one who worked all winter," "the NYC worker I was replacing," and "another kid who works year-round."

---

*Some youth said they knew what to do because their supervisor gave them written instructions, such as lists, signs, and information boxes. Youth disliked this kind of communication and thought their supervisors didn't consider them mature or intelligent. At one site SYEP youth were so insulted by this kind of supervision that they all changed jobs.

"People who tell me" are described by youth as being those individuals who have more authority or more knowledge:

*A nurse tells me...
*Another kid tells me who knows when to serve lunch.
* My supervisor tells me...
* The older kids tell me...
* The crew leaders tell me...

Youth often view these people as part of a hierarchy or "line" of people:

> The leaders tell me if there's going to be a break. They're the older kids. The supervisor tells them. The supervisor might tell me what to do, but usually the leaders do it.

> He said that he has kind of a "line of people" who tell him what to do or who he finds out what to do from. First, he checks with his direct field supervisor. Next (are the people in) the main office. Then he asks around for the other people that he works with, if there are things that they would like him to do, and last he asks the technicians. And if nothing comes up out of all those things, he goes to the pile on his desk.

> You have to obey all of them, you can get fired by all of them. One is over the other, but that has nothing to do with us; they all have power and authority over us.

Youth began to feel so much a part of their work worlds that they soon took for granted the very things which at first may have seemed "scary" or "confusing":

> My first day I was scared, because the first time I came there, the supervisor asked if I was sure I wanted this job. I said yes. She asked me again and I said no. She told me to go home and think about it. I did and when I came back, I was scared because I didn't think I'd do well; the supervisor said that it wasn't the easiest job I could get. I thought I'd have to type in the office or that there would be smaller kids. (Now, I think that) this job isn't hard. It's not as if I'm breaking my back to do this. It's good.

> I thought I would never be able to remember it all.

How Did I Learn What To Do?

(The first day) I was kind of scared. It was my first job and I thought it was something big and neat, a great opportunity. I expected to be really busy all the time, but I'm not really as busy as you would think. Now I feel relaxed.

Youth also began to take for granted the complexity of their "knowing what to do" and soon translated these strategies into the all-encompassing notion of "experience:"

(I know what to do by) experience. I've been here for three years.

I know by experience. If you see something and you know what to do, you do it because you want to and you know how.

When youth "felt experienced", they wanted more responsibility and independence. Opportunities to assert what they knew seemed insufficient:

When I am asked to do something, I know exactly how to do it. One of my supervisors acts like I don't know anything. I believe he wants me to follow him around....You ask me what I know but they just tell me what they know.

I know what to do. I can do what I have to do without anybody telling me how to do it but they tell me anyway.

My supervisor usually tells me, but most of the time nobody really has to tell me anything. I like to do things on my own...I don't like for people to stand up over me.

Youth who "felt experienced" also spoke of "knowing the routine". In this sense, they saw work as both boring and commonplace. Many youth knew what to do because tasks and expectations varied little from day to day. Youth who viewed work as "routine" found supervisory assistance unnecessary and paid little attention to it when offered:

I used to have to ask what to do, but now it is all routine and I don't need anyone's assistance.

It's kind of like a routine thing where I don't have to ask anybody what to do. I really don't have to be told. I decide mostly on my own with the help of the kids.

Youth who stayed in the Program or worked more than one year at the same place spoke about becoming more experienced with everyday

life at work as well as with their skills. Knowing more about work and the work place helped youth adjust to work; youth learned how to adapt to the physical and mental requirements of work, i.e., they learned how to become workers. Not all of youth's "adaptations" would be considered positive:

> Young people use inflammatory terminology toward supervisors. They don't use it back towards us but they don't correct us on it either. I feel it's bad grammar and does nothing to increase your vocabulary.
>
> I learned how to use swear words more. I learned those little four-letter words. I think it's normal for people to swear; it's a way of getting your point across.
>
> Mood is very important. To work with these little kids, you have to be in a good mood. I mean you can't be tired and really angry because you seem like you take it out on the kids.
>
> We don't have enough nerve to sing like the slaves did. But we do have enough nerve to procrastinate and case other people. Casing uses inflammatory language. You look for flaws (in a person), anything that is irregular. That's what we do to keep from being upset all the time. If you can take your mind off things it is effective and time goes faster. We get on (some people) for being ugly. We talk about Gypsy and that rag he ties around his head.
>
> I've learned to go to bed early. I've found that I need a good night's rest in order for me not to run myself ragged on the job.
>
> (When I started working here two years ago) I always had the impression that you always had to be on your toes. I had believed my mother and didn't loaf, but now I might stand around when it's hot. Then, I didn't have time to think about it being hot. Now I am older and know some tricks. (These are) things that you can do and you wouldn't want the supervisors to know about: 1) when I am hot and thirsty, I tell them I'm going to the bathroom, but instead go into the office and drink water; 2) when the boss goes away, I stop working for a while but I don't want to get caught and have them think that I do this all the time; 3) sometimes during canning, I grab an apple and eat it while I work; 4) when going to the bathroom I take a handful of grapes and eat them down by the lake; 5) about a half hour before break, me and about five other

people would light up one cigarette and have two or more drags apiece. One who didn't smoke would stand up by the trees and say, "D like in dog", when one of the supervisors was coming. We used this signal because one time, when he was telling us his first name which starts with a D, he said, "D like in dog. Don't you forget it." The second signal is "cow", because C is the initial of the other supervisor. When he says this, everyone scrambles.

SECTION F. ON THE JOB

Introduction

The following section includes brief discussions of four topics which concern youths' experiences on-the-job. They are: sex and sexism, race and racism, supervision, and safety. A follow-up study designed to look at this aspect of the Program has been funded by the Department of Economic Security as of January 1978. Select data from a further analysis of supervisors' interviews will be available after a SYEP evaluation workshop held in March 1978.

1. SEX AND SEXISM

It was found that sex and sexism were topics of interest and concern to youth and to others in SYEP. "Sex" is a normal, healthy topic for youth and, as such, is a topic of conversation and a motive for some of their behavior. "Sexism" as used here means the illegal or immoral use of gender in the assignment of work tasks, in how a person is supervised, or in other aspects of the work environment. "Sexism" can be a "state of mind" and/or it can be a set of rules or social norms and present practices. Given the Women's Movement and our laws, "sexism" as a topic of inquiry is necessary and appropriate in an evaluation study.

Clearly, youth spoke about sex differences among themselves. These discussions were both work-related and non-work-related. Among the topics youth discussed was the placement of boys and girls on formerly all-male work crews and the differential task assignments. For example, at one site, boys worked outside while girls worked inside the crew shed answering telephones.

Some supervisors obviously treated boys and girls differently in relation to task assignment. Clearly, some supervisors were uncomfortable with girls at their work site and some parents and friends of girls would have preferred them to be assigned elsewhere, i.e., to more typical "girl jobs." Outside the crew sites, girls had positions in a variety of other settings and no sexist allegations were heard or learned about. It seems, then, that sexist practices were carried on at certain work sites and that these were the sites which were traditionally male-oriented, i.e., crew sites. It is not certain that this is true for all crew sites.

In conclusion, we accept that such practices occurred and probably more often than we learned about. Some effort could be made to talk with youth and supervisors about "sexism on the job." It should be noted that there are rules which regulate the age at which certain tools can be used. Clearly, "age" and "race" join sex as three characteristics which are often difficult to separate in assessments of sexism.

2. RACE AND RACISM

Race is talked about by youth and supervisors of all racial and ethnic groups. It is a common and omnipresent topic, particularly salient to those who have had no "close" friendship or work experience or even frequent "contact" with those who are a different race. This is not evidence of racism. Some evidence was found that suggests some youth assignments were made to avoid "racial trouble." Some youth interpreted certain work assignments in racial terms. Supervisors seemed to use race as a criterion in selecting youths. Selection based on race was used both to include and exclude youth.

Overall, race as a topic was more obvious to us than was racism. Racial differences were a topic of intense interest but were not always discussed. Supervisors should, in our judgment, be trained and supported in having discussions about this.

3. SAFETY

Safety was a matter of great importance at some work sites such as hospitals and sites where youth worked with power tools. We found, however, that youth and supervisors in most settings do not consider safety to be an issue. Some had discussed safety, particularly on the first work day, however, youth were not very concerned and do not always dress or behave safely even when they know how to. Some youth attribute this to the examples set by supervisors, for instance, wearing sandals to the crew site, or not enforcing suggested safety measures.

Three direct questions asked about safety were heard by youth as referring to crime, race, and work. Some youth and supervisors spoke about safety as being in a "careful mood" and a "safe frame-of-mind." Safety was also related strictly to danger, dangerous things, and dangerous ways of acting. Many youth thought they worked safely only because they had "never been hurt" or "never had an accident." This seems to be a rather narrow, preventative conception.

Safety was most widely interpreted as "rules to follow" about what not to do as well as what to do. These were considered adult rules, "their rules." There was no sense of youth participation in rule formulating and monitoring.

The use of chemicals (alcohol and drugs) at work was a "quiet topic" and one we believe should be made explicit. It could be that "safety" is the language used at times to talk about the use of chemicals on the job. We did not learn about supervisors' use of chemicals during work (although other personal behavior on and off the job was noticed by youth). We did learn that youth "got high" during work, although supervisors frequently avoided the topic. Judging from the data, there was an absence of open talking about chemical usage and safety. This is an important issue not to be overlooked in discussions of youth and work, as is the whole language of safety, particularly phrases such as "frame-of-mind" or "safety-minded."

4. SUPERVISION

Supervision was another important issue on the job. The word "supervisor" is a position title and a function title. It does not necessarily refer to the person who works directly with youth. Terminology used on work sites for adult "supervisors" was inconsistent and could be clarified.

Youth who had slow, routine jobs usually did not see their supervisors very often and were unaware of their responsibilities. Most other youth, particularly those on crews, thought they worked more than their supervisors, and many felt that the difference in participation and pay was unequitable. Youth also acknowledged supervisors as "doing different things" or a "different kind of work."

The quality and type of supervision greatly influenced the way youth understood and enjoyed their work. Youth often complained of unreasonable punishment and accusations and thought they were not able to communicate with their supervisors the way they wanted to. Youth observed supervisors carefully and had judgments of their behavior, standards, and character. Youth were clear as to the kind of supervisor or supervision which was most effective for them in terms of work, learning, friendship, and interpersonal skill development.

SECTION G. WHAT DO YOU DO AFTER WORK?

What happened To You During The Time You Weren't Here Yesterday?

Youth talked about the places they went, things they did and people they saw when they were not working. Social and family life was most important to youth; many commented on how work affected their interpersonal relationships and the time spent with friends and family:

> Because I'm working 24 hours a week I don't get to do nearly as many things with my friends as I would like, but I wouldn't give up my work for anything.
>
> (My friends) really don't mind (that I'm not around much because of work because) most of them work also.
>
> I can honestly say that my social life is bad (because of work) but my work and family life is getting better.
>
> Mom mom likes (my job in the school library) because I don't have to leave school early to go to work. I work during school, right in school. She likes it because I'm around the house more often, plus I'm getting paid.
>
> (Nothing's changed at home.) When I get home I rest. My parents come home and they leave again for work, so my parents come home and they leave again for work, so my family only has a few hours of leisure time. They have never been really close, we have never had time.
>
> (I don't know how my parents feel about my owrk) I really don't get to see (them) much when I am working and they are working too. The only time I see my mother is when she gets home at night at 10 o'clock. Last night she worked overtime and got home at five, then she went back to work at three in the afternoon.

The importance of doing what was expected by family members was mentioned frequently and often in a context of how difficult it was to do both--work at work and at home:

> I still make sure that I help my mother with work around the house. My sisters feel that because they're working, they don't have to do that.
>
> I went home and had to fix up the basement. I'm the oldest in my family so I have to do a lot of the work around the house. My father is a truck driver so he's not home a lot.
>
> Doing my housework is most important. If I don't do that, I don't get to do anything.

(After I worked at a rummage sale) I went to church. My mom's really religious and she's always taking me to church. It's alright, I guess. It keeps my mom happy.... (I'm also working) because my mom told me to get a job. She didn't want me just sitting around the house doing nothing.

Some said their relationships with peers and family had changed as a result of working. Most felt more "mature" and "experienced" and most thought others also saw them differently now than before they began to work:

(My friends) learn a great deal from me (now that I work) and they always ask for my advice and they always want to know what my opinions and attitudes are over certian matters.

(Things have changed since I began work.) My friends hit me up for money more often because they know I am a working person, but there's no difference in the way we relate on a social level. Social-wise I could (have made my summer) a lot better.

There are a lot of things I have learned about talking to people, relating to people, which bothers some of my friends because they think I am just too grown-up.

I think I'm more mature and sophisticated and even my mother tells me this.... Out of all the kids in the family, I'm the only one who has kept a job. (My mother) has confidence in me and she's proud.

My parents respect me and think I'm the most hard-working person in the family because I'm bringing in money. They don't make a lot of money, so my contribution is really appreciated.

My parents like my work a lot. They always tell me that they are proud of me. They tell me it will help me make something of myself and this make me feel good when they like what I am doing. It is another reason why I have hung onto the job.

When youth were asked how their parents felt about their work, they talked about the opinions of their mothers. Fathers were reportedly less outspoken about youths' work:

My dad thinks it's easy. He always tells me that I have to get a real job. (He knows that it's easy, because) maybe I'll be sitting at home and I should be at work. Nothing will happen to me for it and he knows that. My mother doesn't agree. She's just happy that I have the job. My brother doesn't think that I work my 40 hours.

He only works 24 hours a week at the same place; but he's mostly kidding about this. He feels the same way about the job as I do. He thinks its good for now.

My mom really knew I would be working here. She thought it was nice. My dad doesn't say (anything about it).

Everyone else wants me to be somewhere else. My dad was going to file that I was a runaway. I'm moving into my own apartment today and I'm not telling no one where I am. (My boyfriend) teases me, like if I make a goofy face at him, he says I'm getting like the people here. I suppose he's glad to see me gone most of the day too.

My (foster) father doesn't say much about (my job). My ma is usually the one that does that stuff.

Parents were most supportive of youth's work when they approved of the experience or educational opportunities work provided:

My mom knew I didn't do much at the other job, so she was really glad I got a job that I like and I think she's proud.

I'm living with my grandma. I used to work at a handicapped place and she didn't mind me working there, but she really likes me working here. She approves of it; she knows this is what I want to do with my life.

My mom thinks its good. When I was little, I used to dream about being a nurse and I'm always trying to take care of someone. So, she's very proud of me.

Youth who worked on crews presented friends and relatives as supportive only of their earnings:

My parents really don't care whether I'm working or not, except that it's a job and I'm bringing in money, so they're happy about that.

My parents haven't said much about me working, but since I work, they say I have to give them half (of what I earn) and that ain't so good. My mom thinks I'm too young to have that much money. I don't know what the deal is.

Our friends think it's a (terrible) job, but its o.k. as long as we're getting paid to do it.

As far as I'm concerned, the most important part (of my brother's job) is payday. To tell you the truth, he is not learning anything. He could dig a ditch in the backyard. As far as measurements are concerned, he got that in school. Construction is for dummies, people who want to use their hands and bodies. You can be constructive in construction work but not to the extent you can be in the classroom. Schools are empty in the summer, so windows will be broken. I broke windows myself. I was glad to see it go because I wouldn't be there. What did he learn? Maybe he learned to get along with his fellow man a little better, I don't know.

Many youth said their friends cared most about their financial status and encouraged them to work. In general, youth were adamant about the "needs" and "rights" of their age group with regard to work. When the topic of youth employment was raised, SYEP youth agreed that thier friends and they favored summer work and believed that all people their age should have the opportunity to work:

My friends don't really say anything. Most of them work. They were all trying to get me to work, even before I came here. They thought (a job) would be good for me. (They wanted me to work) anywhere; they just wanted me to work.

My friends know it is giving me good work experience for better jobs and they wish I could get in a better income quota so I could get a better paying job and one that is full time and not only during the summer.

Friends without jobs were described as "unhappy" and "angry" about "not being able" to work. Reasons given for their not working seem to vary:

My friends like (my working). They wish they could work here. I guess they didn't try hard enough...I'm lucky I got a job but I don't really see that much of it. If my friends really wanted to, they would have gone out and tried to get the job themselves, working harder to get a job rather than just sitting around talking about it.

I was happy when I was accepted (for this crew job again this summer because) some girlfriends I have can't work and they're really mad. You have to make a certain amount of money first.

I guess my friends wish they had (my) job. Only one of my friends works with his mom at a boutique. He pours molds. He'd like a different job, not with his mom, but he gets good pay and doesn't have to work all the time.

He has enough money in the bank because he had a paper route for three years. He probably wouldn't want to work here (maintenance crew) but if he could get the job, he would. Just like me, he wouldn't want the job unless he knew somebody he was working with (because of the personalities and races of the other kids here). Another friend of mine's mom and dad won't let him work until he turns 16. He gets an allowance, but he never has enough money. I think they should let him have the job.

Working friends were said to comment most on the quality or type of work they wanted. Some SYEP youth thought their friends were jealous of their work, the way they spent their earnings, or the "experiences" they were getting:

They all wish that they had my (library) job. They think its easy because all I do is sit around.

Most of my friends are in the same program. Some are jealous because of the experience I'm getting. They're also jealous because of what I do with my money. I've always been one of the best dressers in my group of friends that I run with and I usually get all the neat guys. I can honestly say that my social life is bad but my work and family life is getting better.

Some are glad because they know I love kids, some are jealous. I do whatever I set out to do and most of my friends are jealous of that. My closest friend is very jealous and she's like a copy-cat. She told me she'd never want to work in a hospital, but as soon as she found out I got a job here, she tried for the same job and she didn't get the job. My friends used to think I was really dumb but now they think I'm really smart.

My friends think I have a really good job. As a matter of fact, I think I have a better job than most of them (because I'm doing what I've always wanted to do).

SYEP youth were very concerned about the image their friends had of them. Many felt prestigious because they worked. Some were so pleased with work that they cared little about friends' opinions. Others thought the images which would be associated with their work were embarrassing. These youth seemed to hide or mask their jobs:

Most of my friends work here with me. They feel the same way I do (about the work). I like it, so they ain't got no choice, because I really don't care.

My friends don't really know what I do. I'm kind of embarrased about being a janitor. They know I like working with electronics...

Youth report themselves as being generous with their earnings and helpful to others;

Toward Siblings:

> I buy stuff for my little brother, like little cars or a Big Wheel tricycle.

Toward Parents:

> All our lives, our mom took care of us. I figure I'd help my mom, pay back and help with expenses. That's important with my situation. It was just me, my brother, my sister, and my mom.
>
> I still make sure that I help my mother with work around the house.
>
> (I use some of the money I earn to) help my mother with the groceries.

Toward Other Youth:

> I like to (work extra hours, even though I don't get paid) because I want to see that money get raised (for other kids).
>
> I'm helping to raise money at a rummage sale so that other kids can go to the Expo.

Toward Working Youth:

> (The purpose of your study sounds) good because I want more people to be on the Program and find out what it's like.

Toward Friends:

> I give my friends advice. Since I have more experience now (that I'm working) I can help them out sometimes.
>
> I give my friends money when they need it.

My friends that do not work are not very happy because they don't have money all the time...I think their parents should let them work...(Kids start needing money at age) 15--that's when you get interested in things that need money.

Not all SYEP youth worked the same number of hours. When asked about their time away from work, it was found that some youth returned to their place of work in the evenings and on weekends. Youth went back there for both social and work purposes. Social visits were ways of meeting with friends and showing work places to others. In this way one's place of work was strongly linked to other social roles:

(I do a few things after work) and then I come back here. My friends and I get together at the circle (the zoo pavillion). We play music and hang out and meet older kids. My sister is 16 and a lot of her friends come and I hang out with them now. I do this almost every night unless I just want to hang around home and watch t.v..

I'm here all the time.

One time I brought my girlfriend here and showed her all around.

Some youth worked twice a day on some days:

I went home, ate dinner and came back to work.... I was just supposed to be here and keep the building open... then I went home and went to bed (and came back today).

Youth who returned to their agency "to work" did not always get paid for doing so. Time was volunteered by some who liked their job:

Today I was just supposed to come down here and help out because I wanted to. I saw people (making crafts) so I'm going to help for a while and then go home.

When I'm not working, I still come here. I do the same things the kids do unless the other director asks me to do something like teach kids to make rice crispy bar. I don't mind doing these things for them, even if I'm not supposed to be working. It's really all the same but (sometimes) you're getting money.

Yesterday I worked two shifts, I worked in the morning and then I worked in the evening from 6-9. I help sell pop and stuff to the older kids playing softball. I do that two nights a week. (I don't get paid.) I like to do that because I want to see the money get raised.

Other youth felt no attachment to their place or type of work and did not want "work" to be a part of their "free time."* Many became satiated with work during the day:

> I think I do enough out here.
>
> When I get off work I get off work and that's that.
>
> (When I see the little kids I work with after work) I just decide to ignore them. It's kind of like I'm with them all day long and I have fun with them all day long, but then, when I get off from work I want to do my own thing.

Some youth worked two jobs and spent most of their free time getting ready to go to work:

> I went home, ironed some more pants for work. My first job is from 7 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. and my second job is from 6 p.m. to 11:30 p.m. I got home at 11:30, I washed my hair, I took a bath and I went to bed. (My evenings are always like that). I don't have any time for hobbies. My first job I work five days a week, my second job I work three days a week but starting next week I will be moved up to a full five days a week.

Youth who had two jobs felt that their family or social life suffered as a result of working so much; yet, these youth did not usually regret their decision to work two jobs. Most explained that supplemental work hours were needed in order to earn the income they wanted. Sometimes extra hours were "earned" by proper behavior:

> My boyfriend doesn't like (my working) because I have two jobs and we don't get a chance to spend much time together at all. As a matter of fact, he's very (mad) about it and it might be affecting our relationship.
>
> It was nice to work two jobs and make a lot of money but it left little time for enjoyment, a boyfriend, friends, and little time spent at home.
>
> I worked so much I am not at home often. I wouldn't work two jobs (again). Then I would have more time to be with my boyfriend and my other friends and even with my family.

---

*For more on work and "free time," see below, pp. 180.

Because youth spent much of their time working and because work was something new and different for most, many spent their time discussing the job with others; yet we are not clear as to what extent. What is clear, however, are some of their reasons for either talking or not talking about work. Youth who were embarrassed about their place or type of work, particularly youth on crews, said they were not likely to discuss work with others:

> I don't talk to my parents much about it. My friends know that I work here, but they don't really know what I do. I had a few friends who worked here last year and they told me that I wouldn't like it because it's too hot and the work is hard and sometimes boring and, you know, they were right.

> I haven't had time or reason to tell anyone about (my work). I never project a negative attitude about it. Why should I be bogged down with negative ideas? There are enough bad things going on in the world without my adding my two cents to it. I don't talk about the work, instead I talk about the personalities. Why should I tell them what I do?

Youth who said they talked about work with others usually liked what they did:

> You know, I don't mind talking (about what I do at work) anytime and anywhere. My friends think I'm a jock because I'm into something that I like to do (teaching tennis).

> I think I have one of the best jobs that you can get on a YCEEP program.... My friends and family like it. I always talk about (my job) and tell them about it. I tell my relatives. They say it sounds interesting (Forestry Department aide).

> I enjoyed my work with the handicapped. I wouldn't change anything.... When I did see my parents (between my two jobs) I would tell them about my job and make them a little bit more aware of the handicapped people and their special problems that society often overlooks (camp assistant).

> I don't discuss mine (work) and he doesn't discuss his. I leave the job on the job. If you have a good time, you speak about it sometimes. When I come home I might ask how it went. He would say so and so and I would say okay (brother of crew-worker).

Youths' conversations were mostly about funny incidents or things which were seen as unusual or important:*

> Last night at dinner she told her family about having seen deformed kids for the first time. She hadn't realized that people could be so deformed, so they talked about that a little bit. I also talk to my sisters, who are working, about work a little. We mostly tell stories. I really talk about work with my friends. We mostly talk about our plans, what we want to do (in the near future), where we're going to play tennis, parties we're going to, and places we want to go.

Some youth felt alienated from friends and family as a result of working. Talking about work was seen as an important way to comfort and inform close ones:

> I went home and talked to my parents yesterday. My youngest sister is away for the summer and I don't sit down and talk to my parents enough, so, yesterday I just went home and sat down and talked to them about my job. I just kind of felt that they were a little lonely because I haven't talked to them and they probably miss my younger sister.

While some relatives appreciated youths' experiences with work and people at work, others did not. According to youth, relatives were more concerned than friends about the kinds of people they worked with (i.e., social characteristics). This is notable in that youth said discussion of this topic frequently led to disputes:

> (My home life has) gotten worse. My father doesn't like the place I work at. He didn't like the people I worked with at all (because they were black). He said the people weren't serious enough and he thought it was a bad place for me to work.

Conversations about people at work were often distressing to parents and amusing to peers. This is seen in a quote from a youth who worked with a social program which served many girls her own age:

> I'm learning a lot about how different girls live their lives. I talk about this with my friends a lot, and sometimes with my parents. You just wouldn't believe they live in the same city that you do.... Sometimes my

---

*This point is important for understanding how the work journals were used.

> parents are shocked about what I am learning about how other girls live their lives and the kinds of problems they run into, and sometimes they wish I wasn't at the hospital. (My friends think it's) funny. They can't believe the things I tell them about the girls I see. They like to hear stories about the different girls who come into the hospital...

In general, youth went home to shower and change and after dinner either stayed at home to relax, returned to work, or went out with friends. Common places visited by youth were friends' or relatives' homes, recreational centers and athletic courts, libraries, stores, and restaurants, churches, "downtown," as well as their places of work. Youth spent their free time with relatives and friends of all ages.

Free time was cut into by work in several other ways. Extra or "make-up" hours and transportation time to and from work were some ways. Sometimes youth complained of having too little free time, but more often this was accepted as a necessary sacrifice:

> (I have less free time now since it) usually takes me an hour to get (to work or back home) because I have to transfer busses and then take the school bus. I used to ride my bike, but I broke it.

A wide variety of sports and physical activities were most commonly mentioned pasttimes. Organized and unorganized events included games, practices, and banquets. A list of these activities includes:

* football
* tennis
* kickball
* volley ball
* softball
* golf
* basketball
* swimming
* running track
* weight lifting
* roller skating
* skateboarding
* bike riding
* camping
* fishing
* boating
* trips to cabins
* cheerleading
* marching in the drum and bugle corps
* watching people play in sports and fames

Several activities which took place at home were:

* attending to personal grooming and getting reading for work (getting hair cut, washing and ironing clothes, taking showers, washing and setting hair).
* watching t.v.
* studying
* helping family with dinner and chores
* fixing things for family
* talking on the phone
* taking relatives places
* taking naps
* sitting around
* playing musical instruments
* playing stereo or radio

There were few things youth reported doing alone, away from home. Going to the library to read or to do research was the only thing mentioned:

* shopping
* driving around and "wasting gas"
* playing with little kids
* watching neighborhood fights
* going to concerts
* fixing bikes
* working on cars
* building stereos
* going to the bank
* drinking beer with friends
* having keggers on payday weekends
* going to bars
* looking for apartments
* visiting friends--boyfriends, girlfriends, their children
* going to church
* doing volunteer work and working at rummage sales

CHAPTER V. Southeastern Minnesota

Purpose: To present a self-contained report of the data analysis for Southeastern Minnesota written by the Project Director who supervised the study in that area and who lives and works in that part of Minnesota.

SOUTHEASTERN MINNESOTA
SUMMER YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS
BY
Brian C. Aldrich, Ph.D., Project Coordinator
Winona State University
Winona, Minnesota

What types of situations are the youths assigned to:

In residential treatment programs for problem youth;

In the parks and municipal facilities of small towns and rural areas;

In local schools;

In a variety of major state and local agencies, offices and institutions such as the Department of Natural Resources, County Extension, hosptials and nursing homes.

What phrases or statements symbolize these job situations?*

RURAL AREAS AND SMALL TOWNS

"Can't find a job"

"It's a privilege to have a job"

"Work is good"

"They get up and go to work because work is something they are supposed to do"

"They have fatherly supervisors"

"Everybody knows everybody else"

---

*These are summary statements made by the three interviewer-observers on the project.

SCHOOLS

"They are still students"

"Always treated like students"

"Don't have any status as people"

"Don't want to be hanging around school all summer"

"Nervous all the time"

EMANCIPATED YOUTH

"Low income"

"Middle income"

"Working for money"

"Older, job and career-oriented"

"Concern about self-support"

"Straight work"

"Finding something I like"

TREATMENT PROGRAMS

"CETA is just another job"

"Lot os other jobs"

"CETA is real status; high pay"

"Bored if not working"

"Job part of proving oneself"

"They all want the money"

SMALL TOWNS AND RURAL

What is the most meaningful aspect of the youths? Their ages are 16-20 years, therefore, they are able to use machinery and be given responsibility. Most meaningful is the learning of new skills. This includes how to run a variety of office machinery, how to care for and use power equipment, such as riding mowers, meeting the public, developing communication skills (not a dominant learning situation), and running a small program for teen-agers.

The learning of new skills, in about half the cases, occurs in a supervisory context which emphasizes that:

(1) young people have to be treated as beginners in learning job skills, and

(2) work is necessary and unavoidable and a normal part of being an adult.

A supervisor said:

> You have to take things slow. You can't give them tasks beyond their comprehension. Everything you have to take slow. Before you run any kind of equipment, they have to be given a lecture and be shown what to do--like these kids are running power mowers and are changing the oil and they are handling equipment...

> These kids are limited in their exper nce; you can't say to them to such and such because then they will just thing, "Oh, I don't know how to do it," and then they will start having neagative feelings about themselves...they are naive and you have to keep a close supervision of them.

In many instances this emphasis upon letting the young people develop confidence in themselves as they learn new job skills is enhanced by the fact that the people supervising them do these same jobs themselves when the SYEP employees are not there. The jobs are not "SYEP jobs"*:

---

*Unless otherwise indicated the quotations are the statements of the interviewer-observers.

> ...what this SYEP worker does in terms of cleaning that sewage plant and felling the trees is the same thing that his supervisor does the year around when he doesn't have SYEP workers as helpers. ...he actually trained him to the point where he was going to have the SYEP worker take his job for the week-end so that he could go on vacation and get away from the seven-day-a-week responsibility.

This general lack of distinction between what the supervisor does and what the workers do makes it much easier to take responsibility for the job.

The second emphasis has to do with a widespread orientation toward work in S.E. Minnesota: everybody has to work and therefore youths might as well learn that and get used to it as quickly as possible. As one supervisor put it:*

> They will learn that the world is not a piece of cake. You have to work to get what you want. These kids should be shown the right way to do things.

As an example of the skills learned in this orientation, this supervisor went on to say:

> You should learn them and learn them right; now they will be able to change oil in their cars...
>
> You will have to be making your beds and cleaning up the rest of your lives, so you might as well learn how to do it right...Everything we teach them here will stay with them the rest of their lives.

For the youth involved it was reported:

> His response to the job (in a sewage treatment plant) is that it is work and it keeps him busy in the summer and it brings the money...he comes across as this being a job, just something to be done. Many of the skills that he uses on the job like felling trees with a power saw or shoveling hot asphalt...he is already familiar with from doing his chores on the farm.

---

*The point is, that the term "work" is rather undifferentiated. That is, a good job may mean being outside part of the year or having variety or better pay. But the prestige dimension which middle classes professionals use in distinguishing a bad job from a good one and from the best, is not used.

On the other hand, many of the workers in this type of situation, including those reported above, are simply told to do a job and are left to do it. In this sense they have responsibility for their work. No one is looking over their shoulder and constantly checking up on them. But they are also expected to get the job done without too much of a hassle:

> One of the other SYEP workers doesn't come off a farm and, therefore, doesn't have the "natural" skills that makes it possible for him to just go ahead and actually do things like using a chain saw, shoveling, etc.

As one supervisor put it:

> You had to tell him every little thing to do, otherwise he would just stand around. You couldn't use him to help fell trees because he would just stand there and let the tree fall on him unless someone told him to move.

The SYEP worker described above, who was not from the local area, but sent out to work there, did not last long. He simply failed to show up for work one day.

What Are the Main Youth-Adult Contacts

In the rural and small town areas the fabric of social life is woven into one piece. In the cities it is possible, with a SYEP job to work across the city on someone else's "turf." That is not the case in the small town or rural area. Everyone knows everyone else intimately.* There were two Program consequences of this sort of situation. First, people interacted socially both on and off the job. Second, young people learn about the jobs thorugh an informal grapevine in which their family background, previous work experience, etc., are well known. For instance:

> ...he needed a job. He was ineligible...he was above the guidelines for CETA. So, through his paster and his counselor at school they finagled him into the Governor's Youth Program. They were only supposed to have one (position) but they talked somebody into giving them two slots.

> He had looked all over for a job. He's almost 18 years old--he went as far as (a local metropolitan area), but he just couldn't find one.

---

*In the process of trying to trace people down, for instance, the interviewers often had to go from store to store or down to the local tavern to try to locate the persons involved. Or they were told to look for a "yellow pick-up" or "an old Oldsmobile."

In another instance a supervisor reported:

> He said he knew the families and they come with complaints about the family, but he said that it would take away from the job if he got involved. He said he knows they're on the poverty level, so...if they have family problems he wouldn't want to know about them because he and the kid's families do socialize together normally." (emphasis added)

Another young person reported:

> Asked how did he come to work here, he said that the Director needed a maintenance person so he went to CETA. The respondent had worked for CETA before and was eligible and they were able to place him. He had known the Camp Director before as a camper. He's been a camper for 4 years in this camp and last year was a junior counselor. The Director contacted him about the job.

In terms of social life, the reports also show the lack of alternatives:

> He doesn't have enough money to take his girl-friend out. She has a job mowing the church lawn.

> He says that at home he doesn't go out at night and part of the reason he wanted a job is because he would be working all day at his farm (if he didn't have a CETA job), and so this way he gets out and meets people and has some social life.

What Do The Jobs Mean

When the supervisory roles, types of jobs and job skills learned and all the other factors are examined, the most over-riding feeling emerging from the interviews is that the respondents are extremely happy to have a job, any job.

> It was hard to find jobs so I think basically the kid's attitude is that you are damn lucky if you get a job, so you should be pleased with anything.

Anything beyond that seems to be frosting on the cake.

Are There Any Problems

In these rural areas and small towns the fact that one is working is very visible in the community. The employment of young people and only a small number of young people from more well-off families created a great deal of pressure on the supervisors by parents of other young people in the community who were not able to get jobs, or who could only get jobs paying the absolute minimum wage. This has created problems for the rogram. One program operator went so far as to state that it had become something of a problem to find enough low income kids to fill all of the available slots.

SCHOOLS AND EMANCIPATED YOUTH

This section is divided into two parts to indicate that the job situations, while similar, are distinct. The two situations are jobs in schools and jobs in various agencies, such as nursing homes, hospitals, etc., which is also in the adult world but one which is more or less divorced from the worker's status as a "student."

What Is Meaningful Here

The age variation here is somewhat greater, going from 14 to 21. Included in this group, therefore, are young persons not yet into the psychological and sociological situation of trying out in adult work/career situation, as well as those who are older workers and see much of their current work in terms of its relation to future jobs and careers as adults.

What Is The Work Like

The work in schools is varied. It includes running various office machines, typing, printing, secretarial assistance associated with the many clerical tasks, painting, cleaning, and general maintenance of the schools in preparation for the following year's classes. Included is work in the city parks, supervised by a school counselor for the school district during the year.

What Is Meaningful About It

There are several dimensions to the work in the schools. First, the work is often done alone. Second, there is a great deal of boring, routine work involved. Third, there is often not enough work to go around. Fourth, the work is done in an adult-dominated world with adults who are also teachers and school principals.

The work is often done alone. Youth are assigned to particular classrooms, hallways or sections of the building. They are told that they have a certain amoung of time in which to complete the task. All of the work is laid out according to schedule. This means hours of routine work without the companionship of others. A radio often helps with that problem. One individual, who actually enjoyed this sort of work environment, summed it up nicely:

> He said he would work this job again. He also liked working in a grade school because he was alone and he said, "Nobody bothers you." ...he just thought working alone and being by himself was much better than working with a group and depending on and relying on them and having a good time with them.

This type of work also tends to be inside and is not particularly well-liked by the young people. They tend to prefer outside work.

The boring and routine or schedule aspect of much of this type of work was also commented on by the SYEP workers. In addition, the routine stuff--the cleaning and maintenance--was not seen as being of any help in learning new skills or getting a future job. As one worker put it:

> I asked him what he does here and he said, "Maintenance."
>
> I asked him what he had done today; he said, "Cleaned light fixtures and shampooed carpets."
>
> I asked him how he knew what to do; he said "We go over the stuff that has to be done by schedule; we clean certain parts at certain times. They show me how to do it." Then he added, "It's nothing that needs any real knowledge."

Another condition of the work here is that there often are too many workers for the work involved. The result is an emphasis upon making work last longer. One young worker explained that his first day of orientation included, among other things, a lecture that there was only so much work to be done. Therefore, he was to do what he was told and to always look busy.

One young woman reported that:

> ...we have the same amount of work that they used to to in less time during the school year when students are in there doing the work. We haven't got quite as much in the summer.

Then she went on to explain how she and her fellow worker were trying out different things on the machines (a printing machine). "They made some stationery for themselves and they had made some cards for their friends and stuff like that." There was time to do extra personal work.

On the other hand, some of the work in the school system was very challenging to the workers. This included those in secretarial assistant positions where they worked on schedules, calculated grade point averages and other clerical type tasks that are associated with school attendance.

What Are The Main Youth-Adult Contacts

Supervision in the schools was combined with a continuing feeling of being a "student." First of all, they tended to be either tightly scheduled or closely supervised. Second, they are often working directly with teachers, principals, or superintendents. One youth said that:

> ...the woman in the office was coming down and looking in on her all the time. She is the older secretary that works in the office with another young girl and watches over the youth, even though she's not her supervisor.

Another reported:

> He also talked about his supervisor spying on them. He said, "We're a bunch of boys and sometimes we don't do our job." He said the job gets boring. He said that their supervisor uses field glasses and also gets the park guys to try to catch them loafing.

One young person reported that:

> When she was working on the farm she wasn't nervous. She was feeding the cows or helping her dad with unloading or something, she didn't feel nervous, but when she made a mistake or was working on a purchase order or something or was working on the scheduling, she felt nervous about making a mistake.

> ...she was working in a situation that was central area, working at a typewriter. There was a head secretary on one side of her and she would be next to her behing the counter where people came in, so she would also talk to people over the counter. Then behind her on one side was the Superintendent of Schools' office with the door open and behind her on the other side was the principal's office, with the door open... She is kind of in a fish bowl and really couldn't protect herself from the scrutiny of three adult supervisors.

In addition, the supervisors, doubling as teachers, know a great deal about the school behavior of the students they are supervising. This knowledge gets used in the supervisory position. One teacher/supervisor said in regard to one of his charges:

> ...this particular SYEP worker was taking special education courses all the time. He attended only one regular class to his knowledge, at the high school. The rest were special tutorials that he thought had to do with behavioral problems. He also said that he heard, but he had no way to confirm this, that the student had had some problems at home...

This type of situation--where specific knowledge about the worker is known and used to interpret work behavior--is marked contrast to those situations where the supervisor stands outside the educational system. In such instances, knowledge about how well he or she is doing in school is either unknown or irrelevant.*

How Do Youths Feel About Working In Schools

The general feeling expressed by most of the CETA workers in this group was that they were encapsulated in an adult and teacher-dominated world. It was tolerated only for the money.

> She's going to be entering the high school (where she works) this fall so there's a little bit of tension there.

> ...they were counting the days till it was over...

---

*The interview suggest that there may be little or no correlation between how well a SYEP worker manages school and his or her ability, motivation, excitement or whatever in regard to a particular summer job. SYEP workers, especially, with their low income backgrounds, appeared to be particularly subject to double scrutiny because of an often unimpressive academic record.

(Why was she counting the days.) "Well, because we have to come here to school in the fall and we're going to be in the same place with the lady in the office."

Not all the situations in schools were quite this way. Two SYEP workers engaged in college institutions reported somewhat different experiences. One youth reported she worked "...with the sociology researcher and he was putting on a survey, and that she coded the information and eventually a book would come out of it." This, however, was an unusual position and is closer to the work of that group which has been labled the emancipated worker.

What Is The Problem Here

The overall conclusion one can reach regarding work in schools is that it is not only in the adult work world, but it is also the world of the teacher. This constitutes a sort of double jeopardy for the worker. The response to this condition is to see the world as basically two parts: the work at school and the roles expected of one there, and the friends, parents and types of work on the "outside."

EMANCIPATED YOUTH--THE WORLD OF ADULT WORK

What Is Meaningful To These Young Adults

These workers are all more or less self-supporting, or at least have declared themselves to be so. They come from family backgrounds which, for economic and social reasons, are not able to provide them with support, or they have reached the age of 18 and have graduated from high school and are in the process of trying to support themselves and find out what they want to do for work. They may continue work in the present organization, go to a vocational training program, or enroll in a college or university.

The focus here in upon learning new skills which may be useful for future employment in a regular job or career. This contrasts with the first group considered in this report who are younger and are learning a variety of skills, only some of which will be useful on future jobs.

The job sites include a sewage treatment plant, painting signs for a government agency, doing secretarial and clerical work in the local court house, hospital or nursing home. It also includes food preparation and janitorial work.

What Are The Work Situations Like

Almost all of these jobs are equivalent to full time work in the adult world. The youth are given the responsibility associated with adult work, are integrated into teams or offices of adult workers and interact with other workers on that basis. Many of the workers have been "trained into" the jobs. For one young worker typical of this group, it was reported that she was: "...a 19-year-old who has worked for three years in a hospital kitchen, working with food and the diet preparation."

Another:

> My sister worked in the kitchen and then moved upstairs. There was an opening and I applied when I was 16. Her sister before her had worked the same job and then whe she graduated from high school this spring she went on full time.

One supervisor reported that the worker was:

> ...no different than her regular employees. She was condidered as one of the regular employees and she acted as one and the only reason she's considered maybe exceptional, at times, is because she's a little less experienced than the regular secretary.

Another supervisor reprots in regard to this type of employee that:

> He feels people are getting out of the organization or work experience and that is to take time to teach them, and have the chance to teach them, a broader range of activities and how the job works with the expectation that this will be a permanent full-time employment in the court house, or some other court house system around the state.

One of the consequences of this type of work situation is that the youth is evaluated as an adult, as one who is entering seriously into the labor force. One supervisor reported that:

> ...he thought any job teaches people responsibility and confidence and he will give them a good reference for jobs in the future.

Another reported that:

> ...she felt that the most valuable thing was that it would push the participant into the nursing field. The participant intends to attend_____ _____this fall for nursing and the supervisor there are so many young women and men coming down for nursing... that they really have to filter out a lot of them, and if this participant would be able to say she had worked in the Public Health Office, as a secretary with nurses, it might just be one more thing about her that would make her have one up on somebody else, because the supervisor felt that she would make an excellent nurse.

These young persons then, in this emancipated category, are being placed in positions of responsibility on the one hand, and being evaluated as young adults on the other. They are being compared to other full time workers in the area, and are being evaluated in terms of future jobs and career as reflected in their performance in the present job.

Along with this evaluation goes a very deep seated concern for having the right kind of job experience; one which feeds into or contributes to their future employment or career. These feelings are very strong on the part of many of the young workers.

One young person, who was suddenly not able to change a summer position into a permanent position responded in the following fashion:

> ...so, during the course of this interview as we talked about the whole situation..her excitment and interest in what was going on in the ...office, and then not getting in came through, and she became more and more agitated with red patches forming under her eyes, very nervous movements, playing with the pencil, very dry mouth that could be heared as she was talking.

> So she had, it appears to me (the interviewer) a very strong positive experience...and suddenly she was blocked and the anger was coming out...*

The same response was reported by another worker who found that the job she had been hired to carry out did not materialize, and instead she was doing work as a secretary's assistant--a job which did not, in her opinion contribute to good work experience. In both of these cases the supervisor's held similar expectations and were attempting to deal with the problem in a positive fashion. In the case of the first job, which was blocked, the supervisor:

> ...had worked on her behalf and spoken to another department chairman to see if she could be hired in a new position that had opened up...that had to do with financial records that are computerized.

This particular supervisor has hired two of the last three SYEP workers as full time employees. He considers the Program to be an important source of workers who can be trained into a job at someone else's expense, and then hired on in a permanent position. This is a philosophy shared by several supervisors who regularly employ SYEP workers.**

What Are The Youth-Adult Contacts

As indicated before, the supervisors of these emancipated youth treated them as regular members of the work force. There was, however, a split in the way in which such employees were handled. The split was between treating them as special new young employees and treating them just like any other employee. This seemed to be a matter of management style rather than anything about the youths or the Program itself.

---

*It has since been learned that she was able to obtain the desired position.

**It should be noted here that in several cases the employees were not even aware that they were "CETA" workers. They reported in the interviews that they had simply been asked to sign some papers, but that they had been working more or less continually for several months in the organization. Usually, they had been part-time CETA workers during high school and then were put on full-time upon graduation until the CETA monies became available, then switched on to the Program.

One supervisor represents the former position:

> It is important in supervising young people to let them know what you expect them to do. Show them how it has to be done and follow-up. You have to deal with the problems; communicate with them. Communication is one of the most important things--if you don't let them know what has to be done, you can never expect anything from them.

The overall picture here was that extra time was taken to make certain that the young employee knew exactly what to do, knew the maintenance requirements, the time in which the job was expected to be done, and the safety requirements for the job. Out of this they expected to see the development of mature and responsible members of the work force.

Regarding the latter position, one supervisor said that:

> ...her duty as a supervisor was working with the nurses, and she was very busy and she just comes in and out of the office and when she needs something, she goes directly to the participant who is expected, through the direction of the regular secretary and through experience...to be able to meet the request of something from her technical supervisor.

Supervision, with these older youth, then, tends to be similar to that used with regular employees, and, in addition, the youths are seen as being on an adult job track. It is not a matter of just breaking them into what it is like working--that is assumed. Here the concern is with their ability to pick up and develop job maturity and responsibility around a set of abilities and skills which are seen as important both in the organization and to the future job success of the worker.

What Are The Youth-Supervisor Relations

There are important differences between this group and the activities of the younger, temporary summer employees. Whereas the younger group sees the job as something of a necessity, to be used to meet others, earn money to buy a stero or go out on a date, the participants in this more emancipated phase have a differect set of feelings about the job. First, the job is much more the locus of social interaction and intergration and less just a summer job.

Second, there is a sharp distinction between their seriousness compared to others who are not ready (or not forced) to be completely responsible for themeselves.

One youth reported:

> Most of his friends were not working; he was 16 and he wasn't living at home; he was living with his sister and his parents were divorced. But he really needed the money and his friends couldn't understand because they were living at home and they were the kind of guys who liked to go out and party every night and this guy couldn't do it...
>
> ...the young person utilized SYEP to earn money to keep herself independent. She comens from an ADC home... she had been working for SYEP for three years. She said she is tired of trying to straighten out her family. She is really glad that she has a job. She's treated equally. She loves the people she works with.

When one young person was asked, "What things make you feel good at work?" she replied, "I feel good about working with the elderly in the nursing home. I serve them their meals. I even come in on my days off and talk to people up there." She replied that she didn't have any friends outside, that her friends were at the hospital and were her fellow workers.

These responses and others indicated the extent to which these emancipated, self-supporting young workers have been drawn more fully into the adult work world than those who, because of age or other circumstances, are not. Consequently, their ideas about work change and are replaced with a more realistic understanding of the adult world of work and their place in it.

TREATMENT CENTERS AND HALF-WAY HOUSES

What Is This Job Site Like

This site is a special one. It consists of young men and women who are on programs in connection with treatment or rehabilitation. They are in living situations. Some of them work on site; others work in the community.

In all instances, the work program constitutes part of the treatment program and their performance on the job is related to their status in their treatment program.

The young men and women are all 15 years or older in these programs. Therefore, they qualify for many adult-type jobs which involved machinery, repair, and other types of formal responsibility. In this respect they are similar to the emancipated youth.

What Is The Work Like

There is a wide variety of experience. It includes working on cars and trucks and other equipment in a shop, working on general maintenance, caring for lawns and buildings, work in barns, preparing animals for display at the State Fair, and secretarial tasks. It also involves some cooking experience as well. In fact, the tasks done by youth in these three rehabilitation centers match the range of jobs held by the other persons interviewed in this study.

If anything characterizes the work of these young persons, its the emphasis on responsibility and holding down the job and responding correctly, i.e., taking only the prescribed length of time on breaks, finding work to do, completing tasks, getting to work on time, controlling one's temper, etc. All of these aspects of the work situation are emphasized to a greater degree on these jobs than in most of the comparable situations outside the treatment programs.

The rationale is that these young people, with very few exceptions, have not had previous job or work experience and, therefore, have to be taught that, "...out in the real world, they're going to treat these boys like men and they have to learn now." One supervisor said:

> With our type of boys, who've never had a work experience, you have to give them a good working experience. You have to give them good working trades so it will follow along with them for the rest of their life. You have to show them who's boss. You have to teach them responsibility. You have to let them know that you care and that you'll always be there, but that you're not their friend, you're their boss.

Another adult observed of the supervisor:

> ..._____is a touchy old bird, but they have so much respect for him, they love him; you wouldn't believe his desk at Christmas. It is piled high with gifts.

The learning of proper work skills and attitudes is seen as a key ingredient in the rehabilitation process.

What Is Meaningful To The Youths About These Job Sites

How do the young people view it?

There seem to be two sets of feelings, some feel good about their jobs and what they are learning. Others are very negative, while expressing some positive feelings about the high wages earned.

What are the positives?

She thinks SYEP is really good. She would rather work "there" than almost any place else in town because she didn't like waitressing and she didn't like getting dressed up. She liked the outdoors and she liked the hours.

> We work all together to keep the ground up and the ranch up and every day things change, but they are becoming typical and "im becoming used to it. Yesterday I helped clean out the barn and helped change oil in the tractor.

Another said:

> Yeah, I'm really glad to be working. It's really boring if you are not working. It is not like if you are not working and have your summer off because you can't leave that much. You are pretty much restricted to the grounds so everybody wants to work because they figure they might as well be making money.

This youth was in charge of the other young men on the job site. He was the assistant auto mechanic and was on full time. Whenever they needed gas or oil changed he did that, and he fixed the engines and supervised the boys when the supervisor left.

An interviewer reported:

> Today I caught him on a really good day. He had learned to drive a tractor and he thought that was exciting because he did not grow up on a farm or a small town so he had never had the chance. To him it is a challenge. He said he has had a hard time with jobs before because he said he was always off getting loaded and to him it's a real challenge to be there at 5:30 and to feel good all day. He feels good about himself doing it.

When asked if he was doing the same thing as during the first period of the summer, he replied:

> Yes, I think...(I am)...except for that I graded a road with a tractor with another kid. I hadn't done that before. I was shown how to do it. Other than that I am still doing pretty much the same thing.

There are, then, members of this group of young persons who are satisfied with their job and their achievements. Not all youth feel that way, however. There is another group who, for a variety of reasons, do not respond to the job situation positively except in regard to the money.

One reported that:

> ...my job would help me be trained in some kind of secretary work, and I don't really want to go into that. But secretarial work is always useful if you don't get anything else.

She went on to say that she thought the job was pretty good because around there she wouldn't be getting paid hardly anything if she wasn't on the Program.

The interviewer goes on to report:

> I had happened to notice the watch she was wearing and said, "Oh, did you buy that with the money you made?" She kind of lit up and said, "Yeah, I just bought it yesterday."
>
> This came up later with the supervisor. She said she has been saving her money and that she just bought a watch...she is really proud of it.

In another instance the youth reported that:

> ...the job is fine for me. It's teaching me things in the kitchen, which really doesn't impress me, but it will be good experience to get a job in the outside world.

She reported that she could see a whole different point of view from working in the kitchen. When the other girls had their food fights she was the one who had to clean it up. It wasn't funny to her.

One youth was asked whether or not his time spent during the summer on the Program was worth it:

> He said that the summer went really fast and since he was in this place and had to be there he spent it well because he was working and he had money to buy things and he wasn't bored because he was working. Otherwise he would probably have wasted the time.

There is a strong feeling among these youth that work is the order of things. Therefore, it is better to work and earn the money. But there is not enthusiasm expressed. Work is something that has to be done. Otherwide, there is no money and time gets on your hands.

What Are The Relations Between Youth And Supervisors

This subject has already been touched upon. Supervision on the grounds of the two treatment centers was very rough. It was directly tied into the program goals. The residents could work and earn 75¢ an hour. If they worked well and obeyed the rules (and if they were 16) they could then go onto SYEP for 32 hours every other two weeks. If they continued to work dilligently and to follow the rules, then they could go to work for 32 hours per week at $2.30 per hour. This was a major part of the treatment program.

Most of these youth appreciated the higher wages available on the Program and thus worked hard to achieve it. If there were any infractions of the rules, the individual (and sometimes entire groups) would be demoted back down to 75¢ per hour. Then they would have to earn their way back onto the Program.

Those working in the half-way house were not in the same situation. Although they received points for their getting up and going to work and holding down a job, they didn't have the same kind of job supervision. Consequently, there were several youth who left the Program during the summer for a variety of reasons, including running away. The supervisors in these cases were the people in the agencies and organizations where they were assigned. With less direct and consistent supervision, they appeared to leave the jobs more frequently without the possibility of getting back on as was true of the residential treatment program.

What Sorts of Social Relations Do These Youths Have

The relations of these members of the Program are somewhat similar to the emancipated youth. Most of their contacts are with their peers--either at the residence or on the job. There were fewer relations with parents or guardians.

For those in the residential treatment program, the supervisor seemed to function as both a friend (male authority) and a supervisor. Outside the residential treatment program, where the young men were working in the community at various jobs, there were no reports of close relations with supervisors, nor were relations with co-workers reported as meaningful.

CONCLUSION

These young persons are very similar to the emancipated youth, in the sense that work is presented to them as a very necessary element in their lives. It is a situation with which they must learn to cope. This is so, even though the persons were in the 15-18 year range, while the emancipated youth in the previous section tended to be 18 or over. There was a very strong emphasis upon preparation for jobs, but with no discussion of vocational training or of attending a college or university.

CHAPTER VI. Newspaper Coverage of Summer Youth Employment Program

Purpose: To present a self-contained brief report on the content analysis of newspapers in Minnesota.

Introduction

The evaluation included the collection and analysis of reports about youth and work in Minnesota newspapers from April through October, 1977. The data collection was made by Western Clipping Services, Minneapolis, under contract to the Department of Economic Security. The idea for this project came directly from Dr. Baizerman's study of the images of juvenile delinquency in Twin Cities' newspapers.* It seemed important to learn what was published about the Program and how the Program and youth were presented.

"Image" was the central idea of the analysis: "What was the image(s) of SYEP presented in the newspapers?" The definition of "image:"

> The complex of associations that it arouses within an individual.

further:

> An image exists within the mind of a given individual and it is subject to change; therefore, what is or is not a part of the image is always dependent on a given auditor at a given time. (Clevenger, Jr., 1966)

The Study Method

Content analysis was the method of choice. It is the most common approach in the analysis of newspapers. The intent was to use a set of tested questions to analyze the presentation of youth, youth-adult relations and social policies regarding youth. This was the method used before and some of the same questions from the earlier study were to be used. However, the questions were not used when it was found that most of the articles were almost purely factual statements of Program recruitment (e.g., age range, income criteria, etc.)

Sample

One hundred and fifty (150) articles were used. These covered newspapers in Minnesota during the period April-October, 1977**. Of the 150 articles, ten are used here even though they were about youth and work in general and not specifically about SYEP.

---

* Forthcoming (1978), by Michael Baizerman and Joseph Hirak, Center for Youth Development and Research, University of Minnesota, approximately 2,000 editions of the four daily newspapers were reviewed.

** By month, the number of articles were: April (15%); May (26%); June (33%); July (6 %); August (13%); September (14%); October (3 %).

There were three data sources for each article: the headline, the text (the body) and photographs.

It is difficult to sort the articles into the categories of "report," "story" or editorial because small circulation and non-daily papers do not use signed articles very often; often, the page number of the article was not on the photocopies used and it is difficult to know whether the text is a "story" or an editorial. Also, we have no data on how complete the clipping file is; we support our belief that it is relatively complete by citing the reputation of the clipping service.

Some Findings

1. The articles seem to fall into four sets, with the major theme of each set as follows:

April-June: There are jobs
July-August: Here are some examples of what is being done
September: The youth did a good job; this was a good program year
October: There are jobs for those in school.

2. The overall emphasis of the articles is on SYEP as a program and not on youth or on what work is being done. This finding is merely a restatement of the distribution of the articles by month: since there were more articles in April-June than during other times, it is easy to see why the overall emphasis is on the Program, for it is during this period that SYEP recruitment occurs.

Closely related, if not over-lapping, are other findings:

3. Most of the early articles seemed to be rewrites of the DES press releases. This has not been checked, but one could easily do so. One clue is the almost exact story in several papers almost at once.

4. Also related is the finding that factual stories are the predominant article style with often no other information presented. The facts were about the Program, salary, beginning dates, where to get an application, and the like.

5. Related is the finding that photos were almost never used so the articles are most often words alone.

6. Articles (press releases as is, re-written and local stories) seem to be most often written by adults for adults, even though the ostensible audience is (or could be) youth.

7. Where more than just Program facts are presented, emphasis is on the Program as a way to earn money and to gain experience. The

words, "job, work, and employment" seemed to be used interchangeably.

8. A reader of all or most of the articles statewide or of most of the articles in his local paper could get the clear impression that SYEP and the local schools worked closely. This conclusion comes from four sources: (a) location of job applications and person to talk with (high school); (b) director of local Program who (c) is local school employee; and (d) location of work sites.

9. My strong impression is that the articles are written as if by "insiders" and these tell "outsiders" what has gone on, what is going on, and what will go on in the local SYEP. There is an almost constant use of organization names and program names, names which "insiders" know and take-for-granted. We wonder how well "outsiders" know these.

Another strong impression is that the articles taken together have this theme:

"Here it is summer again and we have a program again."

10. A final set of findings (or themes) is called here "taken-for-granted." This is an attempt to read the articles to learn what others may take-for-granted about their and my knowledge of SYEP.

Among the items here are:

- organization names, and how the agencies come together in what is called a program (SYEP)

- that the Program design and administration is done by adults for youth

Some Thoughts About the Findings

It is clear that the DES press release is an important source of program information for newspapers. Indeed, it was suggested that in some instances articles seemed to be as-is or rewritten press releases. Given these findings (and the reasons for this common practice), it is important to consider whether the DES press release could be used also to present more and different information about SYEP.

What we have in mind is trying to present a context and some background about SYEP, e.g., its purposes and its position as a youth development program within the domain of work. Such information could help the newspaper staff and the readers to understand SYEP as more than "another government program," or "that program again this year."

It may be of value to learn what images readers have of SYEP and the contribution of the media to this image. For example, we noted

that many articles seemed to be written as if the reader would surely know about what organizations were being noted and what the Program really was about. It is our hunch that many readers do not have their knowledge and that many readers have no image at all of the Program.

Those who do have an image from the media and/or participation in the Program (among other sources) may only be partially accurate. All this is speculation on our part, but speculation presented to stimulate reaction and program action.

Our hunch is that SYEP is conceived by many as a kind of welfare program.* Many people react negatively to the words and image "welfare program." We wonder if the press releases and the articles contribute in some way to this. This could be studied and would have important consequences for youth recruitment, parent participation, and the like.

---

*For further discussion see page 182.

CHAPTER VII. Work Journals

Purpose: To present another self-contained, brief report about a research approach which was tried.

Introduction

The purpose of this data collection approach was to learn if this method worked by reading the work journals of four youth, all of whom were outside the interview sample.* There were three girls and one boy, two whites and two blacks, 15-17 years old. All worked at a human services program in St. Paul. The staff were two young women, 18-20 years old, both white, one from Minneapolis, one from St. Paul.**

The use of work journals had been tried locally by a colleague and by others, and such personal documents have a long history of use in socio-behavioral sciences as well as in history. We modified the usual practices of journal keeping by having four meetings with the youth. The purpose of this was to answer their questions about journal keeping and to talk to them about work. In this way, we hoped to give them another opportunity to discuss work as well as to give us the chance to compare written and verbal data from the same person. The next few pages are copies of the materials used with the youths.

---

*This was done so as not to "bombard" the same youth and not to cue the youth being interviewed as to the data we wanted.

**Both were excellent interviewers. Youth can interview youth (as is well known) and they can sometimes "hear" better than adults.

SUMMER JOURNALS

What Are Summer Journals?

Summer Journals are being written by young people who, like you, are on summer work programs for youth in and around St. Paul. Each of you will be writing about your summer work experience including what you do, what you think about it and how it affects the rest of your life.

What Are the Summer Journals for?

The Summer Journals are part of a project to find out what young people who are on summer work programs are doing and what they think and feel about it. The people who plan summer work programs for youth have asked the Center for Youth Development and Research at the University of Minnesota to find out about these programs from young people's points of view. Summer Journals are one way of getting the story "from the horse's mouth." Other young people are being interviewed and still others are being videotaped. The purpose is to learn about young people's reactions to their summer work experiences.

How will I Know What to Write About?

Each week there will be different topics to write about. We will explain the topics and give you some ideas on how to write about them in your journal.

How often will I be writing in my Summer Journal?

We would like you to write in your journal at least once a week. It would be great if you could write more often. You can expect to be writing from 1-3 hours per week.

Will people know who write the Summer Journals?

The only people who will know are a few people at the Center for Youth Development and Research who are working on this project. Other than these people, no one will know who writes each Summer Journal. Instead of attaching your name to your journal, a code number will be used. Also, we will tell no one what you say in your journal (this includes people you live with, work with and hang out with). Your journal is strictly confidential. It's important that your privacy is preserved and we will see to it that it is.

What will happen after I turn in my Summer Journal?

After you turn your journal in all of the journals will be read by a couple of us who work at the Center for Youth Development and Research. We will be looking for experiences and thoughts and feelings

that help us to understand your summer experiences from your point of view. These ideas will become part of a report given to the people who plan summer work programs for youth.

This is a lot of work! Why should I keep a Summer Journal?

We think there are a couple of good reasons for writing Summer Journals. The first reason is that it's a chance to really contribute to a project that is asking young people for their opinions. Too often programs for young people don't ask young people about the programs. This is a chance for you to give information about summer work programs to the people who plan them and can make changes in them.

The second reason is that it will be a good chance for you to think more about what you are doing, why you are doing it and what you are getting out of it. Also you'll be learning some useful skills in how to "see" when you "look" and how to explain what you "see" to other people by writing about it. Learning how to observe carefully and tell others about what you "see" is a good skill to have on lots of jobs and in school.

We hope you will enjoy writing a Summer Journal. We know it will take some time and it won't always be easy, but we also think it will be fun and interesting for you. From our point of view the Summer Journals are extremely valuable. Summer Journals give the "insider" viewpoint on summer youth work programs and that's what we're after. So, THANK YOU for writing a Summer Journal.

TIPS ON WRITING A SUMMER JOURNAL

In order to keep a good journal, be sure to read and talk to Bernie about the instructions each week at the beginning of the week. This way you'll know what to look for, what to tune into.

There is always a ton of stuff going on that you could tune into each week (at first it may seem like just the opposite but after we get going you'll be amazed at how much there is to "look" at!). Each week we'll be asking you to look at just part of what is happening in your life. Each week we will be looking at (tuning into) three things: 1) a certain period of time; 2) a certain event; and 3) certain interactions. Each week you will be writing about a different period of time, a different event and a different relationship. All together these will give you many ways to "look at" and "see" your work experience.

We keep saying "look at" and "see" like these words are something special. We think they are. "Looking at" means focusing on some slice of your life. We use "looking at" to mean really tuning into certain things because we think you must look very closely in order to "see." Why is that? Because we are asking you to look at things you do that may be so much a part of your life that you don't think too much about them anymore.

For instance, do you know which shoe you put on first this morning? Whether you said "good morning" or "hiya" or nothing at all to the first person you saw this morning? (By the way, who was the first person you saw?)

After awhile a lot of things we do become routine and we don't think about them very often. But that doesn't mean these things are not important; getting your shoes on and greeting whoever is coming out of the bathroom as you're going in can be very important.

We are going to ask you to really look at your routine in order to see it well enough to describe it to us. We will tell you what we want you to "look at" and you will tell us what you "see" by describing it and giving us your reactions. We want you to describe details of events that seem pretty routine. We want you to BE CURIOUS. We want you to ask yourself questions about things you probably take for granted. We want you to first describe routines and events and interactions with other people and then to give your reactions to these.

This isn't easy. You have to be able to watch yourself much as you watch other people. One way to do this is to make a part of yourself an "Outerspace Observer." Your OO is like two outside eyes OO watching you. Pretend your OO are in a small spaceship which is floating around St. Paul for the first time. Your OO have never seen a

human being before and decides to observe YOU in order to figure out what humans do. OO will be observing lots of things you take for granted because it all is NEW. So as OO, be sure to "see" all the details that you the earthling probably take for granted.

Each week there will be guideline questions to help you write about the three topics for the week. We hope you will add other things that seem important. Please write clearly so as we can read what you say instead of guessing at it.

JOURNAL TOPICS

Each week will focus on three aspects of the journal writers' lives. The three aspects each week will be: 1) A Period of Time, 2) An Event or Critical Incident, and 3) An Interaction.

Week One	1) Getting to Work 2) The First "Work" I Did Today 3) Something that Happened at Work with a Person I Like
Week Two	1) Hour by Hour Today 2) Something I Did That Turned Out Great 3) Something that Happened with My Boss
Week Three	1) Lunch time Today 2) Something I botched up or almost botched up 3) Something that Happened with someone I work with often
Week Four	1) After Work Yesterday 2) Something I've Done with My Money 3) A Discussion I Had with Somebody in my family about work
Week Five	1) Last Weekend 2) Something that happens Different at Work Now than When I Started 3) Something about Work that my Friend and I talked about

Week One

1) Getting to Work

What woke you up this morning?
What time was it?
How long did it take you to get up?
What did you think about before you got up? What clothes did you put on?
What made you decide on these clothes?
What was it about these clothes that made them seem ok for work?
What time did you leave for work?
How did you get to work?
What did you see when you first got to work?
What all did you take in?
Did you talk to anyone?
Who?
What did you say?

2) The first "Work" I Did Today

What was the first "work" you did today?
What else did you do before you did this work?
What else did you do while you were doing this work? (Talk, get coffee, go to bathroom, daydream). Describe these other activities in detail.
Think about this "real work" you did.
Describe it step by step.
How long did it take?
How did you know to do this work?
Why did you do it at the time you did?
What was enjoyable about it (if anything)?
What was awful about it (if anything)?
What was boring about it?
Did you have to pay close attention or could you space out? At what times did you do each?
At what point did you stop doing this "real work?"
How did you know how to stop it?
What was the next thing that you did right away?

3) Something that Happened at Work with a Person I Like

Think about somebody at work you like that you did something with today. Describe what happened.

Who is the other person?
How did you come to do this activity?
How did the other person become involved?
Did you enjoy the activity?
What was enjoyable about it (if anything)?

What was unenjoyable about it (if anything)?
What was boring about it (if anything)?
Have you done this with someone else at work? If so, what was different and the same?
What would have been different if you had done this with somebody you didn't like? Didn't know?

DATA FROM WORK JOURNALS

Introduction

The two journals were kept by white girls, one by an 18 year old and the other by a 16 year old. One journal (18 year old) contained brief entries, a "flow sheet" of her days. Much of the journal was "factual," as in, "I did this and then I did that." However, there were also entries which were "affective." Let us give examples:

Fact Statements

July 26, Tuesday

> I woke up by the alarm at 7:35 but I went back to sleep and I was late. I left about 8:15 and got there around 8:30...The first work I did was...

Affective Statements

July 26, Tuesday

> ...next we met with _____, my boss, and _____ really chewed her out. In my mind, I was saying, "Go _____[!]."

The other journal was longer, was written in more complete sentences and was directed at the outline we gave out. Although one could distinguish "factual and affective" statements in their journals, the contrast did not seem great:

> I have been typing up [my activity], I have been calling many people...Now I am typing up some more to keep copies...

> If anyone needs any groceries they will be probably getting in touch with me to let me know.

What Did We Learn From The Journals?

We learned that, for whatever reason(s), the two girls did not write in much detail. There were exceptions, such as the topic of what they got out of the summer, and when the day included something different such as a visit to another facility. We learned that youth wrote up their days as if it was a commonplace, a mundane world. The written language was similar to spoken language in one journal and not in the other. We learned about the rhetoric of work.

What Did We Learn from the Group Meetings about the Journals?

We learned that not all youth who said they were keeping journals did in fact do so. We learned that the youths' abilities to speak about work seemed more refined than their abilities to write about work and that group is a social support to those engaged in the private, personal task of keeping a journal.

We learned that the youth said that they were bored very often because they did not have enough work to do, because some of the work was "make work," and because of an unusual work schedule. We learned that for some youth this was their first job and for others it was their second or third job (although all were not "Program jobs"). Some experienced feeling needed and wanted and this felt good. Some experienced work as a responsibility which felt good. We learned again the importance of having a young staff (alone or along with adults).

What Did We Learn about Using Journals?

That, as everyone told us, it is a difficult research method! Some of the points made by the youth, the two staff interviewers, and other Center for Youth Development and Research and Project staff include the following:

- Writing isn't usual and/or easy for all
- Supervisors can be anxious about what is being written
- That the purpose of the journal and of the study continued to be unclear
- That the youth reported no acceptable incentive for doing a journal
- That Project staff were University employees and the University was often the subject of conversation
- That being the staff with these youth was experienced as being in a bind because the study staff wanted the interviewers not to "direct" the youth while the interviewers felt that the youth wanted to be "directed," i.e., they wanted the staff "to be their teachers." The key word is "assignment"--the journal as an assignment.*
- That having a set time for group discussion was good.

In addition, the following comment by one of the interviewers is crucial:

> "they said it was repetitious to write in a journal because if something bugged them during the day they would

* It is possible that writing is symbolically more "permanent" than the spoken word and this is one source of some of what we saw. Writing is also school-like, i.e., "work!"

usually talk about it with somebody else at the work site, with one of their friends or something, or at home and they wouldn't want to write it over again or write what they had already discussed either through their mind or talking with peers or other significant others."

What Did We Learn about Youth and Work from the Interviewers?

Consider the two interviewers as "informants" from whom we could learn about the Program. The staff again and again reported that first-level supervision, particularly for those on their first job, is crucial; and was found to be inadequate in several ways: job structure (too loose), job schedule (unusual and too full of holes), and the lack of taken-for-granted knowledge about "how to work."

Other points made included youths' learned expectation (in school) that one is graded for everything (s)he does. Related is the youths' need to deal in a world in which one may not be told what to do or how to do it, may not be rewarded for the work and may not get along with workmates. In short, "life!" The two youth staff sounded "old" and mature!

A Final Note

One youth said about work:

"You get into some place, you start at 8, leave at 5, and get coffee breaks in between."

This is work?

CHAPTER VIII. CRITICAL INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS

Purpose: To present a self-contained report on an approach to data collection which we tried and which could be used in training and in program and worker evaluation.

Introduction

The purpose of this task was to collect an inventory of incidents and situations about work on the Program using interviews and work diaries. These would be used for training, further study and program evaluation. A critical incident and/or situation as used here was adapted from the idea and work of John Flanagan (1974) who invented the "critical incident technique." The Technique is used predominantly in industry where it is a way to collect data about job design and job performance:

> The most direct attack on defining jobs behaviorally has been made in Flanagan's Method of Critical Incidents (22). This method asks supervisors, employees, or others familiar with a job to record critical incidents of job behavior. The incidents are just what the name implies--actual outstanding occurrences of successful or unsuccessful job behavior. Such occurrences are usually recorded in stories or anecdotes. Each one describes (1) what led up to the incidents and the setting in which it occurred, (2) exactly what the employee did that was so effective (or ineffective), (3) perceived consequences of the critical behavior, and (4) whether such consequences were actually within the control of the employee. After a large number of such incidents are collected, they may be abstracted and categorized to form a composite picture of job essentials. These categories, in turn, form a behaviorally based starting point for developing checklists of task behaviors regarded as crucial to either effective or ineffective performance. The critical incidents method will typically yield both static and dynamic aspects of a job. The anecdotal accounts of what actually happened or of what an employee actually did force attention on situationally determined elements and also on modes of behavior that might be relatively unique to the person being described. Thus, the stance of the typical critical incidents analysis is to "get the whole truth and nothing but the truth" behaviorally speaking. It is a brilliant search technique--startlingly simply in conception, yet fulfilling perfectly the behavioral description requirements of our definition of job analysis. To satisfy these requirements demands a broad sampling of observations of a large number of employees doing their jobs. Thus, the typical critical incidents study may accumulate hundreds or even thousands of incidents in order to assure sufficient coverage of the entire job behavior domain. (Dunnette, 1966).

The method has been modified and used by staff at the Center for Youth Development and Research as a way to learn about issues, problems, needs, wants, and concerns of youth and adults. The critical incidents method has also been used in (youth) crisis intervention research, program evaluation and training (see Baizerman, et al 1976) and is one approach to developing a training program which is grounded to everyday, real-life concerns. In short, this can be one approach to evaluating one's own work and the work of others.

Some Issues

We gathered some "good" incidents and situations, but fewer than we had hoped. There seems to be three reasons for this:

1. For most youth in the study, both in St. Paul and Balance of State, there was little in the process of becoming and being workers that was particularly important or "critical" to youth.

2. It is now very clear to us that the only way to get "clean, clear" incidents or situations is to ask concrete, specific, direct questions about these. Our questions were "loose" because our primary goal was to learn youths' words, ideas about SYEP.

3. It is our hunch that work becomes "everyday, mundane, and taken-for-granted" so quickly for most youth that they truly cannot recall anything "special." When the search is for the everyday and not for the "special," it is even harder for youth "to see" and talk about. This may be due in part to their not having much practice in doing this and partly it may result from not having a "mental model" of how to do this; and partly it may be due to the absence of an appropriate language.

The Incidents and Situations

The plan was to order the incidents along "career paths" beginning with youth's initial awareness of the Program and ending with the last interview. This is a "becoming" perspective, one in which "career" is used to mean "becoming, being, learning and leaving" the Program. This was later refined to include two foci: the Program and the work site. Last, the actual "pathways," the stages of the trip and the length of time in each stage were to be those of youth (where possible). However, the critical incident data are not complete enough for any purpose other than to sensitize readers to their potential utility in training and performance evaluation.

The Examples

Our examples are not very good because we did not adequately focus our data collection questions. Examples taken from the interviews and

work log data are presented next. These examples are arranged in the direction of a SYEP work career. Questions have been added to some of the examples to suggest how these might be used. All underlinings are ours and were done to highlight words or phrases which we think ought to be thought about and discussed.

No.	SYEP Career Examples
1 - 3	Getting on SYEP
4 - 5	The First Day
6 - 8	Doing Work
9 - 12	Knowing What To Do
13 - 15	Discipline and Supervision
16 - 17	Safety
18	Learning
19 - 20	Parents and Others

Getting on SYEP

The three examples which follow are less Critical Incidents or Situations than good examples of the everyday, commonsense, "actual" way in which some youth "get on" SYEP. Note that the three examples show different ways of "getting on" SYEP; personal and familial relationship plays a key role in these stories. Note in Example #1 how the interviewer "probed" the original answer and the resultant story is different than the first and longer. Some SYEP staff and non-GMO or SYEP readers might question whether personal and familial and neighborhood relationships should be so important. It is our sense that these examples support the recruitment philosophy of this particular SYEP.

Example 1

> I asked him how he came to be at work there. He said, 'Well, I knew the past director he gave me an application.' I said, 'You meant the past director just came up to you and said, 'Here's an application form, I want you to fill it out and work for me?' He said, 'No, I went to him and said I was interested in working with kids, especially education-type things and said is there a possibility I can work here to see if I like it and he said, sure, so, therefore, he told me to go talk to his assistant who told me about the NYC program and adult education program, community service education program and gave me an application. I took it home and talked with my family about it and they helped me fill out the form, like my older sister and brother, and sent it back in and they said yes.

Example 2

She said, 'Well, I been living around this playground since I was real small and I know Mary so, when time came for summer jobs, I just asked her if she had any applications.' Then we got into a little anecdote to go along with this. It seems as though she and a friend had applied for the job and that her friend hadn't got the job. There were four positions open and she and her friend were the first two to apply but she was the one to get the job. I asked her if she knew why that was and she said, 'Well, I guess her mother didn't make the right amount of money.' I asked, 'Do both of you know that or is it something you assumed or what?' She said, 'Well, I kind of know that and she knows that, too.' And I asked, 'Since you got the job and she didn't, did that leave any hard feelings? Are you still friends? And she said, 'Well, she was kind of mad at me for a while but I guess we're friends.' I said, 'Mad at you?' And she said, 'Yeah, because I got the job and she didn't, so, therefore, she's mad.' I asked, 'Do your parents know? Does your mother or does her mother know about it? Do they take that for granted that because your mother doesn't make as much money as her mother, that that's the reason why she didn't get on the Program and get the job?' She said, 'Yeah, we were over at my house before we know about getting the job and my mother said that we both have a good chance at getting a job, but that I would probably have a better chance.'

Example 3

I asked the young lady how she had come to be there, or how she had come to get a job there, and she said, 'Oh, I got the form from my brother and he told me about how to go about doing it.' I asked, 'What do you mean? Tell me a little more about this. You mean your brother got you signed up?' She said, 'Yeah, well, he told me to go to school and get an application and when I got the application I filled it out; he helped me and then he took it.' I asked, 'What did he do with it?' She said, 'Well, he took it down to the playground and talked to the supervisor here.' And I said, 'Wait a minute, you mean like your brother knew the supervisor or what?' She said, 'He worked there two years ago and he knew the supervisor, so he just took it down there and she signed it and said they needed people to work there. Then he took the application and sent it back to school.' I said, 'Oh, so that means you knew you were going to get a job at the playground?' She said, 'Yeah.' I asked, 'Well, didn't you even worry about not getting a job or anything?' And she said, 'No, because my brother told me he'd take care of everything.' I said, 'Oh, so your brother just did everythin for you?' She answered, 'Yeah.'

The First Day

The first day at school and the first day at work are important events for many youth; and it is hard to forget the silly or foolish or wrong things we did the first day:

> They laughed and giggled and finally decided that the only thing they had been told not to wear was a three-piece suit, the reason for that was that one of the girls did wear a three-piece suit to work on the first day of work, not really knowing what she was getting into and it was a big joke.

The first day was often used to orient youth to their job. Consider how much "sunk in," how much was retained and the accuracy of what was learned. Consider, too, what an ideal first day might be for you and then think again about the youth for whom you plan.

Example 4

> I asked her, 'What did you do on your first day?' He answered, 'Nothing much. It was so confusing, I didn't know what they wanted me to do. All I know is, we were supposed to go to a meeting and I did and we just sat up and talked about what we might be doing and what they wanted us to do and that was it.' I asked how she spent the day? She said 'Today I worked with this one patient, individually. The patient, well, she was flat-footed, so I just helped her walk.' I said, 'What do you mean you helped her walk?' She answered 'Well, she's flat-footed, she couldn't walk very well, she seemed like she'd fall over everytime we went forward, so I kinda just held her hand and we walked side by side, then I read a story to her and then I took her to the bathroom, cause she couldn't walk to the bathroom. Then I got lunch for her and then it was time for me to go.'

Example 5

> 'Well, we sat down and went over the rules and learned games.' I said, 'Went over rules, what rules?' She said, 'Oh, like what time to be at work and what number to call in case you can't come in and learn some of the other people's names and new people's names and learn how to play games for rainy days and playground rules, like when they're allowed to use the playground, and who can use the playground. Then we just played with the kids.' I said, 'Played with the kids, what do you mean played with the kids?' She said, 'Well,

this was done from 8 o'clock in the morning til noon, and from like noon on, little kids started coming by and we just took them out and started playing ring around the rosie with them.' I asked, 'Big kids, little kids?' She said, 'Real little kids.' And I said, 'Oh, that sounds like it's fun.' She said, 'Yeah, but it was kind of hard that first day because I really didn't have my mind on that.' I said, 'Well, what was your mind on?' And she said, 'Oh, I can't remember but, I know my mind wasn't on that.' I asked her what was her usual day and how she spent the day. And she said, 'First I sign in and I just get things together for whatever is going to be done that day.' I said, 'Getting things together for whatever is going to be done?' She said, 'Yeah, like if it's raining, I open some games that we can play. If it's a sun shiny day or something like that, what I'd do is take the kids outside and get a couple kickballs so they can play kick-ball or if we're going to have crafts, I put out the paste and the leather or the plastic or whatever we're going to be working with that day and work like that.' And I said, 'Well, that sounds real good.' She said, 'Yeah, but after awhile, it gets kind of boring.' And I said, 'Boring? Boring how?' And she said, 'Well, you know, you do the same thing all the time, it's no different.' I said, 'Well, why don't you talk to the supervisors and maybe talk about switching the days up.' She said, 'No, I don't think that would work because this is the way she wants it.'

Doing Work

SYEP is "doin' work," the everyday accomplishments of the job. Note in examples from youth in a hospital (6, 8) how specific and circumscribed the tasks are, and maybe because of this task specificity, how well youth recite what they did. In Example #7, "learning and teaching" are (almost) lost in the youth's description; note how the supervisor is portrayed.

Example 6

I asked her if she was doing the same things now that she was doing at the time of the first interview and she said, 'Yes, I'm doing mostly the same. Today, I took temperatures, took pulses, made beds, scrubbed tubs, took down tests, discharged patients, stocked, passed water, changed bags, did some intake sheets and passed trays,' I asked her, 'Who really tells you what to do?' She replied, 'Sometimes the nurse, but most of it's routine and I know what to do.' 'Who shows you what to do?' 'The nurse or the nursing assistants.' 'Who helps you out?' 'They all help me out.'

Example 7

I told the informant I'd like to know if he did the same things now that he did at the time of the first interview and he said, 'No, I'm doing different stuff, like cementing, but most of the things are routine. I spent the whole morning cementing one little area.' I asked him how little the area was. He described to me some dimensions that were about 1 foot by 2 feet and about a foot deep. I asked him why it took him all morning to cement such a small area and he told me the first time he did it he thought it was alright, but the supervisor made him tear it apart and do it again. He did it again and then the supervisor showed him where he had left a small hole, so he had to do it over again and it took him all morning.

Example 8

I asked her if she was doing the same things now that she was doing at the time of the first interview and she said, 'Yes, the same. Today I filled cupboards up, stocked, washed the baby, cleaned some clothes, helped pass breakfast, helped the nurse take tests on patients, took a kid to x-ray, helped give a patient a bath, went on the supply cart, Xeroxed charts--I did about 60 copies and it took me about an hour, I also did temperature charts. I played with a kid, I brought in his lunch tray, I hung up new pictures on the wall and on the evening shift, I loaded trays and took off trays on the dummy. I put food on and took food off the dummy. I did odds and ends. I did some card filing, I stocked new baby bottles and I did some laundry.' I then asked her a series of questions: who tells you what to do? She said, 'Mostly it's doing it on your own. If you see a nurse who needs help, you help her. When you see things that need to be done, you do them.' Who shows you what to do? she said, 'You can ask any nurse or any nursing assistant.' Who helped you out? Her answer was, 'We help each other out. We have to.'

Knowing What To Do (Supervision)

Being a worker is knowing what to do and how and when to do it. Supervision is a process to insure and to monitor learning and knowing. With youth, "responsibility" is an important idea. Examples 9 and 11 exemplify this. Youth may have a very different cognitive map than adults about the social and supervisory structures of the work place. (See Example #10).

Example 9

I asked him how he knew what to do. He said, 'Experience. I have been working here for three years. It is

kind of like a routine thing where I don't have to ask anybody what to do. I really don't have to be told. I decide mostly on my own with the help of the kids.'

Example 10

I asked her how she knew what to do. She said, 'I just wait for people to tell me.' I said, 'You mean you don't have a set schedule or anything like that?' She said, 'Well, we have a set schedule.' And I said, 'Well, what kind of schedule is it? Is it something written down or is it something you can go look at when you forget something like that?' She said, 'Yep.' And I said, 'Can you give me an idea of what kind of schedule it is?' She said, 'What we do, like on Monday, Wednesday and Fridays, we have like swimming classes, wading classes, or whatever you want to call them and we take them on field trips. Tuesdays and Thursday we have crafts in the morning and then we take them to the wading pool in the afternoon and on rainy days we just play games upstairs in the hall.' And I said, 'Well, you mean that's the only kind of routine you follow?' She said, 'Yep.' I said, 'Well, how do you know what to do or who tells you if there's going to be a break or something?' She said, 'The leaders.' And I said, 'Leaders?' She said, 'Yeah, just the older kids.' I asked, 'Well, who tells the older kids?' She said, 'Supervisor.' I said, 'Does the supervisor ever come up and tell you what to do?' She said, 'Yeah, but most of the time it's mostly the leaders that do it.'

Example 11

He said that he has kind of a 'line,' a hierarchy in my words, of people who tell him what to do or who he finds out what to do from. First, he checks with his 'direct field supervisor' and then in the main office to see if there is anything for him to do. Then he asks around for the other people that he works with to see if there are things that they would like him to do. Last, he asks the 'technicians,' and if nothing comes up out of all those, then he goes to the pile on his desk.

Example 12

When I asked her to elaborate further on that, she said, 'It's kind of like I have my own responsibilities. I get a job told to me by the supervisor and I go through the whole process myself of doing whatever he tells me to do. In other words, he may say, 'I want you to get a letter to such and such a person, and what I do is go, find that person's whole name, their address, find out what he wants sent to them, type that up usually, then go

through looking at the address and zip code and mail the letter out.' I asked her if this was something hard to do, and she said, 'No, I like doing it. It gives me the chance to be kept busy, it gives me the chance to do what I want to do. In other words, I can do it myself, at my own rate of speed and I enjoy doing it.' When I asked her what she did on her first day, she couldn't really remember that well. She said she could probably remember the whole week better than just the first day and that was trying to get her typing together. She had taken typing in junior high and was pretty good at it. Therefore, in the first couple weeks that she was there, they had her mostly just do typing. She said she liked that, but she didn't really enjoy it that much because all she did was sit in one spot and just do one thing. Whereas, now she gets to move around and do a whole new set of things. It's kind of like she's almost getting to know the people she works with.

Discipline and Supervision

Our hunch is that this topic is always present in discussions about youth and work. In a sense, this is the focus of most of the terrible thoughts held about youth: "How can I control them, or will I be able to control them?" Our hunch is that here too one finds the confluence of age and race and sex as these are shorthand words for supervising, working and living with others. Here are some of youth's examples.

To us these situations seem to have "come to a head" and grown beyond reasonableness. But to the youth...

Example 13

'Me and two other guys were sitting and kidding around, like you do with guys. The supervisor W, walked by and we were laughing, but not at him. We didn't say nothing about him.' This supervisor is the one that she thinks is racially prejudiced against white people. 'Another supervisor, J, walked by and we were joking with him about this gourd that he had. The other supervisor, W, walked by again. Ten minutes later the main supervisor, M, called us in and asked us what we were laughing about. The other worker said if he had anything to say to supervisor, W, he would say it to his face. Supervisor W got up and said, 'All right, I'm ready to fight you.' He started swearing, he had his fist clenched and was ready to hit him. Then the other guy said to my friend, 'You can't let him do that to you, I'll stick up for you.' Supervisior W said, 'Okay, I'll fight you, too.' I just kept my trap shut and didn't say anything. In a little while supervisior W came back and apologized for his violence. I told him that that's no way of any example to us. You are the supervisor,

we give you respect and we need respect back. He said, 'You be quiet.' So I shut up and the other guys settled it. I had a funny feeling they would keep me in there. Then, when they let the other two leave, they made me stay. They said, 'You know better. You have been doing things lately that you shouldn't, but you do anyway.' I said like what? They continued, 'One day you were with supervisor W and you wanted to go with the Mexican supervisor.' I said, 'Don't you remember, I was working with you, supervisor M, and you said I could go with him?' Supervisor M said, 'Oh, ye h, well, don't think because you have been here longer you have more authority.' But I think I should be able to express myself. Maybe I am in the wrong place. I always end up getting blamed. I was really glad when you asked me (how I know what to do). I knew this was coming, like I told you before. You asked me what I know, but they don't, they just tell me what they know. I like to do what I think is right and use my mind, not someone else's. Then the supervisor W said, 'Let's try to work together and be friends,' but today he did something that flipped me up the wrong way. Today my supervisor L and I were working at the chipper, the big machine, we had to make stacks of wood to throw in it. He didn't feel very good, so he wanted to take it easy and not work so hard as we did yesterday. He told us to stop for a while. I was talking to someone. He said to me, 'If you two don't get to work, I am going to send you home.' He wasn't doing nothing. Usually supervisors are supposed to participate. Then I got sawdust in my eyes because I didn't have any goggles to wear and it was just flying in there and stinging me. My friend was helping me get it out. Subconsciously I picked up a little twig and threw it over somewhere. He said if I did that again and didn't start throwing bigger things he would send me home. I would have explained to him about my eye and that I just threw it subconsciously, but he just, boom, yelled right away and left. If I would have gone over there and talked to him he would have said, 'What do you want now?' and sent me home. With the same thing I told my other supervisor what happened and he said to forget about it. After lunch he asked if I wanted to do soil tests with someone, this teacher. I went with him and the supervisor L saw me and yelled at supervisor B. I asked, 'What does he want me down there for?' He just wants me down there to yell at. He can't yell at the other girls. The supervisors expect me to be perfect, but I am not, I can't be perfect. Supervisor B is the only supervisor that watched to see what is going on. That supervisor L just started working two weeks ago and already he's got his finger on everybody. I know this sounds silly, but I wouldn't tell you unless it was true. Supervisor W called me over and I told him what I told you. He landed on me. I don't care what everybody says, I am not wrong. I work hard out there

and when I get home I am beat, I can't do anything. Out of the whole summer I came to work late twice and that's even too much for me. They told us at the beginning to do what we can.'

Example 14

I asked what he did yesterday and he informed me that he wasn't there yesterday or the day before. This was because of a mix-up between himself and his supervisor. His supervisor wanted him to go and get a tool and bring it back to the crew trailer. He said no because he didn't take it out. The supervisor told him not to come back Monday if he didn't get it. He also said that if (the youth) took too long, not to come back Tuesday, either. (The youth) said he thought the whole situation was lousy. He said, 'We got a break and I said to the supervisor, 'Can I bring the tools now?' because I knew we wouldn't come back to that part of the crew site where we had been working. My instructor or supervisor or whatever you call them, said no. I came back here at break time. The next group brought their tools back. When the bus came, they said to us, 'Go and get your tools now.' I didn't because I didn't keep one out there. All we brought out were two-man saws and everybody knows it doeesn't take two people to carry a two-man saw. I still didn't take it out so he said, 'Tuesday.' I didn't care because I had other things to do with my time. He punished me by (my) not getting the tool fast enough. I work only to have something to do with my time. I am working because I want to, not because I have to. They don't know my financial status, all they know is what's on paper. My name is on the estate and there are only four people left on it. I am here today and Wednesday. (Then the Program is over). He tells me I work like an old man. I guess that's like someone tired. I didn't know his definition, that's what I think he might have meant. I said to him, 'That's me.' He watched and observes me and the saw jumps out. He would have been on my back all morning. (By this the youth meant that he and his supervisor are standing close to a log, but the supervisor was standing closest to the log. The supervisor wanted him to move the log.) He told the supervisor that he was 'totally ridiculous.' He said to me, 'Sometimes they make me think they are totally incompetent. I moved the log eventually, I kicked and bitched about it, which was my right. I went back to work, that's about the time I was suspended. It is funny because when I first started working here, they told me I was a good worker. I procrastinated, but I got the job done. Anything that comes on the sideline is of relatively no importance if I am also doing the work. If I offend someone for hitting me, they are at fault because they hit me. So this dude told me I worked like an old man and

argued with him. He said I was suspended, but you understand that everything I have told you is one-sided; you will have to talk to them to be able to make up your mind about it. I have only three days left of work. I don't know why they didn't fire me, if you are going to do something, you should do it right.'

Example 15

'My cousin said (my brother) got fired because he stole an orange, so I say to him all night, 'You stole an orange, you stole an orange.' Now I heard that he got fired for walking sideways (when he was told not to walk forward). That's even funnier.'

'I didn't think I'd get fired. All I did was steal an orange. There was a bunch of 'em left over. Nobody was eating them. We had a bunch at first and decided to put them back. We each took one. We were walking away and (this crew chief) saw us. She said not to take another step forward. I didn't, I took a step sideways. She fired me and suspended the other dude. They told us they'd suspend us three times and then fire us, but with me, they just fired me (right away) 'cause I stole an orange and walked sideways.'

I asked one of the other youth I was interviewing at this site if he knew about (youth) getting fired.

He told me, 'Yes, he did his work, but he procrastinated alot. The supervisor fired him for doing something with someone else, who was also equally at fault. The other guy just got suspended.' I asked him why he thought one got suspended and one didn't; they were of the same race. The informant told me, 'The supervisor said he was always giving him bull.'

Safety

The next two quotes address two aspects of safety: the use of equipment and a proper attitude toward safety at work. The first example, #16 is about equipment which includes both tools and clothing. Example #17 shows the relationship between safety and the use of drugs. It may be that "safety" is the language used "to deal with" drug usage. Compare this with the previous three examples on discipline. "Frame of mind" and "mood" were words often used in discussions of safety. Further study is warrented.

Example 16

'Yesterday I suspended him, he and three others who, through their actions, were endangering the safety of others.

Only a few workers showed up that day. I felt they were lethargic and needed constant supervision; they were careless. This was a subjective judgement on my part, but I felt that the kids were aware of what they were doing. The only penalty that was fair and would bring around the right response was supervision. I felt that everyone was not in a careful mood. There is open traffic in that area and they must watch where they lay tools. Wheelbarrows can trip over tools and kids can get hurt. Usually four to six kids are carrying one railroad tie. If one or two are careless, the rest can be injured. (He) was not specifically doing any one of these careless acts, but apparently was in the frame of mind where he had the potential. He was spoken to and I felt they were not too concerned. It wasn't a matter of telling him and he solved it. He had to be suspended because they wouldn't pull their own weight and were careless; others would have to bear the burden.'

'After we got to work we got caught smoking pot by a crew leader. Four of us went to the office. The supervisor said he could have fired us if he wanted to, but he'd just suspend us for a week. I think we got suspended because me and (my friend) are good workers. We just sit at home now. They're teaching us a lesson to be better workers. I didn't think we'd be caught because the crew chief was way ahead, but he looked around the corner and saw us. We'd been told that if you're high and you're carrying a tie or swinging an axe, someone could get hurt. That's why we do it at the end of the day. They don't care about that. I think they're good rules. I wouldn't do it during work again because I can't afford to lose my job. ('What about your safety?') 'Well, I also don't want to get hurt.'

Example 17

I asked what she did yesterday and she replied, 'Chipper, from 8:30 in the morning to 2:00 in the afternoon, we lifted wood and threw it down. I broke all my fingernails, my hands look terrible. Our gloves started sticking to the wood and getting torn, so I took them off.'

Learning

The following quote is different than the kind of learning in SYEP that is typically noted. It is a good example of youth development, and shows how vague and unclear but how vital--and how typical--learning can be for youth. This example presents "learning experiences" as meaningful for youth,as are learning concrete skills. One can consider what adults would call this and what youth call it. Is it only "growing up" or is there more here?

Example 18

She said that she had learned alot about instruments and about procedures and that she in her free time, picked up pamphlets that are lying around the clinic to read more about gynecological problems and what can be done about them. She said that she has learned what is "normal" and what are "problems"--in the whole OB-GYN area. I asked her whether she learned anything about working with other people in the clinic and she said, yes, she learned alot about team work and the necessity of team work and how everybody has to do his/her own job to make sure things get done. I also said to her that I imagined many of the patients were about her age. She said, yes, they were. I asked her if she had learned anything about that. She said she had learned alot about how different girls live, their lives and that she often talks about this with her friends and to some extent her parents and as she put it, 'You just wouldn't believe they live in the same city that you do.' I asked her what she learned from this and she said she learned alot about how she wanted to live her own life and how she didn't. I asked her if she would like to share some of that and she said she really didn't want to talk about that, but that had been a really important part of what she had learned.

Parents and Others

These are everyday, mundane, UNcritical examples--except to the youth. This is what is often overlooked by adults as we "push" programs and push youth into them. Example # 19 suggests to us that SYEP might at times include youth's parents and friends in group or private talks about the job and about work.

Example 19

The last question, how do your parents or guardian and friends feel about your work, was very revealing, at least to me. He told me it's the time, the time is always bad. He said, 'I don't get to see them often, maybe one day a week, usually Wednesday, I don't work on Wednesday. My closest friend lives very far away and if I go to visit him, I don't get home until about one or two in the morning. It's a two and a half hour ride on the bus.' He concluded by saying, 'My parents haven't said much about me working. but since I work, they say I have to give them half and that ain't so good.'

Example 20

I then asked her how her parents and friends feel about working and work. She said her parents like it but sometimes they are shocked about what she is learning and sometimes

they wish she weren't at the hospital. I asked her what kinds of things seemed to shock her parents and she said, 'Oh, all the things I am learning about how other kinds of girls live their lives and the kind of problems they run into.' Her parents do like the fact that she is working. They believe, according to her, that it is good experience to work when one is a teenager and they like the fact that she is in a hospital, she is working in the same hospital her sister-in-law works, but they are distressed about so much contact with so many young women who are having so many problems which I think is kind of a code for so sexually active. I said, 'How about your friends--how do they feel about your work?' She said, 'Funny. They can't believe the things I tell them about the girls I see.' She said that her friends liked to hear stories about the various young girls who come into the hospital and the kind of lives they live and the problems they have.

CHAPTER IX. SYEP Summer: Interviewer as SYEP Youth

Purpose: To write-up the summer as if the author was a youth participant. This is a "test" of whether the author and research staff understands the youths' perspective(s).

This is where I worked last summer. I don't work here anymore, but I still come here. I kind of grew up in the neighborhood, so I hang around here a lot. The little kids know me, and the supervisors say I am real dependable. That makes me feel like somebody. Work was good for me because I had money coming in, and it's no good having to sit around. Kids need something to do during the summer.

The first year I worked, I was really bummed out. My job was really boring, and I never had enough to do. They make you do stupid things, and you don't have a choice. Sometimes I got to bring a book and read, but the rest of the time I had to sit on this chair 'til my butt hurt. I hardly ever saw my supervisor, and when I did he never gave any compliments. If he had said something good, I might have felt like I accomplished something. I would have liked to talk to him, but I was afraid to. I didn't think he would listen. There were bad vibes, and I didn't really get along with the people at work. I don't really know why. Nobody ever said anything.

Another reason I hate the job was because I had to be at work at 8:00 in the morning. The hours weren't flexible like they are this summer, and I couldn't get no time off to go on vacation to my friend's cabin--even if I made it up. I would have liked something more challenging, but that was my first time working, so I didn't really know about it. I was just happy to have a job even if I didn't learn anything. Probably if I had known more, I wouldn't have gotten stuck there in the first place. This counselor said I could get a job working with kids, but instead, they put me in an office.

This year I got a job where my sister works. I really liked it because it's close to home and more fun. I come here all the time--all my friends are here. I'll probably work here next summer, unless I can get a better job that pays more money. Kids need money at this age because parents stop giving you things. There's a lot of activities that you need money for. My friend's mom makes her give up half of her check. I feel sorry for her. She doesn't have enough left for nice clothes like she wants. I feel she should be able to--it's her money--she earned it. I give my mom some money for food, but she doesn't make me. I just want to do it. She's proud of me working. Some of my friends didn't get on the Program because they didn't have enough kids in their family and their parents didn't make the right amount of money. I knew I'd get on. I had to. I don't know what I would have done otherwise because I really wanted to work and have money of my own.

It's hard to find a job. I guess there's too many people looking at one time. I wish there was more choice to work different places. I liked my job last summer--it was fun, but I wish I could save money for my education but that was too many hours. I wouldn't have given up my jobs for anything, but I never got to see my friends or family.

I had to work so much, I was so tired when I got home that I couldn't do anything but sit and watch T.V. I would like to be able to work about thirty hours a week.

Learning is also important to kids. One of my friends that worked on a crew made two credits. I don't know what in, but it's good for him. They told him all about banks and cashing checks. It sounds like it would be neat. He liked it because he said anything was better than working on a crew, but sometimes it was boring and everybody slept. And there weren't ever any tests or papers so they didn't have to pay attention. He said people always got in fights. The supervisor was white and the crew kids were Black. I think there were some other races, too, but he didn't talk about it too much. I think he was kind of ashamed of working on a job like that. The supervisor was picking on everybody for no reason, and the crew chiefs were really lazy. They'd make the kids do all the work, except the girls. But even the girls worked more than the supervisors. I don't think he'll work there again. He just got stuck there because he didn't apply till May and they said that was the only thing open. I don't think that's true. They could have found him something that fit his interests--like electronics. Kids need jobs that will help them for the future--at least a job where you learn something useful.

I had fun this summer, but there was really nothing to learn. I just played with little kids. No one really told me what to do most of the time. Sometimes I didn't even come to work till after lunch and no one cared, but my dad yelled at me once. He thinks I should get a real job. I guess I would like to learn about something so when I get to college and read about it in a book, I'll know what's important and how it happened with me and maybe it would help me find out what I want to be. But I guess work is a good experience. Last year, I learned how to work--how to be on time and relate to people. I also met a lot of different kinds of people and found out what they're like. I suppose in some way this will help me get a better job in the future, and I'll have an advantage over kids who haven't work. I'll be a little ahead of them when I get a real job.

CHAPTER X. Brief Idea Papers About Youth and Work

Purpose: To present short essays on ideas and topics which are not covered in the text.

Contents:

1. Note about the notion of transition
2. Note about the integration of work and learning
3. Talking about learning: The language of human services work
4. Experiences: A basic word and a basic idea
5. The new cycle: School - Program work - School - Real Work
6. Notes about the notion of "Impact"
7. Leisure, play, free time and discretionary time: Some distinctions re Program
8. The "Program": A central idea
9. "Program" as a symbol
10. Some questions and thoughts for program staff, for planners, for youth and their parents

1. NOTE ABOUT THE NOTION OF TRANSITION

Introduction

The word "transition" is used often in discussions of youth employment to refer to the period between school and work. Here, we briefly and incompletely examine the notion "transition" in an effort to understand what the ideas are, what the word means, and what social processes are referred to by the idea and by the word. All of this will be used to suggest some issues for further analysis and for program planning.

The Word

The word "transition" is used in phrases such as: "transition from school to work"; "troubled transition" and "improving the transition." Transition implies a "here and a there," a "from and a to," a "now and a then," a "lower to a higher". In everyday usage, transition is used along with words such as "entry or re-entry" (into the world of work), and "career" stages. The idea of transition is "movement from here to there," or "from now to later," etc. It is not always clear whether "transition" means:

- the movement (per se); and/or
- the subject/object which is moving; and/or
- the "pathways" or "routes" of movement

It is crucial that these distinctions be noted because of the different policy program consequences which follow from focusing on each. For example, a focus on the "pathways" of movement could lead to creation of a new set of "corridors" along which a youth could move from school to work. Or, for example, a focus of the youth could lead to learning his/her cognitive map of transition--the mental picture of how to move from school to work. It is this metaphoric usage which results in the lack of clarity about the personal and social processes subsumed by the word (as a concept*).

Secondly, it could be that "transition" is a symbol which has, like religious symbols, a "capacity...to reveal a multitude of structurally united meanings'...(Edelman, 1971). These meanings refer to the implied "lack of fit" or "lack of articulation" between and among social institutions (on one level) and specific organizations and families and youth (on other levels). Note again the metaphors: "fit" and "articulation," and the imagery of "mechanical gears." Again, it is not clear to what level the commentary is directed: the social institutional level or "down to" the level of social role, for example.

---

*The word "transition is used often as if it referred to an essence, to an "autonomous reality" different than those noted above.

The Ideas

The ideas in the word "transition" seem to be: the idea of movement, the idea of direction, hence the idea of time. In the context of youth employment, "transition" also implies the idea of youth development (and the idea of stages of development) and the idea that this movement is natural and appropriate and good (i.e., the ideas of value).

In everyday usage, the transition from school to work is made by almost every youth as the very core of his/her becoming an adult. At times, some youth have trouble making this move across the stages of life (pun intended) and it is with these youth that we can be helpful.

A Useful Phrase

In anthropological literature, there is a concept which is useful here: "Role continuity" (or "role discontinuity"). Essentially, continuity in role means:

> that the child is taught nothing it must unlearn later; and is taught enough about what will be expected of him later so that the expectation will not come as a shock.
>
> Discontinuity in role involves both (a) "contradictions in expectations..." and (b) "the absence of preparation of the individual for future roles."

Clearly, this phrase captures the aims and practices of a variety of educational and/or vocational programs for in-school and out-of school youth. This is a major focus of many policy recommendations about youth. The more youth experience that work and school are similar, the more there is role continuity. It is important to recognize that such continuity per se is not necessarily a positive thing. For example, if school's experienced as meaningless and insignificant, then work too might be experienced in the same way. Youth perceive this connection between work and school:

> I think the purpose of this program is to get kids to go to school so they can work. It doesn't apply to me because I go to school and like going to school, but it is good because I do need the money.

Final Note

Again, it is crucial to clarify what the term "transition" refers to in its usage in policy and program discussions. It may very well be that "the movement of youth along some established routes from high school to their first job" (a mix of all three united noted above) is what is meant by most who use the word 'transition."

With analytic clarity, the practical tasks of designing, implementing, and carrying out programs are somewhat easier.

2. NOTE ABOUT THE INTEGRATION OF WORK AND LEARNING

One basic goal of summer youth employment programs is to expose youth to the "world of work" so that they will learn about the "real world" and, hence, will be better able to link what they learn in school with a job or career. Comments about the "integration" are made so as to clarify some assumptions about the relation of education to work.

When referring to "integration", it is usually said that bodies of knowledge are integrated. For example, knowledge about people and knowledge of working with people can be brought together as on might integrate sociological and psychological ideas.

People integrate, i.e., people bring together two or more ideas and relate them to each other. Content does not (can not) "integrate itself". Integration is not like two sets of gears interlocking--this is a misleading image.

Content does not integrate; people integrate content. Knowing how to create this integration relation is a skill ("integrating"). Only people can have skills.

3. TALKING ABOUT LEARNING--THE LANGUAGE OF HUMAN SERVICES WORK

"Learning" is a word youth use to discuss specific skills they acquired which are thought to be of practical use in the real job world. Not all youth said they learned something during the summer. Among the reasons why the least obvious reason is that there is a very limited language of skills and tasks in human services work--the setting in which many youth worked. Furthermore, the words are more abstract than specific*, and the meanings are not "standardized" in a formal sense or in everyday usage.** Without a good vocabulary about one's job, it is hard to describe or explain what one does:***

---

*A third characteristic is related: that the words are usually abstract when the connotation is positive (e.g., "health" and "helping") and specific when the connotation is negative (e.g., types of discipline)

**Journal of Human Services Abstracts, July, 1977, p. VII

***Some argue that without these words, one cannot say (i.e., recognize) what one does.

of their "time", beyond the requirement that it meet basic needs or demands of the agency.

How can these assumptions be viewed in practice?

SYEP youth reported "wasting" a lot of their time in unproductive, boring jobs with little or nothing to do. It could be that placing greater value on youths' time would result in more constructive use of that time. Secondly, there are negative consequences for youth when they are not required"to be productive." Youth begin to see themselves as unimportant or less valuable than adults; youth may also develop unrealistic work attitudes, ("You get something for nothing"); and in a sense, a welfare system is perpetuated by supposing that youth are "only there for the money", and not to learn or develop as persons.

Youth Development Points

Most who study youth view adolescents as having different "sense" of time than do children or adults. This is particularly true for "the future" and the role this has in the youths' present. Piaget writes about this from the perspective of cognitive development. Phenomenological writers also stress time, but to them, time is a structure of consciousness--it is experience.

Other youth development scholars discuss the topic of "control" as this permeates adolescent development. Control of one's life is in part "control of time." "Not now," "be home by 10:30" and "you're goofin' off," are some of the catchwords of adolescence. Development per se is a time conception.

Program Points

We believe youth can learn that "time is discretionary" and that they have some control over time. This control may result in behavior for which they will "get into trouble" or be fired, e.g., being late or missing work. In our view, precisely the kinds of decisions which youth must make. Part of youth development is learning how to decide so as not to hurt oneself.

In addition to these youth development approaches are others which are concerned with learning skills. Examples include: how to estimate how long a job will take; learning how the supervisor organization experience and use time (e.g., good use of time vs. poor use of time); how to work efficiently; worker productivity; and the like. It may be of value to make "time" an explicit focus and locus of learning while at work.

My boyfriend's mother asks me questions (about what I do at work), but I can't explain it to her. I would have to have her come and watch for a day.

The following are examples of words used by youth in human service agencies to describe what they do:

- watching them
- looking after them
- helping them
- relating to them
- reaching out to them
- working with them

Note that youth who use these words to describe their activities sound less clear, specific, precise, and knowledgeable than youth who talk about digging a hole or stapling paper. Note, too, that each word:

(1) can cover one or more tasks
(2) can be sorted as to "passive behavior" or "active behavior" on youths' part

Human services agencies have been called "people processing" or "people changing organizations" (Hasenfeld, 1974). These organizations tend to be organized and managed differently than organizations which are not consumer intensive (Gartner & Riessman, 1974). Abstract language may be useful in such agencies.* Taken together, all these points can be used to suggest that youth may have difficulty describing their work because of the very weak language available to them.

Learning: Getting It or Being Given It

Note that youth use verbs such as "to get" when they talk about learning skills while on the job. Their phrases are "got skills" and "was trained in." Grammar aside, note that these phrases can be sorted easily into those in which learning is presented as an active or as a passive activity. This seems to be important re: expectations about learning and, particularly, about <u>how</u> to learn, i.e., the "skill" of learning skills. In turn, all of this is related to youths' use of the word "skill."

---

* Some argue that language is a major source and locus of problems in human services work: e.g., unclear goals and objectives, technological indeterminacy, personal and social control, etc.

Skill

A skill is knowing how to do something which is concrete and specific (e.g., a task) and "being able" to talk about it.* Some would add the aspects of "quality" and "consistency" to the definition of skill, e.g., knowing how to do and doing a task consistently and at a high level of quality. We have noted how (1) there is a paucity of specific skills we noted above, and (2) that youth also must have a word so as to be able to identify what, in their thought or behavior, is a skill.

The point we are driving towards is that some skills are "invisible" or seem to be invisible and can only be known by inference, by report, or by demonstration. Partly this has to do with our image of "skill" as meaning something we see, hear,or feel the process or result of. It also has to do with some skills being hard to differentiate from the "person" or personal growth, e.g., listening and hearing or empathy:

> (I'm learning) alot. By working with kids, I learn patience. Planning on my own with or without a supervisor, I am learning how to do that. I am thinking about going to the University and taking up social work. This has kind of given me a step ahead of other people that go off into social work and don't know anything about it...My friends think it's an easy job because it's at a playground, you know, lucked out. But working with 30 kids isn't what I'd call easy. It's not easy, it's just a different kind of work; and if they were doing it, they would understand. But they are not doing it, so they don't understand, I guess.

It is no surprise and is indeed the source of these points that youth who worked with objects could more clearly describe their tasks, their skills, and the usefulness of these, than did youth who worked with people.** It may be useful to think about how youth could be helped to state what it is that they do and what they know how to do, i.e., their skills:

---

*"Able" is another word which could be used here. The sense we are after is skill as "knowing how to" and not "being able to" because "being able" may mean potential as well as actual, demonstrated knowledge.

**The exception is nursing aide work where youth can report in great detail and medical language what they did, could do, what they knew, and how they could use this knowledge.

"I guess I'm learning things. I'm learning how to participate and how to do stuff on my own, to not give up. I'm also learning about myself. I'm learning mostly about everybody. I have learned that most people don't like for their feelings to be hurt. I learned that people like to do alot of things. (How will you use what you're learning?) That question is too hard to answer."

4. EXPERIENCE: A BASIC WORD AND A BASIC IDEA

"(Are you learning anything here?) Maybe not learning but experiencing. I'm experiencing the deal with working with these kinds of people and learning what they're really like instead of seeing them on the street and thinking they're crazy."

Youth distinguish between "learning," and "experience" as these happen during the Program and as a consequence of the Program. Several distinctions can be made which will help us understand the way youth think about this. "Experience" is presented by youth as the opposite of "learning."* "Learning" means coming away from the Program with skills which are likely to be useful in getting and doing a job. "Experience" means being on the Program and not learning, i.e., one did not "acquire" useful skills. "Experience" does not mean "wasted time;" it seems to mean "less than most useful time." "Experience" as used by youth can be thought of as time during which the youth "got something" but did not get all that (s)he could have or would have liked to get.

"Experience" as an Opportunity

Consider youths' idea of "experience" as an opportunity for program staff to achieve both youth wants and Program goals. Let us suggest how this might be a useful idea. First let us summarize our understanding of youths' ideas:

"Experience is time. During this time one works. As one works (s)he is "doing work" or accomplishing the task(s). One can just do the job or <u>one can "learn" in the act</u> of doing the job, i.e., while accomplishing tasks.

Now, it is clear that: (1) some youth and adults differ in their use of the words"learning," and "experience;" (2) some "learn while others experience" and vice versa; (3) both "learning"

*Youth present the idea of "experience" as both a time period during which one could learn and a time period during which one "gets something" ("out of it"). The lattter presents almost a passive role for the youth while the former presents the youth as an active learner.

and "experience" as youth use these words can mean either a passive or an active role for the youth; (4) by implication, this distinction also holds for adults and supervisors of all ages. Youth have both clear and unclear expectations about "who will teach them what, how."

Let us combine numbers "3 & 4": It seems that both youth and adults have somewhat unclear expectations, of self and others, about the roles of each in youth learning skills while doing the job. It could be that this confusion in expectations about learning and teaching has sources in the lack of clarity about the Program "as work," or "as school." This confusion is related to Program goals, to Program staffing patterns (use of school teachers) and to work environments (e.g., schools). Obviously, these are the sociocultural structures. There are individual differences within these.

Program staff might focus on these reciprocal expectations about learning and help youth and supervisors to make them clear. "Experience" is an opportunity for Program staff to help youth learn the skills of learning skills while on the job. It seems crucial that Program staff not take-for-granted that the supervisors know how to teach and the youth know how to learn.

5. THE NEW CYCLE: SCHOOL - PROGRAM WORK - SCHOOL - REAL WORK

There was much talk in the 1960's about the "cycle of poverty". One aspect of the cycle can be called the "cycle of being a relatively poor high school youth". This refers to the yearly cycle of being in school, then on a program, then in school (and maybe on (in) a program), then on a "summer program", then in school (and maybe on (in) a program), and then: THE REAL WORLD!

To some youth, this is the yearly cycle, with "summer work" replacing "vacation". To some youth, this is an ideal cycle, for they can earn and learn at the same time. This is surely one Program goal, and a good one, we believe. Understanding this cycle is one perspective of SYEP.

A crucial, practical issue if the timing of administrative actions, and in turn, the lead time local SYEP staff have to plan and implement programs. Given this cycle, it should be possible to anticipate when certain actions would have to be taken. Unfortunately, local staff seem to have little control over timing. State funds to cover local start-up costs might be of help.

6. NOTES ABOUT THE NOTION OF 'IMPACT'

It is common to hear the word "impact" used in sentences and questions such as "what was the impact of the Program on the participating youths?", or in recently used phrases like "environmental impact statement" and "family impact seminar". The latter phrase has another source in the social indicator movement. Here, we want to senstize you to how the word "impact" can lead us astray as we plan and do youth work programs.

The Word

"Impact" means the consequence(s), the result(s), of something or of a person upon another person or thing. An image of the idea or word "impact" is a billiard ball hitting other billiard balls which spread across the pool table. Physical images can mislead one who looks for the impact of a program "on" a youth and his family, for example. "Impact" in the sense of consequence is the search for consequence(s) using the rhetoric of physical science.

It could be that "impact" is another word used as a metaphor, as if one could see and/or measure organically the effect of a program "on" a youth. Indeed, if this was the question, where would one search for the signs of a program's impact on a youth? The phrases "youth who was in a program" can be rephrased in the language of impact as:

- the impact of the program on (upon) a youth
- the Program's impact on (upon) a youth
- what did the youth get out of the Program

Crucial here is the separation of "youth" and "program" as one searches for "impact". Is this not false a priori?; does not this separation constitute our problem?

7. LEISURE, PLAY, FREE TIME, AND DISCRETIONARY TIME: SOME DISTINCTIONS RE PROGRAM

Time is a basic theme in youths' discussions about their SYEP experience. It is so obvious and so central to understanding their conceptions of the Program that it is usually overlooked. As Ichheiser (1970) put it: "Nothing evades our attention so consistently as that which is taken for granted."

For example:

- Being on time
- Time is money
- Transition (time) from school to work
- Career
- Boring
- Time cards
- Being "docked" or "grounded"
- Summer
- Youth-adult development
- Doing time
- How much longer?
- Efficiency
- Productivity

Here, we will selectively note some obvious points about "time," Youths' uses of the notion "time" and some suggestions about how these points might be used in the Program.

Some Obvious Points

There is subjective and "objective" time and the two don't always coincide, e.g., "ten minutes can feel like an hour." We can talk as if "time rules our lives" and for some this may be true. For many of us, we either "let time run our lives" or talk metaphorically, as if we let time run our lives. Organizations usually have a time culture, that is, values about the importance of time in one's everyday work life. "Work" is often contrasted with "leisure" or "fun" or "play time", with "work" presented as "serious" and the others as less serious or even frivolous. Work and play are different subjective times.

Youth learn in school that "time equal credits" and at work that "time equals money." In this study, it seems that youths' subjective sense of the summer (time) as "short or long" was related to whether they had more or less clear objectives for themselves, e.g., school credits and money were clear objectives and hence related to "short time". Short and long time was also related to task diversity with less task diversity related to longer time ("boring job lasts longer and takes longer").

There is yet another way to think of time. Let us consider two assumptions about time as it related to youth and the Program:

Assumption 1: Many adults in our society do not view "youth's time" as being equal to or as valuable as "adult's time."

Assumption 2: When an employer or an agency receive subsidized or "free youth labor", it seems that there is less concern for the productivity of the workers, i.e., the efficient use

8. THE "PROGRAM": A CENTRAL IDEA

It is obvious that the word "program" is a synonym for SYEP. What is less obvious are the symbolic meanings of "program." These meanings became clear during the study. To be a member of the Program is <u>to be different</u> in some essential ways from others who are not members. SYEP is a program, and "the Program", "Program", and "program" mean to some:

- government
- welfare
- preparation for
- learning
- youth, not adult
- not real as in not real job or job world
- race
- "disadvantaged" ("rehabilitation")

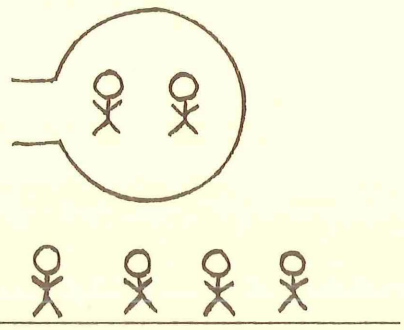
In everyday use by youth and supervisors, there were these three "meaning clusters":

A	B
government program	government program
welfare program	training program
"disadvantaged"	learning and school-like
race	

C
government program
welfare-training program

In everyday usage, one was <u>in</u> the Program:

and/or <u>on</u> the Program:



Programs are not forever and they are artificial; programs are time-bound, are "nows", are temporary. Life in or on a program is a now-life, a temporary life of a special kind: a preparatory and temporary life "before and less than" the future which is a non-program life and hence "real life--the life of an adult.

Youth who have this conception are living the commonly accepted public notion of adolescence as a time of preparation for adulthood.

To see oneself in this way is to live for "the future", the "real", and it is to risk awakening to this late in adulthood when it is too late to do anything about it:

> I like having money of my own to spend. Also, when I get married and have kids, I'll have to really buckle down, so I might as well start now.

Put another way, to be on the Program is to enter a world in which the rules of life are different, where natural laws do not apply in the same way as they do "outside." This world is "ficticious" in that there are unique rules, practices, and expectations. What this does is to contest youths' willingness to experience the present as worthwhile and as unique and as an experiment. Instead, the temporary and the "now" seem unreal, and the mundanity of life is a disappointment.

9. "PROGRAM" AS A SYMBOL

The word "program" refers to all youth employment programs. But the word is also a symbol and it has different meanings when used in this way. As a symbol, "program" means to some people "government"; to others, it means "disadvantaged", "poor", and to others it means "welfare." Some use "program" to mean "a welfare program for poor youth," often poor non-white youth.

A symbol is like a magnet in that it holds together words and ideas and feelings which have something in common to the speaker/writer and the audience. It is like a code-word in the way "busing" was a code word for "race" a few years ago. Better still, it is a shorthanded way to get across a system of ideas.

A symbol is important here because we are interested in the consequences resulting from its use; i.e., its "impact" upon the reader or listener. One way in which this occurs seems to be that the symbol is used when we define something and defining, as we know, precedes feeling and doing.

For example, if I hear a loud noise and I define it as a car backfiring, I will not get scared. However, if I hear a loud noise and I define it as a gun shot, I'll feel scared. In a similar way, if someone says the words "youth employment program" and I hear "government program for poor, Black kids," I will feel and think about a youth employment program differently than someone who hears the words and gets an image of a summer youth camp.*

---

*This may be a reason behind changing the name of the former "Wilderness Work Camp" to "Camp Sunrise."

Why Is This Important?

This is of crucial importance because we learned that some supervisors heard the word SYEP to mean "disadvantaged youth on a government program." Thinking of "disadvantaged youth," they had an image of non-white, poor youth in "broken" or incomplete families; and this is only part of the symbol. This is crucial because among the consequences of this image was adult supervisors' inability to see the actual youth before them as a unique individual who will almost always differ from the image in significant ways. This is crucial because the adult supervisor will be less likely to teach and work effectively with someone (s)he "does not see" or who (s)he has a distorted image of.

Now, it is obvious that all of us do this all the time. Why is there concern? Precisely because youth (development) workers have to be conscious about their images of youth and the language they use to discuss youth and work. It is our impression that most of the adult supervisors we interviewed were not conscious of their private images of youth and did not hear how they themselves talked about the youth. That is, they did not see or hear their sterotypes or other distortions.

> (My goal is for) the disadvantaged to learn how to respond to work restrictions.

> If we lost the Program there wouldn't be any money for kids; they might have to come by it by improper means.

> I find that kids don't work as hard as they used to. They have to be paid for everything.... My goal for these kids is to give them a better chance in life....We try to be patient, no screaming or yelling, because I'm sure these kids get enough of that at home.

To some, SYEP viewed this way is unfair, while to others SYEP is now seen as similar to or as an example of the "residual welfare" program designed to integrate social institutions and individuals (e.g., family, school, work). Now let us connect these points to supervision and to supervisors.

Supervisors asked for either a type of youth or a type of youth to suit a kind of job. The distinction is important. Supervisors said they requested "good kids" far more often than they said they wanted a certain kind of youth for a certain job.

> This young woman worked in the clinic two years ago so I had known her before. This woman is exceptionally competent. She is so capable that supervision is not really necessary....I called the YCEEP office and requested that this particular young woman come and work here.

If we are given a troublemaker for the summer we ought to be given more information on the kid so we know how to work with him. We shouldn't be given more than one troublemaker per summer and if we can't handle the kid we ought to be able to send him back to the YCEEP office. These kids take a tremendous amount of supervision and sometimes YCEEP sends us too many.

I'm lucky because I have such good workers. Other supervisors that I know are constantly having problems with CETA people and I feel very good about having such a fine staff of young people....I made arrangements with the office to keep these kids all year.

She is an excellent worker, although young, and she can do anything. I really hate to lose her and I'm going to do all I can to keep her this fall.

I first contacted the CETA office and told them I wanted two kids. The kind of kids I get are of high calibre because I know the supervisor on the staff. I can have my kids hand-picked. I asked that one girl I had already employed not be returned here--I didn't trust her because she had friends here and did things on the side.

I can have my kids hand-picked, (because people at the CETA office) who choose the kids think they're working more than they actually do here; they are pleased with the fact that my kids stay here for two to three years, that time cards are always in on time, that the kids are happy and the evaluations are good.

(Is there a difference between young people?) Well, I think the most important thing is to get yourself together. I think that if you have self-respect and tact, there are things that will come out and will be something for these young people to reflect on. Generally speaking, I treat folks as human beings. Everybody wants to be respected, wants to be liked, loved, if you want to say that....Because we have one white worker, two Blacks, and two Vietnamese, I'm sure that all of them have different ethnic backgrounds, but they're learning to work together for a common purpose of educating little kids. At first there was a little tension but it just resolved itself and that's a good point about being young. If you're together long enough you eventually resolve things with yourselves, not like older folks--we never get over it.

(Kids I prefer are) a little verbal, they can type, be poised, and most important, be responsible because sometimes they are the only ones here. They need to be professional, full-time people who can give immediate attention to certain situations rather than screaming and throwing their hands up and running out in front of cars.

(Kids who don't work out are) non-motivated. One of these kids dropped out of school; he got in with that crowd that decided that life wasn't worth living. These are kids who are sneaky and conniving and untrustworthy.

I will ask for more kids this fall. I specify by the kinds of jobs I need done, like maintenance (rather than by kind of kid I want, one reason being) all of the applications have been Native American. Some other kids come down here, but they didn't want to work here. I can identify with that.

Now, a "good kid" can be taught to do the job so the emphasis is on the youth and the supervisor's sense of whether the youth will be in trouble, be easy to work with, and the like. Note how this definition is about a person, while youth get into the program primarily by virtue of their socioeconomic status; here is a disjunction. This disjunction can be understood as fitting exactly what the youth wanted in the first place--to be taken as a unique person. Thus, this supervisor goal fits with the youth's early goal and there is congruence. In turn, this consequence seems to mitigate the earlier conflict in youths' expectations between a job and the program. For example:

Out of five (youth), maybe one of them is good working material. (Youth who are not good) have the idea that the state, county or the government is going to always take care of them. They have become dependent on these services. I see (SYEP youth) working in the playground and they're too lazy to stoop over and pick up a piece of glass out of the sandbox. It blows my mind to think that those kids will be the ones to be on welfare later. (When I was hiring kids) I heard (the recommendations of others) but I tried to assess each student myself and let him impress me.

Obviously, the conception of a "good" youth differs among supervisors, among youth, and between youth and supervisors.* One strategy youth have for dealing with the differences is "the con." This is not youth development at its best and, for some, is similar to school and being a student.

---

* When contacted about the SYEP evaluation, supervisors responded to the "kinds of youth" who were chosen to participate in the study. Several supervisors responded in a negative way to particular youth participants whom they did not view as "representative", i.e., "how youth turned out" is equivalent to "what kind of supervisor I am, how good my program is, and how good the Program is." Supervisors responded to the random list of participants with "labels" for their categories of youth; i.e., "He's the lowest I.Q. of all my kids. I don't know why you picked him."; "She's not appropriate for the study because she's hospitalized for attempted suicide. It's bad for the statistics and will make the Program look as though it has failed."; "Why do you have to talk to her? She's a bad kid. She don't get along."; "Interviewing him should be quite an experience--he's a real clown, real crazy."; "He's not here today but you can interview his friend. He's also a good worker and a good talker."

10. SOME QUESTIONS AND THOUGHTS FOR PROGRAM STAFF, FOR PLANNERS, FOR YOUTH AND THEIR PARENTS

1. Does the experience have the result of "cooling out" youth in that they develop and come away with a relatively "narrow, functional, instrumental" conception of the world of work as a time to "make money?"

   That is, work comes to mean a job;
   a job comes to mean hard, boring work;
   a job and work are not fun or joyful
   because this is what a job is and what work is.

   That is, a job and work are "have to do it" without "have to, want to, and fun."

2. Does the experience have the result of "cooling out" youth because they come away with only a sense of "what is", without a sense of "what could be" in a positive way?

   What I will "put up with" in order to get money
   (and/or to be an adult).

3. Is the Program a form of "tracking" (social class or role)?

4. Is there a paradox with the Program in that for many youth and adults "being on the Program" is another statement about being different/disadvantaged?

5. Learning about what could be, what should be, and what is are three possibilities in a youth work program.

   It may be that to teach only "what is" is to teach youth to "adjust" to a work world which is (to them) unfair or meaningless or boring.

   And it may be that there is humanistic value--if nothing else--in exposing youth to what one believes "should be." This would allow youth to define for themselves the kind of world environment they would like to see created.

APPENDIX A. STUDY DESIGN AND INSTRUMENTS

Purposes: To present the approaches of the study and the instruments used in personal interviews.

To present our assessment of the study and some technical notes about the design and methods.

1. Study Design
2. Study Sample
3. The Interviewers
4. Data Collection Forms
5. Informed Consent Forms
6. Technical Notes re Study
7. Our Assessment of the Study
8. Evaluation Orientations
9. Note about Comparison between City of St. Paul and Southeastern Minnesota

1. STUDY DESIGN

This evaluation covers a variety of qualitative data collected to answer the question: "How do youth (and others) experience and understand SYEP?"

Study Sites

Two Prime Sponsor field sites were used: City of St. Paul and "Balance of State" (Southeastern Minnesota). These were selected for several reasons, including:

* to ensure that there was a full range of local population density from rural to large city

* to ensure that non-white Program participants would be included in the sample

* to ensure that one site was close enough to the University so that travel costs could be contained

* to ensure that the Prime Sponsor staffs were supportive of this evaluation

2. STUDY SAMPLE

To answer the general question, "How do youth and others experience and understand the Program (SYEP)?" it was necessary to write many more specific questions and to find people who could answer these questions. The people who were asked these questions were the study sample. Included were approximately 100 SYEP youth, evenly divided between the City of St. Paul and Balance of State and approximately one supervisor per youth. Each youth also had at least one parent or guardian but few were interviewed (see below).

The sample was "purposive" in that the goal was to find a wide range of youth and not any number of youth who could "represent" all in either a technical or an everyday meaning. A purposive sample is used when the goal is to generalize youths' ideas about work. It is not used when the goal is to generalize from a sample of youth in SYEP to all (or most) SYEP youth.

We asked Prime Sponsor staff to give us a list of 75 enrolled youth who were at a variety of work sites. We asked for a full age range, boys and girls (men and women) and all ethnic and/or racial groups. We contacted each youth by telephone and asked for a face-to-face visit to explain the study and to request a signed "informed consent" form--a statement that the youth is willing to participate in the study (see

below). The sample supervisors were selected by virtue of the youth who were selected; to select a youth was to select a supervisor.

3. THE INTERVIEWERS

Interviewers were employed; they included both men and women, youth and adults, whites and blacks, one foreign doctoral student and one summer student from the University of Wyoming. The range of interviewer backgrounds was important because it provided options in the assignment of interviewers and because several of the interviewers had worked in/on SYEP as youth participants and as supervisors.

To insure that all understood the purpose, style, spirit and practices of the study, formal and informal training sessions were held over a three week period. Much time was available for this because it took so long for the University and the State to sign the research contract. About 30 hours were devoted to practicing interviewing and recording skills.

4. DATA COLLECTION FORMS

Introduction

Eight (8) forms were used as guidelines in data collection and recording.* Forms were used to insure that interviewers would cover all of the same topics in the way intended. The forms were designed in a somewhat unusual manner so we discuss this next.

Designing the Forms

To insure that the research would be close to the everyday world of youth and work, we chose to do a qualitative study, one which used face-to-face interviews as the primary means of data collection. We did a literature review of academic and program journals and reports and we met with select SYEP staff and with Miriam Seltzer (Center for Youth Development and Research) before beginning the study. All of this contributed to our final decision to use interviews and to have the interviewer dictate a summary of the interview into a recording machine for typing.

One way to think about our forms is to imagine four different interviews with the same youth, one every third week; and to imagine that the forms would be used, all the data analyzed and the next form designed--all within the three week cycle. Now, think of each different form used with youth as being made up of three parts:

---

* Our forms were color coded for ease in handling, but for this Report color coding cannot be shown.

Basic Question(s)
Focused Questions
New Questions

The first part was the basic question(s). We included the same question for every interview. The focused questions were those which pinpointed an issue or topic which was discovered by us in analysis of previous interviews. The new questions were ones which occurred to us, were suggested to us or were "found" in the data, e.g. questions about safety and clothing.

The system as described was an ideal and in practice it did not work perfectly. Among other things, this was due to the difficulties of interviewing on schedule and our use of the mail to send tapes to the University from Southeastern Minnesota. However, the system did work and we were able to develop forms and questions "in a grounded" way, i.e. from previous data.

The Wording and the Words

Some of the words used and some of the wording of the actual questions seem at first to contradict the goal of capturing the everyday "the already known" about life at work. This is because some sentences seem "clumsy" and are not in everyday, idiomatic English. This was intentional. The purpose of constructing questions which were not idiomatic was to avoid using some basic everyday words so as to learn whether youth would use these words and, if so, in what ways. For example, rather than ask:

"How did you get your job?"

we asked:

"How did you come to be at work here?"

The purpose here was to avoid putting the onus of responsibility on the youth "for getting the job" so as to learn how in fact the "job" was obtained, and to see if youth called their work "job," "program," or something else. Another example is seen in the common phrases "What's your job?" or "What tasks do you do here?" and in our more neutral question, "What do you do here?" Another example concerns leisure time. Since we wanted to learn what youth called the time they were not at work and what occurred or what they did during that time, we asked: "What happened during the time you weren't here yesterday?" rather than, "How did you use your free time (or time off)?"

INTERVIEW FORMS AND QUESTIONS

Here, we present each actual form (instrument) and give our reasons for asking each question.

SOME THINGS TO REMEMBER IN INTERVIEWING

Interviewing

The purpose of the interview is to capture the young person's experiences and understanding about him or herself as someone who is involved in the Summer Youth Employment Program. This sentence can be used as a guideline for formulating probe questions and for summarizing the interview on tape. You are encouraged to work out a personal way of keeping notes so as to capture as closely as possible the young person's own language and expressions. Keep an ear open to trying to hear both you and what the youth take for granted and hence may not say; or because you take it for granted you may not ask about it. The questions which follow should be used in both of two ways: 1) as actual questions you can ask youth and 2) as guidelines for you and/or the youth to formulate more specific questions.

Tape Summary

Use the notes on the interview sheets to present your summary of what the youth said. Try as much as possible to use the youth's own words, phrases, and expressions in your summary. Do your best to let the listener of this tape know when you are reporting what the youth said and when you are putting in your own ideas and thoughts. One way to do this is to think about the summary for the tape as having two parts: Part One is "you as a faithful reporter" of what the youth said and Part Two is you the person with thought and ideas about what was said.

INTERVIEW #1

Interview Code #_____

Remember that what we want to capture is the young person's experience and understandings about him or herself as someone involved in the Summer Youth Employment Program. Use this sheet of paper to take notes on. After the interview is over, write down notes on other questions you asked on another sheet of paper. Include ideas from these in your taped summary.

1. What do you do here?

To learn about "the job, the tasks, the work" without using their words so as to learn what words are used. No time span given.

What have you done today? (Probe for the range of activities)

* Same as question one -- but with time span given.

How do you know what to do?

To learn about how youth came to do as (s)he did; whose initiative; roles of supervisor, training, and experience.

2. What did you do on your first day?

* Same as question one, but with different time span given.

How did you spend the day?

* Same as questions 1 and 2 except with another approach to get at the everyday life on the job.

3. How did you come to be at work?

* To learn how youth "got the job" without using those words and without biasing answer.

4. What happened during the time you weren't here yesterday?

* To learn about time off work (i.e. free time) without using those words because they refer, for adults, often to less valuable activities than work.

---

*These are the reasons for the question.

INTERVIEW #2

Interview Code #_____

The purposes of this interview are to get the young person's perceptions about 1) changes in work that have occurred during the time since the first interview; 2) the social network at work; 3) equality, sharing and being treated with respect at work; 4) the supervisor's work and relationship to him (her); 5) whether working on a crew and/or doing menial labor makes a difference in the youth's perceptions of the work; and 5) whether (s)he is learning anything useful from the experience; and 6) how parents and friends feel about his/her working.

1. You told me what you do here during the first interview. I'd like to know if you do the same things now or whether you do other things. Tell me what all you did yesterday. Are these things typical now?

   * To check on stability of work, tasks and job; and not on answer (or youth's) reliability or consistency (a technical issue).

2. Who do you do each of these things with?

   * To learn about the social organization of work and interpersonal relations at work.

   - Who tells you?
   - Who shows you?
   - Who helps you out?

   } To learn about supervision and learning on the job.

3. Do you work more or less than other people here?

   * To learn how youth compare their effort, often one source of tension on a job.

   - Which other people?
   - In what kinds of ways?

   To learn whom youth choose to compare self with.

4. What kinds of things happen here that make you feel good? not good?

   * To learn about another part of "the personal meaning of work." Question worded to allow any topic as an answer.

INTERVIEW #2 (continued)

5. Are you learning anything here? If so, how will you use what you're learning?

   * To learn about youth's evaluation of the work experience as a learning experience, and his/her idea about how what is learned will (or could) be used.

6. How do your parents (or guardians) and friends feel about your work?

   * To learn the answer to the question; and to learn if youth discuss work with these other people.

INTERVIEW #3

Interview Code #_____

The purposes of this interview are to get the young person's perceptions about what the work involves; whether or not there are changes in the work; safety; clothing; racial, sex or handicap issues at work; and whether or not (s)he had choices about what (s)he does at work.

1. You have told me what you do here during the times we've talked before. I'd like to know if you do the same things now, or whether you do other things. Tell me what you did yesterday. Are these things typical now?

   * Same as Interview #2

2. Now I'd like to hear about safety. Is safety-on-the-job something which was or is ever talked about? What was said? By whom? When?

   * This question stimulated by observation of youth on-the-job behavior and dress; and by media report.

   Do you work in a safe way? How do you know?

   * To learn how the abstract notion "safety" is lived, acted, practiced, and evaluated.

   Are you conscious of safety as you work everyday on the job?

   * To learn if safety is "up front" or "in back" of the mind as the youth works (i.e., safety as a structure of consciousness).

3. Now I'd like to hear about the clothes you wear to work. Do you dress in any special way when you come to work? How do you decide what to wear?

   * This is a topic in most youth magazines and in older government and school job talks: dress better, look better, do better.

   * To learn about socialization to work; to learn about use of uniforms; to learn whether money is mentioned; to learn if this is really a choice.

   Did anybody ever tell you what to wear? Did anyone let you know what they think about what you wear?

   * To learn about socialization to and supervision of work.

INTERVIEW #3 (Continued)

Do you wear any special clothes (shoes, uniform)? If so, what is the purpose of these? (why?)

* To learn about everyday life at work and "rank" which is found in dress.

What would be the most comfortable clothes you could wear to do your job?

* To learn if work rules regarding clothes were close to one kind of ideal dress.

What would be the safest clothes you could wear to do your job?

* To learn youths' views and the relation of this answer to answers above.

4. Are there ever any tensions or incidents here due to racial differences and/or to males and females working together and/or to physical differences (e.g., handicaps)? If so, describe these. What effect does (did) the incidents have?

* Question developed from field data on such incidents.

5. In thinking back over the summer, did you have a choice about <u>where</u> to work? How come?

* Question developed from field data "compliments" and from philosophy of youth development.

Once you were there, did you have choices about what you do (did) on the job? How come?

Same as #5.

INTERVIEW #4 (FOLLOW-UP)

Interview Code #_____

The purpose of this interview is to get the youth's perceptions about what working this summer means in his life. By this we mean, how does youth "understand" and "put together" for self "what the summer work is all about."

1. Looking back over the summer, do you think you spent it well, wasted it or did some of each?

   * To learn youths' personal evaluation of summer experience.

2. Looking back, would you describe what your supervisor did on his job? (We are trying to get at what (s)he did as your supervisor and the other things (s)he did also).

   * To learn, as is noted, what youths' conceptions are of supervisor's job.

3. You worked at _____. What organization paid your salary? (Explain it was CETA or YCEEP if youth doesn't know). Did you ever think of yourself as being "on or in the CETA or YCEEP program?" (Which phrase sounds right to you--"in" or "on" the Program?)

   * To learn what youth knows about CETA in general; and to test a hunch that there is a difference between being "in or on" the Program. The point here is to test the similarity in phrasing CETA participation with language about public welfare.

4. Did you go to "classes" or "school" on your summer work program? If so, what was good about doing that? What wasn't good?

   * To learn about these from youth.

   Did you have to go? How did you know this? (Were you required to go?)

   * To learn youths' understanding of whether s(he) had to, or chose to, or was required to attend. We found some confusion about this among supervisors.

5. Has working helped you in school (or on the current job?) (e.g., buying clothes, learning something that can be applied, earning school credits).

   * To learn youths' conception of work.

INTERVIEW #4 (Continued)

6. What have you done with the money you made?

   * To learn about what youth did with their earnings. To test rumors about parental authority and money, petty theft and friends "borrowing" money.

7. What did you get out of working this summer?

   * Question 5 put another way.

8. Did you learn anything about the kind of work you did? (Did you learn skills? Jargon? The way people on the job look at things?, etc.)

   * Question 5 and 7 put another way.

9. Have you gotten any ideas about what you would or wouldn't like to do for work next summer? This winter? For your whole life? Did having this job open up any doors for you?

   * To learn if youth report the summer work as part of deciding about self and future.

10. Have things changed at home since you've had this job? (Probe for relationships with parents and siblings and for youth's control over how he/she spends his time and his/her money).

    * To learn relation and consequence(s) on family of youths' work.
    * To learn about youth in Program as "young workers," i.e., without focus on Program.

11. If you could do the whole summer over, what would you change?

    * To learn youths' evaluation of summer and suggestions for change in own behavior and in Program.

12. Have you met people whom you would not normally (in your everyday life) come in contact with? (Probe re: friendships, what learned from this, etc.)

    * To test youth development hunch about work for some as participation in a different world--and how youth defined and lived this.

INTERVIEW WITH THE SUPERVISOR

Interview Code #_____

The purposes of this interview are to get the supervisor's perceptions about what the supervisor does, what the young people do and what they learn, what, if anything, is special about working with youth, whether there are race/sex problems, and how the program might be changed.

1. You are the supervisor of _____(name(s) of youth(s)). Tell me what (s)he (or they) do here.

   * To compare task, job, work definition with youth's.

2. I'd like to know what you do <u>as a supervisor</u> of young people in the summer program.

   * To learn supervisor's conception of his/her supervision.

   What were the things you did in relation to these young people yesterday?

   * To get examples of #2.

3. What do you think is important in supervising young people? Are there differences between supervising young people and adults? How about between different young people?

   * To learn supervisor's conception of youth development as applied to supervision of youth at work.

4. Are there things you sometimes do beyond the usual supervisory role? (e.g., helping with a personal problem, referrals to human services, teaching skills such as making job applications, opening bank accounts, or giving references for future jobs).

   * To learn these special things and to learn these as a way of learning the boundaries of the usual supervision role with youth.

5. What do you think _____(name(s) of youth(s)) will get out of this experience?

   * To learn supervisor's partial evaluation of youth.

6. Are there any tensions or incidents due to racial differences or to males and females working together here?

   * To learn from supervisor same as from youth.

INTERVIEW WITH THE SUPERVISOR (Continued)

7. If the summer youth work program were ideal, how would it be? What are some ways to get closer to the ideal?

   * To learn supervisor's evaluation of the Program and suggestions for change.

INTERVIEW WITH PARENT OR GUARDIAN SO 2

Interview Code #_____

The purposes of this interview are to get the parent(s) or guardian(s) perceptions about the work experience of the youth in this study. This includes such topics as what the work involves, whether or not work is discussed at home, the effects of work on the youth and the effects of work on the family.

Remember to explain to this person the purposes of this study and their rights. Please be sure to get the consent form (#2) signed.

1. Do you know about _____'s working this summer? What do you know about what _____does at work?

   - what does (s)he do?
   - how did (s)he get this job?
   - who, if anyone, helped him/her in getting the job?

   * To learn whether work was talked about and, if so, what was discussed. To get another view about getting on CETA.

2. Do you and _____ever talk about his/her working? If so, what do you and _____talk about? Think back to the last time you and _____talked about his/her work. What was said?

   * To learn, as in #1, about the place of work in the life of youth.

3. What is the <u>best part</u> of his/her job as far as you're concerned?

   * To learn about parents' evaluation of friend's job.

4. What is the <u>worst part</u> of his/her job as far as you're concerned?

   * Same as #4.

5. What is your impression of what (s)he thinks about the job? (Probe re: supervisor, the experience, the tasks, the other workers, the money).

   * To learn parents' evaluation of friend's experience.

6. Has _____ seemed to change in any ways since beginning work this summer?

   * As is.

INTERVIEW WITH PARENT OR GUARDIAN SQ 2 (Continued)

7. What does _____ do with the money (s)he makes?

   * To get parents' views given rumors about parental control over salary, petty theft and borrowing.

8. What do you think _____ will get out of this summer work experience?

   * Parents' view of summer work program.

9. If you could do this summer over in any way you wanted, what, if anything, would you change about _____'s working?

   * Parents' view of relation between and among social roles of friend and worker and special friend.

10. What is the name of the program which _____ is on? What do you know about CETA and/or YCEEP program? Where did you learn this?

    * To learn parents' conception of CETA, particularly if interviewee is not on (in) Program.

INTERVIEW WITH FRIEND SO 3

Interview Code # _____

The purposes of this interview are to get the friend's views about the study youth's work experience. This includes: what the work involves; how it is affecting his/her life, what is "ideal" work for youths; and this person's own work experience.

Be sure to explain to this young friend that you got his/her name from the study youth whom you are interviewing. Remember to discuss the purpose of the study and his/her rights. Please be sure to get the consent form (#2) signed.

1. How long have you known _____? How close a friend are you?

   * As is.

2. Do you know about _____'s working this summer? What do you know about what (s)he does at work?

   * To learn friend's view of these and to learn whether work is spoken about.

3. Think back to the last time you and your friend talked about his/her work. What was said?

   * An example for #2.

4. Do you think _____'s working is making any changes in his/her life? In what ways?

   * A friend's view of youth's roles.

5. What is your impression of what your friend thinks about the job? (Probe re: supervisor, the experience, the tasks, the other workers, the money).

   * To learn if friends talk about work.

6. What is the name of the program your friend is on? What do you know about CETA and/or YCEEP? Where did you learn this?

   * As is.

INTERVIEW WITH FRIEND SO 3 (Continued)

7. Do you work? What do you do? (This question focuses on the summer. Change tense, if necessary, from "do" to "did).

   * To learn interviewee's work experience.

   What do (did) you like about working?
   What did you not like about working?

   * As is.

   Do (did) you have a supervisor? What did this person do?

   * To get comparative data.

8. At what age do you think young people should be allowed to work?

   How come? What kinds of work do you think are o.k. to do for youth who are:

   * 14 years old
     15 years old
     16 years old
     17 years old
     18 years old

   } Same as #8.

9. What kind of job would be best for your friend?

   * As is and friend's conception to place alongside other conception.

10. What kind of job would be best for you?

    * As is.

F A C E S H E E T

YOUTH

Interviewer: Name _____

Name:

Code Letter_____

Code #:

Age:

Sex:

Ethnicity/Race:

Last grade in school:

Home address:

Phone:

WORK SITE

Name of agency:

Address:

Supervisor:

Date started this job:

Type of work:

SIGNIFICANT OTHERS

SO 1:_____
Relation to youth

Name:

Address:

Phone:

SO 2: _____
Relation to youth

Name:

Address:

Phone:

SO 3:_____
Relation to youth

Name:

Address:

Phone:

CONTACTS WITH INTERVIEWEES

Dates of Interviews:

1. Youth
2. SO 1
3. SO 2
4. SO 3

5. INFORMED CONSENT FORMS

Three forms were used to comply with statutory and normative practices of informal consent. Since the study was an evaluation, the research plan did not have to be submitted for prior approval to the University Committee on Research of Human Subjects (Ethics Committee). Two examples follow:

#1

I _____ agree to participate in an evaluation of the response of youth to the CETA/Governor's Youth Program conducted under contract by the Center for Youth Development and Research, University of Minnesota.

I understand that the purpose of the evaluation is to learn about the experiences of young workers from the points of view of youth and other significant people.

I agree to participate in several periodic interviews throughout the summer, including at least one interview after I have left the Program. However, I also understand that I may withdraw from this evaluation at any point. If I choose not to participate or to withdraw later in this study, my job will not be affected.

I understand that my name and all my comments will be confidential and that no information which might identify me will be kept or reported.

_____ _____

(date) (signature)

#2

I _____ agree to participate in an evaluation of the response of youth and other significant people to the CETA/Governor's Youth Program conducted under contract by the Center for Youth Development and Research, University of Minnesota.

I understand that the purpose of the evaluation is to learn about the experiences of young workers from the points of view of youth and other significant people.

I agree to participate in this interview, although I understand that I may withdraw at any point. If I choose not to participate or to withdraw, my decision will not affect the employment of any young people.

5. INFORMED CONSENT FORMS (Continued)

I understand that my name and all of my comments will be confidential. Any information which might identify me will be coded.

_____ _____

(date) (signature)

6. TECHNICAL NOTES RE STUDY

About Validity and Reliability.

Within research reports, it is commonplace to find comments about the validity and/or reliability of the study. Examples include reports on statistical tests used to assess the "truthness" of a measure and the consistency of a measure or a finding. These reports are in the tradition of operationalism in sociobehavioral research.

Here, a different research paradigm was used. No "factors" or variables or measures were used; instead, we used questions and answers in the spirit of inquiry. Concerns about validity and reliability are appropriate here too, although the terms of discussion are very different.

In neopositivist usage, validity is a correspondence between a measure and what is being measured, i.e., an object being measured. The object is thought to be independent of the measure. Reliability is consistency in measurement.

In this evaluation, validity is what was written and/or heard and what was "captured" on the video. We are making three points:

1. By noting "written, heard and captured," we mean to say that we never know, e. g., "if we heard what was said." We heard something and can check out with others about this something. Is this something that was said? How can one know?

2. There are multiple truths and multiple realities about everything. "We have what we have." Is it real? Yes. Is it the truth? How would you decide?

3. There is no meaning in the attempts "to get closer to the real truth," for there is no meaning in the phrase.

In this evaluation, reliability is whether what was said or acted at one time was similar to what was said or acted at another time. Given that each and every situation is different than all others, one can focus on the uniqueness or on the similarities between and among an individual and others. It is when one uses the eyeglasses of operationalism that the search can be for the relation between and/or among the answer to a question and something else. In our view, "what is said, is."

Confounding Validity and Reliability: The Process of Interpretation.

To interpret is to clarify and to give or create meaning. The question falsely put is, "Who's right?" Given the earlier points, one can only note that the one is the same or different than the

other. It is not a question of "rightness" in the sense of truthness. It is at best a question of rightness in the value or ethical or moral senses. This is a crucial focus in youth:adult relations because social power often "determines" the social process by which someone's words are taken as more right than someone else's.

7. OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE STUDY

Study Strengths

The strengths of this evaluation lie first in the range of qualitative data used and then, specifically, in the interview data collected from youth and supervisors. The "grounded theory-building" approach supplemented with an attempt to understand the everyday work worlds as a participant resulted in good data about SYEP. We have a "good feel" for the youth and their views and for the views of supervisors. We have learned about and focused on topics of interest to youth, supervisors, Prime Sponsors, and others. In this way we have defined one domain of subjects for in-depth SYEP concern.

Study Weaknesses

The study is weakest in our failure to collect data from the friends and parents of participants. In part, this seems to be the result of their conception of the Program as "welfare-like," i.e., any information they would give us could be used by the Program against the participant. This was a risk which few would take.

A second study weakness is the lack of four interviews for all participants. This resulted from three real world facts: Our research contract was not signed at the beginning of the Program cycle; some SYEP sites began work earlier than others and thus closed earlier than expected; and youth were very, very hard to find for some of the interviews. This was due most often to an incomplete address, a work group which changed work sites, incomplete work schedules, suspensions, firings. Taken together, hundreds of hours (and dollars) were spent during the first two weeks just looking for youth and supervisors.

8. EVALUATION ORIENTATIONS

There are a variety of approaches to a method of program evaluation. We have an approach, too (e.g., Baizerman, 1974; et al, 1976.) Our program evaluation approach is based on the notions that: there are several "right" ways to study or evaluate any program; an evaluation study begins on a certain date but does not have "to end," and at best becomes (is made into) program monitoring, and that the basic operation in evaluation is making a judgment using criteria. This can be done in a variety of ways: one can use program goals, objectives or any number of "outcomes" in this process. In other words, there can be no one, incontroversial, final, complete evaluation in a research sense.

Program evaluation is not a "clean and objective" process; instead, it is a value-based process in which people decide, using more or less explicit values and facts. These are some of the sources of this study. While this is an evaluation study, the spirit is one of inquiry; i.e., a quest in which one "seeks to deepen the understanding of a problem and thereby furthers rather than terminates the enterprise."

9. NOTE ABOUT COMPARISON BETWEEN CITY OF ST. PAUL AND SOUTHEASTERN MINNESOTA

Introduction

It is reasonable to ask what similarities and differences were "found" between SYEP in the two study areas. A more traditional study and study report would include a chapter on this and the points would be made simply and directly. Here, such a comparison is difficult to make in some ways because of our conscious decision to analyze and write up the data in two different ways. This was done to learn the results of such differences in method. This is a very simple but profound technical and commonsense issue and we wanted "to take-it-on."

The issue is whether two different styles (methods) of analysis and writing would result in "findings" which were similar. (In other words, how much is "truth" a function of the method used "to find" it). Our prejudice is to use a variety of approaches simultaneously in the data analysis so as to learn a variety of "findings." Each "finding" is not a statement of "truth" but is only words which we can use to sensitize us to the many aspects of the realities which we learned about.

The word "finding" is put in quotation marks to remind the reader that these are not archeological data which are "discovered or found" after brushing away sand. Instead, these data are constructed realities, and, in that sense, are not all that can be known about the subject under inquiry.

An Answer

We found that the "data are consistent" across field sites. That is to say, there is little difference and great similarity* in the answers from youth and supervisors regardless of where they lived. In the ABSTRACT, which prefaces this Report, all points refer to both sites, except where noted.

Major differences between study sites include the local definition of work-in-groups as "crew work" in a neutral or positive sense (Southeastern Minnesota) or in a negative sense (St. Paul).

Another difference is the amount and use of the youth's salary. In St. Paul, youth said that the hourly wage was relatively low compared to "steady" private sector work, while in Southeastern

---

*The reader should remember that the racial mix was different between field sites so that some findings could not be compared. Work sites differed too.

Minnesota the hourly wage was relatively high compared to local salaries. Youth in the Southeastern Minnesota area reported using their money more for their family than did the city youth. Our hunch is that this subject is a locus of real differences between the youth.

APPENDIX B

REFERENCES

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baizerman, Michael. "Evaluation and Evaluation Research: Scientific Social Movement and Ideology." Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, Winter, 1974.

Baizerman, Michael and Nicholas Cooper. "Working Youth: Selected Findings From an Exploratory Study." Journal of Youth and Adolescence, Spring, 1974.

Baizerman, Michael & Wm. Hall. "Consultation as a Political Process." Community Mental Health Journal, Winter, 1977.

Baizerman, Michael & James McDonough & Mitchell Sherman. Self-Evaluation Handbook for Hotlines and Crisis Centers. St. Paul: Center for Youth Development and Research, 1975.

Cleavinger, Theodore, Jr. Audience Analysis. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966.

Dunnette, Marvin D. Personnel Selection & Placement. Belmont, California: Brooks, Cole Publishing, 1966.

Edelman, Murray. The Symbolic Uses of Politics. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964.

Evans, Stephen C. Despair: A Moment or a Way of Life? (An Existential Quest for Hope). Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter-Varsity Press, 1971 (Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship).

Flanagan, John. Critical Incident Technique. Palo Alto: American Institutes of Research, 1974.

Gartner, Alan & Frank Riessman. The Service Society and the Consumer Vanguard. New York: Harper & Row, 1974.

Hasenfeld, Yeheskel & Richard English, eds. Human Service Organizations. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1974.

Hedin, Diane, et al. Minnesota Youth Poll: Youths' Views on Work. May, 1977 (Center for Youth Development and Research, University of Minnesota, St. Paul).

Icheiser, Gustav. Appearances and Realities. San Francisco: Fossey & Bass, 1970.

Konopka, Gisela. "Requirements for the Healthy Development of Adolescent Youth." Adolescence, Fall, 1973.

Smith, Barbara. "Adolescent and Parent: Interaction Between Developmental Stages." Center for Youth Development and Research, Quarterly Focus, Fall, 1976.

Worklife, select issues.

APPENDIX C

REQUIREMENTS FOR HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT OF ADOLESCENT YOUTH:

WITH EXAMPLES FROM A SUMMER YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM (SYEP)

Introduction

In the spring of 1973 the Office of Child Development of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare asked Gisela Konopka and the Center for Youth Development and Research, University of Minnesota, to develop a statement on their concept of normal adolescence and impediments to healthy development. The statement "Requirements for Healthy Development of Adolescent Youth"[1] was viewed as a possible base for national policy.

The statement has been used extensively by Center staff and others in teaching, policy development, research and training. It was found that many people wanted specific examples for the ideas, philosophy and values presented in this document. To this end Beth Brokering read transcripts of interviews with youth and their supervisors in a Summer Youth Employment Program in the State of Minnesota[2] and identified those quotations which amplified and highlighted the theoretical material on youth development.

Our intent was to make the document more useful and practical for teaching, research and practice. It is our belief that people can use these examples from the world of work to begin to hear and identify similar comments from youth in the world of health, corrections, education, recreation, and the like. Persons working with youth could also use the criteria and examples in this paper to evaluate their own programs.

The following document combines material from two sources: a) the paper entitled "Requirements for Health Development of Adolescent Youth", written in 1973, and b) quotations from young people and their supervisors in the SYEP. For clarity, the latter are bracketed throughout the document.

Purview of this Statement

We are talking about adolescent youth in the cultural context of the United States of America in the 1970's. Our objectives are:

---

[1] Gisela Konopka, "Requirements for Healthy Development of Adolescent Youth", Adolescence, Vol. VIII, No. 31, Fall 1973, pp. 1-26.

[2] This study was funded by the Department of Economic Security, State of Minnesota, Contract #7-054 to Michael Baizerman, Center for Youth Development and Research, for the purpose of a partial evaluation study of SYEP. The full report is available from the Department of Economic Security, Office of CETA Statewide Coordination, 690 American Center, 150 E. Kellogg Blvd., St. Paul, MN 55101, at no cost.

* to present a positive developmental model of adolescence by describing what we regard as the key concepts and qualities of adolescence;

* to set forth some of the conditions for healthy development of adolescent youth;

* to discuss specific obstacles to such development.

Within this framework we offer a few recommendations concerning programs and research that could facilitate healthy development of adolescent youth.

It should be noted at the outset that whatever is said in this statement (1) never applies totally to one individual because individuals differ; (2) never applies totally to a group or subgroup because ours is a pluralistic culture embodying an infinite variety of subcultures and subgroups; (3) is distinctly intended to be fluid because ours is a culture in transition.

Adolescence Defined

Adolescence is defined here as that span of a young person's life between the obvious onset of puberty and the completion of bone growth. We chose a biological definition; others frequently are used. In the cultural context, the age set by a given society for the rites of transition to adulthood could be perceived as marking the end of adolescence. In the United States of the 1970's that age, for the most part, is set at 18. In general, we apply no rigid age limits. We think of the period of 12 to 15 years as early adolescence and 15 to 18 years as middle adolescence. The period of 18 to 22 years might possibly be considered late adolescence. This statement is directed predominantly to early and middle adolescence.

Two other definitions of adolescence should be mentioned. "Sociologically, adolescence is the transition period from dependent childhood to self-sufficient adulthood. Psychologically, it is a 'marginal situation' in which new adjustments have to be made, namely those that distinguish child behavior from adult behavior in a given society."[2] We do not adhere to either of the two.

Our view of adolescence is eclectic, psychological, and goes beyond current existing theories. Central to our concept is this: We do not see adolescence exclusively as a stage that human beings pass through, but rather as a segment of continuing human development. We reject the common conception that adolescence is solely preparation for adulthood, except in the sense that everything in life can be considered to be preparation for what follows. We believe adolescents are persons with specific qualities and characteristics who have a participatory and

[3] Rolf E. Muuss, Theories of Adolescence, New York: Random House, 1962, 2nd ed., p. 4.

responsible role to play, tasks to perform, skills to develop at that particular time of life. The degree or extent to which an adolescent experiences such responsible participation will determine and maximize his or her human development.

Cultural Context

Since we are talking about adolescent youth in the cultural context of the United States, it seems important to set out a few specific attributes of that culture which we consider particularly relevant to this statement. The list obviously is not intended to be exhaustive.

Pluralism

Perhaps the word that best characterizes the United States is "variety." Its people fit no common mold. They reflect a broad mix of racial, national, religious, cultural, and socio-economic backgrounds. Their life styles and interests are diverse. They hold various views on what constitutes the "good life."

Acceptance of Difference

Since ours is not a heterogeneous society we must be accepting of difference, or at least work toward that goal. We embrace egalitarianism as an ideal. We reject all forms of discrimination, again ideally. The general development of an increasing capacity on the part of each person to respect others and to be respected is seen as a necessary trend.

Participatory Democracy

Inherent in the representative democratic form of government under which we live is the responsibility of citizens to participate. Every citizen possesses limited political power. Organized groups have greater power. To make democracy work, citizens should be reasonably well informed and be persons of good will -- that is, concerned with the common good as well as with the individual, and acting on their concern. Those are not qualities people are born with; they are developed as part of the socialization process:

> [I want to continue working here because all the kids get to be a part of everything, for example, instead of just giving us blue prints to work from in landscaping, a woman came to the site and explained what the blueprints meant... When we can participate, we feel more a part of things.]
>
> [Today...(the supervisor) didn't feel very good, so he wanted to take it easy and not work as hard as we did yesterday. He told us to stop for awhile. I was talking to someone. (Another supervisor) said to me, 'If you two don't get to work, I am going to send you home.' He wasn't doing nothing. Usually supervisors are supposed to participate.]

[Don't assume that (the SYEP kids) are going to do something just because you tell them to do it. Try to go along with them. I found that when I go out and work beside them for a little while, even though I only work with them for 5-10 minutes, they appreciate the work and are more willing to do it than if I was just to dictate to them, go do this, go do that.]

[The (youth and adults) really work about equal. In games they participate. If they want you to participate, they don't sit out and watch, they like everybody to be a part of it...I'm learning things, like how to participate and how to do stuff on my own, not to give up. I am also learning things about myself. I am learning mostly about everybody. I have learned that most people don't like for their feelings to be hurt.]

Human Rights

Ideologically, ours is an open, free society based on the proposition that the purpose of government is to advance and protect basic human rights. Those rights are presumed to be inalienable -- that is, natural, irrevocable, and nontransferable. Society is obligated to create the conditions under which human rights can be secure. Among those that we believe lie closest to the healthy development of youth are:

* the right of the individual to be himself, to think his own thoughts and to speak them, consistent with the rights of others:

  [(One of the supervisors said), 'Oh yeah, well don't think because you have been here longer you have more authority.' But I think I should be able to express myself. Maybe I am in the wrong place. I always end up getting blamed... You asked me what I know, but they don't, they just tell me what they know. I like to do what I think is right and use my mind, not someone else's.]

  [I've learned a lot about myself and what I know, even though I can't express it around here.]

* the right to grow and to develop his abilities to their full potential:

  [I came into conflict with my supervisor quite frequently because of a difference in my opinion: I wanted to work up to 100% of my capacity; they made sure I worked to my full capacity; and I had to continue because if I expected that of myself, they expected that of me. I almost quit over an argument about this. No one else was working up to their potential.]

* the right to air his grievances and seek redress:

[I do have some feelings about where I work that I don't express because I might get into trouble. The first year my sister worked here she got in a battle with one of the supervisors. They got on her bad -- they had a big argument and he's held something against me ever since.]

* the right to make mistakes without unreasonable punishment:

[Last year they sent me home for taking a radio out of the classroom to listen to it outside.]

[When the bus came...My supervisor wanted me to go and get a tool and bring it back to the trailer. I said no, because I didn't take it out, because I wanted to bring the tools back when we came back to the trailer before the bus came, and because everybody knows it doesn't take two people to carry a two-man saw. The supervisor told me not to come back Monday if I didn't get it. He also said that if I took too long, not to come back Tuesday either... He punished me by not getting a tool fast enough.]

[I spend the whole morning cementing one little area -- about one foot by two feet and about a foot deep. It took me so long because the first time I did it I thought it was alright but the supervisor made me tear it apart and do it again. I did it again and then the supervisor showed me where I had left a small hole, so I had to do it over again and it took me all morning...it makes me feel bad when the crew leader hollers at us when we make mistakes or we're not doing the jobs good enough.]

* the right to justice:

[What I mind is that I never see one of my supervisors doing anything like hoeing or weeding. I believe he had some squash, corn and peanuts planted late intentionally so that it's too late for the kids to have it at harvest time. I suppose they own more of it than us. If I saw them work more like us I think they would know why we would like to have some of it. I've only seen one of them work about six times since I've been here. I'm afraid they will tell me I'm out of place just because I've been here more than other kids. That's what they did to (sibling).]

[One supervisor tries to manhandle us. One day, this girl got tired of carrying logs. I tried to help and this supervisor grabbed me away. I told him he better not grab me like that. I don't like the way I'm treated. I want to be treated like a person, not like an animal or a slave.]

What course society will take in the 1970's with respect to supporting the basic rights of individuals and groups remains to be seen. We assume the direction will be positive.

Human Responsibilities

The enjoyment of rights carries with it the obligation to take responsibility:

> [(As a supervisor I feel that) NYC gives young people an opportunity to be treated as adults. (However), I believe there are situations where young folks are given certain tasks that don't require them to take on any responsibility whatsoever. I have heard stories of kids that work on crews -- pulling weeds, digging ditches, planting gardens, so on and so forth. These were things that didn't require any responsibility. (Youths) are given a certain task and they just do that task. You start at one space and continue to the next space. When you run out of space you are done. This is not anything that is worthwhile.]

In our society, concern for one another with alertness toward handicap-producing circumstances is a basic human responsibility:

> [We have ample monies but it's not reaching the kids. We aren't even helping them, we're hurting them. A lot of them don't know anything or do anything all day but sit on their asses...Kids learn so fast now not to do. They're quick, but they're learning how to get over without a lot of work.]
>
> [Another teacher here says girls shouldn't work much but I don't care about that. I work hard out there and when I get home I am beat, I can't do anything. Out of the whole summer I came to work late twice and that's even too much for me.]
>
> [They have more women, but then I find out they don't work as much for the same pay. Look at them, sitting there talking. It doesn't take three people to answer one telephone. I might not necessarily want to be here either, but if I am put here, I will have to work.]

Informed decision-making is also a basic responsibility, since roles and opinions are not authoritatively prescribed:

> [We sit down and find out in what capacity these kids would like to help, whether or not they would just like to help with things like getting kids off the bus in the morning, helping with meals or whether or not they would like to be involved in actual teaching situations where they have to teach kids how to swim, count, read, speak, etc. This is very important -- to know where the kid is

at because FROM THE MOMENT HE SAYS, I LIKE TO DO THIS, HE IS RESPONSIBLE, HE IS SAYING, 'I WANT TO BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS'...My job is important to keep interest levels up, to find out if kids are actually staying with it, if they are satisfied, if they find some joy or sense of achievement out of what they're doing, if they can find a place. Also, to help them understand where they are at, where their responsibilities lie, what they should be doing, if they feel another person they're working with is giving them problems. (I don't see a difference between supervising young people and adults), because everybody that works here is treated as an adult. As soon as a person says, 'this is what I like to do,' from that moment on s/he has a responsibility.]

Change

Attitudes toward change come in all colors of the rainbow. Some people embrace any change simply for the sake of change. Others fight it persistently. Technological change or change in the material sense seems to be generally more acceptable than change in terms of social values, beliefs, morals, ethics, and life styles. We assume change in all social domains will continue to be an important element in our culture, though at times its direction may be pendular. Significant changes in the world of work can be anticipated. Institutional change will perhaps continue to be gradual, incremental and disjointed:

> [They make us work like people in yester-years, like out of the 18th century. With machinery, the government could accomplish something with more speed, efficiency and effectiveness. Instead, they give you old-time machines to do the work; they don't give you a power saw, they give you a hand saw...With machinery we could get 50% more work done in a year's time than by hand. They wanted to modernize everything -- more power to them -- but they don't want to use it. I feel like the work is fine and dandy, it gives us an education on how to use manpower without machinery. We work in the out-of-doors, but actually this accomplishes nothing because when we get another job in the future, we have no education as to how to use the sophisticated tools there; and we're not here just for the money but for an education also.]

> [Why don't they give us a job that will make us use our brain, not physical labor. Fifty years from now there is not going to be anyone doing construction work. In our technological society, it is beneficial to use computers. It is not going to be a time when you go out and dig a hole in the ground for work. You will have to use your brain to make money, I think the forests should be cleaned out, but can't we go to Control Data and learn from them? We could do both, 50/50. When you're around nature, man's natural instinct is to survive. We know that and we know

how to use nature. Let us learn how to use our brains. Where are the big strong men that the state department and city hired to keep these parks clean?]

Competition and Upward Mobility

Emphasis on job advancement and increasing earnings seems to be a durable aspect of our culture. Young men and women entering the labor force may have even higher economic and social expectations than those of a generation ago; they may also be more militant in seeking middle class income and status.[3] The 1971 White House Conference on Youth report, on the other hand, said college age youth give top priority to finding work that addresses critical social problems rather than to jobs that offer the most money and security.

The key consideration here is the social structural availability of choices:

> [Parents think (this job) is better than getting in trouble, but they would rather we worked a girl job. They don't feel that crew work outdoors -- strong, dirty work -- is a girl job. Girl jobs are sitting behind desks or playing with children.]
>
> [One establishment had agreed to take two (of my) kids. Later, (the employer) said he wouldn't take black kids because I sent him a black and a white kid...My hypothesis is that they're keeping the black kids happy up here by paying them here instead of sending them out into the white business community. Other white kids have been working there for some time.]
>
> [I am from a city where 70% of the black population worked in sanitation. This is a known fact because it was publicly researched. Less than 5% of a whole race in that city hold office jobs...I wasted the whole summer. Nothing ever came of it. I expected to be able to use it some time later on. Very few go back in that line of work. For me, picking up somebody's garbage is not my line of work.]
>
> [If you can show me a door, I will open it!]

Economy

Trends to note are (1) the widening gap between the economically well off and the poor -- that is, the maldistribution of income and material goods:

> [They give us a job to keep us off the street and keep us

---

[4] Irving Kristol, "Job Satisfaction: Daydream of Alienation?" AFL-CIO Federationist, Feb. 1973.

from robbing the white people. Rich white people say, 'We'll give the poor people summer jobs to keep them off our backs and clean up the parks that we will use and dirty again', and the Federal Government is right behind them. They aren't the ones that pay taxes. The poor, working class and middle class pay taxes. The rich people are too busy with their money to pay taxes, but when it comes time for income tax, they just make a donation. What do you accomplish? Nothing. What do you set out to accomplish? Nothing. You are back where you started from...This is a bullshit job, that's the only way I can describe it. Some of those people, because of their economic status, have to be out here.]

(2) The increasing concentration of economic power and the growing powerlessness to influence the economy's direction through the economic system:

> [I (supervisor) think people are being paid off. The money is not reaching us. It's pay-off money. I see the whole social service system becoming major corporations. I could see Gilette sponsoring this (agency), that is highly realistic.]

(3) The accumulating evidence that impact on or participation in economic growth, development, and consequences is achieved increasingly by political means:

> [(Working this summer) has formed negative ideas about working for a government program. You are grossly underpaid unless you are a senator or an elected official who can do a lot of things behind closed doors.]

Urbanization

Ours is predominantly a complex, organization prone, urban society. Formally organized groups and voluntary associations, focused on a great variety of causes and interests, abound. They create a bewildering maze, but they also provide a means of socialization and constructive activity. Along with increasing urbanization we see a rather unrealistic romanticization of rural living and an enormous nostalgia for the rural environment.

Communication

The media have enlarged greatly the vision of "the good life" and, because of their persuasive power, have added an increasing burden on the human capacity to distinguish propaganda from facts. Their influence is global, ranging from economics to politics to "heroes" to music to modes of dress. The control of content and style seems to be narrowly constructed. The viewing-listening-reading audience, for example, receives the same selection of national and international news in the same style, though there are some exceptions, of course.

The pervasiveness and immediacy of modern communication can turn eccentricities into fads, incidents into movements. The notion of a "generation gap," for instance, has been accentuated by the pronounced attention it has received. That youth are affected in many ways by the media goes without saying.

View of Man Underlying this Statement

"Every man is in certain respects

(a) like all other man,
(b) like some other men,
(c) like no other man."[4]

That is to say: All human beings have qualities in common that make them human. The biological endowments of human beings, the physical environment in which they live, and the societies and cultures in which they develop, have some common features. Members of subgroups have additional qualities in common. Similarities exist, for example, among people in a certain socio-cultural group, among professional groups, among people belonging to the same economic stratum. But no one person is exactly like another. Each individual inherits a unique combination of biological characteristics. Their environments are made up of a unique combination of factors. From birth onward they are shaped by countless, successive actions between the developing self and the environment. A given sequence of critically determining situations is never duplicated. Hence every person is in certain respects like no other person it is important that the marvel of infinite variation among human beings never be forgotten. No general view of man fits any single individual.

Man is a holistic being. One may emphasize the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual components of his makeup, but these components are not discrete. The whole is the synthesis of the parts.

Man is a social being. He is a product of the interplay of the environment and the individual -- not exclusively of one or the other. Neither is he supreme. Gesell left too much up to a random "magical" unfolding, while Skinner goes too far in the other direction by assuming an empty box, the old idea of man born as a "tabula rasa." Healthy growth occurs through appropriate interaction between man and the environment.

Man has a range of choices, but his choices are not unlimited. Total free will is an impossiblity. Particular people, by virtue of their membership in a given population group or subgroup, have a broader or narrower range of choices in specific domains. At different times they have different choices.

---

[5] Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray, Personality in Nature, Society and Culture. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949, p. 35.

Man is a developmental being, moving toward self-realization. Every person wants to be significant.

> [We have one girl who no one could stand to be with for five minutes. She hated everything and didn't have a good thing to say about anything. She was (with us) all summer and now she's the neatest, funniest girl. She didn't think anyone cared -- everyone was out to get her.]
>
> [The most important thing is when they tell me I have done a good job or tell me they appreciate the work I have done, especially if it is something I've taken on without being asked.]
>
> [My job makes me feel important -- like somebody. I don't mind coming to work everyday. It's a lot of fun, plus I'm learning a lot of things and I hope to go into this in the future.]
>
> [(I feel good when) little kids that come in or come back from previous years recognize me.]
>
> [My supervisor always makes everything I do seem worthwhile. The patients appreciate everything that I do for them and it makes you feel like you've accomplished something.]

The developmental process is never-ending. In it we see the totality of human life. No developmental stage is static. Each stage is related to other stages and builds toward other stages. Each stage is seen as having its own significant aspect. Each is characterized by stresses and exhilarations. The degree of stress and exhilaration in adolescence is enormous because of the great number of new experiences encountered in adolescence. The attainment of sexual maturity and the upsurge of tremendous physical and intellectual capacity are examples.

Man influences and is influenced by a variety of complex systems and subsystems. He acts and is acted upon. Throughout his life he has the capacity to grow, to change, to modify his behavior in accordance with his values. Value formation within the individual is a continuing process, partly emotional, partly intellectual. It is born out of interaction between the individual and the systems that touch him.

> [I have learned a lot about people. People also know me and what I am like. I have learned how I can change some of my ways, different things I do. Like, people tell me I need my hair cut, so I am getting my hair cut. I am self-conscious about the way I look and it is important to take care of myself. I am always complimented on wearing nice clothes.]

View of Adolescence Underlying this Statement

The concept of adolescence emerges as part of the view of man. Historically it is a comparatively new concept. Our own view of adolescence, while it embodies some features of those theories, comprehends our experience in working with youth and our reflective thinking upon those experiences.

Once more we emphasize that we do not see adolescence purely as preparation for adulthood. Rather we see it as one part of the total developmental process -- a period of tremendous significance distinguished by specific characteristics. BASIC TO OUR VIEW IS THE CONCEPT THAT ADOLESCENTS ARE GROWING, DEVELOPING PERSONS IN A PARTICULAR AGE GROUP -- NOT PRE-ADULTS, PRE-PARENTS, OR PRE-WORKERS, BUT HUMAN BEINGS PARTICIPATING IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE WORLD AROUND THEM. In brief, we see adolescence not only as a passage to somewhere but also as an important stage in itself.

In setting down what we consider to be the significant characteristics or key concepts of adolescence, we call attention again to the fact that they will not apply in toto to any person, group, or subgroup. Circumstances and timing, combined with individual differences, make for an infinite variety of behavior patterns, interactions, and outcomes.

Key Concepts of Adolescence

EXPERIENCE OF PHYSICAL SEXUAL MATURITY. A phenomenon particular to adolescence that never occurs again in the life of the individual is the process of developing sexual maturation, different from the state of accomplished sexual maturation. Biologically this is a totally new experience. Its significance is due partly to its pervasiveness and partly to the societal expectations surrounding it. It creates in adolescents a great wonderment about themselves and the feeling of having something in common with all human beings. It influences their whole relationship to each other, whether male or female. Entering this part of maturity also stimulates them to newly assess the world. Indicative of the importance attached universally to maturation of the sex organs are the puberty rites and initiation rituals that mark the transition from childhood to adulthood in many cultures, including present day U.S.A.:

> [In general, I observed that the young men, at this work site, were very preoccupied with the subject of women. They seemed very eager to impress me and my colleague, who is also female. They discussed the notion of having more women on the site. There seemed to be a lot of competition for attention and a lot of ridiculing for things which were related to displays of masculinity.]
>
> [He said, 'You know of course there's girls. Well, you know they're all in the play, too.' Then we described old places around the community where you take girls...]

EXPERIENCE OF WITHDRAWAL OF AND FROM ADULT BENEVOLENT PROTECTION. Along with biological maturity attained in adolescence come varying degrees of withdrawal of and from the protection generally given to dependent children by parents or substitutes. We know that some young people were never protected, even as children, but we assume a modicum of protection as a healthy base:

> [Kids begin to need money when they're 15 -- that's when you get interested in things that need money. You need nice clothes. Also, at that age, parents stop doing a lot of things for you that involve money, like buying clothes.]
>
> [Kids need money for clothes and things like that. Maybe their parents drink. You see other friends buy something here and you would like to do that too. You'd like to show them something you bought with your money -- You earned it.]
>
> [I guess (my friends) wish they had the job. Only one of my friends works...He'd like a different job, not with his mom, but he gets good pay and doesn't have to work all the time. He has enough money because he had a paper route for three years...Another friend of my mom and dad won't let him work until he's 16. He gets an allowance but, he never has enough money. I think they should let him have the job.]

Whatever the degree of previous protection, the adolescent is moving out from the family toward interdependence (not independence, but interdependence) in three areas: (1) with his peers, his own generation:

> [What makes me feel good are the kids that I work with. If I was the only one working there would be no possible way I would be here now.]
>
> [Usually in the evenings I get together with friends... I have a very wide range of friends and we all like to do different, crazy things and sometimes we break up with each other and the next day we're back together again and that's what I mean by a soap opera.]
>
> [Her friends were all trying to get her to work, even before she came there. She said they thought it would be good for her. One of her friends wanted her to work at Bridgeman's. She said anywhere would be alright -- they just wanted her to work. In our conversations, she frequently talks about friends. She is emphatic about not wanting to work anywhere else and feels good because of the friends her age that she had made here.]

(2) with his elders, but now on an interacting or a rebellious level instead of a dependent level (adults often increase their attempt to control and direct adolescents, which tends to promote active rebellion):

[It's very good that I'm working here because I'm the young one on the staff. I've learned to respect the others and I've learned how to respect my fellow workers. I think I'm more mature and more sophisticated and even my mother tells me this.]

and (3) with younger children, not on a play level but on a beginning-to-care-for-and-nurture level:

[I'm learning how to work with kids better. I can use this (education) to better understand people, because if you understand how a kid thinks I guess you can kind of understand, as you get older, how adults think...I'm watching all the little kids and I sit back and think how they are going to be -- what they are going to be like, thinking the way they do or getting mad the way they do or fighting or crying -- I just kind of think about those kind of things.]

[(I feel good) seeing that the little kids have something to do that's organized. I think it's good that mothers should get a break from these little kids...I'm glad to see the kids come over.]

[What makes me feel good is to see these kids progress. It makes you feel good to see (them) getting strong and feeling better. What makes me feel bad is to see these kids come in here the way they do. I can't stand unconcerned parents who allow these accidents to happen to kids in the first place. All the agony and pain that these kids go through, it makes me feel bad. I work with ages 0 - 4 and some of the agony and pain that I see these kids in, is more than most adults can handle.]

[I make sure (the little kids) don't get into trouble, make sure they don't hurt themselves.]

This process of moving away from dependency creates tensions and emotional conflicts.

CONSCIOUSNESS OF SELF IN INTERACTION. The development of self and the searching for self starts in childhood, but the intellectual as well as the emotional consciousness of self in interaction with others is particularly characteristic of adolescence. It is a time when personal meaning is given to new social experiences. The young person defines for himself what he is experiencing in his relationships with others. His "meaning" may be different from that of those with whom he is interacting, but so long as it makes sense to him he can grow and move forward. The kind of categories he used as a child to figure out the world begin to break down. What may have been clear and explicable may suddenly become inexplicable:

[I keep calling (the people I work with) 'kids' because it's a school, you know. I try to say students because some of

them are 27 or 30 years old. Sometimes I feel dumb being 17, telling someone 34 to touch their nose. It's nuts. Sometimes I think he just wants to say something bad to me, its a thought but, that's that. What could I do? One girl here looks like she's lost all the time -- like someone on drugs. She kind of bums me out. When I get off work, I'm off work and that's that. I walk home and see people from here. I used to walk on the other side of the street but, now that I'm here, I walk by them. I always used to feel sorry for people like that but, (the teachers) say not to, they're regular people. I like being here. I wouldn't rather be at a playground (where I used to work).]

RE-EVALUATION OF VALUES. Though the formation of values is a life-long developmental process, it peaks in adolescence. It is related to both thinking and feeling, and is influenced by human interaction. In our culture where young people are likely to be exposed to a variety of contradictory values, questioning begins even in chilchood. The adol-escent engages in re-evaluation of values that have been either accepted at an earlier age or simply rejected because of individual resistance:

[I've learned a lot about how different girls live their lives. You just wouldn't believe they live in the same city as you do. I've learned a lot about how I want to live my life and how I don't. My parents like (my job) but sometimes they are shocked about what I'm learning, like how other kinds of girls live their lives and the kind of problems they run into. Sometimes they wish I wasn't working here. My friends feel funny. They can't believe the things I tell them about the girls I see. They like to hear stories...]

[Vandalism at the park is my pet peeve because some mornings we come in and all the windows are broke out in the warming house or in the school or some of the balls are stolen. I don't know why people do it. It is just as easy to come in and ask if you can use stuff, you know. They are pretty good about it here, they usually let you take it out. I don't see why people have to break in and steal stuff, you know? That is something that usually makes me kind of mad.]

[I'm meeting people of different backgrounds and races. A lot of prejudiced actions are displayed here, which I don't agree with. This teaches me about other people's ignorance. I feel their ignorance is in classifying outsiders as inferior or excluded because they are not members of the same race.]

He moves beyond simple perception (if I burn my hand it hurts) and sees things in a moral framework as "good" and "bad". He is consciously searching for value clarification. He becomes a moral philosopher concerned with "shoulds" and "oughts":

[(What I don't feel good about is that) sometimes if (the students) aren't answering when they're doing (the exercises), a teacher will open the room divider and make him put his face in a fold in the divider with his hands behind his back. I thought that was kind of dumb.]

[I feel good when the kids do something good or right, like picking up pop cans. That is something they don't have to do but may do some time. I don't feel good when the kids don't look up to you as they should.]

[The crew people tell us (what to do). They sit there and tell us to do work and they don't do nothing. They tell you to carry stuff that's unbelievable. Sometimes they help but, most of the time, they sit around and tell you what to do. I'd like them to help, to do as much as you do. They get paid more, they should work more...Oh yeah, (I would remember this experience in a similar job if I were in charge.) I don't think I'd ever do this to someone.]

Given the inconsistency of a society whose institutions frequently do not follow the general intent of the ideological system, value confrontations are inevitable. The young, because of the intensity of their total being, tend to be uncompromising. They may opt clearly for a thoroughly egalitarian value system, or they may give up and become cynics. The wish of each generation to start over again is not new. What is new in our time, however, is the intensity and the worldwide drive to translate this wish into reality.

[I learn how to take care of (things we build) by watching how others destroy them. We made stuff here laying bricks and people dug it out. It hurts. We had to put five ties across one road because bikers would get in there and wreck it. They usually knock the outhouse over. We have to put these things back.]

Again, the younger child is constantly developing mastery of the outer world, but the adolescent encounters his world with a new intellectual and emotional consciousness. He meets his world less as an observer and more as a participator who actually has a place to fill.

EXPERIMENTATION. The young are possessed of greater physical, mental, and emotional capacity and therefore of a great thirst to try out those capacities. Experimentation is writ large -- as important as eating or sleeping. Human beings learn through experimentation from childhood on. The child explores, for instance, by touching, putting things into his mouth, etc. Adolescents need to experiment with wider circles of life -- meet various kinds of people, see other cultures:

[I'm experiencing the deal with working with these kinds of people and learning what they're really like instead of seeing them on the street and thinking they're crazy. I

learn they're everyday people with tempers. Before, I never paid attention, I never knew anybody like that.]

[I'm learning how to deal with people, especially in a teaching situation...Now I understand how a lot of people work and think and I know that everybody's different and that I'll have to conform my teaching to different people and their attitudes.]

[Another role of the supervisor (is) to make sure people get along better, to suggest things of interest to them, to suggest cultural exchanges. For instance, when Native Americans first came up here, sure they had gone to school, but never played basketball really seriously or had any black friends; same as with whites. Would go to school with them, in a classroom for five hours with them, then you go home and you go back to your own culture. But here they all work together, play together.]

They need to experiment with their own strength and value systems -- lead a group, try out intimate relationships, engage in some form of adventure. The experimentation necessary to adolescents usually includes a feeling of risk. It is their way of learning about their own and the surrounding reality.

[My home life has changed (since I got this job). It's gotten worse. My father didn't like the place I worked at. He said he didn't like the people I worked with at all -- the blacks who were working there. He said the people weren't serious enough and he thought it was a bad place for me to work.]

This need is fraught with danger because adolescents are not as cautious as adults, yet it must have some outlet. It can become a major form of positive healthy development of the young.

[The supervisor said (the youth) will learn things about other people's life styles. This is a reference to the fact that most of the people who come to this clinic are lower income, teenage women who are already pregnant or mothers and the fact that the young woman working here is an upper middle-class young woman who the supervisor feels had not been exposed to lower income people and their problems. The supervisor feels it is important for this young woman to see the kinds of problems these young mothers are having. She seemed to feel it was important, both as a sort of awareness of the real world and secondly because much of nursing work in large public hospitals is involved in working with lower income people.

Qualities of Adolescence

Linked inseparably with the major phenomena of adolescence outlined above are a number of qualities or characteristics peculiar to this period; at least they are present in heightened form. We look on them as healthy and normal, not as detrimental or negative. A few of the more significant ones are highlighted here.

The drive to experiment is coupled with a mixture of audacity and insecurity. The audacity is related to not being experienced enough to envision the harmful consequences of a given action:

> [The biggest problem in supervising youth is that kids don't know how to conduct themselves...knowing the subtleties of holding a job. Kids don't understand this, so if I ask them to do more work than others, instead of talking to me as they should,they sit down, fight or yell down the others to get their way. I am trying to break them of those bad habits and teach them how to resolve problems. Because adults can have more jobs they learn how to handle disputes...There was one girl that brought problems up during a work day that had to be handled by firing: this was a girl who had to scream viewpoints at the top of her lungs.]

> [Adults are more career oriented, therefore, they understand their positions, they understand their jobs. They know they are going to get fired if they don't do their jobs.]

The insecurity is related to the uncertainty that accompanies inexperience and the lessening or withdrawal of protection:

> [(The first day) was kind of scarey. It was my first job and I thought it was something big and neat, a great opportunity. We expected to be really busy all the time but I'm not really as busy as you'd think. Now I feel relaxed.]

> [I always did wish that I had a job. When I was about 11, I told my mom that I wanted a job and she said to wait until I was older and I wouldn't want to work. I used to ask her to go to the bank for me-she wouldn't. I wished I had my own money and I could go to the bank on my own and spend my own money. I was scared half to death when I got older.]

A deep sense of loneliness and a high degree of psychological vulnerability are two other specific qualities of adolescence. Every attempt at experimentation, and reaching out is new and very intense. If the outcome is negative it is exceedingly painful because youth do not have a "bank" of positive experiences to draw from when defeats occur. Adults can say, "Oh well, you'll get over it", but such remarks annoy more than they comfort.

[The man that hired us said that we -- my friends -- could work together. They split us up as soon as we got off the bus. I told them that we were told we could work together, but then we were told that that's not the way it was going to be. After (awhile), I began to enjoy myself in the group I was placed in, I was getting along with everyone and I had one friend. Then they put me in another group and said, 'That's too bad.' We were carrying bricks and logs that day. Everyone was mad at each other. They stayed mad at the crew chiefs. The only good one was transferred. People are still mad on and off...I don't go from dude to dude. I keep the same friends.]

[This(youth) did not appear to participate in these (social) things and seemed alienated from the group because of his negative feelings and hurt over being separated from his friends on the first day of work.]

Enormous mood swings are usually cited as characteristic of adolescence. Many factors contribute to the swings. Physiological changes are related to emotional changes. Moving from dependence to interdependence creates a whole series of tensions and conflicts:

[Some days I am happy, some days I am sad. I don't know why.]

[You are awfully dependent on the moods of kids. They keep you balanced. I have heard that other sites have fired kids over this.]

Ambivalence is common. The yearning to jump into the next stage of development co-exists with the desire to have things stay as they are. The feeling of omnipotence goes with the feeling of helplessness and inadequacy. The cocksure conviction that "it won't happen to me" plays hide and seek with the fear that it will:

[I started here in 1975. I can keep a job, I'm steady and I have more seniority than my supervisor does -- I've been here longer...I didn't want no choice (about where I could work). I wanted to work here and wanted it to be set and I wanted to know exactly what to do.]

Being expected to act like an adult one minute and being treated like a child the next is experienced as confusing. How can one be too young to do almost everything one wants to do, and adult enough to behave as "they" think one should? Seeing parents as mere humans with frailties can be terrifying after having depended on them as all-wise:

[They do not trust us with machinery but a man can get hurt just as much as a 15-year-old with machinery. They trust us in school and you can get more easily hurt in a woodshop than outside.]

Adolescents have a strong peer group need. They stress cooperation with that segment of the group with which they identify. The sub-groups they form are often very tightly knit. To gain group acceptance the individual seems to relegate his personal competitive drives to second place, at least temporarily. The emphasis is on cooperation, whether the goal is positive or negative -- manning a hotline emergency service, for example, or "ripping off" a certain store:

> [Everyone takes turns doing certain jobs, no one does just one thing. We all have to work together to get the job done.]
>
> [I made a few new friends especially colored guys. I learned that you have to depend on everyone to help, otherwise the work doesn't get done. Like carrying logs, you can't do it by yourself. We do it together, so if one person gets hurt, we all get hurt.]
>
> [We get other workers to help us out when the supervisor tells us something to do. A lot of people here are not working up to their physical capabilities. They are using this as a crutch to get out of work. Their expectations for themselves are very low...One time I had a negative temper tantrum. Another worker wasn't using his abilities. I was mad because I live up to his expectations of me when he doesn't meet up to my expectations. In this kind of work it is evident that it takes more energy to do something wrong than to do it right. For example, if you carry half a load in the wheelbarrow because you're too lazy to carry one full load, it takes more energy to do the job. I didn't think it was right for this other worker to be lazy at the expense of others.]
>
> [I learned a lot about teamwork and how everybody has to do their own job to make sure things get done.]

The impact of peers is magnified:

> [Teenagers don't do a lot of things because of peer pressure. They may like their jobs but if a friend of theirs or a couple friends get together and say, 'You're a chump or turkey for doing that,' they may not do it. Even though they like it they won't do it because they don't want to look bad or lose face with their friends. Adults don't worry about that too much. They know they have to make money...]
>
> [Some (of my friends) are glad because they know I love kids but, some are jealous. I do whatever I set out to do and most of my friends are jealous of that. My closest friend is very jealous and she's like a copy cat. She'd never want to work in a hospital but as soon as she found out that I got a job here, she tried for the

same job and didn't get the job. My friends used to think I was really dumb but now they think I'm really smart.]

Finally, adolescents need to be argumentative and emotional since they are in the process of trying out their own changing values and their own relationships with the outer world:

> [He was on my back all morning. He wanted me to move a log, but he was standing closest to the log. I told him he was totally ridiculous. Sometimes they make me think they're incompetent. I moved the log eventually. I kicked a bitch about it, which was my right. I went back to work -- that's about the time I was suspended. It is funny, because when I first started working here they told me I was a good worker. I procrastinated, but I got the job done. Anything that comes in on the sideline is of relatively no importance if I get the work done. If I offend someone for hitting me, they are at fault for hitting me. So this dude told me I worked like an old man and I argued with him. He said that I'm suspended, but you understand that everything I have said is one-sided.]

* * * * * *

SUMMARIZING the attributes of adolescence into one concept is difficult and may be an oversimplification. Erik Erikson gave us the concept of the age of identity-seeking; therefore his stress on provision of a moratorium as condition for healthy development.

I (Konopka) prefer to think of adolescence as the AGE OF COMMITMENT. It is the move into the true interdependence of men. The struggle between dependency and independence -- so often described in the literature -- is an expression of this entrance into interdependence.

Commitment includes the search for oneself, as Erikson stressed, but it also points toward the emotional, intellectual, and sometimes physical reach for other people as well as ideas, idealogies, causes, work choices.

This move toward commitment is so serious and so significant that providing healthy conditions to let it unfold becomes just as crucial for human development as providing healthy conditions for growth in early childhood. It elevates adolescence from a stage frequently regarded as one that must be endured and passed through as rapidly as possible to a stage of earnest and significant human development.

Conditions for Healthy Development of Youth

Looking back now on our view of man and adolescence in the cultural context of the United States in the 1970's, we begin to see clusters or constellations of associated imperatives, skills, and tasks that -- taken together -- create a climate conducive to healthy development of youth.

A pluralistic society with egalitarianism as an ideal demands participation of people. Therefore it is quite clear that creation of conditions that facilitate healthy adolescent development begins with the encouragement of equal and responsible participation by youth in the family or other social units.

Because we are living in a complex society, choice-making becomes increasingly important. It cannot be based on instinct. Therefore youth must develop the capacity to make decisions in many areas: school interests, work interests, use of discretionary time, the kind of friends they want to cultivate, and so on. Practical learning opportunities are essential.

> [We had a choice on the application, but not in real life.]
>
> [They just stuck me here. There was no choice. (On the job there are) no choices. You do what you are told.]

As the protections normally associated with childhood are withdrawn and adolescents move toward wider interdepencence, particularly with their peers, they need to have a sense of belonging to their own age groups and to adults as well. They need to find ways to interact with peers -- both male and female. They need to acquire the skills to handle their sex drives, to develop and maintain friendship, to experience intimacy. They may choose to join a youth organization or a gang, take up a "cause," concentrate on dancing or listening to records in a group, or adopt some other activity -- and they should have the opportunity to do so.

> [I've learned how to make friends. I've learned how to get along with different kinds of kids and I guess I've learned what other people do.]

Because of the conflicting values adolescents encounter in a rapidly changing world, they should have the opportunity to thrash out their reactions, consider the plusses and minuses, and try to determine where they themselves stand so that they will be better able to deal with ideas of all shades -- including demagoguery. Those working and living with youth can foster healthy value formation by encouraging open discussion and refraining from trying to superimpose their values upon them.

> [I asked him if working for 3M, his partner made more money than him. He said it didn't make any difference to him because his partner was doing what he liked anyway. I asked him how he valued that: Would he rather be doing something he liked and getting paid less for it or would he rather just be making a whole bunch of money? He said, 'I'd rather do something I like to do.']

Although "Who am I?" is a question that recurs throughout life, the search for identity becomes more conscious and highly emotional

during adolescence. Therefore the young need a chance to reflect on self in relation to others (some use their peers as mirrors) and to test self in a variety of settings. The process is a healthy one so long as it does not consist entirely of looking inward.

In recent years people in the helping professions, and laymen as well, seem to have become engrossed in a very individualistic approach to healthy psychological development. Value clarification is discussed in terms of one person examining his own values; participants in therapy groups delve endlessly into themselves; books on self-analysis keep rolling off the presses. While we believe it is a condition of growth to be able to discover who one is, we also believe that inordinate preoccupation with self in the search for identity can become very unhealthy. Hence we emphasize the importance of looking outward as well as inward.

Since experimentation is essential to learning, adolescents should have the opportunity to discover their own strengths and weaknesses in a host of different situations, to experience success and also learn how to cope with adversity and defeat. These skills are usually acquired through active participation. Therefore adolescents should have a genuine chance to participate as citizens, as members of a household, as workers -- in general, as responsible members of society.

Experimentation involves risks. With audacious but inexperienced youth doing the experimenting, the risks are magnified. If experimentation is essential to learning, as we have said, then it can be argued that adolescence should be a period in which youth can experiment without suffering disastrous consequences when they fail or make mistakes; in other words, that the means for a psychosocial moratorium should be provided. It can also be argued that learning and growth will not occur unless youth are held responsible for their actions, and that participatory activity without such responsibility becomes tokenism.

> [(As a supervisor) I feel the Program is irresponsible for three reasons. First, the verbal commitments are broken. If a kid promises a supervisor that he will work with him, he may later break that promise by transferring to another supervisor. Secondly, that other supervisors are accepting students into 'fun jobs' from jobs that are more difficult. And thirdly, it is not realistic, in the job world, that you can transfer jobs until you find a fun one. However, in the program, the kids learn that certain jobs are easier and they can transfer and still be hooked up with the system. This does not teach responsibility.]

Our view is that some allowance for experimentation is important for healthy development, but that the "moratorium" should not be total. Adolescents should be allowed to experiment with their own identity, with relationships to other people, and with ideas, without having to commit themselves irrevocably. They should be able to try out various roles without being obligated to pursue a given course -- in school or in the world of work, for example. They should also have the opportunity

to practice with limited hurt if they fail, because while their experience does not make them inferior to adults, it does make them different. On the other hand, youth should understand that genuine participation and genuine responsibility go hand in hand; that a basic tenet of our social system is: for every right or set of rights there is a corresponding responsibility or set of responsibilities. To illustrate: young or old, a bona fide voting member of a governing board or some other decision-making body is responsible for his vote. Also we believe that youth should be helped to develop a feeling of accountability for the impact they have on other human beings -- accountability not in a hierarchic sense, but in the context of a relationship among equals.

> [Sometimes they send paychecks three days late. I know when they say they are going to pay on the 15th and the 30th of each month, I expect to get paid on those days. I can imagine when you tell the kids they are going to get paid every two weeks, they want to be paid then. They don't want to wait around a couple extra days or over the weekend to get their money. I think it's only fair if we are going to teach them responsibility and so on, it's a contradiction. Here we are telling them they have to be responsible and if they say they are going to do something to do it, and turn right around and people who are supposed to already have responsibility and accountability are not responsible or accountable.]

Finally, a climate that facilitates healthy development should provide opportunities to cultivate the capacity to enjoy life, to be creative, to be frivolous, to do things on one's own, and to learn to interact with all kinds of people -- people of different races, different interests, different life styles, different economic and cultural backgrounds, different ages.

> [Today is play day. We have a short meeting in the morning and the kids do what they want to do. The idea is to have them work and do their best all week and then on Fridays, which are usually paydays, we just have fun with the staff. It's kind of an inner work situation where we all get together and play basketball, make crafts, dance and so on. If they want to come and talk to us individually it is all a friendly fun relationship. They don't have any work assigned that day. There's a lot they (can decide to do).]
>
> [This set-up gives you the opportunity to meet people of different races and backgrounds -- that's the benefit.]
>
> [I meet a lot of interesting people -- people in the medical profession. These are people with the same kinds of interests as me. These are good people to work with and just good people to know.]

[In the three years that I've worked here I've met a lot of different people and that's fun...I wanted to work here and continue working because I meet a lot of people from different places, like homes.]

* * * * * *

To recapitulate, conditions for healthy development should provide young people with opportunities

* to participate as citizens, as members of a household, as workers, as responsible members of society;

* to gain experience in decision-making;

* to interact with peers and acquire a sense of belonging;

* to reflect on self in relation to others and to discover self by looking outward as well as inward;

* to discuss conflicting values and formulate their own value system;

* to experiment with their own identity, with relationships to other people, with ideas; to try out various roles without having to commit themselves irrevocably;

* to develop a feeling of accountability in the context of a relationship among equals;

* to cultivate a capacity to enjoy life.

Given these conditions, adolescents will be enabled to gain experience in forming relationships and making meaningful commitments. They are not expected by the adult world to make final lifelong commitments; the expectation is related to their own need for interdependence and humanity's need for their commitment to others without losing themselves.

Obstacles to Progress of Normal Development

Having looked at some of the conditions that facilitate healthy development, we now look at the other side of the coin: obstacles to the progress of normal development. Both the presence of unfavorable factors and the absence of favorable factors constitute obstacles.

The factors selected for discussion here are closely related to the key concepts and qualities of adolescence described earlier. Those that impede normal development of all human beings -- such as lack of nutrition, inadequate housing, poverty in general, racial discrimination -- are exceedingly important and are acknowledged here as basic. In addition, we wish to underline the following specific obstacles to healthy development of adolescent youth.

Violation of Adolescents' Self-Respect by Adult World

Violation of self-respect is detrimental to all human beings. In adolescence, because of increasing self-consciousness and interdependence with peers, anything that violates self-respect -- such as racial discrimination, or being disregarded as a significant human being, or being labeled a failure -- is taken with special hurt. It may result in withdrawal, complete destruction of self, mental illness, drug abuse, or enormous hostility.

> [I think my supervisor is prejudiced. Other kids joke around with him and I would like to do that too but I think he holds a grudge against me.]
>
> [He just wants me there to yell at. He can't yell at the others. They don't expect as much from them because they haven't worked here as long. They expect me to be perfect but I am not. I can't be perfect.]
>
> [(I feel bad) when people are rude and disrespectful. You get a lot of that, especially on the phone. People just feel they can trample all over you -- you don't have any feelings or anything like that -- or just plain bad days. People just come in, they're moody, it could be the weather, family problems, you know, people have bad days. Those kind of things don't make you feel good.]
>
> [They don't make you feel like you are helping. There is no compliments after you are done. If they did compliment you and make you feel like you help, you would feel like you accomplished something...I feel good if I do something. I give myself credit if no one else does.]

The adolescent sees many inconsistencies in the adult world which were less definable in childhood. He often perceives simple criticism as a demeaning "put-down." To ignore or to laugh off his hurt and frustration is to violate his self-respect in a very real way.

> [I don't put them down. They think they have been hollered at but the relationship seemed to improve afterward.]
>
> [It makes me feel unimportant when they come down on me. I would like them to respect me for what I know. I respect my supervisors very much because they might send me home and the next day I will come back and follow their orders.]

Society's View of Adolescence as Prepartory

The prevailing cultural view that adolescence is only a time of preparation for adulthood is harmful because it places youth in an ambivalent situation where they are neither children nor adults. It causes expectations to be extremely confused: in one instance, "You're too old to behave like that;" in another, "You're still a child, you know." The very rhetoric that adolescence is transition may be an obstacle in itself.

> [Non-technically speaking we are not adults, but we are not kids either. We are young adolescents.]
>
> [When I get married and have kids I'll have to really buckle down (and work) so I might as well start now.]
>
> [The purpose of the program was to get us to work like men and women, not like kids...(but) we worked like kids, not men and women (because) they did not trust us with machinery. To be frank, I didn't consider myself on a job because the days of using those tools are over. The program was a complete failure because of that...I feel that anyone who is man enough to have the job is man enough to do it the way it's supposed to be done.]

Prolonged Economic Dependence of Youth

Youth's bursting energy, thirst for adventure, and yearning for a productive role in society make it difficult for some to accept prolonged economic dependence.

> [I feel like I have more control over my life now that I am working. I don't have to ask for money. They have to ask me for money.]
>
> [I just had to find a job. I was just tired of not having any money of my own and don't really want to ask my mother for anything.]

School dropouts, especially in the middle class economic bracket, often are motivated by wanting to make it on their own. A sense of violation of self-respect, inflicted by school or community, contributes to dropouts at all economic levels, perhaps more so at the lower level. While modern technology has increased the need for the more extensive knowledge and training that long schooling makes possible, educational requirements for many jobs are "standard" rather than job-related. They should be less rigid.

Limited Outlet for Experimentation by Youth

Urbanization and population density diminish possibilities for experimentation. Though mobility increases at adolescence, space and places to go are limited. Opportunities for part time work experience

are limited by the inability or unwillingness of business and industry to accept large numbers of young people into their operations and by the desire of labor organizations to lock up jobs and entrance to jobs.

> [I knew it would be hard to find a job and I didn't want to waste any time, so I started (looking) in March.]

> [I mentioned to (a relative who works with the program) that I was trying to look for a job and that I hadn't had any success trying to find one. I live around the Midway area and I think that I've gone to just about every place around here. I've been to Sears...just about all the stores in the Midway Shopping Center...I've been to all the stores in the Midway Shopping Center. Everything from Murphy's to Wards to Kresge's to all the shoe stores and everything. I just couldn't find a job. (My relative) gave me an application to fill out and told me to take it to a man named _____ at my high school and he said, 'I'll find you a job.' That was back in February.]

Mistrust is another basis for many restrictions on experimentation. Some restrictions are warranted on the grounds of reasonable protection, but others -- such as some youth-serving organizations now allowing 16- and 17-year-olds to go on hikes without an adult present -- are exaggerated.

> [I wanted to work with kids, not adults. I had just finished working with kids so it seemed best for me to stick with kids. Adults are harder to work with; they seem a little bit more complicated and kids can relate to me because I am not really an adult, I am still a kid, I guess. Adults, I think, get up-tight because they might see a young person working with them or doing something for them and that makes them nervous because they basically don't trust young people, I think.]

Popular Acceptance of the Generation Gap Concept

In recent years the concept of a generation gap has been widely accepted as inevitable -- a notion reinforced by the media. Worse, the so-called gap has been acted out as hostility by both adults and young people, each placing the other in the role as adversary. This state of affairs is an obstacle to the healthy development of adults as well as youth, since they are interdependent.

> [I have met some older people who seem to care about me. They give me good advice and I think kids and older people should work together.]

Influences that Encourage Adolescent Egocentricity

An outcome of the increased personal alienation and separation from responsibilities and participation has been the problem of adolescent

egocentricity. The lack of effective interpersonal competencies, both within the teenage generation and across teenage and adult generations, escalates the tendency toward a narrow individualism. The relativism inherent in the fad to "do your own thing" too often leads to further withdrawal and separation. Such experience can act as an effective barrier by preventing the development of needed interpersonal competency.

> [(On my first day) we had a picnic at Como Park...to meet people...It was kind of sad (slang for stupid, incompetent, unsuccessful). I would have liked it better if it was later on. I didn't really like being at Como Park with a bunch of strange people like that even though I was going to work with them when I don't know if I got along with them.]
>
> [Kids can't always have a scope of what others are doing; they can only see what they themselves are doing. If you ask them to carry a railroad tie and they don't want to, they may back talk you instead of looking around and seeing if others have been doing as much work and perhaps someone else would need to share in the workload.]
>
> [My supervisor introduced me to the staff and I didn't want to waste much time with vibes (feelings, social interaction). I didn't want to waste a lot of time talking to a bunch of different people. I just wanted to work.]

Lack of Opportunity for Moral Development

It is important to note that many adolescents stabilize their value system at levels well below universal values of social justice. Society's failure to provide for significant experience and careful examination/reflection of that experience for most teenagers literally stunts their moral development. Simple precepts are no more acceptable. Critical to our statement is the finding that there is almost no increase in the level of moral maturity beyond that reached during adolescence. Clearly, according to Kohlberg[6] and Konopka[7], the time to stimulate maximal psychological and moral maturity is during this stage.

Society's Confusion About Sex

A conspiracy of silence about sex or banal exchange on the level of advertising cliches are still characteristic of the wider society. Such practice prevents young people from clarifying their own attitudes about one of the most forceful drives at this age. It pushes them into clandestine experimentations that often frighten or demean them. Such ignorance has helped to increase the incidence of venereal disease in young people.

---

[6] L. Kohlberg and R. Kramer, "Continuities and Discontinuities in Childhood and Adult Moral Development," Human Development, 1969, 12: pp.93-120.

[7] Gisela Konopka, "Formation of Values in the Developing Person", American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 43(1), January 1973.

Society's Belief that Family is the Only Place for Youth

For certain young people the fact that the traditional family (father, mother, children) is considered the only unit conducive to healthy growth, with no alternatives, is damaging. With no legitimate substitute available they are forced into runaway episodes, hiding, drugs.

> [(The youth) seemed quite exasperated today. She portrays the adults in her life -- parents, foster parents, social workers -- as pressuring her and opposing choices she makes. When I asked her how they feel about her work, she replied, 'Everyone else wants me to be somewhere else. My dad was going to file that I was a runaway. I'm moving into my own apartment today and I'm not telling no one where I am.' Later, we discussed her feelings that she must strike out on her own and become more a part of the adult world than she feels she's ready for. She sees this as the only solution to her lack of control over her life and her choices. She shows a lot of anxiety and her preoccupation with this situation has carried over into the interviews as well as work. Her supervisor is not aware of (the youth's) precarious home situation and possible threat of another foster home placement. This information seemed to shock her. The supervisor had interpreted signs of this as the youth's being quiet, sensitive and private.]

Dominance of Youth Organizations by Adults

Organizations are instruments of our society. Causes are fought and won by organizations. Yet when the young organize they are seldom permitted to run their own show. Adult need often supersede the healthy development of youth. Adult leaders of youth organizations tend to view teenagers as minds to be molded and shaped as if they were young children. Governing boards are dominated by adults who make policy, "know what is best." Adult "advisors" engineer subtle (and sometimes not so subtle) roadblocks to action. Formal organizations which presumably exist to serve youth become top-heavy bureaucracies impervious to the suggestions youth offer. Such tactics prevent youth from gaining experience as genuinely functioning citizens and breed cynicism.

> [I make sure it is done correctly. I usually work hand-in-hand with them because I understand they aren't as responsible as my age and they may take a little more motivation than my age.]

> [All you do is check off a lot of things. You don't care what you want, just what they think you want. All you are is a name and they feed it to a computer.]

Denial of Equal Participation to Youth

In almost every aspect of society -- family, school, civic organizations, political groups, social and religious groups -- youth are usually not permitted equal participation. They may not even be allowed free passage into the organizations. This denial is inconsistent with the notion that people learn and develop by doing.

> [I would like to work up in some chemistry lab for a big company like 3M. Or let me work in a college or University and be a colleague of some professor...]

Uneven Laws Pertaining to Youth

Laws pertaining to youth vary from state to state. Some are outmoded; some are ambiguous; all are variably administered. For those youngsters who run into legal difficulties the obstacles to healthy development are multiplied tenfold. If the offenders are institutionalized they are cut off from normal interaction with their associates and their development is stunted -- contrary to the philosophy of the juvenile court which was established so that young persons could be protected and rehabilitated instead of being punished. "Juvenile status offenses" (truancy, chronic absenting, and incorrigibility, for example) are offenses only if committed by the young. Teenagers are punished for behavior often necessary at that age. Laws making it impossible for young people to get medical care without parental consent are obstacles to physical health, and to mental and emotional health as well.

Recommendations

Several considerations influenced our approach to recommendations concerning the kind of programs and research endeavors we believe would facilitate the healthy development of adolescent youth.

The fact that this statement is addressed to a governmental agency led us to direct our suggestions primarily toward action that could be instituted by government.

We do not adhere to the simplistic view that by government action alone or by individual action alone will healthy development of youth be assured. At best it can only be facilitated, and that pursuit will require the best efforts of both worlds -- public and private.

It is understood that the fulfillment of basic needs if the foundation on which facilitation of any kind of human development rests. This statement is concerned for the most part with the psychosocial aspects of healthy development. Our recommendations are directly related to our previously stated view of adolescence, taken as a whole.

* * * * * *

Two approaches to recommendations were considered: (1) giving attention individually to each system in which adolescents live and move -- educational, family, work, discretionary time, correctional, and governmental; (2) looking at the total picture and thinking in terms of remedial or rectifying programs and research efforts. The second approach was agreed upon, chiefly because each system is so closely related to other systems that any program, to be effective, necessarily would have to involve more than one system. The pivotal position of the educational system should be specially noted. In the life of adolescent youth the schools are of critical important. Unless they are supportive of programs aimed at reform in other areas, those programs are likely to fall short.

We begin with some general observations that apply to all systems.

Priority Concerns Related to All Systems Serving Youth

We assign top priority to actuating a major effort to educate adults who work with youth about conditions that facilitate healthy development, and how such conditions can be created. Envisioned is an interdisciplinary focus on youth in formal and informal educational programs designed to improve the skills, insight, and understanding of persons involved with youth -- teachers, parents, counselors, social workers, recreation directors, correction officers, health professionals, and other youth-serving personnel.

We also urge greater emphasis on the education of youth (1) to improve their competency and self-confidence in using the resources and power to which they have access;

> [I purposely give them something challenging so they can see their own accomplishments. I believe in treating them as an important part of the program, not just an aide. I also like to give them a lot of confidence and communicate often about what's going on, even if they are not involved in it. I believe in giving (them) lots of information and explanations. I like to include them in in-services, give them compliments and thank them at the end of the day...This experience will give her a little more confidence, some experience, and knowledge...]
>
> [Most of what goes on at this work site is educating: educating in terms of how to cash a paycheck, what to use the money for, how to find long-term jobs, how to pursue an education, how to learn a trade, as well as how to be a responsible worker.]
>
> [I wish I had more to add to her experience; something where she can take this job experience and apply it to her next job experience to make it better for her... Education is real important -- experience, an actual educational process. She is really not getting that much here.]

and (2) to develop in each individual the strength or courage to cope with the system as it affects him.

> [Summer jobs are good for young people. It gives them an education for what it will be like after they leave the home. It teaches you that to get something, you have to give something. It teaches responsibility. My cousin recommended it as a source of independence. I don't want to ask for everything. I'm a responsible person, because that's my personality.]

Changes in structure and program are recommended wherever required to facilitate significant input by youth. Experience with federal programs such as Model Cities, Housing, and Community Action could provide direction. In the educational system, for example, consideration might be given to student membership on the school board or on key committees, or the development by students of students rights statements, or the legitimization of organizations run by youth for youth. This is not however to suggest the development of a professional group of adolescents who are presumed to speak for the adolescent community. Adolescents, like any other population group, are not all of one mind.

Criteria for Programs and Systems Serving Youth

The effectiveness of programs and systems serving youth can be judged by the opportunities they offer youth and the credibility they enjoy. We believe those which merit support are distinguished by:

* Provision of opportunity for youth to have experience in (1) making choices; (2) making commitments; (3) experimenting with a variety of roles to "try out" the choices and commitments they make.

* Credibility: validity of the program in the eyes of those served.

* * * * * *

Unless real options are available, choice-making becomes an empty phrase. Pseudo decision-making does not promote developing commitment. Therefore, intervention logically should be focused on the removal of limiting factors.

Carrying this line of reasoning further, law should be used to support healthy development rather than as it is now, presumably to curb socially disapproved behavior (often including behavior that actually has become more common.)[8] The formulation and use of policy should be guided by the same principle.

---

[8]The population of delinquency institutions for girls consists in the majority of girls whose "crime" is involvement in sexual experimentation.

Selected Bibliography

Adolescence

Alissi, A.S. "Concepts of Adolescence," Adolescence, Vol. VIII, No. 28, Winter, 1972, pp. 491-510.

Buhler, Charlotte, From Birth to Maturity, Londond: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1935.

Coleman, James S., The Adolescent Society, New York: The Free Press, 1961.

Konopka, Gisela, The Adolescent Girl in Conflict, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.

_____, "Adolescence in the 1970s," Child Welfare, Vol. L, No. 10, 1971, pp. 553-559.

_____, "Formation of Values in the Developing Person," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 43, No. 1, January 1973, pp. 86-96.

_____, "An Integrated View of Adolescence," March 1971, unpublished.

Muuss, Rolf E., ed., Theories of Adolescence, New York: Random House, 1962, second edition.

_____, ed., Adolescent Behavior and Society: A Book of Readings, New York: Random House, 1971.

Man

Dewey, John and James H. Tufts, Ethics, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1932.

Ellwood, Charles A., A History of Social Philosophy, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1938.

Kluckhohn, Clyde and Henry A. Murray, Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961, second edition.

Konopka, Gisela, Social Group Work: A Helping Process, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963.

Nelson, Leonard, System of Ethics, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956.

Smuts, J.D., Holism and Evolution, London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1926.

Stern, William, General Psychology from the Personalistic Standpoint, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938.

Culture

Adamic, Louis, A Nation of Nations, New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1945.

Hoebel, E. Adamson, Anthropology: The Study of Man, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1972, fourth ed.

Maritain, Jacques, Reflections on America, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958.