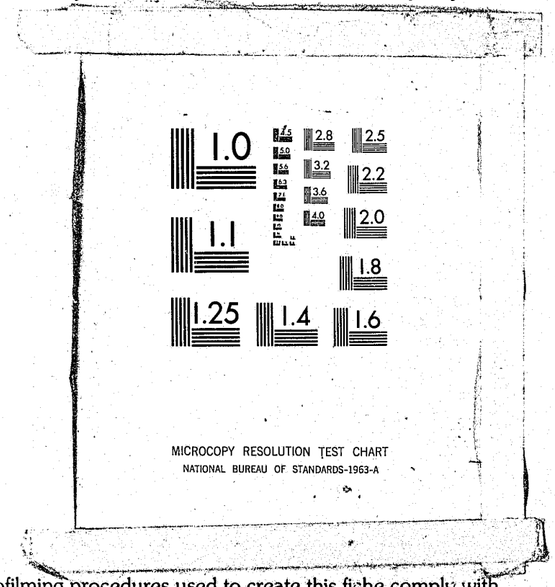

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U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

Improving The Quality Of Youth Work:

A Strategy For Delinquency Prevention

May 1981

IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF YOUTH WORK: A STRATEGY FOR DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

Prepared For:

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
U.S. Department of Justice

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This project was supported by Contract Number J-LEAA-004-8, awarded to the Westinghouse National Issues Center, Columbia, Maryland, by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the official position of the U.S. Department of Justice

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Prepared for:

THE OFFICE OF JUVENILE JUSTICE AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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1. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This paper *describes* an experiment which will test youth employment as a tactic for delinquency prevention. Though the effect of holding a job on a young person's behavior is debated by delinquency prevention practitioners and researchers, we do see work experience as an opportunity to reduce delinquent behavior. Because young people in growing numbers are employed or seeking jobs, and because properly organized jobs seem to have a positive effect on young people, we suggest that managing and improving work experience is one way to reduce delinquency.

1.1 Employment and Delinquency

While "official juvenile crime rates have roughly paralleled the trends in youth unemployment (Hawkins and Lishner, 1981, p. 4),[1] the provision of jobs has not proved to be a sure-fire antidote for delinquency. Hawkins and Lishner conducted an extensive literature review and examined the findings from sixty-three employment evaluations, seven of them extensively. They sought either to interpret the reasons for their failure to reduce crime or to ascertain those program elements which appear to hold promise for delinquency prevention. They conclude that, "Generally, employment programs do not appear to reduce crime" because there are "serious deficiencies in the programs *themselves* for attaining their objectives" (p. 36), "lack of accountability for quality, absence of qualified staff, and *confused* federal objectives" (p. 41). However,

> [The] deeper problem is that programs are "fundamentally ill-conceived." Most programs attempt to change behaviors and attitudes of individuals or to provide short-term remedies (therapy, income maintenance at survival levels) rather than to [alter circumstances in the work place] or correct malfunctioning labor market conditions which caused the problems in the first place (p. 41).

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[1] The National Center for the Assessment of Delinquent Behavior and Its Prevention was funded by the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, LEAA, U.S. Department of Justice, to conduct an extensive examination of the connections between employment and delinquency prevention. We have summarized their conclusions with respect to employment programs and delinquency. For an in-depth examination of the relationship between crime and unemployment, of the theoretical literature, and of employment programs, contact Hawkins and Lishner at NCADBIP, the Center for Law and Justice, University of Washington, Seattle. The paper, entitled "Youth Employment and Delinquency Prevention," will be completed during 1981.

Hawkins and Lishner did find, however, some common elements among programs that promised to help in reducing delinquency. One element is

> job satisfaction...satisfaction with the work itself, promotions, good rapport with supervisors and co-workers, and pay...the opportunity to utilize one's skills on the job, opportunity for advancement, the chance to learn new things, opportunity to influence...and job status (pp. 36-37).

A second is "the provision of incremental rewards and positive feedback for successful job performance" (p. 37). Romig, in his review of twelve employment programs, reached the same conclusion: delinquent acts are reduced when "an individual finds meaning, status, and the opportunity for learning and advancement in a job" (1978, p. 4).

Hawkins and Lishner are dubious about the extent to which these conditions can be generated on any substantial scale given the current economic conditions in this country. While we would agree that economic development and labor market reform are beyond the scope of delinquency prevention projects, we suggest that there are sufficient opportunities in communities through work with schools, existing employment programs, and employers to conduct a worthwhile, relatively small-scale experiment to improve the quality of work and community service. In this paper we suggest a few approaches.

1.2 The Potential for Creating Opportunities to do Useful Work

In any community there are untapped opportunities for young people to work. Arthur Pearl observed:

> Youth are capable of performing many useful tasks and, in the process, they may turn away from socially destructive behaviors. This would not be important for social policy if our society had reached such a stage of productivity that there was nothing useful for young people to do. It is obvious that this stage has not been reached. Articulated social needs are increasing rather than decreasing. Urban transit systems are decaying, as is inter-community rail transit. Large numbers of persons--e.g., the old, the young, the mentally ill, and the handicapped--are offered inadequate services and in some important areas are totally neglected. There is a paucity of services in national parks and in inner-city recreational facilities. The environment is deteriorating. Too few persons are given instruction in the arts or encouraged to be participants rather than recipients of our culture.

> The list of unmet needs, physical as well as social, is virtually endless--housing, preservation of resources, development and installation of alternative energy systems, reclamation of wastes, beautification of cities--to name but a few. We lack not socially useful things to do but the vision and sense of mission to get them done (1978, pp. 47-48).

With tenacity and imagination, we believe that we can do much more than we have in the past to generate both paid and volunteer jobs for young people.

1.3 Content of the Paper

In Chapter Two we describe first the features of jobs that will, in our opinion, cause young people to develop a stake in doing well. We detail practices of supervision and arrangements for the design of jobs, recruitment and hiring, training, evaluation and feedback, and support services which will increase the probability that the jobs will be viewed by youth and adults as good. In Chapter Three we describe the form an experiment in youth employment might take. Through negotiations with employers, employer groups, employment programs, and the schools, delinquency prevention practitioners may increase the quality and, ultimately, the number of opportunities for young people in paid employment and community service. This paper describes ideal arrangements in the work place and suggests tactics that may be used to generate those arrangements.

2. CHAPTER TWO: THE WORK SETTING

According to those who have reviewed youth employment programs and their effect upon delinquency, it is the social organization of work itself which is the primary contributor to approved behavior. While a young person may require support above and beyond that given an adult worker because of inexperience in the work place or because of academic and social background, the employee's productivity hinges primarily upon the expectations and practices of those with whom he or she is working. If we aim to reduce delinquency, we must improve the quality of the work assigned to young people and engage in organizational change. Our ability to do either is contingent upon our ability to describe arrangements within the work setting with sufficient specificity that we produce guidelines for change to be used by employment programmers and employers alike.

2.1 Analyzing the Work Setting

An analysis of the work setting is the first step toward building effective employment programs. Bonding theory was selected as the basis of that analysis for several reasons. Bonding theory describes the process by which all youth, not just those from minority and lower socio-economic classes, are socialized. Research has shown that the greater the strength of a bond, the less likely a youth is to be delinquent and the more likely he or she is to conform. Bonding theory is a social-institutional explanation of delinquency--illicit or non-conforming behavior has its origin in the institutions of society, not in human beings. Finally, through an analysis of the elements of the bond, we can arrive at more specific guidelines for the creation of a good work setting.

Bonding theorists maintain that most people stay out of trouble most of the time because they are bonded to the conventional norms of society through their affiliations with a variety of entities. Dominant among these entities are home, school, church, and the work place. As long as ties to at least one of these remain strong, an individual is likely to conform to the rules. Refining earlier work of Nye and others, Hirschi described four control processes through which conformity is maintained. The first of these, commitment, refers to the degree to which a person has interests that misconduct would jeopardize. With respect to this rational component in conformity, Hirschi wrote:

> The person invests time, energy, himself, in a certain line of activity--say, getting an education, building up a business, acquiring a reputation for virtue. When or whenever he considers deviant behavior, he must consider the costs of this deviant behavior, the risks he runs of losing the investment he has made in conventional behavior (1969, p. 20).

The investment, or stake, may include not only an immediate desirable position but a realistic promise of status in the near future. On this count, high aspirations should be negatively associated with delinquent behavior, provided that they are perceived as attainable over a relatively short term. There is no necessary contradiction between this element of

bonding theory and the central theme of strain theory.[1] The greater the gap between aspirations and opportunity, the less likely the aspirations will be perceived as attainable, and the less they will constitute a stake in conformity. Both theories provide support for programs designed to enhance youth opportunity.

A second control process is attachment to other people. To violate the norm is to act contrary to the wishes and expectations of others; a low level of attachment makes violation more likely. A third process is involvement, or engrossment in conventional activities; it refers to one's ongoing allocation of time and energy (as opposed to one's past investment of these resources). Only certain time and energy allocations that are bound up directly with conventional ties serve a control function. Hirschi found that the amount of time spent watching television, engaging in sports, and reading magazines was unrelated to delinquent behavior, but that time spent doing homework was associated with lower delinquency, even when classroom grades were controlled.

The fourth control process is belief in the moral validity of social rules (1969, pp. 16-26). For the youth in Hirschi's sample, there was a significant relationship, as predicted, between attachment and commitment to home and school and respect for the law. But the data indicated that something more than these conventional affiliations played an important part in determining belief. Lack of respect for the police was moderately associated both with lack of respect for the law and with delinquent behavior, even among youth who had never had contact with the police. Those expressing low respect for the police were more likely to agree with the statement, "It is alright to get around the law if you can get away with it."

The four control processes must operate through affiliations with group and organizational representatives of convention. The stronger the ties, the greater the control. The closeness of an affiliation in any one sector is likely to fluctuate, but most people have a multiplicity of important conventional ties. Freedom to engage in misconduct comes only when all important affiliations are in a disintegrated state at once. Their sheer number of ties makes this an extremely rare occurrence for most adults, but this is not true for youth who, typically, have their eggs in far fewer baskets than adults do. The only important conventional affiliations for most young persons are school and family. When these deteriorate, there usually is nothing left. In practice, many youth do not even have the luxury of two independent affiliations. Trouble at school can mean automatic trouble at home, due to the widespread practice

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[1] As originally formulated by Robert Merton, strain theory posits that, in our society, the same worthwhile goals tend to be held out as desirable to everyone. This becomes a problem because legitimate avenues for achieving those goals are not open equally to all. The combination of equality of goals and inequality of opportunity regularly makes it impossible for some segments of the population to play by the rules and still get what they want. As a consequence, some people turn to illegitimate means to achieve culturally prescribed goals, while others may reject both the goals and the means and retreat socially, either by removing themselves physically or by using alcohol and drugs. Thus, a disjunction in the social structure is a cause of crime and delinquency.

of sending bad news to parents and the tendency of many parents to decrease rather than increase their support when such news arrives.

One implication of bonding theory for delinquency prevention programming is to broaden the range of possible conventional ties open to young persons. The major prospect here is in the employment sector. Bonding theory suggests that employment that creates an affiliation that the young worker does not want to jeopardize through misconduct is more likely to be effective in prevention than employment that merely provides involvement in a conventional pursuit. This alone should deter delinquent behavior. If the stake is accompanied by valued attachments to other people, so much the better.

The figure on the following page is the result of translating the elements of the social bond into the terms of the work setting. In the following sections we describe commitment, attachment, and belief as they pertain to specific aspects of the work setting. We discuss involvement as it relates to those three elements.

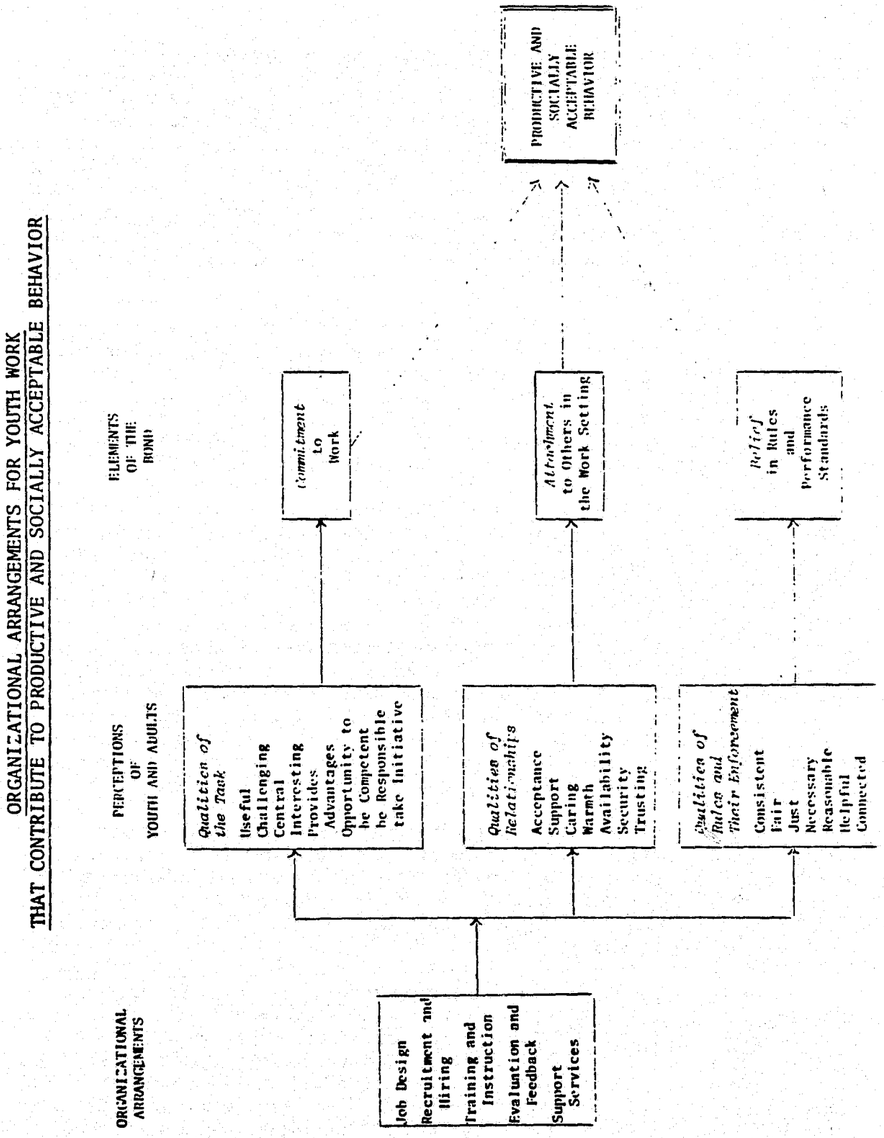
2.1.1 Commitment

Young people must have in the work place a valued, instrumental position which misconduct could jeopardize. "Instrumental" refers to the task-oriented dimensions of employment--the nature and complexity of the job to be done and the way in which the tasks relate to the purposes of the organization. When young people are challenged and rewarded by job assignments through which they make an obvious contribution to the business or community, the chances increase of their viewing retention of that job as important and they are more likely to do good work.

The perceptions of those in the work setting about the instrumental dimensions of the bond may be obtained by examining the following issues.

Is the activity viewed by youth and adults as useful? Perceptions of "utility" are contingent upon the extent to which the work is viewed as contributing to organizational productivity. In their preliminary assessment of the Entitlement project,[1] Ball, Gerould, and Burstein (1980) found that young people were satisfied with their jobs when they felt that they were doing jobs that were valuable to their employers.

[1]Entitlement projects were created by the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act to test the assumption that young people would be encouraged to remain in or return to school if they were employed. Prime sponsors in seventeen experimental sites guaranteed all young people who met income eligibility requirements a job if they enrolled in an educational program leading to high school graduation or a G.E.D. Preliminary data analysis suggests that the program contributed to young people remaining in school (Farkas, et al., 1980).



To what extent are activities central to the purposes of the organization? Do young people view them as central or peripheral to organizational objectives? "Central" means that the job the young person is doing is directly related to the goals of the organization. When others openly recognize the contribution young people are making, positions frequently viewed as undesirable (e.g., janitors) may be viewed by young people as opportunities for contributing directly (e.g., by pruning trees) or making it possible for others to complete their work (e.g., xeroxing). One indication of the importance attached to the task may be whether or not that task would be assigned to someone within the organization if youth were unavailable.

Do the adults and youth in the setting view the work as challenging? Jobs which call for problem solving and imagination in working out varied tasks require young people to expand their capabilities. Even jobs considered routine by adults may be viewed by young people as a chance to gain new knowledge and skill. Those jobs calling primarily for physical skills may be viewed as a challenge if they also call for the exercise of mental skills (Ball, Gerould, and Burstein, 1980, p. 48).

Do supervisors and co-workers recognize youth as able to meet the demands of the job? Do young people view themselves and others in the organization as competent? Young people may be viewed by others and by themselves as competent either because they bring with them the knowledge and skill necessary to do the work, because they exhibit the ability to learn on the job, or because they receive adequate training and support on the job. Youth perceptions of competence may be affected by the extent to which there is a match between the young person's capabilities and the requirements of the job. If the demands are too strenuous, youth will be unable to do the work and view themselves as failures. The supervisor and co-workers will devalue their ability. If the supervisor encourages the use of existing capabilities and uses those as the basis for further training, everyone will view the young employee as competent.

Do adults view the work as interesting, either because of the nature of the assignment or because of the people in the organization? Do young people view the work and/or their co-workers as interesting? Some aspect of the setting should arouse their curiosity: their particular assignment, the type of work done by that firm or agency, or the kinds of people who work there.

Do adults approve of youth assuming responsibility? Do they make that approval overt so that the young people feel they have permission to assume responsibility? Responsibility means both control over the task or some portion of the task and being held accountable for results. Jobs in which young people must make choices about how and when to do the work increase their sense of control. Jobs in which every move is dictated by someone else not only reduce the potential for young people to be committed

to doing a good job, but reduce the probability that the job is a learning experience. Being held accountable for a good or bad performance is a clear demonstration that the responsibility is indeed theirs.

Do the adults view with favor a young person taking the initiative to solve a problem or carry out some portion of the assignment? Do young people know that they can take the initiative under specified circumstances? Seizing the initiative may mean either bringing a problem or an idea to the attention of the supervisor or co-workers, or acting independently in the routine course of working.

Does the work experience provide an advantage to the worker, either in the present or the future? Do young people recognize and believe that there are advantages to this particular job? Both adults and young people must see some reward from holding their positions. Those rewards may include the acquisition of knowledge and skills which will help them do a better job, advance in the organization, or ability to obtain future jobs. They may also view the job experience as contributing to their ability to manage their personal lives better, e.g., the acquisition of consumer skills. For some young people, a paycheck and the resulting independence from their parents that it offers may be sufficient reason to continue working (Cole, 1980). There is increasing evidence that the aspects of work most highly valued by young people are those related to the quality of work. There is some evidence that opportunities for growth on the job are more important than the salary (HEW, 1973; Elliott and Knowles, 1978, p. 23). One explanation for this finding may be that young people see learning and acquiring new skills as a prerequisite for securing better jobs in the future.

2.1.2 Attachment

Youth must occupy a valued, affective position which misconduct would jeopardize. They need personal ties to their co-workers or supervisors which are sufficiently important to them that they want to do a good job. If sloppy work is viewed by the young employee as damaging his or her relationship with a mentor or with peers, the young worker will strive to do well. The organizational climate should be conducive to building affective relationships between young people, co-workers, and supervisors. The characteristics of relationships among the adults and young people in the work setting might be ascertained by examining the following issues.

Do the adults base their acceptance of young people on reputation or do they accept the young person for his or her immediate contribution to the organization? Do young people believe they are accepted? Adults frequently characterize young people as unreliable and incompetent, particularly those who have been referred by employment or delinquency programs. The perception of young employees is colored by this negative

assessment of a group. The result of the application of inappropriate labels is the assignment of meaningless jobs, regardless of the knowledge and skills that that young person may bring to the job. For young people to feel accepted, they must believe that they are valued as individuals for skills and knowledge they bring to the job.

Do the employees in the organization visibly support each other and demonstrate loyalty to each other? Do young people perceive others' actions as supportive and loyal to them? The adults may support young people by being available to resolve work-related problems, by making sure that the young worker has the information and tools necessary to do the work, by involving them in office groups, and by inviting them to join social events. Young people are more likely to perceive others as loyal when the adults are aggressive about providing additional opportunities for young people to learn, and when criticism regarding the youth's performance is brought directly to the young worker's attention. The support and loyalty given by the adults is likely to be returned in kind by the youth.

Do persons with whom the young person works care enough to take the initiative to discover and pursue a youth's interests, worries, problems, and concerns? Do youth perceive that others care? It is clear that a supervisor cares when he or she sponsors the young worker for a promotion, nominates the youth for a training program, or guarantees a salary in line with the assigned tasks and responsibilities. If co-workers take the time to discover the young person's interest in music and follow up by asking how the concert went, it should be clear to the young person that others are interested.

Are the relationships between supervisors, co-workers, and young people viewed by both as warm, involving humor, physical contact, and friendly casual conversation? Too often, because adults are inexperienced in working with youth, they subdue their talk and actions in order to demonstrate "businesslike" behavior. Others go to the other extreme, indulging in numerous jokes, excessive personal conversations, and hugs in order to show that they like the young worker. Both are assessed by young people as phony and thus ruin any likelihood of genuine relationships between youth and adult workers.

Do supervisors and members of the work group make themselves available to young workers for consultation about job-related matters and about personal problems which may interfere with their ability to work? Do young people view the persons they report to and work with as approachable, as resources for the resolution of work and personal problems? A supervisor who hides in his or her office or who is continually tied up on the phone is not likely to be viewed as a resource. When that occurs, the youth's ability to function may be impaired, both because sufficient direction is lacking and because there is no one to answer the inevitable questions.

Are young people secure in the knowledge that they will retain their position if they make an honest attempt to do the job? Do the adults act in ways which reinforce that security? This aspect of attachment addresses, not the tenure in the position, but the establishment of an atmosphere in which it is permissible to fail. Where the response to mistakes is, "let's find a way to correct it," rather than, "stupid, why would you do it that way?", young people will feel more secure and feel free to try ways of doing the job which do not offer certain success.

Do the adults and the young worker trust each other? Does the supervisor believe that, once an assignment is made, the young worker will carry through or does he give visible evidence of his suspicions that youth are not to be trusted by continually checking? Do young workers place sufficient faith in the discretion of one of their co-workers to raise a problem that they are encountering in work?

2.1.3 Belief

Youth and adults in the work setting must recognize that the rules and their administration in the work place are valid. Young people will have a stake if, for example, they recognize that punctuality is justified because someone must be there to serve customers. A standard of punctuality will be meaningless if there is no work to be done at 8:00 a.m. If adult workers continually fail to meet deadlines, the young people are unlikely to take their own completion dates seriously. The perceptions of youth and adults about the system of rules may be understood by asking the following questions.

Are the rules governing performance and the rewards and punishments consistently applied across all situations in the work place? Do young people view their application as consistent? Does the Dairy Queen manager expect young workers to carry out the cleanup procedures required by the health department every day in the same way? When the rules and the consequences attached to specific behaviors are seen as consistent, young people are more likely to obey the rules.

Are persons treated fairly? Are similar persons in similar situations treated the same way? Do young people view themselves as being treated in the same way as others under the same circumstances? Do the same standards apply both to youth and adults or are there separate ones? Are young people who are late reprimanded more severely than adults who are tardy? Or is the opposite true--excuses are made for youth tardiness? Are all the workers in the offices given the same privilege of early departure from work because of a pressing personal problem, or are young people required in all circumstances to be present? Inequities lead to youth presumptions of unfair treatment and a sense of outrage and frustration. The consequence may be an unwillingness to follow the rules.

Is the system of reward and punishment viewed by young people and adults as <u>just</u>? Is the discipline in accordance with established patterns and standards of the organization and thus viewed as legitimate? Is the reprimand seen by the young person as merited or are the harsh words of the supervisor viewed as arbitrary? Continuous "undeserved" criticism reinforces youth notions of an unjust system.

Are the standards viewed as <u>necessary</u> to the accomplishment of organizational goals? Do young people see them as necessary? It should be clear to young people that the telephone manner required in a real estate office is necessary because that is the first impression the prospective client receives of the firm.

Are the rewards and punishments <u>reasonable</u> in proportion to the achievement or failure? Do young people view them as reasonable? Does the supervisor dock the young typist's pay for one error in a letter but forget that an important message was ignored? Those disciplinary actions (or the absence of them) may be viewed as irrational and the punishment as more or less serious than the error.

Are the rewards and punishments visibly <u>connected</u> to the performance? Are they immediate? Are praise and discipline related to the task just completed? Is an increase in salary based upon consistent pleasant service to customers or are increases given in the face of continued customer complaints? If the rewards are unrelated to performance, young people are less likely to view the standards for performance as relevant and more likely to ignore them.

Is the manner in which the rules are enforced viewed as <u>helpful</u> by youth and adults? Are both praise and criticism seen as ways of encouraging good work? Do the adults in the setting view it as their responsibility to generate a feedback system that reinforces the notion of valid rules?

2.1.4 <u>Influences on Commitment, Attachment, and Belief</u>

The degree to which the attributes of work discussed in the preceding pages contribute to a stake in working is dependent upon other influences.

(a) <u>Frequency, duration, and range of involvement</u>. The greater the frequency, duration, and range of involvement permitted and encouraged in the work setting, the stronger the bond will be. Through interaction with those with whom they work, young people are provided information used to do their jobs, learn what is expected of them, and have an opportunity to influence their job assignments and the procedures for getting the work done. Exclusion from occasions in which work is discussed and decisions are made limits their ability to perform competently and to provide visible demonstrations of their competence.

However, organizational routines, youth inexperience, and part-time work schedules operate against youth participation. Staff meetings are occasions for conversations in which it is difficult for youth to engage because they are unfamiliar with professional jargon or the topics discussed. Drinks after work are off limits because they are under age. The fact that many young people work no more than ten to fifteen hours a week means that they are not present when decisions are made informally by co-workers. Including youth calls for a conscious exploration of ways in which youth should be involved, and talk and practices which at present exclude them might be altered.

In any organization, there are a variety of opportunities for youth to participate. There are the formal work-related occasions from the development of the job and the plans for getting the job done to brainstorming sessions and work group meetings which occur over the life of the assignment. There are regular staff meetings where general organizational business is discussed. There are systems for the routing of various written policy statements and background materials. For inclusion in those sessions to be viewed by youth as a genuine opportunity to contribute, the decision to invite them should be based upon the direct connection to the work they are doing and upon organizational policy dictating which adults are required to attend. If the young parks and recreation employee is assigned to the development and building of hiking trails, attendance at a meeting where the basic trail design is laid out is necessary. For young people to take part in a meeting, they should be well briefed, having access to the same information that others on the team have and an opportunity to ask questions about unfamiliar terms or concepts prior to the meeting. The adult members of the team should expect young people to be involved as members of the work group, not as "young persons."

(b) <u>Clarity and consistency</u>. Young people and adults should understand the standards and procedures for performance. Most young people understand the obvious rules for work behavior (e.g., getting to work on time), but reasons for other procedures may be less clear (e.g., rules for handling customers). Adults should make a deliberate attempt to clarify and keep consistent rules and procedures, checking always for youth understanding. The more clear and consistent the expectations of adult workers, the more likely that young people will live up to those expectations.

(c) Challenge and risk. A moderate challenge or risk may produce continued effort and the perception that the goals are attainable, and sustain excitement about the job. Adults in the setting should expect young people to be able to take initiative and assume responsibility, yet have realistic expectations for performance. Reduced commitment to the job may follow when assignments are too easy or too hard. If they are too easy, the young person may suspect that others do not believe that he or she is capable of doing more challenging work. If they are too hard and are impossible to attain, the young worker may stop trying. In either event, the chances of the young person having a stake in the job are reduced.

To some extent, bonding to work is a function of the degree of perceived risk. If the negative consequences of making a mistake exceed the rewards for displaying imagination or assuming responsibility, it is unlikely that the young person will risk his position by taking chances. If, however, experimentation and initiative are valued, the young person will be encouraged to make contributions in working sessions and meetings and try new ways of operating.

2.2 Organizational Arrangements: Roles and Practices

The strength of the bond of young people to work is dependent upon the commitment of those in decision-making positions to the principles for youth jobs discussed in the previous section, and upon their success in establishing policies and practices which enhance desirable aspects of the work setting. The expectation for competent youth performance and the employer's need to ensure efficiency should be reflected in the ways in which youth workers' jobs are designed, applicants are recruited, and employees trained, supervised, and evaluated. In this section we describe some organizational arrangements which we believe will support youth investment in work.

2.2.1 The Role of the Supervisor

The authority and responsibility for shaping a positive work environment reside with those in supervisory positions, and organizational support affects the quality of supervision. The support the supervisor is able to provide is dependent upon the direction he or she receives from superiors. The jobs that the supervisor can assign to young workers and the training that he or she can provide may be limited by authority and job assignment. The time the supervisor can spend with youth may be limited by the number of jobs and persons for which he or she is responsible. The expansion of youth roles and functions may be constrained by the superior's perceptions

of youth competence and/or directives for meeting productivity standards. Those who aim to redefine or expand youth jobs should be aware of those constraints and assist the supervisor by developing strategies which will secure approval for the redefinition of youth jobs in that agency, business, or community group.

The addition of a youth to the work team should be viewed positively by the supervisor. A positive view will be encouraged if (1) the supervisor participates in the development of the job, (2) his or her job description reflects the responsibility of the job, (3) there is sufficient time for him or her to do the job without undue pressure and he or she views the youth worker as one who can help in getting the job done, (4) good supervision of youth is rewarded in the same way that outstanding performance in other areas is recognized, and (5) he or she can call upon others in the organization for assistance. In addition to organizational resources, the supervisor should be able to call upon those who are directing the youth employment program.

The latitude given to the supervisor may be affected by the approval or disapproval of peers and subordinates. If either group believes that the supervisor is pushing the boundaries of youth roles too far, his or her activities can be undermined. However, if all share similar expectations for youth performance, peers and subordinates can be a valuable source of support and training for young employees. The intrusion of youth into a formerly all-adult setting may be viewed with disfavor. If youth assumption of tasks calls for new ways of instructing or adjustment of procedures, it may be threatening. If the socio-economic status of youth is different, the adults may feel uncomfortable or view the young people as incompetent. Approval for hiring youth may be increased by including those who will be co-workers in the initial discussions about the jobs young people may do and the procedures for recruiting, hiring, and evaluation. The way in which disputes between youth and adult co-workers are to be resolved should be established from the beginning. Adult lives can be made more predictable by providing specialized training before the youth employee is on board (Garmezy, 1980, p. 4).

The importance of the supervisor's role suggests that those in decision-making positions within the organization should select youth supervisors with care. Drawing upon past practice and evaluation of youth employment programs, Zimmerman concluded that:

> The most effective supervisors were those who possessed two basic attributes: First, they were *competent workers* in their own right, with a comprehensive yet detailed understanding of the work to be done; and second, they were *sensitive* to the needs of and able to *communicate* effectively with the youth participants at the worksite (1980, p. 10).

We would add that supervisors of youth should have reasonable expectations for youth performance, a clear sense of organizational priorities and needs, and an ability to balance the two sets of needs. For example, parks departments frequently do not have the manpower required to maintain the grounds in optimal condition so young people are often assigned the task of litter removal. A creative supervisor would find ways to meet the need for picking up trash and give young people a chance to learn about the care and feeding of plants.

The primary roles of the supervisor are job developer, instructor, trainer, and evaluator. The supervisor must take into account those aspects of the job which will contribute to the dimensions of bonding. (We recognize that most employers, with the possible exception of those in large personnel departments with human resources training staffs, will be unable or unwilling to translate those concepts into practical terms. Youth employment practitioners should assume the translation function, speaking with employers about their needs and providing them job-specific assistance in the development of task descriptions, training programs, and performance appraisal methods.) None of his or her tasks is significantly different from those required in the supervision of adults. While young people may require greater specificity of instruction and more frequent assessment of their performance, the basic nature of the supervisor's job remains the same.

2.2.2 Job Design

The selection and definition of the young person's job is important. Here we concentrate upon the dimensions and procedures for developing the job.

The first step in job design is to review the organization's work and identify existing positions and new possibilities for youth work. Those involved in this assessment should notice where current employees are overworked, where adult skills and knowledge are being under-utilized because the workers are bogged down in essential but routine tasks, and where projects are continually put off because there is no one to do them. Nurse receptionists may be able to spend more time with direct patient care if someone is available to help new patients fill out forms and pull files of old patients. Library books now stored in boxes might be available to staff if there were someone to catalog and arrange them on shelves. Assessors should list the tasks that might be taken on by young people.

The second step is describing the task so that it is broken down into manageable parts. Some jobs can be described straightforwardly; however, others require young people to begin with simple assignments and proceed to more complex ones over a period of time. Such descriptions should

detail the work and responsibilities at each stage. Junior museum tour guides may begin by distributing written information and gradually assume the responsibility of leading tours by themselves.

The third step is the designation of competencies and/or qualifications necessary to do the job at each stage of work. "Competencies" refers to the knowledge or skill the young employee must have or can acquire on the job. "Qualifications" refers to the certification required in order to fill the position. A Junior Tour Guide I must be familiar with the materials available and with the distribution procedure; a Junior Tour Guide VI must know the four essential characteristics of Andy Warhol paintings and one essential fact about each of his silk screens in the gallery. The qualification for a I is the ability to read; for a VI, passage of a brief examination on Warhol.

The fourth step is the assessment of the monetary, academic, and employability benefits which may accrue to young people as a result of assuming the position. (1) Competencies should be documented in forms that will contribute to further employability. Youth knowledge and skills should be clearly stated in a form that is relevant to other employers. For example, tact in responding to customer demands is an ability desired by restaurant managers, hardware store owners, and lawyers. (2) School credit should be available for those jobs in which the learning experience contributes to classroom performance or the acquisition of knowledge required by the school. While it is unrealistic to expect the schools to award credit for any form of work experience, there are those jobs in which young people apply academic knowledge. Students in U.S. history learn about local history by researching and cataloging items in a local community museum. (3) In salaried positions, the wages should be a reflection of the complexity of the job assignment, the responsibility held by those in similar positions, and the prerequisities for employment. In a society which assigns value to work in large part based upon the amount of money one makes, to pay substandard wages automatically devalues the contribution of young workers. On the other hand, artifically high wages may also diminish the importance of the job because the salary is not tied to performance. (4) Recognition of superior performance or of the donation of a service to the community might be given through newspaper articles, television programs, or, where the energy expended was substantial, award ceremonies.

The products of the second, third, and fourth steps are full descriptions which form the basis for the recruitment, hiring, training, and evaluation procedures.

Participation in job design should extend beyond the head of the business or the departmental supervisor. Those within the organization who are knowledgeable about the job and who will be working with the young person should have an opportunity for suggestions. Not only will

their insight contribute to a comprehensive description, but any reluctance they may have to youth employment should diminish if they are permitted to make suggestions that will mean the young person will help them do their jobs better.

School personnel may be invited to participate if scheduling problems are anticipated or if there are opportunities for awarding credit. Young people have the frequently accurate perception that it is impossible both to work and go to school. That perception is grounded in school reluctance to alter schedules and upon the expectations for student performance in class and time spent in homework outside of class. While there may be daily attendance requirements that place constraints upon student work, many youth employment program staffs have been able to negotiate early release time or make some other arrangement so that young people may work. Finally, if the training in this job is expected to be applicable in other settings, other employers or groups of employers might be consulted in order to guarantee the relevance of the youth's newly acquired competencies. The objectives underlying the work placement should determine the persons to be consulted.

This stage of work provides first the basis for the employment of youth and second a constituency supportive of the young worker. Careful development of both lays the groundwork for a successful work experience and youth bonding to work.

2.2.3 Recruitment and Hiring Procedures

Recruitment and hiring practices should be based upon the merits of the work itself, perpetuate the image of young people as competent, and generate youth perceptions of the organization as an exciting and fair place to be. Certain procedures will support those aims and match youth interests and skills with the requirements of the job.

There should be impartial application of the criteria for hiring. The standards for hiring should be well advertised and the successful candidate must meet them.

An aggressive recruitment campaign should reach out across the community. Many of the young persons who might benefit most from work experience are also those young people who are unlikely either to view getting a job as a real possibility or to see themselves as qualified. Pines, Ivry, and Lee made the following observation about young people eligible to participate in the U.S. Department of Labor Entitlement Program:

> We now recognize that many in-school youth need and will take jobs if they are available and, moreover, that many of these motivated youth do not look for

> jobs when the search is competitive. It is not because they are lazy; it is because they believe that there exist no jobs that they can qualify for, or be able to get to, or that are flexible enough to allow them to stay in school and work at the same time (1980, p. 6).

Community-based organizations and friends have been successful in recruiting young people, but media campaigns appear to be the least effective method (Ball, et al., 1979, pp. 40, 73, 125).

Where applications are taken from all interested young people, the new employee is less likely to be labeled or judged incompetent. A serious screening effort in which several young people are interviewed will persuade the successful young applicant that his or her knowledge and skills are uniquely suited to the organization. Adults' positive perceptions of the successful applicant will be supported.

Skillful interviewers should both assess the potential of the young person and arouse interest in the job by describing the work to be done in realistic terms and suggesting the advantages which will come from taking this position. The interviewer should be friendly, yet businesslike, open to questions about the organization, the work to be done, and the salary. The interviewer should be straightforward, describing the benefits of the jobs and the responsibilities of the young person, and the consequences if the terms of the employment are not met. The interviewer should indicate acceptance of the young person by emphasizing the personal contribution he or she might make to the organization.

2.2.4 Training and Instruction

Given youth inexperience, carefully developed training curricula and instructional plans are the basis for assuring competent performance. The occasions for training are opportunities to foster youth membership. "Training" means special work-related sessions created for the purpose of imparting knowledge and improving skills to enhance present and future employability and provide for upward mobility in the organization. "Instruction" means day-to-day teaching by the supervisor and co-workers.

The content of training should grow from the competencies specified in the job description. If young people are to write a history of the county in 1930 based on interviews with persons who were residents at that time, they must be able to design an interview schedule. One training session would provide them with the information they need to design such schedules and the opportunity to work together to do so. Because one of the difficulties youth face in securing employment is their lack of experience, any training should add another line to their resume. The knowledge and skills acquired should be sufficiently

concrete to make them attractive to another employer and should be documented in writing, e.g., certificates indicating successful completion of the training, a specific letter from the current employer.

Many youth employment programs offer training to remedy "deficiencies" in young people. When these sessions are visible to the remainder of the work force, there is a danger of generating the impression that young people are incompetent. While under some circumstances those sessions may be necessary, care should be taken to make them invisible by holding them outside working hours in another location. (See the section on support services for a more complete discussion of this dilemma.)

When training is necessary and feasible, participants should be youth and adults in order to promote youth membership in the organization. In some instances, both the youth and adult members of an office or work team may need new information or skill to do their jobs. New technology in the passive solar field may require all those constructing units to learn about new assembly procedures. Exploring new ideas and methods together can strengthen the relationships among members of the work team.

Trainers may include supervisors, co-workers, persons with special abilities from the community, business and labor leaders, and school personnel. Faculty should be competent in their field and be able to teach. They must be able to develop a curriculum which presents the information in easily assimilated parts and be able to devise ways for the participants to practice with the ideas or skills before they have to apply them on the job. They should develop an atmosphere in which learning is the objective and making mistakes is a part of that learning process.

Instruction (the giving of assignments, discussing ideas and ways of doing the work) should be viewed by adults and youth as a timely, responsive way to guide and improve performance. It is through instruction that young people learn not only about the formal aspects of the work but about the informal social rules. It takes place in hallways, on the grounds, at desks, and in formally scheduled conferences and meetings. The instructor can be a co-worker as well as the supervisor.

While much instruction occurs spontaneously, the supervisor should not allow it to proceed haphazardly. Instruction rather than training is the way young people learn most of what they need to do the job. The supervisor should develop a plan, based upon the job description, to ensure that all young people have the information they need to do good work in their current position and to be promoted if that is the intent. The abilities displayed and new competencies acquired should be

documented in the same way that completion of the training curriculum is certified. Instruction content and practice should receive the same thought that carefully constructed training does.

2.2.5 Evaluation and Feedback

Periodic evaluation and ongoing feedback should reinforce competent performance, encourage the assumption of initiative and responsibility, and have immediate and long-term rewards and consequences for young people. If evaluation serves only to assign blame and feedback is sporadic or nonexistent, young people may view the work as a negative rather than positive experience.

Evaluation supports competence if young people can live up to the standards. Criteria for performance that are directly related to the job are more likely to be seen as relevant than those with no clear connection to the work. Required attendance in a values clarification class seems to have no connection to employment as a lab assistant and may have little effect upon performance in the laboratory. It will be possible for young people to conform if the expectations are clearly stated and agreed upon.

Young people may apply the standards themselves if they participate in their development. While the sequence of events in the hiring process may preclude that possibility, young people can be given the opportunity to review and comment at the time of the job interview or their first day on the job. ("Review and comment" implies that revision is possible. If that is not the case, the young employee should simply be told what the basis for performance appraisal will be.) For other jobs, in particular special community service projects which frequently are designed by youth, youth participation may be more feasible than in ordinary jobs.

Evaluation also supports competence and encourages the exercise of initiative and responsibility if it is viewed as an occasion for learning. That perception may be reinforced by a supervisor who shows an ongoing interest in youth work, who takes opportunities for problem solving by offering concrete, realistic advice, and who takes the view that mistakes are a consequence of the inadequate organization of the work and support rather than of personal deficiencies or ill will. Supervisors who ignore young people until a mistake is made and who then attribute blame eliminate the possibility of youth learning on the job.

The rewards of living up to those expectations and the consequences of ignoring them should be as clear as the standards themselves. For young people to have an investment in the work, they must perceive gain. Supervisors should both specify the advantages and then take care to make certain that the young person does receive them in the form promised.

2.2.6 Support Services

A standard part of youth employment programs are support services--basic skills training, job behavior counseling, child care, transportation. That segment presents a dilemma for delinquency prevention practitioners engaging in employment. Many of the young people who are participants in these programs have experienced failure in work and other settings and bring the result of those experiences to their job, e.g., an inability to read, write, and calculate, low self-esteem, and a distrust of those in authority in any organization. They do require additional support if the work experience is to be a good one (Romig, 1978). However, support services may inadvertently increase the chances of delinquency by isolating young people from the real business of the organization and by detracting from the legitimate merits of the work itself. Support services are appropriate when they provide the emotional and logistical support necessary to succeed on the job.

Where they are necessary, we might diminish the negative effects by increasing the employer's ability to deal with job-related problems. In the section on the supervisor, we recommended training adults to work with young empolyees. If adults become proficient at dealing with problems on the job, there is less reason for those organizing youth employment to intervene and call attention to the young person as a troublemaker or problem child. Second, we may decrease the possibility of a negative spinoff in the work setting by making support services invisible to employers and co-workers. Basic skills classes, counseling sessions, and other activities may be conducted by the staffs of other agencies in their buildings, not in the work place. Only the result, an increasingly competent and reliable worker, will be seen by those with whom the young person works.

2.3 Identifying Jobs and Negotiating Arrangements for Improving Work

Our ability to produce jobs which meet at least some of the criteria presented in the first part of this chapter is contingent upon our success both in identifying potential placements and in negotiating a non-zero sum game with employers.

2.3.1 Labor Market and Community Assessment

The ability to notice where opportunities are will be improved by a systematic assessment of the community. It is unlikely that there will be funds or staff available for a comprehensive economic study of the area. We are suggesting, therefore, that the information assembled by various government and industry groups be tapped. To gain access to labor market information, order Jobs in the Private Sector: Use of Labor Market Information.[1] Additionally, contact the local chamber of commerce, the comprehensive employment and training administration, and colleges of business in local universities. Those in rural areas might contact the agricultural extension office and the state department of employment and training. These formal surveys should be supplemented by informal conversations with government leaders, school administrators, vocational educators, and businessmen. To identify potential community service activities, neighborhood residents, service organizations, social service providers, and young people should be contacted, and newspaper articles from the past six months to a year read.

Young people from a business, economics, or civics class might make up the work group. Because the collection and interpretation of community needs and labor market information contributes directly to academic achievement, such a project should be acceptable to the schools. Supervision might be drawn from local service club membership, e.g., a Kiwanis businessman, from the school faculty, or from a local youth employment program.

The product of the initial assessment will be a list of a few occupations or tasks which appear promising. Criteria for narrowing the field might include (1) the potential for generating a stake in working and delinquency prevention, (2) the probability of redesign which would enrich the job, encourage upward mobility, and/or increase chances for future employment, (3) the number of young people which would be involved, (4) the advantages which would accrue to employers and to the community, and (5) the feasibility of developing jobs and obtaining employer financial contributions or other funding. Selection of a few of the most promising options reflects the reality that these will not be the resources of money, time, or support available to conduct a change experiment in more than two or three settings.

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[1] *Jobs in the Private Sector: Use of Labor Market Information* shows how existing sources of labor market information can help program planners in developing and designing CETA-funded employment and training programs. The handbook discusses how labor market information can be used to identify potential and available job openings by industry, occupation, and geographic location. The guide lists regional and state government offices that provide additional information on job opportunities.

Up to two free copies of the publication, monograph no. 2, can be ordered from the Inquiries Unit, Employment and Training Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Room 10225, Patrick Henry Building, 601 D Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20213--telephone (202) 376-6730. Additional copies (stock no. 311-416-4046) are $4.00 each from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. (from: Private Sector Initiative Program: "Showcase," vol. II, no. 7, April 1981.)

Keeping an eye on the economic state of the community is an ongoing task. Events may change the employment pattern for the city: employers relocate to another area and new industries come in; as unemployment rates rise and fall, the needs for youth labor may change. New community needs and interests come to light. Through continuing conversations, review of research, a careful reading of local newspapers and monitoring of television, it is possible to notice other areas in which young people can work.

2.3.2 Responding to the Needs and Interests of Employers as a Strategy for Engaging Them in an Experiment

The design of jobs has both political and technological dimensions, neither of which can be ignored. The specifications for jobs are technological. They are general guidelines for the activities of young workers and those trying to initiate and institutionalize youth employment. However, these jobs and supervisory, training, and evaluation procedures frequently are departures from existing expectations and practices. The extent to which the technology can be applied in any given work setting is a result of political negotiations between employers, those who are working to create jobs, and young people. In this section we present the employer's perspective and suggest ways of approaching potential employers and helping them as they redescribe tasks and adopt new practices.

It is often suggested that employers are hesitant to hire young people because (1) there are high costs associated with wages, supervision, and training of unreliable, immature, inexperienced, short-term persons; (2) legislation (child labor laws and minimum wage requirements) prevents them from doing so; and (3) young people do not make good employees. The debate surrounding the effect of minimum wage provisions appears inconclusive. While there does appear to be a dampening effect in communities with high unemployment rates and where the minimum wage is an average or good salary for adults, in areas where the wages and salaries are higher than the minimum wage it appears to have little effect (Lerman, 1980, p. 15). While formal certification may serve to screen applicants, "Yardsticks like a high school diploma are no longer as valuable as they once were in hiring. Employers are interested in attitude, maturity, and basic work experience" (Garmezy, 1980, p. 5). The debates over the relative significance of any of these barriers to youth employment continue.

What does appear to be important is the employer's perception of benefit to be gained from hiring young people. The most persuasive argument for employers and civic organizations may be that young people can make a contribution. Even "unskilled," "high risk" youth have done useful work when supervision was good and where the job was rewarding (Ball, Gerould, and Burstein, 1980). Strategies for acquiring employer

agreement to participate in the redesign of jobs do well to focus upon the benefits for employers.

> By far the strongest incentive for private sector participation is the one that is most difficult to demonstrate: the *economic productivity* of young employees. If it were possible to demonstrate concretely that, by involving themselves in youth employment programs, employers could realize significant gains in the marginal productivity of their work force, it seems unlikely that they would maintain their present arms-length posture. This suggests that the strongest incentives may not lie in direct payments to employers but rather in the employer's perception of the quality of the product (Vice-President's Task Force on Youth Employment, 1980, p. 8).

Those working to place young people in jobs should document youth capabilities in ways that are credible to employers. There are two ways that youth competence, acquired through schooling, training, work experience, or community service, may be revealed: through resumes and conversations which describe the past experience of the applicant for the job, and through stories of the positive contributions of other young employees to the community, public agencies, and private enterprise. Stories of youth contributions to the community in the form of services to children and the elderly, the renovation of buildings, operating food cooperatives, and constructing playgrounds illustrate the range of activities that young people can successfully complete. The tales of satisfied employers in similar circumstances should be relayed.

The likelihood of employers agreeing to take on a young employee may be increased by their participation in the development of the program.

> The primary incentive for private sector participation is not short-term financial gain but a sense of ownership in and control over the products of youth employment programs. If employers are involved in the design, conduct, and evaluation of local projects, they are likely to find it difficult to disown the product of those programs (Elmore, 1980, p. 20).

Employers in private enterprise and those in public agencies often take a skeptical view of government programs, seeing them as make-work for persons who through some personal deficit have failed in the open market. By participating, employers assume responsibility for generating jobs in which young people do useful work.

2.4 Summary

We have suggested that, for work experience to reduce delinquency, the jobs in which young people are placed must strengthen their bond to work. The elements of the bond are commitment, attachment, and belief. We have suggested that commitment is a function of youth and adult perceptions of the task and the young person's ability to do the work; attachment, a function of the quality of the relationships between workers; and belief, a function of the rules and standards, and persons' perceptions of them and the way they are enforced. We have suggested further that there are various organizational arrangements (the design of the job, recruitment and hiring procedures, training, instruction, evaluation and feedback methods) by which tasks and rules are defined and relationships formed. Delinquency prevention practitioners should seek ways to create jobs with those characteristics, and we suggest that employers will be receptive to modification of jobs if they perceive clear advantages from doing so.

3. CHAPTER THREE: ARRANGEMENTS WHICH SUPPORT THE REDESIGN OF YOUTH JOBS

In this section we talk about ways in which one might wish to approach the cultivation of jobs and volunteer projects for young people. We will discuss the characteristics of these programs which distinguish them from typical youth employment programs; sketch the various forms that these projects might take; identify the components of the youth employment system, the interests and concerns of each of the members, and tactics that might be used to draw others into the venture; and suggest some elements which appear to be important to the success or failure of change efforts.

3.1 Characteristics of Youth Employment/Delinquency Prevention Projects

There are several features which distinguish programs which take delinquency prevention as their objective from programs whose objectives are related directly to the present and future benefits of employment per se. The programs described here focus upon the social organization of the work setting, are deliberate about the kinds of reform that they wish over time, and take an experimental stance toward employment as a tactic for delinquency prevention. While there are exceptions, youth employment programs typically offer a variety of services which are intended to provide the benefits of money, training, and experience in order to increase the youth's employability as an adult. They do not necessarily intend to change young people's behavior, and thus do not often focus upon features of the work setting which might lower the probability of delinquency.

3.1.1 Legitimate Work, Not Delinquency

The experiments described in this paper have as their main objective the creation of work experiences viewed by young people and adults as legitimate. The characteristics of those jobs were discussed in Chapter Two. If young people are to have a stake in the work, the job undertaken under the auspices of the program must be viewed as having intrinsic merit for the various reasons suggested in Chapter Two. Describing the activity as a delinquency prevention program detracts from the work experience itself. Under some circumstances, e.g., development of an evaluation design, it may be necessary to raise the question of delinquency, but those conversations should be limited to a few persons responsible for developing the program. The program should be publicized for its contribution to the employer and community.

3.1.2 Experiments

Because the effect on delinquency of any one arrangement in the work setting is unclear, these youth employment programs should be taken on experimentally. They should be viewed as a set of activities

to be modified through experience and research. For program purposes, this suggests that there be frequent sessions during which staff rigorously examine their activities, and that evaluation be established as a necessary and instrumental part of the program from the beginning.

3.1.3 Selective, Incremental Change in Organizations

The kinds of jobs described in Chapter Two occur infrequently even for adults; finding and building them will require selective, incremental change in organizations responsible for the preparation, placement, and employment of youth. The typical work placement of young people makes minimal demands upon their intellectual, physical, or social abilities; they frequently are make-work positions in which the sole benefit is wages. We are suggesting that even existing positions hold the potential for enlargement and increasing the participation of young people in the organization.

However, we assume that changing the expectations of employers for youth performance will probably occur on a very small scale which grows over time, as the boundaries of youth roles stretch. For example, receptionist positions in social service agencies are common youth positions. The duties are limited to answering the telephone. The first agreement with the employer may be to add the tasks of interviewing clients and filling out forms, over a period of time; this would lead to the development of a social service aide position supported by a sequence of on-the-job training.

3.1.4 Change in Existing Systems

For members of the community who wish to base delinquency prevention programs on work and community service, the best option would be to expand and/or improve existing systems of work and service. Unilateral attempts at job redesign are both inefficient and ineffective. They are inefficient because they duplicate the activities of organizations currently responsible for youth employment, e.g., federally funded job programs and offices of the state employment service. Their effectiveness is limited by political, financial, and staff constraints. Entrenched agencies with legislated or delegated responsibility for youth employment will view others as intruders. With no record of performance, employers may be reluctant to cooperate. The demand for jobs is simply too great for any one small service program either to develop the number of jobs needed or to place young people in any thoughtful way.

Working within the system can bring added authority, influence, ability, and resources to bear, making possible the development of good jobs and placement of young people on a much larger scale in a more durable venture. Here again, we recommend small-scale change activities, recognizing that their breadth is contingent upon the local political

and economic situation and reflecting the idea that carefully developed, well-focused activities have a greater chance of achieving the objective of increasing youth stake in work

3.2 Stimulating Change in the Employment System through Partnerships

Delinquency prevention practitioners should act as catalysts, stimulating change in the systems of job development and placement and training, and in employing organizations. They might assume one or both of two roles: change agents and technical assistance providers. As change agents they would introduce new ways of viewing youth employment and delinquency, negotiate new relationships or strengthen old ones between program operators, schools, and employers, and introduce new practices for the recruitment, hiring, supervision, training, and evaluation of young workers. As technical assistance providers they may make available to local institutions the ideas, manpower, and money for the costs of change to support employers, educators, and staffs of employment programs.

The costs of change may include the development of materials, funds for the development of new materials, training, and evaluation. Grants should be considered carefully in light of recent findings concerning the ineffectiveness of giving money as a tactic for change. Berman and McLaughlin (1977), in their evaluation of education programs, found that funds alone were insufficient to support change. Our experience and that of the Rand Corporation suggest that change occurs where there are persons interested in problem solution and experimentation, and where they view the technology as relevant to their own situation. Even in the absence of outside stimulation, those persons are seeking reform.

3.2.1 Developing Partnerships

Through partnerships with those responsible for the training, education, and placement of young people, there will be a more efficient utilization of resources, a greater impact, and greater longevity than might result from an autonomous youth employment project. In times of greater competition for declining public funds, working to redirect the use of existing money is more feasible than seeking new allocations to support programming. By joining forces with one or more groups and agencies, more jobs can be made available to more young people. Increasing the number of advocates for youth employment may mean that the ideas and practices will live on after the end of the "project."

It may be necessary to discover whether the employment of youth and/or delinquency are seen as important by community groups, local leaders, bureaucrats, and businessmen; to identify places in the system where intervention is desirable and feasible; and to locate others who share similar values, expectations, and concerns regarding youth. In every locale (and organization) some needs are given precedence over others. In a community where human services are viewed as a valid response to real community needs and seen as the responsibility of local agencies, organizations, business, and industry, the reallocation of resources and redefinition of jobs for young people may occur more readily than in an area where physical facilities and economic growth are priorities.

Policy statements of elected officials, municipal and county budgets, and organizational plans and policies reveal the importance attached to youth problems. If there is articulated concern by organized groups, that force could be mobilized to support youth employment and community service as a tactic for delinquency prevention. If groups of businessmen or community leaders view the absence of trained manpower as a problem, that interest might be the stimulus. Knowledge of the system provides an ability to be creative--to take advantage of promising situations and relationships.

The procedure for the assessment could range from a formal survey to a collection of existing reports and conversations with local persons. Given the scarcity of resources in most areas, the decision to undertake a formal research effort should be carefully reviewed. The main purpose is to acquire an elementary understanding of the system for strategical purposes, and that may be acquired through discussions with adult community members, agency heads, and others. The assessment should be an ongoing activity. To continue to generate opportunities for young people to demonstrate competence in a variety of settings, maintaining contact with business, industry, and community leaders, educators, and others is necessary.

3.2.2 Assessing the Youth Employment System

Youth employment should be viewed as a system with interrelated parts which prepares, places, and employs young people. The key players are educational institutions, the employment service, and various public and private employers. Here we will describe the interests of organized groups of employers, schools, employment and training agencies, and social service providers, and suggest some of the tactics for drawing them into a joint effort.

Those able to exercise the greatest influence on owners and managers in private sector firms may be their peers. In every community there are groups of employers formed to advance their interests and, frequently, to engage in community service. This group may include the chamber of

commerce, the National Alliance of Businessmen, industry lobbying groups, trade associations, and labor unions. In the public sector, professional associations, employee unions, and various interagency policy and planning bodies may prove to be useful allies in the effort to generate public sector employment. These groups can indicate where there may be a favorable reaction to hiring youth, negotiate access to employers, and inject the employer's perspective in the design of the program.

Although the schools seldom view themselves as responsible for initiating hands-on experiences in the work setting, they do provide knowledge and competencies valued by employers, offer skill training, and, with increasing frequency, include in their curriculum career training and techniques for finding work. Although their primary objective is to teach reading, communication, and calculation, the schools can play a part in youth employment programming. In those circumstances where the school is receptive to change, classroom work which is closely tied to the work experience enriches both. At one end of the change continuum the school can support youth work by schedule revisions and awarding academic credit. At the other, it may elect to enhance the classroom experience by using the work setting as a place where young people can apply what they have learned in the classroom. (For a discussion of school organization and change with respect to delinquency prevention, see Little and Skarrow, 1981, and Johnson, Cohen, and Bird, 1980.)

The following arguments might prove persuasive to administrators and faculty members.

(a) "Trouble" in the form of disciplinary and attendance problems will diminish for those young people who find the hands-on form of learning more relevant and exciting than the typical classroom work. We suggest that many of the young people who are now viewed as problems by the schools engage in unapproved behavior because they have no stake in the school, either academically or socially. Jobs which are supported by the school may give them a reason to have a stake in the school and less reason to be disruptive.

(b) The work experiences in which young people are to be placed can be a natural outgrowth of the classroom experience and thus are appropriately a school function. In addition, the competencies produced in the work place can meet school standards for academic achievement. A botany lesson in plant grafting can be supplemented by the student's practicing grafting under the supervision of the local nurseryman. Basing the

work experience in the curriculum will limit school involvement to those areas viewed by teachers and administrators as their responsibility; it will not necessarily include the creation of specific job training. The aim is to find ways to integrate the school and work experiences that faculty and staff can admire.

(c) Should faculty members agree to engage in curriculum revision (or even rescheduling activities), the tasks should be manageable and staff development services provided to help them over the rough spots. This may happen by negotiating realistic objectives to be achieved over a period of time, by taking into account the numerous requirements made on teachers' time, and by changing some of the current demands to allow time for the development of curricula. Continuous, practical support provided by competent persons may come from those within the school district whose function is to support faculty growth and learning, and from persons outside the system who are knowledgeable and experienced in the world of work.

There are various public and private agencies responsible for job development and placement: the U.S. Employment Service, prime sponsors created by the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, employment agencies in the private sector, and various other groups who have received grants or contracts from federal and state sources to stimulate youth employment (YMCA, community action agencies). The extent to which youth employment is viewed as an agency priority varies. While the U.S. Employment Service does list some "youth" jobs, their emphasis is clearly upon the placement of adults. CETA prime sponsors have funds earmarked for young people, as well as for adults. Federal and state contractors administer job development, training, and placement programs for both groups, but the emphasis will be different in each agency.

Even where attention is concentrated upon youth, the question of improving the quality of jobs has remained in the background. The necessity for placing large numbers of young people has limited the attention paid to job design. Under pressure from Congress and others to avoid make-work projects, some prime sponsors are giving more attention to questions of supervision and youth work assignments. Participation in this project may call for a shift in priorities. Arguments which might prove persuasive are listed below.

(a) By jointly working with employer and community groups, the number of young people the employment agency or project can serve will be expanded. Instead of one-to-

one counseling and placement themselves, staff can draw upon the employers' standard procedures for recruitment and hiring and upon community groups for the identification of jobs and recruitment of young people.

(b) Over time, with the kind of employer support recommended here, the pool of competent employers will grow and the amount of time staff must spend training employers in job design and supervision will decrease.

(c) Young people placed in positions with the characteristics described in Chapter Two will be perceived as competent, reliable employees, will have skills relevant to local employers, and will be able to make the transition from jobs subsidized by public funds to unsubsidized jobs. Staff will meet one of the major objectives of public employment programming today.

(d) In the same way that school faculty must be assisted as they take on unfamiliar tasks, so must staffs of employment programs and agencies be assured of receiving technical assistance to help them as they increase the amount of time they must spend with employers.

3.2.3 Negotiating the Terms of the Partnership

The terms of the partnership (the roles each party will play and the specific commitment) must be negotiated rather than declared. Each organization has assumed responsibility for various aspects of youth work and service and is concerned about maintaining its status. Turf concerns should not be viewed as a problem. The interest voiced during the assessment phase should be taken as a genuine desire to resolve the problems of youth unemployment and delinquency, and the negotiations should proceed on a positive tone, seeking grounds for agreement rather than confirming and publicizing disagreements. The desirable outcome of these negotiations is a non-zero sum game in which everyone wins: the employer gets work done, teachers find they have fewer "trouble" students in class, CETA can point to the number of young people whose salaries were picked up by the private sector, and there is the promise of discovering whether or not working can reduce delinquency.

Throughout the negotiations, delinquency prevention practitioners will have to translate bonding and organizational change ideas into language familiar to the participants. For example, discussions of change in the work setting should revolve around supervision and the effect that may have on productivity, rather than on commitment and attachment. Practitioners will find that this dialogue is ongoing

because of the unfamiliarity of the ideas. They should take every opportunity to apply the ideas in as many ways as possible and not assume that their words are understood.

It may be desirable to engage youth during this stage. Their perspective may be useful during discussions of the types of jobs which are appealing to young people and strategies for recruitment. Equally as important is the chance for young people to be involved in useful work--they can acquire knowledge about social problems in the community, an awareness of possible solutions and the complexity of their implementation; they may develop planning research and writing skills; and they may add to their repertoire of meeting skills. However, if adult support is uncertain, it might be better to allow the adults to work through operational designs and details and plan to bring in young people at a later date.

The product of the negotiations should be a written plan which reflects the agreement of the key actors regarding the philosophy, objectives, and strategies. Specifically, that plan should contain the types of jobs to be developed and tactics for engaging employers, the form of the policy group and the staff, technical assistance, evaluation, and a schedule for implementation. Modifications may be made as the training problems are encountered and the results of the evaluation fed back to the policy group and staff; however, the development of a plan serves two crucial purposes. First, the process of development is the occasion for generating, checking, and confirming agreements among members. Second, a written document which is well thought out and viewed as useful by its authors can help to maintain direction and diminish the chances of slipping back into the individual service mode of most youth employment and delinquency prevention programs.

A tentative outline is proposed in the following paragraphs.

Job development. The plan should contain a statement of purpose, a list of desirable and feasible jobs, procedures for the recruitment, selection, and support of employers, and specifications for the design and conduct of work. The labor market and community assessments, the material in this paper, and the knowledge and experience of the partners provide the information necessary to write the plan.

Decision making. To change the system, several approaches might be adopted, depending both upon the aims of the group of partners and upon the circumstances in the community. The first and most frequently used approach to interorganizational work is the formation of a policy-making council.[1] The success of such bodies has not been outstanding

[1]Discussions of councils designed to facilitate the transition from

(Praegar, et al., 1980; The Center for Action Research, Inc., 1978a, 1978b). Most interagency councils might be characterized by the absence of specific purpose, disagreement over the goals and procedures of the body, unstable membership, and the lack of clear authority to make change within member organizations. The existence of a planning or policy group often provides the appearance but not the substance of reform. However, where the members have agreed on a direction and where they are able to stimulate change within their own organizations, some desirable modifications have been made. For example, a few of the education-work councils described in the Abt evaluation (Praegar, et al., 1980) have promoted stronger ties between employers and schools which have contributed to curriculum change. Interagency councils may be an appropriate tactic for achieving change in youth employment if there is a shared sense of group purpose and if each of the members has the desire and ability to follow through with work in his or her organization that is specified in their joint agreements. The long-term advantage is the existence of a group of persons who are strong advocates for youth.

A second approach to interorganizational work is to confine direction of youth employment activities to the two or three persons who have agreed to act as partners, expanding the group as called for at any stage of program development. For example, the partnership may include a major employer, the CETA director, and the delinquency prevention practitioner. In order to provide work for more young people, the partners may invite other employers with similar concerns and work-force requirements to belong. This strategy has the advantages of including participants who share a specific interest, who commit themselves to organizational change from the beginning; and it limits the number of actors so that the tasks of coordination and management are not overwhelming. Although this strategy leads immediately only to small changes, it can provide the foundation for an expanded work group.

Administration. The decision about the assignment of the day-to-day administration has implications both for the immediate tasks and for the long-term durability of the ideas. The most desirable situation is the reassignment of staff from the partners' organizations. Those persons are familiar with their own organizations and may be able to anticipate and resolve problems that outsiders cannot. In ideal circumstances, those employees will remain with their employers after the experiment officially ends with a new view of youth employment and ways of increasing benefits to young people. They can be encouraged to shed old views if they view youth unemployment and/or delinquency as a

youth to adulthood are contained in Wirtz, 1975; National Commission on Youth, 1974; and Carnegie, 1979.

problem about which something must be done, if they see the proposed activity as valuable and useful, and if there is consistent support and encouragement offered during the course of the project.

Opposition to reassignment frequently comes from administrators and staff who see the new activity as an addition to an already heavy work load. We are proposing a change experiment intended to replace, not supplement, some existing functions. For example, most CETA staff have provided individual counseling to young people. We propose to substitute work with employers, suggesting that if supervision is improved, the needs for counseling will diminish in most cases. We do recognize, however, that part of the "counseling" duties are complying with federal regulations for reporting and monitoring. If work with employers is to be a substitute, clever ways must be found to minimize the time paperwork takes and yet conform to federal demands. One project during the start-up period would be redefinition of reporting and monitoring procedures in order to generate time to provide technical assistance to employers. The partners must be committed to the extent that they seek to redefine the roles and functions of staff they would like to involve in this project.

Evaluation. Evaluation is an essential part of this experiment if the assumptions about youth work and its bearing on delinquency are to be tested. The scope and depth of the evaluation is contingent upon available money, staff and consultant time, and data processing and analysis resources. The schedule for evaluation work should coincide with the design and implementation of youth work activities if the evaluation results are to be used to guide decisions on program effectiveness and efficiency. The data should be available on a schedule and in a form that meets the needs of decision-makers and staff. Compromises may have to be negotiated between those in the work setting, the project staff, and the evaluation staff, trading off the benefits of in-depth research with the requirements of program operation. The evaluation and project staffs form a team to test the assumptions posed in the first section of the plan.

Responsibilities and relationships of members of the team. As the work unfolds, assignment of responsibilities should occur. In addition, the architects of the plan should establish regular occasions and procedures for information sharing and problem solving. In interorganizational activities, actions are frequently overlooked because there is no one assigned to pay attention. Misunderstandings and disagreements arise and should be resolved. New information comes to light which would either change the direction or call for a promising new venture. If responsibilities are agreed upon from the beginning and if there are formal and informal means for making decisions, there is less likelihood of inadvertently shifting directions or breaking up the partnership.

With the final version of the plan, there should evolve a common understanding of the general concepts and a desire to participate which are reflected in specific statements of action and responsibility. There should also be a plan for the resolution of problems of the partners and of the staff, either through discussion or through the provision of technical assistance and training.

3.3 Sustaining Change in Organizations

Change is most likely to persist where there is strong, competent leadership, where there are norms for collegiality and experimentation, where both the interests of the organizers and the employer are taken into account, and where persons are provided with ways to help them get through the day.

3.3.1 Leadership

"Leadership" here refers both to decision makers within the employing organization and to those organizers of the youth employment project. The view others have of the leader is important. Change most frequently occurs when those in charge are viewed by others as competent, knowledgeable, and consistent. Also important is his or her approval of employing young people and of the principles upon which the jobs are based. If the manager visibly shows interest by inquiring about youth progress, is accessible for problem solving, and applies some of the same principles in the management of others on his or her staff, the supervisor, co-workers, and youth employees are more likely to take the effort seriously. The leader sets the tone and provides the model.

3.3.2 Collegiality

There are two sets of relationships to be taken into account in these ventures. The first is the relationship between the employer and the organizers of the activity. The second are the relationships among members of each participant organization. Change will occur more readily if both sets of relationships are collegial, if the expectation is that persons are jointly responsible for organizing and implementing the principles of youth employment, and that each member of the team has a contribution to make. Berman and McLaughlin (1977) reported that innovative education programs in which teachers participated as full partners in planning change and where they either developed their own or adapted others' material to meet the requirements of their classrooms produced more durable change than those in which teachers did not participate in planning and where they were expected to adopt existing materials. These findings have been replicated in other settings with municipal government officials and human service providers (Yin, Heald, and Vogel, 1977; Bingham, 1976) and with community groups (Alinsky, 1971).

We recognize that participative management will be a departure from the norms in many employing organizations. We suggest that the collegial relationship between the manager and/or supervisor in the employing organization and the organizers of the youth employment effort is crucial and the the inclusion of others in the collegial group is an ideal goal to strive for as circumstances seem appropriate. We do suggest strongly that the extent to which all those who will be working with young people can be involved will determine in large part the degree to which change will occur in the immediate work setting.

3.3.3 Experimentation

Persons are more likely to participate in unfamiliar activities and try new approaches, selecting those that work and discarding those that do not, where there is overt approval from management and peers for innovation. In the work setting where one of the aims is to increase the number and quality of the tasks that young people are allowed to take on, this means not blaming the supervisor if the young person fails, but rather identifying the reason for failure and trying again. It means approval of the time the supervisor and co-workers may spend discussing business with young workers. In short, management should be encouraged to develop problem-solving approaches to getting the work done and involving young people.

If the effort is described simply as giving another young person a job, there is no reason for work group members to examine their interactions with young workers and notice that perhaps they have inadvertently contributed to the failure of young workers in the past. If, however, the employment of youth is billed as finding new, exciting things for them to do and devising methods for teaching and integrating them into work groups, the expectation that past practices be examined and new ones discovered is clear. Berman and McLaughlin (1977, p. 82) found in their assessment of educational programs that the greater the change called for, the more likely its adoption. One explanation may be that the differences catch persons' attention, causing them to focus on the task at hand and to work through problems in new ways.

Berman and McLaughlin's (1977) finding calls into question the often used harmony model of change. The assumption there is that the least resistance is likely to be encountered when the innovation is similar to existing practice and when persons can, over time, become comfortable with a set of ideas and activities. Change agents then seek to maintain harmony. However, it may be that some level of tension and conflict is necessary if change is to occur. It may also be that persons are not willing to commit time and energy to an effort described as a slight departure, because it does not seem important. We suggest that those introducing new ideas about youth employment into any organization be straightforward about their intent and then assist persons to adapt the ideas and methods and work through the problems.

3.3.4 Mutual Adaptation

The adoption of new ideas and practices is more likely to occur where they are molded to meet the requirements of those in the work setting, as well as those of the organizers of youth employment (Berman and Pauly, 1975, p. 42). The principles of youth work are general; specificity comes from their application in one work setting. They serve as a departure point for ongoing negotiations between youth employment organizers and the employer.

The process of mutual adaptation may increase the capacity of employees to apply the ideas, and may increase their sense of benefit, leadership, and ownership. Through continuing discussion and application, all parties will be forced to define their own problems and seek practical solutions in the context of bonding and change theories. For persons to understand the concepts, they must wrestle with them and apply them in their day-to-day work. As they do so, they can acquire a facility for working with young employees. If this approach offers an advantage over previous training or disciplinary methods and if their efforts are rewarded by having an increasingly competent young work force, they will perceive benefits in continuing the new practices. To increase the probability of adoption and durable change, innovations should not be imposed from the outside; they should, instead, be the result of negotiations between the two parties.

3.3.5 Helping Persons Get through the Day

Changes are more likely to be endorsed by those within the organization if they have assistance in adapting unfamiliar ideas to their own circumstances. To be helpful, assistance should be practical, timely, and credible, offering concrete suggestions which apply to the circumstances of the workers in that setting. It is not practical to suggest that an already over-worked staff should take on an additional training assignment. An assessment of current assignments leading to the delegation of one task to a co-worker so that there is time to take on the training responsibility is "practical."

Assistance should be ongoing and offered at routine intervals in order to provide help as persons encounter problems in operationalizing the concepts of youth employment. The introduction of the ideas and the development of a plan at the beginning is insufficient support. All problems cannot be anticipated. Organizational circumstances change.

The sources of assistance may come from the organizers of the employment effort and from co-workers who jointly seek solutions to problems. For outside assistance to be received favorably, those providing it should be seen as credible by those within the organization. They should be viewed as competent, familiar (though not necessarily expert) with the business or agency, businesslike, well prepared, honest, and straightforward. Though they are called in presumably because of some special knowledge or skill, they should act as if those with whom they are working are competent and have answers to some of the problems confronting them. Too frequently, outside "experts" are condescending, patronizing, and destroy any possible impact they might have had by alienating their audience. Insiders may compose the most valuable source of support if they are encouraged to work together in teams and are in favor of the experiment. In the case of these experiments, no one person can have all the answers and it must be a collegial venture.

3.4 Summary

We have described the ideal youth employment program as an experiment in selected, incremental change within employing organizations calculated to improve the quality of work assigned to young people. Changes within each work setting will be stimulated by partners (employer groups, educators, youth employment organizations, and social service providers), each with their own interest, but with a common interest in improving youth jobs as a way of meeting their own organizational objectives. With a firm basis for their relationship, they engage in negotiations leading to the joint authorship and implementation of a plan. Young people are placed in jobs and the experiences are scrutinized and adjusted to determine if young people do develop a stake in the work and engage less frequently in delinquent acts. The shared interests and aims and the organizational and interorganizational arrangements in support of the development and refinement of jobs may be extended to other settings in order to generate additional opportunities for young people to do useful work, demonstrate competence, and gain membership status in the work force.

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