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ABSTRACT

This document contains the proceedings of a two-day symposium conducted to analyze four different perspectives (psychological, economic, anthropological, and sociological) on evaluating experiential education programs. The perspectives are represented in papers by Samuel H. Osipow, Psychology, Ohio State University; Nicholas M. Kiefer, Economics, University of Chicago; Sheila S. Walker, Anthropology, University of California; and Frank J. Weed and Charles E. Ramsey, Sociology, University of Texas. The keynote address, by Richard Graham of Youthwork, Inc., is followed by a section for each perspective. Each section begins with the major presentation and includes a summary of the commentary by participants on the advantages and limitations of the particular perspective in evaluating experiential education programs. Following the commentary is a summary of the perspective by an individual who represents that perspective and is an experiential education practitioner. The last section offers reflections on the symposium by Thomas R. Owens, Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory; and Dan Conrad, University of Minnesota. The symposium agenda, a list of participants, and biographical sketches of the authors are appended. (LMS)

Information Series No. 164

PERSPECTIVES ON INVESTIGATING THE CONSEQUENCES OF EXPERIENTIAL EDUCATION

compiled
and
edited by
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The National Center for Research in Vocational Education
The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio 43210

1979

THE NATIONAL CENTER MISSION STATEMENT

The National Center for Research in Vocational Education's mission is to increase the ability of diverse agencies, institutions, and organizations to solve educational problems relating to individual career planning, preparation, and progression. The National Center fulfills its mission by:

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FOREWORD

Experiential Education has been a major part of learning for internships, cooperative and work study programs, and on-the-job components of vocational education. Since the early 1970s there has been a movement in education to expand the educational opportunities of all students to include real world learning experiences as part of their educational programs. One of the most challenging problems for the continued expansion of experiential education is developing effective methods and criteria for evaluating experiential education.

Under sponsorship of the National Institute of Education, the National Center for Research in Vocational Education conducted a symposium on Alternative Perspectives on Investigating the Consequences of Experiential Education. This symposium provided the opportunity to consider some fundamentally different options and approaches to understanding experiential education and to explore evaluation approaches from diverse disciplines and perspectives. The symposium was the setting that brought together individuals who represented evaluators, researchers, state department planners, and experiential education program coordinators to critique and analyze the four perspectives on investigating the consequences of experiential education. The report should be considered as a resource for individuals interested in learning more about experiential education and evaluation. This document is a collection of substantive papers with participants' commentary regarding the advantages and limitations of the perspective as it relates to evaluating experiential education programs. Finally, the report contains summaries of the perspectives by individuals who represent the particular perspective and are experiential education practitioners.

The individuals who represented their discipline and provided a perspective on investigating the consequences of experiential education are recognized for their persistent and scholarly approach to the problem. They are Samuel H. Osipow, Psychology, The Ohio State University; Nicholas M. Kiefer, Economics, University of Chicago; Sheila S. Walker, Anthropology, University of California; and Frank J. Weed and Charles E. Ramsey, Sociology, University of Texas.

Special appreciation is extended to Ronald B. Bucknam, Project Officer for the National Institute of Education, for his assistance throughout the development of the symposium and his participation and contributions made at the symposium.

Recognition is due Michael R. Crowe for his overall direction of the project and for the preparation of their report; Carol A. Beckman for the coordination and arrangement of the symposium activities and assitance in preparing this report; and Jerry P. Walker for his guidance and support of the project.

Robert E. Taylor
Executive Director
The National Center for Research
in Vocational Education

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OVERVIEW

We were motivated to design and conduct the symposium because of our recent experiences in conducting a national evaluation of an internship-type experiential education program. While conducting the evaluation, we had the opportunity to talk with evaluators of other experiential education programs, and we learned slowly that we were not the first, nor would we probably be the last, to face a perplexing set of problems in evaluating innovative experiential education programs. We were, therefore, prompted to retreat from our educational evaluators' perspective of educational phenomena and invite individuals from other disciplines to provide us with alternative perspectives on investigating experiential education programs. We wanted them not only to focus on that small set of consequences which happen to be the intention of educators, but also to focus on any possible consequences: positive, negative, unanticipated, learner-focused, society-focused, and others.

Our hope was that we would be able to capture many of the issues about program effectiveness that are discussed among evaluators and practitioners who advocate the expansion of experiential education. Many of the issues raised are widely focused, in that there have been few opportunities to creatively investigate evaluative problems surrounding experiential education phenomena. We felt a need to disassociate ourselves from the language of evaluation and, therefore, stated the problem in terms of investigating the consequences of experiential education. This, we hoped, would expand our horizons and encourage alternative perspectives that would not be constrained by our language and historical parameters for evaluating experiential education programs.

We believe we achieved this purpose. The symposium did provide alternative directions for investigating the consequences of experiential education. The following ideas seem particularly useful for future investigations.

- *Extend the notion that luck or chance create critical incidents which cause major changes in a person's life, i.e., to consider an experiential education program as a critical incident in a student's life.*

  Rather than leaving major life changes to chance, increase the number of experiences so as to increase the probability of students encountering a critical incident. The success of the program (experience) would be measured in terms of pronounced change in the direction that a student's life took rather than specific changes in the student's behavior.

- *Develop experiential programs within the context of career development theories.*

  The theory or framework would serve as the vehicle by which to specify how the program should contribute to the development of a student's career. Measurement would involve using individuals as their own base-line control and then aggregating in terms of the particular objective specified by the theory.

- *Choose a variable that is related to program outcomes to determine the effectiveness of experiential education programs.*

  A labor market variable such as earnings was suggested as reasonable. Earnings are less ambiguous than test scores as measures of program effectiveness and do not require elaborate constructs to define their meaning. Measurement would involve repeated observations of earnings of participants and non-participants of experiential education programs.

- *Use direct observation to describe the structure of relationships among individuals and between individuals and their environment.*

  Since standardized tests do not always explain student behavior, the use of observation would provide additional evidence to explain what really happens in a program. Measurement would, therefore, rely on the accuracy of the observations.

- *Extend the scope of analysis to include social structure.*

  This would add the dimension of understanding the student's motives, beliefs, and actions as a product of social relationships. The unit of analysis would be the school rather than the individual. Rather than using a single measure or repeated observations, the use of several methods to test the same points is encouraged to find evidence of program effectiveness.

The results of the symposium provided provocative ideas for future investigations, but did not lead to a single approach or new methodologies for evaluating experiential education programs. Many of the ideas have been tried, in part, by different evaluators of innovative programs. What the symposium accomplished was to confirm many of the techniques evaluators have already used but often expressed doubts about because they were not based in experimental research. The next step is to develop fully, understand, and implement the ideas from this symposium in future evaluations. We invite the reader to join symposium participants who listened to provocative ideas and reacted with probing and thoughtful comments.

Michael R. Crowe
Project Director
The National Center for Research
in Vocational Education

Purpose of Symposium

The use of traditional methods to evaluate experiential education programs has not always provided the data sought by program developers. Part of the dilemma may be the nature of such programs. They differ from traditional learning experiences in both process and outcomes. The experiential process is more individualized and defined by environment. Knowing through doing becomes the focus of attention. The outcomes are often affective in nature and difficult to measure. Other factors contributing to the dilemma are:

- the difficulty in finding evidence of success for highly diversified programs;
- heart-felt testimony, but little quantitative evidence;
- narrowness of what is considered credible evidence for success;
- use of behavioral objectives for programs that are individualized and experience-oriented; and
- use of paper and pencil tests for measuring reality-based know-how.

Experiential education programs will almost certainly continue to expand. However, at this point there is little consensus on evaluation criteria by which to determine whether the programs should be viewed as beneficial. Therefore, we believe that the atmosphere and timing call for consideration of alternative approches to understanding experiential education phenomena. The symposium provided an opportunity to explore evaluation approaches from the perspectives of several disciplines.

The purposes identified for this symposium were to provide a forum for:

- reviewing and critiquing alternative perspectives and investigative strategies.
- reacting to new directions in understanding experiential education phenomena and evaluation.
- exchanging ideas on evaluation practices.

Selection of Authors

To re-examine the consequences of experiential education and to seek alternative investigation strategies, individuals from four disciplines were commissioned to prepare papers reflecting their viewpoints. A two-day field experience provided the authors an orientation to experiential education. Arrangements were made for the writers to visit an alternative school and an Occupational Work Experience Program where they interviewed the coordinators, students, and employers. In addition, a panel of coordinators and students from nine experiential education programs was assembled at the National Center to permit further dialogue with experiential learners and facilitators. The programs represented were cooperative education, Experience-Based Career Education, Executive High School Internships Program, Venture, apprenticeship programs, 70001, Occupational Work Adjustment, Occupational Work Experience, and CETA programs.

Following this experience, the writers were asked to prepare papers outlining (1) their epistemological perspective on understanding and examining natural phenomena of experiential education, (2) a range of possible consequences that might stem from experiential education programs, and (3) the strategies they would undertake to confirm or deny the truth of these possible consequences.

Structure of the Symposium

The Symposium was organized around four major activities that were repeated for each perspective. The activities were:

1. Presentation of perspective
2. Small group discussion
3. Feedback session
4. Peer summation

Presentation of Perspective

Each author presented his/her viewpoint on understanding the phenomena of experiential education and investigative techniques that could be used to evaluate the consequences of experiential education. The final papers differ slightly from the presentations.

Small Group Discussion

After the presentation, participants selected one of four groups (Figure 1) in which to discuss the perspective. Each group represented a particular viewpoint:

- *Evaluator-Conceptualizer:* This group was primarily concerned with theoretical considerations of evaluation practices such as epistemological questions, research paradigms and alternative evaluation designs.

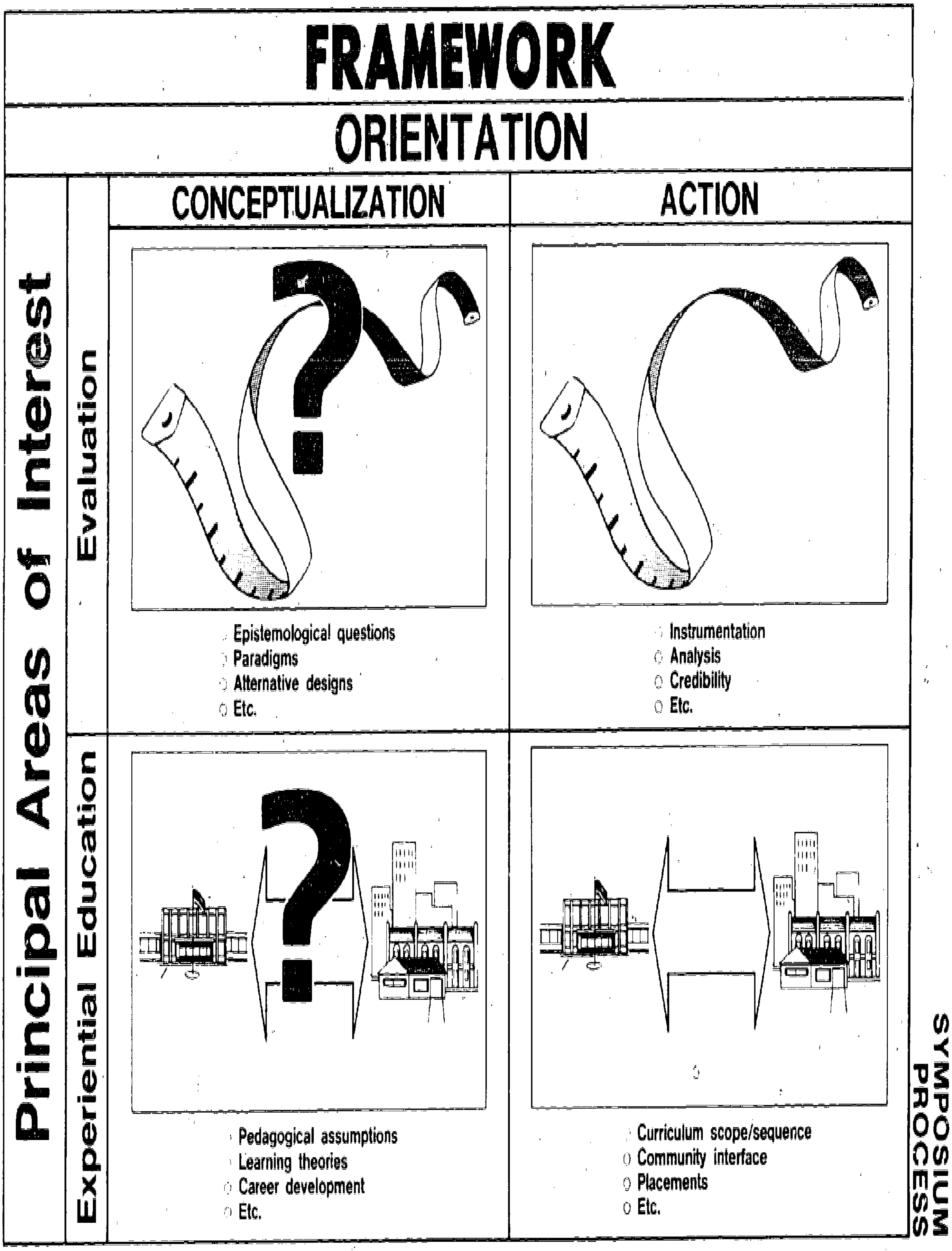
- *Evaluator-Action Oriented:* This group was primarily concerned with practical questions of evaluating experiential education programs such as instrument development and credibility of evidence.

- *Experiential Educator-Conceptualizer:* This group focused on theoretical considerations for experiential education such as pedagogical assumptions, learning theories and career development theories.

- *Experiential Educator-Action Oriented:* This group had as a major interest the practical concerns of directing programs, such as curriculum scope and sequences and interaction with the community.

After assuming one of the four roles, each group was encouraged to discuss the perspective using five phrases as organizers:

Figure 1. Organization of Small Groups



- *Right On:* Indicated enthusiastic agreement.
- *Yeah, but:* Indicated that some of the points may have had limitations.
- *No way, because:* Indicated that the point made appeared to be non-applicable.
- *Write on, say more about:* Indicated that the point was valid but more needed to be said.
- *Monday morning, to do:* Indicated thoughts the group had for putting a theory into practice.

These five phrases proved useful in helping the groups focus on the major parts of the perspective.

Feedback Session

A member of each group was chosen to summarize the group's discussions and conclusions. This encouraged dialogue within and across groups and with the authors.

Peer Summation

In order to round out each perspective and bring that section to a close, an individual who represented the discipline and who had considerable experience with experiential education programs summarized the major parts of the presentation and the feedback.

Organization of Proceedings

The Symposium Proceedings are organized in the same order as the symposium. They begin with the Keynote Address. This is followed by a section for each perspective: Psychology, Economics, Anthropology, and Sociology. Each section begins with the major presentation, followed by a summary of the feedback session, and concludes with the peer summation. The final section offers two reflections on the Symposium.

We encourage the reader to browse through the topics and then enjoy the diverse and provocative papers. The reader might find it useful to assume one of the small group roles as he/she pursues each section.

Appendix A contains the Symposium Agenda. Appendix B has the list of participants, and Appendix C provides biographical sketches of the authors.

ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES ON INVESTIGATING THE CONSEQUENCES OF EXPERIENTIAL EDUCATION

The Truth About Consequences: The Race Is Not to the Swift

Richard Graham
Youthwork, Inc.

My job is to give the Keynote, to be the pitchman for this Symposium. Then you are supposed to do the singing. Do you know what a symposium is? It's a drinking party where there is intellectual discussion.

Let us come fill the coffee cups and begin. As you may know, the most noted symposia have dealt with love. We are here, perhaps, because of a love of learning, but like other matters of love, the consequences are hard to anticipate. Our topic is the consequences of experiential education and you have invited several people to provide differing intellectual perspectives, psychological, economic, anthropological, and sociological. You have, it seems, omitted the philosophical, and I would like to compensate for that omission. For the philosopher is one who devotes oneself to fundamental truths, in this case, the truth about consequences. Our philosopher might then begin the dialogue in this fashion:

Philosopher: Agonese, would you say that experiential education is all of education or a part?

Agonese: Clearly it is a part.

Philosopher: If it is a part, what is its relation to the whole? What difference does experience make?

Agonese: You have earlier persuaded me that experience makes the difference between true knowledge and right thinking, that if someone tells me the way to where I want to go, I may think rightly about it, but if I travel that road for myself, I know truly the way.

Philosopher: Must you then go everywhere yourself?

Agonese: I think not. But if I am told many things and can test the truth of some by experience, then perhaps I can better judge the truth of others.

Philosopher: Well, then, if experiential education is a part of all education, does it have the same aims as the whole or differing aims?

Agonese: It must have the same.

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Philosopher: Then experiential education must be able to state its aims because if it does not know where it is heading, it does not know when it gets there.

Agonese: There can be no question about it.

Philosopher: What then ought to be the aim of experiential education?

Agonese: Surely it must be a good life.

Philosopher: Would you say *a* good life or *the* good life?

(pause)

Agonese: I would say *the* good life.

Philosopher: And what would you say is the essence of the good life?

(long pause)

Because it is only a two-day symposium, it is better to take leave of our philosopher and his Agonese. It is better to turn now to our sociologist, anthropologist, psychologist, and economist who, whatever their concerns for what ought to be, can certainly help us with what is. But, before doing so, I want to suggest a new perspective on experiential education, one that is concerned with educational progress to be sure, but one which is more than usually concerned with changes of direction along one's route, with the critical incidents that change one's life, and with the ways to improve one's chances for the good life. For the truth about consequences according to Ecclesiastes is

The race is not to the swift
Nor the battle to the strong
Nor bread to the wise
Nor riches to the intelligent
Nor favor to men of skill
But time and chance happen to them all.

The desired consequence of experiential education in this perspective is to increase one's strength, intelligence, wisdom, and skill to be sure, but most of all to improve one's chances.

We know from our own lives and those around us how chance events, the fortuitous and the setback, affect what we do and what we become. We can, with only a little reflection, identify the persons and events that have most affected us—events like having someone take a special interest in us, finding a mentor or model, moving to a new neighborhood, being taken into a new group of friends, getting married, having a baby, being exposed to a new field, business, pursuit, or discipline, reading a new piece, suffering an accident or illness, getting into a good school, camp, or college. External events—war or depression—may provide a chance to start over or require it. You can add others and I am trying to do so in a longer paper on critical incidents and how to contrive them.

In one of the more thoughtful of recent attempts to get a picture of what happens to us as we grow up, Christopher Jencks developed some path models based upon a great deal of research.

The models attempt to show the relationships between one's family background, aptitude, test scores, how far one goes in school, the kind of job one gets and the income one makes (see Figure 2). Jencks noted that while our inheritance and education affect what becomes of us, luck and chance seem to have greater effect. My own belief is that good education will contrive luck but that bad education does not. I believe that our research has failed to look at the cause and consequences of the things that most affect our lives. I would prefer a path model that gives a greater place to experiential learning (see Figure 3). I don't suggest that we diminish our efforts to develop measures for the qualities of strength, intelligence, wisdom, and skills that predict, however feebly, to the things associated with a good life. I do suggest we also develop ways to assess the critical incidents that can be brought about by experiential learning. I believe we can find ways to reduce the effects of time and chance on our lives. I believe that we can contrive critical incidents to a far greater degree, contrive both their number and their character. It is one of the disappointments of experiential learning, the Outward Bound program for example, that although those close to the program know that it can have a profound effect on one's life, evidence to support this is hard to come by. It can, I believe, be accounted for by the fact that an experience of this kind may have little immediate effect but can have a pronounced change on the direction one's life takes, a change that will have measurable effect later on. I believe that evaluation of critical incidents is particularly difficult because just one experience, no matter how well contrived, will not with any assurance bring about a change in direction. What is needed is a succession and variety of experiences so that the chances become greater that the right kind of experience will occur at the right time for a particular individual.

Some of the people here at the symposium will have something to say about the nature of experiences that tend to have good effects. The level of responsibility that one can take on and the character of the relationship between teenagers and adults, are among the things that the people who run programs say are most important and those which the teenagers whom Tom Owens surveyed in the Experience-Based Career Education programs say are the most important.

This is my Keynote. I hope that we will be a singing group. I would like to return for just one moment to our philosopher.

Philosopher: Now Agonese, did we agree that experience leads to true knowledge and helps us test the truth of what we are told?

Agonese: Yes, I am persuaded of it.

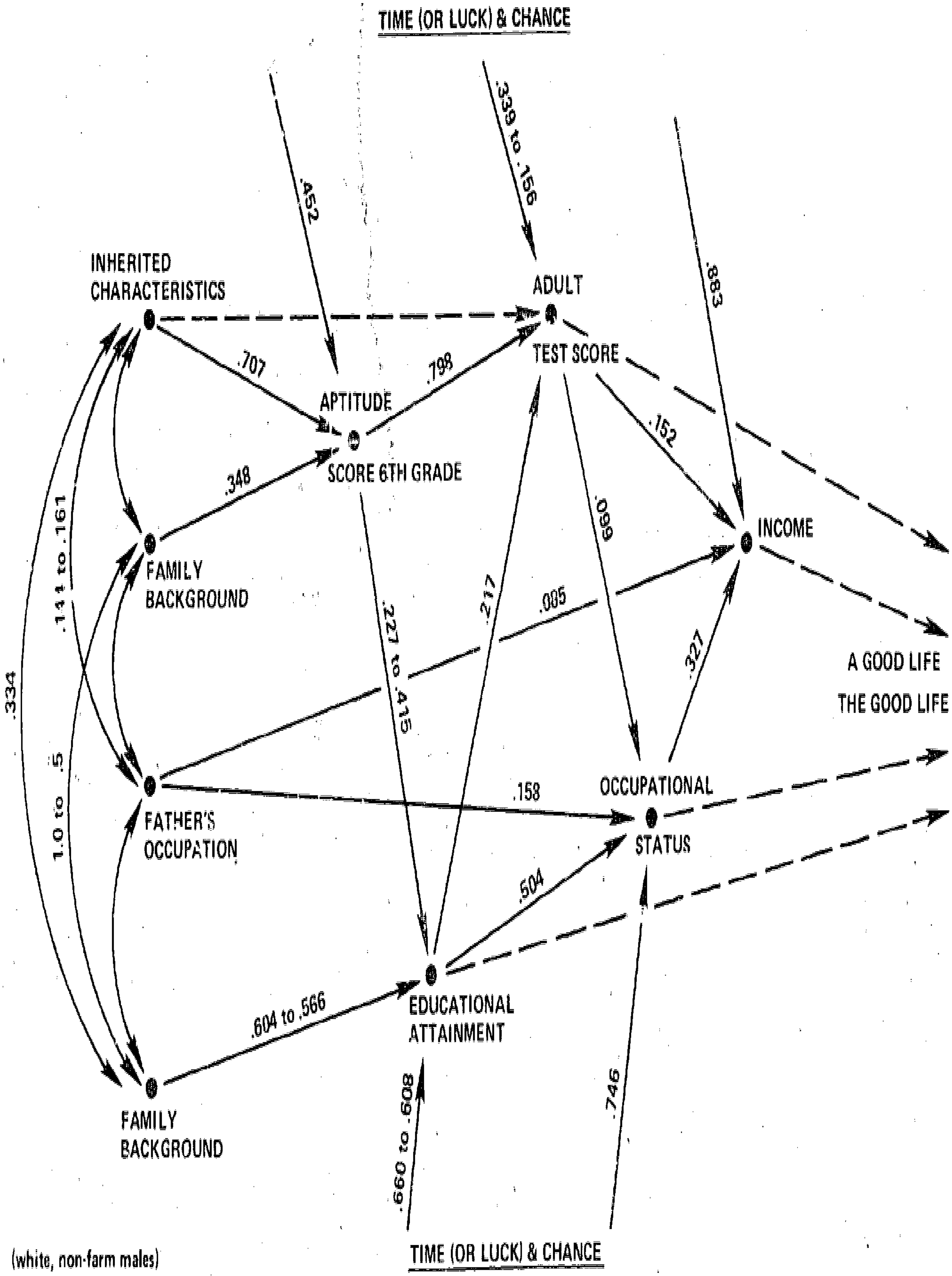
Philosopher: And did we agree that education through experience should be measured not so much by the progress one makc ng one's way but by the degree to which it redirects us towards a good life?

Agonese: I think we agreed to that but I need more time to think about it.

Philosopher: And Agonese, did we also agree that it was not enough to educate for *a* good life, for status and income, but also for *the* good life, the life of duty as citizen and parent, as one who sees it is one's duty to seek justice and to seek a just society?

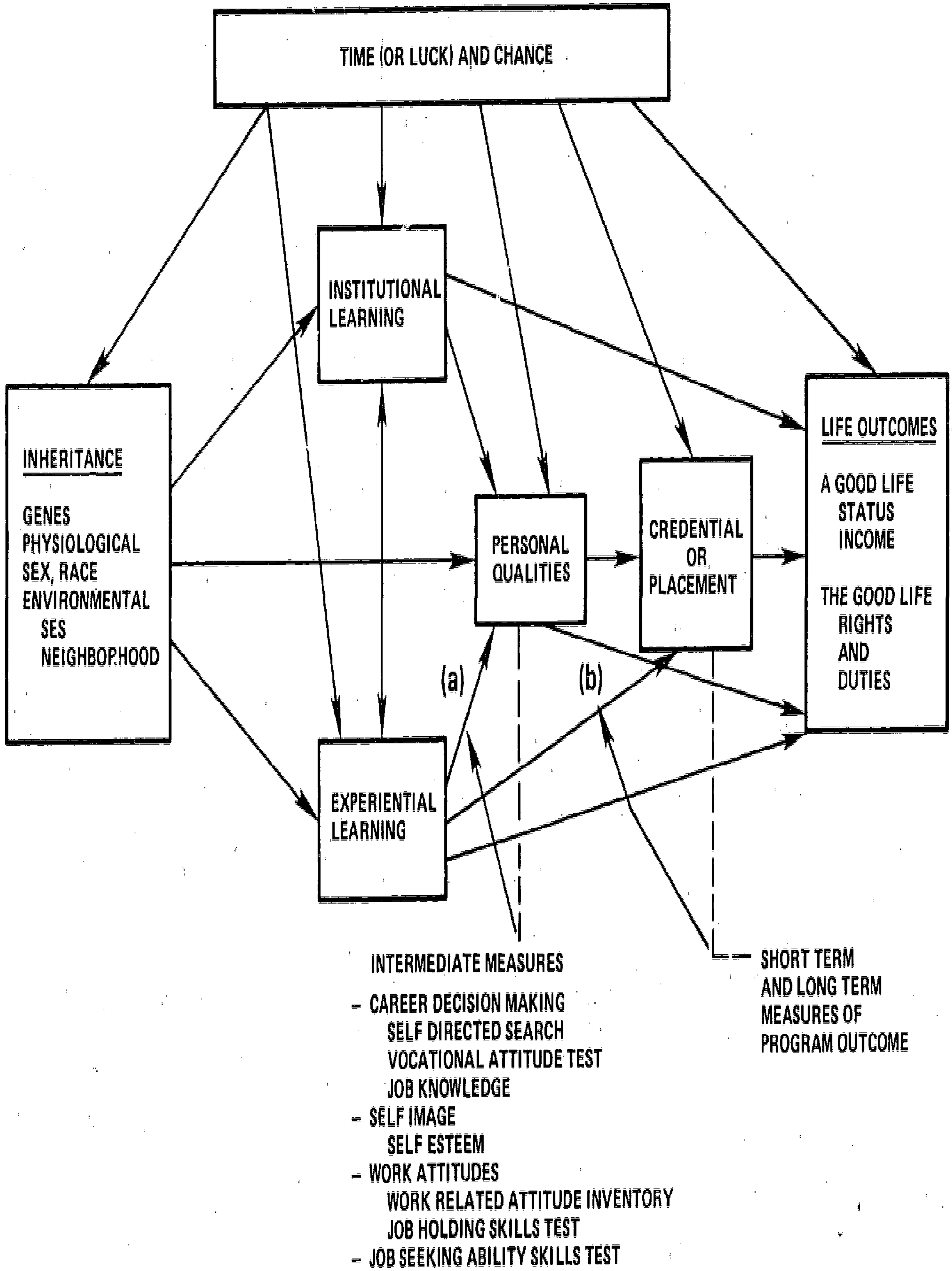
Agonese: Yes, Philosopher, we did, I guess.

Figure 2. JENCK'S PATH MODEL



(white, non-farm males)

Figure 3. ALTERNATIVE PATH MODEL



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Philosopher: And what is the essence of justice, of a just society?

Agonese: Surely it is that there are equal rights and equal opportunity and one person should not profit at the expense of another.

Philosopher: And how should one determine whether there is education that provides equal access to employment and the other things which lead to the good life?

Agonese: Surely in part it is bv whether the differences in employment are not based on race or sex. That could not occur in a society that educates for justice.

Philosopher: And if Black youth are having less access to employment than they did 10 years ago, less participation in the labor force, would you say that our society is becoming more just or less just?

Agonese: I had been thinking that our society is becoming more just but if things are getting worse for Black youth, it cannot be so.

PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON INVESTIGATING THE CONSEQUENCES OF EXPERIENTIAL EDUCATION

Evaluating Experiential Education: Which Part of the Elephant Should We Study?

Samuel H. Osipow
The Ohio State University

Evaluation research always presents very special problems. The word evaluation has some connotations which contribute to the special problems of evaluation research. According to my dictionary, to evaluate is defined as to determine, set the amount of, or to appraise.

The definition implies not only the connotation that the results of the process of evaluation will describe the outcomes in terms of the adequacy of achieving some objectives, but it also includes judgments about the utility, value, etc. of the objectives themselves. Therefore, in evaluation research one needs to distinguish between the activity in terms of its adequacy defined in terms of meeting stated goals (methods), and adequacy in terms of social utility (inherent value).

Were these the only problems associated with evaluation research, we would be in sufficient difficulty to be uncomfortable. As it is, additional problems plague us as well. Most evaluation research projects are conducted in a field setting. Field settings involve uncontrollable variables, uncontrollable stimuli, uncontrollable outcome measures, heterogeneous populations, and heterogeneous deliverers of the intervention under evaluation.

Knowing this we continue to engage in evaluation research partly because custom requires it and partly because the heavy investment of society in programs requires us to do what we can to assess the outcomes of our efforts.

With respect to experiential education, the problems mentioned above abound. First, an adequate definition of experiential education is required. Putting the two key words together (experiential and education) we get:

> pertaining to or derived from experience (personally encountering something)
>
> and
>
> the act (process) of imparting . . . general . . . or specific knowledge . . .
>
> Thus, together there is the element of acquiring knowledge through personal encounter rather than remote or vicarious exposure.

Second, we recognize that experiential education can occur in a wide array of contexts and in connection with very heterogeneous populations. Just a brief exposure to several models associated with experiential education reveals that for some, experiential education involves exposure to the world of work in very limited structured ways. For others it involves a very extensive processing of that interaction.

Experiential education can occur at a variety of developmental periods. For some individuals it occurs during the high school years, for others in college, and for others even beyond.

The outcomes desired for experiential education vary, largely as a function of all of the above; that is, the population, the developmental stage of the student, and the purposes for which the program has been designed. In considering what would be a useful approach to the task of writing the present paper, I decided to focus only on the career related aspects of experiential education. This decision reflects partly the emphases of the programs that the National Center displayed in orienting the panel to the task as well as my own research and writing, which has focused on career development. Of course, experiential education has implications other than the career development context.

Intuitively, experiential education makes sense. Objectively, as with most social interventions, experiential education is difficult to justify with hard data.

I would suggest that one first step in dealing with these limitations involves specifying the theoretical context within which we wish to understand how careers develop; the second step is specifying how experiential education may contribute to the development of careers with the chosen theoretical context. More specifically, were we able to identify constructs associated with effective functioning in one's prevocational or vocational life, we might be more successful in tailoring objectives, criteria, and methods to assess outcomes associated with these constructs than by simply accepting the notion that experiential education can be assessed in a field setting without a theoretical rationale.

To that end, in this paper I propose to briefly describe four contemporary approaches to thinking about how careers develop and to briefly show how these four conceptions might relate to evaluations of experiential education in terms of the appropriateness of populations to be studied, the objectives of experiential education within the framework of each approach and a target population, and criteria for assessing the outcomes of theoretically based interventions associated with a target population.

The four theories that I will describe and try to apply in this fashion are the Work Adjustment Theory (Lofquist and Dawis, 1969), Social Learning approaches to career behavior (best exemplified by Krumboltz, et al., 1976), Super's Career Development Theory (most recently fully described in 1963), and Holland's Person-Environment Theory of career development (1973).

Theories

The first of the career development theories to be considered to evaluate experiential education is Super's theory (1963). Super has proposed a general model of career development which includes two basic elements: Self-concept implementation through career and the progress of the individual through a variety of developmental stages, each associated with the acquisition of specific vocational and prevocational related skills.

The developmental emphasis of the approach speaks to the question of expectations society holds about how the individual should behave at various times and what decisions, skills to implement those decisions, and outcomes in terms of performance capabilities the individual should have.

The self-concept aspect of the theory speaks to the question of the underlying continuity of the individual's career related behaviors through the life span. In other words, while specific behaviors the individual engages in while in the career as opposed to the prevocational decision stage might vary, the unifying element is the fact that fundamentally the individual's self-concept is stable (or at least changes very slowly) and thus allows the prediction of individual behaviors at various times of life to be made with the expectation of some accuracy.

Super specifies the vocational stages in moderate detail; one focuses on the late adolescent period. For example, one would expect a number of rather specific events to be occurring which might have relevance for experiential education during the ages of 14 to 18. Furthermore, these would be somewhat different than those vocational development events that are expected to occur between 18 and 22 years, and so on.

In sum, Super's theory applied to experiential education logically leads to the design of experiential education programs with the acquisition of fairly highly specific vocational developmental skills in mind. Thus, these skills which have been detailed, could lead to program design [illegible] llowing the evaluation of the program's impact on individuals in terms of the specific skills predic[illegible] The self-concept component is less important in the design and evaluation of experiential edu[illegible] programs from Super's persp[illegible]ctive, although a sub-dimension of self-concept, self esteem, [illegible]t be expected to be modified as a function of experiential education and this could be still [illegible] feature to be examined as an outcome variable.

The second conceptual approach to career development that might be applied to the assessment of experiential education has been proposed by John Holland (1973). Holland's theory is a person-environment approach to understanding how people select and function in career areas. According to Holland, people are motivated to find a congruence between themselves and their environment in terms of six personality types and six corresponding work environments Holland has proposed. Ultimately, the criterion of the theory rests on the degree to which the person finds a suitable match between the environment and his or her personality type.

Thus, one principle element sought is a process by which the individual can explore work environments and determine the degree to which various possibilities are indeed a good match to personality. Applied to experiential education, the principle focus would be on the exploration of work environments in terms of environmental and interpersonal characteristics in order to find those that would or would not be congruent with the individual's personality. The criterion for Holland's theory is the prediction of a specific career choice in terms of a field which is presumably a good match; this objective contrasts with Super's model which tries to predict not so much a specific choice but rather aims to improve the *process* by which the decision is made.

The next theory that may be considered is the Work Adjustment Theory proposed by Lofquist and Dawis. Lofquist and Dawis tried to develop a trait oriented approach to predict work assessment in terms of job tenure. They based this theory on several assumptions. First, they assumed that individuals seek to achieve and maintain a correspondence between their work environment and their personal characteristics. (This is similar to Holland.) The correspondence is reflected in job tenure, where tenure is a function of the individual and the environment, $t = f(I = E)$.

To the degree that the individual is able to maintain equality between him/herself and the environment, the individual will be satisfied and will be satisfactory in performance. Satisfactoriness is defined externally in terms of quality of performance and acceptability to others.

Satisfaction is defined internally in terms of the degree to which the work process and the work setting provide desirable outcomes for the individual. Thus, in contrast to Super's theory which focuses on the *choice process* and Holland's theory which focuses on the *choice content,* the Lofquist and Dawis theory focuses on *work stability*.

Lofquist and Dawis speak to the question of how the individual's work personality develops. They propose that on the basis of a recycling series of events beginning at birth, the individual develops a unique set of individual needs which are differentially reinforced by different work, school and social environments. Between the early school years through the end of high school and leading to employment, a correspondence, or lack of it, between the individual and the work or school environment becomes increasingly individualized, differentiated, and complex. Considering experiential education in terms of Lofquist and Dawis' approach would require the assessment of the potential psychological needs, potential ability demands, and the correspondence between the two that any given work situation generates for an individual. Experiential education for the late adolescent then would focus on the identification of a degree to which the individual is able to function satisfactorily and with satisfaction in the work situation.

The last of these theories I would like to suggest for consideration of our purposes is the Social Learning approach to career development (Krumboltz, et al., 1976). This approach is based on interaction between genetic factors, the environment, learning, cognitive emotional responses, and performance skills. It assumes that at each decision point the decider has one or more options and that the personal environmental factors noted above shape the number and the nature of these options as well as the responses the individual can bring to bear in dealing with them.

The four ingredients of choice are genetic endowment and special inherent attributes such as race, sex, physical appearance, etc. The second ingredient includes environmental conditions and events such as social, cultural, political, and economic factors. The third ingredient consists of learning experiences of an instrumental variety where an individual acts on the environment and of an associative variety where the individual reacts to stimuli. The fourth set of ingredients are the task approach skills which each individual brings to bear to any new task. These are defined in terms of work standards, values, work habits, and cognitive processes and so on.

The approach focuses on three sets of propositions which deal with how careers are planned, how career responses are acquired, and how implementation responses are acquired. The approach is largely a reinforcement approach which differentially speaks to the question of the individual's development of a preference for a particular career area in terms of having been reinforced for associated activities, seeing models reinforced for associated activities, for having models reinforce the individual for indicating an interest in associated activities, and for exposure to positive stimuli associated with particular activities. A corollary set of propositions in terms of the negative possibilities is similarly proposed. A second proposition set deals with how the individual learns the cognitive performance and emotional responses needed for individual planning, again in terms of a decreasing hierarchy of direct reinforcement and vicarious reinforcement.

The third set deals with how the individual learns to implement a preference, again in terms of a descending hierarchy of reinforcement associated with actions of an implementation sort.

Here the focus is on *learning a sequence of skills* appropriate to the arrangement of relevant career decision and implementation activities. Applied to an experiential education context, this approach would lead to the specification of the particular skills and behaviors desired in a given work setting and the presentation of appropriate reinforcements for the individual who engages in the appropriate responses in order to develop and shape the desired behaviors.

Applications

In terms of the four theories stated above, the following similar statements can be made along several key dimensions. We can speak about the general goals of the theory; the goals in terms of what should be occurring during the 14 to 18 year age period (the principle period associated with most of the experiential education programs); the kinds of methods that would be tied to the theory; and the criteria for evaluation.

If we wanted to extend experiential education into the 18 to 22 year period, we might have to revise somewhat the goals and since there are many experiential education programs conducted at the university level, this might be worth doing. However, what follows below is designed more to be an example of how one might proceed than it is to be a final and defensive statement of goals, methods, and so on, tied to theory. The objective of this exercise is to demonstrate how to begin to design an evaluation or assessment component associated with an experiential education project that would be related to a particular conception of what should be going on in career development during a particular period in time related to a particular set of activities, and related to a particular set of outcomes.

Super's theory has as its general objectives the development of decisional skills. During the 14 to 18 year period the goals associated with Super's theory are a general furthering of vocational maturity. This vocational maturity can be seen in several specific behaviors such as the development of exploration skills which result in an accumulation of self and environmental knowledge; the development of implementation skills, that is identification of and acquisition of associated skills related to putting into action decisions that are made; and a reality testing dimension, which is associated with the collection of data concerning one's progress and adequacy having implemented a decision and assessing the data.

In terms of methods associated with experiential education deriving from this position, several possibilities occur. First and foremost there would have to be some cognitive component so that an individual in experiential education would have some overview of what the experience would provide in terms of the general developmental age-related, stage-related goals. Secondly, particularly at the early ages—14, 15, and perhaps 16—there should be a sampling of work activities or experiential education activities so that the individual can begin to differentially relate his or her personal adequacy and satisfaction to a wide range of occupational possibilities. This sampling should begin to narrow toward the end and perhaps become even more specialized at the 17, 18, and beyond level as the individual has accumulated some feedback data regarding his/her adequacy in experiential education.

In addition, there should be systematic and objective feedback associated with the experiential education so that individuals learn not only how satisfied they are with the activities, but along what dimensions this satisfaction exists, and how it varies along the dimensions. Finally, there should be some performance feedback for the individual.

The criteria that can be used to evaluate experiential education from Super's point of view would be exemplified by the following: (1) How much information does the individual actually have subsequent to the activity about the occupational areas in which he/she was engaged? (2) What kinds of vocational maturity gains have there been in terms of such things as scores on the Career Maturity Inventory, or the Career Decision Scale (Osipow et al., etc.)? (3) What kinds of implementation and decisional skills does the individual have that can be brought to bear at the next stage of decision making?

Holland's Theory

The general goal of Holland's theory is the development of a congruence between the individual and the environment. Specifically, during any age period individuals have the goal of identifying the optimum environmental match for their personality type. At the 14 to 18 year period this optimum matching process would be reflected in terms of exploring the various environments in a manner similar to the way Super describes, through a sampling of work setting activities but not an immersion in a particular single activity. However, this sampling would be focused on those activities that fall into the individual's general high point career area, rather than be buckshot across-the-board sampling. Super's sampling, in contrast, might be broader in nature.

The methods used would be largely competency stretching; efforts to engage the individuals in activities which will broaden the range of competencies and types of activities that they have experienced and have perfected.

The outcomes of the objectives can be assessed in terms of improvements in the match between the individual's environment and the individual's personality type. Measures such as the Self-Directed Search and the Vocational Preference Inventory, both instruments tied to Holland's theory, would be pertinent used in conjunction with the *Job Finder*, also developed by Holland.

The *Lofquist and Dawis theory* has as its general goal the development and prediction of job tenure in the individual. Lofquist and Dawis assumed that to the degree that the individual is well suited for an occupational activity, job tenure will be longer. More specifically, during the 14 to 18 year period, the individual is developing a work personality which will plug into a general equation leading eventually to predictions about job tenure. During this period of the development of the work personality, the individual is acquiring knowledge about and getting feedback about personal abilities, job ability requirements, personal needs and the needs satisfaction potential of various job and scholastic activities.

Applied to experiential education, the methods involved would include sampling a wide range of activities and identifying how one stands with respect to abilities, needs, and productivity in various work and school types of settings.

The criteria would be increased knowledge of work requirements in terms of ability demands, increased knowledge of the needs potential of a variety of work settings, and increased self knowledge concerning ability and needs potential. These can be measured by a variety of instruments associated with the Lofquist and Dawis theory, such as the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire, the Job Description Questionnaire, and so on. Ultimately, one is trying to predict occupational satisfaction and occupational satisfactoriness. This can be enhanced (in the 14 to 18 age range) through experiential education by means of helping individuals *process* the needs ability dimensions for themselves and for the world around them.

The *Social Learning theory,* best exemplified by the work of John Krumboltz, et al., has the general objective of the development of decision making skills. More specifically, at any age range, decision making skills involve an information search which leads to the generation of as many alternatives as possible followed by an identification of the most satisfactory outcomes of these alternatives. The methods primarily involve the impact of real role models and reinforcement of appropriate behaviors. The Social Learning method lends itself especially well to the experiential education format in that the workers and supervisors provide excellent potential role models and also provide excellent potential reinforcing agents when behaviors are exhibited that are desirably reinforced. The outcomes associated with this approach are primarily the generation of increased numbers of alternatives and increased skill in evaluating these alternatives. Ultimately, an improvement in decisional skills in terms of greater reality, generating more alternative possibilities, and so on would result.

There is a great deal of overlap and similarity in the general terms associated with these theories. What is important to recognize is that with some considerable analysis and attention it is possible to devise a somewhat different orientation towards experiential education in the context of each of these different approaches. The details associated with what one would be trying to accomplish at a different age range than the 14 to 18 period might be slightly different from each of these perspectives. What would be clearly different would be the kinds of measures of the outcomes that are desired and tnis would be associated with some slightly different sets of objectives such as with decisional skills in terms of Super and Krumboltz, information about self in terms of Lofquist and Dawis, and identifying work environment directions from Holland's perspective. Depending upon your objectives, depending upon the conception held of what is appropriately done at a given age range, one will have different kinds of methods, or will use different kinds of methods, and will assess them differently.

What is also important from this perspective is that there has to be a cognitive processing dimension which accompanies experiential education so that the student doesn't merely get thrown into a work setting but is exposed to a systematic and consistent opportunity to discuss, to think, to analyze, and to observe the experience that he/she is having in terms of the kinds of objectives and criteria that are desired under the guidance of a professional educator.

Another feature to be noted is that there may be different kinds of students who would profit differentially from experiential education emphasizing each of these different theoretical approaches. In other words, one student might gain more from an experiential education based on Holland's theory whereas another might do better from the Social Learning or the Lofquist and Dawis or the Super approach. It is even possible that an individual at one stage might best profit from a Super-oriented approach and at another stage that same person might profit more from another approach. Overall, using a theoretical conception offers the possibility or increases the possibility of individually tailoring programs to meet student individual needs.

Some Additional Considerations

In terms of evaluating any intervention program, there is another set of issues that has to be considered. Experiential education has problems which parallel those of counseling and psychotherapy outcome studies. One of the problems that has been encountered by many psychologists in trying to evaluate and assess the outcomes of counseling and psychotherapeutic interventions has been that when group data are aggregated many of the gains that are made by individual clients are cancelled because one client's goal is another client's deficit. When we combine client goals and attributes we often discover that we can measure no net change for the group. In other words, we may be counseling one student to become more socially skilled and to interact more with people and another student to focus more on academic performance. We might discover that the socially active student who seeks to develop better social skills finds his or her grades going down while the other student's grades go up but social skills decrease. If we use grades and social skills as criteria for both students they will end up with the net of zero change. What we need to do is to use individuals as their own baseline control and then aggregate in terms of the particular objectives that we are trying to achieve. We should avoid trying to measure abstract and trait-oriented constructs such as personality change, partly because these are difficult to measure validly and reliably, and also because most of our interventions, even assuming the validity of personality organization as an outcome goal, are not likely to have much impact on those constructs. What we need to do is make explicit the kind of changes we wish to achieve for each client or class of students and work to measure that particular behavioral change.

Experiential education has the same set of problems. One student's need may not be the same as another's. We must tailor our outcome measures to the kinds of needs that we see individual students displaying and then evaluate the interventions in terms of those needs and aggregate only common objectives and not across objectives. In particular, we should avoid using as outcome measures abstractions such as personality traits and so on unless we have specific reasons to have decided that those are the objectives we wish to focus on.

Recommendations

In reviewing the four theories I have presented to illustrate how one might conceive experiential education programs from a career development theory framework, several implications seem evident. First, the age range on which one chooses to focus would appear to be significant in selecting a theoretical framework. In my opinion, the 14 to 18 year range for programming might best apply some aspects of the Lofquist and Dawis framework. Here the criteria for personal development in terms of exploring needs and abilities and measuring improvement in terms of the extensive series of instruments that Lofquist and Dawis have developed would be very applicable. Programmatic experiences could be planned in terms of self exploration and environmental exploration and growth and change could be measured very easily. For the 18 to 22 year age range the framework proposed by John Holland seems to me to be very *apropos*. Here, exploration of new fields and environments and an accelerated assessment of one's competencies would seem in order as a program guide. The instruments that Holland has developed and modified, such as the Vocational Preference Inventory, the Self Directed Search, and the Holland Scales on the Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory, all provide handy devices to measure outcomes.

As an overall framework, social learning theory seems very apt, but seems most useful in planning individual experiential education programs where the task is to find a way to individually tailor an opportunity to explore the work environment. The social learning approach seems useful in its emphasis on individual as opposed to group process.

A word is also in order in terms of the exclusiveness of the constructs that I have suggested in this paper. I have focused on career development concepts in psychology and not on the larger psychological theories, such as social learning theory in general or other personality theories. I have done so not because I think these other theories are inappropriate but rather because the career development theories have more heuristic value in planning experiential education programs. A creative psychological theorist might very well choose to build experiential programming on the basis of more fundamental psychological theories than I have chosen to do in this particular effort.

Summary

What has been proposed here is a conception of experiential education based on career development theory. Any such conception can lead to a program, objectives, and outcomes measures, that are logically related and internally consistent. It is suggested that such a strategy is more likely to lead to effective program assessment than strategies used heretofore.

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EVALUATOR—ACTION ORIENTED

The group's reaction to this presentation led to the conclusion that for the practitioner there are at least three benefits in the use of a career development model: (1) what to look for, (2) how to organize the investigation, and (3) an ability to make sensible choices about the instruments to use in the investigations. On the practical side, the group wanted to know where to get the instruments. Concern was expressed with the limitations imposed by using one of the career models described by Dr. Osipow. The work adjustment theory and Holland's theory are all right if you are Plato seeking to pigeonhole people at four levels of the republic. But how can you pigeonhole people in our society where the marketplace determines what you will be five, ten, even twenty years from now? Another limitation of a career model is that most school districts do not have unlimited resources for students to pursue the full range of career exploration and preparation. The group was also concerned that once a model would be chosen and implemented, practitioners would not like what was happening. It seems that the real payoff for knowing the effects of the programs on students is much farther down the line. A final concern was whether the use of the four theories requires planned cognition by the students so they can internalize what they learn. Would they generalize these abilities?

EXPERIENTIAL EDUCATOR—ACTION ORIENTED

The group discussed the usefulness of a systematic design. However, if one chooses and implements a career development model, many effects would only show up in a longitudinal study. A three-year follow-up on job placement is nice, but as a program director you are lucky to have one or two years to show the funding agency that something is happening. This is especially difficult when the agency requires black and white evidence on affective outcomes. Another difficulty is going into the community and talking about models and conceptual designs. One measure being used is frequency counts, but they rarely satisfy school boards, who represent the heaviest firing lines faced by practitioners. School boards often ask for the kind of hard data that they do not even expect in their own professions. Part of the burden is not to succumb to such pressure.

EXPERIENTIAL EDUCATOR—CONCEPTUALIZER

The pragmatic conceptualizers got right down to the task; the consensus was remarkable. The group felt that a better definition of experiential education was needed and produced the following emphases: it emphasizes the out-of-school rather than in-school, informal rather than formal settings, hands-on learning experiences, learning through role models, relating to people outside one's age group. Concerns are broader than career development. Agreement was particularly strong that any conceptualization needs to pay close attention to expected outcomes. The psychological theories presented should be useful in specifying outcomes, designing programs, and identifying the premises of those programs. The caveat was added that theories have serious limitations; they include only their own view of the world. An attempt to defend the implications of some theories might be uncomfortable. The group developed two areas on which they would like Dr. Osipow to elaborate. First, what other psychological theories should be harnessed for the task of articulating program characteristics and outcomes. Second, before we accept any one theory, an environmental impact statement would be helpful to avoid ending up with a set of outcomes that we might be uncomfortable defending.

EVALUATOR—CONCEPTUALIZER

Regarding the last idea presented, our group's example was that a program may begin with the stated goal of raising students' awareness level about career options, yet students emerge from the program with a solidified career goal or wanting to explore six or seven more options. Can these outcomes be defended? Second, concern exists about the relationship between theories and program implementors. Teachers, coordinators, site people, and students may not understand the theories being used or the charge they have been given, which results in more difficulty predicting outcomes. Is it wiser to use a theory with a fine focus or a broad perspective? Super and Holland's theories are perhaps too narrow; the social learning theories, more broadly stated and open, seem preferable. Third, to address definitional issues, the group proposes a four-celled picture in which consequences have a positive or negative aspect in one dimension and intended or unintended outcomes in the other. It seems the emphasis is usually on the positive, intended cell, investigating it via quantifiable research methods. Perhaps one could investigate the other three cells with qualitative data such as testimonials from students, teachers, parents, site personnel. A final issue raised is that experiential education can be viewed as a teaching technique rather than a philosophical entity.

Psychological Peer Summation

Harold L. Henderson
Appalachia Educational Laboratory

It's a pleasure to be here to participate with you in this Symposium. I think that one of the very best decisions that was made concerning this conference was having people like Dr. Osipow, who as you know was an editor of the *Journal of Vocational Behavior,* an author of many articles, the author of a one-of-a-kind book on *Vocational Development,* and more recently on *Emerging Women,* a very current issue. The next best decision that was made here was to have groups like these sit together and discuss insights from sociology, anthropology, economics, and career development in terms of experiential education. Half in jest, let me suggest that the worst decision that was made was to have a reactor, who comes on after the feedback of each of the groups! Utilizing the tremendous talent that has been gathered here and working with one another at each table, conclusions are drawn, and then we expect someone to come up here and add at least one more brilliant insight to those already given. Nonetheless, I still am delighted to be with you. I had one advantage over you; I received a copy of Dr. Osipow's paper last night. Some of his best material was left out in his presentation today. Although he did a very fine job, given the time limit, in hitting the high points, there were some subtleties and some other points you must read when you get a copy of his paper. In it he closed his loops and drew his conclusions very nicely.

There are two things that I want to say immediately which, while repetitious, belong in a reaction or summary. In the opening remarks, Dr. Osipow discussed evaluation and experiential education giving very brief definitions of both, and I'd like just to add a couple of pieces of information that we all know but sometimes forget. In view of the purposes of this conference and these opening remarks, let us make sure that we understand that it is not as though we have not been evaluating experiential education and with some degree of success. And let us make it very clear that experiential education is much, much broader than work-study programs. I think the evidence is all around us on both scores. Just to mention one set of formative and summative evaluations, as accomplished by the four laboratories that developed one kind of experiential education, we know as a consequence of case studies, interviews, adversary hearings, audit activities, cost studies, and a tremendous variety of other types of evaluation techniques, that Experience-Based Education works. The Joint Review and Dissemination Panel from OE and NIE utilized these data and did approve the four EBCE models.

The second bit of information has to do with the depth and breadth of experiential education; I want to make sure that those of you who haven't read the literature be sure you read some of Grant Venn's remarks which have been published in many places, and while they deal more specifically with work-study, also show the breadth of experiential education. Dr. Osipow suggests Experiential Education varies from "limited, structured exposure to the world of work to extensive processing of that interaction." It *can* be much more. While Dr. Venn puts it into a work-study perspective, he has shown that "it can become another way that youth achieves many learnings necessary to become adult in his work life as well as his personal and public life," as well as giving us a list of the multiple opportunities it provides for work experience learning. These include the young (1) testing their knowledge and skill in the real world, (2) being involved in consequential activities, (3) working with peers, (4) assuming responsibility for the welfare of others, (5) trying out new social roles, etc. (1976). I am sure you noted from Dick Graham's remarks this morning, that he has been a longtime student of action learning or experiential learning, that he has written voluminous materials on the subject, and his conceptualizations extend way beyond work study.

The reason why "certain kinds of action-learning may have good and lasting effect is that they provide experiences in taking on new roles in society," require new perspectives and go beyond the announced goals of the programs: increased career maturity, psychosocial maturity, self concept and achievement motivation (Graham, 1974).

Morris Keeton, Robert Sexton, who is here, and others, have pointed out that "experience" and "learning" were separated 700 years ago in terms of definitions, but actually vocational training, [illegible] training, apprenticeship relationships and even the earliest scholarly training (before the universities got hold of it) was indeed experiential. I have an interesting little quote here that I just have to force on you from Chickering's recent little pamphlet (1977) in which, quoting Cyril Houl on a highly experiential and competency based curriculum that existed among the knights of the Round Table, he points out:

> The Squire must be able to "Spring upon a horse while fully armed, to exercise himself in running, to strike for a length of time with the axe, or club, to dance and do somersaults entirely armed except for his helmet, to mount on horseback behind one of his comrades by barely laying his hands on his sleeve; to raise himself betwixt two partition walls to any height . . . to mount a ladder . . . upon the reverse or underside, solely by the aid of his hands . . . to throw the javelin and to pitch the bar (Keeton, 1976).

Other formal applications of Experiential Education: there is the Cooperative Assessment of Experiential Learning project, CAEL, begun in 1973 and at the university level, and there is Phi Delta Kappa's *Walkabout*; in fact there have been a host of programs, most of which whether by testimony or by somewhat harder kinds of evidence, have been judged successful.

I am sure all of you know that experiential education dates at least back to John Dewey. Dewey pointed out as early as 1916 that, "There is a strong temptation to assume that presenting subject matter in its perfected form provides a royal road to learning." and again, "Only in education, never in the life of a farmer, physician, laboratory experimenter, does knowledge mean primarily a store of information aloof from doing." Whether one uses Dewey or Jean Piaget or Jerome Bruner, one gets solid psychological and educational theoretical constructs for supporting this kind of education.

On the other hand, I recently picked up a 1971 textbook on contributions of psychology to education from Columbia University, by most of their best professors; there's not one single reference in it to experiential education, in spite of the fact that some of the early believers in learning by doing actually had taught at one time or another at Columbia. I bring that up as the excuse for reminding us all once again of the solid theoretical constructs, and historical supports that exist for Experientical Education.

Now I want to react a bit to Dr. Osipow's concise and useful summaries of several career development theories. First, I was particularly pleased at his selection and his helpful abstraction of ideas most relevant to experiential education. I am proud to have been a part of the Career Pattern Study team in its earliest days, to have had Dr. Super as my mentor and friend, and to have contributed a thesis on father-son identification to Don Super's 1963 self-concept monograph.

Of course, many theories have been proposed in the last 50 years to explain parts of vocational choice and job success. John Crites has reminded us that vocational development theory building really did not begin with Eli Ginzberg in 1951, although during the next 10 years more than a dozen theories had been published in the literature.

Many theories have also been proposed over the years to explain not just career development but human behavior. Not too long ago some theorists believed that the major determinants operated below the level of consciousness and took the form of needs, drives and impulses. Those theories have been criticized on conceptual and empirical grounds. Eventually we have properly invoked the scientific method and established stringent requirements for evaluating explanatory systems. We've said theories must demonstrate predictive power. They must accurately identify the determinants of human behavior as well as discovering the intervening variables or mechanisms responsible for behavioral changes.

The purpose of that little excursion into theory-building generally or into theories of human behavior generally is to make the following statement: that as much as I admire and respect Drs. Super and Krumboltz, and as much as I believe in self-concept theory in decision making and reinforcement theory as useful for studying, researching, and understanding career development itself and the stimuli for counseling relationships, I don't see these theories or any of the others in career development as sufficient for the study of evaluation of or the construction of curriculum in experiential education.

It seems to me that something like Albert Bandura's social learning theory which really can encompass Super and Krumboltz and goes beyond, is very much in order. You'll hear phrases, if you use Albert Bandura's theory, that fit very nicely into Super's and Krumboltz's, dealing with three useful dimensions of the meaning of work: setting, the form of activity and the consequences of activity. Phrases like modeling, level of activity, individualization, self-management, the consequences of behavior, observing others, role models, communicating, learning by doing, self-reliance, attention, punishment, reward. All of these are phrases common to both experiential education and social learning theory. They can cover not only career development but life development as well. Norman Gysbers suggested the need for breadth in the *Personnel and Guidance Journal's* special issue about three or four years ago, and I'm quoting now from the introduction that Gysbers and Moore made to that May, 1975 issue:

> Although current career development theories are more appropriate than traditional ones, most still separate individual's work roles, settings, and events from other roles, settings, and events in their lives. Because of the increasing complexity and interrelatedness of all aspects of society, it no longer seems possible to clearly separate one role from the other, one setting from another, and one event from another. We are thus proposing that the meaning of career be expanded to encompass individual's total lives. [Many] have indicated that the concept of career encompasses a variety of possible patterns of personal choice related to each individual's total life style; its components are occupation, education, personal and social behavior, learning how to learn, social responsibility, and leisure time activities. (Vol. 53, No. 9, p. 648)

Nor would Manaster see career development theories as broad enough for experiential education, since Manaster (1977) separates the demands made upon adolescents into developmental tasks and life tasks. Others (Dinkmeyer and Carlson, 1978) have separated life tasks into (1) love and sex,

(2) work and school, (3) friends and society, (4) self, and (5) the meaning of life. Still others (e.g., Gould, 1977) have identified the developmental tasks as sexual resolution, emancipation from parents, career goals, and personality integration. Havighurst (1972) has combined eight developmental tasks and their associated life tasks. The point of all this is, of course, that experiential education interfaces with both developmental and life tasks and is much broader in scope than career development.

Before closing, I'd like to deal for a few moments with two very interesting and useful insights provided by Dr. Osipow. I was quite struck by a phrase I read in full last night and heard a piece of today, "We need to use individuals as their own baseline control and then aggregate in terms of the particular objectives we are trying to achieve." This to me is a tremendously insightful notion as to how to evaluate, particularly in areas like career maturity, where many people think students must improve their scores but others of us suspect it often shows progress if one changes his or her score. Perhaps the real thing you're looking for is change. Individuals who are too narrow broaden their horizons; individuals who are too broad begin to narrow their sights. After all, occupational choice is a continuing process even though counselors only discovered that about 30 years ago.

Vocational development theory, then, is to my mind not a sufficiently general theory of development, and can not serve as the sole basis for the evaluation of experiential education in all its versions with all its target groups and within the framework of life development.

Another important point to be made, at least by implication, is that it is not only in experiential education that we need *individualized* programs. We need the same thing for youngsters in terms of career development. While it's tough to build practice that fits theory that itself fits the total experiential education alternative in a school system if every youngster is on a different path, in effect we are in EBCE doing it because we do develop individualized programs. So why not have the counselor and/or learning coordinator and/or facilitator and/or teacher involved in the contracting of programs with the youngsters, be so familiar with the details of several career development and/or social learning theories, that he or she is able to communicate to the youngster the theoretical constructs within which the student/client appears to be operating? "Is this the direction that you want to continue in? . . . Here are the kinds of things that you need in the way of experiences to fulfill this, etc." Thus, the facilitator and student achieve not only individualized academics but individualized career development as well. We do something like this in the Appalachia Educational Laboratory's EBCE with the *Student Career Guide.*

The paper and pencil tools for collaborative career development/life development facilitator-student negotiated contracts could be invented. The basic "activity sheet" or contract form or "single page learning activity package" already exists in EBCE! What an interesting direction! Forget evaluation in that context, but think of the individualization, the benefits, and think of the added knowledge that counselors would now have and think of the tremendous amount of research that the evaluators who don't have to evaluate can now do in terms of long-term research, cross comparisons, longitudinal studies—things that will "turn on" evaluators and researchers alike.

In summary, I want to stress that it has been a pleasure for me to talk with you about this very interesting paper by Sam Osipow. I think Dr. Osipow has demonstrated that given more time, he can bring his comprehensive knowledge of career development theories and the studies that support or refute them to bear on experiential education with benefits to us all. His other insights from his vast knowledge of counseling will help us too.

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ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE ON EVALUATING THE CONSEQUENCES OF EXPERIENTIAL EDUCATION

Dollars and Sense

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This symposium is set up to explore alternative approaches to evaluating educational programs.* The need for evaluation is clear: agencies should not fund programs which do not "work" when there are alternative programs which do. Widespread public dissatisfaction with the state of American education, perhaps stimulated by the widely reported decline in test scores of students, is undoubtedly going to force more evaluation of programs and selectivity in funding of programs.

This paper concerns educational evaluation in general and evaluation of "experiential" programs in particular. These programs are diverse, ranging from the Executive High School Internships Program in which high school students spend a few days a week working without pay at an interesting job to programs like Occupational Work Experience (O.W.E.) Training in which participants work during school hours at a paid, but generally much less glamorous job. To the extent that there are goals associated with these programs, and there is a presumption that there are goals of some sort to justify funding (surely funding agencies have not adopted "goal-free" funding), the goals are likely to be different, or at least differently stated. This would seem to imply different data needs and evaluation strategies for the different programs. I will argue below that one basic evaluation strategy will apply to a wide group of programs.

This paper is primarily concerned with measurement of the effects of educational programs on participants. The subsequent translation of these into benefits to be compared with some measure of costs is difficult and a number of important and different issues arise.

I. Earnings as the Appropriate Outcome Measure

Labor market variables, particularly earnings, are appropriate measures with which to estimate the effects of programs for programs with a variety of goals. This measure has been used extensively by economists investigating manpower training programs. A program which achieved practically any sensible goal could be expected to increase participants' earnings. Using the earnings to measure program effects avoids a number of problems associated with constructing and interpreting tests. If a worker has more "maturity" or "know-how" than another worker, then, other things constant, he will have higher earnings. The measure is not perfect; some jobs with more pleasant characteristics or working conditions may pay, as a consequence, less than another job in the same occupation with unpleasant working conditions. Higher earnings does not necessarily correspond exactly to higher productivity; the point to be made here is that earnings are probably the best available measure. Controlling for variations in job conditions could be important in the analysis. Further, not all participants will be affected equally. On average, however, we would expect that if an educational program is successful in achieving any sensible goal (perhaps not the stated goal), then the earnings of the participants will be higher than they would have been in the absence of the program. A key

*I would like to thank Thomas R. Owens for useful comments without implying that he agrees with the views expressed in this paper.

issue, of course, is the appropriate way to measure what earnings would have been in the absence of the program. The issue is discussed in the next section. Of course this issue arises no matter which outcome measure is chosen.

In addition to being more appropriate and less ambiguous than test scores as measures of program effectiveness, earnings are easier to measure. Readings on earnings over several (the more the better) periods on each individual can be used to improve the accuracy of measurement of program effectiveness, much like different tests could be given to reduce errors of measurement of whatever was being tested. To do this with tests, however, requires substantial effort on the part of the evaluator and substantial cooperation from the program participant. Measures of earnings can be made much more easily. Further, repeated observation on earnings can be used to assess the longevity of program effects—does the program reduce turnover and increase earnings in the early period of labor force attainment? If so, does this result in increased earnings over the career? Detailed information on labor-market variables could be combined with regular periodic follow-up information on occupation and earnings to answer these questions. The possibility and usefulness of gathering frequent observations on test scores is remote.

Sometimes educational programs are interpreted as providing participants not only (or perhaps not at all) with information about the job market or with skills, but with information about themselves—that is, the program may help participants to clarify their likes and dislikes sufficiently that they can make decisions with less sampling of things (jobs in this case) they dislike. While the program may not provide regular information about the labor market, to the extent the program is successful, the earnings of the participants will be increased over what it would have been in the absence of participation in the program. Surely we would expect that individuals with better knowledge of their own likes and dislikes, and perhaps better ability to assess likes and dislikes in new situations, would do better in the job market. They would be more sure of themselves and more reliable, and this would result in higher earnings.

Although attention so far has been focused on programs like O.W.E. for which direct labor market data on participants is easily collected, the same analysis could be made on alternative programs. The difficulty is that so much time may intervene between the in-high-school programs for students who go to college and their labor force entry that the program is likely to have little if any effect. However, this may not be true, and sufficient detailed data, which would allow control for intervening events, could be used to measure the effect of these programs. Note that some programs may affect future earnings through their effect on decisions about schooling, choice of college major and so on. This corresponds directly to the effect of O.W.E. on earnings through its effect on occupational choice. Earnings are still the appropriate outcome measure. To the extent that the programs have any effect in training participants to make better decisions and plans, or to be more mature, these will be reflected in higher earnings. Employers will value these abilities, and will be willing to pay for them. Consequently we would expect participants in a successful educational program to have higher earnings than they would have had without participating. Of course this need not be true for each individual participant, due to variations in program effect and unobserved variations in job conditions, but it will hold for the average.

In general, then, we can expect that participants in successful educational programs will have higher earnings than they would have, had they not participated in the programs. This holds for programs with a variety of stated goals. (What plausible goals of an educational program would not lead to higher earnings?) Measurement of earnings is easier than measurement of "know-how," and repeated measurements can be made in order to increase the accuracy of measurement of program effects and to ask more detailed questions about how programs work.

II. Evaluation Strategy and Data Requirements

O... ...is settled ... the question of design arises. Ideally from program and control groups and *not* be told that the experiment was taking place or which group each was in. Their subsequent earnings could be used to estimate program effects by looking at earnings differences over time between participants and nonparticipants. This would be an appropriate measure of the effect of the program because the only systematic difference between participants and controls is that one group was in the program and the other group was not. This basic strategy applies whatever outcome measure is used.

Certain obstacles stand in the way of operating educational programs this way. Identical subjects are not available, participants generally know whether they are in a program, and assignment into programs is, while arguably haphazard, not random. Program managers typically object to running programs as experiments for the convenience of evaluators, preferring to run the program without knowing their effects. This is not an entirely unreasonable position, if the programs have effects then a random assignment to the program is not likely to be an efficient allocation of resources.

The implication of the non-experimental setting for analyzing the program's effectiveness is that preprogram differences between participants and nonparticipants need to be controlled for carefully. The possibility of confusing program effectiveness with the effects of preprogram differences in capabilities between participants and nonparticipants arises. Again, this problem arises whenever non random assignment is used, whatever outcome measure is chosen. In order to try to control statistically for preprogram differences between participants and nonparticipants, as much information as possible should be assembled on individual characteristics. It may then be possible to model selection into the program in such a way as to reduce the possibility of confusing program effects with other effects.

As to labor market information, certainly information on wage rates, occupations, and frequency and duration of spells of unemployment should be assembled. Data should be gathered also on workers entering the same labor market who did not participate in the program. The starting wage at the first job is not itself enough information, follow-up information is necessary. The required data could be assembled by having high school students fill out questionnaires and then surveying them regularly during the post program period. Survey intervals and techniques could be selected on the basis of cost versus accuracy, as usual. Detailed information on job characteristics could be used to standardize earnings measures for variations in working conditions.

Using these data cross-program comparisons can be made by examining program effects as a function of program characteristics. Ideally those program characteristics leading to favorable outcomes can be identified and their use can be expanded; those leading to unfavorable outcomes can be reduced. While it is extremely unlikely that "optimal" programs will result from this strategy, it seems likely that some improvement can be made.

III. Conclusion

The evaluation strategy suggested here is to compare earnings of program participants and nonparticipants. This strategy has been useful to economists evaluating various manpower training programs. The basic idea underlying this strategy is that programs which have any beneficial effects, whatever the stated goals, will result in participants' earnings being higher than they would have been without training.

It is interesting to compare this approach with the "goal-free" approach. In the goal-free approach, stated goals of a program are ignored and the evaluator hunts around looking for all effects of the program. The motivation for this approach is that programs may fail to accomplish a specific goal but may have beneficial effects other than on the stated goal. An evaluation which concentrated attention on the specific stated goal may fail to notice the other effects of the program; in principal a goal-free evaluation would find these other effects. The difficulty associated with goal-free evaluation is that there are a lot of potential effects to look for and no evaluation can hope to examine a program for all possible effects. However, earnings comparisons provide a convenient natural method of examining the effects of a program. Whatever positive effects a program has are likely to be reflected in earnings increases. Earnings differences provide measures of net program effectiveness. Given that

FEEDBACK

EVALUATOR—CONCEPTUALIZER

Looking at income as *the* most important variable presents a rather narrow scope. With the long time lag between programs and wage information, the wage increase is less attributable to program success.

There are other variables that could be included; for example, assessing those things which contribute to higher wages, as opposed to looking at higher wages as an indicator of program success. One comment that bears mentioning is the fact that experiential programs exist which have nothing to do with getting a job. For example, there are programs that deal with becoming a better citizen or contibuting to society in a different way.

EVALUATOR—ACTION ORIENTED

The group related this idea of a single measure to Dr. Osipow's point that one might use earnings as the outcome variable of interest for those program participants who have as a major goal increasing their earnings. This would be one way of matching an outcome measure with particular individuals. However, evaluations of the Neighborhood Youth Corps and Job Corps do not give cause for optimism about the ease of doing that kind of evaluation or of the power of the program to have an economic effect. The group questions several of Dr. Kiefer's assumptions. If Paul Barton were here, he might raise the question, for example, that job mobility of seventeen to twenty-one year olds is a result not of their conscious choice and search for information, but rather employer prejudice against hiring people under the age of twenty-one. There is also the possibility that a settling-down process takes place after twenty-one, and that people stop changing jobs so often because it is not practical. They are married; they have economic commitments; they don't have the freedom that they had earlier. It would be interesting to know whether those people who have moved from job to job in that period wind up in jobs which provide more satisfaction and higher earnings than those who do not go through that job-shopping process.

EXPERIENTIAL EDUCATOR— CONCEPTUALIZER

Many employers do value the kinds of things that schools are trying to achieve, which we saw as Dr. Kiefer's basic argument. The group recognized the practical arguments about the convenience of the economic measure versus others, however, it was felt that it's just not that simple to pull off. Noted also was that if a school system is under the gun for accountability to the community, earnings have an appeal that might carry the day when it is time for voting on tax reform. One assumes that education increases the competence of an individual to perform, and that this is valued by employers. On the other hand, some say that the effects of schooling are not to increase competence, but to provide a certifying effect. If that is the true effect, then the whole argument will fall flat. One assumes that the graduates of these programs will seek to maximize the earning potential they gain from the program. If they opt for alternative work styles, for job sharing, for situations in which money is not the attraction, the correlation will not hold. The group also observed that if an evaluation of a particular program is conducted in this manner and shows no effect, the evaluator will be unable to say whether it was the hypothesis or its implementation which was faulty.

EXPERIENTIAL EDUCATOR— ACTION ORIENTED

The presentation was taken as a definite suggestion to get our house in order by being able to use cost-benefit analysis. The group would also like to use job satisfaction, knowledge, and skill transferability when measuring some of these things. One of the most valuable selling points for experiential learning is that it can decrease the job-shopping situation. On the other hand, developing options for students may increase their mobility both horizontally and vertically, and it is not known whether that increases job-shopping. Nevertheless, eliminating job-shopping would decrease the personal costs, employer costs, and the cost to society since it would remove the need for unemployment compensation and welfare among program participants. Who is going to fund this massive analysis—program developers, employers, HEW? Going back to the Keynote Address, socioeconomic background creates more chances for a student than anything that can be done in experiential learning. Two surveys of employers were done recently in Texas and Ohio and each came back saying the same thing you were saying about self-concept. Those individuals who are most employable and have the most job satisfaction are those who have a strong work ethic. Skill level does not always make a good employee. Finally, the group felt that income finds its worth as a categorization tool rather than as an evaluation tool. The group believes a primary goal of experiential education is to motivate individuals to learn, with wages as a secondary goal.

Economic Peer Summation

Robert Eckert
National Institute of Education

When I found out yesterday that I was going to be here today, and that I was going to be on at 4:30, I realized that I should be either very good or very brief. I think I'll try to be very brief rather than very good. What I think Nick has raised here today is that there is a very simple, straightforward, rational approach at looking at experiential education programs. That is simply comparing earnings between participants and nonparticipants. Now this approach is one of perhaps many that could be tried and although it may seem very simple as some people have suggested here today, it may well be more complex than we really know. We have tried this approach in other cases and in other programs and it has proved difficult. Some people consider this approach to be somewhat narrow in scope and focus. This is probably very true, but at some point in time you have to delimit your area of inquiry. Nonetheless, I suspect that the participants here at this conference would like to look at other variables and I'm sure Nick would like to discuss them with you later. Thank you.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON INVESTIGATING THE CONSEQUENCES OF EXPERIENTIAL EDUCATION

Cultures within Cultures

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Thinking up alternative methods for evaluating educational phenomena in the Midwest of the United States sounds rather out of character for an anthropologist, whom one might more commonly expect to find examining the ceremonial practices of an exotic group of people living in a remote and faraway place of which few have heard. In addition to the fact that the anthropologist seems out of place in an American classroom, the style and methods of anthropological research are diametrically opposed to those of the traditional educational evaluator of the pretest-posttest variety. Sojourning for extended periods of time with unfamiliar people in unfamiliar environments, learning the language, seeking to understand different kinship terminologies and behaviors, untangling complicated social structures and systems of authority, observing the ways in which the ecology shapes the culture, and trying to perceive the logic and meanings of a totally new belief system and worldview are the stuff of anthropology. In fact, the extended fieldwork experience in some exotic place has traditionally been the rite of passage that has transformed a student of anthropology into a true anthropologist.

So, what are anthropologists doing looking at something as low on the exoticism scale as an American school system? Even in its more novel elements, such as the non-traditional (even sometimes anti-traditional) experiential education programs, American education hardly seems to compare with Tiwi puberty rites, for example. But then maybe it does through the eyes of an anthropologist.

Trained to learn to understand unfamiliar cultures by seeking to distinguish and analyze their constituent elements they can use their tools and theories to do the same thing in a more familiar culture, even their own. The basic premise of anthropology is cultural relativism, according to which all societies, from the most technologically simple hunters and gatherers, to the most technologically complicated post-industrial societies, involve the same basic functions and institutions. There is always a linguistic system able to express complicated concepts, a social structure that categorizes individuals into groups and prescribes and proscribes certain behaviors and attitudes vis-a-vis different social categories, a political system that regulates social behavior, a scientific and technological system by means of which humans figure out and adapt nature to their needs as they define them, a system of beliefs about the natural and supernatural worlds and their interrelationships, and a system of socialization/education that shapes children to become proper members of the society. As a result of studying other societies, anthropologists acquire a novel perspective that can enable them to analyze their own society as if they were discovering it for the first time. Thus they should be able to see the commonplace as well as the unusual event in a familiar setting as a result of learning to see both in an unfamiliar setting.

CULTURES WITHIN CULTURES

Horace Miner's very astute article entitled, "Body Ritual Among the Nacirema" (1956), is a prime example of the anthropologist's ability to describe a very familiar society in the same terms as he/she wou..u any other exotic society, since exoticism or familiarity is basically a matter of perspective and style of description. Nacirema body rituals include paying daily homage to a sacred shrine, a private one of which is located in each family dwelling. At this shrine the males of the society scrape the hair off their faces with sharpened bits of metal, the females paint their faces several colors, and both sexes put bundles of pig hairs in their mouth in order to assure their sex appeal. Periodically the Nacirema visit the more sacred shrines of the holy mouth men who bore holes in their teeth with sharp pieces of metal and introduce unknown substances with magical powers into the holes. The Nacirema, who live between Mexico and Canada, have numerous other bizarre sounding customs.

In recent years many anthropologists have begun to study close to home phenomena with the same perspectives they use on foreign societies, even making comparisons between the two. In fact, in the early days of American anthropology, one reason for studying smaller, unfamiliar societies was to see how they dealt with certain social issues also facing Western societies to offer alternate possibilities for the latter. With respect to education in the United States anthropologists have taken two basic approaches, using them alone or in tandem. The first approach is to apply the kinds of theories and perspectives gained from learning about socialization/education in other societies to similar phenomena in the United States, using understandings from the former to better see and analyze the latter. The other approach has been to actually do observational field research in educational settings, treating the school as a small socio-cultural system containing the same kinds of institutions found in the larger community while at the same time being a very important institution of this larger society. This latter approach has proven very useful for understanding aspects of school behavior not accessible through standardized tests or statistical survey methods, but only through direct observation and interaction with the actors. While this research method is perfectly valid for the analysis of traditional educational institutions, it seems especially appropriate to use such a still non-traditional research style to analyze and evaluate the kinds of non-traditional educational institutions represented by the myriad experiential education programs spread across this country. Since these programs are, by definition, designed to accomplish different ends than the traditional educational system, and to pursue their goals through different techniques, one might reasonably expect the methods developed to evaluate the outcomes of traditional education to be maladapted to these alternative programs.

It is appropriate at this juncture to ask exactly what an anthropologist might do if requested to evaluate an experiential educational program. I will give you an idea of what I did when our polydisciplinary team visited two experiential education programs in the Columbus, Ohio area selected for us by the staff of the National Center for Research in Vocational Education. The purpose of the visit to the two well-selected sites, as well as a subsequent opportunity to meet with people from different types of experiential education programs from all over the country, was to give us a common basis for suggesting new methods for evaluating such innovative programs from our respective disciplinary perspectives. The staff of the National Center told us very little about the programs, wanting to allow us to discover them for ourselves. They indicated, however, that they and others involved with these alternative programs felt that they were producing positive results, but that the traditional paper and pencil pretests and posttests used in educational evaluation had proven unable to document these results. Consequently, new methods were in order that were better adapted to understanding the outcomes and dynamics of these programs.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Short of going to an exotic place, this opportunity could pass for an anthropologist's dream—the opportunity to go into an unknown subculture, quite unfamiliar in its specifics even though part of a common larger culture, with the assignment to just "see what's going on." Such an opportunity to just observe the "native culture" with neither any preliminary seeking of data about it nor efforts to examine a theoretical question that it just might exemplify is rare in this era of tightly structured and even more tightly scrutinized research proposals. Thus, I embarked upon this adventure as much as if it were a trip to a remote South Sea Island as was reasonable, given that it really was Ohio.

I must preface any illustrations of methodology drawn on the two sites visited, which I will call White Collar School and Blue Collar School, by saying that our visits to them were each made in half a day. Consequently any observations were of necessity incomplete and superficial, as well as not entirely comparable for the two programs. We naturally observed and were told more about some aspects of each program than of the other, the aspects focused upon in each perhaps reflecting their own emphases, or perhaps reflecting more a momentary concern on the part of program participants as a result of recent events, or maybe a special interest on the part of the researcher. The only way in which the researcher can get a sense of enduring, as opposed to temporary, concerns and emphases in the program is to spend more time observing regular patterns in the program and interacting with participants.

This fact points up a very important methodological issue with respect to using anthropological techniques for evaluating educational programs. The ideal length of time for doing field research in an exotic culture is eighteen months. The first six months are for gaining entree to the society, acquiring a familiarity with the language, getting a general idea of the social structure and generally settling in and learning the ropes. During the next twelve months the anthropologist can observe the entire yearly cycle of life—the day to day routine, the changes in activity due to seasonal changes, and the special annual ceremonial events.

It would be a bit exaggerated to expect an evaluator to spend a full yearly cycle observing an experiential program since much of the activity is very familiar to one who has gone through American schools, although were the intent to do a complete ethnographic analysis it might not be too long. However, in order to have a sense of what actually happens during the year to produce whatever outcomes are obtained, it would be ideal for him/her to spend perhaps the first and last two weeks of the year observing student behavior in both their in-school and on-the-job settings, and in talking with students, faculty and work supervisors, in order to get a sense of the changes the program has made in the students. In addition to focusing on outcomes, the researcher should spend at least two full weeks in the middle of the year observing the program and talking to the participants in order to get a sense of the regular functioning of its various components. The researcher should also be present at significant events. For example the weekly town meetings in which all members of White Collar School discuss and propose new activities, changes, etc. in their program is clearly an important event for understanding school dynamics.

Before beginning to be able to think of evaluating these programs, an anthropologist would try to gain as broad an understanding of the program as a whole as possible, focusing on the same elements on which one would focus in any society—the social structure, the cultural values, the linguistic system, etc. One might begin by using the kinds of unobtrusive measures employed by archaeologists who cannot interact with members of the societies they study, so they must try to understand them by observing the physical setting and the cultural artifacts. The physical settings of the two programs observed immediately hinted at fundamental differences in the programs.

CULTURES WITHIN CULTURES

Both programs are high school programs involving in-school academic training plus an out-of-school work experience (usual but not absolutely required in White Collar School) as part of the normal school program. White Collar School is located in a visibly affluent suburb of Columbus. There are tree lined streets, large, attractive houses and well-tended lawns. White Collar School is an alternative program that is part of the traditional high school in the town. It is located a distance from the traditional school in a house that immediately suggests the adjective "funky." Upon entering the building one is struck with a sense of relaxed disorder that suggests a creative, do your own thing type environment. Walls are painted odd colors and one sees remnants from artistic projects. Students seem to move around the building freely. The rooms seem to be multi-functional, and a very large room with a stage appears to be not only a performance area but also the locus of small and large group meetings.

There are large, brightly colored posters on the walls, particularly in the friendly and informal administrative office, with sayings such as "Following the Crowd Can Lead Nowhere," "Behold the Turtle Who Makes Progress Only When He Sticks His Neck Out." The fact that these particular posters were selected suggests a certain cultural orientation with an emphasis on individualism and personal risk-taking and responsibility. Other posters with what might be interpreted as an ego-supporting theme said "To Know You Is to Love You" and "Today Many Beautiful Things Will Happen to You."

Blue Collar School is in a very different kind of suburb of Columbus in which small frame houses seem randomly placed on mostly untended lots. The office of the alternative program is down a long corridor in a wing of a very institutional looking red brick building. Although we did not see the classrooms, I would conjecture that they are the standard oblong eye-ease green rooms with desks in rows with which those of us who went to public school before someone came up with the great idea of alternatives to them are all too familiar. The halls are empty of students. Film cannisters lying on a desk display very inspirational titles, but a coordinator later says that they are entirely inappropriate to the program since they present unrealistic role models, like the Kennedys, to children of welfare and unemployment compensation parents. The regular students are in class; those in the alternative program are on their jobs. Thus the physical settings in which the two programs are located and visible cultural artifacts already suggest to the anthropologist programs with different world views that will be peopled and structured very differently.

Having unobtrusively gotten general impressions of the socio-physical ecological niche in which the program is situated, the anthropologist then seeks to know more about the formal structure and cultural values of this mini-society: who are the students and why are they there, when and why and by whom was the school founded, what is the composition and hierarchy of faculty and staff, what is the nature and schedule of curricular and extra-curricular events, what is the relationship between the alternative program and the regular school program, what is the school community's self-image, what do administrators, faculty and students like/not like about the program?

Some of these answers may be gotten through reading the formal documents of the institutions and very importantly through talking to people in different roles. Inspection of written records and both formal and informal interviewing are essential components of an anthropological approach, supplementing the researcher's observations of behavior. Written statements of purpose give a vision of the philosophical ideals as well as the ideal structure, functioning and intent. Other written statements, such as student publications, posted schedules and announcements, forms to be filled in, and memoranda can provide an idea of the actual workings of the mechanism. Memoranda can be particularly useful in giving a sense of what actually goes on, significant or repeated events, day to day concerns, and often elements of the program or aspects of behavior that might be improved. Any kinds of assessment reports of student performance done by faculty members or work coordinators would provide very useful data, if accessible to the researcher-evaluator, as would be any written comments by students concerning their work placements. For example, in White Collar School the students draw up contracts with their faculty advisors indicating the courses they will take, and describing their work experience. These contracts are signed by the student, his/her faculty advisor and his/her parents, who are thus also involved in the process. Posted notices reflect the fact that students may suggest new courses by posting descriptions to ascertain the degree of interest in their idea. In addition, administration, faculty and students at White Collar School have collaborated in writing up a self-evaluation. It is a perceptive document that points up both positive and negative elements of the program as viewed from the different perspectives of the participants. It reviews the goals of the various categories of participants, and the changes in these goals as the program evolved and faced day to day realities as well as the processes set up to implement them and the changes that were made or should be made in these processes for a more satisfactory program.

The documentation to which we were exposed at Blue Collar School consisted of a very detailed program description setting out the goals, rationales and specific objectives of the program. This document would provide the researcher with a very clear outline of the program. While such a document could guide the researcher-evaluator in examining the process of the program and the intended outcomes, it should not limit his/her sphere of observation and inquiry, since actual process and outcomes often differ from the intended. Even if they coincide, however, it is important to ascertain the process through which the intended outcomes are implemented in order to evaluate effectiveness. In addition, surely the intended outcomes do not exhaust the effects that participation in the program has on the students, and these unplanned outcomes should also be noted in an evaluation.

The essence of the anthropological method is its multi-faceted approach, manifest in the tendency to look at the same issue from different perspectives and to gather information via different modes. Thus, in addition to the relatively unobtrusive methods mentioned earlier of pure observation of the setting and of cultural artifacts and of reading documents, observation of social interaction, both formal interviewing and more informal talking with people, as well as just hanging around and getting the feel of life in the society are major elements of an anthropological approach. In looking at the externalities of these programs the researcher begins to draw certain inferences. Reading printed documents—from posters to program descriptions—adds further data that may support initial impressions or lead the researcher to develop new impressions. Participant-observation research, because the researcher is constantly surrounded by the data out of which his/her hypotheses grow, involves a constant process of hypothesis development and modification as the researcher learns more and more and re-evaluates previous, more partial, understandings. The researcher's goal is ideally to learn to understand the society as its members understand it, and to be able to describe it in a way recognizable to them, even if his/her interpretation of certain aspects of it differs from that of some members because of differences in perspective. Consequently, talking with the members of the society is the single activity that consumes most of anthropologists' research time.

In order to get a real sense of society it is important to understand the role structure and to try to talk to people in different roles to understand how people in different statuses experience and perceive their society. In the alternative programs visited the major role categories were faculty/administrators—the two roles usually overlapping, students, and work experience coordinators. To understand the programs well, it is essential to talk to as many people as possible in each category, and to talk with them when no members of the other categories are present, as well as in conjunction with members of other categories. It is easy to understand that students might not be totally candid in expressing any non-positive feelings they may have about a program in the presence of the person or people who judge them.

In White Collar School we had the opportunity to talk with students alone, in small groups and in a formal group with the chief administrator of the program. On the basis of these conversations I had the impression of a shared community of attitudes between students and faculty/administrators, and a definite candor in discussing what was good and bad about the alternative school, their reasons for being there, what they had hoped to get out of it, what they were getting out of it, and what, if anything, was missing and why. One student even took me to visit his work site, a television station. The students who chose to talk about the program were those who thought very highly of it, and who felt that it had had a very beneficial effect on many aspects of their lives. It would have been interesting, for a sense of balance, to have talked with students who did not like the alternative school and who planned to return or had returned to the traditional school. It also would have been good to talk to faculty members alone, and to talk to parents about the differences being in the alternative school had made for their children. However, although the contact was quite brief, and a researcher can hardly expect people to tell all in an initial encounter, I had the impression that, given the ambience of freedom and candor reign[illegible]te Collar School, the people I talked with did give me an honest picture of the program.

In Blue Collar School students were out on their work assignment when we arrived so we first talked with a faculty member who then accompanied us to one work site to talk with a student, who never showed up, and his work experience supervisor, who had been working with the program for years and expounded on its benefits for the students from his perspective. We went to a second work site and talked with two students in the company of the faculty member and the work supervisor, a rather stilted situation. The students mainly expressed their pleasure about the benefits of the program in brief responses to direct questions and the faculty member and work supervisor assured us of the great benefits of the program for these two model students.

Although this was an expedient way, given the structure of the program, to allow members of our team to encounter program participants of all categories and to see the students in their work site, the immediate anthropological reaction to such a scenario tends to be the impression that the researcher is being presented with an ideal image of the subculture in question. Having seen the ideal, the anthropologist wants to know how the day-to-day reality corresponds to this ideal picture and becomes even more curious to observe the functioning of the in-school part of the program, and to talk to the members of each role status, especially the students, separately. In talking with the members of the three role categories together I had the impression that the script of the conversation followed the program description very well. It is quite possible that this is precisely the case since the program is very highly structured with very specific objectives. Perhaps the real meaning of our encounter was that the program is functioning exactly as intended.

In any case, whether or not the ideal and the real correspond exactly or not, it would be instructive to observe the process by which efforts to arrive at the goals are implemented. It would also be good to talk with students who would like to leave or have left the program because of their dissatisfaction. In contrast to the candid and very verbal style of White Collar School students, Blue Collar School students appeared more reserved and less apt to comment at length about it. Perhaps more elaborated responses would be possible in a less stilted setting, and perhaps a researcher-evaluator would have to spend more time becoming a familiar member of the environment, a situation usually anticipated in doing participant-observation research. The researcher must take into consideration the fact that his/her own personal characteristics—gender, age, appearance, status, etc.—will influence responses, and try to evaluate the results of this factor. In addition, the researcher must realize that if he/she associates more with one category of people than another, for reasons of receptivities of common personal interests, he/she may be seen by the others as sharing or representing the interests of that category and reacted to accordingly.

In using formal and informal interview material as data it is, of course, necessary to try to weigh the meaning and veracity of people's statements. Certain guidelines are useful in this endeavor. The researcher will often find that if he/she talks to people in the formal context of the research in question, the respondents will give formal, "party line" responses, whereas in a less structured setting the same person will give more natural responses that more closely approximate his/her own real reactions, attitudes, etc. It is good to compare answers gotten from people in a group setting to those given by the same individuals when they are alone to get a sense of group attitudes as compared to those of the individuals composing it, which may or may not actually coincide because of individual circumstances.

The researcher will undoubtedly find that some people are more anxious to talk to him/her than others, and should seek to find out why in order to judge the information he/she provides. Is the person just open and/or loquacious, does he/she have an axe to grind, is he/she trying to enhance the portrayal of his/her status by the researcher, is he/she a self-appointed spokesperson determined to create a certain image of his/her subculture, or is the person someone who happens to be particularly interested in and informed about this subculture and considered knowledgeable by his/her peers? To decide which is the case the researcher must talk to many people, weighing their responses on the same issue against each other, taking their role-determined perspectives into account, and comparing data gathered in different ways about different aspects of the socio-cultural system. to test for consistency or inconsistency. Finding inconsistencies, the anthropologist should seek to detect their origins and meanings—to see if they represent problems in data gathering or interpreting or if they rather represent contradictions in the socio-cultural system that must be accounted for. Consistencies in data gathered from different sources should suggest that the anthropologist is getting an accurate image of the socio-cultural system.

Also it is reasonable to expect that as the researcher-evaluator gets to know the subjects of his/her research better and they him/her, their rapport, assuming it is positive, will become more candid. The researcher must also remember, however, that social groupings have secrets, myths, contradictions about which they are not proud, and what Wilson (1977) refers to as "sacred cows," aspects of belief or behavior that are not readily open to discussion or change. When touching on such items the researcher may expect avoidance of issues, polite non-responses, defensiveness, hostility and the like when touching upon sensitive issues. Such reactions should suggest to the researcher that he/she has touched upon an issue that, since so sensitive, must be of some importance. Circumspection and indirection are required of the researcher who seeks to understand more without offending or alienating his/her sources of information. Particularly when doing an evaluation the researcher should be conscious of the fact that people may be hesitant to share information with him/her for fear of possible repercussions for the program or for the individual, particularly if this information is not totally complimentary. The researcher-evaluator must also be conscientious and responsible in handling information that is sensitive, shared in strictest confidence, or potentially damaging to the program or individuals. It is not essential to tell all in order to present an accurate and scientifically valid portrayal or evaluation of a socio-cultural system. A sense of social ethics must accompany one's sense of scientific duty.

The White Collar School and the Blue Collar School have very different dynamics. The former has a very relaxed, creative, non-traditional style in which faculty and students participate in the decision-making process and faculty as well as students feel that they are in school to learn. The unpaid work experiences for these children of professional parents allow them to explore possibly interesting, more professional career options. The students see themselves as more individualistic and adventuresome than the students in the traditional school they chose to leave, some because they did not feel that they fit.

The Blue Collar School program, in contrast, is highly structured, and the relationship between students and both their faculty and advisors and their work coordinators is strictly hierarchical and authoritarian. The low income students in the program were/are potential high school dropouts who, however, were or have become aware of the value a high school diploma can have in their futures. The purpose of the program is essentially to provide them with the basic personal skills and knowledge necessary to be able to get and hold an unskilled job and make them eligible for a paycheck rather than a public assistance check. Thus the structure and intent of each program is in harmony with its sociological setting. The general nature and style of each program might have been predicted from the initial unobtrusive observations of its socio-physical ecological niche.

This apparent diametric opposition between the two programs with respect to physical context, sociological characteristics, structural qualities, and purpose of the work experience, belies, however, very fundamental commonalities that were also found in the other high school experiential education programs from which we met with representatives.* These commonalities were discovered as a result of what was of necessity a rather superficial linguistic content analysis of the comments of participants in all of the experiential programs—whether they represented opportunities to explore career options for the affluent or last chances to acquire minimal skills for the less advantaged. In all of the programs the students said that what they acquired as a result of their work experience, paid or unpaid, was a "sense of responsibility." They learned to "take charge of [their] own lives." They "felt more mature." They considered their work project to be a significant experience that taught them about "the real world," they learned about "life." Frankly, I was quite surprised to hear participants from all of the programs, wherever they fit on the socioeconomic scale, using exactly the same language, exactly the same terms in talking about what they had gotten out of the program.

As an aside, before elaborating on the implication of this striking linguistic characteristic, it was interesting to note that the great majority of the programs with which we had contact clustered at the top and bottom of the socioeconomic scale. They were directed toward either providing basic skills for potential or former high school dropouts that would perhaps allow them to work in a box factory or a dime store, or toward allowing students from schools in affluent areas to discover through practical experience the kind of professional career they might like most—at television stations, as business executives, and the like. There were few programs represented that were directed toward allowing average kids from average families to explore the world of work, perhaps precisely because of the very averageness of such an idea. Programs like Blue Collar School allow adolescents with few options in life to develop their potentials for being employable on a regular basis as

*Two postsecondary programs were represented that involved work experiences within an academic context, but other than this basic characteristic, they had nothing in common with each other and not enough in common with the high school programs that are of primary concern here to have a place in this analysis. In this context, they were interesting anomalies.

well as giving them exposure to aspects of life and a style of life for which their home environments could not prepare them. Programs like White Collar School allow young people who have the possibility of having many career options to discover what they are, and which ones may suit them best, thus allowing them to best actualize their potential.

Such polar differences in the kinds of experiential education programs that are most prevalent make the linguistic similarities their participants exhibit all the more striking and suggest that this linguistic feature may provide a key to evaluating the effectiveness of the various programs and the real nature of their effects on the students. Initially, the language the students use about their programs sounds as if they have all memorized the same script, which was clearly not the case. Nor had they acquired the same terminologies through association or cultural diffusion. Rather it appears, on the basis of what is admittedly nowhere near an exhaustive investigation, that although the styles, structures and methods of the various programs are very different in conformity with their different socioeconomic milieus and exigencies, their basic cultural values are quite similar. Initially the similarity of the language usage makes one wonder if the students have just learned the jargon of their program goals or the jargon of the school community well. The important issue for investigation is thus whether the students have just learned appropriate-sounding key words to use in talking about the effects of the program on them or if they have actually internalized in their behavior and attitudes the meanings that such words imply. How does a student in White Collar School or in Blue Collar School manifest to himself/herself or to others his "sense of responsibility" or increased "maturity?" What specifically does he/she know about "life" and "the real world" that he/she did not know before, how did he/she acquire this knowledge in school or on the job, and precisely how has he/she begun to "take charge of his/her life?" These words express the outcomes that the linguistic evidence suggests to be uppermost in the students' minds. Since a principal characteristic of the anthropological research method is to try to understand a socio-cultural system as its members would, it is important to try to elicit the students' perspectives on these issues, ideally as the result of open-ended questions and free discussion—combined with the comments of significant others qualified to comment, and with the researcher's observations of this change process from the beginning of the program to the end. Thus, without entering into the specifics of any of the programs, an obvious area of evaluation, empirically suggested by even the briefest association with them, is to investigate to what extent the behavior approximates the language and how this came to be.

These experiential education programs, like most educational efforts, are concerned with something greater than just teaching specific skills. They are also concerned with socializing the individuals participating in them to be certain kinds of people. In the two programs observed, as well as in most of the others from which we talked to representatives, the purpose of the programs, in addition to providing students with experience working in the real world, was to build their self-image and self-confidence, and to give them a sense of responsibility and maturity as well as realistic knowledge about the world of work awaiting them. The programs were designed to effect behavioral, cognitive and affective changes in the students as a result of their work experience, the style and content of the in-school curriculum, and the nature of the social interaction between students and both the faculty and the work-experience supervisors. The participant-observation research method is particularly appropriate for evaluating both whether such changes do take place, and equally importantly, the precise nature of the process through which they take place.

This emphasis on the process of change is perhaps the most important unique contribution of the participant-observation method to the field of educational evaluation. Its significance lies in the fact that this method allows the researcher-evaluator to ascertain which elements in the program are particularly functional in promoting positive change, which may be dysfunctional, and which may have little or no impact. This aspect of this process-oriented approach to evaluation is particularly important if the purpose of the evaluation is not only to judge the program but also to provide feedback for improving its continued functioning, and perhaps suggesting a model to be replicated in other programs. Such data on the dynamics of the program cannot be gotten at through the pretest-posttest evaluation style that is oriented toward measuring outcomes rather than the processes leading to these outcomes. The anthropological approach allows both for the evaluating of outcomes, and for the understanding of the process. By its focus on the actual, as opposed to the ideal, structure and functioning of the program, this method allows the researcher to assess what actually happened, what factors, events, structures, and values in the program actually made a difference, and perhaps which ones were lacking what might make a difference.* Is it the fact of actually working in the real world, for pay or not, of feeling like an adult, or is it the more individualized attention, encouragement, and instruction received by students in most of the programs, is it the "relevant" nature of the academic content of the program, or is it the relationship between the structure of the program and the social context in which it is located that makes the difference? Such answers are crucial to the evaluation of such a program, and can best be gotten at by using a research method involving the various components of an anthropological approach.

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FEEDBACK

EXPERIENTIAL EDUCATOR— CONCEPTUALIZER

The group likes the idea of the anthropological method. It is extremely useful to conceptualizers as a method of getting inside a program for a feeling of the thickness of it, the dynamics that often do not appear in tables of data and conventional evaluation designs. Triangulation of interview data is a useful technique because it will usually yield a discrepancy analysis of what people intended to happen, what they think is happening, and what is really going on. However, this is often negative and therefore sometimes politically dangerous. Consideration of these dangers is recommended. The alternatives of being rigid or exploring are interesting to consider. One person's rigidity is another's sense of structure. One person's exploration represents chaotic messing-around to another. It may be that the blue collar programs help lay the groundwork for upward mobility later through establishing good work habits now. Running a tight ship is not necessarily synonymous with being a Simon Legree who allows no freedom.

EXPERIENTIAL EDUCATOR— ACTION ORIENTED

It is a fascinating field. The basic strategy of how to observe without bias as anthropologists do is one that would be very difficult to implement. There are many examples of individuals who have tried to implement this strategy in their programs and they have had a difficult time. However, our group thought it would be a good way to see what really happens throughout a program, to increase generally the perceptions of everyone involved. Practitioners could use these strategies for internal revision by teaching them to both staff and students. The tools of anthropology, especially observing, are really what programs are trying to teach a lot of our students, at least at one level of experiential learning. The group would like more information on this type of measurement.

EVALUATOR— CONCEPTUALIZER

The thinkers about evaluation found this a very exciting alternative. It seems the kinds of questions this approach answers are those that people ask when they are thinking about adopting a model program and that evaluators often have difficulty answering. However, it will not get through JDRP. This seems to be the biggest single problem at the moment, although there does seem to be a trend in the direction of accepting these kinds of results. It is very hard to write a fundable design using such methods. Also, there is a danger in jumping into this too quickly because at present, personnel with the skills to do it properly may not exist.

The group had major problems along the moral-ethical line. Often, clients who are trying to work on evaluation designs are told, do not ask the question unless you are willing to hear the answer. A potential exists here for finding things that should be recorded, but that might pose difficulties. For example, if a discrepancy between the organizational chart and the true lines of authority is reported, it is going to do some damage in the program. The group feels that before a study of this sort is done, some decisions would need to be made about what will be reported formally or informally. The group would like to learn more about this method.

EVALUATOR— ACTION ORIENTED

The group spent some time discussing the myths of our culture and various subcultures, among which is the myth that truth comes in numerical form with statistical treatment. Even so, some program staff and members of boards of education in fact make their decisions for the most part on the basis of anecdotal descriptive evidence, sometimes in spite of the existence of numerical data to the contrary. Also noted was a congruence between the kinds of approaches and data that you are describing in terms of anthropological methodology, and the source of programs in experiential education. The educational settings of experiential education programs are rich miniature cultures, and it is appropriate to use anthropological approaches to figure out what is going on. However, the resources required to gather these types of data are very substantial.

The group tends to think of observation as a process tool, but there is no reason why it cannot be used to assess outcomes as well. That is to say, if one is describing very carefully what people are doing, over time data can be interpreted in the form of behavior changes that are taking place within a program.

Anthropological Peer Summation

Thomas G. Carroll
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Let me begin by building on what Sheila said. I find that I am in strong agreement with her emphasis on describing the structure of relationships between people and between them and their environment. In education we often call this the hidden curriculum and it is important to anthropologists because its structure usually reflects the pattern of relationships in the wider culture. The structure of relationships and actions in any curriculum—hidden or overt—has a strong influence on the learning experience of the student. If we want to evaluate these programs we need to look at the structures they create and the patterns of action that the students display in them.

I can expand on this by clarifying my own assumptions about experiential education. Kolb has provided a model of experiential learning which consists of movement through four phases in a repeating cycle. The individual moves from concrete experience to reflection on experience to the formation of concepts which organize that experience and then engages in a testing of those concepts by a movement into new experiences. This is reviewed in Chickering's work on experiential education. This model is attractive to anthropologists because it provides us with a concept of learners in active interaction with their environment. But this is experiential learning and we are concerned with education. For a definition of education I use the term educe which is to draw out or to promote a process. I believe that in experiential education we are concerned with promoting the cycle of experiential learning by creating a support structure for development of the learner's ability to move through the phases of Kolb's cycle. This is in contrast to programs that rely almost exclusively on abstract conceptualization—keeping students several steps removed from practical experience where the concepts could be tested and where new knowledge and questions could be discovered by them. Experiential education is an alternative to educational programs that compartmentalize the learning experience. It keeps the learning cycle whole.

Now to talk about evaluating this process I must draw a diagram of the evaluation model that seems to be most often used. It looks like this:

$$T \rightarrow S \rightarrow ?$$

I call this an impact model because of its linear cause and effect assumptions. The teacher or educational program is seen to be a causal force or prime mover impacting on the student who is consequently moved to some new pattern of behavior. This new pattern of behavior is represented by a question mark since it is the presence or absence of this changed condition in the individual that is to be determined or discovered by the evaluation. This is the basis of the common pre-post design. Anthropologists find this design quite unsatisfactory because it misses information on the reciprocal relationship between the teacher and student and between the student and the educational environment. It too often assumes that the effects of a program are limited to changes in the behavior of individuals and that these effects can be measured in isolation from the contexts in which they occur.

SUMMATION

As an alternative to that model I suggest an ethnographic evaluation model that looks like this.

$$\underbrace{T \rightleftarrows S}_{?}$$

Here the focus of concern is on the relationship between the teacher and the student and between the student and the setting. When we evaluate a program under this model we look for changes in the relationship between people and between them and their setting and we are less concerned with changes within an individual. Yesterday it was suggested that there is always the possibility of looking for an effect that is not there. With these two models I would like to suggest that we could be simply looking in the wrong place. The pre-post design creates a search for effects on individuals that will appear in time as consequences of the program, the ethnographic model suggests that we will find effects in changed patterns of relationships as the program unfolds and that these new patterns of action can then be traced into the future activities of the individuals involved. Since the pre-post model of evaluation often influences program design it is not uncommon to find programs that have no mechanisms for changing relationships between people. When anthropologists observe one of these projects they see that the pre-existing relationships of people to each other and to their environment remain unaffected and they report that the program has produced no change or that it even supports the behavior it was intended to alter.

When we talk about evaluation we should also be concerned with providing students and teachers with a means to evaluate their experiences as a basis for their continued development in the programs. I agree that students learning through experience-based education could use the skills of an anthropologist to move through Kolb's phases of the experiential learning cycle. These students should learn to observe carefully and to reflectively organize their experiences for future action.

As an example of what I've been saying I would cite a program in my local area. In some schools students who have had shadow work experiences come back to classes with information that contradicts what they have been taught in class. At first this creates a conflict because the teacher is no longer the exclusive owner of the educational process. Through the cycle of experiential learning the students have become active participants in their education and they are able to formulate and test concepts on the basis of their own experience. They have the guidance of teachers and staff in doing this. Teachers can not be expected to give up their total control of the process of education without something in return. If we work with them what they gain is a new working relationship with students and the potential for new work sites for educators where they could work as liaisons between schools and community settings and even take on training positions in local agencies and industries. What the students are gaining is the ability to reflectively analyze their practical experience and the reciprocal ability to test abstract concepts against further experiences. They demonstrate this while they are in the program through the new relationships they establish with the teachers, and this process could be traced into the relationships they later establish as they enter the world of work. The point is that informaton about changed relationships in the program can be used to evaluate its effectiveness, and that we can not limit our attention to student outcomes. Teachers also change through their participation in these programs and we must monitor that process as well. The effect of a program is just not the one way unidimensional flow of outcomes that the pre-post design would have it be. To caputre the complexity and richness of the changes in these programs we need a more holistic ethnographic design.

Having made these comments I would like to respond to some questions and issues raised by the feedback session.

The problem of discrepancy analysis posed by ethnographic evaluation is an important one. It is true that ethnographic evaluation can sometimes sound like a critique and be perceived as a threat by those responsible for a program. But it is too easy to say that we just have to decide whether we want to know these things and if we do we have to face up to the fact that we might not like what we find out. I think we have to look again at the models of evaluations we have. The same qualities that make ethnographic description valuable for program replication make it useful as a method of formative evaluation. Perhaps there should be more use made of formative evaluation and goal free evaluation. When I speak of goal free evaluation I mean a constant process of monitoring program development and making evaluative decisions as we proceed. We have a general objective but we assume that we will have trouble reaching it and that we will have to make corrections along the way. As long as the pre-post model continues to dominate evaluation designs, ethnographic description will continue to produce discrepant information. I think there are three reaons for this. The first is that the pre-post design I described earlier tends to assume that program objectives are to change psychological or personal attributes of individuals. Because ethnographies focus our attention on the structure of social relationships between individuals and between them and their environment, they always provide us with information we had not expected under the presumption that program effects would only be psychological or individual in nature. I think the second reason we always have a discrepancy is the result of the tight pre-specification of outcomes imposed by the traditional evaluation model. We are dealing with a socially complex reality that is not easily controlled and efforts to change it in a highly specific way will usually fall short of the mark. We can see that as a defeat or we can use it as a learning opportunity. I believe we are always in a formative situation. I think it helps to look again at the four-cell matrix of evaluation outcomes that was put on the board (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Four-cell Matrix of Evaluation Outcomes

	stated	unstated
intended		
unintended		

If you look at the bottom right cell it is labeled as an unintended and unstated outcome. It could be a positive outcome but it is usually greeted with shock and it is seen as a threat or a negative outcome. But this happens in the framework of a highly pre-specified goal. If we could recognize that we are always in a formative situation the information in that cell could become new and useful information for future action. If we could use this formative approach perhaps our evaluations would become part of a more dynamic experiential learning cycle for program development and they would cease to be static records of program successes and failures. The third reason anthropologists produce discrepancy analyses is that they are trained to do inductive research. In an evaluation they don't accept the project director's goals as a framework for their observations. On this point I believe that anthropologists entering the field of evaluation have an obligation to develop a client orientation that would allow them to provide program directors with needed information without compromising the principles of ethnography.

I would like to comment on the need for quantitative data and statistical analysis. We have many people in the field of measurement concerned with how we should measure things. Anthropologists do not deny the value of quantitative measurement but they tend to be more concerned with determining what we should measure. Perhaps we need a team approach that would relate the concern of how we measure to the concern for what we measure. This also relates to the issue of data triangulation. Triangulation is not limited to the need for data from the several different perspectives of individuals involved in the event. It also calls for the use of several different data collection methods in combination. We feel that research or evaluation that relies on a single data collection technique—be it observation, interview, questionnaire or whatever—is weak in relation to work that uses those methods in combination to provide information on the event from several perspectives that can be used to cross-check each other. A team approach might also be useful for this purpose.

It is true that you can't always hire an anthropologist to do an evaluation for you. For this reason training in the observation techniques and methods of anthropologists is important and it is available. At the Project in Ethnography in Education at S.U.N.Y. at Buffalo we developed an inservice training program in ethnographic methods for school teachers, administrators, psychologists and their staff. It has had extensive applications and it can be used with students to support their experiential learning activities. Direct observation is time consuming and we have provided ways to train people in the construction and use of focused observation instruments that fit their needs and that are less time consuming to use.

The number of anthropologists doing evaluation is not great but they are organized and you can contact them through a subcommittee of the Council on Anthropology and Education:

Committee 4: Ethnographic Approachs to Evaluation in Education

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Under the sponsorship of that committee we will hold a one day training workshop on ethnographic methods of evaluation at the American Anthroplogical Association meetings in Los Angeles this November.

As for the criteria for evaluating ethnographies I would refer you to the summer of 1975 issue of *Human Organization* which is a special issue on the ethnography of schools. It has a lead article by Harry Wolcott on criteria for an ethnography of schools and several articles in the issue deal with the problems of enthographic evaluation.

Thank you.

SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON INVESTIGATING THE CONSEQUENCES OF EXPERIENTIAL EDUCATION

Slipping Away: Social Control and Experiential Education

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I. Introduction

This paper will present suggestions for evaluating experiential education programs that are different from the usual rules-of-thumb traditionally used in program evaluation. Some of the issues discussed in the paper can only be sketched out or briefly touched on; yet it is our intention to treat evaluation from a sociological perspective that will call for the consideration of variables often taken for granted in evaluating programs.

First, we will set forth some of the assumptions that are a part of any sociological analysis, and that will underlie what we see as the possible range of effects of an experiential education program on the student and the school. Included in this task is an introduction to how the sociologist sees the role of the school in society and specifically the experiential education program's role in the school. Because experiential education programs vary significantly from one another, we will attempt to summarize the critical elements of experiential education programs that are amenable to one form of evaluation. Finally an attempt will be made to suggest some evaluation research strategies that, with a good deal of further refinement, might be tried in attempting to evaluate experiential education programs.

Program evaluation from a sociological perspective requires that we evaluate the social relationships that constitute the social environment of the individual participants. The sociologist attempts to understand individual motives, beliefs, and actions by attempting to locate the individual in a pattern of social relationships such that an individual's beliefs and behavior are understood to be the product of the social relationships. For example, a sociologist might explain a high school student's ambition to attend college by the social class position of his/her parents and the general social expectation of his/her peer group toward college. To the sociologist, when a high school student says he/she is very interested in attending college he/she is not simply stating his/her personal ambition. The student is also expressing the social fact that he/she belongs to a group of individuals who understand and value these ambitions. The sociological interpretation attempts to make individual characteristics understandable by referring to their social context.

When social relationships form consistent patterns the sociologist refers to them as a social structure. The concept of structure in sociology is roughly the same as in other disciplines: a pattern of relationships between parts. To avoid difficulty with terminology we include values and beliefs as part of a structure, along with expected behaviors. Some of the familiar structures in sociology are the authority structures of bureaucracies or the patterns of social inequality in a community that are analyzed as social classes. Two fundamental problems dealt with by the sociological perspective are (1) the relationship between a social structure and the individual, as the effects of the school structure on the student's occupational aspirations; and (2) the relationships between different structures, as in the relationship between high school and characteristics of the labor force in a community.

The problems of evaluating a planned educational program for youth fall within the parameters of these fundamental problems, since the relationships we are to test in an evaluation study are the same as we generalize about in our theories of social structure. What a sociological perspective brings to a problem is a broad scope of analysis. Focusing just on the students and their immediate contact with teachers, program coordinators, and employers restricts the analysis such that variables that deal with peer group, the student's family class position, the class structure of the school district, the organizational characteristics of the school itself are presumed to have no effect, or the effects are presumed to be random when analyzing school programs. These variables have been shown to have a strong selective effect on the social lives of individuals so they are likely to have an effect on experiential education as well. The fact that all of the variables sociologists like to use are not amenable to administrative manipulation should not deter us from using them for evaluation if they allow us to understand the functions of an educational program.

Evaluating experiential education programs, in terms of a pattern of social relations, poses some difficulties. There are a number of obvious mistakes that evaluators can make if they are not careful.

One problem arises when the evaluator includes normative criteria in the evaluation process that do not pertain to the relationships that people participate in. Individuals do not participate in a whole social structure at one time so it is necessary to isolate relevant characteristics early in an investigation. For example, because a student spends a lot of time and energy in school does not mean that all aspects are relevant to him/her. It might be totally irrelevant to ask the student about the school budget or community tax levies. This does not mean that students are not affected by school budgets, because they are, but simply that it is not part of the social expectations that pertain to students to spend time worrying about school budgets.

A second problem that often arises is when the researcher succumbs to a kind of normative determinism. Individuals' social experiences emerge out of their actions in these patterns of social relationships, and therefore, what is to be evaluated in any program are the characteristics and outcomes of these relationships. This does not mean, however, that individuals will do what they are told or conform to all the social expectations of the social relationships. Individuals may conform or they may deviate, but even in rebellion individuals tend to deviate in characteristic ways. It is necessary to realize that an individual can participate in a set of social relationships without being committed to them. Students, for example, are not necessarily interested in education because they go to school. They might care less about learning and yet be "A" students. The error of normative determinism is to assume that individuals are committed to doing what they are supposed to do just because they are supposed to do it. Participation does not always imply commitment.

A third related problem in evaluating educational programs deals with the role played by the stated program objectives in understanding a program. Social relationships are often surrounded by elaborate justifications, rationalization, and myths. These justifications make up the stated goals of a program but they are not designed to describe what goes on in the relationships between individuals. They are normative justifications that are worthy of study in their own right but should not be expected to provide an explanation of the social relationships in a program. For the sociologist these stated goals represent a set of expectations that may be very misleading since their purpose is not to explain the behavior of people but to perpetuate it and to facilitate the acceptance of the relationship in the eyes of others. It should be noted that it takes at least two people to make a relationship yet the justification of that relationship may be more self-serving to one of the partners than to the other. Thus, the idea that teachers teach students is more flattering to the abilities of the teacher than to the ability of the students as learners. Consequently, the sociologist tends to avoid falling into the trap of taking stated goals at face value and looks to the pattern of relationships themselves and what the social expectations are in actual practice. It is necessary in any attempt at program evaluation to avoid succumbing to the notion that we should simply test the empirical adequacy of the stated goals.

A sociological perspective toward evaluation of experiential education programs needs to center on the social characteristics of the school program, and its potential impact as a social experience on the student. This perspective might become clearer in the following discussion that deals with some aspects of schools in American society and the roles that are possibly played by experiential education programs.

II. The School and the Social Status of Students

The educational institution represented by the American school is a complex structure of relationships which operate to create a social boundary that separates the *student* from the rest of the social life of the community. The development of this status is historically marked by three social changes which need to be briefly discussed because of their consequences for experiential education. The first change deals with the creating of the special (formal) status of youth in the society, and the next two changes are more directly related to the development of schools in the community.

(1) The first historical change really deals with the issue of control of youth. The term control here refers to formal legal controls used by the community to channel youth into schools. The development of compulsory education laws, child labor laws, and the juvenile court system virtually prevents a twelve or sixteen year old from becoming an economically independent citizen. These control measures contribute to, and are at the same time symbols of, the unique status of youth in our culture. The central institutions in their lives are supposed to be the family and the school, and they are systematically excluded, sometimes formally excluded, from participation in the other areas of community life (Trow, 1973:45-61).

One of the apparent consequences of this status assignment is that it creates a "youth subculture" that defines much of the adult world as irrelevant because students are not expected to become involved in it, or are prevented from becoming involved in the adult world. Therefore, experiential education programs often have to combat this problem by finding ways around child labor laws, or to overcome the problem of getting students interested in the adult world, or in finding ways of getting the adult world interested in students.

The creation of the status of youth as a separate and distinct position means that peer groups and schools shape and affect their lives, but it does not imply that adolescents have fundamentally different values. Their value system tends to be pretty conventional with the major difference being in the salience or degree of emphasis given to certain values (Eve, 1975.165). This finding reflects the fact that the status of youth goes beyond the formal controls and has become a self reinforcing phenomenon (Lerman, 1968:219-235).

(2) The second change we would like to note was the growth in the size of schools as organizations as well as the growth of school systems. This growth in size of the American public school tended to increase the trend toward bureacratization of the school as an organization. The characteristics of bureacracy can naturally fall into two groups. One group of characteristics defines relations of members of the organization to each other, and the other defines the desired patterns of behavior in the organization.

School as an organization reflects changes in the first group of bureacratic characteristics through the process of specialization (Thompson, 1969). One aspect of the specialization process deals with the specialization of roles yielding increased centralization of control in the hand of administors as well as the addition of endless support personnel, specialists, and "coordinators" to supplement the activities of teachers (Callahan, 1962). The administration of the organization increasingly relies on scheduling, rules, standard procedures, and endless record keeping on teachers and students alike. For students the phrases "It is going down on your record," or "Don't spoil your record" are enough to strike terror in their hearts for fear that their entire life would be tainted by what was in these recorc

The specialization process also creates a greater differentiation of functions so that courses were taught by specialists in that subject as well as the fact that schools have taken on more functions—i.e., athletics, R.O.T.C., clubs, driver education, delinquency prevention, and *experiential education programs* of all kinds. The specialization process here is partly a product of increasing size and a demand for "business like" efficiency, and partly a result of the school being pressured to take on more and more socialization functions (Katz, 1971). With this change the school as an organization becomes less homogenous; while each program tends to push to establish their own domain and to work out an accommodation with other programs (Meyer, 1975).

Finally, the relations between members have been altered by the schools changing their qualifications for careers in the system. Specialized educational training replaced the old normal school educations as a necessary requisite for entering the system. Once in the system an individual's function has become increasingly specified by the specialized curriculum. Any function that did not require special qualifications (like coordinator of an experiential education program) could be left to the remaining staff whose area of specialization did not provide them with a full work load assignment.

The second group of characteristics of bureacratization refers to the elements that define desired patterns of behavior in the organization. Generally, bureaucratic organizations, school being no exception, tend to stress objectivity, precision and consistency in performing tasks, compliance and cooperation, etc. The normative expectations that surround student life in the school are represented by the very words that are used to describe "proper" behavior. Officials in the school are quick to state that "courtesy," "honesty," "dependability," "a desire for success," "friendliness," "loyalty," "neatness," "punctuality," and "self-control" are the characteristics of "a good student." The fact that these normative expectations are constantly preached to the students implies that the school system does not automatically assume that the students have these virtues. (In fact, one wonders if the school does not automatically assume that the students are rude, dishonest, irresponsible, lazy, hostile, and sloppy by nature.) The American school has always been concerned with teaching "proper conduct" along with the academic subjects, and is one of the social institutions in America held responsible for the moral training of young people. Schools have been subject to criticism if they did not exercise a fairly high degree of surveillance and control over students, and this pattern can raise difficulties for experiential education programs because it opens them to criticisms of not providing sufficient supervision. These paternalistic norms set the school as an organization apart from other bureaucratic types of organizations in the society (Havighurst and Neugarten, 1967:191-214).

(3) A third historical change that greatly influenced education and the functioning of schools is professionalism (Katz, 1971:36-37). The professionalism of education represents a movement to limit the influence of parents or other "outsiders" in controlling the mode, manner, or content of school instruction. The running of the school was to be left to the professional who could determine what was proper for the child to learn and when and how the child would learn it. The movement toward greater professionalism in American society never resulted in the educator gaining exclusive control over the child's instruction, but it did greatly increase their control and effectively limit the role of parents or elected school boards in influencing school policies. Today, in spite of the fact that the school is supposed to be under the influence of local control, and therefore should manifest any local differences, the professionalism has produced an amazing commonality in the operation of schools from coast to coast.

These three elements, legal controls on youth, bureaucratization, and professionalism, are three of the more important elements in creating a social boundary around the school such that people in the school system talk about the larger community as being the "real world." The school is not the "real world," it is a "hybrid society" formed out of the process of creating the unique status of student.

When we see the school, whethe. .t is elementary, high school, or college, as a controlled world with its own patterns of authority, its own distinct grouping, its own ceremonies and rituals, and its own peculiar language, then we might imagine that the social boundary might become completely closed to outside influence. Yet the school seems to be very sensitive to the major social differences in a community like class or minority group status. Originally the school was to have an uplifting role in improving the moral training and literacy of the working class, but later the schools began to tailor their curriculums to the "need of the children" (Katz, 1971). In the interest of providing an education to everyone special tracks were developed for the middle class college bound, and the working class factory bound child, and this selection process was appropriately disguised by the use of "objective" testing. As the role of education as a necessary qualification for jobs has increased, the school has changed from a class-sensitive institution to a class creating institution in that it now plays a major role in creating social inequality in America.

Minority groups have faired even worse than simple social classes in that they have been made to feel unwelcome under any circumstances. The school dropout rates for blacks, Mexican-Americans, and American Indians testify to the fact that the school has failed to consider the "needs" of these children (Friedenberg, 1968). Only when delinquency rates begin to threaten the middle class segment of the community are the schools challenged to do "something" to keep minority group adolescents in school (Moynihan, 1969:63-66).

Schools are not only sensitive to the social class and minority group characteristics of their communities, but they are vulnerable to social-political fads. Regardless of whether it is the "challenge of Sputnik," "back to basics," "mainstreaming," or the need for "relevance" schools have always been challenged by certain types of social-political demands. Some of the programs that are tacked on to the curriculum are responses to these demands. Driver education, drug education, vocational education, or experiential education programs arise out of the specific community pressure to "do something," anything, to solve a problem. Such programs represent the cultural sentiments that the school *should* be able to do almost anything with youth. Yet, at the same time, the programs lack traditionally grounded legitimacy and are easily threatened by opposing factions, or are replaced by new social concerns.

Finally, no discussion of the American schools would be complete without a few words about how students learn to behave in these organizations. First, it is clear from numerous surveys of students that they by and large like school, and also like some of their teachers. Even school dropouts will speak of school in somewhat favorable terms especially because they miss seeing their friends. Getting an education, or a diploma, is often interpreted in power and prestige terms as giving a person some standing in the larger community. This is particularly true of lower class blacks' view of education (Miller, 1968:188). Yet it would be wrong to assume that because students have some positive attitudes toward school in general that they necessarily accept all its teachings. After all, teachers and administrators are representatives of the adult community.

When students go to school they learn to get along in school by conforming enough so as to be relatively inconspicuous. This requires that the student comply with the regimentation of the school by being generally punctual. Getting along in school also means being concerned with the school's external symbols of self. By this we mean being concerned with grades, test scores, evaluations, and one's "record" as reflecting on who the person really is, i.e., their self-image. This is a kind of self rationalization characteristically found in bureaucratic career patterns. Schools go to great lengths to try and convince students and/or their parents that these symbols are important and worth striving to maximize.

The social-economic background of students is associated with different interpretations of the achievement symbols of the school system. Upper-middle class students tend to associate success with individualized characteristics of the person like intelligence, hard work, a desire for success. Within this group achievement will vary somewhat with measures of self-concept. Success in the achievement system of the school is associated with positive self-image, and difficulty with the achievement system produces self-effacement. This pattern is not universally true, however, because self-concept and achievement are not related for black students but only for white students. What is related to achievement for many lower class minority students is their sense of control over their environment. If an individual is confident that his/her social environment will allow him/her to shape the future through planning and hard work then he/she will tend to achieve in school, but if he/she feels that success or failure are the result of external circumstances that produce "good luck" or "bad luck" then achievement is poorer. How achievement systems are perceived greatly influences whether an individual will work to maximize achievement in the system, and how an individual will rationalize his/her failure if he/she is not successful in the system (Parelius and Parelius, 1978:304-306).

Finally, the system requires that the student attempt to please or satisfy the teacher. The student quickly learns that there are three ways to do this. One is by faking, another by cheating, and a third by actually achieving. By faking the student wishes to appear that he/she knows the right answer or had the right intentions but for some reason performed badly. Cheating on the other hand is a more direct deception which implies that the student has learned to act in a highly opportunistic fashion with little regard for the values of the system. Finally, achieving implies doing the necessary structured task in a way that will be acceptable to the teacher. What these responses have in common is that the situation is structured so that what is to be done, and how it is to be done, is already established in the lesson plan. The student is never in a position to create his/her own situation and achieve his/her own ends. Rather, the student is put in a position where he/she must choose to act sincerely, i.e., do what is expected, or insincerely, i.e., fake doing what is expected, or a little of both behaviors. For this reason the very bright student and the relatively dull student may, for different reasons, find the system very unrewarding or totally irrelevant to their lives (Lichter, 1962:2).

The social boundary that emerges around the school and adolescent life is, nevertheless, a temporary social world for the individual. Sooner or later the adolescent must face the status transition from the world of youth to the adult world of the community. This status transition may represent a crisis for the individual, in that the normative expectation and the pattern of adaptation developed as a student may not be appropriate in his/her new situation. In addition, this social boundary, like all social boundaries, limits our knowledge of the "real world" and tends to create unrealistic stereotypes about the social life on the other side.

Experiential education programs tend to deal with the problem of the status transition between the school and the so-called "real world." The school in this case is providing a buffer for the status transition of the individual by allowing the student to participate in activities outside the school. Keeping in mind this sociological sketch of the American school and the status of students just presented, it is now necessary to attempt to isolate some of the necessary ingredients for an experiential education program.

III. A Typology for Experiential Education Programs

Experiential education programs consist of such a large array of activities that it is difficult to imagine that they could all have similar effects. For example, some programs require full-time participation, while others only part-time; some involve paid jobs and others volunteer work; and some require reports or research papers based on the experience and others require virtually nothing more than attendance. The great variety of experiential education programs makes the problem of evaluating them in any kind of systematic fashion difficult. If we are going to define these programs sociologically as programs in which schools provide a buffer for the status transition of the student then we should be able to set down some minimal characteristics for the kind of programs that deal with that social phenomena.

So as to keep the sociological classification general enough to include a sizable number of programs we will take three variables and form a typology of characteristics of the program. The first variable will be the individual's *primary social identity*. We are referring here to the institutional sector, educational or occupational, that the individual is socially identified with. When an individual is a student and works at a job, he/she has both identities but one of them is usually primary in defining the person's status in society. It is this identity that is important in classifying experiential education programs.

A second variable is the school's relationship with the individual. For the sake of simplicity we will say that a school may have (1) an in-school *instructional relationship* to the student, or (2) an out-of-school *supervisory relationship* to the student. The school program may relate to a student primarily in terms of classroom instruction, or in defining an individualized non-classroom program for the student. A student may participate in both ways combining classroom instruction with non-classroom experiences. Experiential education in this typology will be considered an out-of-school supervisory relationship.

The third variable is *participation in occupational experience or work activity*. This variable refers to a person's activities in the "real world" or "adult world" and for our purposes can include volunteer work as well as paid work. The nature of this participation is important because, for example, a volunteer participates in a job but is t considered a "real" member of the organization, whereas an individual who is paid is conside a member of the organization, which can produce somewhat different social expectations and role conflicts.

Putting these variables together four different kinds of educational experiences can be defined. The first kind in Figure 5 is the "normal" student whose primary identity is that of student, who is involved in regular classroom instruction, and who may or may not work or do volunteer work after school or on weekends. The identity of "normal" student also includes strong peer group participation as well as the larger community identifying the individual as a student.

Figure 5. Typology of Educational Programs

	1	2		3
		School Relationship		
	Primary Identity: Student	a Instructional in-school	b Supervisory out-of-school	Participation in occupational experience or work activity
A. "normal" student	+	+	—	±
B. experiential education programs	+	±	+	+
C. returning student or adult education programs		[illegible]	—	+
D. leave of absence or stop-out programs	+/	+/	[illegible]	/+

The second type in Figure 5 is what is called an experiential education program relationship and includes some additional elements. First, the individual is primarily identified as a student, who may, depending on the kind of program, be involved in some classroom instruction, but will definitely be involved in a supervisory out-of-school relationship with the school. This relationship may vary from one of highly structured activities and surveillance, to one of virtually no structure and very low surveillance. Nevertheless, the school is extending its relationship to the student beyond the usual limits set by time and space. Finally, the student is to participate in some kind of experience in the "real world." As mentioned above, this may be a paid job or volunteer work or some kind of structured activity. What is important here is that the individual tends to maintain the identity of student, i.e., student-worker or student volunteer. In this way even if the individual is a paid employee he/she is a member of the sponsoring organization under the special status of student-employee. The status distinction may be acknowledge by his/her special work schedule or simply a nickname given to the student by other employees.

A third type in Figure 5 consists of programs for the returning student. In this situation the individual is not primarily identified as a student, but more likely identified in terms of some occupational role. He/she is involved in some form of instruction which may be related to his/her occupation, but what makes this type different is that the individual is not seen as primarily a student. Adult education programs or CETA programs tend to have these characteristics.

The final type presented in Figure 5 deals with programs that allow a leave of absence from school so that the person moves from the status of "normal student" to an occupational status and then back to the status of "normal student" again. There is no extended supervisory relationship with the school but there is a status transition. The "stop-out" programs in private colleges and universities are an example of this.

This typology is not intended to classify all types of educational programs but to simply define sociologically experiential education programs. For our purposes here let us state that educational program types C and D are not experiential education programs. This does not mean that individuals in these programs do not have educational experiences, nor that their experiences cannot be systematically evaluated. It means that the variables and research design for evaluating type B experiential education programs probably would not work in trying to evaluate *all* programs.

Notice that we must acknowledge that students, of all kinds, often have jobs or do volunteer work as well as go to school. Students in an experiential education program may experience roughly the same thing that "normal students" do by going to school and having a job after school. In addition, experiential education programs can be very sensitive to socioeconomic characteristics of the students and the school district. In terms of these programs it needs to be noted that the "real world" for upper-middle class students in an Executive Internship program consists of different elements than the "real world" for working class students in an Occupational Work Experience program. The tendency is for programs to be oriented to the socioeconomic background of students, however, this means that the program may not offer the student experiences that are fundamentally different from the experiences of students not in the program but who are from the same socioeconomic background. The impact of these programs might be greater if we switched the program and the kinds of students around. Imagine for a moment taking lower class students from the "worst high school" in town, getting them a new wardrobe, and allowing them to spend their time with lawyers, bank vice-presidents, or the city planner in an Executive Internship program. Conversely, imagine upper-middle class students working in a box factory or warehouse in some unskilled job. This kind of experiential learning program would be much easier to evaluate because the experiences in the program would be markedly different than the experiences of the student's peers. Furthermore, it would require the students to change their behavior pattern so as to accommodate a social environment that is more unnatural to them. If this example seems impractical it only proves our point that these programs are strongly influenced by the socioeconomic characteristics of the students, and that makes evaluation more difficult.

At this point there are a number of loose ends which need to be tied together to form a clearer picture of the evaluation programs we foresee in experiential education programs.

IV. A Compilation of Some Key Points of Evaluation

The description of the American school and its position in the community stresses a number of points that have ramifications for the form and function of experiential education. The following are some of the more relevant basic aspects of the structure of the school followed by some of the hypothesized effects for experiential education programs.

Organizational Characteristics

1. Schools, as organizations, become more complex through the processes of differentiation and specialization. Each part must develop its domain, and establish a degree of domain consensus (i.e., agreement among participants in the organization regarding the appropriate role and scope of a program), and each part gains a status relative to the other parts in the organization.

   a. Experiential education programs represent one of these differentiated parts and must have some degree of domain consensus, and a specific status in the organization. Experiential education programs may be perceived by administrators and teachers as a vital part of the school's programs, or as not worth the trouble. Their relative status will influence their effectiveness. Students are likely to give a program no more value and importance than it has in the organizational structure of the school in general. If the program's status is low, the student is less apt to be influenced by it. Experiential education programs may be mutually understood in terms of program resources and goals, or may be badly misunderstood. A high degree of domain consensus will increase the school's effectiveness in utilizing the program.

2. Schools, as organizations, have routines, schedules, requirements, etc., expected of every "normal student." These aspects represent a system of organizational controls, as well as a set of standards which are used to judge the actions of others in terms of "fairness," and propriety.

   a. As experiential education programs deviate from "normal" expectations in work requirements, grades, time schedules, general surveillance of students, they may create conflicts (or more submerged conflict in the form of accommodation). Organizationally, the conflicts may emerge when a student clearly deviates from expectations (e.g., is arrested smoking pot in the city park) and the program not the student is blamed for the deviance. Experiential education programs may find themselves held accountable for many things that other school programs are not bothered with because experiential education programs violate norms of distributive justice.

3. Schools, as organizations, are involved in evaluating and grouping students on a variety of criteria. The American schools are powerful organizations of social selection. Skills in reading, mathematics, athletics, sex appeal, and a great variety of talents and interests,

divide programs and students into endless verlapping subgroups. Even the general stratification into freshman, sophomore, junior, senior groupings is not a completely closed system in terms of social contacts and the diffusion of information. Each subgroup carries with it connotations about the members' abilities and/or character. The more inclusive a single category is in a student's life, the more he/she is likely to be labeled as having those abilities and character traits.

a. The extent to which an experiential education program isolates students from other activities should be directly related to the degree to which they are labeled. Administrative selection criteria, or informal ways the school uses the program to differentiate students greatly affect the kinds of labels applied by teachers and other students. Students in experiential education programs are sometimes referred to as the "dummy drop-outs," "freaks," or "delinquents." The labeling process may greatly restrict recruitment of new students because being in a program implies that you are not "normal", yet ironically the more all-encompassing a program is the greater will be its potential impact on students who do brave the stigma.

Student Peer Groups

1. It is now well known that the student body of the high school is divided into cliques, gangs, and other informal groups, and that the network of relations between these groups form an adolescent society. A status structure among the students themselves is formed, and rejection from membership in one segment tends to generate a new segment of the peer group system.

   As a segregated structure, the student body develops its own subculture dramatically characterized by the fads in clothing, music, and automobiles. This culture appears not to be a counter culture as some have suggested, but rather more extreme positions on certain values. Empirical studies show that teachers and students are on the same side of a Likert scale composed of questions based on situational dilemmas and values, but the students answer with greater magnitude in the direction supporting the notion of a separate youth culture. Some suggest this difference is a degree of idealism permitted because of not having to realize values in the context of the "real world" and make the compromises necessary to survival.

   a. One consequence of involvement in experiential education could be to retain students who might otherwise drop out of school. However, there are conflicting variables at work, such as the negative prestige being assigned to students who are in "vocational education" programs, when it is combined with the availability of full-time work may act to pull students out of school.

   b. A second consideration is the selective factor operating in volunteering for experiential education. It could be that students who have been partly rejected by the adolescent society are the ones who volunteer for the programs. Should such an event occur, it could be possible that the involvement of the student in the adolescent society would make a difference in the findings with respect to the effect of the program on the student.

c. If a student volunteers for a program his/her status to the peer group is different than if he/she is coerced. Volunteering implies positive motives; and a willingness to be identified with the program, but coercion implies none of these things. With coercion a person goes along because he/she must. Therefore, the kind of pressure (sometimes subtle) placed on a student to be in the program will influence the kind of impact the program has on the student.

d. Effective participation in an experiential education program requires some peer group support. If the "normal students" cannot serve as a supportive group, then students in the program must function as a peer group. If the program fails to create the social support for a student, then the student will likely gravitate back to the "normal students" as his/her peer group.

2. Students develop their own set of attitudes about the school setting. Some of the routine and rules are basic to maintaining the student peer group and others are considered alien and unnecessary impositions. Students conform or break rules and routines in terms of their own standards of order, and the school's ability to enforce the rules.

   a. Participation in an experiential education program whose organization differs radically from that experienced by the "normal students" may violate the norms of distributive justice held by students and cause hostility or rejection of students in a program.

Status Transition

1. Schools are pivotal points in creating and preserving the dependent status of youth in American society. The social boundary created is reinforced by the peer group, the school, and the community. High school or college, students are expected to abruptly leave the status of student and join the "real world" at graduation with "realistic" plans for "their future." The status transition may be met with a sense of isolation, fears of inadequacy, and a desire to find a pat formula for managing the transition, e.g., marriage, going on in school, join the army, or work for your father.

   a. An experiential education program that deals with the status transition should expose students to experiences such that the salience of some values in their adolescent oriented value system changes and others become more moderate.

   b. An experience education program that deals with the status transition should expand a student's "sense of control" of his/her future environment relative to his/her pre-program level of self-confidence or positive self-image. This calls for statistically controlling for self-concept.

   c. An experiential education program that deals with the status transition should affect students such that they manifest fewer avoidance behaviors than students not in the program. Students who are well integrated into the high school situation with strong peer group ties should practice patterns of evasion in this transition. An index might be able to be constructed dealing with various patterns of evasion based on the assumption that students in a program designed to deal with the status transition should exhibit less evasive behavior or beliefs. Such patterns that refer to future events like early marriage or responses from students "that they don't think about their future" or "that they are simply going to go on to college and will worry about what to major in when they get there" might be characteristic of the evasion behavior found among students that are well integrated into high school life and not in an experiential education program.

V. Methodology

In the following pages, we consider certain methodological implications for the sociological perspective on evaluation. The central focus is upon general problems of design although some considerations are given to specifics where we feel a deviation from standard techniques might be desirable.

The General Context. Traditionally, evaluation research has implied the design of a field experiment. The logic is that the participants, resembling an experimental group, are like nonparticipants, the control group, before they experience the program. If the experimental and control groups are well matched then any differences noted between the two groups after the program experience may be attributed to the experience of the program itself. This design is most consistent with the logic of empirical evaluation, and is probably conducted as rigorously by educational psychologists as by any group of social scientists.

Our suggestions for supplementing the field experiment with other designs comes not, then, from the logic or from the way such studies are conducted. Rather, some of the perspectives and variables we think may be important in evaluation from a sociological point of view do not yield readily to the before and after design for a variety of reasons that will become clearer.

We should mention at this point that we are aware that there are several aspects of the evaluation context that will modify recommendations or make some recommendations less likely to be taken seriously. The most difficult problems seem political in that the current "taxpayers' revolt" and constant public criticism of the school on issues of teaching basics, violence, drugs, etc., make the role of evaluation in decision making very problematic. Yet the increasing threat from retrenchment and the increasing criticism of the schools increase the need for more thorough and comprehensive evaluation strategy. No longer can we risk one approach conducted with all of its strengths and weaknesses, and be satisfied that we have met our obligations.

Since all of the methodologies used by the various disciplines concerned with human conduct have weaknesses, it has been suggested that several research methodologies be used to test the same point. This approach is called triangulation. We recommend this approach using whatever methodologies or designs seem appropriate to each analytical problem. For example, a before and after field experiment, in-depth interviewing, the reports of peer groups, and unobtrusive measures noting how people behave may all be used to determine whether changes in belief, i.e., a "sense of control," on the part of participants in the programs occur. Another example would be a panel study, an unstructured interview, and later behavior observation to determine occupational choices that may be affected by the experiential education program.

Even though the context within which evaluation of the experiential education program will be accomplished is threatening, we would be remiss in our role as social scientists if we did not point out the potential for gaining knowledge for future programs if the evaluators keep such a purpose in mind in designing their research. We are speaking here of testing what it is about a program which works and does not work for desirable consequences. Should such an approach have been taken a half a century ago in say, evaluating the platoon system in Gary, Indiana, we would know much more about designing and evaluating the present study. This program placed one third of the student body in industry, one third in the classroom, and one third doing projects. Some educators at the time, especially those critical of the traditional school setting, were quite complimentary of this program. But no data were presented to show what it was about the program that had any consequence whatever. A search of the literature revealed no discussion of why it was discontinued. We would hope that future evaluations of the present program cannot be criticized in the same way.

What we are speaking of here is the generalizability of the things being evaluated. Let us take the field experimental design as one example. If participants are compared to non-participants, the only generalization which could be made to future or other programs would be that the total process as it is found in the schools in the study either work or do not work or work in certain ways. Therefore, if an imaginative and creative educator develops a program for out-of-school work experience, he or she can use the evaluation findings of this program only if the social, economic, and cultural conditions are the same and if the program is identitical.

If, on the other hand, several things go on in the program which can be evaluated which can be generalized to other programs, much in the same way that hypotheses are tested for building knowledge in theories, then some use may be made of this in future programs. What happens in the schools in the evaluation study can be modified according to which processes worked and which did not as that program is expanded to other schools.

Problems of Design. The purpose of this section is not to offer completed research designs but rather to give some indication of directions that may be taken on points of difficulty introduced by the sociological perspective. We will deal with these at two levels: those problems in which the tests would be made with the individual students as the unit of analysis, and those in which the school or community would be the unit of analysis. Wherever possible, we will attempt to reduce the institutional level problem to the individual level simply because it is then easier to handle. We will discuss both general methodological problems and specific techniques together in each of the sections.

Individual Level Problems

1. The care with which matching is done in experimental designs in evaluation research greatly increases the rigor in such research. However, experiential education programs are voluntary. The choice, therefore, between participating and not participating in the program is based on some factor relevant to the very experience we are evaluating. Should randomization be possible in assigning people to participation and non-participation, in a particular school, we would recommend that that school be used in an evaluation study. The voluntary nature of the program and the difficulty this introduces into inferences drawn from before and after studies probably cannot be overcome. For this reason, and for others, we recommend triangulation of other types of evidence to support conclusions concerning, say, changes in a student's orientations. For example, including samples of parents, teachers, and work supervisors may be necessary to demonstrate changes in, say, rebelliousness or self-confidence. The use of interviews from other than youth would

employ the concept of informant rather than respondent. Such informants can probably observe behavior in extreme cases, but the report of a "changed belief or attitude" would be an imputation. We would not deny that such imputations leave much to be desired, but would contend that paper-and-pencil tests measures leave much to be desired also.

2. What is meant by evaluation of an education program often concerns measuring some kind of change in the individual student's beliefs or attitudes. When we are measuring belief in basic cultural values, such as the work ethic or individualism, certain characteristics of how individuals internalize values should be taken into account. One of the most important of these is the idea of a hierarchy of values. The principle is that most people subscribe to all of the basic values of a culture. Therefore, a question which avoids the criticism of being double-barrelled—in other words, it is a simple sentence, will not reveal some important differences between respondents.

   Research has shown that values which may be contradictory can be believed in deeply by the same person. However, when other factors affecting behavior demand a choice between values, the hierarchy comes into operation. In addition, the hierarchy changes from one situation to another. Thus, items reflecting the various value dimension being measured should be attached to a variety of situations: peer group, choosing a job, being a good marriage partner, and the like.

   The source of values learning is somewhat more difficult to establish because the same value may be learned from different sources. Should peer group, teachers, or the family differ in their value orientation from the experiential education setting a difference in the source of value learning may reveal more than a change in values. Open-ended interviews may reveal differences otherwise hidden by other techniques.

   It has been mentioned in several contexts heretofore that the work experience introduces a new set of expectations to accept or at least entertain new beliefs (and interests, attitudes, and loyalties) different from those which come from the social life associated with the school experience only. It has also been mentioned that the members of the adolescent society in high school do not disagree as to the direction of their subscription to American values but rather differ in the degree to which they subscribe. We would hypothesize three changes wrought by the status transition and exposure to the "real world": (a) that some differences in the beliefs in basic values will be associated with participation in the experiential education program, (b) that the source of values, whether or not they differ in content, will be different, presumably more diffuse, and (c) that tolerance for different value orientations (particularly those associated with the adult world) might be increased.

   To the extent that paper-and-pencil tests are used to explore possible changes in values, the hierarchy should be taken into account. A ranking method, where the person must choose between important values, may be a closer approximation to the "real world" choice situation. We have previously considered the first hypothesis, the change in the content and strength of values in terms of the hierarchy of values. The third hypothesis, on tolerance of different values (decrease in ethnocentrism), deals with "certainty" questions. After a ranking or Likert value question, the degree of ethnocentrism can be measured by an additional choice question: How certain are you of this? Answers can be designed to indicate the degree of certainty.

However, teachers, parents, and co-workers can also give evidence on their perception of how well the participant or non-participant can tolerate disagreement, differing viewpoints, and the like.

3. A considerable amount of criticism has been offered over the years on the validity of grades as reflections of knowledge gained, and more recently on the value of a high school diploma, especially in terms of literacy. Nevertheless, both grades and diploma are socially defined in such a way as to make a considerable difference in the career of an individual. Thus, educational institutions and the economic institution have norms of recruitment in which both diploma and grades are considered important. Further, if we place the effect of experiential education on grades and on the probability of completing high school in the sociological context, the effects noted feed into the inter-institutional relationship. This phenomenon would be important whether or not grades and diplomas represented real learning or not. Therefore, a student's grades, and his/her choice of elective subjects, might be a valuable index of the impact of an experiential education program on the student.

   Caution should be taken in using administrative outcomes as a measure of the program's effectiveness for the individual. Many organizational situations are subject to serious cancelling effects. Let us turn to the matter of school dropouts for an illustration.

   For some students, the experiential education program may provide sufficient diversion, motivation, or interest to remain in school, even though all of their social indicators point to a propensity to drop out. For others job opportunities may arise through contacts or impressions made at the place of work supplied through the program. As a result, the need to remain in school for employment reasons would no longer have any effect. The two conditions would cancel each other. To look only for net effects would result in the conclusion that the program has little effect on school dropouts. The importance of identifying such cancelling effects, if indeed they do occur, is in finding conditions which may be introduced which increase the desired effect and decrease the undesirable effect.

4. There is considerable amount of evidence that job dissatisfaction is widespread in the United States. Since jobs fill in about half the waking hours of the individual's day, this is a rather serious problem. Dissatisfaction in jobs can be of two kinds: dissatisfaction with the work setting or dissatisfaction with a career choice. We would suggest that one place to look for the impact of an experiential education program would be in terms of career choice and also find out if the students, through the experience in the program, eliminated jobs they had previously aspired to. This elimination process requires that a person have a clearer idea of what he/she wants from a career. The time to collect these data is two or three years after graduation and get retrospective accounts of their preparation for the "real world" and their ability to make satisfactory choices in a job.

Organizational Level Problems. In a sense, evaluation which employs the individual participant as the unit of analysis is designed to evaluate the individual students, not the program. The fact that we so often measure some characteristic of the student when we are trying to judge the effectiveness of a program indicates that we assume a causal connection between how programs are structured and the capacity of students to learn (i.e., measurable changes in attitudes or behavior). As has been pointed out in a previous section, the mere presence of the youth in school does not imply learning from the school's curriculum—although the absence of youth can be taken as the absence of school learning. This perspective can lead us to look at "what might have been." Does the school find a way to place youth who are present but not learning into experiential education?

From an organizational point of view, we may be just as interested in how the program fits into the structure of the school as in how well the intended effects are found among individual students. Taking this point of view for a moment, we can say that the specialization process in organizations should contribute to the realization of an individual's values and aspirations. In this sense a "good" experiential education program would be one that served all the students who wanted this kind of experience. If all the students that wanted a particular experience were not in the program, then the question would be: why not?

Program effectiveness could refer to how well integrated the program is in the structure of the school, and because we are assuming that an individual's values and aspirations are being realized we would expect to see no real change in them. Therefore, a highly effective program would be expected to yield no fundamental changes in the individual student.

How a school uses an experiential education program is critical to its effectiveness no matter how effectiveness is defined. A school may use the program as an enrichment program for interested students, or use it to try and keep students from dropping out of school, or the school may use the program as a "dumping ground" for recalcitrant students. The traditional methods of evaluating educational programs, by evaluating the student, would not reveal the function of the program in the school.

We have already suggested two variables that we feel would be significant in evaluating these programs at an organizational level. The first variable deals with the idea of domain consensus which refers to the relative consensus of the role and function of the program among organizational members. When teachers' and administrators' responses are compared with each other and with the program coordinators' responses an organization score is created. The second variable refers to the relative status of the program when compared to other functions in the school. The program's status could be measured by either students' or teachers' responses to items that ask for a rank ordering of programs on various dimensions.

These two variables might then be compared to various dependent variables like student demand for a program, or the percentage of students who leave the program and return to regular classes. This analysis calls for using organizations, i.e., schools, as the unit of analysis and therefore, a sample of schools—keeping in mind community characteristics—would be used to form the data base for the analysis. Before plunging into such a study it would be useful to do a few case studies first.

The case study is a methodology which has lost the high repute it had a half century ago, especially when it is combined with techniques of open ended interviews, direct observation, and participant observation. There are several reasons why we feel the foregoing discussion of methodology leads us to recommend the case study approach, including those less rigorous data gathering techniques mentioned. The main reason is that many of the variables do not lend themselves to more rigorous techniques. First, variables such as the socioeconomic status of the family or community are not amenable to change. These types of variables may mean that in some communities and some schools an experiential education program would never be a success. Second, variables such as the relationship between the school and the industry (cooperation, conflict, or no communication) are too cumbersome to be compared to other communities even though they may be changed if great effort is exerted. The real unit of analysis here would be the community in which a given school and a given industry are relating in certain ways relevant to the program. An adequate probability sample of such communities would be extremely burdensome and the variables difficult to measure. The use of the case study from a sociological perspective returns us to an older methodology, one which depends more upon the sensitivity of the researcher than on systematic data collection. Yet, it has proven in the past to be an effective way of redefining problems and key issues, and in this case it may be effective in redirecting research toward the organizational level of analysis.

VI. Conclusions

In this paper we have tried to make a variety of suggestions about (1) how the experiential education programs might be viewed from a sociological perspective, and some of the ramifications the approach implied; and (2) some possible ways programs might be evaluated. Yet we have stopped short of a specific research proposal or evaluation program in an attempt to keep our remarks general enough to deal with experiential education programs of all kinds.

Evaluation must begin with a sociological analysis of the problem. The status of youth in American society, and the role of the school as an institution that is bureaucratic in form is a necessary point in any analysis. We have argued that a number of historical changes in American society over the last half century or more have created a social boundary between youth (and their school) and the larger community. This social boundary creates a problem of a status transition for youth that represents more or less a crisis in their lives.

Our comments have not centered on the various roles which students can choose to bridge the status transition except to comment that "early marriage" or "joining the army" offer the student an answer to the question "What are you going to do?" There is no doubt a number of aspects of "career" choices or choices of future roles that are possible and maybe a study should center on this problem. Experiential education programs deal with this status transition by bridging the social boundary. Indeed, experiential education may provide a vehicle (i.e., a role) for dealing with the status transition that allows the student to learn about the real world before he/she must join it.

We have tried to present a number of problems of organizational specialization in the school, and problems of peer group structure which might cause difficulties for students in experiential education programs. On the whole these points must be considered tentative hypotheses at best. Without several case studies of high schools that specifically focus on these problems it is difficult to do more than make a guess about what might be happening. Nevertheless, we feel that along with evaluating the students, as individuals, and attempting to measure how they adapt to the status transition having been involved in an experiential education program; we also feel it is critical to evaluate the program in the organizational context of the school itself.

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FEEDBACK

**EVALUATOR—
CONCEPTUALIZER**

There are a number of trends in schools that are remarkably consistent, such as separateness of programs, degree to which program effectiveness depends on separateness, and how much identity students keep with their home schools. It was an interesting twist to look at the organization as the unit of analysis rather than the student.

Looking at these relationships seems important in order to identify early in the program the cost to various people involved. By being more aware of what it would cost, they can make better decisions on whether to participate. The program managers can come up with equitable payments for that involvement that might reduce conflict.

**EVALUATOR—
ACTION ORIENTED**

The group appreciated the emphasis on the institutional context of experiential education programs, even though it would not be an adequate focus for evaluation by itself. The group disagreed with what it took to be a suggestion for possible measurement: a sense of control. It seems to the group that the goal of experiential education should be to give it a realistic sense of control, not necessarily greater control. That is, there are some adolescents who ought to feel they have less control over their environment than they in fact feel, and simply evaluating the program according to how high people's sense of control is would not get at that important factor.

The question of avoiding status transition brings to mind Kenneth Keniston's suggestion that what is new and potentially good about youth today is precisely the opportunity it provides for young people to postpone their assumption of adult responsibilities. That gives them opportunities to think and relate in ways that are not possible when adult responsibility must be taken on at the historically appropriate time. So perhaps a longer postponement of the status transition is beneficial.

EXPERIENTIAL EDUCATOR— CONCEPTUALIZER

The group was a little overwhelmed by all the information and confused regarding measurement of programs versus measurement of individuals. The group was not entirely comfortable looking at the program as separate from individual outcomes. It would rather look at the individual outcomes, and in addition look at the differences between them and the effects of the program as a whole. The group talked about methods of recruitment to the programs and about the typical conflict in school systems between core curriculum versus experiential programs.

The group would like to know more about the socialization of young people and the way in which the program relates to that socialization. What other roles could be developed within the context of the program, and to what extent is that different from roles students can learn in the school system?

EXPERIENTIAL EDUCATOR — ACTION ORIENTED

American society has created an adolescent stage of life by lengthening school years with legal criteria. If practitioners work for more experiential education, then the degree of community support becomes a critical issue. As most are aware, programs are moving toward a point of business community saturation. The group felt that this is more of an issue with vocational education programs and internships than with career education and exploratory programs.

School seem to promote the idea that only teachers have the gift of being able to impart learning. The group feels Frank was suggesting that in order to integrate our experiential education programs within the bureaucracy of the school system, we either have to break down the educational walls or learn the structure and how to work within it. Keeping in mind what is important to the program, what about the opinions of teachers? Are comments like, "at least the teachers did not sabotage your program this year," positive or does it mean they were so apathetic they did not care? Did they support the program, or did we just not bother them? The group thinks it is important to remember that we are functioning within an educational organization, and must decide where we are in that setting.

Sociological Peer Summation

Robert F. Sexton
University of Kentucky

I want to comment for a moment on Frank's notions and then move to some general thoughts growing from all the presentations. Frank's paper is quite comprehensive and packed with insights. It is therefore important that you read it carefully, concentrating especially on the evaluation issues, which he skimmed over in his oral presentation.

There is much similarity between his ideas and those of James Coleman in *Youth: Transition to Adulthood*, some of Willard Wirtz's in *The Boundless Resource*, even some of the newer comments on underemployment, such as James O'Toole's in *Work, Learning and the American Future*. Frank is applying the same kind of perspective to experiential education, and this is quite valuable. He reminds us forcefully of some points that appear in all our discussions, such as motivation, which are quite important. He reminds us of the value of students personally setting goals and then sticking to them, and working with other people. Somebody writing about graduate political internships long ago quoted a graduate student to the effect that when he was doing his internship in government, working together with other people was called good administration, but when he went back to the campus it was called cheating.

His focus on the potential impact of these programs on social and economic class stratifications in the schools is also interesting; it's pertinent that at least two scholars here from outside the field of experiential education have mentioned this, one of the most critical things we can do: reversing the roles of our students in society. As an example, at many universities I expect the students who do field experience or internships are often those who need them least. They are the students who will succeed anyway, the students who can generalize from experience, the students who will leave the university and have no trouble getting jobs; they are the aggressive, bright and capable students who are after their main chance and are putting together their life goals. But what about the remaining less motivated and self assured students? If we focus solely on these students we face management problems, but they are worth the challenge.

Frank also cautioned us about a "labeling" issue, and the stigma often associated with these programs where they have a "vocational" connotation. While I would echo some of these concerns, one notion I sensed in all the papers and especially Frank's was the tendency to see experiential education as something with content, like an academic discipline. I want to share my bias that experiential education is a process, a technique it has no inherent content. It can facilitate certain instructional objectives, just like seminars, filmstrips, or simulations, but inherently it is not an area of knowledge. This is not compatible to some of the concepts of experience based career education which are currently popular, but I don't think the Office of Career Education has argued that it has content.

It's a very hazy area. When Frank identified experiential education with driver education or drug education, he was leading us to a particular view of experiential education The alternative would be to relate it to classroom objectives, or breadth of study, or to developing skills in analysis or synthesis. His conception takes us toward the use of experience for only one type of learning, or a specific program, rather than a comprehensive process for helping young people learn or a comprehensive way of doing business around the school.

SUMMATION

Now I want to take the liberty of making some general comments which follow in part from Frank's remarks and in part from others. The approach of using discipline-based scholars to consider experiential education is incredibly productive. To a degree they were all in something of a trap to start with; in a sense they were asked to be caricatures of their discipline. Under other circumstances the scholarly paraphernalia and disciplinary justifications—"we psychologists do it this way" and "sociologists do it that way," would not have been emphasized. We set them up a little bit to be criticized, but I expect they came here knowing this was their role and it was fruitful.

These papers, taken together and with some modifications, are a substantial contribution to the literature, partly because they are very thoughtful and not "how to do it," and partly because they are based on sound research and research orientations. I'm convinced that if we are going to integrate experiential education as an instructional process we need not only disciplinary allies but disciplinary thought behind it. One next step would be for the psychologist to write a paper on how to teach psychology through experiential education.

Employing some interpretative license, we saw four models. One stressed career development, that paper could have moved just as easily into other forms of development as outcomes for students. The second was the economic model, which would measure payoff. The third stressed the total curriculum. And the fourth stressed "status transition."

We might really make some progress if we combine these notions and add a few. All these outcomes are important—they are all outcomes inherent in our institutions and they are all outcomes that we should try to sort through. One thing that occurred to me is that this discussion could have happened on almost any campus. In other words, if a school or college said "we are going to do experiential education and we are going to start planning and set up a committee" and these four people were on it, we would have the same kind of discussion. We would then start sorting through "okay, which of those objectives do we emphasize." Then someone would have combined them. And to do that we should consider a few other possibilities as models.

One thing that struck me in all the presentations was the absence of interest in using experiential education to teach basic, somewhat traditional, academic skills. Nobody talked about teaching psychology or sociology or anthropology through experiential education. This could be disciplinary techniques, such as in field research, or it could be developing analytical ability, understanding, and sensitivities. My contention is that for some students those things can best be taught by confrontation with experience.

The second thing that should be thrown in the list of options is the effect on community. While everybody was thinking about community impact, especially Nick, we really didn't deal with it directly or thoroughly. The question of "what is being contributed by students to the community" and "what is the community getting" are critical.

The third issue has to do with the whole concept of service. Where and how do we consider the place of "service" as part of our educational objectives? Is helping young people develop a sense of the importance of service in their lives as opposed to a "job" or family or religion one of our objectives? This is something that Dick Graham talked about both here and elsewhere. We have focused more on work related, economics related, employment related concerns, and not so much on the idea that people need to have some sense of making a contribution.

Finally, a fourth issue is quite important in the long run. What happens as we move toward saturation of existing community agencies and businesses with young people serving internships? Obviously we must consider alternative activities for young people, probably by creating activities that need doing but have not been economically justifiable. Perhaps we should help communities find ways of providing the services we know are needed, but for which there have not been resources, through the involvement of students. There are also discussions now of "national service" for young people as one option, and it's something to think about seriously. This also raises issues related to the nature of work, the way our economy operates, and issues that have come up in conversations about job sharing, for example. With many new entrants into employment someone may have to leave the labor force or not get in, or we are going to have to rearrange it. And this will have an effect on our students as they learn in the community.

So these four notions the purely "academic" side, the community emphasis on "service," and the issue of how this fits into the economy in general must be added to our list of concerns.

REFLECTION

Thomas R. Owens
Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory

Yesterday it was mentioned that, after five years, I am the sole surviving evaluator across the four regional educational laboratories involved in the evaluation of Experience-Based Career Education. I guess it's because I'm a slow learner. In some respects I feel like Don Quixote chasing a dream—are there really learning outcomes out there resulting from experiential education or do we just imagine them? As you can probably judge from your two days' presence at this conference, it is frustrating to have a gut level feeling about the impact of experiential education and be unable to adequately document these effects in a way that is convincing to others. It is reassuring to share this challenge with you.

Over the past three or four years many of us have sensed a need to have a conference like this to explore some conceptual models to use in designing and evaluating experiential education programs. I think it is appropriate in the few minutes we have left to express tremendous appreciation to Jerry Walker, Michael Crowe and Carol Beckman from the National Center for organizing the conference and to Ron Bucknam of the National Institute of Education for sponsoring this type of gathering. I also appreciate the willingness of the presenters to take a risk, to go beyond the safety of their academic discipline, in sharing with us some of the insights that they think may be applicable to this "beast" called experiential education.

As I recall the four separate presentations of this conference, my thoughts are that there is no one model, no one theory, that I could pull off the shelf and use by itself. But taking Dick Graham's notions of stepping back as a philosopher and looking at the values and nature of specific individual experiential programs we might be working with, I think we can identify things that we have learned from certain career development theories, for example, that may help us understand relationships between some of the short and long term outcomes that we may find. Your reactions yesterday to the four career development theories suggest that we be cautious of those models that tend to delimit our focus too sharply on only a few outcomes and instead look at those models that broaden our vision of outcomes that may be applicable.

Although this conference treated psychology, economics, sociology, and anthropology separately, Nicholas Kiefer indicated today that there are, in fact, people with anthropological backgrounds conducting economic studies. So even as far as the four separate disciplines are concerned, there is a bridging effort. As practitioners developing or evaluating experiential learning programs we need to be eclectic.

In addition to the four disciplines reflected at this conference there are several other areas of inquiry that people are starting to look at for implications in evaluating experiential learning programs. Two of these fields being explored are investigative journalism and law. For example, Egon Guba, a visiting scholar this summer with the Research on Evaluation Project at the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory in Portland, Oregon is using the metaphor of investigative journalism in exploring principles and methodologies that may be helpful in evaluating experiential learning and other types of educational programs.

CLARITY OR MURKINESS OF THE HABITAT

Jerry Walker, in his opening remarks to this conference, expressed his hope that we would move from being a collection of individuals present here to being a "group" in the sociological sense. It seems to me that through sharing ideas informally as well as in the presentations and reactions here, we have taken the initial steps. What are some other ways of moving in this direction? First, we can follow through on ideas that were sparked at this conference and maintain contact with those with whom we have found something in common. Second, we may wish to join certain organizations such as the Association for Experiential Learning, the Cooperative for the Advancement of Experiential Learning, or the Society for Field Based Education. Third, with the increase in the number of people interested in and doing research and evaluation related to experiential learning, the time may be right for forming a group on experiential education as a Special Interest Group of the American Educational Research Association.

As I consider future directions in investigating the consequences of experiential learning a number of ideas come to mind. First, there is a need to continue exploring various conceptual frameworks that will help us understand key components of experiential learning more thoroughly. Instead of looking at individual unique outcomes of separate experiential learning programs, we need to search for patterns that cut across various experiential learning programs. By looking at the relationships of program features and outcomes, we will become better able to suggest guidelines for developing new experiential learning programs and for conducting meaningful research. A second area of need is that of demonstrating, documenting and assessing some of the theories or combinations of theories that may fit experiential learning and then sharing this information. A third area of need that I think has been omitted the past two days is that of training teachers and staff for not only understanding but also being effective in operating experiential programs or in applying experiential learning approaches in their instruction. These three needs, together with that of improved clarity of expected experiential learning outcomes and improved instrumentation and evaluation designs present a stimulating challenge as we face the future of experiential education.

REFLECTION II

Dan Conrad
University of Minnesota

What follows is both a personal and a group response to the papers and ideas presented at the conference. I would prefer to acclaim this a collective statement, but the processes of selective attention and retention are too well known to permit me to do other than follow the convention of accepting final responsibility for myself.

The identity assigned to and assumed by our group was that of the practicing evaluator actively engaged in assessing and evaluating experiential education programs. The questions we asked were of the *Monday morning, to do* variety, and the guidance sought was in the areas of design, instrumentation, analysis, and the like. If at times we strayed from that perspective it is only because no evaluator, even on Monday, should be divorced from the theoretical groundings of his/her method or of the educational practice(s) being evaluated.

Reacting to the conference presentations from an activitist/practitioner perspective forces one into the position of the book reviewer criticizing an author for not writing a different book. The difficulty for us was that this was the *first* such conference and not the *second*. All of the presenters did a superb job of relating the general perspective of their discipline, the kinds of questions and issues raised by it and, in a more general way, the methodology that characterizes it. The latter was treated the most summarily however, and since it was the chief concern of our group, left us hungering after the next installment.

In a sense, however, the practicing evaluator is always left waiting for the next installment, waiting for someone to add something specific to the overviews, admonitions, and frameworks of analyses. *Tabula Rasa* is not a dead idea in the field of educational evaluation. Each conference, article, workshop and book presumes to be presenting the first word on the subject (not the last, of course) to an audience whose minds are devoid of information, free of ideas, and innocent of thought. Like the proverbial American history course that runs, again and again, from 1492 to 1939, each stops just short of the point where it's really getting interesting and where we can apply what is said to our own situation.

"Goal setting" can stand as a case in point, ranking, as it does, just behind "arriving at a definition" on both the tedium and inanity charts. To paraphrase an old idea, if all the words written on goal setting, and spoken in evaluation workshops (a.m. of day one, naturally) were laid end to end they would stretch far into outer space and we'd be a lot better off and maybe even get something done. It will tarnish my academic credentials to say this, of course, but I do have a dream of an evaluation session that dispenses summarily with the why, what, who, where from and what for, and digs rights into the how and with what!

I presume I am now disqualified from a second conference, but can nonetheless suggest a couple of ways to organize one. The idea of looking at the evaluation of experiential education from the distinct perspectives of different disciplines is a worthy idea and should be retained. Furthermore, the presenters at this conference were excellent so this part too could be kept the same. Only what we'd ask them to do need change.

CLARITY OR MURKINESS OF THE HABITAT

We might offer each major speaker a choice of two assignments. The first would be to look at a specific experiential program, or type of program, and then devise a research or evaluation design to study it and/or its effects. From what they can see or be told about the program they would decide what processes or outcomes would most interest them and use these as their foci. Their presentations, then, could focus on the specifics of the design: what questions they'd ask, populations they'd study, exactly what instruments or other data gathering methods they would employ (with something on how they're used, why chosen, and a little on why some others were not chosen), what they'd do about problems of control and randomization, how they'd analyze the data, something of their own discipline's history of work in that area, and the like.

The second choice would be to present the representatives of the disciplines with a list of the core goals of experiential programs, the benefits claimed by their proponents, or hypotheses about what makes an experiential program succeed. There is, after all, a substantial literature on each of these things that might as well be used. Each presenter could, again, choose the issue or issues that would interest him/her and that are compatible with the concerns and methods of the discipline represented. The assignment, beyond this, would be the same as sketched above. We might, in addition, provide ample time for a direct interchange or questions and ideas to pursue the "nitty gritty" and to help those of us who don't always "get it" the first time through.

The interest in pursuing such questions at another session arises from two sources. The first is the chronic gnawing in the back of every evaluator's mind that certainly *somebody* has figured out how to do this job; that somebody has just the instrument or technique to capture those variables which continue to elude us. The second source is in the promise held out by the several real nuggets that were found in all the major papers and in the group discussions. It's tempting to simply list them *all*, but this paper is meant to focus on the specific concerns of practicing evaluators—and to be brief. Reflections on purpose, blurring of effects, and credibility will be used to illustrate some of the things we found provocative.

Richard Graham, at the outset, placed the practice of experiential education and its attendant evaluative problems in a broad web of social influences and relationships. Any educational intervention is only a very brief and circumscribed episode in the personal and social histories of students. However, the same can be said of any of the series of "critical incidents" that help determine who and what we are. The aim of any experiential program is to be a benign critical incident for its participants, an episode giving the individual some leverage against the indomitable pressure of external forces and the erratic whims of luck and chance. The real mission of educational evaluation is to expose the workings of these forces, to aid educators in designing programs that "make a difference," to establish what that difference is, and to help decipher which programs and practices can really produce that difference. This is, to say the least, no mean task. That it's [illegible], that it's worth doing, is what Graham impressed on us all.

In prob[illegible] fo[illegible]s, there are two types of errors that researchers are warned to avoid, but only one of these strikes fear in their hearts. That one is *not* finding differences that *do* exist. Differences can be blurred in many ways. Among the chief offenders are time and other variables beyond the reasonable control of any program. One strategy advised against the ravages of time is to focus attention on short range goals—immediate and specific effects which other research has shown to have an impact on major life outcomes. From what was said at the conference, it appears we do have some knowledge to guide us here. In the career area, for example, there are indicators such as exposure to models, certain attitudes, and various behavioral skills that are reasonable predictors of career success, are achievable program goals, and are amenable to short term investigative techniques. The less global one's analysis, of course, the more clarity there must be about what it is the program is working toward, or, at least what the evaluator is trying to measure. Thus the need for goal setting reemerges.*

A second cause of blurring is that usually the evaluator is looking for more than one effect, and may make the mistake of combining data in such a way that the differentiated changes in individuals are canceled out in the overall analysis. A recourse here is the strategy of focusing on individual change scores and, in Dr. Osip 's words, to "aggregate in terms of the particular objectives that the program is trying to achieve."

A third cause of blurring is that often the effects we are most interested in are also the most elusive (and, perhaps, "abstrusive"). Furthermore, the measures most credible to outsiders, often including funding agencies, are paper and pencil standardized tests—the least credible (most incredible?) means of assessing them. A solution suggested by Dr. Kiefer is to pull one's head from the sand (or clouds) and face the "facts": the facts of what we really can claim to know, and how much it will cost (in terms of time, dollars, and effort) to find it out. From this perspective his income criteria is nearly faultless. More than that, the very *idea* of a clear, easily measured educational goal is shocking!** However, its aura of clarity seems to be achieved partly by down playing the impact of larger forces such as time and social injustice, and partly by deemphasizing that we really might need to know something of these elusive, "expensive" variables.

Drs. Weed and Walker showed a greater willingness to wade in ("muddle around in" was Dr. Walker's phrase) murky waters. To do so requires some confidence in the utility of less precise measures and methods, and some willingness to give credence to human judgment. It also demands that one admit the imprecision thus introduced, and that one be willing to confirm or refute the findings of one approach by looking at each issue from several perspectives and by different methods. The jargon word for this is "triangulation," a word and a strategy that should be in every evaluator's repertoire.

This loosely suggests one other issue discussed in our group, one that may serve to bring this particular exercise to a close. The issue is credibility. As evaluators we often act as if the credibility of a research or evaluation study was *solely* a factor of its data and the means used to collect it. But it's more than that. A credible study is one that's soundly based and one whose "story" is heard (perhaps with interest) and deemed reasonable (even convincing) by some audience. Each of the disciplines represented at the conference has notable bearers of such credibility. Galbraith in Economics, C. Wright Mills in Sociology, Freud, even Skinner, in Psychology, Mead and Farb in Anthropology are a few illustrations. For each of these people, an important measure of their credibility arises (arose) from their ability to effectively communicate their ideas. Of course, educators can offer John Dewey as a counter example, but that may be the exception that proves the rule. Be that as it may, most evaluation studies (and workshop and conference reports) are any smal

*Thrown in to show I'm not against goals, just weary of discussing them.

**In response, our whole group immediately conducted a ritual flapping to restore the murkiness of our habitat.

things to read. That we assign more credibility to tables and numbers than to narrative accounts may say less about the scientific rigor of our discipline than about the quality of our prose. Perhaps effective communication can be the subject of a third conference. In the meantime, we've at least had exposure to some effective models in the persons of the presenters at this conference. For this we thank them.

There's an old saying that the purpose of at least certain kinds of public presentations ought to be to comfort the afflicted and afflict the comforted. The presenters at this conference did both. For those of us feeling smug in the preciseness of our measures and the clarity of our goals, there was the challenge to be wary of blinders that block our vision of the unexpected and unintended, that isolate both programs and students from their social context, that find more "significance" in numbers than human judgment, that reveal something of a product but nothing of how it was attained or why. For those of us prideful of our openmindedness and sensitivity to human mystery and complexity there was an equally strong challenge to dare draw some conclusions, to dare be precise about what it is we're looking for and why we thinkg we might find it. In broadest terms this conference, from the practitioner's viewpoint, was a healthy mixture of reinforcement and provocation. Clearly the book is not now closed on how best to assess the impact of experiential education (or even define what it is!). Like the practice we study, we must continue to "learn by doing." We don't regret it. It's what makes life interesting.

APPENDIX A

Symposium Agenda

AGENDA

SYMPOSIUM ON ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES ON INVESTIGATING THE CONSEQUENCES OF EXPERIENTIAL EDUCATION

Thursday, June 22, 1978

9:00-9:30 a.m.*	Introduction	Michael Crowe, National Center for Research in Vocational Education
		Jerry Walker, National Center for Research in Vocational Education
		Carol Beckman, National Center for Research in Vocational Education
		Ron Bucknam, The National Institute of Education
9:30-10:10 a.m.	Keynote Address	Richard Graham, Youthwork, Inc.
10:10-10:30 a.m.	Overview of Presentations	Samuel Osipow, The Ohio State University
		Nicholas Kiefer, University of Chicago
		Sheila Walker, University of California, Berkeley
		Frank Weed, University of Texas, Arlington
10:30-11:15 a.m.	Psychological Perspective	Samuel Osipow, The Ohio State University
11:15-12:00 noon	Small Group Interaction Sessions	FACILITATORS:
		Tom Owens, Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory
		Don Conrad, University of Minnesota
		Richard Miguel, National Center for Research in Vocational Education
		Paul Schroeder, National Center for Research in Vocational Education
12:00-1:00 p.m.	Luncheon	
1:00-1:40 p.m.	Feedback Session	Participants

*Coffee, tea available.

1:40-2:00 p.m.	Peer Summation and Focus to Psychological Perspective	Harold Henderson, Appalachia Educational Laboratory
2:00-2:45 p.m.	Economic Perspective	Nicholas Keifer, University of Chicago
2:45 [illegible]25 p.m.*	Small Group Interaction Sessions	Facilitators and participants
3:25-4:05 p.m.	Feedback Session	Participants
4:05-4:25 p.m.	Peer Summation and Focus to Economic Perspective	Robert Eckert, National Institute of Education
4:25-4:[illegible]5 p.m.	Recap	Project Staff

Friday, June 23, 1978

8:00-8:10 a.m.*	Opening Comments	Jerry Walker, National Center for Research in Vocational Education
8:10-8:50 a.m.	Anthropological Perspective	Sheila Walker, University of California, Berkeley
8:50-9:30 a.m.*	Small Group Interaction Sessions	Facilitators and participants
9:30-10:10 a.m.	Feedback Session	Participants
10:10-10:25 a.m.	Peer Summation and Focus to Anthropological Perspective	Thomas Carroll, Clark University
10:25-11:05 a.m	Sociological Perspective	Frank Weed, University of Texas, Arlington
11:05-11:45 a.m.	Small Group Interaction Sessions	Facilitators and participants
11:45-12:20 p.m.	Feedback Session	Participants
12:20-12:35 p.m.	Peer Summation and Focus to Sociological Perspective	Robert Sexton, University of Kentucky
12:35-1:00 p.m.	Final Recap	Tom Owens, Dan Conrad
1:00-2:00 p.m.	Lunch	
2:00-4:00 p.m.*	Free Discussion	Presenters, facilitators, peer reactors, participants

*Coffee, tea available

APPENDIX B

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APPENDIX C

Biographical Sketches of Authors

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF AUTHORS

Richard A. Graham

Dr. Graham received his B.S. in Mechanical Engineering in 1942 from Cornell University, his M.A. in Administration and Higher Education in 1970 from Catholic University, and his Ph.D. in Psychology in 1973 from Antioch College. He is currently Program Administrator at Youthwork, Inc. His previous professional positions include President of Goddard College; Executive Director, The Center for Moral Development and Education, Harvard, Federal Executive Fellow at the Brookings Institution; Director of Education Programs for ACTION, Director of the Teacher Corps, U.S. Office of Education, Commissioner, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; several leadership positions with the Peace Corps; and several leadership positions in business and industry. He participates in numerous professional and civic activities. Publications include articles on experimental learning, community action, teacher education, voluntary service, school finance, cost effectiveness comparison, institutional change, stopping-out of school, moral education, [illegible] employment.

Nicholas M. Kiefer

Dr. Kiefer received his B.A. in 1972 from Florida State University, and his M.A. and Ph.D. from Princeton University in 1976. His dissertation is titled "Econometric Essays in [illegible] Economics." He is currently Assistant Professor of Economics and National Institute of Mental Health Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Chicago. Previously he has done research and been an instructor at Princeton. He has done many published and unpublished papers on such topics as economic benefits from government training programs, Bayesian analysis of labor supply and commodity demand, wage offer distributions, an empirical job search model, effects of post-schooling vocational education.

Samuel H. Osipow

Dr. Osipow received his B.A. in 1954 from Lafayette College, his M.A. from Columbia University in 1955, and his Ph.D. from Syracuse University in 1959. He is currently Chairperson and Professor of the Department of Psychology at The Ohio State University. His previous professional positions include head of the Counseling Psychology Area at Ohio State; psychologist and Assistant Professor at Penn State University; personnel psychologist in the U.S. Army; many visiting appointments, consultantships, and professional activities at universities, agencies, research centers throughout the country. He has been editor or reviewer for many journals. He is author or co-author of six books on career development and counseling psychology, and of over 50 journal articles on a wide range of psychological and vocational topics. He has given over 50 presentations and technical reports to a variety of conferences. He is a licensed psychologist and an active member of the American Psychological Association.

Sheila S. Walker

Dr. Walker received her B.A. in 1966 from Bryn Mawr College and her M.A. and Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of Chicago in 1969 and 1976, respectively. She spent her junior year abroad engaged in African studies at the Sorbonne and the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris. She is multilingual. She is currently Assistant Professor in the School of Education at the University of California, Berkeley. Previously she has been research assistant at the Harvard Divinity School, free-lance translator and interpreter in the Ivory Coast, researcher for the Urban League and the Model Cities Health Project in Chicago, lecturer at Elmhurst College and Northwestern University, escort-interpreter under contract with the U.S. Department of State. She has published a book and several articles, has reviewed books and articles, and has given many presentations. Subjects include African religion, the Afro-American experience, and Black women and education in America. She has received several research fellowships and grants and belongs to several professional societies.

Frank J. Weed

Dr. Weed received his B.A. in 1965 from Hanover College, his M.A. from the University of Illinois in 1967, and his Ph.D. from the University of Missouri in 1974. He is currently Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Texas, Arlington. Previously he has been Assistant Professor or Instructor at four colleges and has done extensive research in his areas of interest which include formal organization, social change, social stratification, theory, and social welfare institutions. He has authored several journal articles, has presented a number of papers at sociological conventions, and belongs to several professional organizations.

Cl[illegible] E. Ramsey (did not attend Symposium)

Dr. Ramsey received his B.S. in 1947 from Indiana State Teachers College, and his M.S. and Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin in 1950 and 1952, respectively. He is currently Chairman and Professor of the Department of Sociology at the University of Texas, Arlington. His previous professional positions include Professor and Chairman at Colorado State University, teaching positions at Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Cornell; a large number of research consultantships in agencies, government, and universities; membership on many committees of universities and government agencies. He has published many books and journal articles in areas of youth and education, research methods, stratification and change, and demography and ecology. He is listed in *Who's Who in America.*

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