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In recent years I have been increasingly concerned with the role of private enterprise in what is being called the post-industrial era. Although a great deal of attention has been given to study of the future and related social and technological changes, little serious thought seems to be given to the role of private enterprise in that future -- which is so rapidly becoming reality.

This document is the first of a projected series of periodic papers examining the changing role of business. The series grows out of our professional practice and its concern with business planning under changing conditions and with the identification of new roles in a post-industrial society.

These analyses are more general than our usual research reports and will focus on the possibilities and conditions under which business can capitalize on change to create new and profitable markets.

I hope that you find this paper of interest, and welcome your comments, criticism and thoughts.

John Diebold

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JAN 19 1973

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL RELATIONS

5 January 1973

MEMORANDUM

TO: PSAC Members

FROM: Jim Coleman

Jim PSAC

Here are again Parts 1 and 4 of the report of the Panel on Youth. Part 1 is unchanged and is sent merely to refresh your memories. All the changes since last meeting have been in Part 4. (Parts 2 and 3 you have seen earlier, and your suggestions (all minor) have been taken into account in the minor revisions of those Parts.) The major changes in Part 4 have been as follows:

1) Linking the proposed changes more directly to the objectives of Part 1. This has been done in an added section in the first few pages of Part 4, and in the discussion of the specific proposals.

2) A general tightening up of the proposals, eliminating some unnecessary verbiage.

3) Noting where applicable the existence of current innovations that go in the direction of one or another proposed change. In general, particular projects have not been singled out, since nearly all are at the local level, and have no reason to be singled out. I think the mentions we have made of the kinds of projects are sufficient to inhibit any response from the audience that we are unaware of important current changes. (Some of this discussion of these changes occurs in Part 2, as you may recall.)

4) A few other specific changes in response to particular points made at the December meeting.

I should warn you that Parts 1 and 4 will still not fit well together; Parts 2 and 3 intervene, and Part 4 is as related to them as to Part 1. But I believe the connection is better now than before.

5 January 1973

DRAFT REPORT

PSAC Panel on Youth

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*Enclosed

YOUTH TO ADULT :

Institutional Alternatives for Transition

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

All cultures must somehow solve the problem of transforming children into adults, since their very survival depends on that solution. In every society there is established some kind of institutional setting within which the process of transition is to occur, in directions predicated by societal goals and values. In our view, the institutional framework for maturation in the United States is now in need of serious examination.

The purposes of this report are first to examine the contexts that now exist for youth, within which they come to adulthood, and assess the fitness of those contexts for the accomplishment of the developments necessary to full maturity, and then to propose alternative settings which seem to be preferable ways of accomplishing that assignment.

Although we recognize that the process of maturation begins in infancy, and in some senses never ends, we have chosen to confine our attention to the age span 14-24. The simple justification for that arbitrary choice is that essentially none can be classified as adults prior to their fourteenth birthday, and essentially none can be classified as children subsequent to their twenty-fifth birthday, whatever the operational definition of the transition.

When ours was still an agrarian society, the needs of youth were necessarily subordinate to the economic struggle, and the rudimentary occupational requisites permitted them to be brought quickly into adult productivity. The dominant institutional settings within which they grew up were the home and the workplace. Choices in the occupational sphere were few: the future roles of the children were generally well-exemplified by those of parents. In short, the task of socialization was resolved by early and continual interaction with the parents and nearby adults.

But as our society moved into the modern era, the occupational structure became

progressively more a matter of movement into activities different from the parents. A long period of formal training, under specialized instructors, was initiated to provide the cognitive skills seen as necessary for satisfactory performance as an adult, and equality of opportunity itself required postponement of decision. To accomplish these tasks, institutions to provide the instruction were designed, and rules were formulated with respect to school and work. Specifically, schooling to an advanced age became compulsory, and automatic promotion, age by age, became the norm. Laws were established against child labor, and minimum wages were specified. These latter not only served their prime function of protecting the economic security of the breadwinner but also effectively delayed the entry of the young person into the labor force.

In consequence, the schools and colleges came to provide the general social environment for youth. The world of the maturing child, formerly dominated by the home, is now monopolized on the formal level by the school, and on the informal level by the age group. The typical young person has a long preparation for his occupational future, within a highly structured school system, interrupted only by some work at marginal tasks (either part-time after school, or during the summers) and terminated by entry into the labor force or motherhood.

Our basic premise is that the school system, as now constituted, offers an incomplete context for the accomplishment of many important facets of maturation. The school has been well designed to provide some kinds of training but, by virtue of that fact, is inherently ill-suited to fulfill other tasks essential to the creation of adults. Indeed, it would be unreasonable to expect any institution to suffice as the exclusive environment for youth. Signs of dissatisfaction abound, from parents and taxpayers who have an inarticulate sense that something is amiss, from school administrators and teachers who are experimenting with methods and objectives and forms which differ from those of the established system, and from youth themselves, many of whom are showing individual initiative in the search for extra-curricular experiences.

The school now shares the socialization task with the family and the peer group. Because the family has become limited in its effectiveness with respect to the age group of our concern, it is a minor part of the social environment of most youth beyond early adolescence. And the peer group is not only an unsuitable source for development toward adult goals, but it also attenuates the invaluable lines of communication and culture transmission across the generations. The way of life we have institutionalized for our young consists almost entirely of social interaction with others of the same age, and formal relationships with authority figures.

Thus, to put it simply, society has passed through two phases in its treatment of youth. In the first, which might be characterized as the work phase, young persons were brought as quickly as physical maturity would allow into economic productivity, to aid the economy of the family. In the second phase, which may be described as the schooling phase, young persons are being kept as long as possible in school and out of economic productivity, to increase their opportunity.

We believe it is now time for a third phase in society's treatment of its young, including schooling but neither defined by nor limited to it. We think it is time to reappraise the contexts of youth, to question even the most accepted and ordinary aspects of their current institutional settings, and to consider the reformation of existing structures and if necessary the creation of new ones. We are proposing the establishment of alternative environments for the transition to adulthood, environments explicitly designed to develop not only cognitive learning but other aspects of maturation as well.

The discussion of environments for youth appropriately begins with a discussion of the kind of objectives toward which they should be directed. These objectives represent the criteria by which to assess the present system and the proposed alternatives.

The objectives to which environments for youth should be addressed consist of two broad classes. The first is essentially self-centered. It concerns the

acquisition of skills which expand the personal resources, and thus the opportunity of a young person. Schools have traditionally focused upon this class of objectives, and often narrowly so within this class. But a second class of objectives is important as well, in which youth is not self-centered, but centered on others. This class concerns quite simply the opportunity for responsibilities affecting other persons. Only with the experience of such responsibilities can youth move toward the mutually responsible and mutually rewarding involvement with others that constitutes social maturity. Whatever the set of specific objectives within each of these classes (and those we shall list are certainly not exhaustive), we believe it important that environments for youth address directly both of these classes, and not merely the former, as schools have traditionally done.

First among the self-centered class of objectives are those cognitive and non-cognitive skills necessary for economic independence and for occupational opportunities. Although survival in the modern world requires as a minimum a considerable capability in the use of words and numbers, the range of necessary skills beyond that minimum varies as widely as the distribution of occupations within the labor force.

Beyond the acquisition of marketable skills, a second objective consists of developing the capability of effective management of one's own affairs. The emergent adult faces an increasingly complex world, in which self-direction and self-management are prerequisites to success. The current environments imposed on youth by society, in the form of schools, provide little experience with self-management, in large part because, where there is little freedom of choice, there is little self-responsibility. The need for such experience is manifested in the frequency with which the freshmen entering college, and seniors leaving college, experience shock as a consequence of the enlargement of choice. Environments for youth should provide experiences which develop one's capability for managing one's affairs in an organizationally complex world.

A third objective within the self-centered class is to develop capabilities as a consumer, not only of goods, but more significantly, of the cultural riches of civilization. The store of cultural achievements, whether art or literature or music or science, and whether experienced from the standpoint of creator or performer or simply appreciator, enrich the experience of one's life. Some people continue to assimilate these throughout their lives, in a continual expansion of their horizons, but only if they have acquired in youth a sufficient basis of taste and motivation. Environments should provide youth with the kind of experience with cultural achievements which will enable them, as adults, to pursue their tastes in those directions.

As a final objective in this class, environments for youth should also develop in youth the capabilities for engaging in intense concentrated involvement in an activity. The most personally satisfying experiences, as well as the greatest achievements of man, arise from such concentration, not because of external pressure, but from an inner motivation which propels the person and focuses his or her attention. Whether the activity be scholarship, or performance (as in dramatics or athletics), or the creation of physical objects, or still another activity, it is the concentrated involvement itself rather than the specific content, that is important. The necessity for multiple objectives in environments for youth should not obscure the importance of encouraging such intense concentration.

The objectives of the second class, with activities directed toward others, are equally important. Adulthood cannot be accomplished merely by the acquisition of self-serving capabilities. They must be augmented by the capabilities for mutually rewarding involvement with others. First, it is important to enlarge each person's horizons by experience with persons different from himself, not only in social class and subculture, but also in age. For some young persons this has been accomplished by national service in the armed forces or in activities like the Peace Corps. But for most, the opportunities for a broad range of experiences with persons from background other than their own are simply unavailable.

A second facet of social maturation concerns the experience of having others dependent on one's actions. All persons throughout most of their youth are cast in the role of dependent on others, while only a few, largely because of family circumstances, have others who are dependent on them. Although a few current school situations do provide appropriate experience of this kind by giving older children some responsibility for the teaching of younger children, the opportunity is atypical. It is important that environments for youth provide opportunities in caring for others who are younger, sick, old, or otherwise dependent, and to engage in activities which are responsible in the sense that they have significant consequences for others. This is a most important apprenticeship for the prospective obligations as spouse, parent and citizen.

Social maturity also develops in the context of involvement in interdependent activities directed toward collective goals, where the outcome for all depends on the coordinated efforts of each. A cognate advantage of such joint enterprises is that it provides the individual with the opportunity of serving in the capacity of leader as well as follower. All young people are presently subject to the authority and the directives of others, but only a few gain the experience of guiding and leading. Yet those capabilities are necessary for the management of their future families, as well as in their work and their community activities.

These kinds of social maturation are now accomplished haphazardly if at all. A prime criterion for assessment of present and prospective environments for youth is their efficacy for filling this void.

One characteristic of youth important to develop, but arising from both classes of objectives, is a sense of identity and self-esteem. These are attributes toward which environments for youth should be directed, for it is such identity and self-esteem that forms the foundation on which an adult life must be built. Further, environments for youth can be assessed by this criterion just as well as by those objectives discussed earlier.

In this report we hope to initiate discussion and debate concerning the capabilities that constitute adulthood, as sketched in the foregoing account, and also concerning the institutional forms which are best designed to achieve the various components of adulthood. We recognize that the times may seem unpropitious for the announcement of far-reaching goals. In recent years our educational institutions have been in continual crisis, and our efforts at improvement have been frustrated by an inordinate increase in the numbers of youth. Yet it is just such times of trouble which offer the opportunity for major restructuring which would be resisted were the times tranquil. And we are now on the brink of a demographic moratorium in which the number of youth will remain approximately constant, permitting us to seize the opportunity for reformation without the apprehension of being numerically engulfed.

The fundamental aims of this report are obviously too ambitious to be accomplished through any single document. The process of social change requires that discussion and debate begin, that the nuclei for social inventions be tentatively formed, that experiments be designed with meticulous attention to comprehensive recording of their consequences for all those whose lives they touch, and that forthright decisions then be made when the evidence is in.

The audience for such discussion is obviously broader than the federal government structure. Indeed it may be that the joint responsibility first of assuring that young people acquire a set of capabilities to serve them well in adulthood, and second of assuring that they retain the freedom and opportunity to move in diverse directions, is best shared between different levels of action, the first at the federal and state levels, and the second through local community and private channels. A central emphasis of this report is the importance of encouraging as wide a variety of environments for youth as are compatible with the enforcement of criteria to safeguard their development.

In the next section of this report, we present a series of background papers describing the social, psychological and physiological conditions relevant to any

discussion of youth, the history of our efforts to cope with this age group in the United States, and the current educational, economic and demographic situation of youth. The third section abstracts from these papers some of the important issues that must be addressed if the environments within which youth grow into adulthood are to be effective. In the fourth and final section, we suggest some initial changes which may move our society from its present schooling phase of youth institutions into a new phase of an array of environments explicitly designed for the various facets of maturation.

Because we are concerned with the future shape of institutions within which youth grow up in America, we exclude from our examination many important and problematic aspects of modern life which are often associated with youth, for example, drug use and freer attitudes toward sexual behavior. Nor do we make a special point of the grave problems of differential educational opportunity by ethnic group and social class, unless one or another of our specific proposals directly implicates that issue. By and large, the report also avoids discussion of the nature of the curriculum of high schools and colleges, and of specific modes of instruction. Furthermore, despite the continuing, albeit attenuated, role of parents and siblings in socialization, we have chosen to concentrate our attention on extra-familial life. Finally, our emphasis has been somewhat unbalanced with respect to the two sexes. Although young women as well as young men participate in much the same school experiences and movements into the labor force, they also experience special problems associated with their incipient roles as wives and mothers. We have not given those problems special attention.

We are concerned about these limitations on the scope of our report, but that concern is lightened somewhat by the awareness that each of them has elsewhere been the subject of specialized scrutiny, where the topic on which we focus is ordinarily neglected.

Our report will be a success if we stimulate the search for institutional

inventions which will ensure youth the capabilities of fulfilling the demands and opportunities they will confront as adults, and thereby gain the self-esteem and self-fulfillment all persons need.

PART 4: DIRECTIONS FOR CHANGE

Introduction

In the preceding parts of this report, we have attempted to establish a frame of reference for discussion and debate to help move society from the second, schooling, phase of its treatment of youth to a third phase that includes schooling but is not limited to it. In this third phase, environments for youth must be designed in such a way that the broad objectives stated in Part 1 are met. But in meeting these objectives, the issues discussed in Parts 2 and 3 must be addressed. That is, the social inventions and social experimentation necessary to create appropriate environments can be developed only through specifying the objectives that they should satisfy and diagnosing the current conditions surrounding youth. Although we have only begun that task here, it is useful to indicate some changes that can be first steps toward appropriate environments for youth. This Part is devoted to suggesting such changes.

Some changes proposed in this Part would resolve certain of the issues of Part 3 in one way, some in the opposite way. Some are compatible with certain directions of society's development, some with other directions. Because it is not clear what directions society will take, and because it is not evident just what consequences a given proposed institution would have, we suggest a diverse array of changes. We believe all are worthy of serious trial; we cannot know enough about any one of them to recommend that it be universally adopted. Further, no single environment for youth's transition to adulthood would be beneficial to all youth or to the society. Indeed, the

recent emergence of such a single monolithic pattern -- unbroken schooling for many years finally truncated by a sharp shift to full-time work -- has reduced effective opportunity for those who would find different paths more fruitful.

Consequently, these proposals are made from the premise that diversity and plurality of paths to adulthood are important for the youth of any society. Each of the proposed changes brings some of the benefits and incurs some of the costs discussed in Part 3, through the explicit stance it takes on those issues. And each is designed to address some of the objectives of environments for youth discussed in Part 1. But the proposed changes are not neutral with regard to the objectives; they are specifically designed to address those objectives for which schools as currently constituted are least well suited. It is useful to examine briefly just what those objectives are, to show the intended thurst of our proposals.

The unmet objectives in current environments for youth.

Schools are the principal formal institutions of society intended to bring youth into adulthood. But schools' structures are designed wholly for self-development, particularly the acquisition of cognitive skills and of knowledge. At their best, schools equip students with cognitive and non-cognitive skills relevant to their occupational futures, with knowledge of some portion of civilization's cultural heritage, and with the taste for acquiring more such skills and knowledge. They do not provide extensive opportunity for managing one's affairs, they seldom encourage intense concentration on a single activity, and they are inappropriate settings for nearly all objectives involving responsibilities that affect others. Insofar as these other objectives are important for the transition to adulthood, and we believe

they are, schools act to retard youth in this transition, by monopolizing their time for the narrow objectives that schools have.

In general, the proposed directions of change are intended to break that monopoly, through environments that complement schools. Thus the proposals do not address problems and deficiencies of schools in the development of cognitive skills. They do address the objectives that schools omit, by proposing institutional structures that aid these objectives.

As a general class (with the exception of the first proposal, intended to encourage intense and self-motivated concentration) these institutional structures place youth in a different role from the student role. This different role involves either responsibility for his own welfare, or responsibility for others' welfare; it involves orientation to productive and responsible tasks; where it involves learning, it is learning through action and experience, not by being taught. Most of the proposed institutional structures also are designed to reduce the isolation of youth from adults, and from the productive tasks of society. This is intended both to bring about a greater degree of personal responsibility of adults for the development of youth, and to remove from youth some of the insulation that impedes the transition to adulthood.

These are the general directions in which most of the proposed changes are intented to go. But each of these proposals addresses specific objectives, and it is to the connections between the proposals and the objectives that we now turn.

The proposed changes and the unmet objectives.

The first set of changes proposed below are changes in the school structure. These are changes designed in one way or another to allow the

school itself to fulfill some of these previously-ignored objectives, although we feel the school's capabilities are limited in this. By expanding the roles of a young person in school beyond that of student, to include that of tutor, for example, the school becomes not just a place for self-centered skill development and learning, but also a place in which young persons engage in constructive activities benefitting younger children. The creation of a wider range of activities outside the classroom but administered by the school as an "agent" of youth is intended to provide the young person the possibility of managing his affairs within a structured setting. The possibility of differentiated schools (or subunits within schools) with choice among them, concentrating on different areas of activity (e.g., music, performing arts, science, physical education, crafts) is intended in part to provide a setting more conducive to intense concentration on a chosen activity than do current comprehensive schools. And the reduction in size of schools or substructuring of large schools is intended to encourage personal involvement of adults in the school with youth, as a set of personal resources on which youth can draw in times of difficulty.

The second set of proposed changes, which bring young people into work situations sooner, are intended to contribute to several of the objectives discussed in Part 1, but primarily to the second class of objectives, the experience of responsibilities affecting others. A work situation can involve interdependent and collective tasks, experience with others differing in background and in age, and the experience of having others dependent on one's actions. Our general belief is that environments which provide a significant amount of serious and responsible work experience are much more likely to meet

these objectives than are the narrower environments of school that most youth find themselves limited to. In addition, such work settings are intended to provide, to a much greater extent than reducing school size, the opportunity for adults outside schools to become enough involved with young persons that they constitute personal resources to whom the young persons can turn in times of stress.

The next set of proposals concern youth organizations and youth communities. The intent of such organizations and communities is to provide experiences of leadership, responsibility, interdependent activity, and self-management. They are not effective settings for the development of cognitive skills and cultural tastes, nor for intense concentration on a single activity.* Like most institutions, they are valuable settings only for certain activities, and thus only for a subset of objectives. It is important, in the design of environments for youth, to have an orchestration of such partial institutions, rather than the total and encompassing institution that the school has become.

The next two proposals concern reduction of constraints on the young against work. They are intended to increase the opportunity for youth to act responsibly, in moving toward independence and self-management. The implementation of these proposals is meant to facilitate the broader participation of youth in society's institutions beyond the school, and to facilitate the second set of proposed changes mentioned above (bringing young people

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* A.S. Neil, the founder of Summerhill, the English prototype of unstructured youth communities, says in his book Summerhill: "The children of Summerhill are not much interested in book learning."

into work situations).

The next proposal is a pilot introduction of vouchers for youth at age 16, which they can use for education or training. This places resources for further training directly in the hands of youth, who will experience most directly the consequence of their use or misuse. The aim of this proposal is to create the opportunity, earlier than is now true for many youth, for taking responsibility for the management of their affairs. It is predicated that not only will such responsibility develop the capability in youth of managing their own affairs, but that youth themselves will more often use these resources for activities that will make them capable adults than would public agencies directly subsidized by public funds to "serve" youth.

A final proposal concerns an expansion of the presently miniscule opportunities for public service or national service by youth, from age 16 on. Public service activities are activities designed to directly benefit other segments of the community. The intent behind such service lies in the second class of objectives: the experience of responsibilities affecting other people. The work is ordinarily interdependent, directed toward collectively-held goals, it often involves work with persons of different backgrounds and different ages, and it usually provides an experience of having others dependent on one's actions. Thus it is a direct complement to the self-development objectives of schools.

Altogether, it is important to emphasize that no one of the proposed changes is intended to accomplish all the objectives of environments for youth. The design of such environments is a more complex and differentiated task than the society and communities have yet recognized, and cannot be accomplished

within a single structure like the school. At the most general level, the proposed changes in this report are for a differentiated set of institutions within which young people develop, rather than a single encompassing one, as is now the case.

However, it is not the intent of our report to recommend immediate and large-scale changes in these institutions. In the case of each of the proposed changes, only experience will show whether the benefits it brings are sufficient to make it valuable for youth and thus for society. Further, this experience should be gained through explicit experimental design and systematic collection of data rather than in traditional casual ways. In this way the necessary feedback from social experiments or pilot social policies can occur and lead to their modification, or to their extension on a wider scale. If this is to occur, three points should be recognized: 1) Each of these proposed changes should take place only in pilot or experimental form; 2) When such pilot policies are initiated, careful monitoring and evaluation are necessary to guide modification; and 3) The design of the pilot program should anticipate extension to broad policy change, so that its consequences are not limited to an evaluation report.

The information base for social policy.

Traditionally, the information base for changes in social policy has been provided by testimony from parties interested in the proposed legislation, sometimes augmented by a review of research that is relevant to the proposed policy change. Only recently have other sources of information begun to play some part in social policy. This is explicitly-designed social research, program evaluation, and finally social experimentation, in which the

policy change is instituted on a pilot basis, with some experimental design that provides information about the likely consequences of the proposed policy. The recent income maintenance experiment is one example of social experimentation; another is a set of proposed experiments for the demand and supply of housing under a program of housing allowances for families with low incomes.

For most of the proposals made in this section, social experiments or pilot programs with evaluation are the appropriate recommendation. Most of these involve changes in the institutions through which youth pass in their movement to adulthood. For institutional changes, there are few guidelines from the past on which to base a policy, and a recommendation for major policy changes in the absence of such information is hardly warranted.

The fact that this section consists largely of proposals for social experimentation or pilot programs should not be regarded as merely a call for "more research." The pilot programs are proposed as precursors to full-scale policy changes. They are necessary precursors simply because the full-scale changes require more than present information or information from analysis of existing institutions.

If these social experiments or pilot programs are to serve their purposes, it is important that they be preceded by careful planning which includes not only experimental design and evaluation of results, but also looks toward the next phase of full-scale implementation. It is important also that the social experiments be designed and executed well in advance of strong social pressure for a policy change. Otherwise, it is not possible to obtain results from the experiment or pilot in time to affect the policy itself. In health insurance, for example, experiments now being designed concerning different types of plans

will probably not be executed and analyzed before the pressure for a national health insurance program builds up to the point that some program is enacted in the absence of appropriate information.

At the same time, something can be learned from data on existing institutional arrangements. One of our proposals (no. 8) is to carry out such research in a more systematic fashion than at present. Such ongoing research will not only record the functioning of existing institutions, but as there come to be changes, will monitor the effects of these changes as well.

Measurement of objectives.

As pilot programs of social change are instituted, it is important to insure that they be evaluated on a full set of objectives such as those discussed in Part 1, and not solely on the narrow objective of increasing cognitive skills. Indeed, most of the proposed changes are intended to implement non-cognitive objectives. But evaluation on these objectives is only possible if measures are developed for non-cognitive objectives analogous to those that now exist in school grades and standardized tests for cognitive skills. One important deterrent to incorporating these broader objectives in society's responsibilities toward its youth is the relative absence of measurement. Most of the required measures are performance measures, and just like the physical performance measures used in the armed forces or task performance measures used in occupations or in youth organizations, they can be developed. For other objectives, such as those involving responsibilities for others, the best criterion for meeting the objectives may turn out to be the time spent in the activity. It may also be necessary to develop quite different kinds of

measures for capabilities developed in experiential learning and those developed in non-experiential learning (primarily classroom learning).

The task of developing such measures is not a simple one, but its importance is great. Without such measures the criterion of success of an activity reverts to its effect on cognitive skills, since standardized measures exist there. Yet those criteria are precisely the ones that are not relevant to most of the changes proposed here. It is in part the absence of non-cognitive measures that makes the usual list of school objectives meaningless. And it is explicit attention to measures that cover the breadth of the objectives stated in Part 1 which can guide environments for youth toward those objectives.

1. Change in School Structure.

Later proposals involve some youth moving out of the traditional school setting, part or full time, into other environments. The present section discusses changes in the school, for it is the central institution for most youth, and will continue to be for many. These proposed changes are intended to achieve some of the objectives of environments for youth other than the traditional ones of increasing cognitive skills and knowledge. These proposals are in part designed to encourage certain existing innovations in schools, for in some school systems there are innovations that move in the directions we propose.

As described in Part 2, American secondary education is increasingly a world of large urban districts composed of large comprehensive schools, with students assigned to schools according to the neighborhoods in which

they live. We noted growing problems of this institutional arrangement: little consumer choice; the heavy weight of bureaucratic and professional controls; the large size of single-grade student strata; segregation by class, race, and ethnicity; overloading of institutional capacity by an excess of expectations and functions; and the institutional blandness that can follow from ambiguous purpose and amorphous structure.

A school that is large, amorphous, and bland is likely to have the unintended consequence of promoting socialization by the youth culture. The assembling of large numbers of youth along age-and-grade lines encourages them to create worlds of their own. At the same time, the increasing specialization and segmentation of teaching encourages teachers, the only adults in the setting, to withdraw from those worlds. And there is little linkage provided by a sense of common purpose and a community of experience. The school has always been a setting, it is fair to say, in which there is some natural struggle between adults and youth. But the large comprehensive school changes the nature of the struggle from largely informal conflict and accommodation between teachers and students to a more formal one in which one major bloc feels impelled to elaborate rules and add more agents of control -- even the police -- while the other side, or a good share of it, moves collectively to avoid the rules and to weaken the will to participate and learn. Students, like members of work groups, will produce when they feel it is in their interest to do so and when their group norms call for achievement (Boocock, p. 312). If youth culture is growing stronger, as we believe it is, then the group norms of the young become more powerful in contending with the formal systems. Therefore, now more than ever before, it is important to think of the capacity of educational

settings to encourage self-interest in achievement and group norms that support a learning climate.

We suggest four routes of change.

(a) School diversity and student choice. The typical pattern for American high schools is comprehensive schools with fixed attendance areas, designed to be alike and differing only on the dimension of "quality." There is little possibility of a young person choosing a special activity on which to concentrate his attention, and then finding a school setting within which that concentration is encouraged. Yet such a specialization allows intense personal concentration, strengthened by the fact that it is a common interest. This kind of bond ordinarily occurs in regular schools only in extra-curricular activities, in the long hours of common struggle that it takes to produce a play or a concert or a winning athletic team.

Two elements are necessary for this possibility of voluntary commitment and self-motivated concentration to occur. One is the development of genuine specialization among high schools, including but not limited to academic specialties, and the other is free choice by youth among high schools.

This proposal goes directly against the trends in American education toward comprehensive schools. The specialized schools of the past were eliminated in one community after another (even largely so in New York City, where they were most fully differentiated). Comprehensive schools seemed to have advantages of mixing students, allowing easy transfer from one curriculum to another, and in general, providing a democratic equality of opportunity and treatment. But these supposed advantages have been negated in many locales. Comprehensive schools drawing from black lower class neighborhoods or white

upper middle class areas are very different. By specializing overtly in student body, they specialize covertly in curriculum. The comprehensive school becomes a narrow school, vainly trying to be like the others, but passively specializing around neighborhood input.

In many areas where the supposed benefits of comprehensiveness have been lost, the advantages of moving toward deliberate specialization in school purpose will probably outweigh the disadvantages. The advantages lie in the greater encouragement of intense concentration on an activity that can occur in specialized schools. Specialized schools have a clearer mission, they can build organizational competence and identity around their more restricted focus, and they can attract students and faculty of appropriate and mutually-reenforcing interest. For example, they can concentrate on excellence in music, art, performing arts, science, humanistic studies, or different industry sectors (medical services, educational services, printing and publishing trades, broadcast media). And there are other advantages. A school specializing in one major area of study can draw students from a larger geographic area, helping to attenuate the existing specialization by narrow geographic base that commits all neighborhood youth to the one public school. Such a school can set admissions policies that encourage representatives from various social groups.

New forms of specialization can be developed in quasi-alternative schools. We earlier described the short life of most alternative schools to date, both those that have been organized inside the public school framework and those organized outside it. But alternative schools that will survive can be organized. Some trials toward this end are now under way in public school systems. If their results are carefully monitored, a viable pattern may emerge that can be widely used.

A move from passive to active specialization in American secondary education is a move to encourage administrative leadership and staff imagination. The rewards for simple imitation are reduced and conforming to one model is not the road to success. Instead, the staff of a school must unite in an effort to make their own combination work, and compete against other schools who are offering other patterns. And each district needs to determine its own optimum mix of comprehensive and specialized schools, offering an opening for creative leadership in the system as a whole. A shift to deliberate design of institutional variety becomes then not only the ground for genuine student choice among public schools but also the ground for genuine institutional leadership. Particularly in a country as large and varied as the United States, innovation, and adaptation of new ideas to the uniqueness of each context, is best designed at the local level. Although superintendents, principals, and teachers will need the help of researchers to monitor and evaluate new and altered forms of schooling, they themselves must be responsible for choice of institutional alternatives.

(b) School size. Experimentation with new educational settings and the redesign of old ones should pay attention to school size as experienced by participants. From the rural school consolidation movement to the call by Conant (1959) for larger and more comprehensive high schools, as reviewed in Part 2, American schools have been growing larger. This change has occurred in the face of some findings and experiences that raise serious questions about the benefits of large schools. Youth in large schools are more often passive spectators of action, less often participants, more often followers, less often in leadership roles than youth in small schools (Barker, 1962). Also, when a high school is larger than about 500 students, teachers no longer

know the names of students they do not teach, and the principal no longer knows students by name. At about a thousand students, the principal becomes unable to distinguish whether a particular young person belongs to his school. Such tentative findings at least suggest the existence of critical thresholds in interaction, impersonality and control. Large size also brings greater segregation of students by age and academic track, and specialization of teachers by grade level and subject-matter. Small size brings greater relations among the young differing in age and ability, less teacher specialization, and more personal relations all around.

The problems of large organization occurred earlier in higher education than in secondary education, because in the great student expansion of the last two decades colleges and universities were allowed to grow to the huge sizes reported in Part 2. Recent national reports on the state of higher education have pointed to size as a serious problem. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1971) has attempted to state maximum and minimum sizes for different major types of colleges and universities. The "Newman Report" (Report on Higher Education, 1971) has argued vigorously that huge size and comprehensive organization are seriously weakening American higher education. The community colleges, which we noted in Part 2 shared many features and problems of the secondary level, have not escaped this new criticism. Their original purposes seemed dependent on small scale (in deliberate contrast to the public university and growing state colleges), but rapid growth has turned them in the direction of mass counseling and distribution centers.

Careful experimentation and monitoring of effects will be needed to inform us of the advantages and disadvantages of small and large educational units -- for different kinds of students, at different levels of education, and in contexts

that vary on many characteristics other than size. The effects necessary to examine are not limited to academic nor psychological ones, but rather outcomes for the whole range of objectives toward which environments for youth should aim.

One possible approach is to attempt to combine the advantages of the large place at its best (economies of scale, a wide array of programs, the excitement of an educational city) with the advantages of the small place at its best (a sense of deep involvement, interpersonal trust and loyalty, a unifying and motivating institutional tone) two directions of change seem particularly fruitful to pursue. One is dual membership in the small and the large through small units within large schools. The possibilities for creative inventions and adaptations here are very large, with some interesting plans already underway that are in need of serious study. The second direction is dual membership in the small and the large through attendance in two distinct schools. Participation can be split, in various combinations of hours and days and weeks, between large comprehensive and small specialized schools.

Finally, there remains the possibility that small schools are better than big schools, and small colleges better than large colleges, across a profile of effects (on colleges, see Feldman and Newcomb (19), Chap. 11, and Clark, et al (19 , Ch. 10). But the benefits of small size have lain in what are often described as "intangibles": the quality of the relationships, the motivation created, the involvement in common goals. Attention to measurement is necessary in order that these "intangible" effects be compared to the hard facts of the financial benefits of large scale and the gains in esoteric knowledge of having experts at hand. Clearly, the more intractable educational problems of the day do not lie in the provision of sufficient expertise. Rather,

the problems are seemingly rooted in broader aspects of the relation between the schools and the young, with stronger cultures of youth contending with strong formal systems in ways that are adverse to learning, and with teachers withdrawing from personal involvements with students. Small scale may be a helpful and even a necessary social response to these problems, serving to link teachers and students in reasonably integrated systems of learning.

(c) Role-diversity for youth in schools. A third strategy for modifying existing educational structure involves reshaping a portion of the time in school so that the young person is not wholly occupied as a student but learns in ways that assist others and himself. This direction of change means among other things a re-examination of the pros and cons of various extracurricular activities, taking more seriously those activities, especially in the arts, in journalism, and in athletics, which allow participation and performance that is within the school but outside the strictly academic role.

Our particular proposal concerns the activity of tutoring or teaching by young people in school. Teachers in various settings have, of course, long used some students to assist in the instruction of others. As noted in Part 2, teachers in one-room schoolhouses and other very small schools were virtually forced to use older students as aides. But large size has diminished those informal arrangements, and the concept of student-as-tutor has only recently been revived in the teaching of slum children. We propose that part-time teaching should be seriously explored as an activity favorable to the growth of youth, with experimentation designed both at local and national levels.

Role diversity within schools runs contrary to certain other directions for change suggested in this report. For example, where systems move in the

direction of narrowing the scope of formal schooling to the strictly academic, then the role diversity for youth that we believe valuable will be found in participation in old and new institutions outside the schools. But if the school continues to dominate the time and energy of youth, as it undoubtedly will in many locations in the country, then it seems important to change it in ways that will allow the young to widen the range of rewarding educational experiences.

(d) The school as agent for the young. If a larger social setting -- the community or city -- is seen as the environment, or a set of environments, for the growth of a young person, then the school could come to take on a new role of planning and facilitating the best use of the learning components of the larger system. In this approach, the school would delegate a portion of its present custody to other institutions. Time in school could be cut by reducing school functions to the more strictly academic ones. But school personnel would then also plan to be the main agents of the young, acting in their interests in employing other institutions of the community. The school would purchase a set of services for youth, making it an important potential source of social change.

There may be an inherent conflict in this dual role of the school in teaching and in acting as a disinterested agent for youth development. Nevertheless, some secondary schools have programs that move in this direction. Cooperative education, involving half-days spent at work, is a widespread example. Programs that involve middle-class youth engaged in public service activities have been developed in a few places. Some purchase of teaching services by the school through performance contracting has also been attempted. However, in the absence of a general conception of a new role for the school as

agent for youth and the flexibility in the use of school funds that would follow from such a conception, the evolution is heavily constrained.

Our proposal here is for the explicit introduction of this new conception in an experimental program, together with broad evaluation of the existing programs that have this character. Such a conception would be favorable to, and in some cases necessary for, the directions of change to which we now turn.

2. Alternation of School and Work.

One way of providing youth with opportunities for acquiring experience in the assumption of responsibility and facilitating their contact with adults prior to the termination of education is to encourage movement between school and workplace.

Without considering major modifications in educational or occupational institutions, two patterns of alternation of school and work may be examined. In the first of these patterns, the young person leaves school for a period of time such as a semester, for full-time employment, returning to school subsequently. In colleges, this pattern was initiated by Antioch College, and exists also in a number of engineering curricula. But at the high school level the pattern does not exist.

The experience of veterans who resumed their education after the Second World War suggests that even an extended hiatus need not carry any penalty of difficulty in picking up the academic thread again, although obvious selective factors suggest caution in generalizing from that experience. Prospective employers may be reluctant to invest time in training an ostensibly

short-term employee, but data on job mobility of the young suggest that at present most first jobs are short-term.

The second pattern of alternation of school and work consists of half-time schooling and half-time employment. This pattern, limited largely to manual jobs, exists in many schools as federally-funded "Cooperative Vocational Education" for youth 16 and over, and more recently for 14- and 15-year-olds as "Work Experience and Career Exploration Program" (WECEP).*

The most conspicuous limitation of these programs is the limitation to terminal education, making the program incompatible with education beyond high school. Limitations also exist in attitudes of school personnel, for the programs are ordinarily seen as "programs of last resort." The proposal here, however, is for school-work alternation for college preparatory programs as well as vocational programs. The aim of such programs should not be primarily to "learn a skill," but to gain experience in responsible interdependent activity -- and the importance of such experience is not limited to youth with manual labor destinations.

To make such arrangements feasible from the standpoint of the organization of the school time table, there are scheduling problems. But these have been solved for existing cooperative education programs, and can equally be solved for students in non-vocational education.

With the first pattern of school-work alternation also (periods of full-time schooling and full-time work), there are scheduling problems. The conventional summer vacation from school is anachronistic, reflecting our agricultural past. If the school year were organized on a year-round trimester

*One evaluation of work-study programs (WECEP) for 14 and 15-year-olds in Illinois shows that 46% responded "better than before" to a question "How do you get along with strangers and older people now that you are in the program?" Lawrence Weisman, School, Community and Youth, mimeographed, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois 1972.

basis, with each student spending one of the three trimesters in employment and two trimesters in school, the alternation we are suggesting would be realized. Side benefits would arise from a more efficient use of school physical plants and year-round employment of teachers.*

Both these patterns of school-work alternation seem to offer sufficient benefits for aiding the transition from school to work to justify the scheduling and organizational arrangements that would make the two activity patterns possible. The patterns currently exist for some students in vocational programs. Our proposal is that these be carefully evaluated in terms of the objectives discussed in Part 1, and that experimentation be carried out with such programs for young people in non-vocational tracks.

2.1 The specific experimentation proposal.

a. The work-study experimentation should have these characteristics:

1. For the pattern with a half day of work and a half day of school, the program should build upon present Cooperative Vocational Education Programs (for ages 16 and over) and Work Experience and Career Exploration Programs (for ages 14 and 15) in high schools. In design of the augmentation, the experiment should use existing evaluations of these programs.

2. These programs should be augmented by a wider range of occupations, and be made compatible with a college-preparation high school

*Synanon, a residential community in California which educates its own children, operates with monthly alternations for its teen-age children, intermixing academic schooling, work experience, and extended ventures of an Outward Bound sort into nature. Kibbutzim in Israel have a regular school year, but carry out an alternation of school and work during the school year by establishing work responsibilities for youth like those of adults, but for a shorter period each day.

curriculum. (The sufficiency of half a school day for a college preparatory program is shown by the experience of high schools operating on split shifts or double shifts because of overcrowding.)

3. For the pattern with a trimester in school and one out, the program should probably begin with age 16. A school schedule should be converted to a trimester basis, with cooperating firms having full-time jobs that are successfully filled by different young persons on their work trimester. College preparatory curriculum, as well as others, should be compatible with the work program.

4. Wherever possible, random selection of applicants to the program should be used when the program is oversubscribed, to allow using the nonselected students as controls to show effects of the program.

b. The results to be studied should include:

1. Comparison of selected and nonselected students on:

a. The second class of objectives discussed in Part 1, involving the assumption of responsibilities affecting others, and the ability to engage in joint or interdependent work with others. In addition, performance measures on work-related skills should be used.

b. Subsequent work histories and employer ratings.

c. Attitudes toward school, self, and work.

2. Comparison should also be made between youth employed in these arranged programs and youth with similar amounts of experience in part-time or summer work, to learn what is gained, if anything, compared to ordinary labor force hiring of teen-agers.

3. Assessment should be made of employers' experiences, and the incentives necessary to induce employers to participate in the program. For such programs to be extendible to general school policy, they must be of interest both to youth and employers.
4. Cost accounting of the program is necessary to learn additional costs beyond regular high school.

3. Work Organizations that Incorporate Youth.

Educational and work institutions are almost wholly distinct. There were some good reasons for that in the past, but in the present and future there are good reasons for a closer connection. These reasons lie in the second class of objectives for youth, experience with responsibility affecting others, and in the creation of settings that involve closer personal relations between adults and youth.

For a closer connection to be achieved, one strategy is to add educational functions to organizations that have a central work purpose. With this strategy, organizations modified to incorporate youth would not have distinct and separate "schools" within them to which youth are relegated. Persons of all ages in the organization would have a mixture of learning and working roles, with only the proportions of the mixture varying with age. All but the youngest persons would have a third role as well, teaching. Although there would be some persons in the organization with primary responsibility for teaching or directing the learning of young persons, a large portion of the teaching would be done by persons whose primary responsibilities were in other work.

In addition, new techniques in teaching offer especially valuable opportunities for this kind of institutional arrangement. At present, these lie principally in televised or video-tape instruction. Such instruction has reached operational practicability (as the Open University in Britain and instructional programs on a smaller scale in the United States make clear), and its existence eliminates many of the needs for a school in a building with teachers in classrooms. The young person, rather than finishing high school, can enter a firm in which he spends a certain fraction of his time at work and a certain fraction at self-instruction. With televised instruction, the necessity of a classroom full of students to economize on the teacher's time is no longer present, and scheduling can be fitted to a work schedule.

Such a transformation of a work organization would have differing degrees of difficulty in different kinds of organizations. Organizations involving the performing arts, especially music, would be among those that could most easily modify themselves. Others providing personal services, such as hospitals, are similarly modifiable, with youth engaging both in the work of the organization and in the tasks of learning that are presently carried out in schools. But many kinds of governmental offices, manufacturing organizations, and retail sales firms would be appropriate as well. In manufacturing firms there are manual activities, office work, research and laboratory activity, all of which can provide valuable experience for the young. Whether the work accomplished is seen as a by-product of the development of young persons or this development is seen as a by-product of the productive experience is not important. What is important is that in such a setting both these things take place.

Introduction of youth into work organizations of the sort that we are describing will bring a loss of efficiency in its central activity of producing

goods or services. At the same time, the participating organization is providing for its youth the sort of academic opportunities now provided by schools and colleges that allow opportunities for advanced training in purely academic settings. This service should be compensated from public funds, as schools now are, offsetting the reduced efficiency in productive activity. Whether the reduced efficiency would be only partly offset, exactly offset, or more than offset by payments equal to public funds now spent in public schools can be learned only through experimentation.

Such organizational responsibility for the development of youth can be taken by business firms, government organizations, and non-profit organizations, and the responsible agents can be both management and worker's organizations (unions and professional associations). It is important that the design of youth's schedule of activities and the implementation be jointly in the hands of management and worker's organizations if that design is to be appropriate.

This mixture of school and work in a work organization is difficult to introduce in American society because schools are in the public sector, while most work is in the private sector, in firms that are subject to market competition. Without some kind of mixture between the principles behind the public-sector organization and the private-sector organization confronting a market, an organizational change of the sort proposed here can hardly take place. For a firm to carry out public educational functions necessarily increases its costs and makes the firm non-competitive in the markets where its products or services are sold. Only if the educational activities are publicly supported, as they currently are in schools, can firms afford to add such functions. The form of this support could be either direct government payment through contract

or a similar mechanism or vouchers in which the youth themselves are, with their families, the purchasers of educational and training services. Close attention would be necessary in the pilot or experimental programs to learn whether the youth activities tend to become segregated into specialized sections of the organization. If this occurred the intended benefits of the activity of course would be lost. If not, then further information is necessary to learn just what differences such a changed environment makes in the lives of those youth within it.*

3.1 The specific experimentation with youth in work organizations.

a. The social experiment under consideration here should have the following characteristics:

1. The experiment should cover a number of cities (for demonstration effect), with participating and control high schools in each city.

2. Eligibility to youth of age 16 and over, with each youth at age 16 from the high schools included in the experiment given the alternative of finishing high school through his regular school or shifting to employment-with-school, in one of the participating employer's organizations.

3. High school diploma awarded through use of GED high school equivalency test. Higher credits and degrees awarded through college level equivalency tests.

4. Formal courses available that allow continuation into various streams of post-secondary school of the young person desires, and for post-secondary courses within the work organization.

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*See Coleman dissent.

5. Work in the organization like that of adults, with the same daily schedule except a portion of that schedule reserved for formal instruction, with the youth paid by the organization for the time worked, and the work organization paid from public funds for the time he spends in formal instruction.

6. The experiment should involve a set of participating employers who agree to reserve a given number of jobs for participating youth.

7. Wherever possible, selection should be randomized. If there is oversubscription by youth to the program, selection should be randomized within school and age, to allow comparability of subsequent measures on selected and non-selected youth.

b. The outcomes to be measured should include:

1. Comparison of selected and non-selected youth, and of youth from high schools in the experiment and those from control schools, on:

a) Ability to assume responsibilities effecting others, and to engage in joint work with others.

b) Other objectives discussed in Part 1, though these are not the principal intended effects of the change.

c) Work histories at least to age 25.

d) Subsequent educational experience.

e) Attitudes toward work and toward formal instruction.

2. Employers' experiences with these youth in productivity, absenteeism, and promotability.

3. Comparison of the schools in the experiment with control schools, in:

a) Rates of absenteeism and school discipline problems, by age of student.

b) Rates of dropout from school.

4. Cost-accounting of the program.

4. Youth Communities and Youth Organizations.

The preceding proposals represent an attempt to counter the trend toward increasing specialization of organizations in society. But that trend, and the age segregation it implies, may not be reversible. Two existing patterns for the development of youth that are compatible with specialization and age-segregation are the youth community and the adult-sponsored youth organization.

Although youth communities differ radically in supervision they have, even within specimens of a given type (e.g., boarding schools), the assumption has been that there is something to be gained by youth living together and developing a greater or lesser degree of self-government. To the extent that self-government has characterized such communities, the additional assumption has been that youth can learn those attributes necessary for adulthood not from the example of adults but from experience with problems -- from being thurst into practice of responsibility. Youth communities in which adults provide ultimate authority but not daily direction differ from current colleges and high schools not in the proportion of youth within them, for college and high school communities are made up almost entirely of youth. They differ instead in that youth are not merely clients to be served, but provide most of the services, exercise most of the authority, and carry most of the responsibility for the functioning of the community, from seeing that the laundry is done to hiring outside expertise in the form of teachers.

A second type of youth society is the adult-sponsored youth organization.

Such organizations are not residential, and they receive their goals and direction principally from adults. Adult-sponsored youth organizations embrace a number of activities, but seldom formal education. Broadly speaking, such organizations may be classified as follows:

1) Organizations designed to transmit non-cognitive skills and moral qualities by finding non-economic but still valuable roles for youth to play, e.g., Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts.
2) Occupationally-oriented youth organizations which seek to prepare youth for future economic roles, e.g., 4-H, Junior Homemakers.
3) Clubs which seek essentially to organize recreational activities for youth, e.g., P.A.L., Y.M.C.A., Boys Clubs of America.

This crude classification should not obscure the existence of some overlap in function, or the fact that some of these organizations, like the Y.M.C.A., have modified their goals in the last century. In addition to these organizations, there is a set of semi-organized youth groups including street gangs with no adult supervision and gangs with street workers.

Several advantages can be derived from attempting to utilize youth communities and youth organizations to achieve goals outlined earlier in this report. The principle of self-government which has appeared in some youth communities can lead to early assumption of responsibility and management of one's affairs. Adult-sponsored youth organizations have had goals covering most of the objectives of environments for youth other than cognitive skills. At the same time, several limitations exist in youth-communities and adult-sponsored youth organizations as these are now constituted. Traditionally, the most widespread type of youth community has been the boarding school, confined mainly to children

of the wealthy and located mainly in the East, and often rigidly hierarchical in structure. Adult-sponsored youth organizations also suffer from restricted clienteles, but for different reasons. The single-sex character of some of them sharply reduces their appeal to youth beyond early adolescence. And organizations like 4-H have not been successful in urban or suburban areas. Finally, many adult-sponsored youth organizations are now suffering from a confusion of purpose, having experienced a weakening of their original commitment to the value of crafts or nature study as ways to build character without having settled on a new set of goals.

Two proposals appear to us useful in the area of youth communities and adult-sponsored youth organizations:

4.1 Youth communities.

We propose the pilot introduction of such communities in nonresidential settings, each of which would contain within it the classroom activities of a school, but only as one of its activities. Certain of its activities would be directed toward community service or social action, and also possibly toward production of goods or services for a market. Such organizations, it is clear, would be "youth communities" only in the sense that they would be largely self-governing. Although there is value in the residential principle, in practice it puts sharp limitations on the scope of youth communities.

a. Members of the youth community should be selected randomly from among volunteers, and both sets followed to compare the effects of the youth community with those of the school from which members were drawn.

b. Eligibility should begin at the level of freshmen or sophomores in high school.

c. The program should differ from current "alternative schools" in having primarily an outward focus engaging in community service activities, with school learning being a secondary goal.

d. Measurements comparing members with non-selected youth should include:

1. Measures of development of community members on the objectives discussed in Part 1.

2. Measure of performance in the next setting, post-secondary education or work, to learn how the transition is facilitated or inhibited by membership in the community.

e. Cost-accounting of the program, for comparison with regular schooling.

4.2 Youth organizations.

With respect to adult-sponsored youth organizations, we suggest that the government support as a customer certain of their activities directed toward public service. Several of these organizations view some oftheir present efforts as involving public service. Extension of these services would be necessary to the point that they produce goods and services which can reasonably be purchased by the government. This role of government as purchaser of public services from youth organizations must be worked out in detail if it is to succeed (e.g., what services are to be purchased, what overlap exists with current public services, what range of organizations is eligible). But if designed appropriately, such purchase of services could be of benefit both to youth and the community that receives the services, without introducing government control or administration of the youth organizations. It could also aid in the extension of these organizations among lower-class youth who are presently much less well served than middle class youth.

a. The principal questions to be asked of this experiment are the effect of the purchase of services on expansion of youth organizations and the types of youth attracted into the program. The effectiveness of those organizations toward the objectives discussed in Part 1 should not be at issue here, because that effectiveness can be as well studied with existing youth organizations.

b. In addition, the community-service benefits of the purchase of services should be weighed against the costs, to compare the costs of these services purchased in this way to those obtained in the usual unrestricted markets.

5. Protection vs. Opportunity for Youth.

As described in Part 3, the young are subject to a number of legal constraints designed to protect them from exploitation in the adult world. These include compulsory school attendance to age 16 and being barred from some employment below the age of 14, 16, or 18, depending on the employment. In addition, the structuring of most work into full-time jobs, the increasing set of employee benefits which reduce employers' incentives and ease of hiring casual labor, and the legal minimum wage provisions create additional barriers to youth's productive activity. These constraints and barriers protect youth from the potential harm, but they also make it difficult for many youth to have experiences that would be beneficial to their growth and development. They enforce the isolation of youth from adults and from adult responsibilities, increasing the difficulty of creating environments for youth that involve serious responsibilities affecting others.

The rights of youth to protection and rights of youth to opportunity are, we believe, for most youth presently unbalanced in the direction of too little opportunity.* There is general agreement that current child labor standards, both federal and state, need to be reviewed and revised in the interest of flexibility, individualization, and the opening of wider opportunities for work experience and employment. Procedures for issuing state employment certificates to those eligible for them should be simplified and steps should be taken to make provisions in the federal Fair Labor Standards Act relating to learners and apprentices effective. Regulation of working conditions for young workers is a legitimate and necessary form of protection. But the longstanding legal provisions related to working conditions require overhauling in view of technological changes, advances in safety devices, and changes in business methods and social customs.

At present, youth under age 18 experience some of the same barriers as handicapped workers: they require special insurance, have minimal job flexibility because of state and federal regulations, and impose extra administrative procedures upon the employer. Furthermore, these restrictions may fall more heavily upon lower-class and black youth than middle-class youth. Labor-force statistics show that middle-class youth, though they need the jobs less, and although they stay in school longer, manage to find part-time work at least as early as working class youth.

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* This obviously is not true for a small minority such as children of migrant agricultural laborers. But increasing protection for this minority is not incompatible with increasing opportunity for the majority now excluded from opportunity. See New Generation (1972) for discussion of the necessity for increased protection of migrant labor children.

5.1 Administrative constraints.

Our first proposal is that at both the state and federal levels, there be careful review of the occupational restrictions and administrative procedures designed to protect youth from adult exploitation and from hazardous occupations. Many of these occupations have changed character, and for them the aims of protection have reduced the rights of opportunity. Cumbersome administrative procedures that offer no protection but have the effect of reducing opportunity are inexcusable. There are, to be sure, hazardous occupations from which youth should continue to be protected. For these, the federal and state enforcement is often lax, and the rights of youth to protection are being disregarded. If occupations are appropriately reclassified and the administrative inhibitions to youth employment streamlined, then enforcement can focus on the truly hazardous occupations and on the truly exploitative activities, increasing both the protection and opportunity of the young.

5.2 Dual minimum wage.

In addition to this general proposal, we propose that there be broad experimentation with a dual minimum wage, lower for youth than for adult workers.* A flat minimum wage rate has two deleterious consequences: first, it constricts the number of jobs available to the young, particularly in the 14 to 18 age range and for those with little experience, since their productivity may be significantly below that of experienced and mature workers. To the extent that the minimum is set at a relatively high level and is effective, it will discourage the employment of the young whose productivity is not yet sufficiently high.

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* See Bremner dissent.

Second, and perhaps more important, is its effect on the incentive to employers to provide general training on the job for the young. Such training is costly to the employers, and to the extent that it is general rather than specific and hence transferable to other jobs and employers, it will be supplied by employers to the young only if it is offset by lower wages during the initial training periods. This is the rationale behind the variety of formal and informal apprenticeship arrangements in the labor market. A high and uniform minimum wage level discourages such arrangements and transfers the training to the schools, which are not the best places for it.

For these reasons, we propose experimentation with various forms and levels of a dual minimum wage before any general increase in the minimum wage is enacted at the federal level. Although the consequences of existing minimum wage legislation for young workers are not well known, the consequences of a general increase seem clearly to fall differentially upon the young. Earlier studies, summarized in Kalachek (19) and BLS Bulletin No. 1657 (19), were largely inconclusive. More recent studies, incorporating a longer period of rising levels and extended coverage, detect a larger effect particularly after the depressing effect of the minimum wage provisions on the labor force participation rates of teenagers is allowed for (see in particular Mincer and Hashimoto, 1972, and Kosters and Welch, 1972).

6. Vouchers to be Employed by Youth.

From the point at which compulsory education ends -- age 16 -- our society subsidizes the activities of those who choose to stay within the educational system. Such a subsidy makes the young person's decision of

whether to remain in school less sensitive to the actual benefits he or she expects to receive from school, since the subsidy is lost upon leaving high school or college. In turn, this makes the institutions themselves less attentive to providing experiences that youth regard as important enough to pay for. The more heavily subsidized the activity from the outside, the greater the danger that youth are there for a free ride, and that the institution is indifferent to the actual benefits that activity should provide.

There are several undesirable consequences of the fact that the subsidy decision is made by those who do not directly experience the consequences of the decision -- that is, local school boards, state legislators, Congressmen, and parents of youth. First, most types of subsidy are available only to those who take a prescribed path, a path which may not be the best one for a particular young person. For example, graduate school is highly subsidized by federal and state governments. To receive this subsidy, a young person must have completed college and choose to continue beyond college. College is subsidized as well. But to receive this subsidy, the young person must have completed high school and choose to enter college. In short, the system of subsidies provides a set of inducements to youth for following a very narrow path, strongly biasing their choice of activities in the direction of the path society has decided is "good for them."

Similarly, the middle class and more affluent families in effect "bribe" their children to continue education by making the transfer of funds conditional on specified school attendance. This contributes to the feelings by a young person of being pushed in a direction that is only marginally desirable for him and thus to an inefficient use of college resources by those youth who would never invest their own funds in college. It contributes as well to a

deferral of responsible choice by the young person, undermining some of the most important objectives of environments for youth.

Many of these problems would be alleviated if educational support were vested directly in the young person. One way of doing so is through the use of educational vouchers for the period following compulsory education (from age 16), rather than direct subsidy to high schools and colleges from governments. Such vouchers, perhaps equivalent in value to the average cost of education through four years of college, would be given to the young at age 16, to be used at their discretion for schooling and other skill acqusition at any subsequent time of their life. That is, they should have a wide range of use, and they should not lose their value if they are not used in continuous sequence. Any unused portions should be added to the individual's social security base and be reflected in payments (annuities) he would receive on retirement.*

The principal advantages of such a plan are two. First, it would leave the major educational decision in the hands of youth themselves, who would be spending their "own" money in the directions they saw to be profitable, and with a commitment and responsibility for making its use productive. Second, it would equalize the subsidy to all youth that now goes only to those who attend college. The present system of subsidies discriminates in favor of those who are able to attend college and interested in doing so -- a discrimination generally in favor of those from higher income families. Expenditure of the vouchers should be limited to institutions designed to engender some skill, with the institutions subject to some criteria or standards of the sort developed for GI benefits.

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* See Davis dissent.

The experience our society had with the GI Bill after World War II, which included a similar though less broad program of educational benefits, is generally regarded as highly successful. Those educational benefits were available for, and used for, a very wide range of training activities, outside college and within, for blue-collar and white-collar occupations.

Such a voucher system would, of course, sharply modify the methods of financing the current system of higher education. Some of the changes, such as the fact that investments are being made by those who actually experience the consequences of the investments, are desirable. Others might be less desirable. It appears to us, all things considered, that the benefits of flexibility, responsibility, and equality of opportunity are valuable enough to warrant experimentation with such a plan on a wide enough scale to learn its potential.

6.1 The specific voucher proposal.

One method of defining the population for an experimental voucher program is to encompass all youth of the designated ages in a given geographic area. Another is to select a sparse random sample in a number of localities (e.g., through lotteries). The former method is used in the design for educational vouchers at the elementary school level initiated by OEO. It is necessary if the experiment is to examine the response of educational and training institutions to the vouchers. But in the present case, the voucher is to be for later ages, either post-high school or from age 16 on. For these ages, the choices are not limited to a geographic locality, so that the experiment cannot measure

the institutional response. Given this, it is probably most feasible to sample sparsely in a number of localities, with some dense sampling in a few localities to test the effects of the total cohort's receipt of vouchers. Thus the specific characteristics of a voucher experiment should be:

1. Random sample in several localities, relatively small inssize (about 5000 per year for three years).
2. Voucher given to youth at age 16, usable for training or education from that point on.
3. Value of vouchers should be sufficient to cover total educational costs through four years at a publicly-supported university.
4. A procedure must be established for determining eligibility of the particular institution for voucher use, whether in the public or private sector.
5. If the recipient attends a public institution, he is to be charged full costs, not merely tuition.

Measures of effects should consist primarily of comparison of voucher recipients and non-recipient youth selected by a comparable random procedure. Measures should focus on early educational and occupational history, and should include also measurements on objectives described in Part 1. No study of institutional response to the vouchers is possible with this experimental design, and none is necessary to examine the effects of interest.

7. Opportunities for Public Service.

Many youth who expect to graduate from college have begun, in the past few years, to take one or more years out at some point before completing their education. Some do so after high school, some during college, and a few do so (though with more difficulty) during high school itself. Many colleges have accommodated to this, allowing a student automatic re-entry after staying out one or two years or deferment of entry after admission from high school. High schools have not so accommodated, and a young person who is "tired of school" before completing high school becomes a simple dropout. Certainly a portion of the motives of youth in taking a period out from school lie in the areas touched in this report: a dissatisfaction with school, with isolation from the real world, with always being asked to prepare, never being asked to do. And a portion of their objectives in doing so are some of those discussed in Part 1: gaining the experience of responsible activity affecting others; interdependent work with others toward commonly-held goals; the management of their own affairs.

But for few youth are there opportunities to which they can direct their energy and make some kind of contribution to society. For many, the year they spend away from school is an unproductive one.

Although there have been programs of national or public service for youth in recent years (Peace Corps, VISTA, Teachers Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Corps, Youth Conservation Corps, University Year in Action), and although the best of these have been extremely successful, there are four defects in the national service opportunities that currently confront youth.

1) They provide a very small number of opportunities. The Peace Corps had about 8500 volunteers in service in 1971 of all ages. All national programs for youth taken together provided less than 20,000 man-years of opportunity per year. For comparison, the total number of youth aged 18 is currently about 4,000,000.

2) Some of those programs that have been most successful in employing the energies of youth have shifted their focus to older persons with well-developed skills. The Peace Corps is the best example.

3) Nearly all programs are not available to persons below the age of 18. Thus for most youth wishing to defer college entrance, they are not a feasible alternative. Nor are they a feasible alternative to high school completion for dropout potentials.

4) Most formal programs require a 2-year commitment, which is twice the time period that most of those who are interrupting their education are ready to make.

7.1 The specific proposal for public service opportunities.

a. We propose the development of programs with these characteristics:

1. A much higher level of funding of successful youth programs, to increase the opportunities available beyond the miniscule number that now exist;
2. Availability to youth age 16 to 24, with parental consent where necessary by law;
3. Commitment required for only one year, but with option for extension to two;

4. Service opportunities primarily within the United States, in both urban and rural areas;

5. Concentration first on those areas of activity that create least conflict with the adult community, whether jurisdictional disputes with labor unions or class conflict through activities of advocacy. If public or national service programs are to have a fair test of their ability to aid youth's transition to adulthood, they should not, in the early period, be saddled with conflict beyond that they will unavoidably or accidentally create.

b. Measurement:

Results of the public service programs should be examined in the two areas representing the dual objectives of the programs: effects on the participants and effects of the work on the target goal. Since the public service is designed to be of value to the society, it gains its justification in part from this value. Specifically, the measures should include:

1. Cost-benefit or productivity analysis of the work performed.

2. Effects on the participants:

   a. Extensive research has been carried out on the effects of Peace Corps experience on volunteers, as well as other youth public service and volunteer programs. This work should be used as a starting point in designing a study of the effects of the public service programs recommended above, keeping in mind the objectives discussed in Part 1.

COLEMAN DISSENT

The proposal to encourage and support some work organizations to sufficiently modify themselves to incorporate youth is, I think, an important one. Experimentation with new forms of social organization to reverse the movement toward increased specialization is necessary if society is to be free to evolve in those directions. But the recommendation in the text stops short of the kind of major experimental innovation that I believe is warranted. That is, a logical extension of the organizational changes recommended is the age-balanced organization. In most societies of the past, the basic social unit was the extended family. The family was a multi-purpose unit, engaged in production, consumption, and raising the young. As productive activities have come to take place in formal bureaucratic organizations, which are single-purposed, many of the incidental activities that aided in bringing children to adulthood are no longer available to the young. The time of adults is more and more confined within formal organizations, as more and more adults work within them. The age segregation of both the young and the old results primarily from the narrowed purpose of these productive organizations of society.

One means by which the increasing age segregation of the society can be reduced is to broaden the functions of these single-purposed organizations, encompassing both the young and the old. Their efficiency as productive organizations would thereby be reduced; but the external costs they presently impose on society by relegating the young and the old to special institutions with specialized personnel in attendance would be gone.

Such an age-balanced organization would include day-care centers, classrooms, and places frequented by the elderly. But persons of all ages other than the very young would in addition engage in some activities with those of other ages: working, teaching, learning. The age structure of the organization would reflect that of society as a whole, something like this:

In an organization of 1,000 persons:

0-4	90
5-13	180
14-17	80
18-24	110
25-64	440
65+	100

It is interesting to note that very recently something approximating age-balanced organizations has come into existence in a few areas of the economy. These are communes organized to engage in a given productive activity. In book publishing, for example, there now exists on the west coast two publishing communes that have recently developed (see Publisher's Weekly, 1972). Although these communes are not presently age-balanced, their mode of organization is such that over time, they will become so if they continue. Older religious communities, such as the Bruderhof, which manufactures children's toys for a commercial market, have long been age-balanced productive organizations. The proposal here is not for the creation of such residential communities, but for age-balanced organizations that operate on a regular workday schedule.

The modification proposed here is not intended to transform such organizations into "participatory democracies" in which all ages have equal voice. The productive functions of the organization will continue to require hierarchial organization if they are to survive in the marketplace. The sole organizational changes will be those necessary to incorporate the new functions -- and of course, these changes will not be negligible. What the proposed transformation is intended to do is to bring down to humane size the organizational units responsible for care of the young and the elderly and to facilitate the daily contact of persons of different ages.

Nor is the idea of an age-balanced organization a demand for "age quotas" in organizations. There are many organizations of society for which the possibilities of creating an age-balance are not great. The point instead is that the subsidy that society now pays to schools to contain its young can well be paid to work organizations and their unions that are willing to reorganize themselves to create an age-balance. Again, as in the recommendation in the text, the public support of this activity could take different forms. The government might be the client, paying the organization through contract for the provision of certain services to the young and old that are now provided outside work organizations. Or the young and old themselves could come to be the customers, through a voucher redeemable by organizations that become age-balanced and appropriately restructured themselves. But whatever the fiscal mechanism, what is important is to create the conditions within which age-balanced organizations can develop. Inherently, this means the use of public funds in an organization that is otherwise engaged in marketable products and services.

BREMNER DISSENT

(Supported by Davis)

Mr. Bremner dissents from the dual minimum wage recommendation on the following grounds: (1) the impact of minimum wage laws on youth employment and unemployment is still a moot point (See U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Youth Unemployment and Minimum Wages, Bulletin 1657, Washington, D.C., 1970, pp. 187-189; and Vera C. Perella "Working Teenagers," Children Today, May-June 1972, p. 17); (2) setting a lower minimum wage for youth may have adverse social effects (See Eli E. Cohen, "Protection vs. Opportunity," New Generation, Summer 1971, pp. 27-28); and (3) imposing a lower legal minimum wage on young workers is inconsistent with the panel's desire to loosen legal constraints on the young.

DAVIS DISSENT

(Supported by Bremner)

Vouchers presume a capability to select appropriate oppurtunities for skill development, and this capability is often not present in youth or their families. In addition, possibilities of exploitation by recipients of vouchers are pronounced. Finally, there is a need to insure against racial and social discrimination or segregation, particularly because tax money is involved.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY • BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21218

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL RELATIONS

13 December 1972

MEMORANDUM

TO: Members of the PSAC
FROM: Jim Coleman, Chairman, Panel on Youth

Enclosed are Parts 1 and 4 of the report of the Panel on Youth revised on the basis of the comments and criticisms from the last PSAC meeting. There were few changes in Parts 2 and 3, and I didn't want to burden you with a duplication of materials you had already received.

This will be discussed, I believe, at 9:30 on Monday morning, because of a change I've just been notified of in the agenda.

YOUTH TO ADULT:

Institutional Alternatives for Transition

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

All cultures must somehow solve the problem of transforming children into adults, since their very survival depends on that solution. In every society there is established some kind of institutional setting within which the process of transition is to occur, in directions predicated by societal goals and values. In our view, the institutional framework for maturation in the United States is now in need of serious examination.

The purposes of this report are first to examine the contexts that now exist for youth, within which they come to adulthood, and assess the fitness of those contexts for the accomplishment of the developments necessary to full maturity, and then to propose alternative settings which seem to be preferable ways of accomplishing that assignment.

Although we recognize that the process of maturation begins in infancy, and in some senses never ends, we have chosen to confine our attention to the age span 14-24. The simple justification for that arbitrary choice is that essentially none can be classified as adults prior to their fourteenth birthday, and essentially none can be classified as children subsequent to their twenty-fifth birthday, whatever the operational definition of the transition.

When ours was still an agrarian society, the needs of youth were necessarily subordinate to the economic struggle, and the rudimentary occupational requisites permitted them to be brought quickly into adult productivity. The dominant institutional settings within which they grew up were the home and the workplace. Choices in the occupational sphere were few: the future roles of the children were generally well-exemplified by those of parents. In short, the task of socialization was resolved by early and continual interaction with the parents and nearby adults.

But as our society moved into the modern era, the occupational structure became

progressively more a matter of movement into activities different from the parents. A long period of formal training, under specialized instructors, was initiated to provide the cognitive skills seen as necessary for satisfactory performance as an adult, and equality of opportunity itself required postponement of decision. To accomplish these tasks, institutions to provide the instruction were designed, and rules were formulated with respect to school and work. Specifically, schooling to an advanced age became compulsory, and automatic promotion, age by age, became the norm. Laws were established against child labor, and minimum wages were specified. These latter not only served their prime function of protecting the economic security of the breadwinner but also effectively delayed the entry of the young person into the labor force.

In consequence, the schools and colleges came to provide the general social environment for youth. The world of the maturing child, formerly dominated by the home, is now monopolized on the formal level by the school, and on the informal level by the age group. The typical young person has a long preparation for his occupational future, within a highly structured school system, interrupted only by some work at marginal tasks (either part-time after school, or during the summers) and terminated by entry into the labor force or motherhood.

Our basic premise is that the school system, as now constituted, offers an incomplete context for the accomplishment of many important facets of maturation. The school has been well designed to provide some kinds of training but, by virtue of that fact, is inherently ill-suited to fulfill other tasks essential to the creation of adults. Indeed, it would be unreasonable to expect any institution to suffice as the exclusive environment for youth. Signs of dissatisfaction abound, from parents and taxpayers who have an inarticulate sense that something is amiss, from school administrators and teachers who are experimenting with methods and objectives and forms which differ from those of the established system, and from youth themselves, many of whom are showing individual initiative in the search for extra-curricular experiences.

The school now shares the socialization task with the family and the peer group. Because the family has become limited in its effectiveness with respect to the age group of our concern, it is a minor part of the social environment of most youth beyond early adolescence. And the peer group is not only an unsuitable source for development toward adult goals, but it also attenuates the invaluable lines of communication and culture transmission across the generations. The way of life we have institutionalized for our young consists almost entirely of social interaction with others of the same age, and formal relationships with authority figures.

Thus, to put it simply, society has passed through two phases in its treatment of youth. In the first, which might be characterized as the work phase, young persons were brought as quickly as physical maturity would allow into economic productivity, to aid the economy of the family. In the second phase, which may be described as the schooling phase, young persons are being kept as long as possible in school and out of economic productivity, to increase their opportunity.

We believe it is now time for a third phase in society's treatment of its young, including schooling but neither defined by nor limited to it. We think it is time to reappraise the contexts of youth, to question even the most accepted and ordinary aspects of their current institutional settings, and to consider the reformation of existing structures and if necessary the creation of new ones. We are proposing the establishment of alternative environments for the transition to adulthood, environments explicitly designed to develop not only cognitive learning but other aspects of maturation as well.

The discussion of environments for youth appropriately begins with a discussion of the kind of objectives toward which they should be directed. These objectives represent the criteria by which to assess the present system and the proposed alternatives.

The objectives to which environments for youth should be addressed consist of two broad classes. The first is essentially self-centered. It concerns the

acquisition of skills which expand the personal resources, and thus the opportunity of a young person. Schools have traditionally focused upon this class of objectives, and often narrowly so within this class. But a second class of objectives is important as well, in which youth is not self-centered, but centered on others. This class concerns quite simply the opportunity for responsibilities affecting other persons. Only with the experience of such responsibilities can youth move toward the mutually responsible and mutually rewarding involvement with others that constitutes social maturity. Whatever the set of specific objectives within each of these classes (and those we shall list are certainly not exhaustive), we believe it important that environments for youth address directly both of these classes, and not merely the former, as schools have traditionally done.

First among the self-centered class of objectives are <u>those cognitive and non-cognitive skills necessary for economic independence and for occupational opportunities</u>. Although survival in the modern world requires as a minimum a considerable capability in the use of words and numbers, the range of necessary skills beyond that minimum varies as widely as the distribution of occupations within the labor force.

Beyond the acquisition of marketable skills, a second objective consists of developing <u>the capability of effective management of one's own affairs</u>. The emergent adult faces an increasingly complex world, in which self-direction and self-management are prerequisites to success. The current environments imposed on youth by society, in the form of schools, provide little experience with self-management, in large part because, where there is little freedom of choice, there is little self-responsibility. The need for such experience is manifested in the frequency with which the freshmen entering college, and seniors leaving college, experience shock as a consequence of the enlargement of choice. Environments for youth should provide experiences which develop one's capability for managing one's affairs in an organizationally complex world.

A third objective within the self-centered class is to develop capabilities as a consumer, not only of goods, but more significantly, of the cultural riches of civilization. The store of cultural achievements, whether art or literature or music or science, and whether experienced from the standpoint of creator or performer or simply appreciator, enrich the experience of one's life. Some people continue to assimilate these throughout their lives, in a continual expansion of their horizons, but only if they have acquired in youth a sufficient basis of taste and motivation. Environments should provide youth with the kind of experience with cultural achievements which will enable them, as adults, to pursue their tastes in those directions.

As a final objective in this class, environments for youth should also develop in youth the capabilities for engaging in intense concentrated involvement in an activity. The most personally satisfying experiences, as well as the greatest achievements of man, arise from such concentration, not because of external pressure, but from an inner motivation which propels the person and focuses his or her attention. Whether the activity be scholarship, or performance (as in dramatics or athletics), or the creation of physical objects, or still another activity, it is the concentrated involvement itself rather than the specific content, that is important. The necessity for multiple objectives in environments for youth should not obscure the importance of encouraging such intense concentration.

The objectives of the second class, with activities directed toward others, are equally important. Adulthood cannot be accomplished merely by the acquisition of self-serving capabilities. They must be augmented by the capabilities for mutually rewarding involvement with others. First, it is important to enlarge each person's horizons by experience with persons different from himself, not only in social class and subculture, but also in age. For some young persons this has been accomplished by national service in the armed forces or in activities like the Peace Corps. But for most, the opportunities for a broad range of experiences with persons from backgrounds other than their own are simply unavailable.

A second facet of social maturation concerns the experience of having others dependent on one's actions. All persons throughout most of their youth are cast in the role of dependent on others, while only a few, largely because of family circumstances, have others who are dependent on them. Although a few current school situations do provide appropriate experience of this kind by giving older children some responsibility for the teaching of younger children, the opportunity is atypical. It is important that environments for youth provide opportunities in caring for others who are younger, sick, old, or otherwise dependent, and to engage in activities which are responsible in the sense that they have significant consequences for others. This is a most important apprenticeship for the prospective obligations as spouse, parent and citizen.

Social maturity also develops in the context of involvement in interdependent activities directed toward collective goals, where the outcome for all depends on the coordinated efforts of each. A cognate advantage of such joint enterprises is that it provides the individual with the opportunity of serving in the capacity of leader as well as follower. All young people are presently subject to the authority and the directives of others, but only a few gain the experience of guiding and leading. Yet those capabilities are necessary for the management of their future families, as well as in their work and their community activities.

These kinds of social maturation are now accomplished haphazardly if at all. A prime criterion for assessment of present and prospective environments for youth is their efficacy for filling this void.

One characteristic of youth important to develop, but arising from both classes of objectives, is a sense of identity and self-esteem. These are attributes toward which environments for youth should be directed, for it is such identity and self-esteem that forms the foundation on which an adult life must be built. Further, environments for youth can be assessed by this criterion just as well as by those objectives discussed earlier.

In this report we hope to initiate discussion and debate concerning the capabilities that constitute adulthood, as sketched in the foregoing account, and also concerning the institutional forms which are best designed to achieve the various components of adulthood. We recognize that the times may seem unpropitious for the announcement of far-reaching goals. In recent years our educational institutions have been in continual crisis, and our efforts at improvement have been frustrated by an inordinate increase in the numbers of youth. Yet it is just such times of trouble which offer the opportunity for major restructuring which would be resisted were the times tranquil. And we are now on the brink of a demographic moratorium in which the number of youth will remain approximately constant, permitting us to seize the opportunity for reformation without the apprehension of being numerically engulfed.

The fundamental aims of this report are obviously too ambitious to be accomplished through any single document. The process of social change requires that discussion and debate begin, that the nuclei for social inventions be tentatively formed, that experiments be designed with meticulous attention to comprehensive recording of their consequences for all those whose lives they touch, and that forthright decisions then be made when the evidence is in.

The audience for such discussion is obviously broader than the federal government structure. Indeed it may be that the joint responsibility first of assuring that young people acquire a set of capabilities to serve them well in adulthood, and second of assuring that they retain the freedom and opportunity to move in diverse directions, is best shared between different levels of action, the first at the federal and state levels, and the second through local community and private channels. A central emphasis of this report is the importance of encouraging as wide a variety of environments for youth as are compatible with the enforcement of criteria to safeguard their development.

In the next section of this report, we present a series of background papers describing the social, psychological and physiological conditions relevant to any

discussion of youth, the history of our efforts to cope with this age group in the United States, and the current educational, economic and demographic situation of youth. The third section abstracts from these papers some of the important issues that must be addressed if the environments within which youth grow into adulthood are to be effective. In the fourth and final section, we suggest some initial changes which may move our society from its present schooling phase of youth institutions into a new phase of an array of environments explicitly designed for the various facets of maturation.

Because we are concerned with the future shape of institutions within which youth grow up in America, we exclude from our examination many important and problematic aspects of modern life which are often associated with youth, for example, drug use and freer attitudes toward sexual behavior. Nor do we make a special point of the grave problems of differential educational opportunity by ethnic group and social class, unless one or another of our specific proposals directly implicates that issue. By and large, the report also avoids discussion of the nature of the curriculum of high schools and colleges, and of specific modes of instruction. Furthermore, despite the continuing, albeit attenuated, role of parents and siblings in socialization, we have chosen to concentrate our attention on extra-familial life. Finally, our emphasis has been somewhat unbalanced with respect to the two sexes. Although young women as well as young men participate in much the same school experiences and movements into the labor force, they also experience special problems associated with their incipient roles as wives and mothers. We have not given those problems special attention.

We are concerned about these limitations on the scope of our report, but that concern is lightened somewhat by the awareness that each of them has elsewhere been the subject of specialized scrutiny, where the topic on which we focus is ordinarily neglected.

Our report will be a success if we stimulate the search for institutional

inventions which will ensure youth the capabilities of fulfilling the demands and opportunities they will confront as adults, and thereby gain the self-esteem and self-fulfillment all persons need.

DRAFT

Part 4: DIRECTIONS FOR CHANGE

Introduction

In the preceding parts of this report, we have attempted to establish a frame of reference for discussion and debate to help move society from the second, schooling, phase of its treatment of youth to a third and more mature phase. In this third phase, environments for youth must be designed in such a way that the broad objectives stated in Part 1 are met. But in meeting these objectives, the issues discussed in Parts 2 and 3 must be addressed. That is, the social inventions and social experimentation necessary to create appropriate environments can be developed only through specifying the objectives that they should satisfy and diagnosing the current conditions surrounding youth. Although we have only begun that task here, it is useful to indicate some changes that can be first steps toward appropriate environments for youth. This Part is devoted to suggesting such changes.

Some changes proposed in this Part would resolve certain of the issues of Part 3 in one way, some in the opposite way. Some are compatible with certain directions of society's development, some with other directions. Because it is not clear what directions society will take, and because it is not evident just what consequences a given proposed institution would have, we suggest a diverse array of changes. We believe all are worthy of serious trial; we cannot know enough about any one of them to recommend that it be universally adopted. Further, no single environment for youth's transition to adulthood would be beneficial to all youth or to the society. Indeed, the

recent emergence of such a single monolithic pattern -- unbroken schooling for many years finally truncated by a sharp shift to full-time work -- has reduced effective opportunity for those who would find different paths more fruitful.

Consequently, these proposals are made from the premise that diversity and plurality of paths to adulthood are important for the youth of any complex society. Each of the proposed changes brings some of the benefits discussed in Part 3, through the explicit stance it takes on those issues. But only experience with each will show whether those benefits are great enough to make it valuable for youth and thus for society. This experience should be gained through explicit experimental design and systematic collection of data rather than in traditional casual ways. In this way the necessary feedback from social experiments or pilot social policies can occur and lead to their modification, or to their extension on a wider scale. If this is to occur, two points should be recognized: 1) that each of these proposed changes should take place first only in experimental or pilot form, and 2) when such pilot policies are initiated, careful evaluation is necessary to guide modification.

The Information Base for Social Policy

Traditionally, the information base for changes in social policy has been provided by testimony from parties interested in the proposed legislation, sometimes augmented by a review of research that is relevant to the proposed policy change. Only recently have other sources of information begun to play some part in social policy. This is explicitly-designed social research, program evaluation, and finally social experimentation, in which the policy change is instituted

on a pilot basis, with some experimental design that provides information about the likely consequences of the proposed policy. The income maintenance experiment in New Jersey and elsewhere is one example of social experimentation; another is a set of proposed experiments for the demand and supply of housing under a program of housing allowances for families with low incomes.

For most of the proposals made in this section, social experiments or pilot programs with evaluation are the appropriate recommendation. Most of these involve changes in the institutions through which youth pass in their movement to adulthood. For institutional changes, there are a few guidelines from the past on which to base a policy, and a recommendation for major policy changes in the absence of such information is hardly warranted.

The fact that this section consists largely of proposals for social experimentation or pilot programs should not be regarded as merely a call for "more research." The pilot programs are intended as precursors to full-scale policy changes. They are necessary simply because the full-scale changes require more than present information or information from analysis of existing institutions.

If these social experiments or pilot programs are to serve their purpose, it is important that they be preceded by careful planning which includes not only experimental design and evaluation of results, but also looks toward the next phase of full-sclae implementation. It is important also that the social experiments be designed and executed well in advance of strong social pressure for a policy change. Otherwise, it is not possible to obtain results from the

experiment or pilot in time to affect the policy itself. In health insurance, for example, experiments now being designed concerning different types of plans will probably not be executed and analyzed before the pressure for a national health insurance program builds up to the point that some program is enacted in the absence of appropriate information.

At the same time, something can be learned from data on existing institutional arrangements. One of our proposals (no. 8) is to carry out such research in a more systematic fashion than at present. Such ongoing research will not only record the functioning of existing institutions, but as there come to be changes, will monitor the effects of these changes as well.

Measurement of objectives

As pilot programs of social change are instituted, it is important to insure that they not be evaluated principally on the narrow objective of increasing cognitive skills. This is only possible if measures are developed for the non-cognitive objectives analogous to those that now exist in school grades and standardized tests for cognitive skills. One important deterrent to incorporating these broader objectives in society's responsibilities toward its youth is the relative absence of measurement. Most of the required measures are performance measures, and just like the physical performance measures used in the armed forces or task performance measures used in occupations or in youth organizations, they can be developed. For other objectives, such as those involving responsibilities for others, perhaps the best criterion for meeting

the objectives is a period of time spent in the activity. It may be necessary to develop quite different measures for those capabilities developed in experiential learning and those developed in non-experiential learning (primarily classroom learning).

The task of developing such measures is not a simple one, but its importance is great. Without such measures the criterion of success of an activity reverts to its effect on cognitive skills, since standardized measures exist there. It is in part the absence of such measures that makes the usual list of school objectives meaningless. And it is explicit attention to measures that cover the breadth of the objectives stated in Part 1 which can guide environments for youth toward those objectives.

1. Change in Educational Structure.

Later proposals involve some youth moving out of the traditional school setting, part or full time, into other environments favorable for their growth. But productive settings can be newly created or adapted out of existing forms within the massive educational institution that will undoubtedly go on carrying a heavy burden in bringing the young to adulthood.

As described in part II, American secondary education is increasingly a world of large urban districts composed of large comprehensive schools, with students assigned to schools according to the neighborhoods in which they live. We noted growing problems of this institutional arrangement: little consumer choice; the heavy weight of bureaucratic and professional controls; the large size of single-grade student strata; the segregation by class, race, and ethnicity; the overloading of institutional capacity by an excess of expectations and functions; and the institutional blandness that can follow from ambiguous purpose and amorphous structure.

An educational structure that is large, amorphous, and bland is likely to have the unintended consequence of promoting socialization by the youth culture in general and age-segregated peers in particular. The assembling of large numbers of youth along age-and-grade lines encourages them to create worlds of their own. At the same time, the increasing specialization and segmentation of the teaching role encourages the only adults in the setting to withdraw from those worlds. And there is little linkage provided by a sense of common purpose and a community of experience. The school has always been a setting, it is fair to say, in which there is some natural struggle between adults and youth. But the large comprehensive school presents serious problems in changing the nature of the struggle from largely informal conflict and accommodation between teachers and students to a more formal arena in which one major bloc feels impelled to elaborate rules and

add more agents of control -- even the police -- while the other side, or a good share of it, moves collectively to avoid the rules and to weaken the will to participate and learn. Students, like members of work groups, will produce when they feel it is in their interest to do so and when their group norms call for achievement (Boocock, p. 312). If youth culture is growing stronger, as we think it is, then the group norms of the young become more powerful in contending with the formal systems. Therefore, now more than ever before, it is important to think of the capacity of educational settings to encourage self-interest in achievement and group norms that support a learning climate.

We suggest four routes of fruitful change.

(a) School diversity and student choice. One attack is to provide more room for student choice, in order to strengthen the commitment to learning. That room can only be provided by more options in secondary schooling, similar to the many major choices available to students in higher education, with the options enlarged not only by strengthening the private sector but also by seeking greater diversity among public units. Public schools now vary chiefly on the grounds of the social composition of the student bodies that flow from the neighborhoods or communities on which the schools are based and the program emphases that follow from adjusting to the neighborhood mix. But greater varition can be cultivated by attempting to give some schools special thrusts around which they can develop distinctive features.

This strategy of explicit variation among high schools means a reexamination of the pros and cons of specialized high schools. The specialized

schools of the past were eliminated in one community after another because the comprehensive schools seemed to have so many advantages, e.g., mixing students, allowing easy transfer from one curriculum to another, and in general, providing a democratic equality of opportunity and treatment. But these supposed advantages have been negated in many locales by the problems we noted earlier. Comprehensive schools drawing from black lower class neighborhoods, or white upper middle class areas specialize overtly in student body and covertly in curriculum. The comprehensive school becomes a narrow school, passively specializing around neighborhood input. Much is lost in administrative initiative in shaping purpose and in student choice of programs not favored by the character of the neighborhood.

Thus in many areas where the supposed benefits of comprehensiveness have been lost, the advantages of moving toward deliberate specialization in school purpose will probably outweigh the disadvantages. A school specializing in one major area of study can draw students from a larger geographic area, helping to attenuate, if not break, the existing specialization by narrow geographic base that commits all neighborhood youth to the one public school. Such a school can set admissions policies that encourage representative from various social groups. And there are other advantages. Specialized schools have a clearer mission, they can build organizational competence and identity around their more restricted focus, and they can attract students and faculty of appropriate and mutually-reenforcing interest. For example, they can concentrate on excellence

in music, in art, in performing arts, in traditional academics, or in different industry sectors (medical services, educational services, printing and publishing trades, broadcast media). New forms of specialization can be developed in quasi-alternative schools. We earlier described the short life of most alternative schools to date, both those that have been organized inside the public school framework and those organized outside it. But alternative schools that will survive can be organized. Some trials toward this end are now under way in public school systems. If their results are carefully monitored, a viable pattern may emerge that can be widely used. Schools can also specialize in form more than in substance, for example, with an alternation of different forms of study or of work and study in a full-year cycle, rather than in concentration on particular subjects; or with a grouping of grades in broader categories that will allow for more cross-age participation and far more involvement of older children in teaching younger ones.

We can also enlarge institutional variety and student choice by creating greater differences among sub-units within schools. Some secondary schools are already experimenting with sub-college or sub-house plans, much in the style of undergraduate colleges that subdivide themselves around "houses" or residential units. The sub-units - mini-schools - may have different academic foci to which different students are attracted and around which different academic climates develop. Even when the sub-units have essentially the same programs, their members can find significant benefits in being part of a small unit of, say, ten teachers and two hundred students among whom there

is a sense of community, while retaining the benefits of participation in the school at large.

When schools are openly designed to differ from one another, the problem of second-class status for some schools will appear, just as it always has with specialized vocational schools. This problem need not be overwhelming. In American higher education, where differentials in status have long existed, places of modest repute have in effect created their own leagues within which to allocate reputation. When schools cultivate and sustain distinctive identities, they generate a sense of special place that renders faculty and students less mindful of broad rankings in status. Even when identity is indistinct and status is low, as in the growing array of community colleges, an institution can prosper when students think it useful for their own benefit.

A move from passive to active specialization in American secondary education is a move to encourage administrative leadership and staff imagination. The rewards for simple imitation are reduced and conforming to one model is not the road to success. Instead, the staff of a school must judiciously mix unique features of their own choosing with features held in common with other places, unite in an effort to make their own combination work, and compete against other schools who are offering other patterns. And each district needs to determine its own optimum mix of comprehensive and specialized schools, offering an opening for creative leadership in the system as a whole. A shift to deliberate design of institutional variety becomes then not only the ground for genuine student choice among public

schools but also the ground for genuine institutional leadership. Particularly in a country as large and varied as the United States, experimentation, and adaptation of new ideas to the uniqueness of each context, is best seen as a task of "lower management." Although superintendents, principals, and teachers will need the help of researchers to monitor and evaluate new and altered forms of schooling, they themselves will need to provide leadership in the choice of institutional alternatives.

(b) School size. Experimentation in the creation of new educational settings and the redesign of old ones should be carried out with an eye for the effect of size, not absolute size but size as it is perceived and experienced by participants. From the rural school consolidation movement to the call by Conant (1959) for larger and more comprehensive high schools, as reviewed in Part 2, American schools have been growing larger. This change has occurred in the face of some findings and experiences that raise serious questions about the benefits of big schools. Youth in large schools are more often passive spectators of action, less often participants, more often followers, less often in leadership roles than youth in small schools (Barker, 1962). Also, when a high school is larger than about 500 students, teachers no longer know the names of students they do not teach, and the principal no longer knows students by name. At about a thousand students, the principal becomes unable to distinguish whether a particular young person belongs to his school. Such tentative findings at least suggest the existence of critical thresholds in

interaction, impersonality and control. We also know that largeness has gone hand-in-hand with segregation of students along narrow age-grade lines and with specialization of teachers by grade level and subject-matter within a single grade. Smallness has been associated with cross-age relations among the young, less teacher specialization, and more personal relations all around.

The problems of large organization occurred earlier in higher education than in secondary education, because in the great student expansion of the last two decades colleges and universities were allowed to grow to the huge sizes reported in Part 2, while public school authorities had conceptions of size of single schools that stopped far short of 10,000 or 20,000 or 30,000. Recent national reports on the state of higher education have struck at size as a serious problem. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1971) has attempted to state maximum and minimum sizes for different major types of colleges and universities. The "Newman Report" (Report on Higher Education, 1971) has argued vigorously that huge size and comprehensive organization are seriously weakening American higher education. The community colleges, which we noted in Part 2 shared many features and problems of the secondary level, have not escaped this new criticism. Their original purposes seemed much dependent on small scale (in deliberate contrast to the public university and growing state colleges), but their rapid growth has turned them in the direction of mass counseling and distribution centers where short-term students are here today and gone tomorrow.

Much careful experimentation and monitoring of effects will be needed to inform us of the advantages and disadvantages of small and large educational units -- for different kinds of students, at different levels of education, and in contexts that vary on many characteristics other than size. The interesting effects are neither merely academic nor merely psychological ones, but rather outcomes for the whole range of objectives toward which environments for youth should aim. As we seek to combine the advantages of the large place at its best (economies of scale, specialization, a wide array of programs, the excitement of an educational city) with the advantages of the small place at its best (a sense of deep involvement, interpersonal trust and loyalty, a unifying and motivating institutional tone) two directions of change seem particularly fruitful to pursue. One is dual membership in the small and the large through small units within large schools. The possibilities for creative inventions and adaptations here are very large, with some interesting plans already underway that are in need of serious study. The second direction is dual membership in the small and the large through attendance in two distinct schools. Participation can be split, in various combinations of hours and days and weeks, between comprehensive and specialized schools, and, similarly, between large schools and small schools. Both are possible simultaneously if the comprehensive schools are relatively large while the specialized schools of an area are either small or feel small, whatever their actual size, to students because of intense interaction around a common interest -- the kind

of social bonding sometimes forged in regular school settings in the long hours of common struggle that it takes to produce a play or a concert.

Finally, there remains the possibility that small schools are better than big schools, and small colleges better than large colleges, across a profile of effects (on colleges, see Feldman and Newcomb (19), chapter 11, and Clark, et al (19), chapter 10). But much needs to be done in the measurement of what presently are the "intangibles" in school effects in order that those effects may be put alongside the hard facts of the financial benefits of large scale and the obvious gains in esoteric knowledge of having experts at hand. Clearly, the more intractable educational problems of the day do not lie in the provision of sufficient expertise. Rather, the problems are seemingly rooted in broader aspects of the relation betwen the schools and the young, with stronger cultures of youth contending with strong formal systems in ways that are adverse to learning. Small scale may be a helpful and even a necessary social response to these problems, serving to link teachers and students in reasonably integrated systems of learning.

(c) Role-diversity for youth in schools. A third strategy for modifying existing educational structure involves reshaping a portion of the time in school so that the young person is not so wholly occupied by the student role but remains gainfully employed in learning in ways that assist others and himself. This direction of change means among other things a re-examination of the pros and cons of various extracurricular activities, especially in the arts and athletics, which allow participation and performance that is within the school but outside the strictly academic role. We still have little dependable

knowledge about the effects of these activities and little research to monitor new activities as they are introduced. Such "small-time" extra-curricular activities as photography and hiking tend to be treated as trivial in the workings of the school, while some "big-time" activities such as football and basketball are untouchably fixed as passionate spectator activities for the entire community. What is needed is a fresh look that judges all such activities on the basis of their various effects on different young people.

A change in student role worthy of much attention is that of giving more young people tutoring or teaching activity. Teachers in various settings have, of course, long used some students to assist in the instruction of others. As noted in Part II, teachers in one-room schoolhouses and other very small schools were virtually forced to use older students as aides. But large size and specialization have diminished those informal arrangements, and the concept of student-as-tutor has only recently made some serious comeback in efforts to reach the heart and mind of disaffected slum children. We propose that part-time teaching should be seriously explored as an activity favorable to the growth of youth. To use the student as a teacher aide may seem to be one more case in education of reinventing the wheel. But perhaps this time we may be able to put this particular wheel to wide use, giving it new designs appropriate for modern schools and then continually evaluating its varying effects and adapting it to changing situations.

Role diversity within schools runs contrary to other directions for change suggested in this report. For example, where systems move in the direction of narrowing the scope of formal schooling to the strictly academic, then the role diversity for youth that we believe valuable will be found in participation in old and new institutions outside the schools. But if the school continues to dominate the time and energy of youth, as it undoubtedly will in many locations in the country, then it seems important to change it in ways that will allow the young to widen the range of rewarding educational experiences.

(d) The school as agent for the young. If a larger social setting -- the community or city -- is seen as the environment, or a set of environments, for the growth of a young person, then the school could come to take on a new role of planning and facilitating the best use of the learning components of the larger system. In this approach, the school would delegate a portion

of its present custody to other institutions. Time in school could be cut by reducing school functions to the more strictly academic ones. But school personnel would then also plan to be the main agents of the young, acting in their interests in employing other institutions of the community. The school would purchase a set of services for youth, making it an important potential source of social change.

Some secondary schools have programs that move in this direction. Cooperative education, involving half-days spent at work, is a widespread example. Programs that involve middle-class youth engaged in public service activities have been developed here and there. Some purchase of teaching services by the school through performance contracting has also been attempted in a few places. However, in the absence of a general conception of a new role for the school as agent for youth and the flexibility in the use of school funds that would follow from such a conception, the evolution is heavily constrained.

Such a conception would be favorable to, and in some cases necessary for, the directions of change to which we now turn.

2. Alternation of school and work.

One way of providing youth with opportunities for acquiring experience in the assumption of responsibility, and facilitating their contact with adults prior to the termination of education is to encourage movement back and forth between school and workplace.*

Without considering major modifications in educational or occupational institutions, two patterns of alternation of school and work may be examined. In the first of these patterns, the young person leaves school for a period of time, such as a semester, for full-time employment, returning to school subsequently. In collges, this pattern was initiated by Antioch College and exists also in a number of engineering curricula. But at the high school level the pattern does not exist.

The experience of veterans who resumed their education after World War II suggests that even an extended hiatus need not carry any penalty of difficulty in picking up the academic thread, although obvious selective factors suggest caution in generalizing from that experience. Prospective employers may be reluctant to invest time in training an ostensibly short-term employee, but data on job mobility of the young suggest that at present most first jobs are short-term.

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*One evaluation of work-study programs for 14 and 15-year olds in Illinois shows that 46% responded "better than before" to a question "How do you get along with strangers and older people now that you are in the program?" Lawrence Weisman, School, Community and Youth, mimeographed, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, 1972.

Perhaps the principal case against such an academic moratorium is the possibility that it would become permanent, for some because the net satisfaction in the role of worker exceeded that derived from the previous school experience, and for others because of movement into the roles of spouse and parent. Yet it is at least arguable whether such an outcome is harmful, from either an individual or a societal standpoint. To reduce the perceived disadvantage of prematurely truncated education, it would seem desirable for educational institutions to facilitate the re-entry of such persons in later years.

The second pattern of alternation of school and work consists of half-time schooling and half-time employment. This pattern, limited largely to manual jobs, exists in many schools as federally-funded "Cooperative Vocational Education" for youth 16 and over, and more recently for 14- and 15-year-olds, through "Work Experience and Career Exploration Program."

Considering the possibility of extending such programs, the most conspicuous limitation now is their confinement to terminal education programs, which makes the program incompatible with further education. Limitations also exist in attitudes of school personnel. The programs are seen as ones of "last resort."

To make such arrangements feasible from the standpoint of the organization of the school time table, there are undoubtedly problems of scheduling duplicate offerings, morning and afternoon, and some necessity of adjustments implicit in the different definitions of the length of a "morning" and an "afternoon" as seen by the school and by the workplace. But these can be solved by the exercise of some administrative ingenuity and flexibility.

With the first pattern of school-work alternation (periods of full-time schooling and full-time work), there are also scheduling problems. The school-year and the work-year are different temporal units. The conventional long summer recess is somewhat anachronistic, in reflecting our agricultural past. If the school year were reorganized on a year-round trimester or quarter basis, with each student

spending one of the three trimester or two of the quarters in employment and two trimesters or quarters in school, the alternation we are suggesting would be realized. Side benefits would arise from a more efficient use of school physical plants and year-round employment of teachers.*

Both these patterns of school-work alternation seem to offer sufficient benefits for aiding the transition from school to work to justify the scheduling and organizational arrangements that would make the two activity patterns possible. Our proposal is that these arrangements be made on a broad enough scale for evaluation of the effects on the objectives toward which environments for youth should aim.

2.1 The specific experimentation proposal.

a. The work-study experimentation should have these characteristics:

1. For the pattern with a half day of work and a half day of school, the program should build upon present Cooperative Vocational Education Programs (for ages 16 and over) and Work Experience and Career Exploration Programs (for ages 14 and 15) in high schools. In design of the augmentation, the experiment should use existing evaluations of these programs.

2. These programs should be augmented by a wider range of occupations, and be made compatible with a college-preparation high school curriculum, not only a terminal curriculum. (The sufficiency of half a school

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*Synanon, a residential community in California which educates its own children, operates with monthly alternations for its teen-age children, intermixing academic schooling, work experience, and extended ventures of an Outward Bound sort into nature. Kibbutzim in Israel have a regular school year, but carry out an alternation of school and work during the school year by establishing work responsibilities for youth like those of adults, but for a shorter period each day.

day for a college preparatory program is shown by the experience of high schools operating on split shifts because of overcrowding.)

3. For the pattern with a trimester in school and one out, the program should probably begin with age 16. A school schedule should be converted to a trimester basis, with cooperating firms having full-time jobs that are successfully filled by different young persons on their work trimester. College preparatory curriculum, as well as others, should be compatible with the work program.
4. Wherever possible, random selection of applicants to the program should be used when the program is oversubscribed, to allow using the nonselected students as controls to show effects of the program.

b. The results to be studied should include:

1. Comparison of selected and nonselected students on
   a. Subsequent work histories and employer ratings
   b. Performance measures on the objectives discussed in Part I
   c. Attitudes toward school, self, and work.
2. Comparison should also be made between youth employed in these arranged programs and youth with similar amounts of experience in part-time or summer work, to learn what is gained, if anything, compared to ordinary labor force hiring of teen-agers.
3. Assessment should be made of employers' experiences, and the incentives necessary to induce employers to participate in the program.
4. Cost accounting of the program is necessary to learn additional costs beyond regular high school.

3. Work organizations that incorporate youth.

Educational and work institutions are almost wholly distinct. There were some good reasons for that in the past, but in the present and future there are

good reasons for a closer connection. For a closer connection to be achieved, one strategy is to add educational functions to organizations that have a central work purpose. With this strategy, organizations modified to incorporate youth would not have distinct and separate "schools" within them to which youth are relegated. Persons of all ages in the organization would have a mixture of learning and working roles, with only the proportions of the mixture varying with age. All but the youngest persons would have a third role as well, teaching. Although there would be some persons in the organization with primary responsibility for teaching or directing the learning of young persons, a large portion of the teaching would be done by persons whose primary responsibilities were in other work.

In addition, new techniques in teaching offer especially valuable opportunities for this kind of institutional arrangement. These include the use of time-shared terminals for computer-aided instruction. Instruction with the aid of computers has reached operational practicability, and its existence eliminates many of the needs for a school in a building with teachers in classrooms. The young person, rather than finishing high school, can enter a firm in which he spends a certain fraction of his time at work and a certain fraction at self-instruction. With computer-aided instruction, the necessity of a classroom full of students to economize on the teacher's time is no longer present, and scheduling can be fitted to a work schedule. In addition to this didactic instruction, of course, the young person has the opportunity to learn, through experience, occupational and other skills that are not taught in the classroom.

Such a transformation of a work organization would have differing degrees of difficulty in different kinds of organizations. Organizations involving the performing arts, especially music, would be among those that could most easily modify themselves. Others providing personal services, such as hospitals, are similarly modifiable, with youth engaging both in the work of the organization and in the tasks of learning that are presently carried out in schools. But many kinds of governmental offices, manufacturing organizations, and retail sales firms would be appropriate as well. In manufacturing firms there are manual activities, office work, research and laboratory activity, all of which can provide valuable experience for the young. Whether the work accomplished is seen as a by-product of the skills gained or the skills are seen as a by-product of the productive experience is not important. What is important is that in such a setting both these things take place.

The kind of change envisioned here is one which goes beyond the simple notion of "deschooling society" or reducing the formal classroom time of youth. The premise on which it is based is that youth are not necessarily benefitted simply by exposure to work, but can in fact be harmed by it, as the history of exploitation in child and youth employment shows. What is necessary instead is for some work organizations that have until now been devoted wholly

to the production of goods and services to modify themselves so that they are appropriate places for the young as well. Such a modification should also have benefits for adults, through facilitating their continuing education. By erasing the sharp boundary between school and workplace, between learning and working, the lives of adults are changed as well as those of youth.

Introduction of youth into work organizations of the sort that we are describing will bring a loss of efficiency in its central activity of producing goods or services. At the same time, the participating organization is providing for its youth the sort of academic opportunities now provided by schools and colleges that allow opportunities for advanced training in purely academic settings. This service should be compensated from public funds, as schools now are, offsetting the reduced efficiency in productive activity. Whether the reduced efficiency would be only partly offset, exactly offset, or more than offset by payments equal to public funds now spent in public schools can be learned only through experimentation.

Barriers to such extensive transformation of organizations of course exist, not least because of the potential threat to the jobs of adult employees by the work performed by youth. But the productive activity carried out by youth is counterbalanced at least in part by the educational and supportive services needed for them in the organization.

Such organizational responsibility for the development of youth can be taken by business firms, government organizations, and non-profit organizations, and the responsible agents can be both management and worker's organizations

(unions and professional associations). It is important that the design of youth's schedule of activities and the implementation be jointly in the hands of management and worker's organizations if that design is to be appropriate.

This mixture of school and work in a work organization is difficult to introduce in American society because schools are in the public sector, while most work is in the private sector, in firms that are subject to market competition. Without some kind of mixture between the principles behind the public-sector organization and the private-sector organization confronting a market, an organizational change of the sort proposed here can hardly take place. For a firm to carry out public educational functions necessarily increases its costs and makes the firm non-competitive in the markets where its products or services are sold. Only if the educational activities are publicly supported, as they currently are in schools, can firms afford to add such functions. The form of this support could be either direct government payment through contract or a similar mechanism or vouchers in which the youth themselves are, with their families, the purchasers of educational and training services. Close attention would be necessary in the pilot or experimental programs to learn whether the youth activities tend to become segregated into specialized sections of the organization. If this occurred the intended benefits of the activity of course would be lost. If not, then further information is necessary to learn just what differences such a changed environment makes in the lives of those youth within it.*

*See Coleman dissent.

3.1 The specific experimentation with youth in work organizations.

a. The social experiment under consideration here should have the following characteristics:

1. The experiment should cover a number of cities (for demonstration effect), with participating and control high schools in each city.

2. Eligibility to youth of age 16 and over, with each youth at age 16 from the high schools included in the experiment given the alternative of finishing high school through his regular school or shifting to employment-with-school in one of the participating employers' organizations.

3. High school diploma awarded through use of high school equivalency test. Higher credits and degrees awarded through college level equivalency tests.

4. Formal courses available that allow continuation into various streams of post-secondary school if the young person desires, and for post-secondary courses within the work organization.

5. Work in the organization like that of adults, with the same daily schedule except a portion of that schedule reserved for formal instruction, with the youth paid by the organization for the time worked, and the work organization paid from public funds for the time he spends in formal instruction.

6. The experiment should involve a set of participating employers who agree to reserve a given number of jobs for participating youth.

7. Wherever possible, selection should be randomized. For example, if there is oversubscription by youth to the program, selection should be randomized within school and age, to allow comparability of subsequent work histories of selected and non-selected youth.

b. The outcomes to be measured should include:

1. Comparison of selected and non-selected youth, and of youth from high schools in the experiment and those from control schools, in:

(a) work histories at least to age 25

(b) subsequent educational experience

(c) attitudes toward work and toward formal instruction

(d) performance on measurements in each of the areas presented as objectives in Part I.

2. Employers' experiences with these youth in productivity, absenteeism, and promotability.

3. Comparison of the schools in the experiment with control schools, in:

(a) rates of absenteeism and school discipline problems, by age of student.

(b) rates of dropout from school.

4. Cost-accounting of the program.

4. Youth communities and youth organizations.

The preceding proposals represent an attempt to counter the trend toward increasing specialization of organizations in society. But that trend, and the age segregation it implies, may not be reversible. Two existing patterns for the development of youth that are compatible with specialization and age-segregation are the youth-community and the adult-sponsored youth organization. One distinction between these two models of youth organization lies in the residential nature of the youth-community. In addition, youth communities have at times been characterized by a degree of self-government. Boarding schools are examples of youth communities. Although the amount of adult supervision has varied radically from one type of youth community to another, and even within specimens of a given type (e.g., boarding schools), the assumption has been that there is something to be gained by youth living together and developing a greater or lesser degree of self-government. To the extent that self-government has characterized such communities, the additional assumption has been that youth can learn those attributes necessary for adulthood not from the example of adults but from experience with problems -- from being thrust into practice of responsibility. Youth communities in which adults provide ultimate authority but not daily direction differ from current colleges and high schools not in the proportion of youth within them, for college and high school communities are made up almost entirely of youth. They differ instead in that youth are not merely clients to be served, but provide most

of the services, exercise most of the authority, and carry most of the responsibility for the functioning of the community, from seeing that the laundry is done to hiring outside expertise in the form of teachers.

A second type of youth society is the adult-sponsored youth organization. Such organizations are not residential, and they receive their goals and direction principally from adults. Adult-sponsored youth organizations embrace a number of other activities besides formal education. Broadly speaking, such organizations may be classified as follows:

1) Organizations designed to transmit non-cognitive skills and moral qualities by finding non-economic but still valuable roles for youth to play, e.g, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts.

2) Occupationally-oriented youth organizations which seek to prepare youth for future economic roles, e.g., 4-H, Junior Homemakers.

3) Clubs which seek essentially to organize recreational activities for youth, e.g., P.A.L., Y.M.C.A., Boys Clubs of America.

This crude classification should not obscure the existence of some overlap in function, or the fact that some of these organizations, like the Y.M.C.A., have modified their goals in the last century. In addition to these organizations, there is a set of semi-organized youth groups including street gangs with no adult supervision and gangs with street workers.

Several advantages can be derived from attempting to utilize the principles and practice of youth-communities and youth organizations to achieve

goals outlined earlier in this report. The principle of self-government which has appeared in some youth communities has much to recommend it, while adult-sponsored youth organizations often possess dedicated staffs who have built up valuable experience in dealing with youth. The private and voluntary character of such organizations, moreover, permits flexibility in approaching problems.

At the same time, several limitations exist in youth-communities and adult-sponsored youth organizations as these are now constituted. Traditionally, the most widespread type of youth community has been the boarding school, confined mainly to children of the wealthy and located mainly in the East, and often rigidly hierarchical in structure. Adult-sponsored youth organizations also suffer from restricted clienteles, but for different reasons. The single-sex character of some of them sharply reduces their appeal to youth beyond early adolescence. Organizations like 4-H have been most successful in farming communities or in towns in predominately agricultural regions. Finally, many adult-sponsored youth organizations are now suffering from a confusion of purpose, having experienced a weakening of their original commitment to the value of crafts or nature study as ways to build character without having settled on a new set of goals more appropriate to urban and industrial society.

Two proposals appear to us useful in the area of youth communities and adult-sponsored youth organizations:

4.1 With respect to youth communities, we propose the pilot introduction of such communities in nonresidential settings, each of which would contain within it the classroom activities of a school, but only as one of

its activities. Certain of its activities would be directed toward community service or social action, and also possibly toward production of goods or services for a market. Such organizations, it is clear, would be "youth-communities" only in the sense that they would be largely self-governing. Although there is value in the residential principle, in practice it puts sharp limitations on the scope of youth-communities.

a. Members of the youth community should be selected randomly from among volunteers, and both sets followed to compare the effects of the youth community with those of the school from which members were drawn.

b. Eligibility should begin at the level of freshmen or sophomores in high school.

c. The program should differ from current "alternative schools" in having primarily an outward focus engaging in community service activities, with school learning being a secondary goal.

d. Measurements comparing members with non-selected youth should include:

1. Measures of development of community members on the objectives discussed in Part I.

2. Measure of performance in the next setting, post-secondary education or work, to learn how the transition is facilitated or inhibited by membership in the community.

e. Cost-accounting of the program, for comparison with regular schooling.

4.2 With respect to adult-sponsored youth organizations, we suggest that the government support as a client such of their activities as are directed toward public service. Several of these organizations view some of their present efforts as involving public service. Extension of these services would be necessary to the point that they produce goods and services which can reasonably be purchased by the government. This role of government as purchaser of public services from youth organizations must be worked out in detail if it is to succeed (e.g., what services are to be purchased, what overlap exists with current public services, what range of organizations is eligible). But if designed appropriately, such purchase of services could be of benefit both to youth and the community that receives the services, without introducing government control or administration of the youth organizations. It could also aid in the extension of these organizations among lower-class youth who are presently much less well served than middle class youth.

a. The principal questions to be asked of this experiment are the effect of the purchase of services on expansion of youth organizations and the types of youth attracted into the programs. The effectiveness of those organizations toward the objectives discussed in Part I should not be at issue here, because that effectiveness can be as well studied with existing programs.

b. In addition, the community-service benefits of the purchase of services should be weighed against the costs, to compare the costs of these services purchased in this way to those obtained in the usual unrestricted markets.

5. Protection vs. opportunity for youth.

As described in Part 3, the young are subject to a number of legal constraints designed to protect them from exploitation in the adult world. These include compulsory school attendance to age 16 and being barred from some employment below the age of 14, 16, or 18, depending on the employment. In addition, the structuring of most work into full-time jobs, the increasing set of employee benefits which reduce employers' incentives and ease of hiring casual labor, and the legal minimum wage provisions create additional barriers to youth's productive activity. These constraints and barriers protect youth from the potential harm, but they also make it difficult for many youth to have experiences that would be beneficial to their growth and development.

The rights of youth to protection and rights of youth to opportunity are, we believe, for most youth presently unbalanced in the direction of too little opportunity.* There is general agreement that current child labor standards, both federal and state, need to be reviewed and revised in the interest of flexibility, individualization, and the opening of wider opportunities for work experience and employment. Procedures for issuing state employment certificates to those eligible for them should be simplified and steps should be taken to make provisions in the federal Fair Labor Standards Act relating to learners and apprentices effective. Regulation of working conditions for young workers is a legitimate and necessary form of protection. But the longstanding legal

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*This obviously is not true for a small minority such as children of migrant agricultural laborers. But increasing protection for this minority is not incompatible with increasing opportunity for the majority now excluded from opportunity. See New Generation (1972) for discussion of the necessity for increased protection of migrant labor children.

provisions related to working conditions require overhauling in view of technological changes, advances in safety devices, and changes in business methods and social customs.

At present, youth under age 18 experience some of the same barriers as handicapped workers: they require special insurance, have minimal job flexibility because of state and federal regulations, and impose extra administrative procedures upon the employer. Furthermore, these restrictions may fall more heavily upon lower-class and black youth than middle-class youth. Labor-force statistics show that middle-class youth, though they need the jobs less, and although they stay in school longer, manage to find part-time work at least as early as working class youth.

5.1 Our first proposal, then, is that at both the state and federal level, there be careful review of the occupational restrictions and administrative procedures designed to protect youth from adult exploitation and from hazardous occupations. Many of these occupations have changed character, and for them the aims of protection have reduced the rights of opportunity. Cumbersome administrative procedures that offer no protection but have the effect of reducing opportunity are inexcusable. There are, to be sure, hazardous occupations from which youth should continue to be protected. For these, the federal and state enforcement is often lax, and the rights of youth to protection are being disregarded. If occupations are appropriately reclassified and the administrative inhibitions to youth employment streamlined, then enforcement can focus on the

truly hazardous occupations and on the truly exploitative activities, increasing both the protection and opportunity of the young.

5.2 In addition to this general proposal, we propose that there be broad experimentation with a dual minimum wage, lower for youth than for adult workers.* A flat minimum wage rate has two deleterious consequences: first, it constricts the number of jobs available to the young, particularly in the 14 to 18 age range and for those with little experience, since their productivity may be significantly below that of experienced and mature workers. To the extent that the minimum is set at a relatively high level and is effective, it will discourage the employment of the young whose productivity is not yet sufficiently high.

Second, and perhaps more important, is its effect on the incentive to employers to provide general training on the job for the young. Such training is costly to the employers, and to the extent that it is general rather than specific and hence transferable to other jobs and employers, it will be supplied by employers to the young only if it is offset by lower wages during the initial training periods. This is the rationale behind the variety of formal and informal apprenticeship arrangements in the labor market. A high and uniform minimum wage level discourages such arrangements and transfers the training to the schools, which are not the best places for it.

For these reasons, we propose experimentation with various forms and levels of a dual minimum wage before any general increase in the minimum wage

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*See Bremner dissent.

is enacted at the federal level. Although the consequences of existing minimum wage legislation for young workers are not well known, the consequences of a general increase seem clearly to fall differentially upon the young. Earlier studies, summarized in Kalachek (19) and BLS Bulletin No. 1657 (19), were largely inconclusive. More recent studies, incorporating a longer period of rising levels and extended coverage, detect a larger effect particularly after the depressing effect of the minimum wage provisions on the labor force participation rates of teenagers is allowed for (see in particular Mincer and Hashimoto, 1972, and Kosters and Welch, 1972).

6. Vouchers to be employed by youth.

From the point at which compulsory education ends -- age 16 -- our society subsidizes the activities of those who choose to stay within the educational system. The effects of such a subsidy are to make the decision of whether to remain in school less sensitive to the actual benefits a young person expects to receive from school, since he loses the subsidy when he leaves high school or college. In turn, this makes the institutions themselves less attentive to providing experiences that youth regard as important enough to pay for. The more heavily subsidized the activity from the outside, the greater the danger that the youth are there for a free ride, and that the institution is indifferent to the actual benefits that activity should provide.

There are several undesirable consequences of the fact that the subsidy decision is made by those who do not directly experience the consequences of

the decision -- that is, local school boards, state legislators, Congressmen, and parents of youth. First, most types of subsidy are available only to those who take a prescribed path, a path which may not be the best one for a particular young person. For example, graduate school is highly subsidized by federal and state governments. To receive this subsidy, a young person must have completed college and choose to continue beyond college. College is subsidized as well. But to receive this subsidy, the young person must have completed high school and choose to enter college. In short, the system of subsidies provides a set of inducements to youth for following a very narrow path, strongly biasing their choice of activities in the direction of the path society has decided is "good for them."

Similarly, the middle class and more affluent families in effect "bribe" their children to continue education by making the transfer of funds conditional on specified school attendance. This contributes to the feelings by a young person of being pushed in a direction that is only marginally desirable for him and thus to an inefficient use of college resources by those youth who would never invest their own funds in college.

Many of these problems would be alleviated if educational support were vested directly in the young person. One way of doing so is through the use of educational vouchers for the period following compulsory education (from age 16), rather than direct subsidy to high schools and colleges from governments. Such vouchers, perhaps equivalent in value to the average cost of

education through four years of college, would be given to the young at age 16, to be used at their discretion for schooling and other skill acquistion at any subsequent time of their life. That is, they should have a wide range of use, and they should not lose their value if they are not used in continuous sequence. Any unused portions should be added to the individual's social security base and be reflected in payments (annuities) he would receive on retirement.*

The principal advantages of such a plan are two. First, it would leave the major educational decision in the hands of youth themselves, who would be spending their "own" money in the directions they saw to be profitable, and with a commitment and responsibility for making its use productive. Second, it would equalize the subsidy to all youth that now goes only to those who attend college. The present system of subsidies discriminates in favor of those who are able to attend college and interested in doing so -- a discrimination generally in favor of those from higher income backgrounds. Expenditure of the vouchers should be limited to institutions designed to engender some skill, with the institutions subject to some criteria or standards of the sort developed for GI benefits.

The experience our society had with the GI Bill after World War II, which included a similar though less broad program of educational benefits, is generally regarded as highly successful. Those educational benefits were

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*See Davis dissent.

available for, and used for, a very wide range of training activities, outside college and within, for blue-collar and white-collar occupations.

Such a voucher system would, of course, sharply modify the methods of financing the current system of higher education. Some of the changes, such as the fact that investments are being made by those who actually experience the consequences of the investments, are desirable. Others might be less desirable. It appears to us, all things considered, that the benefits of flexibility, responsibility, and equality of opportunity are valuable enough to warrant experimentation with such a plan on a wide enough scale to learn its potential.

6.1 The specific voucher proposal.

a. Provision of a learning voucher on an experimental basis is somewhat difficult, because it supplies a subsidy to a particular experimental population, and none to others. One method of defining the voucher population is to encompass all youth of the designated ages in a given geographic area. Another is to select a sparse random sample in a number of localities (e.g., through lotteries). The former method, or a variant upon it, is necessary if the experiment is to examine the response of educational and training institutions to the vouchers, as well as the effects upon young people who have the vouchers. This is the method used in the design for educational vouchers at the elementary school level initiated by OEO. But in the present case, the voucher is to be for later ages, either post-high school or from

age 16 on. For these ages, the choices are not limited to a geographic locality in any case, so it is most feasible to sample sparsely in a number of localities.* Thus the specific characteristics of a voucher experiment should be:

1. Random sample relatively small in size (2000-5000).

2. Voucher given to youth at age 16, usable for post-secondary training.

3. Value of vouchers should be approximately equivalent to average 4-year total costs at publicly-supported university.

4. A procedure must be established for determining acceptability of particular institution, in public or private sector.

5. If recipient attends a public institution, he is to be charged full costs, not merely tuition.

b. Measures of effects should consist primarily of comparison of voucher recipients and non-recipient youth selected by a comparable random procedure. Measures should focus on early educational and occupational history, and should include also measurements on objectives described in Part 1. No study of institutional response to the vouchers is possible with this experimental design, and none is necessary to examine the effects of interest.

7. Opportunities for public service.

Many youth who expect to graduate from college have begun, in the past few years, to take one or more years out at some point before completing

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* Because the choices likely depend on the choices of surrounding youth, different densities of sampling in different localities, ranging up to the full age cohort, should be employed.

their education. Some do so after high school, some during college, and a few do so (though with more difficulty) during high school itself. Many colleges have accommodated to this, allowing a student automatic re-entry after staying out one or two years or deferment of entry after admission from high school. High schools have not so accommodated, and a young person who is "tired of school" before completing high school becomes a simple dropout. Certainly a portion of the motives of youth in taking a period out from school lie in the areas touched in this report: a dissatisfaction with school, with isolation from the real world, with always being asked to prepare, never being asked to do.

But for few of these youth are there opportunities to which they can direct their energies, to make the kind of contribution to society they would like. For many, the year they spend away from school is an unproductive one.

Although there have been programs of national or public service for youth in recent years (Peace Corps, VISTA, Teachers Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Corps, Youth Conservation Corps, University Year in Action), and although the best of these have been extremely successful, there are four defects in the national service opportunities that currently confront youth.

1) They provide a very small number of opportunities. The Peace Corps had about 8500 volunteers in service in 1971 of all ages. All national programs for youth taken together provided less than 20,000 man-years of opportunity per year. For comparison, the total number of youth aged 18 is currently about 4,000,000.

2) Some of those programs that have been most successful in employing the energies of youth have shifted their focus to older persons with well-developed skills. The Peace Corps is the best example.

3) Nearly all programs are not available to persons below the age of 18. Thus for most youth wishing to defer college entrance, they are not a feasible alternative. Nor are they a feasible alternative to high school completion for dropout potentials.

4) Most formal programs require a 2-year commitment, which is twice the time period that most of those who are interrupting their education are ready to make.

7.1 The specific proposal for public service opportunities.

a. We propose the development of programs with these characteristics:

1. A much higher level of funding of successful youth programs, to increase the opportunities available beyond the miniscule number that now exist;

2. Availability to youth age 16 to 24, with parental consent where necessary by law;

3. Commitment required for only one year, but with option for extension to two;

4. Service opportunities primarily within the United States, in both urban and rural areas;

5. Concentration first on those areas of activity that create least conflict with the adult community, whether jurisdictional disputes with labor

unions or class conflict through activities of advocacy. Initial areas of activity should be those in which there is greatest potential for building acceptance of the youth community by adult outsiders. If public or national service programs are to have a fair test of their ability to aid youth's transition to adulthood, they should not, in the early period, be saddled with conflict beyond that they will unavoidably or accidentally create.

b. Measurement:

Results of the public service programs should be examined in the two areas representing the dual objectives of the programs: effects on the participants and effects of the work on the target goal. Since the public service is designed to be of value to the society, it gains its justification in part from this value. Specifically, the measures should include:

1. Cost-benefit or productivity analysis of the work performed.
2. Effects on the participants:

   a. Extensive research has been carried out on the effects of Peace Corps experience on volunteers, as well as other youth public service and volunteer programs. This work should be used as a starting point in designing a study of the effects of the public service programs recommended above.

8. Research on ongoing processes among youth.

In addition to the social experimentation discussed above, research on existing institutions can give more information than we presently have on the effects of various environments in which youth find themselves. The value of this research is not as a substitute for social experimentation or pilot programs. Ordinarily, a policy creating institutional change is sufficiently different from existing practice to have special and somewhat unpredictable consequences. These consequences should in most cases be studied in pilot programs before the policy is implemented on a full scale.

But research on existing institutions derives its value from two facts: the existing variability of environments and activities of young persons, which provide "natural experiments," and can allow comparative analysis; and the fact that the periods of youth are short, making it possible to observe effects rather quickly. The period of youth is a period of rapid change, bringing relatively quick payoff to research on young persons.

We suggest research of two sorts on youth age 14-24.

1. The selection of special samples of youth in different environments and activities. This research should be directed at specific questions concerning the effects of these environments and activities. For each of the social experiments or pilot programs proposed in this section, there are existing settings which, when studied, can give information that will aid in the design of the program. There is some research on existing work-study

programs, for example, and information can be forthcoming both from a review of that research and additional research on existing programs.

2. The establishment of an ongoing representative panel of young persons of age 14-24, to study the general characteristics of successive cohorts of youth as they grow up. The panel would consist of separate cohorts, which would be followed until they leave this age period.* A detailed methodology has been developed for longitudinal studies involving separate age cohorts in the Census Bureau and elsewhere, and this methodology should be employed for the study of youth. Through careful analysis, it is possible to study the changing experiences of successive cohorts, as well as the changes that occur in the life history of a given cohort. The existence of such a panel can also be of value in assessing the effects of changes in the institutions that affect youth, as new programs and policies are initiated. In an earlier period, the current population survey was initiated in the Census Bureau to provide sensitive indicators of the state of employment throughout the country. That survey has come to be an immensely valuable information base for a wide variety of social policies. It is evident now that a youth panel, maintained just as continuously and systematically, can provide a wealth of information for social policies that affect youth. And since much social change occurs through the entry of new generations into the population, such a panel can provide a sensitive indication and anticipation of social change.

*There is considerable research value in continuing at least a fraction of the panel through further years of life, to obtain occupational histories and activity histories for each cohort. The proposal is not intended to imply a necessary termination at age 25.

COLEMAN DISSENT

The proposal to encourage and support some work organizations to sufficiently modify themselves to incorporate youth is, I think, an important one. Experimentation with new forms of social organization to reverse the movement toward increased specialization is necessary if society is to be free to evolve in those directions. But the recommendation in the text stops short of the kind of major experimental innovation that I believe is warranted. That is, a logical extension of the organizational changes recommended is the age-balanced organization. In most societies of the past, the basic social unit was the extended family. The family was a multi-purpose unit, engaged in production, consumption, and raising the young. As productive activities have come to take place in formal bureaucratic organizations, which are single-purposed, many of the incidental activities that aided in bringing children to adulthood are no longer available to the young. The time of adults is more and more confined within formal organizations, as more and more adults work within them. The age segregation of both the young and the old results primarily from the narrowed purpose of these productive organizations of society.

One means by which the increasing age segregation of the society can be reduced is to broaden the functions of these single-purposed organizations, encompassing both the young and the old. Their efficiency as productive organizations would thereby be reduced; but the external costs they presently impose on society by relegating the young and the old to special institutions with specialized personnel in attendance would be gone.

Such an age-balanced organization would include day-care centers, classrooms, and places frequented by the elderly. But persons of all ages other than the very young would in addition engage in some activities with those of other ages: working, teaching, learning. The age structure of the organization would reflect that of society as a whole, something like this:

In an organization of 1,000 persons:

0-4	90
5-13	180
14-17	80
18-24	110
25-64	440
65+	100

It is interesting to note that very recently something approximating age-balanced organizations has come into existence in a few areas of the economy. These are communes organized to engage in a given productive activity. In book publishing, for example, there now exists on the west coast two publishing communes that have recently developed (see Publisher's Weekly, 1972). Although these communes are not presently age-balanced, their mode of organization is such that over time, they will become so if they continue. Older religious communities, such as the Bruderhof, which manufactures children's toys for a commercial market, have long been age-balanced productive organizations. The proposal here is not for the creation of such residential communities, but for age-balanced organizations that operate on a regular workday schedule.

The modification proposed here is not intended to transform such organizations into "participatory democracies" in which all ages have equal voice. The productive functions of the organization will continue to require hierarchial organization if they are to survive in the marketplace. The sole organizational changes will be those necessary to incorporate the new functions -- and of course, these changes will not be negligible. What the proposed transformation is intended to do is to bring down to humane size the organizational units responsible for care of the young and the elderly and to facilitate the daily contact of persons of different ages.

Nor is the idea of an age-balanced organization a demand for "age quotas" in organizations. There are many organizations of society for which the possibilities of creating an age-balance are not great. The point instead is that the subsidy that society now pays to schools to contain its young can well be paid to work organizations and their unions that are willing to reorganize themselves to create an age-balance. Again, as in the recommendation in the text, the public support of this activity could take different forms. The government might be the client, paying the organization through contract for the provision of certain services to the young and old that are now provided outside work organizations. Or the young and old themselves could come to be the customers, through a voucher redeemable by organizations that become age-balanced and appropriately restructured themselves. But whatever the fiscal mechanism, what is important is to create the conditions within which age-balanced organizations can develop. Inherently, this means the use of public funds in an organization that is otherwise engaged in marketable products and services.

BREMNER DISSENT

(Supported by Davis)

Mr. Bremner dissents from the dual minimum wage recommendation on the following grounds: (1) the impact of minimum wage laws on youth employment and unemployment is still a moot point (See U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Youth Unemployment and Minimum Wages, Bulletin 1657, Washington, D.C., 1970, pp. 187-189; and Vera C. Perella "Working Teenagers," Children Today, May-June 1972, p. 17); (2) setting a lower minimum wage for youth may have adverse social effects (See Eli E. Cohen, "Protection vs. Opportunity," New Generation, Summer 1971, pp. 27-28); and (3) imposing a lower legal minimum wage on young workers is inconsistent with the panel's desire to loosen legal constraints on the young.

DAVIS DISSENT

(Supported by Bremner)

Vouchers presume a capability to select appropriate oppurtunities for skill development, and this capability is often not present in youth or their families. In addition, possibilities of exploitation by recipients of vouchers are pronounced. Finally, there is a need to insure against racial and social discrimination or segregation, particularly because tax money is involved.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY · BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21218

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL RELATIONS

13 November 1972

MEMORANDUM

TO: Members of PSAC

FROM: Jim Coleman

Enclosed is a next-to-final draft of the report of the Panel on Youth which was initiated a year and a half ago. It is the activity into which my major PSAC energies have gone, along with those of the other Panel members.

We hope that you will look at it carefully, and come to Monday's PSAC meeting prepared to give us your criticisms. We ourselves plan to make a few changes in getting it in final shape, and an editor will go over the whole thing. So criticisms and comments at this point will be helpful.

We of course hope to have PSAC approve the report for a PSAC report now or at a subsequent meeting, so please look at the report from this point of view as well.

A particular point: we do not have a name for the report, and would appreciate any suggestions in this direction.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY · BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21218

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL RELATIONS

MEMORANDUM

To: Edward E. David

July 7, 1972

From: James S. Coleman

There have been several proposals recently for activities involving community service or national service for young people and some such activities have been initiated. This memorandum will give a brief overview of some of these programs and describe some of their attributes. The memorandum arises from background work which Zahava Blum (who is working with the Panel on Youth) has done and from work that she and I have done in pulling existing materials together. It wasn't possible to get the Panel or a subgroup of it together on short notice because of summer schedules (mainly people out of the country); but, fortunately, there are existing materials.

I. Proposed Programs

1. National Service

This proposal is the most fully developed and has evolved over a period of years. The second National Service Conference was held in 1967 at the initiative of the National Service Secretariat. A major report of that conference, edited by the Executive Director of the Secretariat, Donald J. Eberly, was published in 1968 and is the most complete discussion of the program and related issues available (4).* Eberly has continued to develop the proposed program to the point where its details are better worked out than those of any other. This plan was the basis for a bill introduced by Senator Hatfield on April 22, 1969 (S.1937) titled Youth Power Act (6). The national service as proposed has these characteristics:

*Sources are given on p. 12.

(a) It would be available to all young persons, male and female, on a voluntary basis. Though the suggested age range is 16-30, it is intended that the usual entering age would be about 17-20. There would be no physical or mental qualifications for participation beyond the minimum necessary for independent work.

(b) The period of service would range from 1-4 years, with 2 years as the expected norm.

(c) It would be financed by a National Service Foundation, with funds provided principally from Congress. The estimated cost per person-year is $5,000.

(d) Volunteers would be paid a stipend of something less than $5000.

(e) Projects would be partly initiated locally, partly centrally. The proposed plan says something about "activities would be directed and financed at the local level to the extent permitted by available resources," but that appears to conflict with the idea of central financing as described in (c) above.

(f) Volunteers would be exempt from the draft when the draft is in existence. Their status after serving would be the same as that of military veterans.

(g) The possibility of benefits, such as G.I. Bill benefits, is not an intrinsic part of this proposal, but its proponents feel they could be added.

2. Bingham Bill (H.R. 18025, June, 1970)

A slight modification of the national service plan as described above is a bill that explicitly ties national civilian service and national military service by offering every young man of 18 three options:

(a) Enlistment in national civilian service

(b) Enlistment in national military service

(c) Take a chance on military vs. no service in the draft lottery.

This bill (1), like the Hatfield bill, is now dormant.

3. G.I. Bill for Community Service

A continuation of the Newman Commission (which prepared, for HEW, the Report on Higher Education) is drawing up a "G.I. Bill for Community Service." This proposal (11) has the following characteristics

(a) It would be employer financed through direct payment to participants.

(b) Projects and jobs would be approved as community service activities by a governmental agency.

(c) Period service would be six months to two years.

(d) Participants would receive "G.I. Bill" educational entitlements upon successful completion of the service. This incentive is expected to compensate for the lower pay these jobs would give as compared to non-community service jobs.

4. Carnegie Commission National Service Recommendation

In a news release dated June 15, 1972, the Carnegie Commission has announced its endorsement of a "full-scale national service program." Details are not available, but will appear in a Commission report titled More Effective Use of Resources: An Imperative for Higher Education to be published within a few days.

5. National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP)

The NASSP is financing a Project on American Youth in the Mid-70's to study possible programs for the 15-20 age group. Robert Havighurst and Donald Eberly have presented to the larger group a proposal for "Action-Learning." This program has the following characteristics:

(a) Participants would be the 15-20 age group.

(b) Program would be managed by existing educational and youth-serving agencies; high schools, community colleges, state youth authorities, YMCA, YWCA, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, etc.

(c) Most of the programs would be part-time, with participants living at home. Participants would ordinarily be in high-school or college, with the program being a substitute for a portion of that activity.

(d) No payments would be made to participants, except for work that required a great deal of time.

(e) Schools and colleges would give academic credit to most participants and would provide supervision.

(The proposed program has similarity to II.8 below and is being described as "Son of University Year in Action.")

II. Existing Programs

1. Peace Corps. The program is presently designed for persons over age 20 with specific skills and expertise. During the past two years, it has not been attractive or available to mission-oriented youth. Approximately 8,500 volunteers were in the program during 1971. Since its initiation in 1961, about 47,000 men and women have served in the Peace Corps. The program is now administered by ACTION.

2. VISTA. A domestic Peace Corps that has operated in both urban and rural areas. Its experience provides probably the best evidence of what kinds of things are likely to work out, what are not likely to work out or at least indicate some of the problems. Like the Peace Corps, it is administered by ACTION.

3. National Teacher Corps. This federally financed (Office of Education) program for teaching interns in low-income areas began in 1966. The programs are administered by universities in conjunction with a local education agency. Interns can be both undergraduates and graduate students who volunteer to teach in low-income areas for a period of two years. They receive stipends of $90/week (taxable) plus a dependent's allowance. In 1971, 38 Teach Corps projects were initiated involving approximately 1500 interns.

4. Neighborhood Youth Corps. This program, established in 1964 under the Economic Opportunity Act and administered by the Department of Labor has three main components: The in-school program provides part-time experience and supportive services for disadvantaged youth; the summer program provides disadvantaged youth work experience in an effort to encourage them to return to school after vacation; the out-of-school program for dropouts. The age group served is 16-21.

5. Job Corps. The original program, established in 1965 had the specific purpose of removing disadvantaged youth from home or community environments so deprived or so disruptive as to prevent their rehabilitation. At present, the emphasis is on the establishment of metropolitan Job Corps Residential Manpower and Support Centers that recruit, train, support and place youth in their home areas as opposed to the away-from-home assignment of the original program. Participants are 16-21, with an emphasis on 16-19 year old dropouts.

6. Youth Conservation Corps. A program initiated in 1970 administered by the Department of Agriculture's Forest Service and several bureaus within the Department of Interior, including the National Park Service. The number of participants during the summer of 1971 was about 2200 in camps throughout the country located in national and state park or forest areas.

7. California Ecology Corps. A program initiated in California, originally established (April 27, 1971) as an alternative service of two years for conscientious objectors, but available to others as well. Financed by the State and administered by the Department of Conservation.

8. University Year in Action. (UYA) A program initiated in 1971 by ACTION in about 20 universities provides for work by a college student under the college's and a community agency's supervision, with stipends provided by Federal funds. Participants are awarded college credit for doing a full-time job in poverty communities and are financially supported to the level of Vista volunteers. To date, it has cost an average of about $6,000 per student, including a living allowance of $2,700. The program is most like the NASSP proposal for "Action-Learning Programs" described above (I.5). The similarity is not accidental, since several

people in ACTION are working with the NASSP group, i.e., Richard Graham and Donald Eberly.

The list of existing programs is not intended to be comprehensive; rather, to give the structure of some of the more common types. The wide range of work-study programs at both the high-school and college level have been omitted.

III. Dimensions on which programs differ

Although many of the proposed programs sound alike, they differ in several important dimensions, as listed below:

1. Source of Financing

   (a) Federal financing (National Service, UYA, Peace Corps, Youth Conservation Corps)

   (b) Employer financing (G.I. Bill for Community Service)

2. Full-time vs. part-time, and length of period

   Most of proposals for service care for full-time activity, but the NASSP proposal is for part-time uncompensated activity carried out while in school full time.

3. Incentives to participants

   (a) G. I. Bill benefits (G.I. Bill for Community Service).

   (b) Academic credit (UYA, NASSP Action-Learning).

   (c) Alternative to military service (National Service, Bingham Bill).

   (d) Job with pay. Most of the proposals provide for a stipend; the National Service Proposal is designed to provide jobs for all youth who want them.

   (e) Service to others. Most of the proposals are for community-service jobs, thus incorporating the "service" motivation .

4. Compulsory vs Voluntary

   The National Service proposal has been put forth both in compulsory and voluntary versions. In the former, it is seen as a replacement for the draft. In the latter, it is seen as either

co-existing with the draft (and providing draft exemption), or else as co-existing with a volunteer army. Advocates of this plan currently emphasize the voluntary version.

5. Living arrangements

(a) Living at home (Action learning, probably G.I. Bill for Community Service).

(b) Living in youth communities or dormitories (probably National Service, Youth Conservation Corps).

(c) Living by own arrangements, away from home. National Service, if carried out away from home, might operate this way.

IV. Estimates of Number of Participants and Number of Public-Sector Jobs for National Voluntary Service.

1. Data (numbers expressed in thousands)

A. Number of available male participants aged 18 in 1975:

		Source
(1) Number of males 18 years old in 1975	2,089	(7)
(2) Number of high-school graduates	1,791	(9)
(3) Number of non-high-school graduates	298	
Recruited into Volunteer Army*		
(4) High-school graduates	400	(8)
(5) Non-High School graduates	100	
(6) Fraction of high-school graduates estimated for the Carnegie Commission to enter college in 1975 (assuming no students deferring college for national service)	.47	
(7) Number of high-school graduates not attending college [from (2) and (6)]	949	
(8) Number of non-military and non-college high-school graduates [from difference of (4) and (7)]	549	
(9) Number of non-military and non-college non-high-school graduates [from difference of (3) and (5)]	198	
(10) Number of non-college and non-military eligibles [Sum of (8) and (9)]	747	

*Based on the assumption of a level of 2.3 million men in the Armed Forces. To maintain this level requires approximately 500,000 18-year-olds to enter service each year. The division between high-school and non-high-school graduates is based on current and projected recruitment patterns as reported in discussions with DoD.

Thus, the estimate of eligibles from the age 18, in 1975, the cohort is 747,000. This is based on an assumption that National Service would be for non-college attenders, rather than as a year or two before college. If it were the latter, the maximum number of eligibles would be merely 2,089 (total) - 500 (military), or 1,589 thousand.

If period of service is one year, the maximum number of man years would be 747 or 1,589 thousand under these two assumptions. If two years, it would be double that.

The cohort sizes are about constant up through 1980, so the 1975 estimate would hold for other years as well.

B. Number of eligible female participants age 18 in 1975:

The number of eligible females is difficult to estimate because of marriage to older men (age 19 or older) who, having completed national service, would withdraw them from the pool. If desired, the number thus withdrawn could be estimated from age-specific marriage rates.

C. Number of actual participants

The figures above constitute estimates of the available pool. The number actually recruited would, of course, depend on the nature of the program.

2. Available public-sector jobs

Eberly has made estimates of the "absorptive capacity" of various sectors of public employment, in local, state and federal activities, assuming that financing will come from outside, rather than be borne by that sector. This is shown by the following:

ESTIMATED ABSORPTIVE CAPACITIES
FOR NATIONAL SERVICE PARTICIPANTS
OCTOBER 1970 (Numbers in Thousands)

	Public-Sector Employment	Estimated "Absorptive Capacity"
Education	4,277	2,839
Health	1,144	768
Environment	680	455
Social Services	522	346
Other Services	2,888	1,923
Protective Services	670	448
	10,181	6,779

The estimated "absorptive capacity" provides for more than the necessary number of jobs; but, of course, assumes no economic burden on that sector. The "absorptive capacity" estimates are based on the assumption that two-thirds of the current employees are workers in the field, i.e., teachers, nurses, forest rangers, and that each of them would have one national service participant as an aide.

Several other estimates of public service jobs to be filled have been made in recent years. According to the 1966 report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress there are 5.3 million jobs; an analysis prepared in 1965 for the Office of Economic Opportunity estimated that more than 4.0 million public service jobs at the subprofessional level were unfilled. In both cases, the estimates of unmet tasks were derived primarily from a set of assumptions about the optimal ratios between non-professionals and professionals, similar to those made by Eberly above.

Comments

1. Except in a period of dire national emergency, compulsory national service would meet strong youth resistance.

2. However, voluntary national service would probably attract a large number of youth, both college-bound and others.

3. A service period of at least one year and at most two years, is probably most workable. (Young people seem to respond best to a time-bound commitment.)

4. Given the increasing necessity for federal financing of college education, it is reasonable and probably desirable to attach tuition benefits, but not living costs, for college and other post-secondary training to national service.

5. The specific details of the program would greatly effect the attractiveness. For example, a program involving youth communities or dormitory living would provide a substitute for the social motivation which currently propels many youth into college.

6. National Service activities should, at least initially, be in areas in which there is strong national consensus and little conflict or threat to anyone's job or activity. The "strongest social need" should probably not be the criterion. For example, hospital work is better than tutoring in schools; work in conservation better than work in urban slums, etc.

Points necessary to investigate in the design of any program:

1. It is necessary to match demand and supply, since the usual market mechanism would not be operative. For example, how are the needs of various sectors for participants to be determined if they do not bear the cost of participants?

2. Information is necessary about the necessity for supervisors and trainers, both in terms of ratios of participants to supervisors/trainers and the qualifications required of supervisors/trainers.

3. Programs like the Peace Corps and VISTA offer some guidelines for the operation of national service; yet, they do not help in considering a program of large proportions. What adaptations need to be made to accomodate large numbers of volunteers?

4. What is the best administrative model for national service? Further, what are the responsibilities of the administrating agency or agencies to participants after completion of service? E.g., how much should they assist in educational or occupational placement?

5. What are the appropriate relationships between programs of this type and existing organizations such as schools, hospitals, labor unions, etc.?

6. It is necessary to explore the level of interest and commitment in the private sector if any variation of a support partnership is to exist between it and the federal government. The feasibility of various versions of such a partnership would need to be examined, both from the point of view of participants and public sector employers.

7. National service could act either to integrate or to divide social groups. If a choice between military and non-military service were available, the choice of civilian vs. military service could divide social classes unless incentives are appropriately adjusted.

8. Assuming that national service should also be a learning and maturation experience for the individual, how should this be accomplished?

9. What are possible effects of a program on both the people served and on those serving and how are these to be measured? For example, how would a program alter statistics and health, education, highway casualties, forest fires, etc.? How would a program affect the number of young people who enroll in college, the kinds of jobs they would hold five or ten years after service and their own social behavior and participation patterns?

cc: John M. Mays

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PART 2: BACKGROUND

November, 1972

NOT TO BE CIRCULATED
WITHOUT PERMISSION

Inspired by Trades
— too busy with programs
— too unionized

N.Y.C. - Boston ?

DRAFT REPORT

PSAC Panel on Youth

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PART 1: INTRODUCTION

The United States, along with Western society generally, has gone through two historical phases in treatment of its young. The first was to bring them as quickly as possible into adult productivity so as to aid the struggle for survival. In that phase, principal concern was with the economic struggle, and youth's needs were subordinate to that. The second has been to provide for them special institutions, schools and colleges, which first served the purpose of training for cognitive skills they would need as adults, and have increasingly come to provide a general social environment for all youth.

But school is not appropriate as the primary environment for the young, just as the sweatshop or the plow of the 19th Century was not appropriate. Realization of this has only slowly developed, because intentions that led to the school were and are humanitarian, and intentions are often confused with consequences. What is slowly developing is a realization that the time has arrived for a third and more mature phase in society's treatment of its young. That phase can perhaps best be described as the explicit design of environments for the transition to adulthood. The design of such environment implies attention not only to cognitive learning, but also to other aspects of development and maturity. The family will of course play a part in this design, but many families are a minor part of many young persons' social environments after early adolescence, and thus for many youth in middle and late adolescence, the family is unlikely to be a strong and effective agency for non-cognitive aspects of development.

The signs that the school is not sufficient as the primary environment for the young are abundant. Those youth who have most schooling have become increasingly restive in this environment and are increasingly likely to interrupt that schooling with a period out of school -- between high school and college, between years in college, and in some cases, even before the end of high school. More than ever before, there is the spontaneous development

of "alternative schools," which emphasize non-cognitive skills, experimental learning, and in general, both methods and objectives that are opposite to those of traditional schools. (The generally short life of those alternative schools -- less than two years -- does not negate the dissatisfactions that brought them into being.) There is an increasing search by youth for experiences that go beyond those of school -- in work, travel, communal living, and psychedelic escape, Increasingly, also, youth search for activities, such as political campaign work, that give them greater responsibility and centrality than they have as students in school.

These signs and others suggest that American society is approaching the end of the second phase and the beginning of the third phase in its treatment of youth. In this third phase, society's responsibilities of course include schooling, but are neither defined by schooling nor limited to it. To begin the third phase, it is necessary first to define that responsibility. Such a definition will show the goals toward which society's institutions for youth must point, but it will not show just what forms those institutions should take. Those forms must develop out of a variety of activities: the discussion and debate that surrounds any social change; the social inventions that arise from such discussion and debate; and social experimentation with these inventions of a sort that records far more carefully than in the past just what the consequences of a new institution are for those whose lives it touches.

This report cannot conceive those social inventions nor design the social experimentation to learn the consequences of the inventions. It can initiate the discussion and debate by proposing a set of objectives toward which environments for growth for youth should aim, by diagnosis and description of the current conditions for youth, and by abstracting a set of issues that appear most crucual for the environment for youth. In this section we will discuss the objectives toward which environments for youth might appropriately be directed. The second section will consist of background papers that describe the societal,

psychological, and physiological conditions relevant to youth in America. The third section abstracts from those conditions some of the most important issues that must be addressed if the environments in which youth grow into adulthood are to be satisfactory. Finally, the fourth section suggests some of the initial changes that can move our society from the second phase of its treatment of its young, the schooling phase, into the third phase.

Objectives of environments for growth.

Adults in society, from the level of the family to the level of the National government, have a pair of potentially conflicting responsibilities in bringing youth into adulthood. One is to assure that young people acquire a set of capabilities that will serve them well into adulthood and through life. The other is to assure that there is enough diversity and choice among possible environments that youth have freedom and opportunity to take diverse directions. The first responsibility requires that the society, at some level, impose demands on the environments that shape youth. The second requires that those demands be severely limited, allowing the spontaneous development of as wide a variety of environments as are compatible with the first responsibility. The attempt to meet the first of these two responsibilities is reflected, at present, in school attendance laws, state supervision of school curriculum, and educational requirements for many occupations. The attempt to meet the second is reflected in the local community control of public school administration and the existence of private schools and colleges. But neither of these responsibilities appears to be well met at present, in part because adults in society have viewed society's responsibility for youth as contained within a single institution, the school -- an institution that is at times too confining to allow appropriate diversity of development and too limited in form to meet the demands that may be legitimately imposed on environments for youth.

A central tenet, then, has to do with the locus of control of, and

variability of, environments for youth. It may be stated as follows: Environments for youth outside the family should be under relatively localized control. This control may be geographically-based, as in current public schools, or may reside in other organized bodies. The appropriate role of federal, state, and large city governments is to establish and enforce criteria that safeguard youth's development in the several areas commonly agreed to be important.

The remaining objectives to be discussed here concern the kinds of activities, experiences, and skills that are important for developing the capabilities, the self-fulfillment, and self-esteem of young persons as they move into adulthood. These are candidates for the commonly agreed upon activities that should be assured by governments, and they are intended to initiate the discussion through which agreement upon such activities will be arrived at.

The first of the specific objectives concerns the mixture between dependency on others and care of others as dependents. All youth are now cast in the role of dependent for much of their period of youth, and some, depending on family circumstances, also learn something about care for others. A few current school situations, in which older children have some responsibility for the learning of younger, have begun to provide that experience in care for others. But most do not. The objective, then, is this: Environments for youth should include not only the experience of dependency upon others, but the experience of care for others.

A second objective of environments for youth is related to this. All youth are presently subject to authority and directives from others, but only some gain the experience of directing or leading the activities of others. As adults, they will need both these capabilities in the management of their own families, and one or both in their work and community activities. The objective, then, is: Environments for youth should include both experience in carrying out of directives and following the leadership of others, and experience in directing and leading the activities of others.

A third objective concerns the capability of youth as emergent adult to manage his own affairs. The world into which young adults emerge is an increasingly complex one requiring self-direction and self-management. Yet the current societally-imposed environments for youth, in the form of schools, provide little experience with self-management. Colleges, because of the increased freedom and choice they allow, may provide better experience than high schools. But the frequency of freshman shock in college and of post-college shock upon leaving college suggest the importance of gaining greater experience throughout the period of youth. The objective can be stated as follows: Environments for youth should provide experiences which develop the capability of management of one's affairs in an organizationally-complex world.

A fourth objective is related to the range of persons varying in background and in age, whom the adult will come to know, with whom he will be in contact, and whom he must to some degree understand. For many young men, service in the armed forces has provided a broad range of experiences with persons from other backgrounds, and for a few young people, experience in the Peace Corps and other national service activities have done so. But for many, there has been no institution in which such a range of diversity has been available. It is important for the society to devise environments, for young men and women, that provide experience with persons from other backgrounds and other ages. The objective is this: Environments for youth should provide sufficient experience with a wide range of persons to bring about some understanding of persons differing in social origin or in stage of life.

A fifth objective concerns the set of skills, both cognitive and non-cognitive, that are important for attaining economic independence and flexibility These skills may vary widely, as the set of occupational activities in society

varies widely, but they all include literacy in reading and written expression and some capability with numbers. Many include other cognitive skills, and most include non-cognitive ones as well. Expressed in its simplest form, the objective is this: Environments for youth should develop those cognitive and non-cognitive skills that are necessary for economic independence and mobility among jobs.

A sixth objective concerns the store of cultural achievements that can enrich the experience of one's life. These achievements, in art, literature, music, science, continue to be assimilated through a lifetime for some persons, and thus continually expand their horizons - but only those persons who acquire sufficient basis, taste, and motivation during the period of childhood and youth. The objective is: Environments for youth should give experience with cultural achievements in art, literature, music and science that will enable the adult to pursue his tastes in any of these directions.

A final objective lies in a somewhat different realm. The greatest achievement of man, as well as some of the most personally satisfying experiences of individuals, arise from intense concentration upon a single activity. The activity may be scholarship, it may be creation of a physical object, it may be a performance, as in drama or athletics. Such concentration cannot be forced; the intensity arises from the internal motivation that carries a person onward and keeps his attention focussed. But there are environments conducive to such concentration and environments that destroy it. Both for self-fulfillment and for social achievement, environments for youth should not be destructive to such concentration, but should encourage it, and insofar as possible, develop the capabilities for engag

in it. The objective can be stated this way: Environments for youth should be conducive to intense concentration upon a single activity, with a range of activities available for such commitment.

This is a proposed set of objectives for environments for youth. The objectives are designed to insure that youth have the capabilities of fulfilling the demands and opportunities they will confront as adults -- and by gaining those capabilities, to gain as well the self-esteem and self-fulfillment that each of us needs. These objectives as stated here are not expected to meet with universal agreement. They are intended to stimulate discussion and development of a set of objectives that do have some degree of common agreement. Once such a set of objectives emerges, this provides the criteria that governments can appropriately impose upon those institutions that constitute environments for youth. Whether those institutions develop from current schools or from other organizations, the criteria should both safeguard the development of youth and allow wide variability in the kinds of environments available.

To express such far-reaching and lofty goals in the face of the embattled state of the educational system today may appear naively idealistic. However, it is often the case that the bleak periods for social institutions are precisely those that both allow the kind of major modifications that are not possible in gentler times, and generate ideas about what those modifications might be. It is not lack of awareness of the severity of youth problems and school problems that allows us to take the broad perspective of this report.

It is rather those very problems that suggest the scope of changes necessary for appropriate environments for youth.

DRAFT
October, 1972

YOUTH CULTURE

James S. Coleman

There is not a single youth culture, and it would be wrong to suggest that there is. There are many, some overlapping and some antagonistic: the rock music culture, the hippy culture, the athletic crowd, the motorcycle cult, the surfers, the New Left, the drug culture, the Jesus cult, Krishna Consciousness, and other religious movements, the college campus culture, and a host of others, some international, others specific to a given community. Some are explicitly part of the "counter-culture" in the U.S. today, others are not. But in these various forms and varieties of youth culture, there are certain elements that recur, certain characteristics held in common. These elements derive from the special position that young people find themselves in today. It is not a position initially created nor sought out by youth, but one imposed upon them by the structural form that society has come to take.

One element that characterizes all segments of the youth culture is inward-lookingness. Young people, whatever segment of the youth culture they choose, look very largely to one another. Their friends are other young people, and a large fraction of their communications comes from young people. Even the goods and services they consume have increasingly come to be provided by young people. In popular music, for example, nearly all the popular musical entertainers--whether rock bands or pop singers--are part of the youth culture itself. In contrast, the entertainers of twenty years ago,

whose audience was youthful as it is today, were seldom young themselves. The revolution in clothes fashion, which began in England in the 60's, is a revolution in which the young are themselves the designers and the boutique owners. The New Left rejects the Old Left nearly as much as it rejects the Old Right, and looks for its popular heroes among the young themselves: Jerry Rubin, Bobby Seale, Huey Newton, Rennie Davis.

The change that has occurred is a striking one: in politics, in music, and popular entertainment, in clothes, even in movies. Not only are the producers producing for a youth taste; the producers and consumers are both part of the self-contained youth culture. This is a change--in all these areas--of the past twenty, or perhaps even ten, years.

Perhaps the change in the process can be seen most clearly in clothes fashions. Beginning in the early 1960's, there was a new source of fashion. The styles began with miniskirts, moved to hotpants, to no-bra fashions, cheap fake furs, midis, maxis, and so on. The old high fashion, which is now nearly gone, had its center in Paris, with clothes designed for women in their thirties and at the top of the fashion and financial ladder. It trickled down, in income and in age, through copies made in mass production and sold in every woman's shop. The revolution in fashion began in London's Carnaby Street and King's Road, where young designers created new designs and sold them to the young. The miniskirts, and their successors, began there, among the young, and spread throughout Europe and America, trickling up in age this time, rather than down.

It is no accident that this fashion revolution began in London rather than New York, because the distribution system there is less controlled by corporate enterprise. Clothes are less sold in the U.S. pattern of large stores and chains whose buyers order in quantities from large manufacturers. The young could more easily break into the women's clothing market with small-scale operations.

But whatever its problems of gestation, the central characteristic of the revolution in women's fashion was that it was a revolution by the young for the young. Youth looked toward youth rather than toward adults for its fashion.

At least three aspects of youth's position in society brought this about:

First, the large numbers of youth, beginning with those who turned 14 in 1960 and 20 in 1966 and are now 26 years old. They were born in 1946, the beginning of the baby boom, and they were the first wave of a tide that continues to make the youth fraction of the population much larger than it was in 1950 or 1960. Second, as youth continue their education for longer and longer periods, they are together with other youth and segregated from adults. Adults, meanwhile, have more and more come to work in large organizations where youth are not present nor even able to see. Adult women have increasingly left the home and neighborhood, where they were the keepers of the mores, and have followed the men into work organizations. Thus not only are there fewer adults for youth to look to as models, and as points of reference; youth and adults are more segregated than ever from daily contact with one another.

Finally, a third change in the position of youth helps sustain this inward-lookingness, though it is not directly responsible for it. This is their increasing affluence. Young people's economic position in the household has passed through three stages: in the first, their labor was needed to help support the family, whether on the farm or in the factory. Second, as families came to breathe more easily, the youth were freed to continue their education. Finally, families have enough money so that they can afford to let their young spend some of it, on things they want. Youth now have a large portion of the discretionary income of society.

Thus youth can back up their tastes with money. They can buy the records ey like, the clothes they like, can go the movies they like, can pay for

underground newspapers if they like. Their inward-lookingness need not be confined to finding their popular heroes among youth, or to conformity with norms laid down by their peers; it can be expressed also by the power of their dollars.

A second element that characterizes the culture of youth is similar to the first, but not the same: it is a psychic attachment of youth to others their own age. Today, for many youth, their most intimate psychic bonds are with one another. The evolution of the dating pattern probably shows this best, for this pattern shows the increasing psychic needs of the young for one another over the past half-century. Traditional societies, whether rural America or pre-1960 Europe, showed little in the way of "dating" at all. The practice developed in the high schools and colleges of America, first among a small elite in the colleges in the 1920's and 1930's as a pattern of courtship fitted to the campus life in which large numbers of marriageable young were thrown together on their own. Scott Fitzgerald's novels contain the flavor of that early period. A sociologist, Willard Wallor, named it the "dating and rating" system.[1] It moved down to the high schools on a broad scale in the 1940's, where it replaced the parentally-supervised and much less intimate outings, gatherings, community dances, and parties (which often included not only youth but adults as well). In high schools, dating became not so much a pattern of courtship as an opportunity for intimacy and closeness. In the 1950's the dating system began to break down, under the force of a new phenomenon that developed out of it: "going steady." Going

steady reduced the uncertainty inherent in the competitive market of the dating system, and simultaneously intensified the psychic intimacy that had been begun by the dating system. Going steady appears to provide for teen-agers the same kind of psychic support that the intense husband-wife relation in the nuclear family provides in modern society: a psychic haven in a society where other relationships have become increasingly distant.

But in the late 1960's and early 1970's, going steady is being followed by a new pattern, which is enhanced by the drug culture, in both high school and college: a pattern of closeness, intimacy, and extreme openness among a small group of close friends, often around a marijuana joint which passes from one to another. Another pattern, the commune, has developed as well for a small fraction of youth. Although it derives in part from other sources, it can be seen as a kind of end point in the search for psychic warmth that began with dating and rating systems.

This evolution of social patterns has a single thread running through it: the increasing need for close relations, for the psychic support and security of another or others very close. Those needs have always existed for young persons, and for persons of all ages. But the difference now is that young persons turn much more to other young persons than they once did. A flavor of another time and place is given in a description by Elizabeth Bott of young married working-class women of London's Bethnal Green shortly after World War II.[2] These young women had their closest ties to "Mum,"

their mothers. The time they spent during the day and during the evening was with Mum, the talking they did was with Mum, their joys and sorrows they shared with Mum. The men they married were necessary to the household, but their psychic support came from Mum.

The distance between Bethnal Green and modern youth in America is a very great one. The psychic needs of young women may be filled by a "Mum" in Bethnal Green. But in an America in which kinship structure is weakening in each decade, and in which even the nuclear family provides little psychic strength for its teen-age members, the needs must be met from outside. As the psychic strength of the family dwindled, the evolution of the dating system and the ultimate emergence of the very close circle and the communal group has supplied those same needs.

This element of a psychic need for closeness increasingly unfilled by the family is apparent not only in the evolution of the dating system and in communal groups. It probably is an important stimulus to the use of soft drugs and to the religious movements among the young. It is an aspect of youth's current situation which helps spawn activities that are very unlike, but tied together by this one need.

A third element that runs through all segments of the youth culture is press toward autonomy. This manifests itself in a high regard for youth who successfully challenge adults, or who act autonomously of adults. The Beatles injecting indirect allusions to LSD and marijuana in their songs,[3] political

apostles such as Stokely Carmichael and Abbie Hoffman, youthful actors who represented in their roles the independence of youth, like Jimmy Dean, have enormous attraction for the young, even those who oppose the specific things they stand for. Part of the regard in which football players and other athletes are held during high school lies in the fact that they can capture the attention and respect of adults, and that the fortunes of the school depend on them more than on most teachers in the school.

The situation is like that described in this passage written about Negroes in Chicago in the 1940's:

> "If a man 'fights for the race,' if he seems to be 'all for the race,' if he is 'fearless in his approach to white people,' he becomes a Race hero. Similarly any Negro becomes a hero if he beats the white man at his own game or forces the white world to recognize his talent or service or achievement. Racketeer or preacher, reactionary or communist, ignoramus or savant--if a man is an aggressive, vocal, uncompromising Race Man he is everybody's hero. Even conservative Negroes admire colored radicals who buck the white world. Preachers may oppose sin, but they will also express a sneaking admiration for a Negro criminal who decisively outwits white people. Even the quiet, well-disciplined family man may get a thrill when a 'bad Negro' blows his top and goes down with both guns blazing at the White Law."[4]

This passage has striking applicability to youth relative to adults. Substitute "youth" for "Negro," "adult" for "white man," change a few phrases, and the passage could be directly applied to youth today. The reason lies in the essential similarity between youth's position relative to adults today, and the position of Negroes in relation to whites described in the 1940's study. Youth are a subordinate nation, and any youth that can stand up to adults is regarded with a certain amount of respect, awe, and admiration.

This widespread regard for youth who successfully challenge adults or act autonomously is not entirely new, but it has grown over the years. As late as the 1950's and early 1960's, the crowd of boys that were most rebellious against adults were, in high school, not only regarded as rebellious and anti-school by most teen-agers; they were regarded with disdain, and some pity. They were the crowd that was unaccepted by the "in" crowd in the school, they were "turned off" by the school and society, they were the "black leather jacket" group, or the "black boot" crowd, and were regarded as "drapes" by the teen-agers who were part of the leading crowd. They were always from poorer backgrounds than other students, they were the residue of working-class students who had not been captured by the positively-oriented adolescent society and by the promise of school and the upward mobility it would bring. Today, there are four changes: that culture has expanded in size, now doing its own capturing of middle class youth who are turned off by the school and

society; it no longer has the distinct boundaries that once isolated it from the majority, but has fringes of people who are in and out of it; it is often the front-runner in forbidden activities like drugs which many other youth pick up later; and it is regarded not so much with disdain by the majority of teen-agers, but with some awe for what is seen as courage in rejecting the school and the society, and for engaging in illegal but partially-approved activites.

A quotation from a high school girl in 1960 about the value climate in her school suggests the contrast with today:

> "At ----------, a good reputation is important...Neat dressing is taken into consideration too, but a girl would not be blackballed [from the high school sorority] unless she were a really impossible dresser. I think neatness is stressed the most. In a way this means all-aroundedness. If a girl is a lot of fun, dresses fairly neatly, has a good reputation, wants to get in, she can get into a sorority, provided no girl in the sorority has a personal grudge against her."[5]

This quotation could certainly characterize the value climate in some youth cultures today; but it has a distinct pre-1960's flavor, reflecting the more positive orientation of the youth of that time to norms encouraged by the adult society.

The special position within the youth culture of those youth who can

hold their own with adults (whether in competition with them, as in athletics, or in opposition to them, as in political action or campus confrontation) is characteristic of any subgroup in society that sees itself as a subgroup and in a subordinate position as a subgroup. The respect paid to these members derives from the fact that they overturn, in their small way, that subordinate position. They take out of the hands of the superordinate group--the adults in this case--a small portion of the control they hold over the subordinate group.

The change that has come about in the 1960's and 1970's is a change from a nascent and mild form of this response, which gave prestige to athletes who could draw adults' attentions and control the school's fortunes, to one which gives prestige to youth who challenge adults in direct confrontation. In the earlier stage, the norms of the adolescent society (for there was no "youth culture" before the 1960's) were enough guided by adult social norms that direct contravention of adult norms gained not respect but condemnation by most other young people. The change that has occurred results in part from a strengthening of the self-definition of the group as a distinct sub-group in society. That is, youth now see themselves more as a specific group with specific interests than at earlier times. It results in part from an increased deviation of norms of youth from those that adults in their homes and schools and colleges encourage them to hold. The social sources of that increased deviation are important to recognize.

There is one major change in society in recent years that is more

responsible than any other for this increased deviation of norms of youth from those encouraged by parents and schools and colleges. This is a change in communication. The change has two components: First, there is an absolute increase in the fraction of society's total communications that are carried through the mass media. Second, there is a proliferation of the number of channels through which information flows in the mass media, and a resulting greater diversity of communication in the media. The first occurred through television, which captures a larger portion of people's time and attention than any mass medium ever did. The second occurred through a proliferation of media channels that cater to minority tastes. This proliferation has occurred in three media: movies, radio, and newspapers. Movies before television sought a mass audience and catered to a mass taste. When television came and drew off the mass audience, movies began to appeal to minority tastes. One of these was that of an audience that had least deserted movies for television: the unmarried youth audience. Probably because movies offered privacy from family which television did not, young people never stopped going to movies, as did adults, and the moviemakers began to design movies to appeal to teen-agers.

The second medium in which channels proliferated was radio. Again, as television drew off the mass audience, radio stations began to search out minority tastes. As they did so, and thus specialized, they began to increase in number, through new stations, both in the broadcast and FM band. Many of these stations now are "youth" stations, which play a form of music attended

to by youth alone. In addition, some of the "talk" shows are youth-oriented, dealing with problems of interest to youth: drug problems, sex-related problems (VD, contraception, pregnancy, abortion), problems with police, problems of dress, problems with school, and with parents. ("Talk" shows are a new form of radio, invented by a disk jockey in the 1960's, in which listeners phone in to an announcer and discuss an issue of concern to them or one that has been raised previously on the show. Both sides of the conversation are broadcast.) These stations inevitably have become a form of communication among youth, with the disk jockeys sometimes acting as crusaders, sometimes merely as a medium through which some youth express their interests.

Most recently, in late 1960's and 1970's, has come a new kind of station: the "alternative medium." This is a station (sometimes on the broadcast band, more often on FM) that is run by young people, is tolerant of and expresses the tastes of one or more of the deviant cultures among youth, and takes an anti-establishment position in news reports and in disk jockey discussions. The main fare of these stations is music, but sandwiched in is discourse that expresses youth interests and tastes. The use by youth of these as direct communication media is reflected by the fact that on some such stations, rides to other cities, or riders wishing a ride to other cities are announced, with telephone numbers, so that listeners can make their own ride arrangements. The advertisers on these stations are ordinarily local boutiques and other stores catering to youth, and some products that youth buy. (One such station carries advertisements for roach killers, the advertiser recognizing that many

of the station's young audience live in old roach-infested apartments.)

It is interesting, as an aside, that just as the corporate structure of clothes merchandising in the Unites States prevented the emergence of a fashion revolution that broke out in London, the corporate structure of broadcasting in England has prevented the radio revolution that has begun in the United States. In England, the only stations are state monopolies (the First, Second, and Third Programmes), which have not responded to the interests of youth. Attempts to create youth-oriented channels have led to stations being created on the mainland (Radio Luxemburg is the best-known), and stations located on offshore islands. The latter have led to periodic wars with the coastal police.

The final medium in which there has been a proliferation of channels has been newspapers. As the mass newspapers have shrunk in number, most cities being served by only one or two independent newspapers, an underground press has blossomed. With the Village Voice in New York as a long-standing prototype, semi-underground and underground newspapers
have grown up in most large cities and many small ones. A few have a national circulation, some have a city-wide circulation, some are college campus-wide, some are circulated within high schools, and finally some have begun within business organizations. The topics are New Left and Black Left politics, drugs, sex, and mysticism. They provide, probably as much as any other single medium, a nationwide communication network among anti-establishment youth.

The two components of change in communication in American society, increased attention to mass media and a proliferation of channels of mass media, have meant a new source of information, norms, and values for youth.

Until this change, which provided communications directed at youth by youth, young persons' communications to one another were largely restricted to face-to-face contact. Deviant norms could spring up, and did, in specific schools and neighborhoods, but there were no mass media to link them together in different localities and provide national and international resonance to strengthen those norms. Information and directives from parents, from school authorities, and from the mass media controlled by adults, exercised a partial monopoly of communication, shaped the elites among youth, and held the alienated anti-establishment culture down to a small minority, disapproved by the youth who were "important." That has not completely changed, but it is changing, and it will change even more as youth gain a firmer grip on those communication channels that have come to serve them in recent years. These media strengthen and maintain those norms of youth that deviate most from those held by the mass of adults, and thus as these media consolidate their position, the anti-establishment norms will strengthen relative to others.

A note should be added here about the interaction between the adult counter-culture and the strengthening of youth counter-culture. Before the middle 1960's, the deviant subcultures or counter-cultures among young persons subsisted on their own. They sprouted from the alienation created by the school and the adolescent society within the school, and provided a haven for those youth who could not meet the school's demands and were unaccepted by the dominant teen-age crowd. But as television more fully focussed attention

on national and international events, and as the proliferation of channels in the mass media took place, minority and anti-establishment expression among adults grew. It found a ready audience among some youth, and provided both content and justification for the anti-establishment orientation held by some youth. Thus as the communication channels opened up in society, those norms in the youth culture that had been kept confined to an unsuccessful minority gained strength from the newly-deviant adult expressions. It is probably true also that the content of events strengthened both the expression of deviant opinion by adults and the responsiveness to it by youth. In particular, the Vietnam War, which threatened youth more than any other segment of the population, provided such content. But the essential change of the 1960's was the proliferation of mass media which both allowed the expression by adults of deviant opinion and provided youth with their own channels which resonate to the anti-establishment and anti-adult norms of youth.

A fourth element that is common to youth in nearly all segments of youth culture is a concern for the underdog. Such a concern does not come naturally to children and youth; they can be, when unsocialized, savage and sadistic as animals, without compassion. Anyone who has watched the savagery of young children knows that concern with the underdog is hardly present at early ages.

Concern for the underdog among youth finds its expression mostly in political support: in sympathies for the Third World, in political alliances with blacks and with women, in the pilgramage of youth to the South in the early 1960's to open it up for blacks, in sentiments antagonistic to the

corporate structure of society (a sort of modern-day populism), in greater sympathy for a convicted criminal than for the system of justice that convicted him, in a relaxed attitude toward stealing from large corporations, in a general anti-establishment political stance. It also manifests itself in other ways. A larger proportion of youth than of other age groups hold an anti-competitive ethic, because in competition someone must lose, and many youth are sensitive to this. Sympathy for the underdog is also a large component of the "idealism" of youth that is often noted. More youth will give to a cause, if that cause is the aid of poor people. Youth will disproportunately contribute to Bangladesh relief or Biafran relief, but not to the Community Chest or medical charities.

It is a strong thread indeed which can link together political support for blacks, contributions to Bangladesh, and stealing from corporations. This support for the underdog is strong among youth, and it derives directly from the underdog position of youth themselves in modern society. Excluded from the central institutions of society, the organizations in which men and women work, brushed aside into schools "to prepare themselves," given no opportunity to view matters from a position of authority and responsibility, youth of all social classes are outsiders in society. They have, as a consequence, the political views characteristic of outsiders.

This was not always so. In the past, the central institutions of society were families, not work organizations, and the "outsiders" in society were those of all ages who belonged to families that were outsiders. Young and old from lower classes were outsiders and united in their alienation; young and old from middle and upper classes were insiders, and united in their support for the existing system.

But even beyond that, youth at ages that are now in school or college were at work or otherwise occupying adult roles. This was true not only for the lower classes in society; sons and daughters of the well-to-do often completed education by 17 or 18. Thus youth in their late teens and twenties were not outsiders, but were already directly involved in society. True, they were not often in positions of authority, because the hierarchical lines in work organizations were stronger in the past. But not all youth were on the bottom; their starting position derived more from their family or origin, so that positions of authority were less age-graded, more class-graded, than they are today. Even those who were on the bottom had a serious responsibility, on which other men depended, for carrying out their work responsibly. And because men lived a shorter time, often dying in their prime, positions of greater responsibility were opened up to men at an earlier age.

Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence when he was 33; in those earlier days, responsible positions in many areas of life were common to youth, as ship captains, generals, captains of industry, statesmen, union organizers. Today, youth's positions of responsibility lie principally in sports.

It is not even necessarily true that being kept at school prevents experience with positions of authority and responsibility. The British boarding schools, which are remarkable sociological institutions in many ways, create within them an artificial hierarchy so that by the time a young person leaves school at 18, he has been, during his final year, in a position of rather strong responsibility and authority in his house. This experience gives the young person a very different perspective on authority and responsibility than he had just a year or two before.[6]

The political repercussions to society of keeping a large and able fraction of its members as outsiders, with no history or experience of responsibility, until well after they are politically active, are certainly great. It creates a special political bias, in which most of the most able future elites become politically active while still in an outsider's status, still able to view the world only from the position of outsider. It creates a warmhearted, sympathetic, and open political stance, one which focusses on certain principles like equal opportunity and civil rights but ignores others, such as honesty, reward for merit, and the rule of law.

Closely related to the concern by many youth for the underdog is a fifth element: interest in change. Youth show a generally greater interest in change per se than do adults. The difference between youth and age in their support for the status quo is nothing new, and has been the source of much social change throughout history. But it is useful to mention this difference here, because it results from somewhat the same social source as does youth's concern for the underdog: youth's being an outsider. An outsider has no stake in the existing

system. Just as lower classes have less stake in any economic and social system than do upper classes, youth have less stake in the system than do their elders.

Now although this difference has always existed, it has been increased in recent years by a structural change in society as a whole: a shift from a society in which statuses are ascribed to one in which they are achieved. As society becomes more achievement-oriented, a young person inherits less in the way of social position and job from his father's social position and job; he is more nearly on his own, starting out perhaps with educational advantages, but with only those. Thus it is not the case that children directly "inherit" their father's social position to the degree they did in the past. They begin at the bottom, and work their way up, first in the educational system, then in the occupational one. The system of occupational status and income is more highly correlated with age, with the young having lower status jobs and lower income, and the old having higher.

This structural change in society toward achieved statuses and away from ones ascribed by virtue of kinship greatly intensifies the difference between youth and age in support of the status quo. The young have less at stake than their counterparts did a generation or two ago, and the old have more at stake. This means an increase in the relation between age and the left-right dimension of politics, the young being more left than the young of some years ago, and the old being more right.

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What is important about these elements that characterize youth culture

is that they have their origins in the relation of youth to the rest of society. Youth are segregated from adults by the economic and educational institutions created by adults, they are deprived of psychic support from persons of other ages, a psychic support that once came from the family, they are subordinate and powerless in relation to adults, and outsiders to the dominant social institutions. Yet they have money, they have access to a wide range of communications media, and control of some, and they are relatively large in number. All these elements combine to create the special characteristics of the youth culture. It is not the "nature of youth" to show the particular characteristics that youth culture shows; it is their natural response to the somewhat unnatural position in which they find themselves in society. In other times and places, youth show different characteristics, because they are in a different relation to society. A description of an English farming village in East Anglia (Blythe, 1969), shows this. In the words of a teacher in the school:

> "The children are very involved with their parents' work and with adult gossip. Quite little boys will know the technical names of tractor attachments and what is going on in the fields at a particular time of the year and the girls talk together like grown women. Neither seem to want their childhood."

In that society, the position of the young is very different from that in modern industrial society. They are, many would say, too much a part of the

adult world. They want to hurry through their childhood to arrive at adulthood. In modern industrial society, nearly the opposite has begun to occur: having been forced to create and live within a youth subculture, an alternative culture, many youth are reluctant to leave it, reluctant to become assimilated into the adult culture from which they have for so long been segregated.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Willard Waller (1937).

2. See Elizabeth Bott (1971).

3. The initials of "Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds" were widely held to refer to LSD.

4. See Drake and Cayton (1946).

5. See James S. Coleman (1961), p. 120.

6. It is this aspect of the social structure of the British boarding schools that has led to most of the criticism of them, for the older boys (or girls) often abused their authority. That, of course, is finally past. Even at Eton, caning has finally gone.

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