Presenting formal research findings and other evidence in a literature review, the author discusses the value of combining technical education and/or job training with adult basic education (ABE) as a means of motivating the educational participation of the functionally illiterate, hard core unemployed. Attention is given to special characteristics of the hard core unemployed, areas of potential educational interest for unmotivated, undereducated young adults, program planning priorities in manpower development, and the need for more adequate motivational research. It is concluded that the motivation barrier can be overcome, and that rapid literacy training and general educational progress (leading in turn to higher aspirations for self and family) can be realized in an occupational training situation. Also included are 29 references and a list of 28 Federal programs having an ABE component or purpose. (LY)
Preparation For Employment As A Motivator
For Adult Basic Education

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Improve University Teacher
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This nation continues to support the beliefs that its economy can support full employment, and that all citizens who are able and available should actively contribute to its productivity. These beliefs are clung to as basic to a democratic society in which all members share the opportunities, the rewards and the responsibilities in accordance with their talents and interests. From this we would expect fulfillment for each person, health and happiness in the communities and an economic strength able to sustain the good life and guard the freedom of man.

Further in this nation or any nation, primary dependence must be placed on the educational institutions and processes, and particularly on the system of universal public education, to so develop the supply of manpower that it may optimally deploy itself, on the basis of free choice, among the levels areas and stations of industry.

That our system has faults is clearly seen in the figure of 2.6 million unemployed persons with almost as many jobs going begging—albeit jobs that require higher levels of skill and knowledge than are possessed by the unemployed. Of equal concern are the underemployed millions who are underemployed because of undeveloped abilities.

Significant among these statistics of misfortune are the large numbers of people who cannot function acceptably in mathematics, language arts, and other basic skills at the minimum level at which the nation’s business is carried on. Undereducation is limiting the destiny of 24 million persons, 18 years of age and older, in this country, identified by the 1960 Census as having less than eight years of schooling. Derek N. Nunney describes them as:

(1) "...They are the young adults who are dropping out of school. They are the adults who dropped out or were forced out of school during the depression years and who basic skills grew less and less in an era of development which did not have time to worry about reading and writing — but only about working and eating. They are the elderly who were in school during the very early part of this century when reading and writing were but non-essential — when horsepower and muscle power were the mode. They are the educationally handicapped who are prevented from functioning to their own satisfaction in a world to which they want to belong."

The most troubled among these 24 million souls are the approximately three million who are totally illiterate. The latter group is greater in number and proportion than in the countries of western Europe. About a third of the hapless three million are in the labor force, living in or on the edge of poverty and certainly doomed to the shadows of American life unless they succeed in acquiring sufficient command of the "fundamental processes" to be able to escape through the corridors of vocational skills training.

It is a not too curious commentary that, historically, adult basic education programs, both public and private, which have sought to enroll the seriously undereducated adult, have waited in vain for him to present himself in any significant numbers for salvation. The shadow of adult illiteracy in the nation, measured in the aggregate, remains almost completely anonymous. The uneducated adult is unidentified by name or address in census statistics and fear or shyness at the thought of revealing himself as incompetent, or failure to find sufficient reason to raise his level of educational attainment, or hostility toward the classroom and the society it represents, has kept him away from the schoolhouse. In Washington, D.C. over the past fifteen years the regular ABE program has enrolled annually an average of less than one percent of the almost 100,000 adults lacking an eighth grade education. This is probably not atypical of the experience in other large cities.

It has been plain that something more than the purity of knowledge and the charm of the schoolhouse is needed to activate the undereducated adult -- the fugitive from our culture -- to enter and stay with a program of basic education. The burden of this paper is to recount some of the experience since 1962 in federally supported programs with ABE components that tends to establish that the quest for vocational competence is a rather effective motivating influence for purposeful and successful performance in basic education.

Unfortunately, there is little that even resembles rigorous research of this hypothesis that would help in putting a relative value on pursuit of a skill as a motivator in comparison with other the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Economic Opportunity Act and other legislation, have been guided intuitively by assurances that have emerged from the considerable volume of studies in the field of motivation.

Without worrying too much about the state of the pursuit of truth as to whether motivation is a discrete fact of human experience or a useful theoretical construct to explain human behavior, or whether what we have called motivated behavior is really just learned behavior or reinforcement, (2) we can accept the empirically validated principle that, the urge to satisfy a felt need can exert strong control over human behavior. Thus, foregoing the cause and embracing the effect, we bypass conveniently the black box that holds the diligently sought secret of the exact physiological mechanisms and processes that "turn us on"; but the human engineering enterprise of manpower development has had to make many such pragmatic adjustments to the state of the art in the behavioral and social sciences.

The fact is that in various manpower projects marked success has been achieved in programs of basic education set up in close relationship with skills training. This is attested to hundreds of times in written and verbal reports on federally supported job-training programs with ABE components. Patricia Sexton of New York.

2) Theory of Motivation, R.C. Bolles, Harper & Row, 1967, Chap. 15
University, in search of the ideas of greatest yield in the field of basic education, reviewed over fifty experimental and demonstration MDTA projects for disadvantaged youths which had basic education components. She makes this relevant comment in her report: (3)

"Shop work and the learning of manipulative skills can provide exciting motivation for learning language and computational skills. A student who reads a manual in order to fix a motor is more likely to do the reading voluntarily, appreciate the "uses" of reading, and acquire skills in the process."

Dr. Sexton makes the further suggestion: (4)

"Since student motivation is largely job-and-money centered, the job setting itself would seem to be the best place for training, education, and rehabilitation."

The report of the first Tuskegee project states: (5)

"There is little doubt...that once the academic work is intelligently coordinated with the vocational skills, trainees grow faster in both areas...."

And the Job Corps comments on academic progress: (6)

"Whenever possible, reading and arithmetic training should be incorporated into the pre-vocational, vocational or world of work programs. Such tying together, as demonstrated by some Men's Centers, can cause the achievement rate to double."


Somewhat less hopefully, but certainly supporting the proposition, Patten and Clark conclude, in reference to efforts to improve the literacy of 53 hard-core unemployed individuals in Detroit: (7)

"Our respondents basically want jobs so that they will have money to live as they please within the boundaries of their wages and available credit. To the extent literacy leads in this direction, they desire literacy. Many believe literacy could be dispensed with if they had jobs. To the extent that sufficient money is obtained by having jobs, they want them. Jobs could be dispensed with if there were sources which would provide sufficient money (such as a "guaranteed income" Perhaps) and allow the respondents to use it as they wish. The attitude toward work for these people is pragmatic; work is a means to wages. Work for other reasons tends to be of lesser value. They have no reason to expect intrinsic joy in work and little of the Puritan Ethic we hear so much about in studies of white middle class Americans."

If we can accept the universal, although rather casual and only approximately quantified generalizations of the MDTA and EOA experiences, of which the foregoing excerpts are samples, we may conclude that a person who has set out to prepare himself for employment (or better employment) will address himself purposefully and energetically to whatever learning experiences are required to achieve his objective. These may include skills training, basic education, counseling, job orientation, health services and whatever else it takes. It follows then that for the almost one million totally illiterate adults in the labor force, basic education may well be entrained successfully in the pursuit of job skills, either for employment or upgrading. The same would apply to other millions in the labor force, not so disadvantaged educationally, but whose occupational goals require higher levels of academic performance such as the equivalence of high school graduation.

This is not to suggest that job mobility can be looked upon as the sole motivator for acceptance of and zestful performance in ABE, although it is clearly a potent prime-mover. Rather, it would be consistent and logical to recognize that other goals, the attainment of which requires higher levels of mastery of language and numbers, will reinforce the resolve and the behavior of the under-educated. Indeed other motivations would have to be depended upon for those in circumstances that do not include employment as an objective, such as the elderly, the disabled, the retired and the 2 million totally illiterate who are not in the labor force and this means they are not employed or seeking employment. To abandon this group would almost certainly serve to reduce the chances of those of the next generation who are within their sphere of influence.

7) *Literacy Training and Job Placement of Hard-Core Unemployed Negroes in Detroit*, T. H. Patten, Jr., School of Labor and Industrial Relations, Michigan State University, 1967-68, p.44.
For lack of education among the adult members of a family contributes to the lack of enlightenment and aspiration, to the barrenness of social and economic life, and to the hopelessness of the household. This impoverishment of ideas and values cascades down to the next generation and the next.

In reference to the effectiveness of drives other than that for vocational competence as sources of propulsion through ABE for an undereducated adult, Walther and Ferguson (8) offer some interesting findings on the usefulness of self-instructional reading courses based on areas of interest for 144 young persons considered to be neither self-motivated nor self-supporting. For direction in selecting the topics to be programmed for the course, they first devised an instrument, consisting of 101 items of possible interest to the target population, which yielded the distribution of areas of interests shown in the last column of the following table: (9)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Interest</th>
<th>Number of Items Representing Area</th>
<th>Mean of Modal Weights</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal relations</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal &amp; Emotional Adjustment</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earning &amp; Living</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Values</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be seen that for level of interest, "earning a living" is only third behind "religion" and "interpersonal relations" for this group. The investigators admit the limitations of the study, based principally on the small sample and the rough design of the instrument, and caution against generalizing. The rank order of the means of the modal weights of the areas of interest, however, shows that "some hear different drums."

Among other kinds of findings the researchers arrived at this tentative conclusion: (10)

"It appears from these findings, therefore, that regardless of their initial knowledge of a subject area, this sample learned course content that paralleled their areas of interest, and showed proportionately higher learning gains the closer the course subject-matter was to their sphere of interest."

They freely admit the weaknesses of this pilot study and comment: (11)

"The concept of measuring areas of interest to serve as a guide in the preparation of instructional materials shows promise. Areas of interest do appear to reveal the intrinsic motivations of the student. However, to provide measures useful for the population of unmotivated dropouts, extensive work would have to be done in extending the areas of interest considered in the instrument and in simplifying its administration. A measure that could be administered to groups would be desirable."

Whatever the nature of the motivation, it needs to be sustained until the objective is achieved. The hope would be that as basic competences are acquired, aspirations would be raised and widened and that new reinforcements, growing out of the discovery of new opportunities and new values, would progressively provide the fuel for the upward climb from illiteracy and unenlightenment. Patten and Clark, in their Detroit study, are not optimistic about any such self-sustained motivation among the disadvantaged, writing: (12)

"The men included in our study realize that the road to literacy for an illiterate adult is a long and arduous one, and they cannot see the end. The higher-paying jobs in the sectors of the American occupational structure requiring extensive education are far beyond their aspirations and job horizons. They are on the very bottom of the economic and social heap, and although they probably cannot evaluate adequately the full significance of many of their drawbacks, they clearly have no stated mobility aspirations. In this sense, they are realistic in their occupational outlook."

and: (13)

"Many adults cannot get jobs off their minds. If jobs are obtained, they probably will pass up literacy training on what they consider practical grounds. In the final analysis, we see little likelihood literacy training for the hard-core unemployed will work wonders; yet there is evidence some things can be accomplished."

On the other hand, there are countless pieces of testimony from a wide range of ABE activities in manpower programs describing the burgeoning of aspiration, and the acceleration of educational, vocational and social growth in disadvantaged individuals after some initial activation by a coupled job-training and basic-education experience. One such anecdote is recounted by Nathan Meyer, President of Oxford Chemicals, Inc., of New Brunswick, N.J.: (14)

"One of our employees in the first batch was a man named Lem Wright - black, then 42, with a sixth grade education in a Southern school - which wasn't much. He was married and had three children.

"He joined the training program early -- and it became apparent that he was not going to make it because of a lack of education. His frustration level was rather low, and his supervisors had pretty well given up, and they recommended that he be dropped out. The union intervened, because notice had not been given on time of the intention to drop him.

"Eventually it came to me via the grievance route. I listened, talked at length to Mr. Wright -- and sensed the difficulty. I offered to help him get an education so that he could qualify and continue. The union objected that this was placing a burden on him, and that I did not have the right to impose such a condition.

"Mr. Wright accepted, however, and started night school-- and thus was born our education program then and there.

"I should like you to consider for a moment the enormous task this man undertook. He was transferred to a night shift so he could attend school, thus carry out his responsibility to his job and family as well.

"The first few months were heartbreaking. He wanted to quit a dozen times. He was terribly embarrassed to be in school at a grade lower than his own children. He found the school work difficult -- particularly after a full day's work in the plant. The personnel director, his foreman and myself literally kept him going with tutoring, with personal praise and understanding. We wouldn't let him quit.

"Today, Wright is a foreman -- in printing. He is also a sophomore in college, studying engineering. He completed his grade school in one year, and got a high school equivalency certificate in one year. His rate of pay is now about $12,000 per year."

Such are the glimmers of insight and understanding that illuminate dimly this aspect of the chronicle of ABE under the manpower effort. Perhaps we can explain the paucity of more respectable research on the grounds that the operators of the programs have been too engrossed in the enterprise of salvaging human resources to undertake the necessary experimental designs. Rather, they have explored the present state of the art, introducing innovations somewhat cautiously as these have proven out empirically. They have chosen the certainty of some predictable gain in place of the venture of investing the time and funds required for maximizing the yield through comparative studies. In research with humans, there is always something uncomfortable about the unfortunate control group for which nothing is done in order that the effect of some cause may be more precisely measured.

The urgency of uninterrupted service to people notwithstanding, the time is now when serious investigation should be mounted in such areas as those so insightfully identified in the paper prepared by Dr. William Griffith for the Pre-Conference of the International Reading Association last November; or in an earlier paper by George Aker and William Carpenter of Florida State University. (15) Experience in ABE in the manpower development programs points to certain research needs as deserving high priority. Among these are:

1. Determination of the personal and professional characteristics of teachers of basic education for the educationally disadvantaged, required for success.

2. Development of preparatory and in-service teacher training programs to produce such teachers.

3. Hard-headed comparative measure of the effectiveness, coupled with cost-benefit analyses of the great variety of materials and systems for ABE.

4. The effect of the setting on recruitment, retention, and achievement in ABE programs.

5. Pilot studies of a systems approach to the motivation of the entire EDP of a community and to the development of appropriate programs of education and related services. (16)

6. Means for coordinating the entire ABE effort among the many organizations and agencies, public and private, that are engaged in it.


7. Development of a common system for the effective and comprehensive collection, storage and dissemination of information definitive of the characteristics of students, teachers, programs, research findings, etc.

More in the nature of problem-definition or hypothesis-testing, the findings of Patricia Sexton in her review of the 55 E and D projects under the MDTA included some that were somewhat outside of tradition, to wit:

1. ABE teachers should be chosen on the basis of ability to relate to the students, with no requirement as to certification, experience or academic preparation. (17)

2. The best ABE teacher may be the vocational instructor who assumes the role of a "life-skills educator," teaching not only job skills but basic education as well and also supplying counseling, job advice and other services. (18)

3. Learning in ABE is accomplished best on the job. (19)

The record of impressions and gleanings from observing ABE programs in operation under a variety of auspices often echoes these and other feelings that need to be tested by a substantial and orderly program of investigation.

In approaching the complex problem of how to maximize the output in learning benefit from ABE programs, many terms enter the equation to render indistinct cause and effect relationships. This educational enterprise begins with the initial motivation and recruitment and ends when the student leaves the program. In between are many activities and conditions that affect the eventual yield in quantity and quality. Any claim that one influence, such as pursuit of job skills, was the dominant influence controlling motivation or achievement in basic education as compared with, say, the goal of social acceptance, would have to be established by research designs that hold constant or cancel out such determinants as the characteristics of the teacher, the quality of instruction, the effectiveness of the learning system or materials, the effect of the setting, etc. Up to this time judgments have been largely subjective, although rather persuasive.

It is in order to look briefly at the nature and dimensions of the ABE undertaking with federal support. The best record of this, which is limited because of the lack of any uniform reporting system among agencies and programs, is that prepared by Greenleigh

Associates, Inc. (20) for the President's National Advisory Committee on Adult Basic Education. At present this report is being updated, refined and extended. It listed 28 programs administered by ten federal agencies under which adult basic education may be provided. Adult basic education is defined to include work up to that needed to pass the GED Test of high school equivalence. The list of agencies and their programs follows:

1. U. S. Department of Agriculture
   Federal Extension Service, Cooperative Extension Service

2. U. S. Department of Commerce
   Economic Development Agency, Manpower Development and Training

   Department of the Air Force, Air Force High School Preparatory Program
   Department of the Army, Off-Duty Educational Services Programs for Military Personnel
   Department of the Navy, Off-Duty Educational Services Programs for Military Personnel
   Department of the Navy, U.S. Navy, U.S. Marine Corps, Off-Duty Educational Services Programs for Military Personnel
   Project 100,000
   Project Transition

   Office of Education, Bureau of Adult, Vocational, and Library Programs
   Division of Library Services and Educational Facilities
   Division of Adult Education Programs (Adult Basic Education)

20) Inventory of Federally Supported Adult Education Programs, Reports to the President's National Advisory Committee on ABE, Greenleigh Associates, Inc., Wash., D. C., January, 1968.
Division of Manpower Development and Training
(U.S. Department of Labor, in cooperation with
HEW-OE and the U.S. Department of Commerce,
Economic Development Agency)

Social and Rehabilitation Service (SRS)

Administration on Aging

Assistant Payments Administration, Office of
Special Services

Cuban Refugee Program

Rehabilitation Services Administration (RSA)

Vocational Rehabilitation (HEW)

Work Experience and Training Program (in cooperation
with the U.S. Department of Labor)

5. U.S. Department of the Interior

Bureau of Indian Affairs, Community Services Division
Adult Education Program, American Indian
Employment Assistance Program

6. U.S. Department of Justice

Bureau of Prisons

Educational and Vocational Training for Federal Workers

Immigration and Naturalization Service
Citizenship Education and Training Program

7. U.S. Department of Labor

Manpower Administration

Concentrated Employment Program

Manpower Development and Training (in cooperation
with U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare,
Office of Education). Division of Manpower Develop-
ment and Training and the U.S. Department of Com-
merce, Economic Development Agency)

Bureau of Work Programs

Neighborhood Youth Corps

New Careers

Operation Mainstream

Special Impact Program
8. U. S. Department of Transportation
   U. S. Coast Guard Off-Duty Educational Services
   Programs for Military Personnel

9. Office of Economic Opportunity
   Community Action Program (CAP)
   Adult Basic Education.
   Special Field Programs
   Indian Division, Indian Training Program
   Migrant and Seasonal Farm Workers Program
   Job Corps

10. Veterans Administration
    Physical Medicine Rehabilitation Service, Department
        of Medicine and Surgery Educational Therapy,
        Veterans Administration
    Veterans Readjustment Training Program
    Vocational Rehabilitation, Veterans Administration

Lack of data prevents any accounting of total enrollments or
completions at any level but the Report says: (21)

"Regardless of overlap in target, all programs com-
        bined are small in relation to the total target."

The Greenleigh Report recognizes as the potential target the
approximately 18 million persons over 18 with less than eighth grade
education, and 43 million over 18 with less than a high school
diploma, identified by Census figures (22) more recent than their
regular 1960 Report. The relatively small impact of MDTA, for
example, on this universe can be seen in the fact that in six years
of operation probably no more than 240,000 trainees in the 1,200,000
cumulative enrollment opportunities received basic education--not
enough to compensate for the number of the undereducated entering
the labor force in that period.


22) Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, Bureau
    of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, Series P-20, No. 158,
Similarly, the Greenleigh Inventory (23) shows only 37,673 enrollees completing the eighth grade in 44 states and territories in fiscal year 1967 under the Adult Basic Education Program, administered by the Office of Education, HEW. The total of present programs and resources leaves a wide gap in terms of the obvious need.

There is little question that ABE as a component in job training has proven effective. This has been the experience all the way from the classic model established on the Norfolk Campus of Virginia State College in 1962. (24) Results have been sustained and consistent in other parts of the manpower program, e.g., the Job Corps reports that for each 10 months in the program, the average corpsman gains 1.5 grades in reading and 1.8 in mathematics, as compared with 0.6 in each prior to entry in the Corps. (25) Comparable gains are noted in reports from regular MDTA projects as well as those under other phases of the manpower effort, including National Alliance of Businessmen - Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (NAB-JOBS), Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), Work Incentives Program (WIN), Operation Mainstream and many others. This accumulation of evidence, although somewhat amorphous, has sufficient weight to cause the following generalizations to be included in the 1969 Manpower Report to the President (26) as "...operating principles which...have gained wide acceptance..."

"The motivational barrier can be cracked. While this presents unique problems with each individual, E&D analyses suggest that the basic values which are a key to motivation are much the same in disadvantaged individuals as in the rest of the population. Most of the disadvantaged are not so much alienated as frustrated. When the relevance of training to getting good employment is demonstrated, the ambition to perform is aroused.

"Rapid literacy training is possible. On the average, capability in reading, word mastery, and arithmetic can be raised 2 grade-level years through several hundred hours of instruction. An individual with an eighth-grade capability can be trained to pass a GED (high school equivalency) test in less than a year, even when such literacy training is combined with occupational training. Armed with newer technologies and insights into methods for teaching disadvantaged adults, further improvements in performance are attainable. And there is growing recognition that concentration on "job language" training can quickly develop literacy gains necessary for employment, even when overall literacy levels are not raised markedly."

25) Greenleigh Inventory, p. 74.
ABE fits well into the manpower salvage program. The broader challenge is to teach those individuals outside the perimeter of this effort and also to induce broader and continued growth even in the manpower trainee who has achieved his immediate goal of a job. Major responsibility for this first massive mission is properly assigned to the Office of Education with the Adult Education Act of 1966 as the principal tool. It deserves coordinated support from all institutions and agencies and requires the escalated appropriations recommended by the National Advisory Committee on Adult Basic Education. (27)

Considerable hope for the second task rests in more refinement and follow-up of ABE in manpower development programs so that articulation is achieved with further educational experiences. Bearing on this are the findings of a follow-up study (28) of the men in the previously mentioned Norfolk project, which shows the greater occupational progress and general development of the trainees who received a combination of general and technical education. Although the emphasis in the study is the value of general education in promoting social and economic growth, the reinforcement moves in both directions and a hankering for economic security may well have been the propellant for the first stage. Because of its insights, I would like to close this paper with an excerpt from this Brazziel report: (29)

"In sum, it would seen that the hypothesis tested in the design -- that there would be differences in post-training behavior of the subjects which could be attributed to the incidence of general education in the curriculum of one of the groups -- was supported by these data. General education, it seems, contributed to the demonstration of a more rapid development of technical competencies by the men, a higher incidence of employment and a greater earning power. The data also indicate, but not conclusively, because of the small percentages involved, that general education may contribute to a greater utilization of community resources in securing employment, and a greater incidence of job promotion, and to the development of an individual whose ambitions are such that he is more likely to leave his field of preparation to achieve upward mobility."

"The prospects for utilizing the lever of general and technical education to aid great numbers of adults to secure a better life for themselves and their children seem bright at this time." A decade or so of energetic and

27) Adult Basic Education -- Meeting the Challenge of the 1970's, First Annual Report of the Nat'l. Adv. Comm. on Adult Basic Ed. to the President of the United States and Secretary, HEW, p. 2.


imaginative effort by educators will be of pivotal importance. We must be especially mindful of a long-range effects of such efforts. Adults who become more proficient as wage earners will be able to provide a happier, healthier life for their families. If they become broader and more learned persons as a result of their experiences in general education, their children are likely to be more intelligent and inquisitive.

"Planners must be willing to reach into slums and ghettos and root many of the inhabitants out of their ruts of poverty and apathy and show them the way to a better life. One generation of high literacy is all we need -- subsequent generations will inherit their legacy. The combination of a saleable skill and broader knowledge would seem to constitute formidable weapons for the long stride forward."

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