STUDIES OF EDUCATION AND WORK

DEPARTMENT OF REGIONAL ECONOMIC EXPANSION | MINISTÈRE DE L'EXPANSION ÉCONOMIQUE RÉGIONALE

CANADA

STUDIES OF EDUCATION AND WORK

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FOREWORD

This publication is one of a series prepared under contract by the Industrial Relations Centre of McGill University for the Department of Manpower and Immigration's Experimental Projects Branch which was transferred to the Social and Human Analysis Branch of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion in July 1968.

The study includes a detailed review of the literature. It also provides a list of major organizational variables which social scientists have identified as affecting success and performance, and an analysis of how the variables affect behaviour. Suggestions are made about the provision of a theoretical abstraction of the variables to make them applicable in diverse organizational contexts.

The results of the study are intended for:

1. Classifying employment opportunities as a basis for prescribing compatible jobs for different types of people
2. Classifying the behaviour required for survival and success in various job settings
3. Identifying and classifying the variables now operating in educational and resocializing institutions
4. Specifying models for social systems in training centres.

The study was expected to clarify partially some questions relating to talent development, occupational allocation, adaptability of workers, training of workers, worker satisfactions and performance.

Dr. W.A. Westley of the Industrial Relations Centre, McGill University, directed the study. He was assisted by research assistants under whose authorship their individual reports are published.

Mr. J.M. Saulnier of the Experimental Projects Branch was responsible for the administration of the contract and the preparation of the material for printing. He was assisted by Mrs. C. MacLean.

INTRODUCTION

In 1967 the Department of Manpower and Immigration initiated a series of experimental programs designed to provide detailed knowledge about the most effective ways of training disadvantaged low-income men and women. Each program was initiated by agreement with the government of the Province in which it was to be located. It is intended that these programs will probe deeply into the problems of integrating unemployed and under-employed people into the labour force and providing them with a solid and prosperous way of life.

In preparation for the programs the Experimental Projects Branch of the Department contracted with the McGill University Industrial Relations Centre to review and make an assessment of the social science literature bearing upon work and educational organizations with a view to their relevance to the construction of training programs. This paper is a summary and analysis of the larger and more detailed studies made under this contract.

PART I

A REVIEW OF

STUDIES OF EDUCATION AND WORK

GENERAL REMARKS

The relationship between education and work has become a problem of increasing concern in the modern world. The educational demands of modern industrial societies require "an unprecedented advancement in the efficiency and effectiveness of educational systems".[1] Rapid technological change has made the world of work unstable and changing, and more dependent on the educational system. The relationship between these two great institutional systems of modern society is thus both intimate and interdependent. If we are to understand how to fit men into the labour force, we must understand the contribution which their experience in school has made to their skills and adaptability. This is particularly true when we want to know how to re-educate workers who have become displaced by technological change or left behind in the rush of technology, affluence and education.

This paper presents the highlights of a series of studies undertaken by the Experimental Projects Branch formerly of the Department of Manpower and Immigration. The purpose of these studies was to analyse

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[1] "Education Research and Its Relation to Policy: An Analysis Based on the Experience of the U.S." Louis Bright and Hendrick Gideons, Paris, September 21st, 1967, O.E.C.D.

the literature on the social systems of employment, resocialization, family, education and training organizations, and to identify organizational variables in these systems, which affect behaviour. To this end, ten separate studies - two of which were included in the Progress Report, and the other eight which are appended - were made of the voluminous literature on schools, work, organizational theory, and retraining, while the others are focussed on particular variables which seem promising, like autonomy, rewards, authority and roles.

Our purpose was to identify and operationally define the key variables in retraining and use them to make recommendations about the experimental retraining program. Unfortunately, even in those areas where we found the greatest density of literature, the results were neither sufficiently clear nor sufficiently uncontested to permit this to be done. But it was possible to make some general observations on the basis of the material gathered in the various areas reviewed and the substance of this introductory paper consists of such observations.

This material has two major practical uses: first, it can provide new perspectives on retraining, visualizing it in unusual ways, some of which may provide answers to obdurate problems.

Second, it can supplement or confirm or challenge the findings from existing and past training projects. Our findings can provide theoretical and research confirmation of ideas derived from practical experience. Thus,

our general conclusion that retraining programs must include the persons, family, peers, and community is derived from sociological studies of mobility and technological change, from the reward systems used in prisons and mental hospitals, and from the social psychology of role definition. When it is discovered that studies of actual retraining programs reach the same conclusions, we may assume that we have identified an essential prerequisite in the design of retraining programs for hard core unemployed. Once this point of recommendation has been established we are in a position to exploit other sociological studies to find promising ways of involving family, peer and community. Here we would suggest that it is useful to turn to the literature on collective behaviour, in particular that referring to the origins of religious and political movements, which shows that people become active and involved through shared unrest, and through a sense of unjust relative deprivation.

In the pages that follow, we will present some general observations about retraining from the perspective of the modern work world, and mobility, after which we interpret and analyse each of the areas reviewed by the research team, considering their implications for retraining. Finally, drawing upon all this material,we will make a set of specific recommendations about the application of these conclusions for experimental retraining programs.

NATURE OF MODERN SOCIETY

Among the many changes taking place in modern society, those affecting the nature of work and the character of the labour force are of particular importance to retraining. Automation, bureaucratization, and productivity are creating new work environments with new skill and personnel needs. Automation alone while yet of little real consequence in the alteration of work, has become a goal and set a trend in which men become gradually detached from machines and from the kinds of production methods which force them to adapt themselves to the machines. It has made them, in a sense, supervisors of work, at least of machine work.

Bureaucratization creates very special types of work environments and disciplines. It is a characteristic of most white collar environments, but it also extends to many blue collar work places. Increasingly as more and more areas of work come under government control or are consolidated into very large enterprises, work must be organized along bureaucratic lines; that is, it must be highly rationalized and brought under careful centralized supervisory controls. Working in this kind of environment requires very specialized kinds of skills and especially certain disciplines. The most significant effect of bureaucratization on work is its tendency to take control out of the hands of the worker and introduce centralized planning instead. The restoration of some control by the worker is itself a matter of planning.

Bureaucratization placed an exceptional premium on skills involved in rationality: what Robert Dreeban has referred to as capacities for independence, achievement, universalism, and specificity;[2] that is, for a) taking responsibility and working alone, b) working for high standards and the capacity to be competitive, c) the ability to see and judge oneself and others in terms of universal standards and as members of some category like full-time workers, and d) an understanding that in a specific situation only certain things are relevant. Dreeban sees these capacities as the results of the ways schools are organized. For our purposes, however, it is important to remember that they are the capacities for survival in a highly rationalized environment. In fact they are required to comprehend the nature of the bureaucratic work environment and to find one's way successfully within it.

Increases in productivity (due largely to technological change) have the effect of reducing the work day and week, increasing the time and money available for leisure, and generally reducing the importance of work in the life of man. The high productivity worker is affluent, educated, and leisure oriented and creates a work world which requires special qualifications for participation. Indirectly his productivity changes work by decreasing the number of men working in primary industries such as farming,

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[2] "On What Is Learned in School", Robert Dreeban of Harvard University. Unpublished mimeograph, March, 1966.

mining and fishing, and increasing the number in tertiary or service industries. (A large portion of the latter are in essentially blue collar jobs such as truck driving or service station attendants.) This shift in the labour force naturally creates openings for new and varied skills, and changes the nature of work prospects.

The major changes in the labour force are the shift in its occupational distribution, the massive entry of women and the increased level of education of all members. Shifts in distribution mean the disappearance of work in the primary sector, and the appearance of opportunity in the tertiary or service sector. In the decade to come, when the lessons from this retraining experiment are to be applied, it can be expected that this shift will have accelerated ... with the major opportunities for work lying either in highly mechanized or even automated production sectors or in the service and white collar sectors. Consequently these are the areas toward which an experimental retraining program should now be directed.

The increased participation of women in the labour force seems to have one very serious implication for retraining: the removal of the normal low skill entry jobs as opportunities for men. Studies have shown that women returning to the labour force after raising families will accept these low skill jobs and are preferred by employers because of their stability. Thus, mothers tend to compete with sons in these areas and consequently retraining programs should avoid trying to place youngsters or men in these areas.

The increased level of education of the labour force has the effect of raising the standards for all jobs. The qualifications for a job are usually those of the last occupant and with increased levels of education even fairly unskilled jobs may be expected to require fair amounts of education. Since we are speaking about a trend in levels of education it is probable that this problem will increase in severity in the future.

We would note one other major and serious effect of these changes in the technologically advanced, affluent society. Men on the escalator of education and affluence become more and more educated and affluent while those displaced become relatively poorer and more discouraged (with tendencies towards what Paul Goodman has called reactive stupidity, i.e. an emotional refusal to learn; and what Arthur Stinchcombe has called expressive alienation, or rejection of the values). This makes retraining of central importance in modern educational planning.

THE WORLD OF WORK

Work opportunities and organizations are diverse and complex and any short account would do serious injustice to them. We have already drawn attention to the broad trends and changes in work in our section on Modern Society. Here we focus on some general problems of work in the modern world which should be given attention in programs of retraining.

THE INSTABILITY OF OCCUPATIONAL CAREERS

Most men hold many different jobs during their careers. Most of these job changes are on the same occupational or status level, though a sizeable proportion do move some time during their career between blue and white collar jobs. The increasing pace of technological change will accelerate this movement between jobs, and increase the degree to which skills become obsolescent and retraining is required.

The import of these findings is that a job is in many ways an unstable and perhaps an ephemeral thing, and it may be necessary to train men for work careers rather than jobs. To do this men must be trained in skills which make them flexible and adaptable. Our study of work and work organizations has not provided information indicating how this could be done or what these particular skills are though it does provide some clues. We would suggest that this is a matter for research, that this flexibility may lie in training men to core technical skills which enter into many different jobs as well as in communication and interpersonal skills, and that not too much stock should be placed in the idea that a general education represents flexible training.

ENTRY JOBS AND ALIENATION

Most low skill and therefore entry jobs are also those which are boring, and lead most easily to dissatisfaction and alienation. There is considerable and persuasive evidence that persistence and interest in work

goes up with the amount of skill required, and that routinized and/or assembly line jobs arouse dissatisfaction and hostility, result in feelings of alienation from the work environment and may in fact lead to serious attempts to reduce production.

These characteristics may lead to problems in industrial relations but ordinarily they are neither so widespread nor so serious as to seriously interfere with production functions. Presumably this is because most of the workers are either accustomed to this kind of experience and are motivated to endure it because of inner drives or they do it to obtain gratification in other areas. Thus there are compensatory factors in most areas of the work world.

These factors are probably absent among the hard core unemployed and to some degree among those who have become technologically obsolescent. Such men are probably already alienated from the work world. There is a good chance that even if they can be persuaded to join a retraining program they would be very sensitive to these tendencies towards dissatisfaction and alienation in the kind of jobs they are likely to obtain. Even under very favourable circumstances it has been noted that people who go from school to work experience "reality shock", finding the world of work painful, and disillusioning. Groups as widely different as teachers, policemen and doctors report this reaction. It may be expected that people moving into more trying work conditions would experience it more sharply, and that those who

are already suspicious of a society which has cast them aside would be more than usually prepared to feel this way.

What can be done about reality shock? The simple answer is to make the training as much like the reality as possible. However, this is difficult since the aggravating factors in reality may to some extent be hidden from our view or be built into the long term consequence of real jobs. For example, what bothers some men about real jobs could be that they find personal virtues like loyalty or courtesy, which they have long struggled to acquire and which have become a deep part of their personalities, are not respected or rewarded. It may also be the case that there are many things which a man is prepared to endure in the short run (as he visualizes the school) but would find insupportable when he feels that they are likely to be permanent (like the lack of friends). Thus it is not easy to recreate the "shocking" aspects of reality in the training setting.

The answer may be to instill a calculative orientation, as well as the obvious objective of giving them as realistic an idea of what the work is like as is possible within the framework of the training program.

A CALCULATIVE ORIENTATION

Many men work not because they like it but for money. This permits them to endure work which is dull and/or unsatisfactory. While this may leave some deficiencies in their lives, where they have the option, men often choose money instead of work satisfaction. In England sociologists

Lockwood and Goldthorpe found that many of the affluent workers of Luton had willingly given up what they regarded as more interesting and satisfying jobs in other places to take the boring but more highly paid jobs in the automobile plant. Theirs was clearly a calculative orientation toward their work. American scholars such as Roy, Chinoy, Walker and Guest, etc., have also found that production line workers find little intrinsic interest in their work and turn to their home lives for satisfaction.

These studies indicate that a large proportion of the men on production lines and on routine and repetitive jobs see their work simply as a means to the satisfaction of consumption needs. Work is endured because it provides consumption opportunities. Stability at work is assured by participation in modern consumption norms. Workers find satisfaction in their homes, boats, and cars. They obtain status from their friends because of the style of life they are able to afford. Should these workers not find their involvement in achieving a high standard of living so satisfying their lives would seem empty and their work almost meaningless. We can assume then that it is the combination of a calculative orientation and an involvement in modern consumption norms that keeps the men at many kinds of work. Presumably if they lacked either or both they would not work at such jobs. Since many jobs are intrinsically boring and alienating we know of no other way to keep men at them.

These then are the conditions of work in the kinds of jobs the retrainees are likely to obtain, and these are ways in which ordinary workers manage to adapt to these jobs. Since we can expect that the retrainees are even less able to resist the alienating effects of these jobs than the steadily employed worker it will be even more important for them to develop this calculative orientation and commitment to modern consumption norms.

In a retraining program one way to instill a calculative orientation is to gear the training pay directly to advancement and grades in the program, to place very heavy emphasis on the economic aspects of the jobs which they are being trained for and to teach these men to choose and discriminate between jobs in terms of their economic dimensions.

Since participation in modern consumption norms is probably more of a family than an individual affair perhaps thought should be devoted to ways of getting the wives to want a modern standard of living, for example, through the use of free cooking classes which utilize modern kitchen equipment, a technique which CIO found very successful in developing a calculative orientation among textile workers of the U.S. south. Since the real meaning of involvement in modern consumption norms is that this participation is linked to self-respect and to social status, the norms must be shared by the community in which the worker is living, and the education in these norms must therefore be carried to the community. If the community were persuaded to accept these norms it would have the added advantage of

giving the people a flexible mental attitude which makes them amenable to social and technological change. This latter point is discussed at more length in the section on mobility.

RESOCIALIZATION

Training, as we have already indicated, can be conceptualized in a number of different ways: as learning skills, as the learning of roles, as reform, as conversion and we would suggest here as resocialization. Each of these approaches changes the scope and emphasis of retraining and draws upon a different body of materials. The concept of resocialization views this process as one of detaching the person from one kind of society and integrating him into another. It lays stress on the idea that the person will, when he is first contacted, be used to and oriented to ways of thinking and acting which adapt him to the society in which he is found. He will have a conception of himself as a person with certain rights and obligations linked to that society. In resocialization he must come to think of himself as another person with his rights derived from and his obligations to another society. Typical adult resocialization experiences are the entry into monastic orders, the training for professions. In each of these cases an effort is made to strip away the old person and build a new one. For example, in a study of a coast guard academy the cadets were by regulation sharply cut off from the old society, from their old clothing, from communication with their friends and families, from their previous sources of status such as money. They were in

effect made the same, stripped of their old self conceptions, and forced, in order to gain self respect and security, to begin to think of themselves as new kinds of persons, i.e., coast guardsmen.

Clearly our training program cannot force its candidates into such drastic and traumatic experiences. Yet at the same time, to a limited degree, this is exactly what must happen, particularly to the hard core unemployed. What lessons can we learn then from studies of resocialization? Attention must be given to the problems of detachment and attachment. Detachment may not be necessary if the community (and we use this term to refer to the family, friends and institutions in which the recruit is involved) maintains values congruent with those of the work world into which the recruit will be placed. Of course the chances are that if the recruit is one of the hard core unemployed his community will have developed a counter culture antagonistic to the values of the work world, in which case either he must be detached from this culture, or the culture itself must be changed, i.e., the community reformed.

Presumably if the recruit has entered the program he is willing to change in some ways (though he may not know what he has to give up). He is thus expressing some dissatisfaction with the old patterns and an involvement with new ones. Since studies show that even slum delinquents who have developed a powerful counter culture still aspire to middle class values, presumably so will the hard core unemployed. To the extent, then,

that the recruits form a group or community they will support each other in these values. This result could be reinforced possibly by giving them valuable special privileges such as consumer goods and special recreational activities and by involving their families in middle class spending patterns.

The term socialization refers to training which includes the normative orientations, skills, and motivations for effective participation in a new society. An examination of the literature on socialization and resocialization provides the student with abundant reasons why the recruit might resist the process and why such programs can fail,but provides very little understanding of why they get what success they do. Thus we can learn much about the way in which the culture outside the program and the previous identities of the recruit, sometimes called latent cultures and latent identities, make him resist socialization. We find little information about the incentives to growth and change. Presumably, the change and growth occurs because it provides the person with access to the rewards of his society; particularly the rewards of social status, of prestige and self esteem. But, for this to happen these rewards must seem <u>possible</u> to the recruit and instilling this hope may be one of the major problems of the retraining program.

ANTICIPATORY SOCIALIZATION

People usually come to new ventures with some expectation about what they are going to experience. In a sense they prepare themselves for acting in the new situation by learning what they think they will have to

know, by imaginative rehearsal of the roles they think that they will have to play, by setting up psychological defenses against difficulties that they will have to endure. They have what social psychologists call a "definition of the situation".

This is of importance to retraining in terms of how the program gets defined in the community; its aims, its value to the participants, etc. This definition will be a product of who is giving out information about the program and of course what they are saying. It will also be a product of who enters the training program and what their experience has been.

It is impossible to meet all these contingencies but knowledge of their existence makes it imperative that close attention be given to a public information program, to keeping the opinion leaders of the community informed, and most of all making certain that when the program begins the first recruits be both respected in the community and good prospects for retraining. A program which is first aimed at the poorest prospects seems destined for repudiation and failure. If the first men to be retrained are respected and if they succeed this will give the program a good reputation. It will also facilitate the training program because subsequent recruits will come with cooperative attitudes.

It is also important that the program provide some immediate as well as long range rewards. We have already suggested the need for ways of involving the recruit in modern consumption norms. Here we would suggest

that both needs can be met by making acceptance into the training program itself of immediate consumption value, for example, providing the recruit and his family with immediate access to subsidized consumer goods and recreational facilities. These will not in themselves make the program a success, but they will be a step towards solving the needs of training in modern consumption norms and immediate rewards. To really succeed the program must get the reputation of delivering a good job and being the kind of thing a respectable member of the community can and wants to participate in.

SIMULATED WORK SITUATIONS

To the degree that this is a resocialization process, it must be recognized that what is being set up is a people-processing and not a product-processing organization. To this extent then the training program cannot be a microcosm of the work world for which the men are being trained. For example, the whole process of decision making will be different in the two worlds. At work, decisions will and should be made relative to the product and to the production process. Even where these decisions concern the workers, for example in questions concerning worker morale, decisions are made on the basis of their effect on the production process immediately or in the long run. In training, decisions must be focussed on the worker and how he is learning, and the needs of production must be subordinated to this end. If the difficulty or pace of the work is discouraging the trainees, the process must be slowed and the work made more easy. It implies disrespect

for the work and will give the trainee a maladaptive orientation to product and process.

Some believe that schools are unnecessary as retraining institutions and have such drawbacks as those we have just discussed in that they are people rather than product-processing organizations. On-the-job training or factory-located education is considered by certain people to be preferable. Of course, workers do learn in a real work setting IF THEY ARE HIGHLY MOTIVATED TO DO SO. But a trainee with low motivation in on-the-job training who gets disciplined for slacking, or fired for being late is more likely to be alienated from work than trained to do it.

RETRAINING AS MOBILITY

Sociologists have identified three kinds of mobility, which they call technical, geographical, and social. In the first case, the person moves from one technology and/or set of technical skills, into another; in the second from place to place; in the third, from one social environment to another, normally up or down through the whole social class structure.

Retraining involves at least one and in many cases all of these kinds of mobility. If the retraining is successful, the worker is given a new set of skills. He is therefore technically mobile. If he takes a job in another area, it involves geographical mobility and if, by all this, he has been upgraded or down-graded, it involves social mobility. Thus, in a vital sense, retraining makes mobility possible, and therefore we can apply what is known about the barriers to or incentives for mobility to retraining.

First, however, some attention should be given to the general mobility setting. North America is an area where man is marked by his mobility. Those who are upwardly mobile are considered successful, and those who are immobile or downwardly mobile are failures. Therefore, a man measures himself by his mobility. It is true that the mobility he measures himself by is social mobility, but this is intimately linked to both technical and geographical mobility. In a sense, mobility is part of the dreams of men, a way in which they measure the meaning of existence, and an instrument by which they shape their self-conceptions. But it is also a fundamental part of the work world in which a man participates. In this other sense, not only is retraining a kind of mobility in itself, but it must take cognizance of the needs and capacities for these kinds of mobility on the part of the worker who is being trained. Not only is mobility an integral part of the value system of workers in North America, it is actually a part of their experience. Most men change jobs and move geographically at least twice and sometimes much more often during their work careers. Thus, their capacity for adapting to new places and new jobs is part of their capacity for being successful at work. Not only do men move, but in moving most of them state that they feel they are bettering themselves and getting ahead, that is, they feel they have a subjective sense of mobility. Thus, in still further ways, the environment of work is a mobile environment, in which men measure themselves against their mobility and consider themselves successes or failures. The work of being retrained is retraining for work in this kind of environment.

More important than this environment, however, is the fact that the experience of retraining is itself a kind of mobility. Workers being trained experience a change in organizational frames moving from one kind of institutional and community context, through another into still a third. Thus from their perspective they are mobile, or you might say change is going on around them. In the sense that they experience this change, their successful participation in it should follow that of the ways in which other kinds of change have been successfully introduced. Here, it has been demonstrated that the successful introduction of change in organizations requires that the workers be involved in planning and executing the change and that they understand the reason for it. Comparisons made of groups of workers in the same factory involved in the same change, show that those who have been indirectly consulted and who understand it thoroughly, are dedicated to it and enthusiastic about it, whereas those who have not been consulted do not understand it, and show very strong negative reactions. They will not be committed to the new forms.

To the extent that retraining can be seen as technological change, and certainly it is experienced as such by the workers, we may assume that the trainees should be involved in planning this change in their experience, and should thoroughly understand the reasons for it and its consequences for them in their lives.

Studies of social mobility in the community will reveal a number of things about the way in which workers react to mobility. Where the mobility is technical, that is where it involves the appearance of change in the technology, and in any case, of enforced change, workers tend to resist the change taking place. They feel that it threatens the stability of their employment, and when this happens they tend to withdraw to their own groups, to be suspicious of the new event, and the people outside them. Evidently, the more insecure the worker is in his sense of his place in the world, the more resistant he is to almost any kind of mobility - technical, geographical, and in fact, curiously enough, even social mobility.

Workers seem to accept mobility when they are optimistic about the future. If they feel that changes which are taking place are likely to improve their lot in life, then they become favourably disposed towards modernization. They become willing to accept technological change, to experience geographical mobility, and of course, even eager for various kinds of mobility.

Looking at these last two findings, it would seem that workers involved in retraining should feel that they are experiencing a voluntary change, rather than an enforced change, and that the change which is taking place will definitely improve their position in life. We have suggested elsewhere, that this can be done by various forms of immediate reward upon entering the training system and by the absolute assurance of a good job at

the end of training. We would also add here that the way the workers feel about this will also depend on what their families, friends, and other people in the community say about this change. If it is thought by everyone to be a good thing, then they will be favourably disposed towards it; then they will be willing to open their minds to new ideas, new techniques of doing things, new places to live. This would seem, however, to be a very difficult idea to communicate in communities composed largely of hard core unemployed, who have had the experience of finding change punishing, and might therefore be likely to be suspicious of these new changes.

We would conclude our discussion of mobility by noting that in our estimation the most important factor is to find some way of involving if possible the whole community, but certainly the recruits, in the change which the recruits are going to experience, before it occurs. Committees to discuss the training techniques, the kinds of jobs to be trained for, the payment system, the reward system, the placement system, the selection system, should prove advantageous to an attitude which is favourable toward this extreme type of personal mobility. Secondly, we would again suggest what we have noted elsewhere: the tremendous importance of defining this retraining program as having positive results - results which are favourable to the future prospects of the recruits. It is necessary that the first recruits be successful and, if possible, that they have jobs and reap rewards quickly. The program organizers should define the whole program to the community in

very favourable terms, by involving the wives and children of the trainee in appropriate sub-classes and training programs, so that whole families are caught up in their orientation toward the future.

ROLE PERSPECTIVES ON RETRAINING

Social roles refer to the parts men play in the human dramas in which they are involved. They are akin to the parts in a play which can be filled by many actors, each of whom may give his own interpretation but must also be guided by the script. In society the script is formed from tradition and the expectations of the social group.

Men play roles in each of the groups and institutions in which they participate, such as the family, the school, and the work place. They must learn what is expected of them as students, employees, or union members and presumably the more roles that they play, the greater the skill they acquire as role players.

A man on a job must therefore play a role, and the demands made on him as a role player will vary from job to job. How well he will be able to play his work role will depend on how familiar he is with its contents, and on the amount of experience he has had in playing different roles.

Work viewed in terms of the social role it involves thus includes more than technical skills. It includes the social relationships involved in the role set such as the relationship to the foreman, the shop

steward, the superintendent, fellow workers, and technical specialists such as personnel men. It also includes the capacity to understand the demands of the institutions in which the job is set, such as the office or the factory, and the union. The capacity to smoothly interact in these multiple relationships, understanding the expectations emanating from each and the proper way to adjust your behaviour to each, along with the capacity to understand how one fits into the institutions in which the job is involved, is a very complex one and not easily learned. Furthermore, different jobs will require different role playing skills, some being involved in persuasion, some in giving orders, some in fitting into teams, etc.

Viewed in this perspective, it can be seen that a job is a complex social phenomenon which men learn slowly and for which some obviously have much greater talent and skill than others. The perspective is a significant one for retraining since by definition men who need retraining do not have the skills necessary to fit into the modern labour force. Ordinarily they will have had either maladaptive or very impoverished role experiences. For example, farmers tend to work alone, to seldom give orders and to have a very limited number of different role relationships, none of which involves fitting into a modern institutional system. If they are to fit into a modern labour force, they will have to acquire many new role playing skills and knowledge of the contents of new work roles as well as the technical skills involved in these roles. It is very possible that the notorious difficulty in

getting the hard core unemployed involved in retraining programs arises from their sense of role inadequacy.

Seen in this way retraining involves at least three separate roles: that in which the student is involved before retraining, that involved in retraining itself, and the work role for which he is being trained. In each situation he will seek and find some rewards and some justification for self. At each stage he will play several roles such as husband, father, friend, etc. It is important to recognize that unless there is some compatibility between the demands made on him in terms of these different roles and the status (or prestige) which he acquires from them he will suffer conflict or strain and tend to abandon the role that is incompatible, or enact it poorly.

ROLE PLAYING SKILLS

We begin with the person to be retrained and ask about his attachment and skills. What roles is he presently involved in, in what ways do they attach him to other people, what rewards does he obtain from playing these roles, what role playing skills and experience does he have? Thus we ask questions about the population to be retrained. Are they the hard core unemployed who probably have impoverished role experiences, are involved in a counter culture which rejects the incentives for work, and are burdened by emotional and physical disorders? Are they the young who have never entered the work world but lack commitments to any other? Are they the technologically displaced who have a store of role experience, and are emotionally committed

to the work world? The answers to these questions will make a great deal of difference. Where the prospect lacks role experience, he must be trained in role playing and given experience in different roles as well as the training for the work roles in which he is to be placed. Where the prospect has had role experience, the problem is to build upon his existing role playing skills, matching those skills with those of work roles which will be in demand. Ideally, the role training should be tailored to the student, to his capacities and prospects. In fact, due to practical problems and to the limited amount of knowledge about role retraining, the most that can be asked is that the teacher be aware of these differences.

The literature permits us to make a number of general assumptions about role training which can function as guidelines in constructing a training program.

A. The broadening of role experience is an important part of retraining. This means that the program should provide for and involve the student in playing a variety of different roles. To be effective these will have to be rooted in the needs of the student for control over his own fate, for the solutions of his problems, for expressive activities, for career planning. Where possible the natural informal roles which develop in the student groups should be used for this purpose, but if they do not appear they should be deliberately created. Planning and grievance committees, social clubs, even consumer clubs would all provide these kinds of experiences. Similarly students should be encouraged to

participate in community activities (with the encouragement of the community).

B. Since role playing skills are probably portable, an analysis should be made of the skills already possessed by the student and an effort made to direct him to training for work roles which utilize similar skills. This should not be confused with the specific work skills of the student, but refers to his more general social skills as would be exemplified in the capacity to give orders, to handle role conflict, to maintain highly specific and impersonal relationships with other people, etc. This is an area of great promise but little knowledge. It requires research.

C. Life prospects are what motivate a man to be retrained, while he is deterred by the social, emotional, and economic price he must pay. Thus the prospects must be good and, what is more, absolutely reliable, and the social price must be as small as possible. The most realistic way to improve prospects is to give or guarantee the job before the man is required to enter retraining, and to have successful trainees come back and talk about it. The best way to reduce the price is to make sure that the trainee role is defined as respectable by the community. It must not be embarassing to the trainee and it should be congruent with the other roles he plays as father, as a mature man, etc. The teacher-student interaction must not resemble that between an adult and child but instead that between the expert and the adult. It is critical that the staff acknowledge this and act accordingly.

D. The actor must have, or be given, those general role playing skills necessary to participation in modern society such as the capacity to work alone, to try to give the best performance, to deal with others impersonally and universally, and to stick to relevant aspects of the interaction. These, along with a sense of the importance of time, and reliability, are what Alex Inkeles calls modernization, that is, the capacity to participate in modern society. It is the highly rationalized organizational character of the modern school or factory which in fact trains men in these skills. Such training may be neglected in highly informal training programs yet it would seem essential for the hard core unemployed and under-educated young.

E. Purposive groups must contain both instrumental and expressive leaders, that is, those who will maintain discipline and make decisions and those who will maintain morale. Presumably the program staff will provide the first kind of leadership. Research findings indicate that the same people should not attempt to also play the second kind of role. If they do, they are likely to do both poorly and to suffer from considerable conflict and strain in addition. Thus the program must provide for strong expressive leadership. If experts, such as counsellors, are hired for this purpose, they should have the same status, privileges and power as the instrumental leaders. Where the students themselves provide the leaders, it may be wise to give them some official functions and support.

F. Most jobs involve some role conflict. A nationwide survey by the University of Michigan revealed that more than

50% of the workers reported that conflicting demands were made on them. Thus part of role training is the preparation for dealing with conflicting demands. Unfortunately we have no firm information as to how to do this. The most common-sense approach would be to somehow create some conflict situations either as problems or in the actual training program and to teach the worker ways of resolving them, such as giving attention only to the most important.

G. The training program must accept the fact that many of the trainees are suffering from some kind of role conflict and give attention to the ways in which they are trying to cope with it. Some may be struggling with imaginary problems, others may be using methods which aggravate rather than relieve their problems. The students will all experience some conflict between their old and their new roles, or between their student and their community roles and the successful resolution of these role conflicts will be an important part of their training. The training program must experiment with a variety of ways of involving the student in different social roles and of resolving the role conflicts he experiences.

Thus far we have stressed the problems raised by the character of the population to be given role training. The other side of the coin is the world for which they are being trained. As we pointed out earlier, the general dimensions of this world are marked by the development trends of modern society and it is this work world of the future for which we must

find the means of training our presently displaced and hard core unemployed people. Yet, we actually know very little about the social roles of which these jobs are components. We do know something of their general characteristics in highly technological, bureaucratized sectors and have already mentioned the modern man qualities necessary to their efficient performance. We know far less about the general qualities necessary to role performance in the rapidly developing service sector. This means that the training program is faced with a research problem: the analysis and description of the jobs for which the workers will be trained in terms of the social roles of which they are a part. What is needed is a typology of work roles which accentuates the skills necessary for their performance.

REWARDS

What is rewarding to one may be meaningless to another and it is important to find out what are regarded as rewards by those who are to be the recipients. Unless attention is given to finding out what is defined as a reward among the people to be trained, and to building these kinds of rewards into the training program, the chances of success will be sharply diminished. For example, there may be differences in the degree to which a job is regarded as rewarding among the hard core unemployed and the temporarily displaced. It is possible that many of the hard core unemployed do not in fact regard the kinds of jobs which they think they can get as a reward. (They may in fact earn more and have more freedom on various social

assistance programs.) They may have developed a counter culture which depreciates holding a steady job. This does not mean that there are not things which they find rewarding but simply that these things must be different.

Even punishments can cause unusual reactions among some groups. One American sociologist has noted that, among the poor, economic deprivations simply cause them to cling together and reject the world, rather than motivating them to work. Thus, a simple decrease in welfare support will not necessarily motivate the unemployed to seek work and/or retraining.

A study of what those to be retrained regard as rewarding and what they think should be rewarding, will provide clues to the costs they experience in retraining. It can be assumed that people who have been cut off from the economy and its rewards will have found other ways to make life worthwhile and maintain self-esteem. Loyalty of friendship groups and family, deference to age, physical skills, wit, etc., may offer satisfactions and give life meaning. Self respect may depend on bravery, on adherence to strong symbols of masculinity or feminity, on the adherence to traditional sex roles, etc. Retraining which will move the man out of this system will certainly require that he forego some of these rewards and there will be a cost that the trainee will have to balance against the amount and the assurance of future rewards. It is also possible that within the community, training itself may be seen as an admission of failure, as

childlike, as stupid, and possibly as degrading. Thus it is important to find out how the future trainees are being rewarded, what they will have to give up to become trainees, and how they define the training process itself. It is probably important to try and get the people to give a positive definition of retraining by first persuading those with prestige to come into the program, by trying to arrange the program in ways which do not clash with the community's value system, and by labelling the program in some euphemistic fashion (in Yugoslavia they call their retraining schools "workers' universities").

What is rewarding is relative to what one expects and feels he has a right to obtain. This in turn is defined by the groups to which one compares oneself. Ordinarily men will not go below the standards of the groups to which they think they do or should belong. An unskilled labourer may feel lucky to get a job as a watchman, whereas a clerk might see it as degrading. This suggests that it is easier to reward and motivate homogeneous training groups since their value system and reference groups are more likely to be the same.

Finally, we would note that where and when the trainees construct their own definitions of what is rewarding, the school should build its system of rewards accordingly. If cognizance is given to this possibility through close observation and consultation with the trainees, it should be possible to offer rewards that are congruent with the expectations of trainees.

CONTROL OVER REWARDS

Studies of various organizations such as hospitals, schools and prisons indicate that the authorities may lose control over the system of rewards or at least find themselves confronted with a competing system. For example, while schools endeavour to provide the rewards of promotion, good grades, a good future, etc., the students often prefer those of peer groups and allocate their time, to the detriment of their studies, to things like popularity, sports, or good dating habits, for which the peer group gives prestige. Studies of hospitals have shown that what the nurses define as good behaviour may differ sharply from that of the administrative staff. Prison studies indicate that the convicts have their own system of rewards in which even the guards become involved, a system which contravenes the formal goals of the prison. Even work groups may reward conformity to their own production norms rather than to those of the factory. Thus there is reason to believe that this sort of thing may happen in the retraining programs. It is, of course, important that these informal rewards support behaviour in line with the objectives of retraining. The literature on work groups suggests (though it certainly does not prove) that this may be achieved by involving the trainees in the planning and control of the training program, thus lining up the formal and informal organization. Constructing feedback mechanisms, such as suggestion and gripe boxes, or personal channels of communication between trainees and staff also helps.

The trainee should understand the relationship between his activities and his future. He should understand the basis for the allocation of internal rights such as training stipends and rewards, such as the first choice of jobs, if these are offered as rewards. He should also know the grounds on which his activities are being evaluated.

It simply cannot be assumed that what the staff sees as rewards will be accepted by the students. Thus it is important to find out what the student thinks he is doing in the training program. For example some may think it is necessary to maintain their welfare status and may participate for that reason rather than to obtain a job. It is therefore important to enlist the student leaders, i.e. those that they bring with them or those that turn up in the course of training, in the planning and management of the school. They must,however, be given real rather than symbolic jobs, and really be allowed to participate if this move is to be effective. It is a situation where honesty pays and dishonesty can be catastrophic.

THE MAJOR REWARD - A GOOD JOB

Finally, we would note that the most important and in fact imperative rule about retraining programs is that they assure a good job. Again and again, it has been noted in various socialization and resocialization programs like schools and prisons that if the students <u>think</u> that they will not get the rewards promised them they will turn against the

system. This idea has special significance in attempts to retrain hard core unemployed for they are bound to have lost confidence in the social and economic system and are ready to believe that they will be deceived.

Retraining programs are most effective when they guarantee jobs to the trainees. Whenever possible, the men should be hired before they enter the training program with the contract conditional on their completing the program. In one case where a retraining program tried without success to teach men to read, they learned very quickly when they were actually hired as taxi drivers, the job to start when they had learned to read. The trainees must constantly be reassured of the certainty of their jobs through contact with those who have completed the program and succeeded (an important reason for ensuring that those who first enter the program are good prospects) and by the allocation of some rewards (like increased training pay, tools, privileges, etc.) at various stages in the training program.

AUTHORITY AND INVOLVEMENT

Two major approaches to supervision have been advocated: the consultative and the directive. The consultative approach is associated with the Human Relations school, an outgrowth of the now classical Hawthorn Electric Studies. The root of this point of view is that a happy worker is an efficient worker, and that the way to make him happy is to treat him as a full human being with a concern for his feelings, aspirations,

and emotional problems. The directive approach is not represented in any "school" but subscribes to the point of view that the efficient worker is a happy worker (because he makes more money and knows that he is making a contribution).

For a long period of time the Human Relations school dominated managerial thinking. However, in the past few years there have been studies which seem to indicate that there are many circumstances in which the more authoritarian directive approach results in higher productivity. It may be that workers who are consulted are happier on the job and that because of their higher morale they will be more productive in the long run because of a lower turnover and less absenteeism. But even this argument must be considered critically since there is substantial evidence that modern workers increasingly seek for life satisfactions in their private rather than their work lives and consider their work as a means to an end.

The instrumental and expressive roles which studies of small groups show to be essential to group functioning are analogous to the directive and consultative supervisory approaches. Since both these roles are vital to social groups, it may be that both supervisory approaches are also necessary. The small group studies also show that it is almost impossible for one person to play both these roles. Evidently the chief administrator and one of his lieutenants should divide these responsibilities with the chief preferably but not necessarily playing the instrumental (directive) role. He

must, it seems, become a center for final decisions and maintain social distance from staff and students, with the exception of one member of the staff who has his ear. Thus in the hospital setting characteristically it is the chief of service who sets the tough standards for the staff, who insists on administrative efficiency, and who treats the patients in an instrumental manner, getting them off the wards as soon as they cease to be profitable. However, at the same time the good administrators will privately say that they are counting on the staff, especially the interns, to be soft hearted, to take the patient's rather than the hospital's point of view, and to try to bend the rules to patients' benefit.

While all supervisory jobs do to some extent combine these two basic orientations, unless one is clearly dominant the occupant experiences stress and is less effective. In some roles like that of teacher, it is difficult to dissociate the two, but to the extent that it can be done, provision should be made for the executive or instrumental function to be taken over by another person. Some schools assign responsibility for discipline and examinations to officers other than teachers. The teacher who plays the expressive role only is evidently more effective in involving the student in his material and more likely to become a role model for the student.

The possible conflict in roles is paralleled by possible incongruences in the prestige of different roles played by the same man.

Where it occurs it generates high stress which in turn prevents upward mobility. Where an adult is asked to be a "student", a role which may be defined by his community as appropriate to children, it will be incongruent with his other statuses, like "father", "adult", "man", etc. The consequent stress may cause the trainee to resist change and learning. The cure, as we indicate elsewhere, is to find ways to make the status of the trainee congruent with the other statuses of the person, defining his status as adult and respectable in the eyes of the community.

EDUCATION OR TRAINING

Studies of education which inform us of the relationship between the structure of the schools, learning and subsequent work experience are very few. There is, of course, a wealth of general writing on education, on curriculum, on schools and much speculation about the relationship between curriculum and career. Yet on close inspection, it is difficult to find solid studies which make explicit the effects of variations in the organization of schools and learning on a work career. Some leading observers, such as Arnold Anderson of Chicago and Harold Wilensky of Berkeley have said that the relationship between cognitive learning and occupational success is very tenuous. The well-known relationship between the number of years of education and occupational success is attributed either to the allocative and selective functions of schools or to the fact that

increasing years of education mean a deepening of reliability and dependability and that these are valued in the occupational market rather than what the student has learned.

The review of the literature on the effects of variation in the organizations of schools on learning and careers contains some directions which can be useful to a program of retraining.

1. Where there is conflict in the values of the school and those of the community in which the school is located, it is felt that the student involvement will be reduced. Presumably the student who has internalized the values of the community will find a conflict between those values in himself and those values advocated by the school, and he will have much more difficulty accepting the goals of the school program. To the extent that this is true it represents an argument for attempting to bring congruency between these two sets of values, either by trying to state the values of the educational program in terms of community values, or in terms of educating the community itself to the objectives of the school. The latter is probably the more practical route.

2. Critical parts of education, or what is learned in schools, are unintentional or unobserved. Habits, normative orientations and social skills constitute in the eyes of some observers the most important things that are learned in school. Many employers have stated that what the student learns in school is not useful to them, and that they have to retrain the students before they can fit into

the factory. Robert Dreeban has noted that some critical skills of the modern man, such as his capacity to work independently, to be achievement oriented, to deal with himself or others universalistically and specifically, are a consequence of being immersed in the kind of organization a school represents. The student, passing through the school, being put in different classes, moving from year to year, having a certain relationship to teachers and other students, in varied tracks and programs, gradually internalizes these orientations which make him a modern and adaptable man. To the extent that these ideas are true, and we would note that they are theories rather than established facts, care must be taken that new types of educational programs do not destroy or overlook these more subtle kinds of training, which may be critical for the students' adaptation to the work world.

3. Schools must face the problem of how to deal with failures. A number of researchers have noted that in a society where education becomes an increasingly critical part of life's success, those who fail in the educational system tend to be failures in their own eyes and in the eyes of others. This is destructive for the person, and may seriously maladapt him for a useful life in society. The problem then is to find a way out for the failure, so that he can take another role in which he is not a failure, for example to find a way of redefining his failure in school as a selection for another career. The retraining program, precariously poised in a community where people are dubious about it, will have to give a great deal of

attention to this problem. While we have no specific suggestions, some method of keeping the student from failing would seem vital to maintain the idea in the minds of the students and the community that the work of the school directly leads to useful and productive and rewarding positions in society.

4. Schools must be adapted to the specific community in which they find themselves: adapted in terms of objectives, in terms of program, and in terms of staff. One astute observer of the educational scene has noted that if the school is to function as an educational and training agency it will have to work directly with the materials at hand, that is the kinds of students it takes in, and with the kinds of objectives which they can reasonably strive for and using the kinds of materials which are meaningful to them. This will probably not be a problem for a retraining program, since this objective is part of the broad terms of reference of the Experimental Projects Branch. It may, however, be useful to note that the idea has been put forth very strongly with reference to the development of special slum schools in the United States.

5. To the degree that the goals of a college are explicit, it has power to affect the student attitudes. Presumably this is because where staff and students are clearly aware of and agreed upon the goals of a school or training program, it is easier for them to develop procedures setting up an effective relationship between activities and these goals, and through such an

effective relationship the students in turn become involved. For the training programs, this may require some hard thought about exactly what are the specific objectives and about the relationship between the program and these objectives. We suggest elsewhere in this report that the students themselves should be involved in this definition and in this planning because such involvement will produce a great deal more commitment and more rapid learning.

6. The more attractive the faculty, the closer is the bond between the faculty and the students, the greater the degree to which the students take the faculty as role models. Fundamentally, this is simply the "good guy" concept. If the teacher is personable and warm and likeable, the students themselves are more attracted to the subject matter, more likely to try to be like the teacher.

7. If the school is well articulated with the labour market, so that current performance is known by the student to affect future status in a specific way, then conformity with the norms and goals of the school is high. In other words, if the students can see clearly that what they are learning and doing has specific value in getting them and enabling them to hold a good job, then they will accept this, be involved with it, and they will conform. Where the students see a discrepancy between what they are doing and the future values of future status, they will tend to rebel, to develop a counter culture, and the school will experience all kinds of difficulties. Here

then, for retraining programs, we reiterate the refrain which appears again and again in our report, that the essential aspect of the retraining program is that it always results in a job.

8. Small schools provide more versatility of experience than large schools, whereas large schools provide greater opportunity for specialization. No definition is provided of what is a small school and a large school, but the basic idea behind this is that in any social environment a number of different social roles are required; where the number of people is small, each person probably has the experience of playing many of these roles or interacting with people playing them. Such an experience provides a flexible base for and makes him adaptable to new situations, it is assumed. There are many arguments for small schools and relatively small classes, but this particular argument has relevance only if the school is active in starting a range of different activities and involving the student in its own government. Then the small school makes big demands on the student and gives him wide and varied training.

As a kind of summary we would note that, among the many suggestions above, we would accentuate just a few. First, the school must deal with failures. We say this because a retraining program must not get the reputation for failure. Since some of its students must fail, ways must be found of diverting them into alternative training routes or positions, so that the sense of failure does not prevail in the school or leak out or spread into the community. Secondly, we would recommend very specifically that a

great deal of attention be given to the articulation of the retraining program with the community, with attention being given to educating the community with the values of the retraining program, and with the ways in which the procedures of the retraining program lead to success in the labour market.

RETRAINING

Our review of retraining programs is based on reports received from these programs rather than on objective reviews and studies of these programs. These reports suffered from all the disadvantages of rhetorical documents designed to account for work done and money spent. Yet they had the advantage of being accounts of real and practical experiences, of attempts to deal directly with the problem of training and retraining rather than to study it or theorize about it.

For the purposes of this report they have the advantage of focussing attention on the fundamental difference between training and retraining. They point to the critical importance of recruitment and motivation in retraining. Implicitly they also bear upon the general problem of adult socialization, or the teaching of a formed personality.

What is the difference between training and retraining? Certainly the line is not clear in the reports. Still a logical, though not a definitive, distinction can be made. Training refers to the education of those without skills or experience, and retraining to the education of experienced people who have other skills. With this distinction in mind, it is clear that

ordinarily those being trained are young and those being retrained are older. Retraining in contrast to training always involves detaching the person from previous perspectives or fixes in the skein of life, and of attaching him to new ways. The person to be retrained has presumably already had some kind of a life which he has worked out, has learned to think of himself as a particular kind of person, involved himself in social relationships appropriate to his training and found ways to justify and take pride in these orientations. He therefore has resistance to abandoning them and taking up new ones, as the process will be punishing to him. Studies indicate that whether a man can undergo this drastic process depends on how he feels about the future and the security of his present. If he is secure in the present, generally optimistic about his future and convinced that the new skills are advantageous, he learns willingly and probably efficiently. If he is insecure, the prospect of change seems to make him more insecure and he withdraws and resists.

The hard core unemployed are an extreme example of this latter case, for they are people who have been rejected by their society, discouraged by past experience, and are deeply pessimistic about the future. The evidence seems to indicate that they withdraw from involvement in modern society, accentuate non-competitive values, and may even develop a cynical counter culture denying the validity of modern work values.

To retrain these people powerful forces of change must be set into motion for they must not only be detached from one kind of involvement, they must be reinvolved in society itself.

Most of the retraining programs have not been successful in involving the hard core unemployed. Those who have tried to do so recommend that retraining should involve the trainees' families, peers, and even community. The hard core unemployed are often tied to kin, peers and community who share with them attachments so strong that the man cannot change, even in the improbable event that he is willing to do so, because of resistance from family, friends and neighbours. Since he has probably come to depend on these groups for emotional, social, and economic support, his reluctance is understandable.

We have already suggested that to retrain the hard core unemployed, they may have to become discontented with their lot and involved in a movement of political reform. Here we would suggest community redevelopment is probably an alternative and more controllable scheme. Specifically, we would suggest that retraining be preceded by a community redevelopment program (or be done only in connection with such a program) in which an attempt would be made to get the leaders among the unemployed to develop their retraining program and to demand expert assistance from the government.

In this case, the retraining program would only go forward with a deep involvement and control of the people to be retrained. It would be part of a re-education and retraining program for all sectors of the community with cooking classes for the wives designed to train them as consumers of modern appliances and in the acquisition of modern dietetic standards, and special school programs aimed at reintegrating the children in modern education aspirations, etc. The stress throughout would be on involvement with change ... the involvement of the trainees, of their families and of all members of the community. If successful such an approach would overcome the major obstacle to the successful retraining of the hard core unemployed.

We would also note that:

1. training without counselling provides skill without motivation
2. successful recruitment depends primarily upon personal contacts by staff, trainees, or past trainees with potential candidates
3. training should extend to at least 40 weeks and should be flexible enough to adapt to the different backgrounds of the trainees
4. employers and unions should be involved in planning the curriculum
5. the placement officers should be involved in the training program.

PART II

MODELS OF RETRAINING ORGANIZATIONS

Occupational retraining involves training men for work and must therefore be designed in terms of the characteristics of the trainees and the work roles for which they are trained. The discrepancy between the skills of the trainees and the skills needed for the work would be the basis for the design of the program.

We visualize retraining programs as involving four stages:

1. Recruitment - locating and motivating the trainees. Within an area where there are people who have been displaced or unemployed, it is necessary to locate those who can profit from retraining and somehow get them to apply for and be willing to be involved in the program. We have made recommendations with respect to ways of doing this. Once, however, the trainees have been recruited and motivated, we move into the second stage -

2. Assessment. This involves psychological testing to determine the aptitudes and skills, intellectual, verbal, mathematical, manual, which the worker possesses and sociological study to get at hidden skills, skills in planning, skills in interpersonal relations and skills in using authority, the capacities for independent work, etc., which show up in the social organization and pattern of life of the people.

Assessment also involves selecting the kind of work for which the person is to be trained. Finally, with the qualities of the trainee known and the job for which he is to be trained determined, it is possible to determine the appropriate program which will move the trainee from his present skill situation to the job itself, that will bridge the gap between the two sets or levels of skill. This would move us to the next stage in the retraining which is

3. Placement. It is important that the workers, if possible, be placed in a job before they actually enter the training program. In order for this to happen, a large organization such as a government bureau, a factory, a chain of stores, or a chain of filling stations, would have to hire workers provisional upon their graduation from the program. Thus the worker entering the program would have a job, would have a relationship to an employer, and would be able to see in a very definite and concrete way the relationship between his training and the work which he is expected to do. This done, the recruit begins

4. Training. Naturally, the training program will involve methods of recruitment, a particular curriculum, psychological counselling, decisions about the length of the program, job placement, organizations and so forth, all of which are essential parts of any good retraining program. Here, however, our analysis is restricted to the ways in which the program is organized. Our intention is to construct a number of decision tracks

which have consequences in terms of certain kinds of training organizations. The material is organized so that an administrator of a program can ask a sequence of questions in deciding what kind of program he wants to build or how he wants to organize his program. We will first discuss the questions and options available to the administrator and then combine them into a series of organizational models.

THE BASIC QUESTIONS

It is possible to conceptualize the development of a retraining program in terms of responses to a series of basic questions. In response to each question there are a number of options available. In each case the option chosen should depend on options which had been chosen previously and/or the training problem in hand. The sequence will result in the emergence of a number of different types of training programs.

We would suggest that the following basic questions should be asked:

A. Who initiated the training program?

B. What are the job training objectives of the program?

C. What is the relationship of the trainee to the program?

D. What pattern of authority is to be used?

E. What is the relationship of the program to the community?

F. Where should the program be located?

G. From what source should the trainees be drawn?

We shall consider each of these questions in turn, noting the options available to the administrator and the rationale for choosing each of the options. After all the questions have been discussed, we will combine the options from the different questions to isolate a few overall organizational models.

A. INITIATIVE

Ordinarily, retraining programs are started at the initiative of public agencies. Less frequently citizens from various groups are responsible for beginning these agencies, service clubs, community organizations, and so on. And finally, rarely the people concerned initiate the program in a kind of bootstrap operation. We would suggest that the real difference lies between the government initiated program and the trainee or community initiated program, so that the two options or two choices which necessarily take place are these.

B. TRAINING OBJECTIVES

Occupational retraining must be for work in stable and expanding sectors of the work world, mainly production or service. Work in these areas can be divided into three gross categories:

1. Bureaucratic work refers to jobs within either large offices of government or large industry and where the primary task is one of fitting into a rather complex, highly rationalized work system and where the basic skill is that of doing paperwork.

2. Entrepreneurial work refers to jobs in which the person is relatively independent of large organizations such as in the operation of a small business like a filling station, a snack bar, a small store, a small selling operation or a small service organization. It would include independent truck drivers, small craftsmen, people who organize a delivery service, filling station operators, etc. The core of this type of work is service. Success depends on the possession of adequate interpersonal skills, backed up by some capacity for discipline and economic planning. An emphasis on interpersonal skills would include salesclerks working for large stores.

3. Production work. Here the core of the job would lie in the possession of certain manual skills. The jobs would be those in factories. These require the classical skills of the machinist, the production worker, skilled and semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

In the design of a retraining program more than one type of work training objective may be chosen, but the program could be specialized for one option.

In addition to the skills necessary for a particular work area, all trainees would have to develop reliability and discipline. Whether the man or woman works in a bureaucracy, in an entrepreneurial job or in a factory, they have to arrive at work on time and they have to show the capacity for self-discipline. The design of the program would have to be such that these habits are instilled.

C. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE TRAINEE TO PROGRAM

We shall consider two general ways in which the trainee is related to the program. Each way involves two options.

What is the unit of training: the individual or the group?

If individual, the training should involve some kind of subject promotion scheme so that the person can enter as an individual, move through the program on his own time track and graduate when he is qualified. The choice of this option means that the program can be tailored to the particular needs of each individual and the person can move at his own pace.

If it is to be the group, cohorts of men would be admitted together, move through as classes and graduate as groups. The group can be used as a basic unit of morale. If men are admitted as groups, they support each other. If they are rewarded and punished as groups, they put pressure on each other. The group, if properly used and led, can be a very powerful unit for keeping men in the program, for keeping their interest up and for moving them through it.

Secondly, we can ask whether the trainee is a passive recipient of training or actively involved in it.

Passivity is the mode in most of the major school systems where the administration and the teachers decide what the students are going to do, how they should use their time, and examine them in terms of their acquisition of skills.

An active relationship is one where the trainees are at least partially in control of the program, its planning, execution and even grading. Many studies of the adaptation of workers to technological change, and learning experience is necessarily such an adaptation, show that the men who are involved in planning the adaptation do much better. Their morale is better. They are more enthusiastic. They are more successful, and so forth.

D. AUTHORITY PATTERNS

Three options are available to the administrator in choosing an authority pattern for the program: (1) a consultative pattern in which decisions are, so to speak, made democratically or at least after discussion with the worker, (2) a directive pattern in which there is very little discussion with the worker and the decisions flow down from the administration from the top down to the students and trainees, and (3) a mixed pattern in which both types of activities go on. In a school setting, a mixed pattern would involve the higher administration giving authoritative statements, being in charge of discipline, imposing tough standards on

everyone, whereas the teachers in the classrooms would tend to be expressive leaders involving the students, interesting them, consulting them.

E. RELATIONSHIP OF THE PROGRAM TO THE COMMUNITY

Here the administrator has two options, (1) integration with the community, or (2) isolation from the community. Presumably the integrated program would be one in which the school would be located within a community and the workers would live in the community; the teachers would live in the community. Various members of the community would be involved in the program of the school, members like labour unions, industrial leaders, political figures and so on, so that the work of the school would be very closely integrated with the work of the community itself. On the other hand, an isolated program would be one such as a work camp, like Camp Kilmer in the United States, where the workers are sent away to live in a dormitory setting in which the instructors may also live, and in which the workers are pretty effectively cut off from any community.

F. LOCATION OF THE PROGRAM

The training program or school can be located either (1) close to the destination of the trainee, that is, close to the place where work is to be found; presumably and often this would be a situation close to a large industrial city where there are many different kinds of jobs. Or the program is (2) close to the source of trainees in which case we might find a pocket of unemployed people in some area of the country and a program would move

out to them, the school built there or the program integrated into their community. The options are therefore destination or source.

G. SOURCE OF TRAINEES

The trainees can be drawn (1) from a single community or (2) from a wide area. Presumably a localized training program in a community located,so to speak,at the source of the trainees, would limit its trainees to the community in question whereas a program located at the destination of the trainees would draw people from a wide set of areas. There would be, of course, considerable relationship between the degree to which a program was specialized or generalized. For example, a program which specialized in training production workers, presumably located close to or in conjunction with a large factory complex, would be bound to draw workers from a wide area, workers who appropriately would be useful in the production area. So again, the options here are wide area or local community.

SUMMARY

Briefly then, the sets of options are as follows:

A. Initiation
   1. Government
   2. Trainee

B. Training Objectives
   1. Bureaucratic
   2. Entrepreneurial
   3. Production

C. Relationship of Trainee to Program
   1. Units of training
      a) Individual
      b) Group
   2. Participation of trainee
      a) Passive
      b) Active

D. Pattern of Authority
   1. Directive
   2. Consultative
   3. Mixed

E. Relationship of Program to Environment
   1. Integrated
   2. Isolated

F. Location of Program
   1. Destination
   2. Source

G. Source of Trainees
   1. Local
   2. General

The options are presented in the order in which they should be considered. The charts which follow indicate how a choice of one of the options affects the choice of subsequent options - the sequence of choices describing the characteristic of a particular model of a retraining organization.

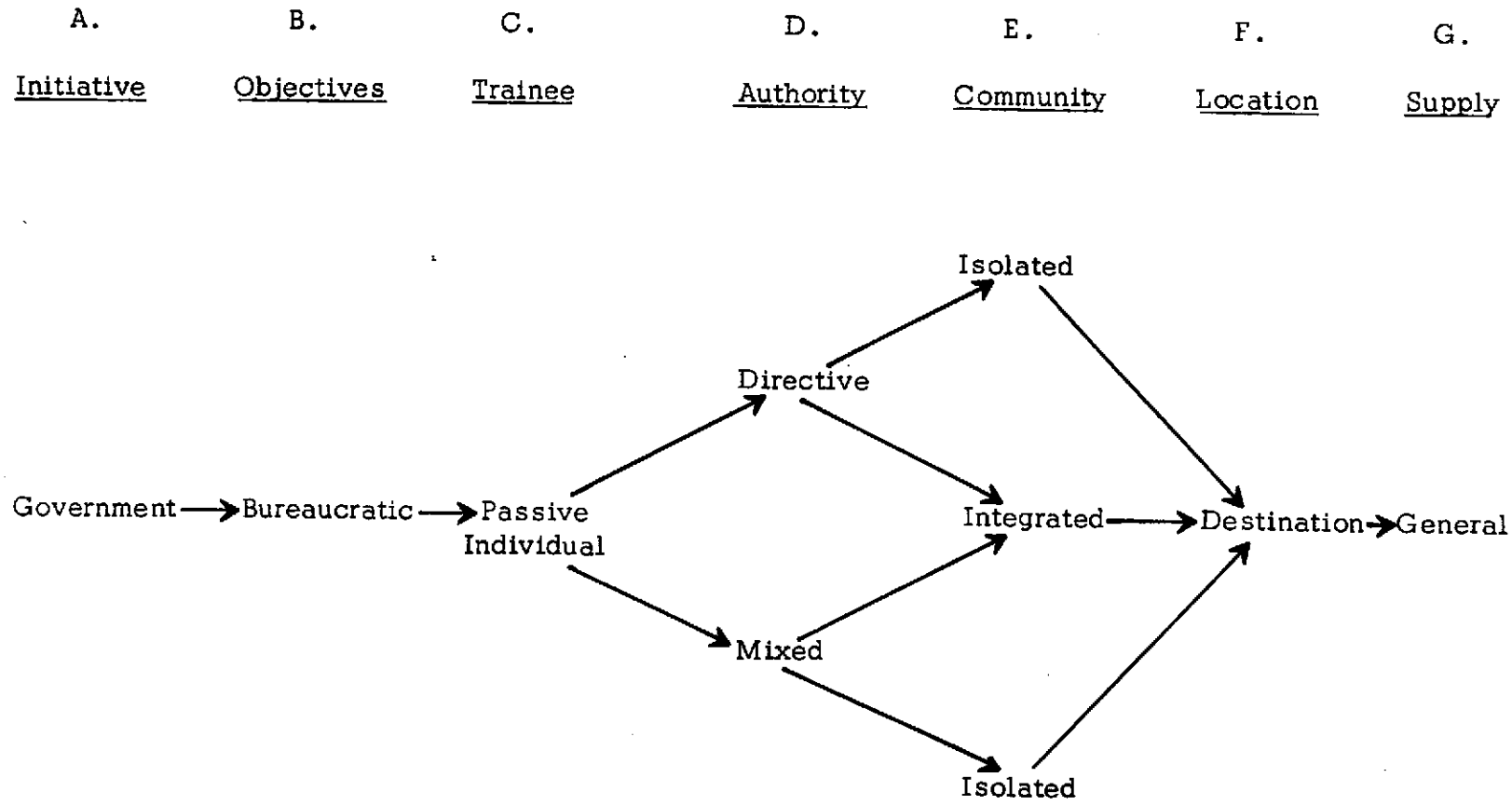
A.
Initiative
B.
Objectives
C.
Trainee
D.
Authority
E.
Community
F.
Location
G.
Supply
Government
Bureaucratic
Passive
Individual
Directive
Mixed
Isolated
Integrated
Isolated
Destination
General

CHART I

A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.
Initiative	Objectives	Trainee	Authority	Community	Location	Supply

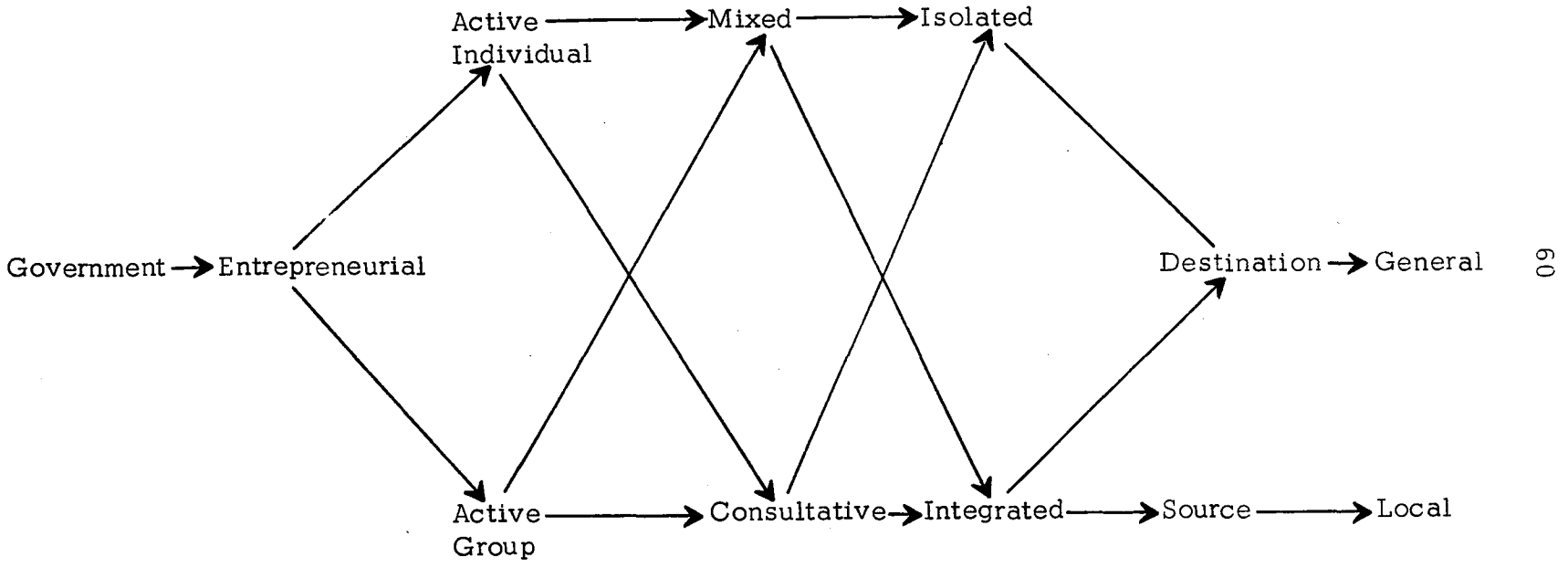

CHART II

A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.
Initiative	Objectives	Trainee	Authority	Community	Location	Supply

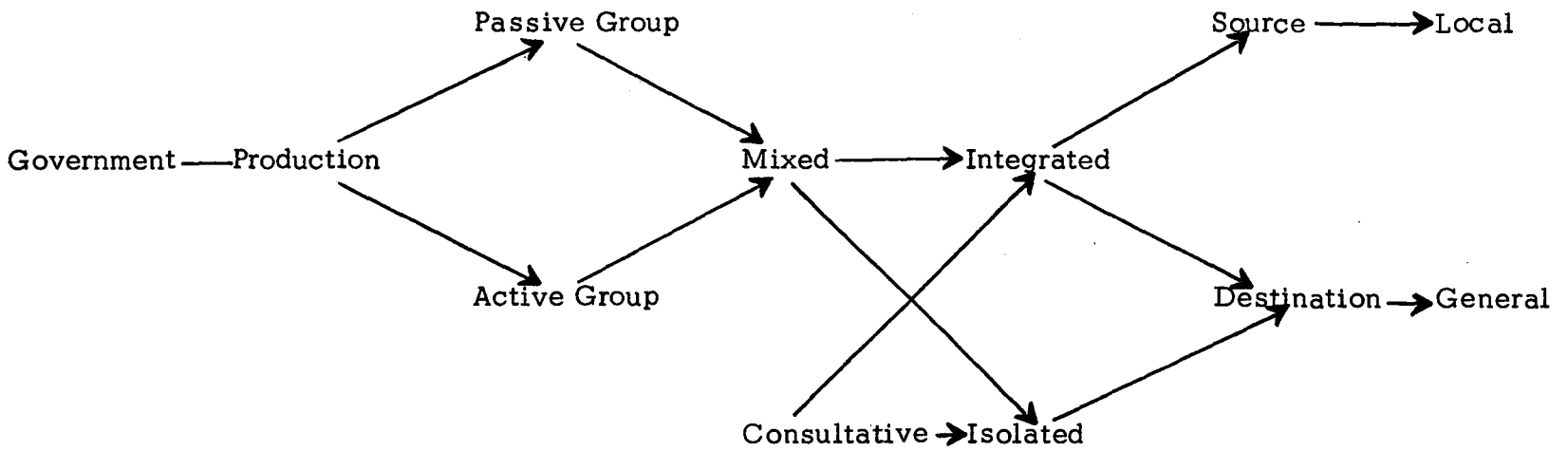

CHART III

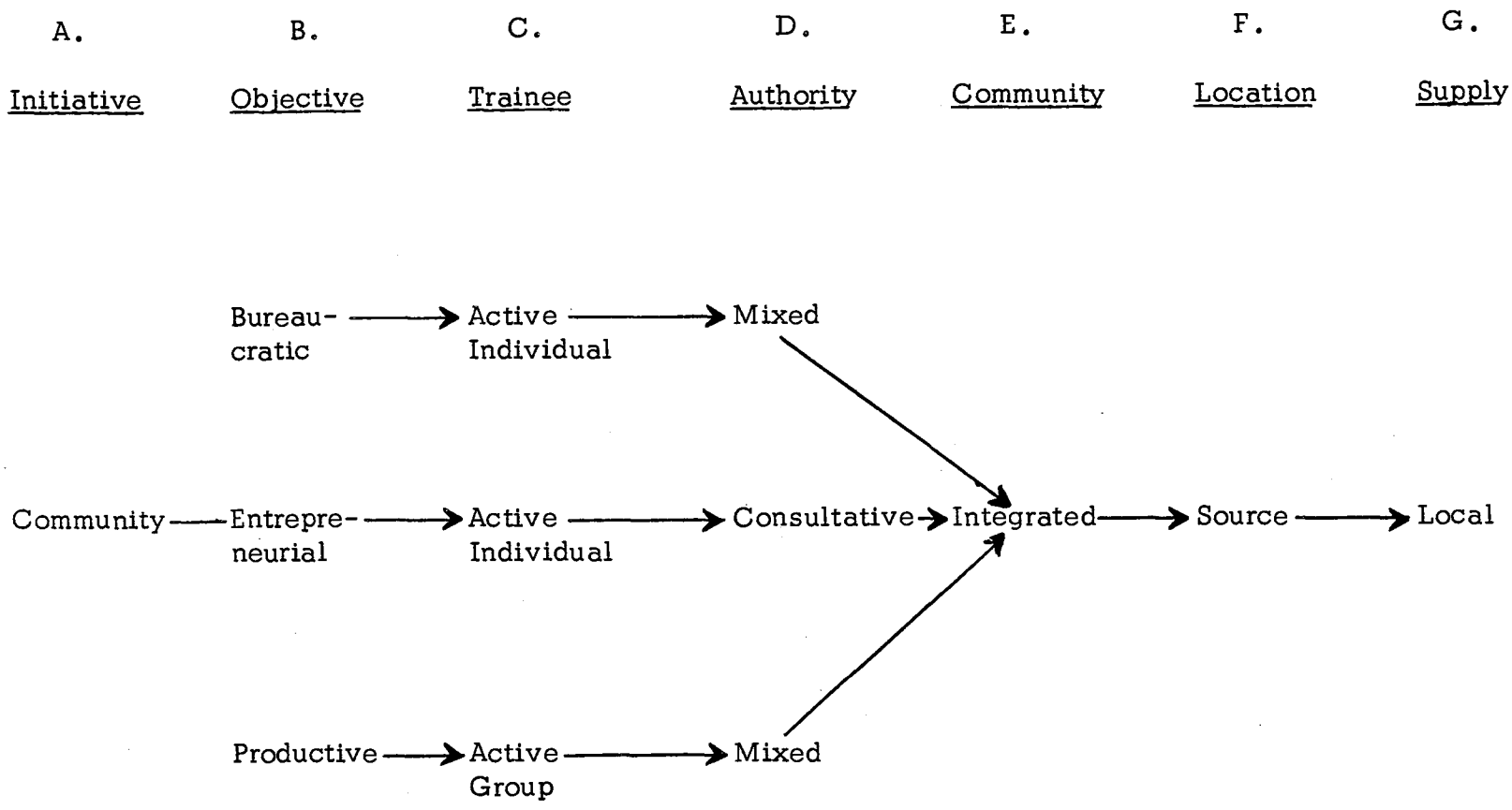
A.
Initiative
B.
Objective
C.
Trainee
D.
Authority
E.
Community
F.
Location
G.
Supply
Bureau-
cratic
Active
Individual
Mixed
Community
Entrepre-
neurial
Active
Individual
Consultative
Integrated
Source
Local
Productive
Active
Group
Mixed

CHART IV

It should be realized that the questions, the options, and the charts are meant to represent logical rather than real models of programs. Their purpose is to raise the kinds of questions which we think should be raised and to suggest a kind of order in which they should be raised. There will be other questions which must be answered even about the organization of the program, and there is a good chance that the questions can be placed in a different order. Therefore the questions and the charts should be used to stimulate thinking about the design of programs and to raise questions about the adequacy of existing designs. Hopefully they will point to the source of known problems and indicate the direction of thinking required to solve them. They certainly indicate some basic elements which must be taken into consideration in designing a retraining program. We have raised these questions and described these models only with respect to the organization of retraining programs, since what limited competence we have is in this area. We would suggest, however, that it might be profitable to conduct a similar exercise with respect to curriculum.

To illustrate just how the questions and charts should be used, we will describe what we see as two polar ideal typical retraining programs which we call the VOLUNTARISTIC and the VELLEISTIC.

The VOLUNTARISTIC program is one initiated by the people to be trained. Presumably this would happen only if they had been aroused to dissatisfaction with their condition, possibly through the work of an

animateur social or a community redevelopment worker. Further, if they did initiate the program, presumably they would want a strong voice in its planning and execution. No matter what the objective of training, since the program was initiated by the trainees, it would have to be integrated with the community; that is, they and the other people in the community would be involved in it, it would have to be located in the community of the trainees, and would probably have to be restricted to people from that community. All VOLUNTARISTIC programs should have these characteristics.

A VOLUNTARISTIC-BUREAUCRATIC program would have as its unit of training active individuals (active because in any voluntaristic program they would be bound to be active, individuals because people who expect to work in the bureaucratic setting function as individuals rather than as members of groups); its pattern of authority would be mixed or directive since this again would be the kind of authority situation they might expect in a bureaucratic setting.

A VOLUNTARISTIC-ENTREPRENEURIAL program would have as its unit of training active individuals because to be a successful entrepreneur the person has to be able to act on his own initiative and to function independently; the preferred pattern of authority would be consultative because this would be an additional stimulus to and training for independent action.

A VOLUNTARISTIC-PRODUCTIVE program would have as its unit of training active groups on the assumption that the trainees would insist on being active, and that in factories they would be parts of work groups and should become accustomed to working that way. They would have a mixed pattern of authority since this is often the pattern in good industrial shops.

The most extreme departure from and antithesis to these programs would be a VELLEISTIC program; that is, one initiated by the government, oriented to training for bureaucratic work. The unit of training would be the passive individual, taught in a relatively authoritarian school, isolated from the community, located near the jobs for which the people were being trained (a government or industrial city), and drawing its students from a wide area.

VOLUNTARISTIC programs would probably be in towns in depressed areas with teachers and students coming from that local area, and possibly with the training being directed towards jobs to become available as a result of economic redevelopment. This is the type of program which would have to await the right conditions but which might well be the most and possibly the only successful way of retraining the hard core unemployed in depressed areas. However, should these conditions prevail, they would be relatively easy to recruit people into, and training should proceed smoothly. Their major difficulty would come from their frequent remoteness from work

opportunities, and from opposition from local political authorities who would fear losing control.

The extreme VELLEISTIC program would be represented in a work camp located near a source of jobs. It would be organized like a small university with a variety of schools, dormitories, recreation centers, etc. It would be completely under the control of highly trained professionals. Its advantage would be that of creating a total environment, and its capacity to train people for many different types of work. Students would arrive individually, be tested and then located in the school and at the level for which they were suited. They would proceed through the school on some kind of a subject promotion scheme and graduate when they were qualified. The major difficulty would be in recruitment, since going to the school would mean uprooting people from their old and protective ways and associations even before they had had the new experience of retraining.

FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS ON THE UNIT OF TRAINING

Ordinarily the unit of training is the man or woman who becomes the trainee. But there is no logic or advantage to such restriction. The unit of training can be the person, the family or the community, and there are advantages to each. While there is only one general dimension in which the administrator has an option, it should be realized that both persons and families can be treated as groups.

The person as a unit of training implies that trainees are admitted individually and follow some kind of subject promotion scheme. This involves complicated administrative procedures, but is adaptable to a very heterogeneous training population, and to a highly centralized training system in which the trainees are drawn from a wide area and placed in jobs over a wide area.

The family can be a unit for training in the sense that each of the members takes part in some training and the family as a group may be socialized to a new way of life in a specialized community. The most important advantage of this neglected approach is that by training both the husband and the wife for the labour force, the income of the family can be raised high enough to propel them into the modern consumption economy. This will provide the set of attitudes, the flexibility, and the motivation to keep them employed.

The community becomes the unit of training where a complete community redevelopment program is attempted. Retraining then is simply part of a larger program of training, organization, and economic uplift. In cases where the people to be trained are part of an isolated and clearly delimited cultural group, this may be the most efficient approach.

PART III

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations which follow are addressed to the administrators of experimental retraining schools or programs designed for the hard core unemployed. They may be impractical since they are based either on theory or on research findings rather than on practical experience. This was deliberate and we hope advantageous since we assume that the men on the line or in the head office of these programs will have had such practical experience or taken a long hard look at other programs. They will be familiar with the findings of practical experience, aware of the deficiencies of this experience and looking for alternative models to experiment with. Our purpose is to provide wherever possible such alternative approaches, or at least to provide information which confirms or refutes ideas arising from practical experience.

The dual problem is to find out how to train men in the developing areas of work and, at the same time, to get them a job. This means that, although it will probably be more difficult to train men in and perhaps to find them jobs in the new areas, this is exactly what an experimental retraining program must discover how to do.

The preceding review points to five very general but widely supported ideas or rules about the development of retraining programs. These

rules as well as the recommendations which follow should be used in combination with the organizational models just presented.

1. Train in those skills needed in developing areas of work rather than those of work likely to become obsolescent.
2. Train for work careers with the idea that a man will have many and hopefully related jobs.
3. Make certain that he has work upon graduation and preferably a job guaranteed before he enters training.
4. Retrain as part of a community development program.
5. Find some way of involving the trainees in modern consumption norms, for this will motivate them to learn.

Rules of such generality can, of course, only provide landmarks for the development of training programs. Yet because they are general does not mean that they can be overlooked. Quite the contrary, we firmly believe that a successful retraining program must be guided by all five of them.

With these five rules in mind we will now turn to a more detailed set of recommendations. These are divided into three general parts which correspond to the community background, the present program or school, and the future work world.

THE COMMUNITY BACKGROUND

The man to be trained is rooted in a community, sharing its values, and attached to its members and institutions. Thus the community

defined in terms of his kin, his friends and neighbours, and the leaders of the institutions in which he is involved, will powerfully influence his entry into the retraining program, as well as the degree to which he becomes involved in and succeeds at the program. The more that this is a community of the hard core unemployed, the more influential it will be. Thus the retraining program must give very serious attention to the community and the specific recommendations we make with respect to the community are intended to provide foci for this attention.

More important than any other recommendation is that already presented among our five general rules, namely that retraining should be a part of a community development program. This means that, if possible, retraining should come as a result of a demand on the part of the people in the community, that they should guide this program that they participate in, and that the retraining should be accompanied by other educational and action programs which make the new values and orientations prized by the entire community. Retraining thus becomes rooted in the group, in the institutional structure and the culture. This would materially improve its chances of success.

Presumably if this first recommendation is followed, the others are observed more easily. They are, however, important in themselves. They are listed below with explanations where necessary.

1. A study should be made of the values, the activities rewarded and the kinds of rewards given in the community.

   A sociological or anthropological field worker can provide this information by observation and interview. It will provide the administrator with an understanding of what rewards particular students would have to give up when going into retraining, and with an awareness of the ways in which the role of trainees will be defined by the community.

2. The community should be educated in the objectives and techniques of retraining. It should be "sold" in terms of the values of the community, or they should be persuaded of such new values as are necessary to the success of the program.

3. Recruitment should be done through personal contacts by the centre staff or students, and care should be taken that all those admitted should be able to complete the training, and that those first admitted be excellent candidates and, if possible, admired in the community. This consideration will insure the "success" of the program in the eyes of the community and give it a good reputation.

4. The recruits should be studied to determine their attachments or involvements, statuses, and role playing skills. This information will be useful in understanding how they react to various experiences, and in placing them in homogeneous status as well as homogeneous skill groups, thus facilitating their training.

5. Both employers and unions should be involved in the devising and operation of the program, because they are knowledgeable about the work world and because they are its gatekeepers.

THE PROGRAM OR SCHOOL IN ACTION

There is no "formula" for the best type of school or program. It must always be adapted to the kind of community in which it must function, adapted to the needs of those people, organized so as to take advantage of their frames of reference. Our "rules" must be interpreted very flexibly. With this in mind we first make four critical recommendations. The first is almost axiomatic among thinkers in the field, namely that the program must provide assured and adequate jobs upon graduation, and if possible, upon entry into the training program. Then, following from this, our second critical recommendation is that care must be taken to make sure that the student sees a clear connection between what he is learning and the job he is to get. Thirdly, the students should be involved in the design and execution of the program. This idea flows from studies of the acceptance of change and of mobility (both of which the retrainee is experiencing) which show that both are more easily accepted when the worker is involved in their plan and execution. Fourthly, the program must avoid failures, for these are a threat to its capacity to deliver the job. Thus only those with a capacity for success should be accepted into the program. If, despite this, certain trainees seem likely to fail, they should be "selected" for alternative and less demanding careers which must have been provided for.

Less critical, but well worth attending to, are the following recommendations:

1. Rewards should be given in stages such as upon the completion of courses.

2. These can be used to instill the "calculative orientation" as characteristic of adaptable workers in boring, repetitive jobs. This can be done by literally paying the student for everything he does, with greater pay for greater learning, and by teaching him to examine alternative jobs with this calculative perspective.

3. Care should be taken to find out what school program activities the trainee sees as rewarding, and what the training itself means to him. For example, do the students consider it more important to be accepted by the others or to get good grades and do they see the two objectives as incompatible? Do the students see retraining as just another way to get welfare, or as a way to get a good job? The answers to these questions cannot be taken for granted and can vary from class to class and school to school.

4. An effort should be made through public relations with the community to help the student avoid role and status conflict by attaching positive labels to the program and to the student role. Still, despite these efforts, he is almost certain to experience some conflict and counselling should be provided to help him understand and deal with this conflict. Here we would add that: training without counselling may provide skills without motivation.

5. The goals of the retraining program, including the specific effects it is expected to have on the student, should be made explicit to the trainee. Evidently, this helps him become involved in the program and motivates him to learn.

6. The program should provide as much versatility of social experience as possible. This will provide the trainee with the flexibility of role playing skills necessary to make him adaptable to the modern work world. This can be accomplished by a variety of different activities and responsibilities given to the students such as clubs, newspaper, advisory committees, etc.

7. The administration should contain both instrumental and expressive roles, with the top administrator playing the instrumental roles and maintaining social distance from all of the staff except one person, and the teachers playing expressive roles. This pattern should be supplemented by counsellors (expressive roles) and possible student leadership along both lines.

THE FUTURE WORLD OF WORK

The objective of all training and retraining programs is to get and keep the man in the labour force, putting him in the job where he is most needed. Ordinarily this involves a very practical decision about the kinds of jobs these men can be put into and the design of a training program to get them there. An EXPERIMENTAL retraining program is a horse of a different colour. Its problem is to learn how to retrain men for jobs of the future in which they will be needed when the results of the experiment are put into practice. This then involves an analysis of the labour force to determine which kinds of jobs will be available five or ten years from now (what sections of the work world are expanding) and the discovery of how to retrain men for these kinds of jobs, a task which is immensely more difficult than simple training or retraining. The chances are that the available jobs in the type of community in which men need retraining are jobs that soon may be obsolescent and that are certainly different from those opening up in the labour market. An experimental training program must avoid the temptation of training men for these accessible jobs. We cannot stress this point too much.

Thus we recommend that THE EXPERIMENTAL RETRAINING PROGRAM CONFINE ITSELF TO TRAINING MEN FOR JOBS IN THE EXPANDING SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY.

Secondly, we would notethat the rapidity of change in the work world requires that a man be prepared for a great deal of technical and probably geographical mobility. In the future, when what has been learned by the experimental retraining program is to be applied, this need for mobility should be even greater. To meet this contingency, we make our second recommendation which is that ATTEMPTS BE MADE TO RETRAIN MEN FOR WORK CAREERS RATHER THAN FOR JOBS, THUS STRESSING CORE SKILLS, BASIC EDUCATION, AND ROLE ADAPTABILITY.

We would note that the world of work is never an easy one, and certainly not for those who have become discouraged by past failures. Part of the difficulty for every man lies in his discovery that reality is not what it seemed in school, and that the demands made on him in any job are either conflicting or in conflict with the demands made on him in his other roles. Trainees should be prepared for this "reality shock" and this role conflict. Thus we recommend that the training programs provide a tough appreciation of the difficulties of the work world, and some experience in handling role conflict while at school.

Finally, we would note that in writing these recommendations we are very much aware of the old adage that "those who can, do, and those who can't, teach" and humbly wish those who do, GOOD LUCK.

PART IV

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The source for most of the ideas covered in this paper has been a series of literature reviews made by my research assistants. They constitute separate reports and are as follows:

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