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The Community Involvement Program: Social Service as a Factor in Adolescent Moral and Psychological Development

F. C. Corbett
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THE COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT PROGRAM: SOCIAL SERVICE AS A FACTOR

IN ADOLESCENT MORAL AND PSYCHOSOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

by

F. C. Corbett

Submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education, University of Toronto, 1977.
ABSTRACT

The Community Involvement Program is a one-year high school program the aim of which is to lead students to a commitment to the solution of social problems by a combination of direct experience in social service and a classroom component in which to reflect critically on their experience. This thesis studies the effects of participation in the program on the moral and psychosocial development of adolescents.

The first chapter argues for social reform as an aim for education and describes one proposal for accomplishing that aim, the proposal out of which the Community Involvement Program emerged. Some of the underlying theoretical assumptions of the program in the area of social, developmental, and educational theory are explicated.

Chapter 2 argues that our current conception of adolescence, with its enforced isolation from the world of adults and from the social problems of that world, is psychologically crippling and socially wasteful and must be changed. The most productive direction for change is to involve the young in social service. The bulk of the chapter is a comprehensive review of the research on previous programs which have followed this direction. The chapter concludes with two hypotheses concerning the effects of the program on the psychosocial development of the young.

The nature of commitment as an educational goal is analysed in Chapter 3. As well, there is a consideration of what social service agencies might be able to contribute to such commitment and of the dangers in placing the young in such institutions. The chapter concludes with research hypotheses in the area of commitment and moral development based on the previous analysis.
Chapter 4 describes in detail the two years of the Community Involvement Program, both the work experience and in-school components, which are the treatment in this study. It is particularly stressed that the nature and aims of the in-school component changed from a teacher-directed concern with commitment to the solution of social problems to a student-centered concern for self-directed personal growth through reflection on experience.

Chapter 5 describes the research design used in each year. Since commitment had been conceived as a way of life based on a moral choice, a configuration of test measures was used to try to tap the moral underpinnings of commitment. In the second year of research the interest shifted from an attempt to measure commitment to a concern with psychosocial development, so a new test measure was selected. In each year the research was based on a pre-test/post-test design using a comparison group.

The findings are reported in Chapter 6. The results from the first year show mostly small, nonsignificant changes. However, certain patterns emerge: the Community Involvement students become more positive about human nature, show slight increases in level of moral reasoning, and shift from valuing independence to valuing team membership. In the second year the Community Involvement students showed large and significant gains on the personality measure, especially in the areas of Emotional and Task Competence. It was also found that previous volunteer experience had a positive influence on what the student gained from the program. Furthermore, those students whose work involved service to individuals rather than group leadership were influenced more in the direction of commitment to the solution of social problems. Two sets of case studies of individual students close the chapter.

The final chapter provides a brief overview of the thesis, drawing together the major findings and providing suggestions for further research.
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That schools should be prime agents in the cause of social reform is an idea with a long and notable history among social theorists, appearing in the works of such diverse figures as Plato, Rousseau, John Dewey, and B.F. Skinner. Furthermore, in some parts of the world, notably in the U.S.S.R. and in China, the idea has had an enormous impact on the practice of education. But its impact on North American schooling has been slight. Social problems appear infrequently in the curriculum and are then treated with the same academic detachment as mathematics or grammar problems. Our schools have been concerned to ensure that the young adapt to the status quo, not to ensure that they become principled adults, active and skilled in the solution of social problems.

Why should schools take social reform as a central focus for the curriculum? In the first place, schools have tended to embody the values of their society and mirrored in miniature its attitudes to and forms of power and authority. No schooling, no matter how devoted to "neutral" training in cognitive or other skills, can avoid such socialization. On the other hand, societal problems are also to a large extent a function of a society's values and its power structure. For example, poverty could be quickly solved, but at the cost of the present accumulation of pools of wealth available for "progress" and raising the standard of living; not only would such values have to be changed, but the wealthy (and the not quite wealthy) would have to give up their power and privileges. Schools are implicated in perpetuating social problems to the extent that they habituate the young to
society's values and structure.

This line of argument has taken on more urgency and power in the light of recent analyses of the logic of our current social situation and of the direction in which that logic seems to be propelling us. One such analysis is Robert Heilbroner's *An Inquiry into the Human Prospect*. Let us look briefly at only one line of argument pursued by Heilbroner. Our current way of life is based on an ethos of growth and rising expectations; the energy and material to fuel this growth are taken from the natural environment. However, the environment is methodically and with increasing acceleration being consumed: the most optimistic estimates based on the rising curve of consumption give us no more than one hundred years before these resources will be completely and irrevocably consumed. But long before this period societal tensions will increase; capitalism has always satisfied the demands of the poor for a greater share of the economic benefits by increasing production to give everyone an absolute rise in wealth - in the face of dwindling resources, this will no longer be possible. On an international scale, the desperation and rising expectations of Third World countries coupled with the increasing availability of nuclear arms foreshadow scenarios in comparison with which current acts of terrorism will seem childishly easy to handle.¹

Based on this analysis, I would advance two arguments to support the use of the school as agents of social reform. Firstly, these problems, even at present, create a context of anxiety which in turn affects institutional values and decisions (for example, reductions in funds available for welfare and social services). This will affect the young both directly (those who grew up during the Depression or the Cold War can testify to the power of such an ambience) and through the institution of the school, whose values and decisions will also be affected. If the schools try to ignore the world situation, they will condemn themselves to
irrelevance in the eyes of the young and to harsher judgements from posterity.

Secondly, we cannot complacently assume that the solution to the problem of the consumption of the environment, and the social consequences of this consumption will come from some team of experts. The solution of such problems will make profound demands on the resources of intellect and will of each individual. He will have to acquire the habit of thinking critically about the consequences of his actions to society and to posterity. This reflection, demanding knowledge as well as imagination, cannot be left to chance if we are not be passively overwhelmed by the future. The way of life which replaces our current one will, at least to some extent, be the product of choices made now. Difficult decisions lie ahead, decisions which will demand careful reasoning and a sharp focus on our own moral, social, and political principles. And because such decisions and such a change of life are stressful, especially since these are matters central to our very survival, there will be the desperate irrationality such situations arouse, the too easy abandoning of humane values, and the social chaos which call forth the iron rule of authority — unless we have been prepared. The schools cannot evade their responsibility in this preparation.

But what should this preparation be like? What would constitute a curriculum for social reform? One answer is provided by Dr. David Brison of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. In a 1972 paper entitled "Restructuring the School System" Brison proposed that the main function of schools should be to remedy what he saw as a "critical deficiency in today's society...our inability to resolve social problems that require analysis, formulation of policy, and decisions within a sociopolitical context." Brison's overall objective was to make young people capable of "effective social action based on an evaluation of the critical issues and derived from a commitment to resolve major social problems."
To accomplish this overall objective, three subordinate goals would have to be achieved. Firstly, there are goals related to the cognitive or intellectual skills used in the analysis of issues, including an understanding of and ability to evaluate technical evidence concerning social questions, an understanding of the research principles of the social sciences, as well as the ability to analyse critically the ethical bases for the decisions and actions of the individual and of the society.

A second set of objectives would answer what Brison saw as a flaw in the activism of many young people during the 1960's, a "failure to connect words with deeds...conditioned by an educational process that approaches social problems only at the verbal level and provides students with very little firsthand experience with ideas translated into practice." One aim of education would now be to give students direct experience in social action. At the individual level this social action would give students enough actual experience surrounding social issues for them to reach "meaningful conclusions." At the level of small groups students would develop group-process skills involved in cooperative decision-making. At the broadest level there would be a deliberate effort to understand the political decision-making process, not by reading about it, but by direct involvement: "This knowledge cannot be adequately obtained secondhand; it can only be obtained through efforts to influence decisions that are absolutely necessary for effective social action, at the policy level."

Firsthand experience is also the key to Brison's third objective, the commitment of the young to the solution of social problems. For Brison, adolescence is an especially critical period in the development of social values and attitudes: adolescents must be given the kind of experience which will lead them to commitment to social action.
These are the goals which Brison saw as necessary for contemporary education. Can practical means be found to achieve such goals? Because educational alternatives are all too frequently presented in the abstract with little thought given to their implementation, they never come to life for teachers, parents, or educational administrators. Brison tries to reverse this procedure: most of his paper is devoted to a plan for implementation.

Brison begins by noting that various innovations tried in the elementary schools during the 1960's have been criticized for producing little real change in student behaviour. He therefore proposes a new basis for setting educational objectives for the elementary schools; these objectives should be "stated in terms of prerequisites for university level work." This must not be misunderstood as an extension of the elitism of the traditional university: the university itself is changing, increasingly demanding as prerequisites not the content traditionally taught in high school, but rather "what might be broadly termed intellectual skills (e.g., critical thinking ability, problem-solving skills, reading speed and comprehension, ability to write, independent study habits, and knowledge of the methods or strategies used to attack problems within particular subject or discipline areas)." These skills Brison believes can be attained to respectable levels by school-age children. (He cites a number of studies and refers to his own work with Floyd Robinson in teaching the scientific method to elementary school children.) But Brison is not arguing here for any specific list of skills; rather, he wants society to set about determining a more rational set of objectives focusing on such skills, these skills then being taught in as efficient and concentrated a manner as possible. Brison also notes that, while his goal is to increase the number of children capable of university-level work in some subject areas by the end of Grade 8, the intellectual or process skills they would be learning would be invaluable for all children to develop.
Brison's plan is spelled out in more detail at the high school level. After completing Grade 8, students would have what Brison terms a "school moratorium", a year in which they would not go to school. At this critical point in their development, they should be exposed to a wide variety of community influences, away from the schools' uniformity of values and attitudes. For half of each day they would take part in the "school obligation", which would involve providing an actual service in a social service agency, similar to that provided by volunteer workers: "Students could make substantial contributions in a variety of job situations - for example, tutoring and acting as teachers' aides in elementary schools, staffing day care centres for working mothers, working in university computer centers,... participating in city planning projects in urban areas." For the remainder of each day, the young person would continue his service work or take part in other activities: "Special attempts would be made to set up special interest groups (drama, ballet, music, women's liberation, pollution, conservation, etc.,) which would compete for the students' free time."

After the school moratorium year, the student would return to school, but the school obligation would continue to occupy half of each day for the remaining years of high school. As at the elementary level, new objectives would have been established and all students would have to satisfy these. However, most students would spend the other half day of school taking one or two courses either at the high school level or at university (with tutoring in such subjects available from the high school teachers). Non-university bound students (for example, commercial students) would do the school obligation and whatever would be required according to the new objectives in order to receive a diploma.

Brison argues the benefits and practicality of such a plan not only for students but for the service agencies and the teachers as well. Service agencies are chronic.
ally understaffed, and there are no big unions to offend as there would be if student placements were sought in the economic sector. Teachers have long wanted change, but still wished to retain a role for themselves: under this scheme, they would have responsibility for the school obligation, counselling, arranging seminars, reviewing students' programs and problems, etc. They would also still offer the basic high school courses (under the new objectives), would tutor in university subjects, and would offer voluntary electives or university level courses at high school.

Of the three levels of schooling the university is the least affected by Brison's proposal: its nature and its function would be more or less unchanged. However, because of the intellectual skills the students would command and the range of experience they would have had, their experience of university would be different. They would, for example, take fewer courses as full-time university students and could devote more effort to in-depth study. Moreover, the experience of social action should make them "more able to relate course content to actual life experience." 10

Such, then, is Brison's proposal for schooling aimed at social reform. It is, of course, only one possible response to the problem. What assumptions, beliefs, and principles underlie this proposal? Brison devotes relatively little of his article to such theoretical matters; however, it is important to unpack at least some of Brison's theory in order to prepare the ground for the research which is the substance of this thesis. Since the program which forms the subject of this thesis is based on Brison's proposal basically as it applies to the high school level, my comments shall be focused at this level. I will divide my discussion into three sections: social theory (the nature of social problems and their solution); assumptions about youth and human development; and educational theory.
Brison says little about his social theory, but a number of points may be inferred from the examples of social problems which he gives. The list of current "critical problems" includes "world overpopulation, massive ecological imbalance, environmental pollution, inequitable treatment of minority groups, and a wide network of urban problems...(eg. urban housing, transportation)." The range of problem to be considered is extraordinarily broad, and favors no one of the traditional theories of social problems. However, when his list of suggested service opportunities for youth is examined, two themes seem to emerge: on the one hand, social problems include any emergent need which the society is not satisfying(eg. providing hostels for youth, staffing day care centres, tutoring, etc.); on the other hand, social problems are the result of a malfunction in the operation of the social system (eg. town planning, and especially in communications, Brison having suggested placing students in media production groups, in an information office, and with the technical writing section of his own Research and Development Office.)

These two themes of direct response to needs and rational social planning also are central in Brison's conception of the solution of social problems. He contends that "the technical expertise necessary for analysing factors relating to all these problem areas" is already available; "What has been lacking is effective social action based on an analysis of the critical issues...." Two basic assumptions are revealed here. Firstly, Brison has a great deal of faith in the social sciences; many would argue that the present stage of knowledge in the social sciences is inadequate to make causal generalizations or confident predictions concerning even small-scale social change. Secondly, there is the confident assumption that social problems, some of which involve profound conflicts of social and moral principles(eg. overpopulation, human rights, even urban planning) have really needed
only some action in order to be solved. This belief that what is needed is more action can be seen as one of the basic reasons for the large amount of time given over to social service in Brison's restructured high school, and for the emphasis given to social skills.

In the general presentation of his proposal Brison frequently uses the stock phrase from sociology, the "solution" of social problems. This phrase tends to imply that social problems are susceptible to technical manipulation (as in solving a mathematical equation) and that they can indeed be done away with once and for all. It is interesting to note, however, that when he turns his attention briefly to the analysis of the contemporary social situation, he speaks not of solving them but of "resolving" or "coping with" them. Gone is the undue optimism of the pat talk about solution. But more importantly, what is shown is that, unlike many theorists of social reform, Brison is not advocating any particular utopian ideal; his argument is that, even when we are for the time being unable to resolve social problems, we can still know the kinds of skills needed for social reform, and we can best use our energies in mastering and passing on these skills.

This argument places Brison in the tradition of social reform variously described as the piecemeal or gradualist approach. It is not surprising, then, that Brison is extremely critical of its opposite, the comprehensive approach, which demands that any policy for effective change of any social institution must be part of a systematic renewal of the social order. This can be seen in the exchange which followed Brison's proposal. Everett Reimer wrote that Brison's proposal was radical but not revolutionary, since it tinkered with the aims of education while leaving the present social structure intact; Brison's response was very much in the gradualist line:
I do not think it is possible to predict in advance what a desirable fundamentally changed social system would look like or even to state, as Reimer does, some general though basic specifications for that system. In effect, Reimer says that an altering of the power structure that involves limits placed on affluence is a necessary condition for desirable social change. I am not at all certain that it is necessary but am even less convinced that in and of itself it would be sufficient.

Brison's solution?

What I do think is necessary is a basic change in the kinds of skills needed by individuals to build constructive solutions to pressing social problems. Without this fundamental change in people, I see any alteration in the social structure as essentially futile.

As Brison suggests, it is not possible to prove that any comprehensive plan is the best possible one; there is no clear set of criteria for settling the issue. Various social policies and ways of life can be equally reasonable. Further, it is doubtful that the complex problems of society can be attributed to any one single cause, the removal of which would completely reform society. Brison not only rejects Reimer's specific ideology, but all ideology.

However, it would seem that Brison is overstating the case here and not even giving an adequate presentation of his own approach. In the first place, many of the problems Brison listed as critical are system-wide (for example, world overpopulation); is a gradualist approach really appropriate to such a problem? Furthermore, Brison himself identifies as a major problem of the educational system the uniformity of values and attitutes of its teachers and administrators. The system itself, then, would seem to be implicated as the cause of the uniformity. It would seem that this line of argument would necessitate comprehensive educational reform. Also, the ultimate goal of the gradualist and comprehensive approaches is the same, to solve or resolve all of society's problems, that is, to change the whole society. But if you can have no idea of what that whole is at which you are aiming, as Brison claims, how can you tell if at any given moment you are headed in the right direction? By what standard can you evaluate your progress?
That Brison has such standards and stands behind them very forcefully can be seen from his response, in another context, to a proposal by James Coleman to release adolescents from schools to work in the economic sector. Brison raises not only the practical arguments against such a proposal, but ideological ones as well:

Why indoctrinate youth in the fanatic pursuit of one goal that dominates economy - production of goods and the related creation of a market for these goods? There may not be any alternative, but it seems to me that education should at least not succumb graciously. It should hold out as a potential instrument for constructive social change. Brison is again overstating his case. Why should working in economic agencies result in indoctrination whereas working in social service agencies would not? Even if it were true that all businessmen are driven by the fanatic pursuit of purely material goods, it would still have to be established that workers in social service agencies hold quite different values. However, the substance of Brison's own standards and values comes across clearly: materialism and manipulative human (market) relationships must be resisted; in their place there must be the values of humane service to others and cooperative group action for the benefit of all. The answer to our original question of gradualism or comprehensiveness in social reform would seem to be to seek social change gradually within a framework of humane and critically tested values. (The importance of the rational testing of values and principles will be discussed later under the topic of values education.)
I turn now to a consideration of Brison's assumptions about adolescence and human development. Clearly, Brison sees adolescence as a time of identity formation. His suggestion of a school "moratorium" is at least partly motivated by a concern to allow personal exploration and testing in a context offering as much diversity as possible. The idea is similar in substance as well as in name to Erik Erikson's concept of adolescence as a "psycho-social moratorium". However, it bears an even closer resemblance to a more recent theory put forward by Dr. Chisela Aonopka, who sees adolescence as the age of commitment:

Commitment includes the search for oneself, as Erikson stressed, but it also points toward the emotional, intellectual, and sometimes physical reach for other people as well as ideas, ideologies, causes, work choices. This movement toward commitment is so serious and so significant that providing healthy conditions to let it unfold becomes just as crucial for human development as providing healthy conditions for growth in early childhood. It elevates adolescence from a stage frequently regarded as one that must be endured and passed through as rapidly as possible to a stage of earnest and significant human development.\(^3\)

The kind of educational program aimed at commitment can thus be seen as responding not only to current and imminent social crises but also to the developmental needs of youth.

Brison also sees adolescence as a critical period in the formation of social values and attitudes; hence his desire to remove teenagers from the school's uniform emphasis on impersonal orderliness, obedience to authority, and competitiveness, and to expose them to the diversity of values represented in the wider community. There is evidence to support this view from research into adolescent psychology. A study by Piaget and Weil found that until the early teens, young people do not have a notion of nationality or concepts of similar abstractness:

There is no operation available at this level which would make it possible for the child to elaborate an ideal which goes beyond the empirically given. This is only one among many examples. The notions of humanity, social justice, freedom of conscience, civic or intellectual courage, and so forth, like the idea of nationality, are ideals which profoundly influence the adolescent's life; but with the child's mentality, except for certain glimpses, they can neither be understood nor felt.\(^4\)
similarly, a study of the growth of the idea of law in adolescence found that before 15 years of age, there was only a vague sense of law, an insensitivity to questions of civil liberties, and a preference for expeditious and authoritarian solutions to social and community problems. After 15, there were new trends: expressions of awareness of and interest in individual rights, a recognition of the need to restructure governmental control, and appreciation of the social contract which is minimally necessary for the conduct of democracy.

Throughout Brison's article there are expressions of a concern for the social plight of the adolescent in our culture:

Although the adolescent's ability to contribute significantly to adult society has increased markedly, the adolescent apprenticeship has gradually lengthened. Today's youth are more mature, better informed, and more independent than in previous generations, yet they are continually told that they must complete school before becoming significantly involved in adult affairs. This lengthier adolescent apprenticeship is undoubtedly one of the factors influencing the alienation of today's youth. 17

At least part of the rationale for Brison's proposal is the necessity to release adolescents from the debilitating frustration of their enforced inutility. Adolescence must be shortened; the young should be accepted as coworkers by adults as soon as they can demonstrate the required skills, not being forced to serve time in order to acquire a certificate which guarantees nothing in terms of job preparation. Education, in short, must become genuinely preparatory.

As can be seen in the above quotation, Brison is confident about the powers and potential of the young. But he finds in them one major flaw, and it is the correction of this flaw which provides one basic rationale for the second defining pole of Brison's educational theory, the need for participation or involvement. The flaw is their inability to make connections between political rhetoric and actual implementation, between words and deeds. The reason for this?
It can be argued that the failure to connect words with deeds is conditioned by an educational process that approaches social problems only at the verbal level and provides students with very little firsthand experience with ideas translated into practice.

The second major characteristic of Brison's educational theory is therefore its concern with the participatory, with direct involvement, with acting on one's ideas and ideals. It is the attempt to combine the preparatory and the participatory, which is the central recurrent theme in Brison's educational theory, to which I now turn.

In Brison's view, the simultaneous combination of the two modes of learning is not equally appropriate for all ages. For example, at the elementary level experience seems to play little or no part, the emphasis being on preparatory skill learning. Brison says little about methodology, but he seems to favour direct, concentrated, didactic training periods. But such a description fails to make clear how the school setting and the human relations within it would be different from what they are at present — and therein lies an important point. Brison has accused the present school system of having a monolithic system of values to which the young are continually exposed, especially at the critical point of early adolescence. Yet he fails to make clear how the new elementary school would be different. What measures have been taken to prevent or minimize the reappearance of a similar monolith? Although adolescence may be a critical point in the crystallization of social values, the values acquired before that time are surely instrumental in determining the outcome of that crystallization. And skill training itself is not a value-free activity. Skills can be acquired and applied mindlessly or in the service of morally repugnant ends. Moreover, a set of values is implied in the selection of the skills to be taught, since these skills will determine what the young person is able to do, what he likes to do, and how he understands what he is doing; and what there is in social service,
"In politics, administration, or business depends to a large extent on what a person conceives of himself as doing when he engages in them." If politics is taught as a system of management skills for securing consensus it will be profoundly different in its effect on students' values and political thinking than if it were presented as the defense of a given ideology in the face of conflicting interests.

In contrast to the elementary school, high school is seen as the optimal time for combining the preparatory and the participatory. Although many questions remain unanswered both about participatory education and about the details of the combination of the two modes, a number of points can be made. The classroom time is to be devoted partially to continued skill training, to in-depth study of issues, and to seminars which, like the special interest groups organized in the school moratorium year, would set their experience in the context of larger social and cultural issues. Experience itself serves several important functions in Brison's scheme. For example, the school obligation is designed to provide "experiences that will lead to a commitment to solve social problems". Precisely how this is to happen is not clear, but it would seem that at the very least experience forces us to see what we might not have seen and might not have wished to see. Although quite different in scale, the effects of the experience of Nazi concentration camps on the moral lives of the survivors is cognate with what is looked for from the experience of social service:

While it could hardly be said that the holocaust experience had made the survivors more virtuous or humane than other men, and it was likely true that the darker capacities of some who had survived had been hardened and enlarged by their experience, still a great many of them were incapable of certain kinds of unconcern characteristic of other people: the ordinary man's indifference to the tragedy of those far away, for example. They could never quite attain to the onlooker's mentality, and they tended to respond viscerally to the most difficult of things to respond to: to tragedy in the mass - Biafra and Bangladesh, massacre and famine. It was not a choice of good over evil in the survivors that made them thus incapable of indifference; it was often not a choice at all, but a condition: whether they wished it or not, they would see what they might have wished not to see, and feel what it was most comfortable not to feel.
Secondly, Brison seems to equate experience with being active, being engaged, putting an idea into practice. One of the main problems with traditional schooling is that it has functioned too much at the verbal level, with the result that the young not only get carried away in the words themselves but they are also conditioned to passivity and dependency. Brison suggests that the kind of experience he proposes would not only work against such tendencies but would also foster realism in the committed action of the young. The realism would come from a familiarity with the texture of the lives of those involved in the social problem. Even when an important social issue is discussed in today's classrooms (e.g. the decision of the Ontario government to halt the construction of an expressway in Toronto), "it is questionable whether any students (or adults, for that matter) had enough actual experience with the practical conditions surrounding such an issue (i.e., indigenous ethnic communities, appropriation of property, real-estate speculation) to reach any meaningful conclusions, even if all sides of the argument were clearly presented." Furthermore, some areas are too complex, too resistant to general rules, too much subject to contingency and interpersonal influence, to be adequately learned secondhand. For example, knowledge of the political decision-making process "can only be obtained through efforts to influence decisions that are absolutely necessary for effective social action, at the policy level." These are some of the main themes of Brison's educational theory. These and other themes will be explicated and illustrated in practice throughout the remainder of this thesis. For in this thesis I describe a two-year research program on the pilot, experimental version of the restructured school, a one-year Grade XII course called the Community Involvement Program. In this program the students spend approximately half of each school day working in a social service agency in the community; complementary to this service experience are two classroom meetings
per week, the function of which is to reflect on the experiential component. (I attempt to give something of the texture of my students' work experience and the classroom component in Chapter 4.) For this program students receive three (in some jurisdictions four) of the twenty-seven credits needed for high school graduation.

The focus of my research is on the effects of the program on the students who enrol in it, rather than on the effects of the program on the agencies in which they worked, or on the school which they still attended half time, or on those whom they tried to help. Of the possible range of effects on the students, I was interested in two. The first was the psychosocial development of the students: can the Community Involvement Program, by involving adolescents in the adult world and its problems, promote their growth toward maturity? The following chapter reviews previous research on programs which have involved the young in social service, concluding with two hypotheses on psychosocial development.

Chapter 3 examines the nature of commitment as an educational goal, and considers what social services might be able to contribute to such commitment. The chapter concludes with research hypotheses in the area of commitment and moral development based on the chapter's analysis. Chapter 4 describes in detail the work experience and classroom components of the two particular Community Involvement Programs on which my research is based. Chapter 5 describes the research design and the test measures used, and Chapter 6 presents an analysis of the findings. The concluding chapter presents an overview of the thesis, reviews the limitations and strengths of the Community Involvement Program, and considers changes and new designs for the future.
CHAPTER 1 - FOOTNOTES

1. Heilbroner's evidence is far more substantial and his argument far more complex than I have been able to demonstrate; I highly recommend his cogent and elegant book. A similar type of argument from purely social grounds is presented in the recent book by Fred Hirsch The Social Limits to Growth.

2. David Brison, "Restructuring the School System" (Interchange, 3, 1972), 67.

3. Loc. cit.

4. Ibid., 68.

5. Ibid., 69.

6. Ibid., 64.

7. Loc. cit.

8. Ibid., 65.


10. Ibid., 67.


14. Ibid., 83.

15. Konopka, G. "Requirements for Healthy Development of Adolescent Youth" (Adolescence, Fall, 1973), 301-302.


22. Loc. cit.

23. The Community Involvement Program was first tried in a school in Peterborough in September, 1972. It was opened up to other schools in the province of Ontario in 1974, and is now offered in approximately 14 schools across the province. I was a teacher in one of the three schools in the Toronto suburb of Etobicoke which offered the program beginning in 1974. The research on which this thesis is based was conducted in my school during the school years 1974–5 and 1975–6.
CHAPTER 2

ADOLESCENCE, EDUCATION, AND SOCIETY

Every civilization has to invent a pastoral for itself, and ours has been an idea of youth and of adolescence that has become socially and economically unprofitable, demographically unmanageable, and biologically comic. By a pastoral I mean any form of life that has, by common consent, been secured from the realities of time and history. Some form of pastoral is absolutely essential; it helps stabilize the cycles of individual lives and of civilizations. Its function is an idealizing, simplifying one; it secures certain elemental human attributes from the contaminations of time and of historical involvement. But if the logic of pastoral is to protect certain attributes, its ulterior motive is to keep the human embodiment of these attributes in their proper place, servants rather than participants in daily business where real men really face complex reality.

This observation by a lay observer of the contemporary social scene sums up much of our ambivalence about youth. We idolize it and protect it as an image of endless potential and hope; but by keeping it chained in an antechamber to the future, we secure as well its frustrated impotence, its lack of self-definition and self-respect, its incompetence and alienation. Even in crudely economic terms, we can no longer afford such waste.

The key assumption in this analysis is that, although adolescence is biologically universal, how it is experienced by the young is a function of social attitudes and arrangements which are malleable. This assumption is also at the core of a similar but more sophisticated analysis given by the anthropologist Ruth Benedict. In her classic discussion of "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning" Benedict argues that we expect one kind of behaviour from children and its diametric opposite from adults. The problem
lies in the transition from the "pastoral" of childhood into adulthood. Children are supposed to be sexless, submissive, and nonresponsible (that is, they are to play, not work, and are given many kinds of preferential and protective treatment); adults, on the other hand, are to be sexual, dominant, and responsible. The existence of such contradictions might be tolerable if our society provided special help in making the transition from the one to the other. But our society tries to prolong the pastoral as long as possible.

Let us view from this perspective the institution our society has designed to deal with adolescents, the high school. Almost without exception it gives its students little or no opportunity to practise their adult roles; even when dealing with "mature" students, it frowns on, when it does not have strict rules against, any display of sexual interest; it demands submissiveness; and it gives little or no responsibility. For example, the one opportunity for responsible decision-making which is available to at least a few students is participation in the school's students' council. However, rather than involving these young people in real decisions in the life of the school or of the community, decisions made by such councils are most frequently restricted to what kinds of dances to have and whether to buy a jukebox or a tape recorder for the cafeteria. Yet, upon graduating, these same young people are expected suddenly to behave as adults, making wise personal and political decisions. It is little wonder that the young have not always found high school to be relevant, nor that many remain fixed in relatively low levels of psychological, social, and political development.

How might this situation be remedied? In an anecdote concerning a tribe
of Arizona Indians Benedict provides the germ of an answer. In her own words, the anecdote is as follows:

Dr. Ruth Underhill tells me of sitting with a group of Papago elders in Arizona when the man of the house turned to his little three-year-old granddaughter and asked her to close the door. The door was heavy and hard to shut. The child tried, but it did not move. Several times the grandfather repeated, "Yes, close the door." No one jumped to the child's assistance. No one took the responsibility away from her. On the other hand, there was no impatience, for, after all, the child was small. They sat gravely waiting till the child succeeded and her grandfather gravely thanked her. If was assumed that the task would not be asked of her unless she could perform it, and, having been asked, the responsibility was hers alone just as if she were a grown woman.

The essential point of such child training is that the child is from infancy continuously conditioned to responsible social participation (my italics), while at the same time the tasks that are expected of it are adapted to its capacity. The contrast with our society is very great.²

The graduated entry of this society's young into the world of adult responsibility spares them and their society the upheaval and turmoil which is so costly to our society and its young. The lesson here is that adult behaviour emerges in response to adult treatment (or as much like it as is sensibly possible);

"socially responsible participation" is produced when responsible social action is habitually demanded. Can this lesson be accepted by and adapted to our society, especially by its educators?

As will be seen from the next few pages, this general formulation has become widely accepted, at least in educational theory.³ However, its projected application to contemporary education has taken two quite distinct forms. One group of educators puts the emphasis on adolescent assumption of economic roles. For example, the eminent American educator Ralph Tyler has complained of the insularity of the high school, with little chance for the students to have meaningful contact with responsible adults:
School was once an interesting but minor part of the lives of the people. Students gained their sense of worth and meaning from things they were doing outside of school. They were allowed to take on more responsibilities and to take the consequences of errors they might make.

He contrasts the present with his own Nebraska childhood, when "half the children dropped out by the time they were 12 and got jobs on the farm or elsewhere." Schools have traditionally lagged behind the demands a changing society has made upon them, but it is becoming an urgent necessity that students be reinvolved in the world of adult responsibility.

These thoughts have been echoed in a number of recent reports on American education. For example, the President's Science Advisory Committee in 1972 submitted a report entitled Youth: Transition to Adulthood. The Committee noted that the alienation and irresponsibility of youth have their roots in all three social institutions dealing with them, the family, the school, and the workplace; however, it gave particular emphasis to the isolation of the young from the important activities of adults in today's world. The solution? Put young people back into the community's economic institutions. In the work world decisions are made which are important and which bring tangible feedback, influential adults are available as models, and there is the most varied range of possibilities for giving responsibility to the young.

However, as Brison has pointed out, there are numerous objections both ideological and practical, against the use of economic institutions (see above page 11). Therefore, a second group of educators has advocated the use of our society's social service agencies as training grounds in responsibility. Not only are they chronically understaffed and used to training and making good use of volunteers and aides, but they also represent a human rather than a product
centered ethos. As well, there is an element of psychological realism in this approach: the present school system shelters the young from human suffering to "cultivate in each student a maximal concentration on himself." Maturity is not fostered by such a protected environment; adolescents must be exposed to human suffering and must also be given some responsibility in ministering to it.

The largest use of young people in programs of social service has occurred outside the educational system and has involved young adults rather than adolescents. These are the volunteer programs for international aid and development. They were very much a phenomenon of the 1960's. For example, in France the number of young people in work camps grew each year from 4,000 in 1959 to 25,000 in 1968. From 1960 to 1966 the number of volunteers going from industrialized countries to work in less developed countries increased from between 1,500 to 2,000 up to nearly 20,000. The use of volunteers in domestic programs increased at a similar rate. Since that time, however, the numbers have decreased considerably.

Within education thorough and practical guidance in the design and implementation of programs involving social service was provided as early as 1945 in Charles Olsen's manual School and Community: the Philosophy, Procedures, and Problems of Community Study and Service through Schools and Colleges. However, in practice, there have been few such programs and their history has been one of failure or insignificance. The following quotation from a text on the sociology of education in the mid-1960's illustrates the point:

There are a few places and a few programs where youths are taken seriously, notably the American Friends Service Committee field programs of work and study. Such programs, exciting as they may be to the reader, enlist very few, and have had little spread into
the larger institutional context. One can only wonder why. Are we afraid that youth will find out too much about the cracks in the adult world? Or do we want to protect them during the golden years of youth? Or are we just entangled in institutional inertia which prevents our heeding the recurrent message from the larger community.9

The point, and indeed the tone of frustration of this passage echoes the following description of a program run in a Cleveland school during the 1930's and 1940's:

Of special interest is a project that has been going on for ten years in...Jefferson Intermediate. Each year the children undertake a survey of the local community and then move into action for which the survey indicates need. Cleaning up neighbourhood alleys and improving recreational facilities in the school neighbourhood are two of the enterprises Jefferson has embarked on in the past.

In general, however, the study has discovered a "quiet, firm, silent resistance" to efforts to move the school into community activity. The problems of stimulating other schools toward programs undertaken by a few innovators remains a difficult one. The question why activities like the Jefferson survey and follow-up have not spread despite ten successful years awaits an answer.10

Although there has been no systematic change along these lines in North American education, there continue to be numerous "grassroots" steps in this direction. Indeed, in 1967 a commission was established in the United States to "find and make widely known examples of successful programs that have... enabled young people to participate in productive adult activities and to assume real responsibility for what they do."11 In New Roles for Youth in the School and the Community the Commission provides descriptions of a select number of youth involvement projects "that seem to have made significant contributions to young people, their schools, and their communities" in order to provide stimuli and practical suggestions and guidelines to those interested in developing such projects.

The kinds of project described fall into four categories. Firstly, within the school system itself young people have been used as curriculum builders,
devising teaching materials to be used by other teenagers or by public school children, or as teaching assistants or tutors in schools or in school-related programs, such as tutoring in the homes of California Chicano children.

A second broad category includes the use of young people more directly in the community, especially in various kinds of service projects. Some students served as "community manpower", assisting in already existing social service agencies or initiating their own services which supplemented those provided by agencies. Some students were "community problem-solvers", in this case providing a service their communities lacked, for example, monitoring housing violations in New York City.

The third category has its roots in the community as well, but in a much less traditional manner. This is the use of youth as "communicators", that is, students working sometimes within a school, sometimes with the guidance of a volunteer professional, to produce newspapers or other original sources of information (usually for young people), folklore magazines, as well as more creative exercises such as films and poetry. The remaining category is the purely economic one which is beyond the scope of this thesis. It might be mentioned, however, that in these entrepreneurial roles, students devise and run their own shops (for example, a "Soul Mobile Record Shop") or provide a variety of commercial services, from house construction and urban renewal contracts to a day care centre.

It must be stressed that, for all the diversity of these activities, their aim is still conceived of as educational. The Commission's standards for evaluating such programs illustrate this: "Does the project have social or educational significance for contemporary youth? Do the young people involved feel the project is important? Do young people play important roles
in the project? Have they initiated it? Have they run it or helped run it? 
Have their needs and their skills created the style and direction of the pro-
gram? Does the project have growth potential for youth? Are they developing 
attitudes and skills that can eventually help them toward better citizenship, 
better work skills, and increased self-fulfillment? In spite of the number 
of programs found by the Commission to meet these standards, there has been 
little systematic change within the educational system.

If successful examples of such programs have failed to produce change, 
so, it would seem, have the voices of some powerful figures on the educational 
scene. Perhaps the most eloquent plea for the specific use of the young in the 
service of the community has come from Urie Bronfenbrenner. In the concluding 
chapter of his comparative study of Russian and American education, Two Worlds 
of Childhood, Bronfenbrenner's theme is that 

the most needed innovation in the American classroom is the involvement 
of pupils in responsible tasks on behalf of others within the classroom, 
the school, the neighbourhood, and the community. The full potential 
of the motivational processes here discussed will remain unplumbed and 
seriously underestimated so long as the social setting in which these 
processes can take place is limited to the conventional classroom with 
its homogenous groupings by age, and, often, by ability and social 
class as well. 

Education should work outwards from the immediate social unit to the larger 
community. Members of each of the social sectors should become actively in-
volved in schooling so that the child can have more varied role models and 
can understand what each does for his development. However, this latter under-
standing must be complemented by an appreciation of what the child does for his 
community, 

quite modestly at first, but gradually at increasing levels of responsibil-
ity. As we have noted, it is in part the enforced inutility of children 
in our society that works to produce feelings of alienation, indifference,
and antagonism. Learning early in life the skills and rewards of service to one's community brings, with it the benefits of a more stable and gratifying self-identity.14

According to Bronfenbrenner, citizenship and morality come not from homilies or even from models, but from making a contribution to society, from having a feeling of usefulness, from being given real responsibility, and from an ethic of skilled service to one's community. Can our society, run by experts, salved by "trained social workers", dependent on an overwhelming array of gadgets, find sufficient opportunities for its young? Bronfenbrenner is vague but optimistic on this point; he feels that, at the very least, we can imitate the responsibilities for school property and behaviour at school given to Soviet children. The consequence of failure to begin such a program extends beyond the school and the society, to the very roots of our humanity:

If the radical innovations that are required are not introduced, it will be all children who will be culturally deprived - not of cognitive stimulation, but of their humanity. For their own full development, the young need to be exposed not only to factual knowledge but also to the standards and mores of behavior requisite for living in a cooperative society. In American schools, training for action consistent with social responsibility and human dignity is at best an extracurricular activity. The belated recognition of our full educational obligations to the nation's children - the so-called advantaged no less than the disadvantaged - offers us a chance to redress this weakness and to make democratic education not only a principle but a practice.15
previous Research on Adolescent Social Service Programs

Revamping the educational system to include social service experience is felt by at least a respectable minority of educators to be not only a practical possibility but an urgent social necessity. Why, then, has no large scale or systematic change taken place? Can it be that these programs do not, in fact, change the lives of those who experience them, or change them, perhaps, in undesirable ways?

In answer to this question I will present a comprehensive review of the research findings of the effects on adolescents of social service programs. My concern has been to include programs which (1) aim to create in youth social responsibility or a commitment to the solution of social problems (2) by means of directly involving the young in social service. This means that several programs have been included which are unlike the Community Involvement Program in one or more features, for example, being outside the school system, being uncritical of the social structure, having a basis in developmental psychology, etc. My assumption here has been that there is much to be learned by this breadth of approach: contrast with some programs will help clarify the unique features of the Community Involvement Program, and those who already teach or are contemplating teaching such a program might like to adopt features of other programs which the research has shown to be more effective.

I have divided this review into three subsections. The first deals with programs which are outside the education system. The remaining sections describe programs which are part of the education system but which have very different aims. There are three possible areas in which such programs may be trying to have an effect: the adolescent, the school, and the society. The programs in the
second section can be seen as focussing on only one of these areas, usually the young person himself, without trying to change the other two. The programs in the final section are presented at greater length, since their aims encompass all three areas of change: they wish to make the adolescent a self-conscious and skilled agent of social reform by changing the schooling process itself.

A. Two Programs Outside the Educational System

Since by far the greatest use of young people in volunteer social service has occurred outside the schools, I will begin by looking at such programs. About such programs, of which the most famous North American example is the Peace Corps, two points must be kept in mind: overseas service programs had elements of adventure and exoticism necessarily absent at home, and those involved were already young adults. While these programs were not designed for the development of the volunteers, and while little hard data was gathered, a great deal of evidence is available, some unsystematic, some from controlled studies, because of the very large numbers of young people involved. This evidence can be summed up under four main headings, each of which I will summarize briefly.

Firstly, in the area of personal growth, there was increased self-knowledge and, in many cases, a sense of increased self-worth. Especially for those whom traditional education had condemned to failure, there was opened a path of rewarding service. But this was true even for those who were not dropouts; as David Reisman has said of the Peace Corps volunteers, "Being abroad has liberated them from their earlier definition of what they were capable of." Following from this is the well-documented effect of these kinds of program in giving motivation for continued service.
In the area of interpersonal skills, living together in teams in an alien and sometimes dangerous environment forced the development of social competence. (While there is an obvious difference in the magnitude of alienness and danger, many students working in the Community Involvement Program and similar programs face similar situations, for example, when working in poor and run-down sections of their own cities.) Specifically included here were communication and problem-solving skills:

In the case of non-technical problems in particular, they can seldom refer to a higher authority. Without a parent or teacher to lean on, they gradually develop the faculty of self-analysis, which involves determining one's own criteria and standards in relation to others, and finding out when and why one does not live up to them.

While such isolation in the face of problems could not serve as a model for adolescent programs, it does suggest some of the potential for social growth inherent in social service.

The third area of development for the volunteers was in understanding social problems. There was, firstly, a general increase in the direct awareness of how different societies treat various minority or sub-groups, whether these were the handicapped, the poor, or different racial or religious communities. Parallel to this was an understanding of the problems faced by agencies trying to help these groups. The frequent result of this was a change in the volunteers' career plans. For example,

Among Peace Corps volunteers, the number wishing to work overseas rose during service from 8% to 33%, and the number interested in teaching increased sufficiently for the Peace Corps to claim it was returning two teachers to the United States school system for every teacher it recruited.

The final effect on the volunteers is very important, but highly problematic and controversial. Are the young volunteers being trained to consolidate and expand a paternalistic system of handouts on which their "victims" become dependent, when what is really needed is radical change of the social structure which main-
tains the problems? In short, is the volunteer experience an education in political conservatism? There is no data available, but one thing is clear: such programs are political to the core, and if they offend the powers that be, they will not survive. If the present programs are only salving symptoms instead of treating causes, how could attractive alternative programs be devised? (All social service programs, including the Community Involvement Program, are political in their implementation and in their potential impact; this problem will be returned to later in the thesis.)

The most intensive systematic study of the effect of their experience on Peace Corps volunteers was done by M. Brewster Smith on the first group of volunteers to go overseas. He collected data on 27 men and 17 women who completed a two-year term as teachers in Ghana. The data consisted of the results of a variety of pencil-and-paper tests, some of which were administered both before and after the overseas experience, various staff ratings from their training period and from the field, as well as a series of long and detailed interviews recorded in their schools in each of their two years overseas. The data showed a shift from the first year's all-out enthusiasm to a more "veteran" mentality in the second year, in which the volunteers were sustained by their principles rather than by their enthusiasm. (As evidence of this more principled behaviour was their greater concern for the plight of the American Negro.) In terms of personality and attitude change, they became more tough-minded and realistic, more autonomous and independent of authority, showed greater self-insight, and had raised aspirations for the future.

A second program outside the educational system but somewhat more closely related to it is the Outward Bound program and its imitators, started in 1941 by Kurt Hahn. Although one associates Outward Bound with adventure usually of a
physically demanding kind (e.g., mountain climbing, sailing), it had from its inception an element of responsibility training and community service, "giving freely in the interests of one's fellows. Since the earliest days of Outward Bound, providing assistance to the community surrounding a course centre has been the persistent practice." This was present in Hahn's educational thinking even when he founded his first school, Salem School, in 1919; when Hahn founded Gordonstoun in the 1930's, he included such elements of community service as coastguard watchers, fire fighters, a mountain rescue team, and also opened a track to encourage athletics and physical fitness in the poor local population.

However, the Outward Bound programs reveal the kind of political conservatism purely service programs can fall prey to. Hahn's belief in the virtue of physical fitness and adventure led him to focus his idea of service on peripheral services, evidencing little conception of principles of justice and equality, content merely to serve the status quo. He was locked in the kind of 19th century elitism which was concerned to create a corps of high-toned leaders who would set an example for all: instead of removing the poverty, you taught the poor how to play your games. There was no attempt to question the principles governing society; the social thinking here is clearly conservative.

Although open to such criticism, the Outward Bound movement is a major educational force which cannot be ignored: "In Britain by 1969 as many as 25% of young people in the 14-20 age range had attended a residential non-vocational course, in most cases based upon outdoor pursuits." Furthermore, some early research indicated impressive effects on the young participants. In a questionnaire study of 3,000 individuals who had taken Outward Bound courses, the majority said that they had gained in self-confidence, maturity, and in social skills.

Later more sophisticated studies have also documented changes, if somewhat
more modest in scope. One study administered psychological tests before and after the courses, and used a control group (females studied by Strutt, males by Fletcher). The girls became less sensitive and conventional, more stable, dependable, lively, liberal, independent, and confident. The partial replication with boys showed 13% gained in maturity, 17% in self-confidence, and 25% in adventurousness.

These are relatively impressive gains for a program which, while being residential and therefore occupying every minute of the participants' time, yet lasts no more than four weeks. Of course, the aim of the program is not to provide an unusual holiday nor to stimulate an interest in the activities on which the program is based; rather, it is to change the trainees' characters in order to influence their conduct in later life. The research on the achievement of this aim is ambiguous. Two American researchers have shown that delinquents sent to Outward Bound schools rather than processed in the usual manner showed a significantly reduced rate of recidivism after one year, although other studies have not found the same result. A team of British sociologists found no significant effect on the lives of the participants, although the young people's attitudes toward work became somewhat more negative; certainly there was no effect on the amount of their participation in community service.

The Outward Bound and similar programs are of interest because they have had at least some documented success in areas of central interest in this thesis. However, they frequently isolate the adolescent geographically and focus his attention even more completely than usual on himself, instead of increasing his contact with his community and with the problems of others. In America especially the programs seem to attract and reward the rugged individualist, and they have experienced considerable difficulty initiating community service aspects to their
programs. Furthermore, by their very nature such programs are brief and, as such, are not related to the problem of a lengthy adolescence and the preparation for adult life.

B. Educational Programs with a Narrow Focus

In Britain, as in America, there have sprung up in response to local needs a large number of voluntary service programs for high school students, for which they sometimes receive credit. In a survey of 45 British secondary schools, Peter McPhail found that two-thirds saw social and community service as a "significant area of experience and great emphasis was placed by all schools who were involved in this on its contribution to the moral education of their pupils." In some schools the social service was part of a course for fourth year students, sometimes with specific pre-vocational training in mind. "One school had established a School Social Council on which each form was represented and whose job was to discover social needs in the area and meet them wherever possible." However, few of these programs, either in Britain or in the U.S., have received thorough evaluation.

One type of program which has been the subject of some scrutiny in America is the use of teenagers tutoring pupils in lower grades. The Youth Tutoring Youth (YTY) programs are designed to benefit underachieving, disadvantaged teenagers as well as the elementary school pupils they tutor. Although evaluative studies have not produced consistent results, the following comment from one study by the National Commission on Resources for Youth can stand as typical of the positive findings: "YTY tutors showed better language skills, more positive self-image, and an increased interest in going to school."
A similar type of program with one interesting difference is New York's High School Homework Helpers Program developed in 1962, and which by 1973 employed approximately 1,000 tutors. This program was designed to improve tutees' academic achievement and attitude toward school as well as to increase tutors' self-confidence and academic motivation. In the only carefully designed study of this program, it was found that a 26 week session of Grade X and XI students tutoring Grade IV and V students was beneficial in improving reading scores (the focus of the tutoring) for tutees and especially for the tutors. School marks and measures of attitude toward school and school-related activities, educational aspirations, and social values showed no significant differences between experimental and control groups. This was attributed to the positive attitudes and fairly high aspirations of the students at the beginning of the program.

The one interesting difference between this New York program and other such programs, and, indeed, from every other program mentioned in this review, is that the tutors were paid $1.60 to $3.80 per hour. The issue of payment for service is important and, indeed, inescapable in discussing such programs; since it will not arise elsewhere in this thesis, I will discuss it here briefly. Edgar Friedenberg in *Coming of Age in America* states that the only way he could show respect for his adolescent interviewees was to pay them for their time, and there is undoubtedly some truth in this (although one might wonder how the payments influenced what they told him). Should not all the adolescents in these service programs be similarly respected?

It is impossible to give a definitive answer to this question, but two empirical points can be made about it. Firstly, as has been found in the acquisition of agency placements in the Community Involvement Program, the agencies view payment as a way of excusing themselves from giving the young
menial tasks which no one else would do. The schools can make demands for quality, variety, and responsibility in the students' roles in return for the service the student is offering. The second point emerges from a recent study by Garbarino who found that volunteer tutors who were not paid showed more positively-toned behaviours and were more effective teachers than tutors who were paid. These practical points against payment seem at present to outweigh Friedenberg's argument.

All of these tutoring programs, while generally similar to the program this thesis studies, are narrower than it both in the range of problem tackled, the socio-economic level of the participants, and in the lack of critical attention to the deeper social problems involved. One American program which has a breadth of focus closer to the Community Involvement Program was investigated peripherally as part of a study of social-political activism in high school students. One of the groups used as representative of activists were the students in a Community Issues Program in a Madison, Wisconsin high school in 1971:

In order to gain admission to the Community Issues Program (CIP) the student had to express an interest in a particular community problem and then, during the course of the semester, work on that action project with other students and staff members. Students were involved in such areas as detention of juveniles, student rights, the setting up of a Black Student Union, anti-war activities, various ecology efforts, etc.

Based on earlier research into the moral thinking and socio-political attitudes of college student protesters and activists, it was hypothesized that the Madison students would score higher on moral reasoning, on sense of control over their environment, sense of political efficacy, and sense of personal competence. None of these hypotheses was confirmed; indeed, where there was a difference from the control group, the CIP students were lower. Although these students desired to change the world for the better, they seemed to have little hope that their
actions would accomplish that end. The author offers two explanations for his results. Firstly, the parents of a large number of these students are on the faculty of the University of Wisconsin in Madison, a university known for its "radical life-style and frequent demonstrations". Thus, the students' home life was imbued with social and political consciousness. Secondly, since most of the projects the students undertook had no observable results, it is small wonder that they might get cynical about their ability to change things in the social-political arena: "What is surprising, however, is that this cynicism apparently fails to inhibit them from acting in a way designed to influence the world."

This study has a number of implications relevant to the Community Involvement Program. Firstly, in terms of research, one would expect no differences in level of moral reasoning between the Community Involvement students and their peers. Also, one would expect no simple correlation between expressed social attitudes and tendency to act to improve society. Secondly, if there are dangers of institutional indoctrination in the use of social agencies in such programs, there are also dangers of complete failure to achieve anything by not using agencies. In charting a path between this Scylla and Charybdis, my own view would be that it would be easier to instil a critical, principled perspective in students who were placed in existing agencies, where they would also pick up a number of useful skills and a good deal of information, than to give a similar amount of information and a similar number of skills while trying to guarantee the success of at least some of the students' independent projects. Finally, the Madison program tended to release the students for their action project without providing for systematic in-school reflection or instruction; its lack of success would point to the importance of such a component.
The programs described thus far have not been based on any unitary theory of adolescent development. One group of educators, centered at Harvard University, finds this state of affairs reprehensible. They wish to see educational programs keyed to and arising out of psychological theory, in particular the "progressivist" theories of Dewey, Piaget, and Lawrence Kohlberg. From this group a number of programs have emerged and been evaluated; some of these contain social service elements of various kinds and are thus relevant here.

Sprinthall and Mosher have, in a number of articles over the last five years, reported on programs they have designed and tested, programs which would make good what they see as the central failure of high schools, their failure to take a deliberate and major role in furthering the psychological growth of the young. Today's youth have difficulty in attaining self-identity, in making important choices, and in not becoming alienated from the major institutions of society; what goes on in school must relate to these areas. Sprinthall and Mosher tried a number of approaches. One involved teaching a course on child and adolescent development with lectures, films, and discussion groups. At the opposite extreme was a T-group approach emphasizing process rather than content. They found that neither of these was effective. The most effective approach in their view was a practicum in psychological work (e.g., counselling other teenagers, being teacher aides in elementary schools, etc.) combined with a seminar examining the practicum experience, both in terms of the psychological principles behind their work and the personal meaning of their experiences and their new responsibilities. Gains were reported on the Kohlberg and Loevinger tests, although the data are only vaguely and sketchily presented.

A similar type of high school program was developed and evaluated by Chris Dowell, who reports his findings more fully. Dowell used a curriculum basically
the same as courses offered to counsellors at many graduate schools, modelled on the "Counselling for Educators" course developed by William Perry and his staff at Harvard. There are four phases: first, there are a series of "Introductions", each student talking briefly about himself, the instructor providing a model of sensitive listening. Then, the students progress from listening exercises to the taping of a role-played counselling situation, these situations later being analysed in depth by the whole group. The third phase is a three-day retreat to examine specific personal goals and the individual's strengths and weaknesses in relation to the achievement of these goals. Phase four involves students in some sort of practicum of their own design, ranging from classes for parents and policemen to developing facilities for youngsters excluded from conventional institutions. The group in Dowell's study developed a formal program of peer-counselling in their own high school, with group leaders and teachers acting only as consultants. These students advanced both in moral reasoning and in ego development (although no indication is given of statistical significance); interestingly, a comparison class in Ethics taught on Kohlbergian lines made similar gains, a comparison "Cross-Age Teaching" group made advances in moral reasoning only, and a high school psychology class using sensitivity training gained on neither.

C. Programs Aimed at Changing the Young, the Schools, and Society

I have found only two programs which start from a general analysis of society and link this with ideas about the role of youth and the nature of education. One, of course, is the Community Involvement Program; I will conclude this section by reviewing previous research on it. The other program is equally ambitious, and be-
cause of this, requires lengthier treatment than most of the programs thus far reviewed.

This program is the Social Education project based on the work of the English psychologist Richard Hauser. In *The Fraternal Society* Hauser traces what he feels is an accelerating movement in Western society from paternalism and authoritarianism to fraternalism and the democratic sharing of decision-making. People in this imminent fraternal society will not be judged by I.Q. but by "Social Age", that is, the extent to which they are willing and able to contribute to society, the most advanced Social Age being that most distant from the egocentricity of childhood. As yet, the fraternal society is only in its earliest stages; if it is to come into secure existence, participated in by the majority of people, education must change to prepare the young for their new, participatory role:

Its aim will be to create a synthesis between social studies and social practice by sending into the community youngster who have learnt the meaning of values by applying them in real situations, who have discovered that they all have in different degrees the ability to change their environment for the better, rather than live lives of passive and resentful adaptation to a welfare society shaped by others.37

If education is to produce responsible adults and to engender an active attitude to social change, the student must move outside the school into the community, and every subject, as well as the governing of the school itself, must serve the aims of this social education. Such traditional approaches as the occasional civics course, usually at only one or two levels in a young person's schooling, must be abandoned. The process of social education must be continuous throughout schooling, and the principles of cooperation, initiative, and social responsibility must be given ample practice and must not be nullified by the authoritarianism of the traditional school. What is wanted is
an explicit attempt to teach people an awareness of their surroundings, sensitivity to their own and to another's problems, and an appreciation of how individuals can collaborate both to inform themselves and to better their own lot. 38

Only with such education can the fraternal society become a reality.

Hauser gave his proposal a practical test in a "Pilot Project among the Educationally Unsuccessful Adolescents in Secondary Schools", carried out in London in 1958. At the end of the one-year trial period, the teacher in charge of the project wrote about his students:

When Mr. Hauser and I started this work in 1958, the majority were apathetic about their future; but by now a change is only too apparent; the "I couldn't care less" attitude has completely disappeared, and most of them have questioned ex-pupils about the various sources of employment, or have firmly decided for themselves what they are going to do. 39

This modest and casually evaluated trial program was followed in Nottingham from 1970-1973 by a more formalized, complex, and thoroughly evaluated experiment in social education based on Hauser's theories. 40 Once again, the schools in which the program was run were almost entirely lower class and the students not academic. As will be seen from the following description, it was essentially an interdisciplinary social studies program, with rather more emphasis on the development of the individual than on actual service.

The first technique used in the program was sociodrama; this was perhaps the central technique, because it was active and encouraged self-expression, while at the same time demanding careful observation and thoughtfulness. The sociodrama exercises progressed from very simple mime to group situations calling for social sensitivity and empathy. When the students were comfortable with the use of this technique, new levels of difficulty were introduced: problem situations("What would you do if...?"), moral conflicts, and eventually complex conflicts of interest at the societal level were tackled.
The second technique was the use of "Profiles", analytical inventories of how the students would describe (a) other members of the class, (b) the school environment, and (c) the neighbourhood (eg., where they lived, what they did after 4 P.M., local problems, leaders, emergency services, minority groups, etc.). During the collection of data for these profiles, a third technique emerged, the use of "Recurrent Themes": the two most frequently used were Man-Woman Relationships (common values, partnership and sharing decision-making, sex, tenderness, and "the nest") and Responsibility, especially in the area of facing crises.

As the culmination of these preparatory stages came the "Community Survey". This was not the typical form of service to the community since, in the words of the two founding teachers,

sending school-children to help various groups of people predetermined as deprived, or less fortunate makes no effort to involve the children in identifying for themselves problems which exist within their own community.41

Although in this particular experiment the students were unable to take action based on their survey, such action is the ultimate goal of the program:

Social Education is not a variation on social studies, liberal studies, civics, etc. It involves a belief in the need for social (and, by extension, political) change, and a belief in schools as part of the wider community rather than separate, perhaps hostile, entities. We believe that children can be trained to act as agents of change within their community, and our programmes of work, although they are developed according to the needs of particular pupils in particular environments, are devised with this objective in mind.42

The extensive and self-critical evaluation of this program undertaken by its creators involved teacher interviews (effects on pupils, staff, and community), pupils' response to the concept of Social Education, interviews with a small random sample of parents, and a test of attitude to school.43

The teachers of the program were largely convinced that it was worthwhile and relevant, and, despite some reservations about its implementation (for example,
lack of preparation for some of the projects, inadequate structuring of the program, difficulty in balancing a desire to leave the student on his own with the need to provide some adult guidance), the majority believed it had proved the viability of Social Education, even for the academically less able. Above all, they were agreed about the advantages of giving the student as much responsibility as possible, although this frequently led to difficulties with school administration and other teachers devoted to obedience training.

The students themselves expressed almost unanimous approval of the program and "In at least two of the schools, they expressed an appreciable understanding of its true objectives." In particular, it was noted that in the one school which was fully imbued with the ideas and ideals of Social Education, there was less tendency to disillusionment among pupils as they reached the end of their school careers. Moreover, most parents gave their support to the work, and, in spite of the brief existence of the program and its small involvement with the community, it was known about and approved of by some people in each community.

Finally, in one school the project appeared to have failed in many of its aims. The reasons seemed to be the lack of continuity in the work, errors made in the early stages of implementation, and a certain clash of aims between the school as a whole and the project team.

Brison's call for the restructuring of the school system is similar in many ways to the Hauser proposal, but it has never received such a lengthy tryout. However, the Grade XII Community Involvement Program has been one of the most thoroughly researched programs so far undertaken. For the first two years of its existence in Peterborough, Ontario, Brison and his associates conducted research which was largely formative in nature. Soft data from interviews with parents and agency personnel predominated, and there was a heavy emphasis on the
problems of implementing and developing the program, rather than on its effects on the students. Lessons were learned, for example, about the need for clear objectives for the in-school portion (which most of the students disliked) and for thorough communication with agencies about mutual expectations concerning roles and responsibilities.

As to whether the program achieved any of its major aims, there was some doubt. One point that recurred in the interviews with parents and agencies and in the student questionnaires was the increased social maturity of the students (sense of responsibility, poise in social situations, confidence in stating ideas). This was valuable evidence concerning an important achievement; but it was not one of the major goals of the program. Evidence regarding these goals (awareness of the scope of the community's problems and of its social service agencies, knowledge of the political decision-making structure and of the ways to influence it, development of group skills and inquiry and research skills) is at best inconclusive. As for the main objective of the program, the commitment of the students to the solution of social problems, the only evidence was the opinion of the agency supervisor, the students' belief that the program would have a long-term effect, and the fact that some students continued to work as volunteers over the summer, all of which have equally plausible alternative explanations.

The central problem with the program itself and with the evaluation seems to have been inadequate conceptualisation of what "commitment to the solution of social problems" might be and consequently, little idea of what kind of pedagogy might be required to produce it. In the second year's research Brison himself shifted from a broad concern with the solution of social problems to more specific goals such as increased knowledge about social problems, about social organization in the community, and about the political structure, a shift motivated by a concern
to meet the students at their level and by a desire for more immediately realizable objectives.

In the second year's research the focus was also more on the effect of the program on the student, and the research design was somewhat more controlled. On a Political Attitudes measure, the C.I.P. students made a small but statistically significant gain; this was interpreted as meaning that the students learned that politics enters many spheres of life and that citizens can affect the government process, and that they developed a concern for the less fortunate and a more active desire to rectify the situation. There was a smaller discrepancy between ideal and actual self-concept for the C.I.P. students (not statistically significant), which was interpreted to mean that they might have a more realistic orientation. There was a slight, though again not statistically significant, improvement of the scores of the second year's students over those of the first year's students on a Social Agency test. However, on the Community Issues Test, designed to measure the transfer of student involvement to other community problems, there were, as in the first year, no gains from pre- to post-test.

In the area of the acceptability of the program, students, parents, and agency personnel reasserted their endorsement of the course. There were only two qualifications. Teachers of the C.I.P. students in other classes indicated that they did not think the program worth the four credits it was receiving, and were neutral to negative about the effects of the program on the students. (This is from a survey conducted by the Peterborough Board of Education.) Secondly, although students were generally positive about the course and about some aspects of the in-school program (such as information-sharing about their agencies, independent study of a problem), they continued to be critical of the in-school curriculum, seeing little relevance in it.
The following year (1974-1975) when the C.I.P. opened in three schools in Etobicoke, a suburb of Toronto, the Ontario Ministry of Education funded a comprehensive evaluation of its effects by the Etobicoke Board's Research Department. (The program reported on in this thesis was one of those evaluated.) Rather than trying to measure such broad aims as commitment to solving social problems, this study focused on the effect on the students' personal development (measures of extroversion, neuroticism, self-concept, and locus of control), social development (measures of social avoidance and distress, and of attitudes to school), vocational interests, as well as a Community Issues and Agencies Test adapted from that used in Peterborough.

As well as the data from these tests, there was an attempt made to collect systematic data on a continuous basis from both students and teachers in the program. Teachers filled out a "Teacher Record of Learning Activities" for each classroom session; students filled out a "Student Timetable Sheet" recording their agency activities one day per week. The final assessment also included student and parent questionnaires, as well as interviews with agency personnel and the participating teachers.

What distinguished those who enrolled in the C.I.P. from those who didn't but who rather chose regular social science courses? The C.I.P. students were almost all female. What distinguishes C.I.P. females from those in the comparison groups? They are, as would be expected, more interested in social and political affairs and in social occupations (especially teaching, social service, and domestic arts); as well, they are less interested in a formal, linear mode of learning. It is suggested that these vocational interests and non-academic orientation may be the main motivation behind the students' involvement in the program, rather than the humanistic and philosophical rationales for the development of "involvement" programs.
Concerning effects on the participating students, statistically significant differences were found in each of the following areas: increased knowledge of community issues and social agencies; increased social and personal maturity (more likely to approach others and to be less anxious in social situations, more extroverted, less neurotic); more positive self-concept as a student and more positive attitudes to education; clarification of vocational goals. All of these changes were also supported by data from interviews and questionnaires.

In conclusion, there was a broad agreement among students, parents, agency personnel, and teachers that the program was worthwhile and should be continued, although there were improvements to be made in the quality of the agency experience and in the relevance of the in-school component. (This research shows that students generally reacted favorably to the in-school program described in the Year 1 section of Chapter 4.)

Conclusion

In response to the "problem" of adolescence, with its increasingly lengthy isolation from the world of adults, a number of educators and social scientists have proposed changes in the educational environment of the young, changes which they feel would promote healthy psychological and social development of the young. The research reviewed in this chapter provides considerable support for one of these proposals, the use of social service experience for adolescents. Under a wide variety of conditions such experience has been shown to produce healthy development to at least some degree. Some conditions seem more favorable than others. Service is not enough (eg. Outward Bound, YTY, the Madison C.I.P.); those programs with a clearly directed and relevant classroom component were more likely to be productive (eg. Dowell, Social Education, the Etobicoke C.I.P.), the most effective such component being based on developmental psychology (Sprinthall and Mosher).
The research reviewed in this chapter shows the potential value of social service in the life of the young. The initial success of these programs and the agreement among educators on their usefulness points to this approach as a model for education in the future. However, most of the programs reviewed here are still in the early stages of development. Some are short-lived, some are constantly evolving. Much research is needed on various aspects of this kind of program if those in government are to act wisely in creating the educational systems of the future:

Our problem, the isolation of the young from adult responsibility, is probably best characterized as chronic but not critical. Nevertheless, it will undoubtedly worsen during the next 20 years, with the continuing decline of the nuclear family. It is my hope that we will have some answers and guidelines available for policy makers before the problem reaches the acute stage.

With specific reference to the C.I.P. a number of questions remain open. Although there is a wealth of testimony on the personal and social development of the students, the only objective measures have been concerned with self-concept and clinical concepts such as extroversion and neuroticism. What effects of the program would be discovered by using a more comprehensive and less clinical personality measure? This has been the focus of my research in the second year of the study. My hypotheses were: (1) All students, both in the C.I.P. and in the comparison group, will show signs that their environment is not fostering personal development and mental health; specifically, they will show low scores on personality traits relating to emotional and task competence; (2) following their year in the C.I.P., students will improve significantly in these qualities in comparison with their peers in a regular academic program.

A second area has received no attention from researchers: what is the effect on the values, sense of social responsibility, and moral reasoning of the students of their year of social service? Leming's study would tend to suggest that ad-
vanced moral reasoning should not be expected; but were his findings a function of his special sample or a result perhaps of the lack of systematic adult guidance? Certainly, the programs of Sprinthall and Mosher and of Chris Dowell produced advances in moral reasoning. More specifically, what effect will working in social service agencies have on the values of the students? The problem of indoctrination into agency ideology was raised in the discussion of the Peace Corps; will there be signs of such indoctrination among these less mature students? It is to such questions that I turn in the following chapter.
CHAPTER 2 - FOOTNOTES


3. Similar rejections of traditional schooling's isolation of the young from the real world of experience can be traced from Dewey to Paul Goodman and, more recently, in a host of books by sociologists and educators, for example, Charles Silberman's Crisis in the Classroom, Peter Drucker's The Age of Discontinuity, and Ulric Bronfenbrenner's Two Worlds of Childhood.


6. Margaret Mead had made almost the same suggestion 15 years earlier in "Why is Education Obsolescent?" (in The Teacher and the Taught, ed. R. Gross). Ivan Illich also makes a similar point in Deschooling Society; see especially pp. 8, 23, 39, 85-86.

7. Lawrence Kubie, "Are We Educating for Maturity?" (NEA Journal, XLVIII, Jan. 1959), 68.


10. M.J. Gold, Working to Learn (Publications Bureau of Columbia University, 1951), 136. A more recent example of the failure of a more conscious attempt to change a school system in this direction is described in Touching the World: Adolescents, Adults, and Action Learning by M. Arms and D. Denman. In this case it would appear that the authors failed to leave teachers with any significant role in their proposed reschooling.

11. National Commission on Resources for Youth, New Roles for Youth in the School and the Community (N.Y.: Citation Press, 1974), vii.

12. Ibid., 6.


14. Ibid., 164.

15. Ibid., 158. While a survey of the use of social service programs on a world-wide scale is quite beyond the scope of this thesis, some mention must be made of the extensive use of such programs in the educational systems of contemporary communist countries.

The Russian system which Bronfenbrenner holds up as a model to American education did not come about automatically as a result of the Russian Revolution. The post-Revolution educational bureaucracy continued to favour traditional academic forms of schooling. The man who first tried to devise a truly Marxist form of education, and who eventually defeated the bureaucrats, was A.S. Makarenko. The means he devised to conquer the unruly delinquents who were his first assignment were a combination of old-fashioned moral sternness and the creation of a miniature communist society within the school walls, involving the students in responsibility for school property, for money-making manufacturing and farming projects, and for service to the local community. (See Makarenko's autobiography The Road to Life, 2 vols. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973). It is education along these lines which Bronfenbrenner praises.

Without entering into a lengthy discussion of Bronfenbrenner's position, a few critical points must be made. Firstly, nowhere in his book does he mention the failure of the educational reforms initiated by Krushchev in 1958, which attempted to connect school with life by having students spend two days a week in on-the-job training in factories, collective farms, and other practical assignments related to their academic interests. (See N. Haltmeyer, "Soviet Attempts To Provide On-the-Job Training", Phi Delta Kappan, May 1975, 604.) When the program was withdrawn in 1964, Soviet educators explained that the transportation and co-ordination required had been too costly and time-consuming, students were given unimportant jobs or no jobs at all, academic work suffered, and the day-school dropout rate increased, many students transferring to night school while taking regular-paying day jobs. The failure of this program perhaps explains Bronfenbrenner's concentration on non-economic roles for youth, but it also contains valuable hints for any organizer of such programs.

There are more serious difficulties with Bronfenbrenner's position. However precise his analysis of the social processes of the classroom, his
understanding of some of the larger political and philosophical issues is less impressive. For example, his concept of social responsibility centres on habitual behaviour and role modelling, and seems to contain no rational or principled element. Democracy is confused with cooperation, seemingly with no place for standing outside one's society to criticize its values or the methods its uses to pursue its ends. His praise of peer pressure for the indoctrination of children, and his uncritical acceptance of the institutions of both societies, would make his proposals suspect to many, if not most, North American educators, at least in these specifics.

When we turn to China we return to a tale of struggle against an old-fashioned educational bureaucracy. Even during his own education, Mao reacted negatively to what he felt was excessive academic study. In the literacy classes of the 1930's and 1940's and the part-work, part-study programs of the 1950's and 1960's, as well as the "red and expert" colleges and other innovative programs, Mao emphasized work and service as essential parts of universal education. (The development of Mao's ideas on education and his continuous struggle with the bureaucracy from which he emerged as victor only after the 1966 Cultural Revolution, are documented in John Hawkins' Mao-tse-Tung and Education(1974).) However, the extent to which these programs have been successful (about which little is known) is undoubtedly attributable to the radically different economy and social order of China. Mao's goals were quite different from those of any North American program. He wanted to bring literacy to the masses, to reduce the differences between rural and urban schools, to give everyone the experience of the nobility of work, and more generally, to break down the barriers between the school and society, to make the society itself a learning society, and, most important of all, to produce food and goods for the people.

Similar educational experiments are taking place in revolutionary Cuba. The "basic secondary school in the country" is based partly on the practical need for more food, and partly on the ideological and pedagogical principles that "productive work molds man, that responsible participation by youth in building a new society is achieved by association with economic and social development plans, and that education and the school have a place in the accomplishment of Cuba's modernization" (Max Figuera et al., The Basic Secondary School in the Country: an Educational Innovation in Cuba, Int'l. Bureau of Education, Geneva, 1974). Fifty of these schools are operating presently, and eighty-three more are planned. The pupils, mainly from urban areas, board at the schools, combine study and work systematically throughout the school year, their basically agricultural activities being part of an economic development plan.


18. Ibid., 101.


21. Ibid., 15. The summary of research is also based on this text.

22. Ibid., 115.

23. F.J. Kelly and D.J. Baer, "Physical Challenge as a Treatment for Delinquency" (Crime and Delinquency, 17, 1971), 437-445. It should be kept in mind that this study is based on the American version of Outward Bound which contains little or no element of community service.


27. Cross-age tutoring programs which have been shown to advance moral development are reviewed by D.S. Paolitto in "The Effect of Cross-Age Tutoring on Adolescents: An Inquiry into Theoretical Assumptions" (RER, 46, Spring 1976), 215-237. Positive results on attitudinal and self-concept measures have also been obtained, although not consistently, in programs which involved little or no training or education for the adolescents: see G.R. Cairns, Jr. "Evaluation of the Youth Tutoring Youth project, summer 1971" (ERIC document no. ED 064-455), H. Rollins, "Evaluation of the Youth Tutoring Youth project, summer 1970" (ERIC document no. ED 055-149), and C.J. Wing, "The Effects of a 'Youth Tutoring Youth' program on potential dropouts", Dissertation Abstracts International, 1972, 33(4-A), 1452. Research in the whole area of cross-age tutoring is comprehensively reviewed by V.L. Allen et al., "Research on Children Tutoring Children: a Critical Review" (RER, 46, Summer 1976), 355-385.


29. This was also found in the experience of Arms and Denman, Touching the World.


32. Ibid., 510.

33. Ibid., 521.

34. The importance of a classroom component which complements the service experience can be supported to some extent by a pair of experiments using undergraduate psychology students as volunteers in mental hospitals. The first
study, by Holzberg, Gewirtz, and Ebner ("Changes in moral judgement and self-acceptance in college students as a function of companionship with hospitalized mental patients" (J. Consult. Psych., 28, 1964), 299-303) found changes both in the volunteers' level of moral tolerance and self-acceptance when the volunteer experience was accompanied by a classroom component. The experiment was replicated by King et al. ("Personality change as a function of volunteer experience in a psychiatric hospital" (J. Consult. & Clin. Psych., 35, 1970), 423-425) with no academic work or supervision; self-acceptance increased, but there was no significant effect on moral tolerance.


38. Loc. cit.


40. A complete description of the program and the associated research is given in J. Rennie, E.A. Lunzer, and W.T. Williams' Social Education: an Experiment in Four Secondary Schools (Methuen, 1974).


42. Ibid., 162.

43. Two further measures were developed, a test of children's accuracy of self-perception and peer-perception, and a technique to evaluate constructiveness of contributions to group discussion. However, neither was pre-tested, with the result that they proved unsatisfactory and provided no useful data.


45. Harry Silberman, "Involving the Young" (Phi Delta Kappan, May 1975), 600.
CHAPTER 3
THE COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT PROGRAM AS VALUES EDUCATION

In this chapter I will examine one of the main value components of the Community Involvement Program, its objective of making young people committed to the solution of social problems. As I pointed out in describing Brison's early research, this is an area in which the program itself and the research on it have suffered from inadequate conceptualization. What is commitment? What consequences follow from taking commitment, commitment to anything, as an educational goal? How is commitment embodied or exercised in the work experience and the in-school components of the program? What can social service agencies teach, and what effect are they likely to have on the developing social values of the young? From the discussion of these questions will then flow the hypotheses which directed the second half of my research.

Commitment as an Educational Goal

One of the most striking features of Brison's statement of the aims of the restructured school system, and consequently of the Community Involvement Program, is the use of the word commitment. Whatever else our schools have been trying to achieve, their statement of aims has not usually included this word. The unusualness of the word in educational contexts and the lack of clarification of it in Brison's brief article require that some attention be given to the term here.

Firstly, what is the precise meaning of the term commitment which is relevant to the Community Involvement Program? In ordinary usage, it has a number of different senses. The one most relevant seems to be that given in definition 6 in
the Oxford English Dictionary: an obligation or engagement, as in "he failed to meet his commitments as outlined in his contract" or "I cannot come to the party on Friday, since I have a previous commitment". There is a conscious choice of a course of action, usually involving other people, in which case it would be affirmed in a public declaration, at least to the parties involved. (It is possible to conceive a purely personal commitment made only to oneself - for example, to lose twenty pounds in the next three months - but this is more typically described as a resolution.) The commitment implied is specific and limited, occupying only a fraction of a person's life, having a specific goal, and a precise sense of when the commitment would have been completed or lived up to.

But this sense of commitment as something which one has seems too limited and narrow. More appropriate here is the sense of the word contained in the phrase "she is a committed Women's-libber". The implications here are that a commitment is something which suffuses many aspects of one's life, something which gives one's values and actions a direction and a unity. It is the commitment of friendship or marriage, which is not completed or lived up to in any one action or series of actions, which has its meaning in its being lived through. Commitment in this sense is part of what one is or strives to be rather than something one has.

This wider, more fundamental sense of commitment has emerged since the Second World War under the influence of French Existentialism. The newness of this sense is evident from the fact that it only makes it appearance in the Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. I, published in 1972. Its heritage is made clear in the quotations which document its usage: the earliest is from a 1948 book on Jean-Paul Sartre which uses commitment as a translation for the French term engagement. The definition given is: "An absolute moral choice of a course of action; hence, the state of being involved in political or social questions, or in further-
ing a particular doctrine or cause...; moral seriousness or social responsibility in artistic productions." Remove the sense of absoluteness and the references to artistic productions, which tends to limit the word to a historical group of writers, and I believe you have the sense of commitment which is central to the Community Involvement Program.

The relevance of this sense of commitment to this program can be clarified by an examination of the opposites of the two senses of commitment. The negative of the narrow sense of having a commitment is breaking a commitment, which implies failure to keep one's word or to live up to a specific obligation. The negative of being committed, on the other hand, implies withdrawal and lack of involvement, summed up in the word alienation. Being uncommitted in this sense implies not neutrality or indecision but rather a debilitating detachment of the individual from the social fabric and from a sense of who he himself is. These are the very evils which Brison proposed to combat with his restructured school system.

A number of points follow from this analysis. Firstly, the Community Involvement Program is in its intention a course in moral education; the first phrase in the dictionary definition makes this clear: in seeking to make the student committed we are asking him to make a "moral choice". Research into the actual effects of the program on the students' morality is therefore essential.

Secondly, since this concept of commitment is part of the student's being, involving elements of personality, attitudes, values, moral reasoning, and behaviour, accurate assessment of it becomes extremely complex and problematic. Certainly no one pencil-and-paper test will suffice. And considering the impediments to responsible action on the part of youth in our society, it is not likely that they will be able to show their commitment in any large-scale manner. (In any case, my combined duties as teacher of the course and liaison with the agencies
left me little free time for in-depth interviewing or observation.) For this reason I decided to focus my research on only a few elements of commitment, attempting in a sense to triangulate on it by testing several widely different aspects of it. My procedure will be explained later in this chapter and in greater detail in Chapter 5.

The third consequence of the existential definition of commitment is that it contains a possible pedagogy of commitment. If commitment is "the state of being involved in political questions", then it might be concluded that the best method for arousing such commitment is to demand personal participation in the resolution of such questions by means of political or social action. However, as has already been emphasized in the previous chapter, equal attention must be given to the principles by which the student makes his "moral choice". My particular solutions to the problems of a curriculum for commitment are described in detail in the following chapter.

In order to explore the question how commitment is embodied or exercised in the Community Involvement Program I will take an analytical look at two of the key elements of commitment, responsibility and concern.

Responsibility is a complex concept, encompassing the various meanings of being answerable or accountable, having obligations, being morally developed, being capable of rational conduct, and being reliable or trustworthy. I wish to draw attention to only two distinctions in the area of responsibility to show the various ways the concept appears in the Community Involvement Program. Firstly, it is possible to distinguish two kinds of responsibility: role responsibility involves the performance of certain actions because of one's position in a social system; liability responsibility, the purely moral sense of responsibility, involves being held liable to blame for any wrongdoing or failure to do what is required.
Both senses are relevant to the Community Involvement Program but each receives a special emphasis. Role responsibility is very important in the agency work. The student is given certain jobs or duties to perform, the very newness of the roles being stimulating; he or she is made to feel the importance of being clear about exactly what the duties are and about being sure that they are completed. Other people are depending on the student's performance; his actions have consequences which flow beyond himself or his family (which is not true in the case of the usual school homework assignment). Some of the duties will not have any intrinsic appeal, and yet are part of the responsibilities which go with the role. This is not a fashionable concept in moral education at the moment, but it is to the credit of the course that emphasis and practical drill is given in an area which is important not only to being an adult but also in the service of those with problems.

But liability responsibility is also dealt with in the Community Involvement Program, usually in classroom discussion of the students' experience and of social problems. I put considerable effort into making the students aware that an important causal factor in any social problem is society itself. The point here is not to simplify the issue, neither putting all the blame on social factors, which would tend to destroy the concept of personal responsibility, nor putting it all on the individual, which would destroy the concept of a community. Direct involvement in helping those in need frequently takes for granted an awareness of and leaves little time for reflection on these larger social and moral issues. Hence the importance of the classroom component.

Both of these senses may also be distinguished from another sense of the word responsibility, the sense implied when students demand to be given more responsibility. What is meant here is not the allocation of more duties, taking
up more of the students' time serving others. Rather, what is meant is that students be allowed more freedom in making decisions which affect their own fates, especially decisions concerning the institution of the school. This is the sense of responsibility most fashionable at present, yet it has tended to be the least relevant to the Community Involvement Program, at least in my experience. Not that it is totally absent: students do decide in which agency they will work, and can select the content areas of several of the projects done during the year. However, agencies generally allowed the students little of this type of responsibility (although they may just be a result of the newness of the program), and the school, at least in the first year, presented them with a prefabricated package which they had little influence in shaping. It will be seen from my description of my second year's in-school component (see Chapter 4) that I devoted most of my attention to this area: the students had almost complete control over and responsibility for what we studied, how it was studied, and how it was evaluated. This was meant not only to give them the experience of this kind of responsibility within the framework of an educational institution, but was also the solution to another problem any teacher of this course faces, namely, how to respond in the classroom to the new self-respect of the students, especially since some other teachers and administrators may fail to take account of their new status. That my approach was at least partially successful is supported by the evidence from the second year's case studies, in which each student testified that he felt treated as a mature person in the Community Involvement class, sometimes for the first time in his school career. (However, it must also be noted that when I asked them to define responsibility at the end of the year, they all defined it as doing one's duty, what I have called role responsibility.)

A second important component of commitment is concern, the attitude of
interest in or solicitous regard for the problems of others, or the disposition to become involved in their concerns and to act on their behalf. Analysis of this concept can also reveal something about the nature of the Community Involvement Program.

Concern has been analysed into three distinct kinds. Firstly, there is "concern-about", which is intellectual or inquisitive. Concern about a situation prompts inquiry about the state of affairs, about what means might be used to correct or fight the problem, and how similar situations might be prevented in the future. The opposite of concern-about may be manifested as unfeeling detachment or lack of interest or as complacency, the pleasant feeling that spreads out like a halo from our own sense of well-being over everything we perceive. Both detachment and complacency may lead to two kinds of error: the inability to see obvious needs and also carelessness in inquiring about needs which are not obvious. It will be evident from the details provided in the following chapter that the exercise of this kind of concern was one of the primary tasks of the classroom component especially in the first year.

The second kind of concern is "concern-for", which is defined as "the disposition to respond to need practically and with kindness or sympathy". One has concern-about but one shows concern-for. That is, concern-for is active, demonstrative; it does not express itself in visionary daydreams or revolutionary or utopian schemes, but rather it is almost domestic in its perspective: it is the craft of the possible. Nor need one's action in showing concern-for be particularly effective, for frequently the people one is helping desire the kindness or sympathy more than they, inured to their lot, expect any real improvement in it. The exercise of concern-for is not only one of the essential functions of the agency experience, but the expression of this concern is one of the genuine
services our students can render in contexts of institutional formality.

The final kind of concern is "concern-with". This is related to empathy, the ability to project oneself into and therefore more fully understand another person. Concern-with may be a function of knowledge (knowing that a person who is 60% deaf can hear only consonants, and being able to imitate what this would sound like) or of feeling (feeling the excitement of a retarded boy who completes a telephone call for the first time). But concern-with goes beyond this accuracy of imagination or insight: concern-with assimilates to our own interests those of others with whom we do not naturally associate. For example, one of my students was made extremely angry by what she felt was an excessive use of depressants on the patients in the old age home in which she worked. Why were so many patients simply drugged into quiet passivity? She pursued the question with nurses and administrators, and found in their silence a statement of values, which were only an echo of the values of a society which shuts away the old in the first place. Similarly, another student noticed that the mother of one of the retarded children with whom she worked, whenever she spoke in a public place, such as on the bus, always whispered the word retarded; this observation transported her momentarily into the realities of being the mother of a retarded child. In the second year of the program I also discovered that having guest speakers who were themselves suffering from a problem, rather than having experts, served the same function.

As the Community Involvement Program develops, conscious efforts must be made to maximize these powerful motivators of commitment. Concern-with is the source of an aggressive kind of commitment, for there is nothing to arouse our anger like our wincing under the blows we see others receive, especially since we are not desensitized to these blows, as they often are. Concern-about, while also active
and ready to fight injustice, is based more on principle and intellect, is more systematic and concerned with the future; as such, it is an important component of the commitment to the long-term solution of complex social problems to which Brison so frequently refers. Concern-for, by contrast, is more emotional, less concerned to fight than to bandage wounds, less concerned with organizing for the future than with easing the present. Each of these kinds of concern must play a role in any educational program attempting to create commitment.

But the question must be asked: should any educational program be trying to produce commitment? Is it a worthwhile goal? In answering this question, certain problems or dangers, both conceptual and practical, must be acknowledged.

Firstly, the conceptual difficulties. Commitment is, to begin with, a very slippery term. It would seem, at first, to be something which is either totally present, or not there at all; this, I take it, is what was meant by "absolute" moral choice in the dictionary definition. And yet there can be degrees of commitment: even though the commitment may pervade many aspects of one's life, there may be other aspects with which it comes into conflict, and which may, at times, weaken or overrule it (for example, devotion to one's family may overrule commitment to social justice). It would seem that this is the reason we have in English the phrase "total commitment", for those exceptional cases (for example, Albert Schweitzer or Mother Theresa of Calcutta) who do, in fact, give their whole lives to a cause. But if degrees of commitment are possible, how much commitment is the Community Involvement Program trying to produce in its students? This question seems never to have been asked, yet without the answer, how can one ever say that the course has achieved its aim? Furthermore, what would be done if a student were to become totally committed?

There is a second problem with the concept of commitment. For all the
positive terms included in the definition, commitment is ethically ambiguous.
Can anyone, for example, doubt the commitment of many Nazis during the Second World War? Theirs was an "absolute moral choice" which involved them in social and political questions; within the context of their society, they were socially responsible and morally serious. One of the advantages in the Community Involvement Program use of social service agencies is that students can observe at first hand the life style of those committed to solving social problems; as Simone Weil wrote: "Those who serve a cause are not those who love that cause. They are those who love the life which has to be led in order to serve it...." Community Involvement students will understand that life at first hand. But unless they are given a sound moral framework and advanced moral reasoning, they may not judge well the ends which their commitment serves. This would especially be a problem for the restructured school system originally envisaged by Brison, since it would involve younger students for a longer period of time.

A third problem with commitment is psychological and would also require careful consideration if Brison's proposal for restructuring were to be implemented. I am referring to the powerful emotional component of commitment. If the course were successful in arousing a strong commitment, there would be a danger of its becoming too fervent and aggressive. There would seem to be something in the moral seriousness of commitment which can easily lead even the strongest minds into dogmatism, in which one's views are not examined critically, all disbelievers are rejected, and one shows a tendency to make only party line changes. The curriculum would have to incorporate the rational examination of dogmas and ideologies and toleration of diverging views.

Such, then, are some of the main features of the concept of commitment as well as some of the problems which attend it. But a very important question yet
remains. To what end are Community Involvement Program students to become committed? What is the precise meaning behind the phrase "the solution of social problems" and what can social service agencies teach the young about their solution?

The Solution of Social Problems - What Can Social Service Agencies Teach?

In the previous chapter I argued some of the advantages and disadvantages of placing students in social service agencies. I would like now to examine some of these disadvantages at greater length in order to show what the in-school portion of the program would have to try to correct and also to form hypotheses which could then be tested empirically on my Community Involvement Program students. Accepting the use of social service agencies as training grounds for future problem-solvers, rather than having students initiate independent attempts at solution, what can we expect them to learn, either directly or by way of a hidden curriculum, about the solution of social problems?

They learn, firstly, that social problems are to be tackled by professionals, people who have mastered certain techniques. The specialization inherent in the definition of a professional is functional in that it protects the helper from the undifferentiated demands of the individual seeking help. It has also been argued that professionalism gives social workers some power to counterbalance sectarian political interests. However, one of the major effects of professionalism has been to depersonalize the treatment of those seeking aid and to ally the social worker with the values and interests of the dominant groups and the vested interests in the society. The solution to any increase in social problems is naturally seen to be an increase in the number of professional specialists.
The Community Involvement students see people of goodwill and intelligence acquiesce to the bureaucratized system; since they have, as yet, few critical tools with which to gain a perspective on the problem, they too accept the system. As two university teachers of social workers comment:

In the regular curricula, field studies often provide a context where students are passively socialized into the scripts of established agencies. Just as many students uncritically accept the theories of faculty, so may they unconsciously and uncritically learn the paradigm of professional practice used by their agency supervisors and co-workers.

Brison made a similar point about the uniformity of teachers' values as a rationale for removing adolescents from high school; but it would seem that his point applies with equal force to the agencies in which he would have the students work. One fundamental problem with the Community Involvement Program may be a too easy identification of community and social agency.

The social sciences have absorbed the values of the vested interests in the society which they try to serve, with unfortunate consequences. Economics, for example, is caught in servility to existing dominant values and institutions. Such servility, for example, may account for the fact that orthodox Western economics, resting as it does on the assumption of underlying harmony, has little to say about the irreconcilable conflicts that exist in the real world. It may also explain why it has been unable to explain or propose an adequate remedy for the most important economic problem of the century: the growing income gap between the advanced industrial nations and the Third World. To confront these issues adequately invites a revolution in economics and would call into question powerful and controlling groups in society.

If the example of economics seems too obvious, the same point can be made with equal force about social work:

Applied sociology has generally dealt with the narrow problem of goal implementation; and the goals have generally been those of established organisations, rather than emergent one or individuals(sic). Thus, sociologists have been disproportionately mobilized for status quo and establishment purposes.

The institutionalized needs of government, business, the military, trade unions, school systems, and the like—not the needs of humans—
have defined most of the problems and shaped much of the research. Even when social change is the goal, such as in community redevelopment, elimination of poverty, improvement of low income housing, and increasing equality of educational opportunity, elite origins have often inclined new community-action agencies and their researchers toward elitist objectives, strategies, and tactics of change.

providing a critical perspective from which to view their social service thus becomes an essential task of the Community Involvement classroom.

Along with the danger of an agency's hidden curriculum, it seems to me that there are two other, interrelated dangers for which one must be alert. The first has to do with the "concern-for" element of the students' commitment, the other with their emerging conception of human nature. In discussing the concern-for element of commitment, I mentioned that it was this very element, so frequently missing from the anaesthetized impersonality of service institutions, which the students could contribute. However, quite the reverse might happen: to the extent that they are allowed to become involved in the main activities of the agency, they may tend to experience the same emotional problems which drain the energy and goodwill of thousands of neophyte teachers and social workers each year, which leave them embittered, cynical, or simply beaten. To the extent that they are protected from these problems, the value of their experience is decreased and they are kept as children; to the extent that they are not protected, they are at least as susceptible, if not more so, to these kinds of feelings. To provide more concrete evidence, one study of the effects of mental hospital volunteer work on students found that, while they tended to see patients more as normal individuals, they grew much more pessimistic about mental hospitals. Further, more extensive evidence is reported in the following:

Wassermann studied welfare workers for a two-year period, beginning with their entry into the welfare system, and found them to be in severe conflict. The workers saw supervisors as oppressive bureaucratic control. They had to break rules to try to do a marginally better job for their clients.
Breaking rules led, in turn, to feelings of guilt and anxiety. Over time, they became desensitized to their clients' needs and grew increasingly cynical. They were quite aware that they could not do much to help their clients, and they saw their agency options as either leaving the agency or attempting to move up in its hierarchy.

Similarly, a research team of the Social and Rehabilitation Services, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, reviewed nine empirical studies on the effects of initial entry into the social welfare and rehabilitation fields and found the impact on the worker to be primarily negative. The dominant worker responses were disillusionment, loss of idealism, and loss of interest in staying in the field. While specific causes of these reactions were not analysed, the report did suggest that the lack of accomplishment of the field in general "may increase the amount of cynicism among workers and decrease the extent to which they will continue to emphasize service goals as opposed to self-serving goals in their behavior."

Under these circumstances what sort of image of themselves, of their clients, and of human nature in general are the Community Involvement students likely to acquire? They can see around them much personal evidence of concern for others, whatever may be the surface feelings or the verbalized reactions to the system. But they also learn that man is helpless, dependent, the solution of his problems beyond the power of either professionals or clients. Furthermore, people are essentially simple beings, they will learn, more like one another than different, able to be read and classified at a glance. However trustworthy they may be personally, their actions are not determined by their own will and reason. Novice teachers frequently absorb a similarly negative view of themselves and their students from those with long experience in the system.

I do not wish to exaggerate these two points about concern-with and the emergent picture of man's nature, at least in the context of my own experience of the Community Involvement Program. In the first place, none of my students worked in a welfare agency, which would undoubtedly face more complex and more severe problems than a church-basement pre-school for the retarded or a recreation program in the Y.W.C.A. I would not expect, then, an overwhelming change in my students. Moreover, these were students who were vocationally curious; even if
their experience were negative, it would have been useful. (In any case, half of the first year's students had worked as volunteers before they entered the program.) But if the general point is correct, then it has important consequences for any compulsory, universal school system modelled on the Community Involvement Program. One's view of human nature may seem rather distant from one's behaviour in a social service agency; but if one views man as helpless and dependent one is not only going to sustain authoritarianism in service institutions, but one is also going to judge the actions of those in need differently than if on thought of them as strong and independent. One does, after all, judge the actions of children (also seen as helpless and dependent) differently from those of adults.

Looked at from a different point of view, the belief that man is dependent and that his fate is beyond the control of his reason and will, will also tend to affect his moral development. Brison speaks approvingly of the moral education program of Alive Beck and Ed Sullivan; the goal of this program is to move people beyond merely conventional moral reasoning to a postconventional morality, in which one's moral reasoning is governed by self-chosen ethical principles which are logically comprehensive, universal, and consistent. Another aspect of such moral reasoning is that it shows a fundamental respect for each individual, each person being treated as an end, not a means. Is such a level of moral reasoning compatible with or encouraged by the image of man described above?

The Community Involvement Program as Moral Education - Some Hypotheses

The function of this chapter has been to look analytically at some of the central concepts of the Community Involvement Program as moral education and to provide thereby a rationale for the particular questions on which I have done research. As will by now be evident, the Community Involvement Program represents
no single theory of moral education. There are cognitive, affective, and role
modelling elements. The research which follows, then, does not test any one
approach to moral education, but rather the effects on various aspects of the
students' moral development of a composite approach whose unique feature is
social service experience.

Based on the analysis in this chapter, here are the hypotheses I believe
are most worth examining, keeping in mind that the various tests are meant to
provide a series of viewpoints or points of triangulation on the central concept
of commitment. (To avoid confusion with the hypotheses on psychosocial develop-
ment advanced at the end of Chapter 2, these hypotheses will be numbered with
Roman numerals.)

Firstly, since social responsibility is an obvious element of the commitment
to the solution of social problems, one would hypothesize that (I) after taking
the Community Involvement Program, students will show a greater sense of social
responsibility.

Secondly, one might expect some substantive change in the values of the
students, especially in those values having to do with social relations. This,
it will be remembered, was a key argument in Brison's advocacy of early adolescence
as the best time for such a program, because it was a critical period in the
formation of their social values. But which specific values would be most appro-
riate to test? Considering the classroom emphasis on interpersonal skills and
the importance of these in agency work, it would be expected that students would
tend to value social skills, especially those involving cooperation, more highly.
In the same area of social skills, treatment of agency clients frequently requires
the use of self-control, for example, restraining oneself from striking back when
hit by a retarded child or from responding in kind to verbal abuse from someone
who is emotionally disturbed. The classroom exercises also emphasized a more
objective, technical approach to interpersonal relations, in the first year
Students in the program would be expected to place a higher value on
such self-control. Similarly, the problem-solving exercises and the agency ex-
erience of those working in classrooms or recreation groups placed a premium on
inventiveness and ingenuity: students should value creativity and novelty more
highly.

But it was also important that at least some of the values tested should
cluster around the concept of commitment. What sort of values does the committed
person tend to hold? Empirical data on this question is provided by David Mark
Mantell's True Americanism: Green Berets and War Resisters. The book is a study
of the commitment exhibited by these two groups which represented strong commit-
ment to opposite stands on an important social and political issue, the war in
Vietnam. Mantell's conclusion, based on in-depth interviews and testing of a
sample of twenty-five men from each group, was that to a large extent their
commitment was based on the family life from which they had come and from the
values their families had imparted to them, values they still tended to maintain.
If it is true that one's values are largely determined by one's family background,
then one would expect little change in the values of the Community Involvement
students. However, one's values might be strengthened by one's experience, thereby
resulting in higher test scores. What values should one be looking at? Mantell
found the war resisters (the group more obviously related the the Community Involv-
ment Program) valued work and diligence, individual and intellectual achievement,
love of life, humanitarianism, kindliness, and independence. The Green Berets
valued "propriety, respectability, pride, hard work, obedience, respect for
authority, and professionalism." (It must be kept in mind that Mantell's sample
was entirely male, whereas my own group was almost entirely female; test results might show my students responding to female stereotypes, for example, in individual or intellectual achievement or in independence.)

I would therefore hypothesize that (II) students' personal values, especially in areas related to commitment and social service, would be changed by their experience: greater value would be placed on social skills, self-control, creativity, intellectualism, individual achievement, independence, and kindness.

The third area in which I was interested was the emotional element of commitment. If the students' commitment is increased, would they not tend to become more dogmatic in their views? My hypothesis would be that (III) the students' level of dogmatism would tend to increase.

In this chapter I have expressed my concern about the potential effects of agency experience on the students' developing image of man. This seems to me to be a key area to observe. I would hypothesize that (IV) the students' image of man would tend to become more negative and pessimistic; specifically, man would be increasingly seen as unable to control his own fate, dependent on others, simple and easy to understand, altruistic, but untrustworthy.

Hypothesis (V): Community Involvement students would tend to move toward a higher level of moral reasoning.

One final hypothesis I wished to test does not emerge from the analysis contained in this chapter but emerges more directly from what was to be expected from the nature of the agency experience. Students most often know little about the clients of social services, since society takes such pains to isolate both groups. What is the meaning of a teenage retarded boy's hug or the spitting of a child who is emotionally disturbed? Would not extended experience in agencies
dealing with such people and such situations tend to increase the students' tolerance of situations whose meaning they did not understand or have under control? I would hypothesize that (VI) the Community Involvement students' intolerance of ambiguity would decrease as a result of their experience.

These seemed to me some of the key expectations one might have of this program even if it were only partially effective in achieving its aims. My hypotheses are not always in a positive direction; indeed, some would tend to favour increased commitment, others the opposite. And yet each seems to me to follow from the nature of the program.

The particular tests used to measure these aspects of commitment are described in Chapter 5; the results of the study are reported in Chapter 6. In the following Chapter I shall describe in detail the students' experience of the Community Involvement Program, the experience which was the experimental treatment in this study.
CHAPTER 3 - FOOTNOTES

1. The distinction is used by W.F. Hare in A Sense of Responsibility and its Development but originates in H.L.A. Hart's Punishment and Responsibility, page 265.

2. R. Hughes, "Our Concern with Others" in Philosophy and Human Relations, (ed.) A. Montefiore, 97ff.

3. Ibid., 98-99.


CHAPTER 4

THE TREATMENT: TWO YEARS OF THE COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT PROGRAM

Before describing in detail the two years of the Community Involvement Program on which my research is based, I will say just a few words about the social and educational environment of the school in which it was set.

The school is a medium-sized secondary school (population approximately 1,500) in a middle to upper-middle class suburb of Toronto. Within the area from which this school draws its students, most of the homes are single-family dwellings, about fifteen years old, and valued in 1975 at between seventy to one hundred thousand dollars; there are only a few apartment buildings in the area, no public housing, and no industry whatever. The majority of the population is white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, and even the portion of the students who are members of an ethnic group (the largest being Italian) are completely assimilated.

The school is locally well-known for its school spirit and its wealth of extra-curricular activities, from award-winning music groups (including a 300-voice choir) to a variety of championship sports teams. The parents in the community also demand a solid academic education for their children (although there is a large commercial department, there is only one small industrial arts classroom), and this is what the school delivers. Most of the students in the school go on to post-secondary education, about 45% going on to university in 1974.

The administration (the principal and two vice-principals) is very conservative and therefore perfect for this area. Discipline is firm and consistent attendance is demanded and carefully checked. Curriculum novelty is generally resisted, the
Community Involvement Program having been accepted at the school not because it was innovative or fulfilled any specific, urgent need but because of a personal moral commitment on the part of the principal. (The vice-principals were not consulted and their hostility and skepticism sometimes interfered with the program.) Also, I had three years earlier proposed a similar program, which had been turned down, so that the principal knew he had a willing teacher for the program. The vice-principals made it clear that, since this program served only a tiny fraction of the school population (19 in the first year, 11 in the second - a further indication of the lack of appeal of the program in such an academic school), it would therefore have to follow all the rules; if it couldn't work on those terms, it would have to be cancelled. In short, the administrative style of the school was unashamedly conservative and authoritarian.

**Year 1 - The Work Experience Component**

In this school students in the Community Involvement Program were released from school approximately ten hours per week to work in their agencies. Because the order of the periods changed two days each week, the time slots for agency work were: Monday, Wednesday, and Friday from 9 - 11:20 A.M. and Tuesday and Thursday from 1:35 - 3:05 P.M. (or later if the student wished). If the agency's work was carried on mainly outside these time periods; the student would do his agency obligation outside school time (evenings or weekends) and be released from school for the above times. The student supplied his own transportation to and from the agency, and was expected not to miss any classes of the other courses on his timetable because of Community Involvement Program duties.

Ideally, the work that the students did was neither menial nor trivial, neither make-work nor "joe-jobs". The agencies which had agreed to participate
in the program were to provide for the student meaningful work in the main line of service provided by the agency. Employers were also asked to give the student increasing responsibility as the year progressed, as well as a range of experience within the agency, so that the students' experience would be both broad and deep. Most of the work done by the students involved direct contact with people: as teachers' aides, working individually with the old, leading recreation groups, etc. Some positions, however, were more clerical or technical in nature: working at the public library or operating a camera at a local cable television station. It was understood by all concerned that the student would remain in the same agency for the entire year (in order to give him a realistic experience of work), unless an extreme mismatch occurred.

The work that the students did differs to a certain extent from the kind of work an apprentice does. Each employer is aware that the Community Involvement students are not only working in his agency, they are also doing reports on it, and that they will, in response to their classroom assignments, be asking questions about the operation, decision-making, and even the financing of the agency. Most employers would not see such investigation as a relevant part of an apprenticeship program.

For the purposes of the Community Involvement Program, the term social service agency is defined very broadly as any agency which serves a social welfare need. The range of agencies is, therefore, extensive, including the traditional social work areas, and also such community services as radio and television stations, the public library, etc. Because my school is located in a suburb of a large metropolitan area, there were a large number of agencies from which to choose. This meant that in theory we could be more demanding of the agencies we finally selected. However, it must be admitted that, in spite of this, many of the agencies could
provide the students with tasks which were, for the most part, only routine and undemanding. (We were able to improve this aspect of the program greatly in the second year.) In order to give the reader sufficient information with which to make a sound judgement of this program and of the research which follows, here is a brief description of the work the students did in each agency (listed in order of the number of students in the agency):

1. Y.W.C.A. (6 students) - These students were given a training program as recreational leaders and participated in a weekly "Life Skills" workshop for the first half of the year. Each student's work consisted of leading a group of public school girls in an after-school recreation, crafts, and field-trip program. Most of these groups were in schools located in poorer areas of west end Toronto. The skills, preparation, and stamina required for this program were comparable to a public school teacher's, although smaller in scale, since they led a group for only one two-hour session each week.

2. Seneca School (3 students, later 4) - In this modern school for the retarded the Community Involvement students were teachers' aides, assisting in the classroom and on the regular recreational and educational outings. Two of the girls began their program by assisting in a regular public school, in order to acquire a first-hand understanding of the differences between the youngsters there, and the retarded and autistic youngsters they would be dealing with later.

3. St. Luke's Pre-School Training (2 students) - This nursery school provided pre-school training for very young retarded children. The two exceptionally able students took part in every aspect of the training program (fine and gross motor skills, speech therapy, toilet training, etc.) even including working in a home program involving the children and their mothers. This home program was exceptionally demanding, and would probably be unsuitable except for such mature,
capable young people.

4. Mental Retardation Centre, Ministry of Health (2 students) - For the first half of the year these students worked in the Centre itself in downtown Toronto. (Because of the extraordinary distance they had to travel on public transportation, they decided to work two evenings per week for five hours each evening.) Their work consisted of taking care of and giving physical therapy to severely retarded and multiple handicapped children. During the second half of the year they worked on their own (under the direction of a public health nurse) with a seventeen year old girl who was both retarded and emotionally disturbed (she had a severe masturbation problem), teaching her to use public transportation and various recreational and entertainment facilities, as well as providing more personal counselling.

5. Kipling Acres (2 students) - In this home for the aged, each student was assigned to one pre-senile patient for intensive work on an experimental program attempting to slow down the process of mental decay by means of memory drill ("What did you have for breakfast? What did you put in your tea?") etc.) and the one-to-one relationship with the patient. The students not only worked directly with the patients but also had to write detailed reports on their work each day. As the year progressed they also assisted in a range of activities including crafts and recreation.

6. Braeburn Public School (1 student) - This is an inner city school (over 80% of the students live in a government housing project) in north Etobicoke. The Community Involvement student acted as a teacher's aide, running off dittos, marking tests, assisting individuals or small groups in mathematics or English, taking part in physical education programs, etc. Unfortunately, this student was never involved with any program relating to the children's home life and
therefore had little comprehension of the children's educational and social handicaps.

7. Children's Aid Society (1 student, later withdrawn) - This student's work began with a crash reading program on the legal and professional aspects of family services. She was then able to go with a case worker to family court, the home of a problem family, and a residence for adolescents. It soon became apparent, however, that the unscheduled and open-ended nature of these experiences conflicted with the inflexibility of the school timetable; the student had to turn down so many invitations to such experiences that eventually she was no longer asked, but was used as a babysitter for families taking part in agency sessions and as a clerk, filing, answering phones, and phoning volunteers for the Big Brothers organization. After numerous consultations during three months, we realized that this placement was not going to work, and the student was transferred to Seneca School. It should be noted that this was the only such problem we faced in this our first year. It should also be noted that this student had volunteered as a Big Sister while at the Children's Aid, and continued this commitment during the rest of the year.

8. Etobicoke Public Library (1 student) - For the first six weeks this student spent two weeks in each of the main departments of the library (cataloguing, circulation, and audio-visual) receiving much the same kind of training any library science student would. She was then placed for the remainder of the year in the audio-visual department, where her assignment, apart from general assistance, was to find out exactly which LP recordings had been stolen from the popular music collection, and to do a report on record theft, student attitudes to it, and methods of prevention.

9. Maclean-Hunter Cable Television (1 student) - My only male student worked
here in various technical capacities, basically as a camera man on locally
produced shows. There was much opportunity here to observe local politics
in action and to become acquainted with the interests of various ethnic groups
(60% of local programming was for ethnic consumption). Also, as assistant to
the programming director, he gained first-hand knowledge of the various
pressures and legal aspects of running a local T.V. station. His final project
for the year involved producing at the studio a videotape of a play acted by
one of our school's drama groups, which was later aired on the station and was
a source of considerable pride to him.

Such, then, was the work experience of the students in the first year of the
Community Involvement Program in Etobicoke. Combined with this was a classroom
component consisting of two fifty-minute classes per week (Tuesday and Thursday
9 – 9:50 A.M.). For the whole program the student received, if successful, three
credits. How was success determined? The students' immediate supervisors gave an
evaluation of the students' job knowledge, work output, initiative, cooperation,
etc. at least once a term. A specially prepared form was given to them for this
purpose (see the sample on the following page). As much as possible this was
filled in in direct consultation with the student. In any case, the students
filled in the same form judging their own performance. The evaluation of the
work experience component, based on both of these evaluations, was worth 50% of
the student's grade. The other 50% was based on the classroom teacher's assess-
ment of written and oral assignments, class participation, etc.

One feature of the course which must be mentioned and which worked out very
well is the selection procedure of agency placements for each student. In
Etobicoke we had over twenty agencies offering more than one hundred and twenty
placements. The students received a fact sheet on each agency (job description,
best hours for work, qualifications needed, if any, what the student could expect
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attribute</th>
<th>Below Average</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Above Average</th>
<th>Outstanding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Knowledge</strong></td>
<td>Does not have enough understanding to handle present work properly.</td>
<td>Is satisfactorily informed in most aspects of present position.</td>
<td>Well-informed on all aspects of his job and some knowledge of related jobs.</td>
<td>Excellent in his job and has good knowledge of related jobs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Input</strong></td>
<td>Work output consistently falls below the daily requirements of the job.</td>
<td>Work output is generally satisfactory.</td>
<td>Work output consistently good and completes supplementary work.</td>
<td>Work output always above ordinary job requirements, seeks additional tasks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Effort</strong></td>
<td>Careless. Works slowly and inefficiently.</td>
<td>Does a satisfactory job.</td>
<td>Does a good job. Seldom makes errors. Checks quality frequently.</td>
<td>All work performed is exceptionally accurate, thorough and efficient.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Leadership</strong></td>
<td>Needs constant help and supervision.</td>
<td>Performs with direction but cannot originate.</td>
<td>Often suggests improvements or initiates undertakings with little direction.</td>
<td>Is actively creative and original.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Responsibility</strong></td>
<td>Can rarely be counted on to carry out work as directed and meets obligations only when under supervision.</td>
<td>Can be relied upon, is well intentioned and meets obligations fairly well.</td>
<td>Needs little supervision in carrying out obligations and takes responsibility willingly.</td>
<td>Is thoroughly dependable and assumes much responsibility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cooperation</strong></td>
<td>Shows reluctance to co-operate. Constant friction with others. Antagonistic.</td>
<td>Gets along satisfactorily with associates. Meets others halfway.</td>
<td>Is agreeable and frequently helpful in group projects. Gets along well with associates.</td>
<td>Gives valuable contribution in group projects, is always helpful and goes out of way to co-operate.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
to learn at the agency) and usually an agency representative, if possible the person who would be the students' immediate supervisor, made a presentation. Each student then selected his three favorites and went to these for individual job interviews and tours of the agency. When these were completed, the students ranked the agencies in order of preference and submitted these to the teacher; the agencies at the same time notified the teacher of their preferred candidates. This self-selection procedure, developed by Brison in his Peterborough Pilot Project, has proved extremely satisfactory to all concerned. Not only does it begin to give the student real responsibility and respect for his desires, but it also provided the first opportunity for decision-making, which is an important aspect of the course.

Year 1 - The Classroom Component

In the Community Involvement Program six times as much time is given to work experience as is given to classroom learning. The rationale behind this is not that the work experience is felt to be that much more important than what takes place in the classroom, but rather that the learning which comes from experience is much more diffuse, much less capable of compression. Equal division of time between the two would in fact give greater weight to academic learning. The present time division allows sufficient time for fairly substantial experience in the agency, plus time for complementary classroom studies or reflection on the agency experience.

My in-school program began with the students attending class for three 45-minute periods per day for the first four weeks (except for the two days on which agencies made presentations and the four days students went for interviews). In this time I gave a general introduction to the course, discussed some of its aims,
DIVISION OF STUDENTS' TIME IN THE COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT PROGRAM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>September</th>
<th>October - April</th>
<th>May</th>
<th>June</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agency</td>
<td>1 Interview</td>
<td>10 hours/week</td>
<td>10 hours/week</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.I.P. class</td>
<td>3 periods/day</td>
<td>2 periods/week</td>
<td>Individual Appointments</td>
<td>3 periods/day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other classes</td>
<td>Students returned to school each day for 2 - 4 regular classes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

gave specific details about the daily functioning of the program, and did a number of group exercises which I hoped would build in the class a sense of being a mutually supportive team, since during the year they would be seeing so little of one another in class. (In this I was unsuccessful; the class was characterized by two strong cliques, which had their own loyalties and which tended to work in the same agencies, plus a large number of relatively withdrawn loners.)

Three other kinds of activity filled the remainder of this initial period. the students did two series of pre-tests related to the research being conducted by the Board of Education and to my own research. Several days were spent on a research skills unit. Since most of our up-to-date information on social problems comes from the media, especially newspapers and magazines, I felt it essential that the students become motivated to read these sources regularly and that they be able to read them intelligently. During the summer of 1974 I had developed a Readings File with 440 readings on twenty-four social problems along with an anota- index which analysed the topics into headings such as causes, history of the problem agencies and treatments, etc. (This was done while I was working for Dr. Brison at O.I.S.E.) After I had shown the students several of these files and they were familiar with the kind of reading wanted and with the analytical scheme, each stu-
dent was assigned to select one social problem area, to collect at least five articles on it during the term, and to sort these into the appropriate categories.

In the second term the exercise remained the same, but the minimum number of problem areas was increased to three. This accomplished in a very satisfying manner my first objective so that, by the end of the year most students read the newspaper regularly, some for the first time in their lives. (This was commented on by both the students and their parents.)

In the unit on research skills I gave the students a number of lessons and homework exercises on the typical contents and structure of newspapers and magazines, the repetitive structure of newspaper articles, the pressures on newspapers and the consequent limits to their thoroughness and objectivity, how to identify biases in the media, etc. We also went to the library to examine other sources of data. This unit was hated and resisted by the students, although they later acknowledged its usefulness. Clearly the strategy of introducing students who are for the most part non-readers to print resources must be less direct and also delayed until they have been motivated by their work experience.

The final portion of the first part of the course was a series of exercises in listening and helping skills (based largely on the work of Cliff Christiansen of O.I.S.E. and on Robert Carkhuff's The Art of Helping) and in group skills (using exercises from the five volumes of Pfeiffer and Jones' Structured Experiences As much as possible I began each sequence of exercises with neutral and sometimes nonsensical material so that the students could focus on their own style in a group and on the group processes involved. When some groundwork had been laid, I would then let the content of discussions become more involved and more involving, using moral or values problems (for example, from Levin and Eisenberg's Dilemma series). Some of the students enjoyed this part of the course, others found it useful; unfortunately, the loyalties of the two main cliques meant that discussions tended
to generate more heat than light. Furthermore, the students tended to feel that since there was no right answer to the question of abortion or what should be done with a woman who abuses her welfare payments, there was really no point in having such discussions. I continued to introduce issues which would lead to the articulation of principles, but more obliquely (no longer using written materials) and almost always from their own experience.

THE IN-SCHOOL PROGRAM (YEAR 1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term 1</th>
<th>September</th>
<th>October</th>
<th>November</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Introduction to course</td>
<td>1. Discussed feelings and experiences as they began agency involvement</td>
<td>1. More exercises on listening skills</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Research skills</td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Values and public issues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Job interviews and agency selection</td>
<td>2. Time taken up with administrivia</td>
<td>3. Social needs and social rights</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Exercises on listening and helping skills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Research pre-tests</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term 2</th>
<th>December</th>
<th>January-February</th>
<th>March</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inquiry Training and decision-making</td>
<td>Group solution of a problem (toys for retarded, etc.)</td>
<td>Readings on and discussion about poverty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term 3</th>
<th>April</th>
<th>May</th>
<th>June</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continued discussion of poverty, welfare, and public dependence</td>
<td>Weekly meetings with individual students to help in research for and writing of Independent Study</td>
<td>1. Moral principles and social problems</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Solving social problems: what can individual do? a bandaid for a broken leg?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Research post-tests and debriefing.</td>
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</table>
When the students moved out into the agencies, attending Community Involvement classes only twice per week, I found that for the next two months very little of a substantive nature was accomplished. A host of individual problems arose which usually required personal attention. As well, there was a continuous stream of administrative problems: under what circumstances could students be absent from their other classes in order to perform C.I.P.-related duties? was there any way to get money to cover transportation costs? etc. I was determined to involve the students in making these decisions, rather than making them myself or allowing them to be made unilaterally by the administration. This served a number of important functions, not least of which was the creation of a good teacher-student relationship and a classroom atmosphere of a kind some students had never experienced before. (In a report written at the end of the year one girl wrote: "When I first started the C.I.P. I was quite impressed by the classes. They were very open and you were able to voice your opinions freely. I never had a class like this before, so right from the start I knew I'd be interested.") But still I was frustrated about whether they were "learning enough", especially since the Peterborough experience had shown that one of the most frequent questions about this course was its academic credibility. I must also admit that there was still a good deal of the academic teacher in me, as well, which made adaptation to my new role exceedingly difficult.

Fortunately, I had designed a series of six written assignments to be handed in, one a week, as soon as the students had settled into their agencies. Those were designed to parallel and deepen the learning I felt the student would be doing in his agency anyway, asking basic questions about the what's, the who's, and the how's of his agency (see the following two pages). Each assignment ended with a question which added a critical dimension, forcing him to think about the
At regular intervals throughout the year you will be asked to write a series of reports on the work you are doing in your agency and on the work of the agency as a whole. At the beginning of the year these reports will be frequent and brief; later, they will be less frequent and more substantial. In writing these reports, remember that they are partly academic essays, but are partly directed towards students in future years who will want to know in some detail what you have experienced in the out-of-school portion of the C.I.P. Make them as simple, clear, and direct as possible, using anecdotes from your experience where you think this will help people understand. They will vary in length depending on how the topic fits the work of your agency, but they should almost never be shorter than one page.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Due</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Oct. 15/74</td>
<td>The kind of introduction or training you have received or are receiving at your agency; the kinds of knowledge and/or skill that will be required of you. Is there anything you feel you should have been introduced to but haven't been?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Oct. 22/74</td>
<td>The Physical Set-up of the Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) That kind of building is it? How old? How big? etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) What variety of facilities does it contain? How are these related to the service the agency provides?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) In what kind of neighborhood is the building located? Why is it located there?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) What is lacking in the facilities? Is the location the best possible?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Oct. 29/74</td>
<td>Needs Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>By interviewing agency personnel or the people the agency serves, by reading newspaper or magazine accounts of the agency, and from your own observations,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Make a list of very specific needs that are at present not being filled by your agency; these may be large-scale needs (e.g., larger facilities, greater cooperation from the community, etc.) to very personal needs of individuals in the agency (e.g., new games for retarded children, ramps to allow those in wheel-chairs to visit a movie, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Sort these needs into two columns, major (i.e., those that would require great changes in terms of money or personnel) and minor (i.e., those that might be solved by individuals or small groups working within the present agency setup).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Make some suggestions of your own as to how some of these minor needs might be solved by you or by a group of people under your direction.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Nov. 5/74

What laws or regulations are there governing the various aspects of your agency's work? Summarize those briefly and explain how your agency adapts to them.

5. Nov. 12/74

Agency Personnel

Interview (a) one supervisor or administrator and (b) one agency employee (case worker, technician, etc.) concerning their job.

(1) What is the nature of their job? What knowledge or skills does his/her job require?
(2) What training, education, or qualifications were required for the job?
(3) What motivated him/her to come into this line of work?
(4) What is a typical day or week like for them on the job?

6. Nov. 19/74

(1) What other agencies in the community provide services in the same social need area as your agency does?
(2) Describe those other agencies briefly. How are they the same and how are they different from your own?
(3) What kind of relationship does your agency have with these other agencies? Do they have any regular means of communication with each other?
flaws and limitations of his agency. (The assignment sheets were also given to
the agency supervisor.)

In concluding term I, I turned my attention to an examination of the needs
of people in society, of the extent to which our society is meeting those needs
(see, for example, Manzer's Canada: a Socio-Political Report), and of the extent
to which society should be responsible for helping people satisfy their needs.
This unit was partly factual, but its primary focus was a critical examination
of the values of our society. (The written assignment for this unit is given
on the following page.)

In term II, I turned to what was considered to be one of the course's most
important parts, and which consequently received a great deal of attention, a
unit on the skill of making sound decisions. I have already mentioned the admin-
istrative decisions in which I involved the class. In leading them through these
I employed, without making explicit, the decision-making model from Robert Cark-
huff's The Art of Problem-Solving and Robinson-Tickle-Brison's Inquiry Training:
Fusing Theory and Practice. (I had also used the model when helping the students
settle on which agency to select.) The model may be roughly summarized as follows:
before any commitment is established to any particular solution to a problem, a
wide range of alternative solutions is generated and, independently, the values
or principles which one wishes the solution of the problem to satisfy (sometimes
called the deciding factors or criteria) are established, rank ordered, and given
appropriate weighting coefficients. In reaching the final decision, each solution
is tested against each criterion and against any existing personal or material
conditions which would influence the likelihood of success. After I had taught
this model didactically using illustrations both serious and amusing from my own
life (eg. what kind of breakfast to have), the students did a series of exercises
Term II Writing Assignments

II. The Morality Behind Social Problems

For the purposes of this essay and the next one, I am going to divide social problems or social needs into three categories as follows:

A. Problems which affect only a small percentage of the population, which make the sufferer unable to participate normally in society, and which most of us view with pathos.

1. Mental Retardation
2. Mental Illness
3. Old Age
4. Physical Handicap

B. Problems or needs which affect more people, but which not nearly everyone would agree should be viewed with sympathy:

1. Abortion
2. Alcoholism
3. Day Care
4. Delinquency
5. Criminals
6. Poverty

C. Social needs which affect everyone but which could be left up to the individual:

1. Education
2. The Media

Your assignment is as follows:

(a) Pick one topic from each of the above categories;

(b) According to what moral principle do we say that people in this situation should be helped?

(c) Should everyone in this problem situation be helped? Can you think of any people with the problem whom you wouldn't help? Why not?

(d) To what extent should all taxpayers (i.e. the government) be responsible for paying for help to people in these situations? Should it pay for all or only part? Why?
applying the model to decisions they were actually facing in their own lives (for example, which community college to go to the following year, or whether to go on to post-secondary education at all). Later in the term they did case studies of decision-making and decision-makers in their agencies, having now a critical tool for evaluating the values of the agency and the quality of the decision-making process and structure in the agency. They also became aware in the process of the many external pressures to which agencies must respond in making their decisions, as well as of the role of government. (Sample exercise is on the following page.)

I felt before the course began that one of the most effective ways in which to foster the students' commitment to the solution of social problems was to have them actually carry through the solution of a problem. Using the needs survey assignment which they had done in the first term, they now selected one small need or problem which they wanted to tackle, applied the decision-making model to the problem, and then tried to implement the solution. One group decided to build toys for the retarded, the other to make a T.V. program to let their fellow students and the community know about the C.I.P. In both cases I refused a responsible leadership role (although if information or transportation were requested, I gladly offered whatever I had); this was a practical test of group problem-solving. The first group divided into teams, some begging wood from local lumberyards, some doing the actual construction, some seeking donations from toy companies, etc.; in the end they were able to take their toys to Seneca School and teach the youngsters how to use them, thereby getting the immediate satisfaction of seeing their efforts bring pleasure and skills to others. The second group contained a number of strong personalities who quickly came into conflict (I actually did have to insert myself into their discussions several times to break logjams). The male, who was the only one with any relevant knowledge or skills, was unable to take effective leadership.
CIP 10 - Term II Assignments

In term I, the written assignments focused almost entirely on what you were most deeply involved in learning about, your agency, the people who work in it and what it does. In term II, we will begin to turn from the consideration of agencies to the broader topic of social problems or social needs.

I. Agency Decision- and Policy-Making

We have now examined the process of decision-making on a personal level. The same way of analyzing and making decisions can be applied to organizations. Just as with individuals, not every decision of every agency will be completely thought out. This assignment will ask you to examine the decision-making that goes on in your agency.

(a) One part of the task of making decisions was thinking up alternatives. Who in your agency does most of the thinking up of alternatives? Is there anyone who has this as part of his job or is it left to individuals to suggest alternatives as they see the need? Does the agency respond only when complaints are received (either from its workers or the people it serves or the public) or does it actively solicit suggestions for alternatives? Does it set up formal committees to review policies every so often?

(b) The other major part of decision-making was ordering in importance your values or, what I called the deciding factors. Can you say what the values of your agency would be for most major decisions?

(c) Take an example of one major decision in your agency (major = involving more than $1,000 or requiring the hiring of a new employee) and trace the stages the decision went through before it was finally approved or turned down.

(d) Who makes the decisions concerning how much of the available money will be spent on which programs in your agency? Draw a diagram giving titles of positions of the hierarchy of authority in your agency, and in any government branch your agency is responsible to. Who is finally responsible for major decisions?

(e) Show (again a diagram would be best) all the sources of money supplied to your agency and also indicate if these sources expect anything in return.

(f) To what extent do you think the personalities of the individual decision-makers involved influences the decisions that are made?
The end result was a series of heated arguments and grandiose plans, but no program. Fortunately, this was the kind of exercise which could produce learning even in its failure.

At the end of the second term and during the third term I turned to the issue of poverty to further examine the social causes of social problems, the extent to which taxpayers should be responsible for helping, etc.; as well, by using the case studies in Bernard Gelfand’s manual for welfare case-workers, The Window: Toward an Understanding of Human Need, I tried to help the students see the problem from the point of view of the poor.

After reviewing the decision-making model, I asked each student to select one social problem and to write an in-depth and solution-oriented report on the problem. This Independent Study would be a major essay demonstrating a mastery of information about the problem and an application of the decision-making model in order to arrive at the best solution. This drew together several elements from the whole course, the research skills, the Readings File materials, and the use of the decision-making model on a complex problem.

In the final weeks of the course the students were no longer in their agencies but were once again in class for three periods per day. I returned to the moral issues behind social problems, especially as viewed by the victims of the problem (this time using films, such as those in the Searching for Values series). One film about a protest demonstration by a group of poor people in Ottawa provoked excellent discussion (a rational and objective consideration of both sides of the issue) and allowed me to confront them with the questions: "Are our present social services merely applying a bandaid to a broken leg? Are they treating symptoms rather than causes? Is it even possible for them to solve our society's problems?" During these last two weeks the post-tests for the two research projects were administered and the students were debriefed on what had been learned.
The first year, although it had its share of error and missed opportunities, was generally accounted a success by everyone concerned. Certainly, all the agencies were interested in remaining in the program. The teachers and administrators involved in the three Etobicoke schools decided that, while a few agencies would be added to the range of opportunities offered to students, basically this would be a year of consolidation and working to improve the agency placements we already had.

With one year of experience behind us we were able to make many improvements. In the first place, we understood more about the functions and procedures of each agency, and were thus able to make suggestions about using our students that we had not previously thought of. What had been tried and found successful in one agency could now be suggested to other agencies. Secondly, everyone involved now felt more confidence in the students and in the program. Those agency personnel who had been in the program the first year could now be more experimental; newcomers could be given reassurance based on the first year's success, as well as a few phone numbers of last year's agencies. And thirdly, we teachers became more demanding of the agency in terms of keeping track of attendance, if that had been a problem, or providing more systematic training initially and throughout the year. In the first year we had been less demanding just to make sure they entered the program; now that they saw the benefits to themselves, they didn't want to lose our students, and were therefore willing to give more.

Another kind of improvement which we were able to make was in assisting the students in their initial selection of agency. In the first year there had been a kind of adventure in selecting the agencies, with the students and teacher equals in trying to determine, from what agency personnel said and from what we
could deduce about their personalities, just what it might be like to work in that agency for a year. In the second year, we could not only be much more explicit and confident in the information we gave students, but we could also use our knowledge of personnel to match up students with supervisors. For example, we had seven girls interested in working in public school classrooms; we were now able to match one girl who liked a structured program and a clear idea of what she was supposed to do with an old-fashioned, very traditional teacher, while more adventurous, independent students could be placed with those teachers who wanted to give their assistants more room for individual initiative and creativity.

One radical difference between the agency component in this second year compared to the first (at least in my school) was the narrow range of agencies selected. This was not only because there were only eleven students this year, but also because a large number of able girls ended up being teachers' assistants. The following is a brief description of the kind of work done in each agency:

1. Family Court (4 students, later withdrawn) - This was a new agency in the program. The Family and Juvenile Court for our district was located in downtown Toronto, but was opening a new branch in our area. One of its younger, more progressive judges agreed to take on a number of students in a practicum much like that given to law students. They would begin by visiting court every day possible for two weeks, observing different kinds and levels of court and different judges within the same level of court, eventually writing a paper on their observations. They would then visit and read about various agencies associated with the court, to which various kinds of offenders could be sent, again producing a paper. There would then be opportunities to become involved in setting up the new court building in our suburb, in meetings concerning local social problems, in training to work as a volunteer on an emergency
Unfortunately, a number of things went wrong. The judge had misunderstood how much of his time would be required; busy as he was with setting up the new court, he never seemed to have time to see the students. Because of the court’s location, the students had trouble getting to it and then back to school on time. The students were disappointed that their program involved them so little with people and so much with books and writing reports; some of them did act as volunteers in the court nursery, but this taught them nothing about what was ostensibly their primary interest. But the biggest problem was that such a program asked of them more maturity and independence right from the beginning than they were able to give; after so many years of the school system’s spoon-feeding, they were simply at loose ends in this type of program. After seven or eight weeks, I felt there was no choice but to place the students in other agencies.

2. Special Education Classes in Elementary Schools (3 students, later 5) - Special Education covers a wide variety of problems, from being a new Canadian, having family problems, being a slow learner, to having very specific learning disabilities and, of course, being a "behaviour problem". Students acted as teacher aides; how much responsibility this gave them was dependent on the kind of teacher they were assisting, but it generally involved running dittos, working with individuals or small groups, and sometimes preparing and teaching lessons to a whole class.

3. TESOL in Elementary Schools (2 students) - Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages is a program for recent immigrants who speak little or no English. They are bused to the nearest school offering the program and given an intense course in learning to speak English, so that within six months many can move directly into the appropriate grade in a regular school. The students
in the Community Involvement Program performed basically the same tasks as those assisting in Special Education classes, except they spent a great deal of their time learning and using special techniques for language drill. The atmosphere in the class tended to be different as well in that discipline was less of a problem, and frequently the TESOL students were extremely intelligent and very anxious to learn and to adapt to their new environment.

4. Lakeshore Psychiatric Hospital (1 student, later 2) - The two males in my class worked in different wards of this large hospital, one in a sheltered workshop for patients attempting to move back out into the community, the other in a sheltered workshop for elderly patients. They also took part in organizing recreational evenings on a regular basis, as well as parties or dances on the weekends. Because this was the first time we had had students in this agency, we were not able to make this placement as varied or as educational (in the sense of learning about mental illness and psychiatric hospitals) as we would have liked. The two students generally worked alongside the patients, talking with them and listening to their problems.

5. Humber Developmental Centre (1 student) - This centre, part of a local Community College, is an experimental nursery school for the severely retarded. It has up-to-date facilities, a young and enthusiastic staff, and is used both for research and for training students in the college's child care worker program. The Community Involvement student was given a week-long training program with films and lectures on behaviour modification and on various aspects of retardation. The student was then put in with a small group of retarded children, under the supervision of an instructor. The student eventually worked alone with groups and took part in every type of training program provided by the Centre (gross and fine motor skills, eating and toileting, speech training).
6. Y.W.C.A. (1 student) - The program was essentially the same as in year 1, except that the amount of time for leading groups was increased from two to four hours per week. The particular student involved was so outstanding in her work that she was hired to lead another group after school, and also to train other group leaders. She was also hired the following summer to continue this kind of work.

Year 2 - The Classroom Component

After consulting with the new students, I decided that this year they should begin work in their agencies as soon as possible. The first three days of class involved the usual introductory information sessions about the agencies and about the program as a whole. This year, I stressed, they would be responsible for the curriculum, partly because I wanted to give them more responsibility of a kind they had been given little of in school, and partly because I felt they would know much better than I what their needs were and I wanted the classroom to respond to those needs. The following week was given over to agency interviews and every student was at work the following week.

The next few weeks' classes were taken up, as I had come to expect, with administrative problems, this year focusing on the attitude and behaviour of the vice-principal who was responsible for this class who was new to the program this year. At least two full sessions were given over to the students' complaints about his rigidity and his inability to understand that they might be late a few times until they had figured out the bus schedules to and from their agencies. The bad feeling generated at this time was never fully dissipated.

In early October, I asked them to come to a decision as a group as to what our goals should be in the classroom part of the course. We would then discuss various
alternative paths to those goals, as well as means for evaluating how far we had got toward them. The main goal on which they settled was increasing their knowledge of social problems, specifically, the problems dealt with by each student's agency and the various techniques it used. The means they decided on were seminar presentations. Since their goal was knowledge, they could see that the most suitable method of assessment was a rather traditional test. I therefore assigned each student, or pair of students, to make up and hand in to me at the conclusion of his oral report a number of questions on his presentation which might be used on a test. I also imposed on them the newspaper article assignment from the previous year; I justified this exercise as a means of broadening the goal they had already selected, and as having been very successful the previous year.

Over the next few weeks it became apparent to the students that these reports were not only not interesting in themselves but that even if they were good, they would not be a good means of learning on a regular basis. However, I was able to make most of the sessions interesting by making explicit some principle held by the student or his agency with which some of the students would disagree. For example, the Humber Developmental Centre would not accept youngsters into their program unless the parents agreed to continue the program at home. This could be justified in terms of the necessity for continuous and consistent reinforcement in a behaviour modification program. However, it also meant that many children would be denied access to the program because of their parents' attitudes. After they had debated this issue for a while, I then broadened it by having them apply the issue to the Special Education or TESOL programs in which some of them taught, and finally to their own high school. What if acceptance in the C.I.P. required parental cooperation in an after-school program?) One other issue also became a recurrent theme: should one use only positive reinforcement in a behaviour modification program or was there
some value to using both kinds of reinforcement? My role in the discussion was to keep the issue clear, to break up log-jams in discussion, and to supply a larger perspective on the issue by referring to theories or experimental evidence from psychology, or by inventing cases which would clarify the moral or psychological issue. Because the students could raise plenty of particular examples from the handling of problem cases in their own agencies, these discussions combined theory and real-life experience in a way many university instructors would envy.

**THE IN-SCHOOL PROGRAM (YEAR 2)**

Note - Unlike the first year, the class met for two 50-minute classes/week for the entire year.

**Term 1**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>September</th>
<th>October</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Introduction to the course</td>
<td>1. Establishing course goals and curriculum</td>
<td>1. Continued student seminars.</td>
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<td>2. Agency interviews and selection</td>
<td>2. Student seminars on agencies and social problems</td>
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<td>3. Research pre-tests</td>
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<td>4. Administrative problems</td>
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<td>5. Sharing of feelings and experiences on beginning agency work</td>
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Mid-November to Mid-January - teachers' strike in Metropolitan Toronto

**Term 2**

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<th>February</th>
<th>March</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Revision of goals and curriculum</td>
<td>1. Unit on handling problems in personal relationships, especially conflict</td>
<td>1. Student led group exercises</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2. Leadership seminars</td>
<td>2. Guest speakers (deaf, blind)</td>
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<td>3. Received pilot essay for Independent Study</td>
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**Term 3**

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<th>April</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Vocational counselling</td>
<td>Meetings of C.I.P. classes from all three Etobicoke schools</td>
<td>Research post-tests and debriefing</td>
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<td>2. Unit on empathy</td>
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<td>3. Students began Independent Study on the Deaf</td>
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At this point there occurred a most serious event, the first secondary school teachers' strike ever to occur in the city. I tried to reassure the students that in a sense they were the luckiest in the school in that they would be able to keep going to their agencies, and thus keep those credits alive for sure, no matter how long the strike lasted. In fact, the strike lasted from mid-November to mid-January, and was extraordinarily bitter. However, my relations with these students was largely unaffected. Many of them, after all, worked in public schools and were at least able to perceive, if not entirely agree with, the teachers' point of view. And for some, the strike was actually a boon: one girl worked in her agency almost full time during the strike, becoming so experienced that she was given much more responsibility than would otherwise have been the case, being asked by other teachers to assist them in teaching and in the end being hired to assist in teaching a TESOL program during the summer.

Once classes had returned to normal in January, I asked the students to re-think their goals for the in-school component, based on their greater experience of the program and on their understanding of what the work experience was and was not giving them. A major change in their thinking quickly became apparent. Of highest priority now were skills in handling problems in personal relationships, especially in handling problem children in the classroom and in handling conflict in general. After considering a number of alternative approaches, they settled for readings and discussion, but after a few periods of this traditional fare, they wanted to change to a more active and involving mode. We therefore role-played a number of conflict situations, not in the artificial sense of pretending to be or feel something other than what we were or felt, but rather by being ourselves in situations which would not ordinarily occur. For example, one girl still felt a residue of anger about the teachers' strike; we argued about it, the only restraint being that I was to adopt a strategy which would not demolish her arguments but
which would leave her feeling she had been heard and understood, even though we might still continue to disagree. After 20-30 minutes of such highly involving discussion, we would then as a group examine the nature and effectiveness of both participants' strategies. Along with this kind of exercise we had as a guest speaker a very personable and wise co-ordinator of guidance from the Board of Education, who had given courses on leadership at the University of Toronto.

Also, the student whose work at the Y.W.C.A. involved training group leaders led us for a number of periods in a variety of group exercises designed to make us feel comfortable as a group and to reveal aspects of group dynamics.

But along with their primary goal the students made clear that they wanted a continual, more informal exchange of ideas, experiences, and opinions concerning their agency work. Again after discussing a number of alternatives, we decided to open each class session by asking if anyone had an experience or problem he or she wanted to discuss, the idea being that this would take about fifteen minutes of each period on the average. This approach worked very well; sometimes some very involved discussion would take the whole period; frequently only a few minutes would be taken to resolve some simple, specific problem.

Shortly after school resumed in January I also introduced the long-term Independent Study which was part of the program. This year I wanted to make the projects much less abstract than the previous year's solution-oriented essay. I outlined three possible types of project. Firstly, they could do a real research project on some aspect of their agency work. One of the problems with the ordinary use of the word research in schools is that it implies reading and copying out other people's ideas. But in the Community Involvement Program the students had access to situations in which there were real questions yet to be answered. What happened to students after they left the TESOL program to return to regular classes? What
special problems did they face? What might be done to help them make the transition with fewer problems? Or, to turn to a more experimental mode, if an approach to teaching spelling or reading is not working very well, can the student devise a better one the advantages of which can be demonstrated by comparison scores from an experimental and control group? One girl had stumbled on just such a procedure before I ever introduced the topic. A second project might involve the preparation of teaching materials for use with their elementary school pupils, materials which their associate teachers could continue to use in the future. Thirdly, either individually or in groups, they might undertake some practical project involving them in some social problem beyond the range of those they encountered in their agencies.

As spring drew near, the students had to make some very definite decisions about the future. A number of classes were devoted to going around the table to hear what each person planned and what he had done thus far to accomplish his plans. Those who had already gone for job or college interviews passed on what they had learned. What became clear was that most of them still needed vocational guidance and self-knowledge. I provided them with whatever information I could, but more concretely, I gave them the Strong-Campbell Vocational Inventory and debriefed them on the results.

In late March I received a phone call from a young woman who said she wanted to talk to my students about becoming involved as volunteers with the deaf. When she came, she showed herself to be a fascinating and articulate young woman who was herself almost totally deaf, although, because her long hair covered the wires to her hearing aid, no one in the class realized this until she herself revealed it. We took the whole session to probe, with her cooperation, the world of the deaf. This was especially useful to me because I had been trying to get around to the topic of empathy, when here presented itself the best possible way to practise it.
The class decided that we should have another visitor; again, an accident provided us with an opportunity to have a visit from a gentleman who was totally blind and totally deaf (this visit was arranged entirely by one of the students). Not only did this lead to excellent discussions on empathy, but eight of the girls took on as their group project the learning of the sign language of the deaf and then acting as volunteers in an elementary school for the deaf and in Seneca School, where an experimental program was using the sign language with some of the retarded. The organization and carrying out of the project was entirely in the hands of the students and was quite successful: such was their enthusiasm that they put up displays around the school on deafness and blindness and even taught the sign language to their own public school pupils as part of an attempt to teach them about the life of the deaf.

The conclusion of the course was also handled differently from the previous year. In the first place, the students elected to continue in their agencies until the last day of school, coming in to class only one extra period to complete the research post-tests. Secondly, the teachers of the Community Involvement Program in the three Etobicoke schools arranged a series of meetings in which the students could get to know their counterparts in the other schools, and could reflect together on what they had experienced and learned during the year, as well as coming to a consensus on three questions assigned by the teachers: what makes a good C.I.P. teacher? what makes a good C.I.P. student? and what should the classroom component of the course be like? These meetings were highly successful both as social events and for the reflection they provoked.

I will conclude with two general comments about this second year's in-school component. Firstly, there was obviously much less emphasis on written assignments. There were, of course, such assignments throughout the year: in the first part of the year, the report to the class on their agency and the collection of newspaper
articles; in second term, an essay on their relationship with their agency supervisor ("What Makes a Good Supervisor?") and the pilot study for their major project; in the final part of the year, the major project itself, which was in this case mostly an action project, involving only a report on what they had learned about the world of the deaf from their experience. It was their enthusiastic and responsible action as well as their excellent participation in class which made me feel justified in placing less emphasis on academic, written work.

Secondly, although I felt we had a feeling of mutual respect and, to a certain extent, closeness in the class, I was continually worried that the students were not learning enough, not acquiring enough knowledge. I continually checked with them, both as a group and on an individual basis, to remind them that they were responsible for curriculum and to be sure that they felt they were learning what they needed. From time to time I would respond to some sense that I wasn't teaching them enough, and I would try to conduct a conventional lesson. These occasions were incredibly strained, and not just because the circle in which we had always sat worked against a teacher-centered board lesson; everyone would wonder what had come over me and would leave the class shaking their heads. It was well into the year before I could accept that the group guidance sessions we had been having were what the students needed and that they were worthy of respect. It takes time before you can make your actions fit your beliefs, and a good deal of practice before you can feel at home in a new role.
CHAPTER 5

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Educational research of the kind I have undertaken is inevitably very far from the ideals of control and purity of the laboratory. In the first place, my independent variable is a complex educational program, involving a variety of contents to be learned, a variety of educational settings and personnel, and a variety of learning styles, from content-oriented lectures to "bull sessions". Furthermore, the Community Involvement Program was only one part of what was happening in the lives of the students. And my dependent variables, the moral and psychosocial development of the students, are themselves complex phenomena, difficult to evaluate and slow to change. Yet it is my belief that, however far such research may be from the scientific ideal, and however tentative its conclusion must remain, such research has a definite contribution to make to those concerned about the effects of real school programs, in all their complexity, on the lives of the young.

The following research makes no original contribution in terms of its methodology. I have, indeed, been rather cautious, concerned to establish my case with evidence that is as objective as possible. As one researcher has remarked about studies of the influence on students' values of "education by experience",

an adequate methodology of appraisal is imperative if the study is worth undertaking. Neither impressionistic nor objective assessments by themselves would give the balance and depth necessary for a solid conclusion. Both types of evaluation should be used. This is particularly advisable here, because of the strong, almost doctrinaire, conviction of success held by leading protagonists of this type of education.
I have been sensitive to this caution and have therefore tended to place emphasis on objective paper-and-pencil tests, which I have tried to fill out by means of student self-reports, case studies, and interviews.

The Test Measures

The following chart lists the tests used in each year of the research:

**Year 1:**
1. Social Responsibility Scale (Berkowitz & Lutterman)
2. Personal Values Scales (Scott)
3. Dogmatism Scale (Rokeach)
4. Philosophy of Human Nature Test (Wrightsman)
5. Moral Reasoning Test (Kohlberg)
6. Intolerance of Ambiguity Test (Budner)

**Year 2:**
1. Moral Reasoning Test (Kohlberg)
2. Philosophy of Human Nature Test (Wrightsman)
3. California Psychological Inventory (Gough)

I will now describe each test in some detail, defining briefly what the test tries to measure, describing its format, and giving some indication of data on its validity. It will be remembered from Chapter 3 that the configuration of tests used during the first year was meant to provide a series of triangulation points or "fixes" on commitment to the solution of social problems. For the second year's research I discarded those tests which did not seem very promising, and retained the Kohlberg Test largely because of the incompleteness of the data collected in the first year. I added the personality test because it was in the area of psychosocial development that I had observed the greatest changes in the first year's students; I now wished to confirm this with objective data.
(1) The Social Responsibility Scale was designed by Berkowitz and Lutterman to assess a person's traditional social responsibility, that is, his attitudes toward helping others even when there is little to be gained from them. They conceive of responsibility as a composite of attitude elements reflecting behavior classifiable as reliable, accountable, loyal, or doing a reliable job. Because the test items are especially tied to traditional values, they tend to have a conservative individualist theme. The scale is conceived as the polar opposite of alienation.

The validity of the scale is supported by the following behavioral correlates; however, since they were based on respondent descriptions, they cannot be taken as completely objective estimates of validity. However, they are worth noting if only to make clear the main thrust of the scale. Those scoring high on the scale were more likely to make financial contributions to educational or financial institutions, to be active in organizations or church work, to show great interest in national and local politics and to be active politically, and to be opposed to more government involvement in problems of unemployment or social security.

(2) For the purposes of the Personal Values Scales Scott defined a personal value as "any individual's conception of an ideal relationship between people - a state of affairs that he considers ultimately, absolutely, and universally good. A value is identified not by its context..., but by the attitude of the person toward it. No matter what state a given individual regards as ultimately, absolutely, and universally good, that state constitutes, for him, a value." The scale was originally developed as a 240-item test and later reduced to 60 items. I selected this test to see if there had been any substantive changes in the students' values; by contrast, the Kohlberg test purports to measure not the substance but the form of moral reasoning. I selected this test also because it provided a fairly wide
range of values, especially in areas relevant to commitment.

The following twelve values were included in the test; I have added one or two of the test items in order to give a sense of the meaning of each scale.

1. Intellectualism - "Having a keen interest in international, national, and local affairs"; "Having a strong intellectual curiosity".

2. Kindness - "Helping another person feel more secure, even if one doesn't like him".

3. Social Skills - "Being able to get people to cooperate with one"; "Dressing and acting in a way that is appropriate to the occasion".

4. Loyalty - "Doing all one can to build up the prestige of the group".

5. Academic Achievement - "Studying hard to get good grades in school".

6. Physical Development - "Being graceful and well coordinated in physical movements"; "Being good in some form of sport".

7. Status - "Being respected by people who are themselves worthwhile"; "Having the ability to lead others".

8. Honesty - "Always telling the truth, even though it may hurt oneself or others".

9. Religiousness - "Being devout in one's religious faith"; "Always living one's religion in his daily life".

10. Self-control - "Replying to anger with gentleness"; "Never losing one's temper, no matter what the reason".

11. Creativity - "Developing new and different ways of doing things"; "Being able to create beautiful and artistic objects"; "Inventing new gadgets for the fun of it".

12. Independence - "Being outspoken and frank in expressing one's likes and
A number of tests for validity were performed using known groups. For example, Jesuit seminarians scored higher on religiousness than male subjects at the University of Colorado; members of the Women's Physical Education Club scored higher on Physical Development than a cross-section of university women; art majors scored higher on creativity; members of the University Players Club, well known for their nonconformity, scored higher on independence; and so on.

(3) Rokeach's Dogmatism Scale was designed to measure individual differences in openness or closedness of belief systems. Rokeach states that the extent to which a person's belief system is open is "the extent to which the person can receive, evaluate, and act on relevant information received from the outside on its own intrinsic merits, unencumbered by irrelevant factors in the situation arising from within the person or from the outside." Each item tries to go beyond any specific belief content and to discover how the belief is held. People who dogmatically hold beliefs as diverse as Communism, Catholicism, or Capitalism, should all score high on the scale. (Validity studies too numerous to summarize here.)

(4) The Philosophy of Human Nature Test by Wrightsman is based on the conception of a philosophy of human nature as the expectancies people have about the ways in which people generally behave. The analysis of human nature into six components is derived from historical and contemporary writings of theologians, philosophers, and social scientists:

- **Trustworthiness** - the extent to which people are seen as moral, honest, and reliable;
- **Altruism** - the extent of unselfishness, sincere sympathy, and concern for others;
- **Independence** - the extent to which a person can maintain his convictions in the face of society's pressures toward conformity;
Strength of Will and Rationality - the extent to which people comprehend the motives behind their behaviour and the extent to which they have control over their outcomes;

Complexity of Human Nature - the extent to which people are complex and hard to understand;

Variability in Human Nature - the extent of individual differences in basic nature and the basic changeability in human nature.

In terms of validity, a number of predictions about hypothesized differences in favorableness toward human nature were confirmed: females had more favorable views than males; students at a Fundamentalist College were quite negative about human nature; in two classroom studies, favorably oriented students rated their instructors higher than negatively oriented students; and substantial correlations were found between favorableness toward human nature and other attitudes in the same conceptual area (negatively with political cynicism, positively with faith in people, and negatively with Machiavellianism).

(5) The Kohlberg Moral Reasoning Test in the form I used consists of four brief stories involving moral dilemmas. The subject's response to a series of questions about the dilemma reveal the level of moral reasoning, irrespective of the substantive content of his beliefs. The three levels, the Preconventional, the Conventional, and the Postconventional, Autonomous, or Principled Level, define a natural developmental pattern, each giving a more flexible way of handling moral questions and resolving problems from the lower levels. Each level is subdivided into two stages. Stage 1, the punishment and obedience orientation, sees the goodness or badness of an action in its physical consequences; avoidance of punishment and deference to power are valued in their own right. At Stage 2, the instru-
mental relativist orientation, right action consists of that which satisfies one's own needs and occasionally the needs of others; human relations are viewed like those of the market place. At Stage 3, the "good boy-nice girl" orientation, good behaviour is that which pleases or helps others and is approved by them. The "law and order" orientation of Stage 4 favours authority, fixed rules, and the maintenance of the social order; right behaviour consists of doing one's duty and being respectful to authority. At the Postconventional Level, the social contract-legalistic orientation of Stage 5 defines right action in terms of general individual rights and standards which have been agreed upon by the whole society; aside from what is constitutionally and democratically agreed upon, the right is a matter of personal values and opinion. Stage 6 defines right by the decision of conscience in accord with self-chosen ethical principles appealing to logical comprehensiveness, universality, and consistency.7

(6) For his test of Intolerance of Ambiguity Budner defines such intolerance as "the tendency to perceive (i.e., interpret) ambiguous situations as sources of threat"; tolerance of ambiguity is "the tendency to perceive ambiguous situations as desirable."8 Ambiguity arises in situations characterized by novelty, complexity or insolubility. Threat responses include repression and denial, anxiety and discomfort, destructive behaviour, and avoidance.

(7) I selected the California Psychological Inventory for a number of reasons. I knew that the test had been criticised, most notably for its lack of purity in keeping scales distinct and free from overlap, but I also knew that it was one of the few personality tests which had been validated in terms of peoples' behaviour. Since I was less interested in mathematical purity than in indications of behavioural trends, the test seemed highly satisfactory. Secondly, the test's emphasis upon "interpersonal behavior and dispositions relevant to social interaction"9 was clear;
relevant to the results expected from the kinds of experience provided by the Community Involvement Program. I was precisely interested in a test which would "predict what an individual will do in a specified context" rather than in trait specification. Thirdly, Dr. Usher of the Etobicoke Board of Education's Research Department had pointed out to me a paper by Professor R. Taft and A. Tait which had studied Grade XII females in an Australian high school using the California Psychological Inventory. They had isolated three factors which were obviously related to my interests (each factor is composed of three scales from the eighteen on the Inventory):

**Factor 1 - Social Competence**

1. Dominance Scale measures strong, ascendent individuals who are able to take the initiative and exercise leadership;

2. Sociability Scale differentiates people with outgoing, participative temperaments from those who shun involvement and avoid social visibility.

3. Self-Acceptance Scale measures the sense of personal worth, self-acceptance and capacity for independent thinking and action.

**Factor 2 - Emotional Competence**

1. Self-control scale measures the adequacy of self-regulation, and degree of freedom from impulsivity and self-centredness. While the Responsibility scale (see below) measures the degree to which controls are understood, and the Socialization scale the extent to which they influence the individual's behaviour, the Self-Control scale stresses the degree to which the individual approves of or espouses such regulatory dispositions. Very high scorers are overcontrolled and volatile, very low scorers are under-controlled, impulsive and aggressive.

2. Good Impression scale, originally designed as a lie scale to identify dis-
simulation, has also been found to identify people who are able to create a favorable impression and who are concerned about how others react to them.

(3) Sense of Well-Being scale was originally called the Dissimulation scale and was used to discriminate those feigning neurosis from normals and psychiatric patients responding truthfully; it has also been found that, in a similar vein, high scores indicate verve and health, low scores diminished vitality and inability to meet the demands of everyday life.

**Factor 3 - Task Competence**

(1) Tolerance scale measures social beliefs and attitudes which are permissive, accepting, and non-judgemental, and progressive and humanitarian; it was constructed as an indirect measure of the authoritarian personality syndrome.

(2) Achievement via Independence measures academic achievement in college undergraduates, that is, in settings where independence of thought, creativity, and self-actualization tend to be required.

(3) Intellectual Efficiency is thought of as a "nonintellectual intelligence test", that is, a set of personality items which correlate with accepted measures of intelligence; it implies as well the ease and efficiency with which an individual is able to direct his effort and apply his abilities.

Since I wished this year to reduce as much as possible the chances of test fatigue, I decided to prepare a special booklet containing only those items for these nine scales (300 items instead of the original 484). To these I also added two scales which seemed to have special relevance to my interests. The first of these was the Responsibility scale which purports to measure conscientious, responsible, dependable people who are articulate about rules and order, and believe that life should be governed by reason. Groups characterized by anti-social behaviour...
receive low scores, and there are also indications that occupational groups for whom responsible behaviour is required may have above average scores and that the Responsibility scale correlates with performance on tasks emphasizing attention to duty. However, the scale has generally failed to relate closely to observer ratings, indicating a need for further research to clarify its meaning.

Secondly, I had discovered the work of Robert Hogan on empathy and moral development. By adding just a few questions from the complete Inventory, I was able to include the whole of the Empathy scale Hogan had developed from the California Inventory.

The Research Design

Each of these tests was given to two groups, the Community Involvement students and a comparison group of students enrolled in a Grade XII Man in Society program devoted to the study of social problems in Canada. (In the first year I also used a comparison group of students in a Grade XII English class, who had no volunteer experience and who had never studied social problems.)

Since I was concerned with change in the students during the year, I used a pre-test/post-test design. All tests were completed in class time under my supervision; students who could not complete them in the two class periods allotted were allowed to take them home to complete them. All pre-tests were administered before the end of September in each year; all post-tests were given in the last two weeks of May. In the last week of school every student received a sheet showing him only his own scores on all tests but the Kohlberg, which I felt I could not adequately explain in the available time. (Also, the tests were not scored until both pre- and post-tests had been completed to eliminate bias in the scoring.) I gave a lengthy debriefing to each group and had individual meetings with any
students who requested them.

Since there was no possibility of random assignment of students to the various treatments, I was forced to use the standard approach in such quasi-experimental designs, the analysis of variance of pre-tests results and the analysis of covariance of the post-test results, using the pre-test scores as covariates. This, of course, cannot control for the presence of unsuspected systematic variables, but at least controls for the most obvious sources of variance and is the best method available under the circumstances.
CHAPTER 5 - FOOTNOTES


6. The first four scales are thought of as measuring beliefs about substantive aspects of human nature; summing their scores thus gives a rating of one's favorableness or negativeness about human nature in general.

7. See, for example, N. Porter and N. Taylor's How to Assess the Moral Reasoning of Students (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1972). My Kohlberg tests were scored by Susan Pagliuso, a research assistant in Clive Beck's Moral Education Project at O.I.S.E.


10. Ibid., 56.

11. R. Taft and A. Tait, "Some Results from the Investigation into Competence in Fifth Form Students" (Unpublished paper). Teachers and peers were given class lists of students and asked to select 10 whom they considered competent and 10 whom they considered incompetent in each of the areas of competency. Self-ratings were also gathered. These teacher, peer, and self ratings were then checked for correlation with the 3 factors isolated by Varimax Factor Analysis of the students' scores on the California Psychological Inventory.

12. Unfortunately, I prepared this booklet before I had actually got a copy of Taft and Tait's paper. When I did finally get one, I discovered that I had mistakenly used the Socialization (So) scale instead of the Dominance (Do) scale. The So scale measures the degree of social maturity, integrity, and rectitude; in contrast to the Responsibility and Self-Control scales, it measures the extent to which values are internalized and made useful in the life of the individual. This is one of the best validated and most powerful personality scales available, according to McGargee (California Personality Inventory).
In some ways the mistake was fortuitous, for the So scale relates more clearly to certain aspects of the C.I.P. goals than does the Do scale; for example, it has been shown to relate significantly to the occurrence of career interests among high school girls (Tyler, J. of Educ. Psych. Monog., 70, 1964, 177-227) and to unselfish behaviour (Turner, "Correlations of test scores, life data, and behavior during testing", Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, U. of Calif., Berkeley, 1963). The adjective ratings by college samples of those with low scores also show its relevance to social service: "Low scores tend to be unperceptive concerning the inner needs and feelings of others, little guided by interpersonal nuances, and given to rash and precipitate behavior." (Gough, Op. cit.)

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

Pre-Test Data - Year 1

With one exception, there were no significant differences from group to group on any of the six tests, the exception being the higher value placed on Independence by the Community Involvement students. Because of this homogeneity I will in most cases describe the results as a whole, combining the scores of all three groups, in order to provide an understanding of the values and attitudes which permeated the school environment in which the Community Involvement Program was set.

(1) Social Responsibility Scale scores tended to be uniformly high in all three groups (31 out of a possible 40). I would account for this high score by citing the relative brevity of the test and the transparency of the questions; the students seem to have been giving the answers they assumed were expected. However, even if this is true, it reveals that, in spite of what one hears about the alienation of youth, the students in my sample seem to be very close to the opposite of alienation, or at least wish to be thought of in this way.

| TABLE 1 - Social Responsibility Scale Pre-test Means and Standard Deviations |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                             | Means           | Standard Deviations |
| Community Involvement Program | 31.05           | 2.99             |
| Man in Society              | 31.55           | 2.85             |
| English                     | 31.13           | 3.38             |
(2) Personal Values Scales was the only test to show even one scale with a significant difference among groups, the C.I.P. students placing a higher value on Independence (p less than .05). This would tend to suggest that students enter the program more from a desire to escape the enforced dependence of the classroom and to test themselves outside its routine protected environment than from any zeal for social service. The significance of this result can further be revealed by comparing the results of the females only: C.I.P., 2.11; Man in Society, 1.37; English, 1.66. Also, since independence is, in our culture, strongly associated with the male, one would expect the male scores from the comparison groups to be higher than the C.I.P. females; but they are not, the average male score being 1.73. The Community Involvement students are strongly characterized by the value they place on independence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>C.I.P.</th>
<th>Man in Society</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Development</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creativity</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>3.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kindness</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>2.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Skills</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>3.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-control</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>2.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>2.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectualism</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyalty</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>2.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic Achievement</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>1.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honesty</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religiousness</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(3) There were no significant differences among the groups; their mean score was very similar to the scores for the university students on whom Rokeach has used the test.

**TABLE 3** Dogmatism Scale Pre-test Means and Standard Deviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community Involvement Program</td>
<td>74.37</td>
<td>12.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man in Society</td>
<td>75.00</td>
<td>17.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>78.19</td>
<td>8.46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) The following table presents the mean scores of my subjects and of 500 American college students. The range of possible scores is from +42, extremely positive, to -42, extremely negative.

**TABLE 4** Philosophy of Human Nature Pre-test Means and Standard Deviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>C.I.P. Mean</th>
<th>C.I.P. S.D.</th>
<th>Man in Society Mean</th>
<th>Man in Society S.D.</th>
<th>English Mean</th>
<th>English S.D.</th>
<th>U.S. College Students Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthiness</td>
<td>-1.83</td>
<td>8.58</td>
<td>-5.41</td>
<td>9.59</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>10.59</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>9.43</td>
<td>-1.80</td>
<td>11.68</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>10.06</td>
<td>-2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength of Will and Rationality</td>
<td>6.83</td>
<td>8.19</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>8.19</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>7.75</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complexity</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>11.94</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>11.83</td>
<td>7.19</td>
<td>10.20</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variability</td>
<td>13.50</td>
<td>12.36</td>
<td>13.74</td>
<td>9.28</td>
<td>15.31</td>
<td>11.68</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The high school students see human nature as slightly untrustworthy, slightly selfish and egoistic, only slightly capable of controlling his fate by his will and rationality, and neither dependent nor independent. In terms of its structure, human nature is slightly complex and, most clearly of all, rather changeable and individual. The one difference among groups which approaches significance is that the Community Involvement students see human nature as stronger in will and rationality (p less than .10).

The first four scales of this test have to do with the content of human nature; summing the scores for these scales thus gives an indication of one's general valuation of human nature. The score for the Community Involvement students was +6.3; for the other two groups it was -3.8. If a positive view of human nature is related to commitment, then the Community Involvement students are already biased in the right direction.

(5) Students in the two comparison groups were not quite able to finish the Kohlberg Moral Reasoning Test in class and so were asked to complete it at home and return it to me. The result was that in one group two-thirds were handed in, and in the other only one-third. This makes statistical comparison of the results impossible; however, the results tend to indicate that the Man in Society group (Moral Maturity Score 3.01) and the English group (3.13) were slightly higher than the Community Involvement mean (2.93). In general, all but a few students are firmly in Stage 3 (Interpersonal Concordance or Limited Conformity Stage), more or less where one would expect to find a group of seventeen year olds.

(6) Intolerance of Ambiguity Test showed no significant differences among the groups. This result is interesting in that one-half of the Community Involvement students had already had some volunteer experience, whereas only one or two students in the other groups had had any such experience at all. Volunteer experience by itself does not seem to have a significant effect on intolerance of ambiguity.
Pre-Test Data - Year 2

On the two tests repeated from the first year the scores were almost identical. Scoring only the females from the Community Involvement and the comparison groups (the two males might have biased the scores of the nine females), the mean Moral Maturity was almost identical (285 and 279 respectively). On the Philosophy of Human Nature Test there were again no significant differences between groups. The one small difference from the previous year was that the Community Involvement students were slightly more positive about human nature (+8.5 compared to +6.3) especially in the area of people's Strength of Will and Rationality.

| TABLE 5 - Philosophy of Human Nature Pre-test Means and Standard Deviations for Year 2 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Scales | C.I.P. | Comparison |
| Trustworthiness | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| Trustworthiness | -1.91 | 6.99 | -1.88 | 10.29 |
| Altruism | 0.46 | 8.69 | -6.04 | 10.21 |
| Independence | -0.55 | 8.00 | -1.68 | 10.00 |
| Strength of Will and Rationality | 10.36 | 8.05 | 6.48 | 7.05 |
| Complexity | 2.55 | 9.49 | 7.72 | 11.65 |
| Variability | 16.18 | 10.41 | 20.48 | 7.14 |

The results from the California Psychological Inventory are plotted in Figure 1 (page 133), a compressed version of Gough's standard form including only those scales used in this study. Although on most of the scales the Community Involvement females are lower, in general the two groups are very
similar, fitting the pattern expected for adolescents, that is, low in Emotional and Task Competence, higher in Social Competence. (These pre-test scores are almost identical to those reported by Taft and Tait.) The experience of adolescence, of which schooling is a considerable part, would seem to be frustrating emotional growth and not even preparing the young for the work world (which is the school's claim). The two lowest scores of the Community Involvement girls are on Sense of Well Being and on Intellectual Efficiency: the most serious problems for these girls, then, is their apathy, self-doubt, and constriction in thought and action, and their lack of self-direction and self-discipline, their waste of the intelligence that they possess.

Post-Test Data - Year 1

(1) The hypothesis that the scores on Social Responsibility would increase for the Community Involvement students was not confirmed; as shown in Tables 6 and 7 there was in fact a slight decrease for both groups which had studied or experienced

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 6 Summary of One-Way Analysis of Covariance on Social Responsibility Scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>D.F.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Responsibility Scale</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 7 Means and Standard Deviations for Social Responsibility Scale Pre- and Post-Tests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>C.I.P.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(2) As an examination of Tables 8 and 9 will show, almost no changes of a significant kind took place in the students' personal values, at least as they are measured by this test.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscales</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>M.S.(Among)</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p less than</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical Development</td>
<td>2,60</td>
<td>0.556</td>
<td>.661</td>
<td>.541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creativity</td>
<td>2,60</td>
<td>3.933</td>
<td>2.629</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kindness</td>
<td>2,60</td>
<td>2.591</td>
<td>2.034</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Skills</td>
<td>2,60</td>
<td>2.544</td>
<td>1.969</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Control</td>
<td>2,60</td>
<td>0.053</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>2,60</td>
<td>3.747</td>
<td>3.058</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectualism</td>
<td>2,60</td>
<td>2.261</td>
<td>1.263</td>
<td>.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyalty</td>
<td>2,60</td>
<td>0.243</td>
<td>0.138</td>
<td>.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic Achievement</td>
<td>2,60</td>
<td>0.135</td>
<td>0.058</td>
<td>.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>2,60</td>
<td>0.286</td>
<td>0.251</td>
<td>.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honesty</td>
<td>2,60</td>
<td>0.094</td>
<td>0.113</td>
<td>.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religiousness</td>
<td>2,60</td>
<td>0.163</td>
<td>0.129</td>
<td>.88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the only scales which are significant or approach significance, it is not the Community Involvement students who have changed. It is interesting to note, however, that three of the four values which show the greatest change in all three groups (Kindness, Status, and Social Skills) are social values, which tends to support Brison's contention that adolescence is a critical period for change in social values. It should also be noted that the Community Involvement students
are no longer distinguished by the high value they originally placed on independence. Their experience during the year has moved them more in the direction of valuing cooperative team membership and even leadership. Similarly, kindness is superceded by social skills and status in the value system of the C.I.P. students.

TABLE 9 Means for Personal Values Scales for Pre- and Post-Tests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical Development</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td>2.73</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creativity</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>4.31</td>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kindness</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>1.97</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>2.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Skills</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>3.42</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-control</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>2.59</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>2.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>2.41</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>3.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectualism</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyalty</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>2.41</td>
<td>2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic Achievement</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>1.97</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>2.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>1.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honesty</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religiousness</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>.97</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) There were no significant changes on the Dogmatism test.

TABLE 10 Summary of One-Way Analysis of Covariance for the Dogmatism Test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>M.S.(Among)</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p less than</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dogmatism Test</td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td>34.127</td>
<td>0.326</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 11  Means and Standard Deviations for Dogmatism Test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C.I.P.</th>
<th>Man in Society</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dogmatism</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test</td>
<td>74.37</td>
<td>12.75</td>
<td>75.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test</td>
<td>74.32</td>
<td>9.96</td>
<td>75.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) The results from the Philosophy of Human Nature Test show that adolescents views on the nature of man are still in flux; however, the significant changes took place in the scores of the comparison group students. It is worth noting, however, that when only the females are compared (it will be remembered that females generally have a more positive view of man than do males - see above p. 113), the Community Involvement girls start with and maintain a more positive view of man (from +6.4 to +7.6) than the girls in the comparison groups (-9.8 to -11.7).

TABLE 12  Summary of One-Way Analysis of Variance for Philosophy of Human Nature Test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscales</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>M.S.(Among)</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p less than</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthiness</td>
<td>2,57</td>
<td>38.166</td>
<td>0.439</td>
<td>.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altruism</td>
<td>2,57</td>
<td>173.770</td>
<td>2.281</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>2,57</td>
<td>22.244</td>
<td>0.244</td>
<td>.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength of Will and Rationality</td>
<td>2,57</td>
<td>273.357</td>
<td>3.811</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complexity</td>
<td>2,57</td>
<td>208.111</td>
<td>1.919</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variability</td>
<td>2,57</td>
<td>193.335</td>
<td>3.522</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 13 Philosophy of Human Nature Mean Scores for Pre- and Post-Tests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Philosophy of Human Nature</th>
<th>C.I.P.</th>
<th>Man in Society</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pre</td>
<td>Post</td>
<td>Pre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthiness</td>
<td>-1.83</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>-5.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altruism</td>
<td>-1.22</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>-7.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>-1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength of Will and Rationality</td>
<td>6.83</td>
<td>5.83</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complexity</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>4.83</td>
<td>3.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variability</td>
<td>13.50</td>
<td>16.11</td>
<td>13.74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) Comparing the scores on the Kohlberg Moral Reasoning Test of the students in the comparison groups for whom both pre- and post-test scores are available, I found that all but two decreased slightly to moderately. Of the two which increased, one increase was slight and the other belonged to the student who had scored lowest on the pre-test. By contrast, one-third of the Community Involvement students' scores increased, in one case a whole stage (MMS 250 to 350). However, the data are too fragmentary to draw any sound conclusions.

(6) Intolerance of Ambiguity scores showed no significant differences. As I predicted from the pre-test scores, volunteer experience does not seem to have any effect here.

TABLE 14 Summary of One-Way Analysis of Covariance for the Intolerance of Ambiguity test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>M.S.(Among)</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p less than</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intolerance of Ambiguity</td>
<td>2,59</td>
<td>15.684</td>
<td>0.198</td>
<td>.82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 15 Means and Standard Deviations for the Intolerance of Ambiguity Test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C.I.P.</th>
<th>Man in Society</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test</td>
<td>53.42</td>
<td>6.83</td>
<td>54.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test</td>
<td>52.11</td>
<td>9.03</td>
<td>53.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Post-Test Data - Year 2

(1) As in the previous year the scores on the Kohlberg Moral Reasoning Test changed hardly at all. Using only the scores of females who had completed both pre- and post-tests in a scoreable form, the C.I.P. students' (N = 8) Moral Maturity Score increased slightly from 283 to 288 whereas the comparison group females' score (N = 11) decreased slightly from 279 to 276. (One specific aspect of the Community Involvement females' advance in moral reasoning can be seen by examining the percentage of reasoning at each stage: the one clear difference is in the amount of Stage 2 reasoning, the Community Involvement students' decreasing from 20.4% to 11.8%, the comparison students' increasing slightly from 21.8% to 24.2%.)

TABLE 16 Results of Kohlberg Moral Reasoning Test (Females only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C.I.P.</th>
<th>Comparison</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% Stage Usage</td>
<td>MMS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>76.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>88.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(2) As in the previous year, there are a number of changes in the Philosophy of Human Nature Test, but none is statistically significant. However, it can be noted that the favorableness of this year's Community Involvement students toward human nature was increased by their experience (from +8.5 to +19.5); the comparison students scores went from -.9 to +4.8.

TABLE 17 Mean Scores on the Philosophy of Human Nature Test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscales</th>
<th>C.I.P.</th>
<th>Comparison</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pre</td>
<td>Post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthiness</td>
<td>-1.9</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altruism</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>-.5</td>
<td>-.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength of Will and Rationality</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complexity</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variability</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) The full results for the California Psychological Inventory are presented in Figure 1 on the following page. For the comparison group there is no consistent pattern of change; half the scales are slightly above and half slightly below their pre-test scores, the largest difference being on the Socialization scale. However, all the changes are so small that the situation can be described as stable. Since the test is intended to probe deep and consistent patterns in the personality, it is not surprising that there should be no change in an average group of adolescent females in the space of ten months of schooling.

In the light of these results, the changes for the Community Involvement females:
Figure 1. Mean profiles of female C.I.P. students (pre-test in dotted red, post-test in solid red) and female Control students (pre-test in broken blue, post-test in solid blue). Norms are the American adult female norms supplied by Gough.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviations:</th>
<th>Sy = Sociability</th>
<th>Sa = Self-acceptance</th>
<th>Sc = Socialization</th>
<th>Wo = Well-Being</th>
<th>Gi = Good Impression</th>
<th>To = Tolerance</th>
<th>Ai = Achievement via Independence</th>
<th>Ie = Intellectual Efficiency</th>
<th>Re = Responsibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
**TABLE 18**

SUMMARY OF ONEWAY ANALYSIS OF COVARIANCE ON THE CALIFORNIA PSYCHOLOGICAL INVENTORY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scales</th>
<th>d.f.</th>
<th>MS_D</th>
<th>MS_Y</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p less than</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sociability</td>
<td>1,23</td>
<td>41.79</td>
<td>11.56</td>
<td>3.49</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-acceptance</td>
<td>1,23</td>
<td>3.01</td>
<td>9.61</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialization</td>
<td>1,23</td>
<td>117.09</td>
<td>16.51</td>
<td>7.09</td>
<td>.025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense of Well Being</td>
<td>1,23</td>
<td>83.2</td>
<td>14.04</td>
<td>6.07</td>
<td>.025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-control</td>
<td>1,23</td>
<td>46.76</td>
<td>25.23</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Impression</td>
<td>1,23</td>
<td>104.19</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>5.57</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Competence Factor</td>
<td>1,23</td>
<td>758.75</td>
<td>129.76</td>
<td>5.69</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerance</td>
<td>1,23</td>
<td>61.3</td>
<td>12.57</td>
<td>4.88</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement via Independence</td>
<td>1,23</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual efficiency</td>
<td>1,23</td>
<td>66.54</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>3.42</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Task Competence Factor</td>
<td>1,23</td>
<td>655.99</td>
<td>85.15</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>.025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility</td>
<td>1,23</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>15.47</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empathy</td>
<td>1,23</td>
<td>11.27</td>
<td>8.77</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
are clear and impressive. On every scale there is improvement (movement toward the adult norm). On the Social Competence scales, the students are almost exactly at the norm; on the Task Competence Factor, they are only slightly below the norm; and on the Emotional Competence Factor, they are still about one standard deviation below the norm, but have shown quite a bit of improvement. In each of these areas the Community Involvement students have been brought closer to a healthy maturity.

Turning now to consider individual scales, the greatest gains (at least one standard deviation) were made in Sociability (p less than .10), Tolerance (p less than .05), and Intellectual Efficiency (p less than .10), followed closely by gains in Socialization (p less than .025), Sense of Well-Being (p less than .025), and Achievement (p less than .10). The sense of apathy and waste noticed in the low pre-test scores on Intellectual Efficiency and Sense of Well-Being is much reduced. Doing real work in their agencies and self-determined work in the Community Involvement classroom seems to have brought about a sense of achievement, of independence, of energy being well used. In contrast to the results of the control group, there is a sense of release, of growing up.

The Empathy Scale constructed by Hogan does not have standard scores and so has not yet been reported; the results are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 19 Mean Scores on Empathy Scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C.I.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results parallel those on other scales: the control group shows little or no change, whereas the Community Involvement group makes a change in the desired direction, although in this case only a small one and not statistically significant.
One final word about the relevance of the data from the California Psychological Inventory. Gough has published a study which used his Inventory to predict graduation from or dropping out of high school. An equation was devised, using five scales from the Inventory, which maximized the prediction of graduation; applying this equation to the groups in my study, the results are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Norm for Graduates</th>
<th>Norm for Dropouts</th>
<th>C.I.P. Graduates</th>
<th>C.I.P. Dropouts</th>
<th>Comparison Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test</td>
<td>51.92</td>
<td>47.12</td>
<td>45.95</td>
<td>44.24</td>
<td>50.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>52.58</td>
<td></td>
<td>49.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note, firstly, that the four girls who dropped out of the Community Involvement Program very early in the course (whose scores are not included in the pre-test scores for the C.I.P. graduates) do indeed have the lowest scores according to Gough's predictive equation. However, the mean score of the other females in the Community Involvement Program was not much above the dropouts' mean. But by the end of the year the mean for the female Community Involvement graduates has increased dramatically; the course would seem to be serving one of its secondary functions of keeping in school those who would otherwise drop out. And it is not just a question of having kept these girls in school - schooling which included the Community Involvement Program contributed to their development and competence, and most of these girls have decided to go on to post-secondary education.
The Students' Perception of their Own Development (Year 1)

So far I have reported the results from objective tests, which give testimony of some value. But also of value is the testimony of the students themselves. What, in their view, has been the major impact of the program on their development? How do they, having spent ten months in the course, now perceive it?

In order to tap the students' viewpoint, I gave them a voluntary year-end assignment to write a brief essay on the topic "My Personal Growth in the C.I.P." No suggestions were given concerning the structure or contents of the essay, except to say that they might want to report their lack of growth, if they believed that to be the case. Like the other possible essay topics, it was worth 10% of the third term's mark: I stressed that it would be marked for its qualities as an essay, not for the kind of comment made about the course. During the year they had handed in weekly "Process Reports" describing what they had done in their agencies and, more importantly, how they had felt about it; these were now returned to them to be used, if they wished, as a way of looking back at how they had changed week by week.

Fourteen of the nineteen students chose to do the assignment, including students of all levels of ability. I analysed these essays, looking for statements of what they felt they had learned or how they felt they had been changed by their experienced in the course. I restricted myself to direct statements (for example, "I learned how to lead groups" or, more specifically, "I learned to keep everyone in a group involved.") The resulting list of statements is extremely various, including forty different statements. I will present the data from the analysis in two ways, since each tends to reveal something slightly different.

Firstly, here is a list of the five most frequently mentioned statements in these essays (the actual number of occurrences is given in brackets after the statement; each statement used either the same words or synonyms):
(a) Knowledge of a particular social problem or social problems in general (7)
(b) A sense of responsibility (7);
(c) A sense of self-confidence, security (5);
(d) Ability to communicate better (5);
(e) A desire to help people with problems (4).

Clearly, the students feel the course is having some important effects; more importantly for my purposes, the effects claimed by the students (except the third) are directly related to the commitment to the solution of social problems which was the central aim of the program.

Further understanding of the students' beliefs about the effects of the program can be gained by examining the entire list of their statements on the following two pages; I have analysed these statements into five broad categories, which are in order of the total number of responses under the category.

The first observation which must be made is that the area of greatest development is seen as moral. Since I as the teacher of the program had conceived of it as being essentially moral, my conception seems to have had some impact even though I at no time articulated it to the students. Even though much of what I did in class dealt with moral issues related to social problems, none of that has shown up even indirectly in the students' essays. I believe the list reflects accurately their perception of the nature of the course, especially the work experience component of it.

A second observation is that the first two areas most frequently mentioned are outside the realm of the average high school course. Since most of the students liked the course and felt that it had been very worthwhile, one can see that students generally need and want development in areas not touched by traditional academic curricula.
TABLE 21 Analysis of "My Personal Growth" Essays by C.T.P. Students

Moral Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sense of Responsibility</td>
<td>6 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realization of responsibilities adults bear</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling responsible for leading a group</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Values changes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realized the value of - education</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- people</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- friendship</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- the opinions of others</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- the beauty of the world, which the retarded can't</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thankful for all the advantages I have</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future commitment</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realized the pleasure in helping others</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Social Skills

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Can understand and judge others better</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- understand others</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- better judge of character</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- understand children</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership skills</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- leadership</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- how a group works</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- noted different teaching and leadership styles in supervisors</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social and communication</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- express self better</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- communicate better</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- stopped being cliquish</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- learned to relate to others</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How to help others</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How to seek help from others</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 23
### Knowledge of Social Problems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Knowledge of Social Problems</th>
<th>Number of Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of a particular social problem or social problems in general</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realization of how long it will take to solve them</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding the agency and its problems</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding the agency staff (teachers) and their problems</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realizing dedication of staff (teachers)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of home life in generating certain social problems</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Growth in Personality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Growth in Personality</th>
<th>Number of Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sense of security, confidence</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maturity</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More patience</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learned to handle frustration</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learned to accept certain feelings of inadequacy in some situations</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Determination to achieve goals</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Problem Solving

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem Solving</th>
<th>Number of Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Solving people problems (as opposed say to math)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making better, that is, more thoughtful decisions</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning how to organize self</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How to handle future problems in life (for example, children)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inventiveness, creativity</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thirdly, I believe that the course is actually having more effect in the area of growth of personality than is indicated by the responses the students gave. My own direct observation and the comments of parents tell me this, but the data from the California Psychological Inventory also confirm it. These students were, by and large, not interested in or analytical of themselves. They were interested in people and in action, not in introspection. The majority of students never did write proper process reports; they described what they had done, but were either uninterested in or unwilling to discuss what they felt. For this final essay on personal growth, some students spent almost the whole of the essay writing about the children they had worked with and their experiences with them, but they made little or no comment about themselves.

Thus far, we have been examining the results from the Community Involvement group as a whole. But there are important differences between various subgroups of these students. Some, for example, had had experience as volunteers in social service agencies before they entered the program. Some worked in agencies where they were aides, being given little independence or responsibility for decision-making and almost always under the supervision of an adult. Also, as in every course, some students were very good and some were very bad; investigation of the effect of the program on weak students is of some importance as the program is sometimes touted as having great potential for the kind of student whom the traditional academic school does not serve well.

It is to the investigation of differences within the group of Community Involvement students which occupies most of the remaining sections of the chapter. It must be kept in mind that, since the numbers involved are so small, they findings must be thought of as suggestive rather than conclusive; they provide clues for further research.
The Effect of Previous Volunteer Experience (Year 1)

Ten of the girls in the C.I.P. had had previous experience as volunteers working for the Children's Aid, the Canadian National Institute for the Blind, Big Sisters, and for a variety of organizations assisting the handicapped, the retarded, emotionally disturbed children, and the aged. The remaining eight girls and one boy had had no such experience. What kinds of difference did this previous experience make to their success in the program and to the effects it had on them?

Firstly, referring back to the General Information Sheet which I gave them at the beginning of the year, it can be seen that the two groups had quite different motives for entering the course. The volunteers tended to have motives concerned with helping others, whereas the non-volunteers tended to be in the C.I.P. because they wanted a break from school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motives</th>
<th>Volunteers</th>
<th>Non</th>
<th>&quot;Helping&quot; motives</th>
<th>Volunteers</th>
<th>Non</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Job experience</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Continue something</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I like doing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Break from school</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Help people</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learn from experience</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Working with people</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get involved in something real</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking at their success in the C.I.P., an exact reflection of their motives is found. The volunteers are clustered in the middle range of success (only two of the ten being first-class honour students). The students in the other group tend to the extremes; three having first class honour marks, three very low marks,
and one average mark; the two extremes represent three good students eager for a different mode of learning and three students who had not been successful in school and who just wished to escape it without penalizing themselves for the rest of their lives. These latter, although they felt they were receiving a great deal from the course, tended to give rather little; this program was too little too late for most of those who entered the program to escape from schooling. (It must be remembered in this discussion that the course mark was determined 50% by the agency supervisor who required no written or academic work, and the mark from the in-school component tended to be almost identical to the mark from the work experience - the unsuccessful continued so even when success was determined by non-school work.)

Turning now to examine their scores on the objective tests, we find some interesting differences. On the Social Responsibility scale the scores of the volunteers remained almost the same from pre- to post-test; the scores from the non-volunteers dropped two full points.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Volunteers</th>
<th>Non-Volunteers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These with volunteer experience went into the course with a lower score than those without such experience; their attitude had already been shaped by realistic experience. Those without such experience went in with higher scores, perhaps reflecting idealism, and their experience deflated this. In terms of the conservative individualist theme in the test, the non-volunteers began believing that the individual is responsible for himself; their experience seems to have begun to lead them to accept societal responsibility for the troubles of its members.
In the earlier section describing the objective test scores, I was disappointed to find no change in the scores of the students on the Intolerance of Ambiguity test. It seemed only natural to me that agency experience would have an effect in this area. Looking at the results of the two subgroups separately clarifies what is taking place here and explains why the average revealed no change.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-Test</th>
<th>Post-Test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Volunteers</td>
<td>52.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Volunteers</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those who had had volunteer experience were in fact more tolerant of ambiguity than the others, and, indeed, became even more tolerant because of their U.I.P. experience. The opposite is true of the group of non-volunteers. (In a similar fashion, the volunteer group had a much lower Dogmatism score, 76.8, than the non-volunteer group, 76.3, on the pre-tests; however, in this case, the post-test results showed both groups tending to head toward a common ground, 72.8 and 76.0 respectively.)

On the individual scales of the Philosophy of Human Nature Test there were no differences worth mentioning. However, an interesting difference emerges when the scores for the overall evaluation of
human nature are compared: the volunteer group began with a more positive evaluation (+8.3 compared to the non-volunteers' +5.1) which was made even more positive by their C.I.P. experience (+10.3). The evaluation of the non-volunteer group, however, became slightly less positive (+4.2).

Similarly, in the area of personal values it is the student who has had previous volunteer experience who seems to draw the more positive results from the experience (I have omitted scales on which there were no differences):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Volunteers</th>
<th></th>
<th>Non-Volunteers</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pre-Test</td>
<td>Post-Test</td>
<td>Pre-Test</td>
<td>Post-Test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectualism</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social skills</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Development</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>2.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honesty</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creativity</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In every case but Independence the volunteer students began with a higher
score and maintained it or increased it; the non-volunteer groups began with a lower score and remained the same or went lower, except for Social Skills and Status on which there were slight gains.

The values which the volunteers favour mark them as "good" students and good institutional people. They are concerned with cooperation and fitting in (Social Skills), grades, and physical development. However, these values are balanced by values of a more independent kind related to our central concept of commitment. Physical development is exactly balanced by intellectualism, grades are subordinate to creativity, and social skills balanced by a value on leadership (status) and, to a slight extent, on honesty.

The Effects of Different Types of Agencies (Year 1)

So far in this analysis I have been discussing the effect of the agency work experience as if it were all of the same kind and likely to produce similar effects. But is this true? The analysis presented in this section seeks to discover any differences in effect between different kinds of agencies. Of course, the size of the samples then becomes very small. However, although the results cannot be considered as conclusive, they may give us some clues as to which kind of agency experience may be more valuable.
For the purposes of this analysis I am going to compare two groups of agencies. The first used six of my girls as recreation leaders; each girl was given some initial training in group skills, as well as some information on recreation and craft activities, and then given the responsibility of preparing activities for and being in charge of a group of pre-teen girls for two hours after school. The second group of agencies used the C.I.P. students as teaching assistants in classes for retarded youngsters. As such they followed a routine set down by the teacher, generally providing one-to-one assistance to children with special problems. They were never given responsibility for leading a group nor for inventing materials or activities for use with the children. There were eight girls in this second group of agencies. (Because of the small numbers involved I have not done tests for statistical significance.)

The following chart compares the results from these two groups on the Social Responsibility Scale and on the Kohlberg Moral Reasoning Test:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Teaching Assistants</th>
<th>Group Leaders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Responsibility Scale</td>
<td>Pre-test</td>
<td>Post-test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohlberg Moral Reasoning Test</td>
<td>Pre-test</td>
<td>Post-test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>306</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two tentative conclusions follow. Firstly, even though they were working in state-run service agencies, the teaching assistants tended to have a more conservative individualist conception of social responsibility than did the group leaders. Secondly, decreases in scores on the Social Responsibility Scale cannot be construed as a sign of decreasing morality; for both groups the Kohlberg Moral Maturity Score remains unchanged.
The two related scales of Dogmatism and Intolerance of Ambiguity show more interesting changes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching Assistants</th>
<th>Group Leaders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Test</td>
<td>Post-Test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intolerance of Ambiguity</td>
<td>54.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dogmatism</td>
<td>73.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each group began with similar Intolerance of Ambiguity scores and ended up with almost identical scores. Presumably, each kind of experience contained enough ambiguity for some desensitizing to take place. In the area of dogmatism quite a different change took place: while both groups began with almost identical scores, the teaching assistants' scores decreased and the group leaders' scores increased.

Working with retarded children, as they frequently commented, had shown them the worthwhileness of a group of people they had tended to dismiss or be frightened of; coming to respect a viewpoint other than the normal one in our society would tend to reduce our assurance of our own rightness. By contrast, being made a group leader, with its implications of authority and always having the answer, would seem to have led these girls to greater dogmatism. (It is an interesting comment on the teaching assistants and the validity of the Dogmatism scale, that these girls working with retarded children received "Need for Martydom" scores, 3.8 and 3.9, than did the others, 2.3 and 2.3,) and that these scores remained unchallenged by their experience.)
On the Personal Values Scales only one scale showed an interesting difference; this was independence. The teaching assistants placed a lower value on it than did the group leaders:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Teaching Assistants</th>
<th>Group Leaders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Independence is a quality neither required nor encouraged by volunteer service in institutional settings; being a group leader tends to appeal to and to reinforce someone who already values independence.

The following are the results from the Philosophy of Human Nature Test:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Teaching Assistants</th>
<th>Group Leaders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pre</td>
<td>Post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthiness</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altruism</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>6.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength of Will and Rationality</td>
<td>7.25</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complexity</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variability</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As is immediately apparent from these figures, the girls who were teaching assistants began with and ended with a positive evaluation of human nature (+6 and +7); in contrast, the group leaders began with a slightly negative evaluation (-2.65) and ended with a slightly more negative view (-3.1). And it is on these four content scales on which these overall scores are based that there are the greatest differences between the groups. Even on the first two scales, on which the scores of the group leaders show a slight positive change, they still remain a long way from the positive scores of the teaching assistants.

I have argued earlier in this report that in terms of commitment to the solution of social problems what is wanted is scores, especially on the Altruism and Strength of Will and Rationality scales, which were as positive as possible. If this is correct, then positions as group leaders seem to be less effective in achieving this goal. Is there any corroborating evidence for this?

Let us turn to the reports the students themselves gave about what they had learned from the course. The following chart shows the differences (the number of responses is given in the brackets):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching Assistants</th>
<th>Group Leaders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Learned about social problems (5)</td>
<td>Learned responsibility (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learned the pleasure of helping (4)</td>
<td>Learned how a group works (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learned patience (2)</td>
<td>Learned leadership (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learned to talk over problems or seek help or advice from others (2)</td>
<td>Became more creative (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Teaching Assistants

Learned to communicate and relate to others (2)
Learned responsibility (1)
Learned to be flexible (creative) (1)
Learned that people are the most important things in the world (1)
Learned to value the beauty of the world (1)
Want to be a future volunteer (1)

Group Leaders

Increased in self-confidence (3)
Learned to communicate (2)
Learned about social problems (2)
Learned organization (1)
Acquired determination to achieve goals (1)
Learned patience (1)
Gained maturity (1)
Stopped being cliquish (1)
Better judge of character (1)
Better decisions (1)
Realized long time needed for solution of social problems (1)

It may be noted, firstly, as an aside, that the group leaders seemed to have learned more: their list is longer and is more varied. It is hard to say whether or not this is true. What was clear to me, however, in analyzing their essays, was that the teaching assistants were less articulate, less self-analytical and introspective, and tended to talk more about their work, the retarded children they had known and what they had done together, than about themselves.

Looking at what they actually list, a similar trend is apparent. The teaching assistants focused not on themselves but on social
problems and values related to service. The group leaders, however, focus on the acquisition of personal responsibility, development of aspects of their personalities, and the skills of group work and leadership. These might be turned in the service of social problems, but, for the present, there are few signs of such commitment. Rather, it is the other girls who stress social problems and helping, but evince fewer signs of the skills or leadership which would be extremely useful, if not necessary, in living up to such a commitment, except in the sense of individual service to other individuals, (which correlates with their higher Social Responsibility score, see above page 110). Perhaps, since they were dealing with individuals, they felt less need for technique; dealing with groups, however, would be new to the group leaders — technique would give them security and, as well, the agency staff put an emphasis on technique. In this sense, the group leaders would have been more successfully socialized into their agency's script, more "professionalized", than the teaching assistants, although these latter seem to have bought an ideology centered on individual care and "volunteerism".

Looking down the list of things the student group leaders say they have learned, one sees many admirable points, but they are the sort of things which many a business management course aims to produce, the confident, skilled, responsible leader. There seems to be little in terms of morality or knowledge of society which might direct these in the direction the course aims at. The increase in
people of this kind in this century, to administer corporate and governmental bureaucracies does not seem to have had any noticeable positive effect on the solution of social problems. The emphasis on group manipulation and short-term survival (familiar to all novice teachers) is not calculated to achieve the ends at which the course aims.

By contrast, the teaching assistants retained their higher Moral Reasoning score, decreased in Dogmatism, became even more positive about the nature of man, and showed in their own words an ideology of service to others. The connection between this and the kind of commitment to which the course is dedicated is direct and clear.

From the Best to the Worst - Six Case Studies (Year 1)

Objective tests provide one kind of picture of student growth or the lack of it. However, there must also be taken into account a more personal, impressionistic viewpoint, without which the above data would remain lifeless. To redress the balance I now provide six capsule case studies of girls in the program, based on my own observation plus some data from the school records. The first two girls were the best in the class in terms of ability, motivation, dedication, and so on; the next two were the worst; the next one provides an example of a remarkable improvement during the course; and the final one provides an example of a girl who was committed to the solution of one social problem before she entered the course.
Diane was, from the beginning, the kind of student most teachers find hard to resist: eager to please, interested, attractive physically and in personality, and docile. She was academically able, although not exceptionally so, and was fairly popular with her fellow students, able to get along with many kinds of people. I had the impression of a very young, very conventional, very appealing girl.

Diane had some problems at first with her agency, because, for rather a long time, they gave her almost nothing to do. She was continually asking if she was doing enough, if she was doing the right thing. Eventually, I transferred her to a school dealing with retarded children. This provided her with a structured, busy environment in which she could thrive.

By the end of the year these qualities in her had been solidified by a new sense of self-confidence. When I asked for volunteers to speak to a parents' meeting concerning the C.I.P., she volunteered and spoke at the meeting so clearly and forcefully and thoughtfully that several parents commented on her maturity after the meeting. This was also the girl whose mother commented that the C.I.P. had changed her girl into a woman.

The scores from the objective tests support some of the impressions given above. There is an increase in an already high Social Responsibility Score (31 to 36), indicating a strongly conservative, individualistic approach. Her Kohlberg score remains constant and squarely in the
Stage 3 Limited Conformity Orientation, determined to please the group of people immediately around her. There were, as well, a couple of very positive changes: her Intolerance of Ambiguity score decreased sharply (62 to 48) and her evaluation of human nature became much more positive (+6.7 to +14.0).

Diane never had any vocational ambition in the social service field. She took the C.I.P. because she liked working with people and because she liked "to be kept busy and to be involved." She found the course satisfying and it was obvious to everyone that it had made a real contribution to her personal growth. Diane has since gone on to a fashion design course at a local Community College.

(2) Debbie

Debbie was, like Diane, an attractive and fairly popular girl, but was much cleverer and of a stronger and more independent personality. Her academic records show consistently high marks; but Debbie had been showing an increasing resistance to the routine of schooling (she rated her educational experience at this school as only "sometimes satisfying," although the social experience was rated as "very satisfying"), and had had, as she said, an "attendance problem" in her previous year.

The C.I.P. seemed to bring out her distinct characteristics as well. She responded enthusiastically to any democratizing of the classroom or administration procedures (for example, consultation between teacher
and student about report card marks). Her classroom work was consistently thorough and excellent, and at her agency, she asked for more and more responsibility and resented any suggestion that she was incapable of doing something.

Towards the end of the year, when the students were working on their independent study projects on the solution of a social problem, both Debbie and Diane frequently came in for extra consultation with me; but Diane was eager to learn what was to be done to please me, whereas Debbie was interested in the techniques for doing something well for its own sake.

There is, however, an interesting parallel between the two girls. In Term III I suggested to Debbie that she could earn marks by speaking about the retarded and their families (since she had been working in a family program) to a Grade XIII Family Studies class. She said she had always been terrified of speaking before groups, so much so that she would become nauseated. She eventually agreed as long as one of the other C.I.P. students would accompany her for the two talks. At the last minute the girl was unable to attend the first of the two classes, and Debbie had to go alone. She sailed through the experience confidently, proud of her own poise and authority and of the praise of the Grade XIII teacher.

Only two scores from Debbie's objective tests showed any change. Firstly, her Kohlberg score increased (342 to 367) to become the highest in the class and the only one to exhibit stage five reasoning.
Secondly, her general evaluation of human nature decreased (+8.9 to +1.5). I am not clear about what caused this.

Debbie entered the course with vocational training in mind and left the course confirmed in her desire to work with the retarded. Consistent with her abilities, she is going to Grade XIII and plans to go to University.

(3) Jo

In contrast to the previous two girls, the next two had severe personal problems and family problems, as well as very poor academic records. In Jo's case, her problems included being extremely overweight and sensitive about this, being fatherless and having a mother who simply did not know how to handle her, and having a group of "friends" who encouraged the worst in her.

Jo was a close friend of Connie, the next girl we shall look at. Although underage, they went drinking together, took all the available drugs - a route so familiar as to require no detailing. However, two things began to change this. She discovered the drama club, and was given a part in the school play. And through the C.I.P., she realized her own social limitations and resolved to become more outgoing.

However, she retained a number of deeply rooted problems which she poured out to a number of her teachers. Early in the spring she became ecstatically happy, made it clear that she had discovered love (physically and emotionally), and was engaged to be married.
Meanwhile, at her agency, she was doing a good job and was offered a position for the summer. During the summer, however, things started to go wrong. Her social world began to fall apart; at work, she began to be chums with a girl very similar to herself, and they encouraged each other's irresponsibility. The psychological pattern should be now be clear enough that there will be no surprise in learning that her engagement fell through, she attempted suicide, and was held for some time in a psychiatric hospital.

Looking at Jo's objective tests, she shows almost no change whatever. Clearly, her life was focused on very deep needs which no course could hope to reach. (Jo had been receiving psychiatric help long before she entered the course.) The point of describing her case is to suggest the kind of student who will sometimes take this kind of course out of a complex set of needs and to suggest very definite limits to what the course can hope to achieve.

(4) Connie

Connie, Jo's friend, also had serious problems, but their source was different, as was their effect. Debbie was an adopted child. Her adoptive father was a public school principal with stern principles but a rather weak, hesitant manner. The parents took a very protective, indulgent attitude to Connie, which she turned to her own advantage. We discovered after about two months that she had attended only two of about ten of her agency meetings, and had lied to her parents, to the
school administration, and to myself about this. She had also used the C.I.P. as an excuse to skip other teachers' classes. And on top of all this, she had handed in almost none of her class assignments.

When confronted, she complained that the agency people had misled her about the nature of her duties; she had expected to be a Big Sister. However, the agency people, observing her irresponsibility, had decided against ever allowing her to have such a position.

When Debbie understood the situation, she admitted her liability and decided to try her best from then on. (She admitted later that she had taken the course in the first place because she expected it to be a "bird" course.) During the second term, she did indeed succeed in giving a satisfactory performance (her mark rose from 35 to 60), but she slipped again in third term, just barely passing the course at the end of the year. However, she had let her other courses go and did not receive her Secondary School Graduation Diploma. She declined to take a summer course, dropped out of school, and is now sewing in a furrier's shop.

Unlike Jo, Debbie was somewhat influenced by the C.I.P. experience. Her objective tests show an increase in Intolerance of Ambiguity and Dogmatism, the largest regression on the Kohlberg Moral Reasoning Test (292 to 258), and a slightly more negative evaluation of human nature (-1.5 to -4.5). Interestingly enough, the only changes
registered on the Personal Values Scales were a slight drop in Academic Achievement (2 to 0) and an increase in Honesty (1 to 3).

(5) Clara

Clara began the year as a gum-chewing, jive-talking, childish girl who talked in class whenever she liked and listened not at all. Her father owned a prosperous auto body shop and Clara had everything she wanted, including her own car. I should also mention that she had failed my Man in Society course the previous year - she was not an altogether promising prospect.

But Clara was the most dramatic success story in the Community Involvement Program that year. Although not very intelligent, she tried with every ounce of energy she possessed to master group skills, to provide her youngsters at the Y.W.C.A. (she was a group leader) with interesting activities, and to hand in good class work. By the end of the second term, Clara had a first-class honours average, of which she was enormously proud. Her personal style changed as well, the "with-it" talk and behaviour being replaced by those of a young adult. Her parents and her teachers commented spontaneously on Clara's transformation.

Something of the positive effect of the program can be seen as well in her objective test scores. Her Kohlberg Moral Maturity Score is up slightly (275 to 283) and her evaluation of human nature is slightly more positive. But since her development was largely in terms of personal and social growth, the tests I used do not show a great deal of change, except that her Intolerance of Ambiguity and Dogmatism scores decreased greatly. More secure in the world of adults, she is willing now to move out of the childish, insulated world she had created for herself, or had found already created in teenage culture.
I have saved for the last a girl who came to the Community Involvement Program already totally committed to the solution of at least one social problem, the course simply providing her with an opportunity to exercise that commitment and get school credits for doing so.

Marla was a quiet girl, plain and rather overweight, of less than average academic ability, who seemed to have few friends in class or in school. What was outstanding about her was her devotion to the retarded, a devotion not evidenced in words but in actions she never mentioned. I only learned by accident that she had worked for three years as a volunteer and as a counsellor at summer camps for the retarded. She organized dances for them, attended conferences about them — indeed, her list of extra-curricular interests consisted of "working with the retarded and collecting things."

There is little else to remark about Marla; she showed little leadership ability, almost never participated in class, and received no outstanding marks from her agency supervisor or on her classroom assignments. However, the objective tests suggest that some changes were taking place in her. Her Kohlberg Moral Maturity Score shows the most dramatic increase of any student in my whole sample (258 to 350). Her Dogmatism and Intolerance of Ambiguity scores, which were already the lowest in the sample, decreased even further. And her evaluation of human nature, which was already very positive, became even more so (+13 to +23).
The Diversity of Experience - 6 Case Studies (Year 2)

In the case studies from the first year of the program, my interest was to examine how the experience of the C.I.P. would differ for students whom the school system would consider good (high ability and motivation) or bad. In these case studies from the second year, I will be concerned to take more the student's point of view, to discover a little about the texture of his or her experience. The theme which emerged from these case studies was the diversity and uniqueness of the experience of six students of more or less equal ability and motivation working in very similar settings. A second theme which recurs is the importance of the development of a working and sometimes friendly relationship with their agency supervisor, of being accepted as something more than a child.

The material for these brief studies, apart from the test data and my own personal contacts with the students during the year, came from a series of interviews with them, taped in the first two weeks of December, 1976, that is, about six months after they had finished the program. All but two interviewees had gone on to Grade XIII, a fact which in itself indicates something both about the kind of student who took the program in its second year and about the effect of the program on his or her attitude toward schooling. All the interviews took place at the school; in each interview I asked a core of six open-ended questions, responding spontaneously, in a non-directive manner as possible, seeking to elicit what they now felt to have been the essence of their experience and to capture some of the detail of its texture. Unfortunately, in the six months almost all of the detail had been forgotten; but, they were all the more articulate about summarizing up its basic impact on them.
Liz was a strong, sociable, although not outspoken young woman, who had a quiet self-confidence not common among adolescents. Although she was not above average intelligence (her academic record was not strong and her writing was atrocious), she was sensitive to other people, capable of independence and leadership, and an extremely energetic worker when motivated. At her agency she quickly created a favorable impression such that she was hired to work extra hours, and, in fact, to teach other group leaders how to work with groups. She led the C.I.P. class for a number of periods through some group exercises, which, while they showed she did not have the cleverness to adapt when things didn't go as planned, also revealed her willingness to admit her limitations, to seek advice from others, and to try with equal energy once again.

Liz was the only student I interviewed who was currently working full time, doing office work "just for now" - her ambition was to become a stewardess, and she was currently attending night school to learn the mandatory French and to improve her writing and spelling. Indeed, it is one of the differences between her present work and the C.I.P. work experience that she doesn't like the others laughing at her inability to spell and to write: "I now know the things I lack." The service work at the Y had not taught her this.

What had her experience of the C.I.P. taught her? This stuck out as a recurrent theme even before I had introduced the question, how much she had learned. She had learned about people - "how they think" - from the personal
kind of classroom we had had, which allowed people to open up, something she had never experienced before. As a consequence she had made new friends who were still her friends. She had learned responsibility - "having to go to work even when you're tired" or would have preferred to do something else. And she now knew "how to react in an office situation, not knowing people, meeting people in a working situation; it's just easier to start talking." But she had also discovered that there is "not much money in social work; the pay at the Y is too low" to think of having a career there.

She had learned some things about herself as well: "I am too emotional; other people's problems become mine." So, although she would like to be a social worker in some ways, she realizes she never could, without becoming a "nervous wreck." Also, she had learned to look at people more deeply than is customary at school, and this became a way of reflecting on herself, getting her own image in perspective, and that image, she found, was pretty good; with energy and conviction she said: "I feel I could do anything."

Indeed, if I were to articulate a second main theme in Liz's experience it would be positiveness. What she had learned about herself and others was generally good - even in becoming aware of race problems for the first time. By contrast, her present job was revealing some of the nastier, pettier sides of people: "In an office you have to watch out and keep your mouth shut - there are so many fights and personality clashes." And, in spite of the fact that she thought she had become friends with the fifteen other women who work in the office, "you can't always trust people. I had left my purse and a couple of books I had bought on my desk during lunch hour; when I came back they (the books) were gone."
For Liz, the classroom component of the C.I.P. had been interesting and memorable. She remembered the day she had brought her baby daughter to class; leading the group in the group exercises; the visits with C.I.P. students from other schools; one of the C.I.P. girls (Kelly) frequently arguing; the visits from the deaf; and the class projects she had handed in. In fact, Liz was unique in actually wanting more class time.

How did she remember the C.I.P. teacher? "He was on the same level as the students, not trying to show he was better than they were - that made us relaxed." "He didn't nag us about trivia", which meant "we weren't afraid - we could be ourselves and speak out because we weren't going to get in trouble. He treated us like Grade XII students, not like Grade IX's, which made us act that way." And, finally, "he always seemed to act on impulse, but he always had a reason; no matter what we did or said, he always got a lesson out of it; he was smart" - "we never knew what was going to happen in class, and that kept us coming."

What do Liz's test results show? Firstly, her Kohlberg level showed the greatest increase (255 to 267); it was evidently a year of intellectual growth for her. Secondly, her experience had certainly given her a positive view of human nature: Trustworthiness: +4 to +22; Altruism: +4 to +16; Independence: +6 to -3; Rationality: +10 to +14. Summing these scores, her evaluation of human nature went from +16 to +49 (out of a possible 168). On the California Psychological Inventory there are impressive signs of growth, especially in the area of Task Competence (no increase less than one standard deviation, and Tolerance more than two). Her Social Competence is almost exactly the adult norm. Only in the areas of Emotional Competence
is she still low, although her sense of Well Being shows a significant increase. The total picture is one of a socially mature woman, responding to challenging tasks with enthusiasm and ability, but still somewhat emotionally immature (her own statement about being "too emotional" reveals something of her self-understanding).

Karen

At the beginning of the year Karen struck me as a brunette version of the silly blonde, her manner and appearance recalling Gloria Engel (Georgette) on the Mary Tyler Moore show. When the class elected her as its students' council representative, I thought they were making a cynical comment about the council, and was almost inclined to suggest that they should take the election more seriously and vote again.

But this was a striking example of how some first impressions can be entirely misleading, although it must also be said that Karen changed a great deal during the year, at least in her presentation of herself to adults and to groups. This was largely because of her relationship with her special education students and especially with her supervisor, an excellent young teacher with whom she had a remarkable rapport and, quite soon, friendship.

I: What did you talk about with Marg?

K: Anything. It was like from, you know, from the C.I.F. course to working with the kids, to...she took me up to her golf club once, and she was in this fashion show; and one of the other teachers there picked me up, and we went there for the day, and we socialized and I'm in around with all these elite...golfers, or whatever, and presidents of the C.B.C., and all that; and it was like a whole... from the very basic even to her life.
They were such an excellent team that I asked them to speak at a conference of special education teachers on the use of high school students as teaching assistants.

Karen's experience in special education gave her a calling. Until Grade XIII Karen had wanted to turn her creativity into an art career, but her parents had wanted her to do something respectable. Karen was not only in an inner turmoil, but was also in constant conflict with her parents. Now she has returned to Grade XIII and is going to university to become a special education teacher:

I think it's (the C.I.P.) the best thing that ever happened to me because finally it gave me something that I thought - not that I know, because I don't really know, I guess - but that I think I want to do for the rest of my life.

Not only did the conflict at home disappear, but Karen had found a socially useful outlet for her creativity: she'd say to fellow students who were not in the C.I.P.:

Hey, look, you guys are sitting in school and I'm out doing something, you know, that is useful, actually.

And her mother noticed how happy she had become:

I know my mother (noticed it): like she'd, when she'd talk to her friends, she'd go "Oh, Karen's doing great; she's so happy with school, and satisfied and all that". And you know, she could tell that.

What did she remember about her actual work experience? "It was always different; you'd come out feeling great, and you'd come to school and apply yourself a little bit." But most of all, she remembered "The fun of it."

I: What do you mean by "the fun of it"? Can you give me an example?

K: O.K. One time when I first started there, it was around Halloween, and I had the class for the afternoon - remember when I made candy...
apples with them? - and they just...they had a ball, and it was just so great to see these kids, you know, actually doing something and really having fun doing it, you know, and it was, like, different...I guess it all connects; it was an alternative to school because they were learning, in a lot of ways; you can spread out into, you know, they were getting along with other people and that's still learning. And that's just what I was doing - an alternative....

I: What else did you learn?

K: A little bit more about kids; and also the fact that they were, you know, from the low income and that - it changed from like a shunning of them and then to a pity of them and then to an understanding of them, that they're just like anyone else....

I: What did you learn from Karri?

K: Patience. Understanding. You know, just being able to relate to the kids...I could sit and... I could watch, you know, and I did a lot of watching, and you know, you'd sort of pick it up and you'd try it yourself, you know, and it would work....

But the richest source of learning had been in the relationships with adults, even when these had not been very personal:

I really liked the fact that I could go in the staffroom and actually socialize with all these, you know, older type people, and I was just one of them, you know, a little bit younger, but, you know, they didn't really distinguish me that way; and you know, it was good because I learned to talk up to grownups...and it was like, I'm still young but I'm treated like an adult and that was a good thing, because you don't really get that chance - you don't get it at school, you don't get it at home, because, you know, to your parents you're still, you know, their child. So that part of it was good.

About the classroom component Karen was ambiguous. Her first comment was, "From the in-school part I didn't learn a thing...." But later her perception became more complex, as did her definition of learning:

I: What was Mr. Corbett like as a teacher?

K: You are what a teacher should be.

I: What's that?
Giving kids a chance to do something different, you know, trusting them, and like, not saying, "O.K., the bell rings at 9 o'clock; you've got to be in here; sit down at your desks; have your books open, and all that. You know, you give us the chance to make up our own mind about what we want to do, whether we want to come... It's what you (i.e. the student) want to do and it was like that for the whole year. That was your famous line: What do you think?... And it was good. It was good for the kids because, see, this guy really cares about what I think of, you know...

When I pointed out the contradiction between this statement and "I didn't learn a thing", Karen explored her own ambivalence about content learning and this more social learning, without ever resolving it. On the one hand, she wished we had studied the psychological and sociological rules governing behaviour (as she had in the Grade XI Man in Society course), while on the other hand she realized that she didn't need "all that crap", because she had become an excellent teacher just by watching Marg, who had never told her a rule to follow. It is an ambivalence that I, as the teacher, certainly shared. The trouble all of us in school, whether teachers or students, have in trying to fit experiences we know have been good, know have made us grow, to the traditional model of academic knowledge, of a body of knowledge mastered, is evident in Karen's recollection of the only class she could remember in detail, the day I brought my baby daughter to class.

I: Did you learn anything from that?

K: Yeah. Now... not really learning, but now, when I think back on it, it was good, because it was taking that step towards your personal life...

And it was that step, both in the classroom and at her agency, which Karen had found as the essential value of her experience.
Karen's test data, except for the Kohlberg test, also show growth in this reflective young woman. On the Philosophy of Human Nature test, her evaluation of human nature becomes more positive (+32 to +52), with the individual scales as follows: Trustworthiness: +9 to +13; Altruism: +15 to +15; Independence: +1 to +2; and Strength of Will and Rationality: +7 to +22. Karen's California Psychological Inventory scores showed great improvement in Task Competence and Emotional Competence, four scales involving increases of approximately two standard deviations toward the norm: as the inner turmoil is relieved, there is a spectacular release of productivity. In Social Competence there is an increase in Sociability, but Socialization is still low, a fact which may be explained by her impulsive and creative temperament (low scores on this scale having been shown to correlate with creativity in writing and art, in both of which Karen was outstanding).

Ron

Ron was an extraordinarily withdrawn individual, not doing well in school (more through lack of effort than lack of ability), evidently confused about what to do with his life, but capable of great independence. I had two indications of this independence and of hidden resources. Firstly, early in the year when a discussion arose in the C.I.P. class as to why so many girls took the course, I asked the two boys why they had taken it; the one took the traditional line that he wasn't interested in social work, which was for women, but only in the courts; Ron said he
was interested in social work, especially helping the mentally ill, and didn't care what people thought. Secondly, for his final project Ron chose to spend a few days alone in a rubbydub area of the city core, interviewing and photographing transient drunks in their environment, trying to get inside their lives. It was an extraordinarily brave (one drunk drilled an empty bottle at his head which he managed to duck just in time) and lonely task, the result of which was a fascinating report which was passed around among the students after I had marked and returned it.

By the end of the year I felt I still didn't know much about Ron, except the revelation of surprising internal resources and a somewhat more relaxed air in class (although he still participated little). My interview with Ron revealed little more, except his own feeling that his major problem was his own social anxiety and that he had improved in this a great deal during the year - he found it easier to talk to adults and he had made good friends that year. For Ron, the classroom had been a very important aspect of the course, in that it had given him a receptive, non-threatening environment in which he could listen to others reveal themselves without ever being forced to participate himself:

I found I can maybe not talk - you probably still think I'm the same, I don't know - but like to different kids I can talk better and I've got a few cousins with problems and I can really sit down and talk with them. And it's more or less just being more open and not so cold toward other people, because it was mostly from that class, I think (Ron had already referred to the "warmth" and "openness" of the C.I.P. class). It just seems that you're (i.e. Ron is) more open and that, you're not such a snob as I used to be, and that. And I can talk to people now; I'm not as nervous as I used to be. That's about it, really.
Ron's test scores show less change than those of any of the girls. There was no change on the Auhlberg score. As with most males, Ron's evaluation of human nature was lower than the girls', and decreased during the year, mainly in the sense of man's altruism (Trustworthiness -3 to -5; Altruism: +2 to -10; Independence: 0 to +5; Strength of Will and Rationality: +29 to +23; general evaluation of human nature: +28 to +13). In the area of personality, Ron shows little change in Task or Social Competence (although there is an increase of Sociability, on which Ron had commented). In the area of Emotional Competence there is an increase in the Sense of Well Being (an almost universal increase among C.I.P. students), but a decrease on the Good Impression scale (now his lowest) indicating an even greater insistence on an individualized, nonconforming presentation of self.

Cindy

Cindy was undoubtedly the most complex personality in the group, the one about whom the more I knew the less I understood. From having taught Cindy the previous year I understood only two things about her: she almost never said anything in class and she almost always received the highest marks in the class. As I learned more about her in the C.I.P., I came to think of her in terms of one word: contradiction. She was highly, almost rigidly moral, yet in her behaviour (sex, drugs, etc.) admitted that she had had an attitude of "anything goes." She said she liked school, but had had an "attendance problem" since Grade VII. In terms of the C.I.P. class sessions,
she wished there had been more structure and academic content ("like I really like maths"), but also "I would like to have seen us get closer."

The year past had been one of great improvement in Cindy's life. Much of this had nothing to do with the C.I.P. (e.g., the decision to cease the sexual and drug experimentation and to become "more moral"). However, the C.I.P. did have some positive effect. In the first place, "It showed me what I want to do", which, as for Karen and several other girls in the class, is to become a teacher (either elementary special education or high school maths). Also, like Karen and several others, she had had a good relationship with her supervising teacher: "I wouldn't go to her with my problems or anything, but we'd talk about what we did on the weekend, and she'd talk about her family." As a result of Cindy's settling down was an improvement in home life: no longer was there the continual fighting with her mother and the frequent tears.

It is evident that in Cindy we face deep personal conflicts which a school program is going to do much to change. However, the test scores show some change. On the Kohlberg and the Philosophy of Human Nature tests the changes are slight, but on the California Psychological Inventory there are respectable improvements in Social Competence and Task Competence (Cindy has the highest Intellectual Efficiency score in the class). But is, however, still low in Emotional Competence, although the alarmingly low score on the Sense of Well Being has been reduced.
Kelly was an attractive girl who came to the C.I.P. with her personality quite fully developed. Unlike the other girls, she had a steady boyfriend who was older and owned a car, and this tended to isolate her socially to a certain extent. Perhaps her most memorable characteristic was her argumentativeness, at least with her peers, since with adults, especially adults in authority, she tended to assume an air of sweet agreeableness.

Kelly believed that the effect of the C.I.P. had been that "I matured in my mind, if you know what I mean; I began to see what school was about, what life was about." Kelly had begun to understand, and sometimes be angered at, the patterns of social influence and political power in the running of people's lives.

I: What did you learn about in the C.I.P.?

K: I learned about TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) and how it's run, and about schools and how they're run, staffing and that type of thing and ... 

I: Who did you learn that from?

K: Oh, just being in the ... sitting with the teachers during their coffeebreak and hearing them talk a lot of kinds of things, you know, and I guess, just learning, what a teacher's job is really like. And that's what impressed me, and I really liked that. And it wasn't all phony - it was true, because they were just acting themselves: this was them out of the classroom, their true self, what they're really like, eh? You get to know the teacher in a different way.

Although many of the themes in Kelly's interview parallel the themes we have already observed, the relations with adults, the friendship with her supervisor (who had Kelly and her boyfriend over for supper), Kelly was the
only student who even mentioned, let alone gave prime importance to, an increased understanding of the social scene, especially taking a heated interest in the injustices in the system (She had been hired, as had Karen, to teach for the school board over the summer; but the teacher with whom she was working was not a TESOL teacher, but a principal who had pulled rank to make more money over the summer - this, at least, was Kelly's perception of it).

All three tests support Kelly's view that there was little change in her.

Doree

Doree was the student who had had most trouble with school, largely because of the overwhelming problems in her family life (her father was a drunk, and beat her, her mother, and her younger brother, who had been treated for three years by the Thistletown Regional Centre, which handles emotionally disturbed adolescents). Fortunately, her parents had divorced the previous year and the father was no longer living with them. Although there were still a number of minor family crises, Doree was able to improve considerably the attendance record she had established in previous years.

Doree's long experience of family trouble had, of course, not left her untouched. She was socially rather rough and blunt, and had few friends in the school. She was very inclined to dwell on her own problems, not in her family, but problems in her relationships with peers or her agency supervisors; indeed, the large majority of the C.I.P. classes began with
Doree describing her problems, although she usually tried to speak directly to me rather than to the whole class.

The major achievement of the C.I.P. in Doree's case, apart from some social refinement, was giving her a sense of pride in herself. Needless to say, Doree's marks had never been high. Now, for the first time she was earning marks in the Seventies. In the last week of school, when she had received all her final marks, she was so proud and pleased she was practically bursting; I could hardly get her out of my room, she so wanted to express her pleasure, and the fact that "I won't have to hang my head when I come back in the school." As with Clara in the first year's class (see above p. 157), the school and the student had found a way in which each could give the other satisfaction.

Doree's test scores show little change. The Kohlberg increased slightly (280 to 292), and her estimate of human nature, already the lowest in the class, decreased slightly. On the California Psychological Inventory Doree's scores changed little. She began with the lowest scores on Task Competence and changed hardly at all. Her uniformly Low Emotional Competence scores showed no improvement. In the area of Social Competence, Doree is sociable, but her very high Self-Acceptance score "suggests egotism, manipulative behaviour toward others, and even narcissism as a defense against unconscious feelings of self-rejection;" this ties in with the low Socialization score, suggesting anti-social, anomie tendencies.
Summary

On the pre-test measures there were, with one exception, no significant differences between students in the experimental and comparison groups, the exception being the value the first year's C.I.P. students placed on independence. Whatever motivated the C.I.P. students to take the program, whatever distinguishes them from other Grade XII students, it was not a predetermined commitment based on any of the aspects of values or personality which my tests measured. The data from the students tend to suggest that their strongest motivation, in some cases their whole motivation, in some cases just part of it, was in getting away from the routine of the classroom.

On the values measures used in the first year the post-test results show only small, nonsignificant changes. However, certain patterns emerge. The C.I.P. students' Social Responsibility scores decrease, implying a more realistic view of the complexity of solving social problems, or perhaps a greater belief in the place of governmental agencies in solving social problems. The value placed on independence by the C.I.P. students is replaced by an emphasis on values of team membership and even leadership. Dogmatism and intolerance of ambiguity are unaffected, but the C.I.P. girls achieve a more positive view of human nature, as well as some increase in the level of moral reasoning.

The most impressive gains by the C.I.P. students were on the personality test used during the second year. Whereas the control group showed no change, the C.I.P. students registered significant gains in all three areas measured, Social, Emotional, and Task Competence. While this does suggest
an increased ability to put their values to work in their lives (increase on the Sociability scale) as well as an increased social sensitivity and empathy, both elements of values education, as discussed in Chapter 3, the main result is a more complex understanding of the personal and social maturity repeated in earlier research on the course.

Analysis of intragroup differences in the C.I.P. class the first year suggests that previous volunteer experience and the type of agency in which the student serves, can have important effects. Those with previous volunteer tended to achieve more positive results; experience as a teaching assistant with normal or retarded children produced results more obviously relevant to commitment to social service than did leadership of recreation groups at the YWCA.

Finally, from case studies of six students in each year of the program two main themes emerged. Some students seek out the program because of personal problems which have generally given them a poor school record; these students do not seem to be especially helped by the C.I.P. Secondly, even among students of similar ability and past school performance, what they draw from their experience of the C.I.P. is enormously diverse: each can find in the experience something which responds to his own needs and furthers his growth. Also, emerging clearly from the second year's experience was the importance of establishing a working and sometimes friendly relationship with an adult, and being accepted as more than a child.
1. A parallel study I conducted with Grade XI students in this school showed more change in the same ten-month period, even though they were only one year younger than the C.I.P. students. Similarly, males showed even greater change than females.


3. The six core interview questions were:

   (1) How are you finding school this year?
   (2) What are your plans for next year and after?
   (3) Tell me about your experience of the C.I.P. Tell me whatever you remember, whatever comes to mind about the course.
   (4) Do you see yourself as having been changed by your involvement in the C.I.P., or was there no real change?
   (5) How do you feel now about the sort of thing we did in class? This is an awkward question for me to be asking you, so I will put it in as objective a form as possible and you pretend you're talking to a friend or to your parents, who have asked you: What was Mr. Corbett like as a teacher of the program? How would you compare how you felt about him and how you felt about your agency supervisor?
   (6) Did you have any conflicts with the administration last year because of being in the program? Did any of your friends or acquaintances question you about it, or give you a hard time for being out of school so much?

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

Summary and Interpretation of Findings

The Community Involvement Program is a broadly conceived program, leaving much room to the individual teacher to adapt it to local conditions and personal beliefs. In the first year of the program I taught it very much in accordance with the theory outlined in Chapter 1 of this thesis. My central aim was to lead my students to a commitment to the solution of social problems. To achieve this aim the service component would not be sufficient; along with service was the need for skills and for a knowledge of principles to guide one's commitment. The skills I felt were necessary were interpersonal skills, especially helping skills and group process skills, and research skills, so that the students could become familiar with background information on their own area of interest in the field of social problems, as well as with problems beyond those with which they were directly involved. To have them focus on moral principles I used some written materials (e.g., Eisenberg and Levin's Dilemma series), but dwelt mostly on a consideration of what social needs and social rights should be acknowledged, as well as dilemmas arising in their own agencies. The students also tried to solve a small social problem.

The focus of my research in the first year was on the impact of this program on the moral development of the students. The following are the hypotheses I had developed:

1. The students will show a greater sense of social responsibility.
2. The students' personal values will be changed: greater value will
be placed on social skills, self-control, creativity, intellectualism, individual achievement, independence, and kindness.

3. The students' level of dogmatism will increase.

4. The students' image of man will become more pessimistic; man will be seen as unable to control his fate, as dependent on others, as simple in nature and easy to understand, and as altruistic but untrustworthy.

5. The students will tend toward a higher level of moral reasoning.

6. The students' intolerance of ambiguity will decrease.

None of these hypotheses was confirmed with an acceptable level of statistical significance (p less than .05). There were, for example, no changes in level of dogmatism or in intolerance of ambiguity. However, a number of small changes are worthy of comment. The Community Involvement students' score on the Social Responsibility Scale actually decreased. What is to be made of this unexpected finding? Comparing the scores on this Scale of those who had had previous volunteer experience and those who had not, it was found that the mean score of the former did not change whereas the mean score of the latter began higher and ended lower than the mean of those with previous experience. It appears that experience tempers the idealism of the inexperienced; if this interpretation is correct, it explains why the group with no direct experience of social problems maintained its scores, whereas the scores for the two groups which had become involved with social problems (one through reading, the other directly) dropped.

Although there were no statistically significant differences on the Personal Values Scales, the relative weighting of the values of the Community Involvement students shows some changes in the predicted direction. When the students entered the program, the value they placed on independence was significantly greater than in the other groups. After their experience in social service agencies, this
difference has disappeared. That this should be interpreted as indicating that the students now value cooperative team membership and even leadership is supported by the increased value the students place on Social Skills, Status, and Loyalty. Even though many of the students entered the Community Involvement Program to escape their dependency on school, they seem to have become scripted into agency values, or at least show the beginnings of such a process.

In terms of their picture of human nature, the Community Involvement students were changed least of the three groups. My fears about increasing students' pessimism seem to have been unwarranted: indeed, comparing the scores of the females in the various groups, the Community Involvement females begin with and maintain a more positive image of man than the females in the other groups.

Finally, although the results from the Kohlberg test were very incomplete, there was some indication that the Community Involvement students showed a slightly greater increase in moral reasoning than the students in the comparison groups.

It would seem, then, that some favorable effects have been produced by the students' experience of the Community Involvement Program. Furthermore, each of these effects, the increased realism in social responsibility, the increased value placed on social skills and team membership, the positive view of man's nature, and the increase in moral maturity, relate to the central goal of the program, the commitment to the solution of social problems. However, the exact nature of that relation deserves some explication. I would hinge that explication on the distinction between activists and constructivists. Activists believe, like constructivists, in good works, but have rejected society's major values and are dedicated to protesting and fighting against those aspects of society which violate their sense of justice, even to the point of civil disobedience. Their protest does not expect to be effective, but rather is motivated by a sense of maintaining personal integrity and authenticity, rejecting especially dehumanizing technology
authoritarianism, and centralism. Constructivists, on the other hand, devote themselves to volunteer work of social repair or restitution. Unlike the activists, they wish to effect social change by working inside the existing social framework. They have no common ideology except concern for others, and consequently lack the activists' fervour. They are "task-oriented, do not categorically reject authority, and work in ways that do not necessarily challenge the institutions of society." The description of constructivists fits nicely with the decrease of idealism and the social values which result from the Community Involvement Program: the C.I.P. is best understood as schooling for constructivists.

In the second year of the Community Involvement Program I decided to change the nature of the program. Partly, I was discouraged by the lack of significant results in the previous year's research; partly, I could see for myself and heard from parents that the program was having great effects on the students' psycho-social development; and partly, I was dissatisfied by the lack of continuity between the work experience and in-school components. I decided that the students should determine the curriculum; this would not only give them responsibility they received too infrequently either in school or in their agencies, but would, I hoped, result in a tighter link between the two parts of the program. I was less concerned about skills, especially interpersonal skills, since I was convinced most of the students who volunteered for the course already possessed them, and needed only specific instructions for particular, unusual situations. I was concerned also to discard my role of teacher (i.e. superior authority) and to make our relations in the classroom more like the partnerships the students had with their agency supervisors.

For the second year's research my primary interest was the psychosocial development of the students. However, I also retained two tests from the previous
year's research. My hypotheses were:

1. Students in the Community Involvement Program will show advances in Emotional and Task Competence.

2. Pre-test data will show that the students' environment has not been fostering development in these areas.

3. The students' philosophy of human nature will be positive both before and after the course.

4. The students' level of moral reasoning will increase, although not greatly.

Even though the sample sizes were very small, Hypothesis 1 was confirmed at a statistically significant level. In those personality characteristics which correlate with Emotional and Task Competence the Community Involvement students moved significantly closer to the adult norm. As well, on the Socialization scale, which measures social maturity, integrity, and rectitude, the students also showed significant gains; this scale is particularly interesting in regard to the Community Involvement students in that it has been shown to correlate with career interests among high school girls, unselfish behaviour, and perceptiveness concerning the needs and feelings of others.

The Community Involvement students' pre-test scores and the comparison group's scores on both pre- and post-tests follow the same pattern; indeed, the pattern is also visible in Tait's research on Grade XII females in Australia and in Gough's norm's for the California Psychological Inventory. Is this, then, an indication that the incompetence (i.e. poor mental health) of adolescents is "natural"? Are we to accept their dismayingly low sense of well-being and their lack of intellectual efficiency as part of a stage which they will pass through? The evidence clearly denies this. Even though the Community Involvement Program was only a relatively small part of the lives of the participating students, it broke through the "natural"
pattern of frustration and waste. It has shown that social conditions (relations between adults and adolescents, the amount of involvement allowed to adolescents in the adult world and its problems) can be transformed to promote adolescent growth.

Neither of the remaining hypotheses was confirmed at a statistically significant level, but there were small changes in the hypothesized direction. The student view of human nature began positive and became even more so on the post-test. And the amount of Stage 2 thinking evidenced in their moral reasoning decreased by over 40%. Both of these results confirm the slight changes noted in the first year's research.

Looking back over the whole study, it can be seen that the Community Involvement Program can produce dramatic growth in the females who volunteered for the course; but as yet it does not seem to have been able to affect moral development in areas related to commitment to the solution of social problems. This leads us then to a consideration of the limitations of the program and suggestions for further research.

Firstly, the lack of significant moral development is probably due to a number of causes. But one which must be taken into account is the presence of conditions which reward inconsistency. In the school the Community Involvement student was treated as a dependent child; in the agencies most students were treated as young adults, in need of special instruction, but otherwise trusted and respected. Such conditions inhibit development to higher stages of moral reasoning. Future research on the program must seek out ways to reduce such inconsistencies; hopefully this will mean finding ways to help high schools treat adolescents more as adults than as children.
Secondly, one of the limitations on the generalizability of my data on psychosocial development is that, because there were only two males in my sample, I was forced to use only the females' results; and this has been true everywhere that the program has been tried - the vast majority of participants are female. There has been some debate as to the source of this sexual bias in enrolment. Dr. Usher, in the Etobicoke evaluation, rejects any simple explanation such as sex stereotyping or role casting. He points to eleven significant differences (from greater interest in social and political affairs to lower preference for a linear mode of learning) between Community Involvement females and those in comparison groups. In short, the Community Involvement Program is getting exactly the kind of female it expected and wanted: someone interested in social service and not interested in traditional modes of learning. The question still remains, however, as to why so few males enrolled, no matter what their interests. The question cannot be answered by looking at the characteristics of the females in the program, but must be answered by looking at the males. Of course, just because there are so few, conclusions must be extremely tentative. But the evidence from my own experience is clear. Of the three males who were in my Community Involvement Programs, each was very sensitive to role stereotyping. Two vigorously dismissed any suggestion that they might become involved in social work, which they perceived as "women's work": one had come to work in the T.V. station, the other to work in Court. The third was such a loner that he simply rejected the stereotype, although he was self-conscious about it. (He was interested in working in a psychiatric hospital, which is not perceived as being as "feminine" as, for example, a nursery school.) Such experiences are consistent across the province: the power of sexual stereotyping seems clearly at work. However, whatever the explanation for present enrolment patterns, one point is clear: the course is perceived by the students and by their parents as primarily a course for females. Future workers in this kind of
program must either accept this fact or seek ways to attract males. It is doubtful if the latter will be possible until wider conceptions of the male role have spread throughout the society.

A third area for further research is the differing impact of various kinds of agencies. I found hints in my research that service roles in schools for the retarded tended to have a different effect than leading a recreation group at the Y.W.C.A. (Those in schools for the retarded decreased in dogmatism, became even more positive than before about the nature of man, retained their higher moral reasoning score, and showed in their own words an ideology of service to others.) Do agencies tend to read students into their script? Are there ways to fight this? Do different roles and responsibilities within any given agency have different effects? How can one identify the characteristics of an agency or a given role within that agency which would maximize its growth potential for adolescents? Can suitable roles be found for the young outside the social service sector?

Finally, an area requiring both conceptual and empirical work is the epistemology of learning from experience. What are the actual processes involved in producing the growth that has been observed in Community Involvement students? Do experiences differ in their potential for learning and growth? What characterizes a good experience? What are the best methods for reflecting on that experience in the classroom? Until such time as these and similar questions are answered, programs based on learning from experience will fail to realize their full potential.

For the potential of the Community Involvement Program cannot be doubted. The adolescent, like Tantalus, lives in suspended animation, unable to connect with or receive sustenance from the world around him. The Community Involvement Program releases him and shows him both how to be sustained by and to contribute to the world. It provides a model for the social innovations needed to release existing potentials
of competence and commitment in the young and to cultivate their emergence for the future.
CHAPTER 7 - FOOTNOTES


2. Ibid., 316.

3. At least one recent research study lends support to the idea that volunteers are largely self-selected in regard to social skills; giving them further training is no more effective than giving them specific instructions about dealing with a particular type of situation. (J. Rappaport et al., "Modelling, Sensitivity Training, and Instruction: Implications for the Training of College student Volunteers and for Outcome Research", J. Consult. & Clin. Psych., 40, Feb. 1973, 99-107.)

4. See Footnote 12, p. 119.


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